A STUDY OF CODE-SWITCHING IN FOUR ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES (ESP) CLASSROOMS AT THE COLLEGE OF BUSINESS STUDIES IN KUWAIT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

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The Ohio State University
2002

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the use of language alternation and the role it played in four ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classrooms at the College of Business Studies (CBS) in Kuwait, with special reference to the Business English courses taught in that college. Two areas of investigation were examined, the forms of code-switching and the different functions that code-switching achieved in those educational settings.

Qualitative research methodologies were employed to record and interpret the phenomena under study. The main research methodology was the ethnography of interaction which required direct observation and audio-taping of the four ESP classrooms' interaction. The secondary research methodology was participants' interviews which were conducted as two different types of interviews, teachers' interviews and students' interviews. The two research methodologies were used to collect materials at the data-recording phase, to construe information at the interpretation phase and to appraise the recorded materials at the findings phase.

Findings revealed that code-switching was used by the four teachers in those ESP classrooms to accomplish some tasks. It was employed to achieve instructional tasks, to accomplish conversational tasks and to convey social information. Findings also revealed that teachers' instructional strategies and students' survival strategies as
phenomenon of the four ESP classrooms at the CBS in Kuwait were results of the cross knowledge of each party's cultural and educational backgrounds which played an important role in creating those phenomenon. Finally, implications of code-switching for practice and research were provided.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to:

My parents
Ahmed Dehrab and Narjis Al-Enezi

My beloved husband
Haidar Al-Belushi

And my four children
Mohammed, Mohannad, Noor, and Ammar
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First, I thank God because none would be possible without him. Second, I owe my deepest gratitude for the completion of this dissertation to my advisor, Professor Gail McCutcheon, who has provided me with all the guidance, support, and encouragement throughout this study. Professor McCutcheon is a devoted professional advisor, to whom I am indebted for all the professional guidance. My sincere thanks also go to the other members of my committee, Professor Suzanne Damarin, Professor Charles Hancock, and Professor William Taylor, not only for their suggestions and comments about the study but also for their confidence in me and their professional support.

Nevertheless, the greatest sacrifices were made by my family. My acknowledgment goes for my parents, Ahmed Dehrab and Narjis Al-Enizi, for their faith in me and their moral support. My acknowledgment also goes to my beloved husband, Haidar Al-Belushi; and my four children, Mohammed, Mohhamad, Noor and Ammar, who believed in me and whose unselfish love, support, and many sacrifices helped me to make this research a realization.

I would like also to express my gratitude to a dear friend, Jeannette Bolivar, who provided me with both professional and emotional support throughout the writing of this dissertation. My thanks also go to Ms. Debra Zaboudil, the Director of the Office of Students Services, whose sincere advice helped through some difficulties during my academic studies.
Finally, I would like also to extend my thanks to my colleagues at The College of Business Studies in Kuwait who participated in this study. I also extend my thanks to the students in the four ESP classrooms who were willing to be part of this study.
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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the use of language alternation and the role it played in four ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classrooms at the College of Business Studies (CBS) in Kuwait, with special reference to the Business English courses taught in that college during second semester of the school year 1998-1999. Language alternation, which is also referred to as code-switching, is defined as the bilinguals’ ability to alternate between the languages in their linguistic repertoires (Zentella, 1981). According to Valdés-Fallis (1978), Valdés (1981) and Blom & Gumperz, (1972), code-switching had been found to be neither random, nor meaningless, nor did it necessarily reflect language deficiency. Valdés-Fallis (1978) contended that code-switching was a device used by bilinguals to convey social information or as a stylistic process. As a researcher, I investigated the significance of code-switching in the four ESP classrooms under study, mostly as a variation of discourse that the ESP teachers used on purpose to help them convey the targeted ESP instruction.

This chapter introduces the problem under investigation and the theories relevant to it. First, it presents my rationale for the study, the research problem, as well as the
research questions. Second, it provides a brief introduction to the theories relevant to the study. Then, a historical review of the College of Business Studies (CBS), where this study was conducted, is presented. Under this section, I present the history of applied education and training in Kuwait and eventually the history of the College of Business Studies. The introduction chapter also presents the research context. Under that section the following were presented: (a) the cultural background of the participants in the study, (b) a description of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course offerings in CBS, (c) gaining access to the research context; and (d) the data corpus. The introduction chapter also provides a methodological overview. Next, definitions of the significant terms used in this study are provided, as well as some abbreviations as used in this study. Finally, the organization of the study is presented.

**Purpose of the Study**

The study started with the researcher's intention to gain an understanding of how teachers and learners presented their lessons in the ESP classrooms under study. While observing and recording the interactional organization of the teaching and learning processes used to achieve the learners' communicative competence, which was the objective of the functional-notional approach, the researcher could not help but notice that the teachers used code-switching in almost all the activities presented in those classrooms.

This study, then, focused on understanding how language alternation occurred and the role it played in the four ESP classes under study. Although studies in the area of ESP, as well as in the area of code-switching, have been conducted, a review of the
literature revealed a lack of coordination between studies of code-switching and ESP. The field of ESP is related to the functions of language in bilingual contexts. Nevertheless, research in bilingual code-switching has rarely addressed issues in ESP.

Since the purpose of this study was to explore and describe code-switching, I expected that observing ESP classroom interactions would yield a contextualized interpretation of the phenomenon of code switching, its forms, its role as an instructional strategy, along with some other verbal and non-verbal behaviors that produced the organization of the teaching and the learning in these Kuwaiti ESP classrooms. To be more specific, the study was designed to describe, on the one hand, how teachers in their attempts to present the ESP lessons used code-switching as part of the presentation of the lesson. On the other hand, the study also examined the students’ responses to their teachers’ use of code-switching and what role they reported it played in their learning of the intended specific language. The study focused on four ESP classrooms. Two classrooms were the intermediate ESP course EL 154, and the other two classes were the advanced ESP course EL 204.

During the early phase of the observation, my observations were first treated in a holistic manner. I recorded all teachers’ behaviors while presenting their lessons. I also recorded all the students’ responses. In a later phase, I limited my focus to recurring situations. I focused on those recurring incidences, which I considered as the phenomena of those ESP classrooms. I also segmented those incidences for the sake of analysis in order to be recognized as types of interactional production. The most recurring incidences in this study were the use of Arabic during instructional activities of the ESP lessons by both the teachers and their students, which I referred to as code-switching.
ESP followed the theories of ESL (English as a second language). Since the early eighties and until the time the study was conducted, the main trend that ESP followed was the Functional-Notional Approach, as it was the case in the field of Second Language Acquisition. According to the Functional-Notional Approach, SL learners learn best through the use of second language in communicative situations and that the situations are to be in functional contexts in order for learners to make sense of them, and thus be able to use SL in the appropriate situations. ESP advocates also addressed the issue of language usage. The purpose of ESP is to enable ESP learners to function adequately in the target situation, with emphasis on the specialists’ communication in English in the specialized field (Swales, 1985; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987; and Johns, 1991). The textbook used in the classes I observed also claims to follow that approach in theory.

Consequently, the study was an attempt to describe in depth the context of those four ESP classrooms in their natural occurrence. Although code-switching was the main concern of this study, other recurring incidences were also recorded in order to understand the context of teaching ESP as foreign language program in the College of Business Studies in Kuwait. For example, teachers used different instructional strategies, (i.e., providing instructional repetitions; teaching for the sake of passing the exam; using ESP vocabulary in ESP functional situations). On the other hand, students performed their own learning or survival strategies, (i.e., providing incomplete answers; avoiding providing the correct utterances; providing answers collectively). As those incidences were not the main concern of the study, they are briefly presented here and then discussed in a subsequent chapter.
Although it was premature to make judgments at the initial phase, the researcher found it important that not only classroom interactions should be recorded and analyzed, but also other non-verbal aspects should be examined. For example, as a researcher, I paid attention to the cultural background of both the students and their teachers, where the veiled students preferred sitting, who mostly participated in class discussions, teachers' indifference to students' avoidance to participate, or teachers' encouragement to students' involvement, etc.

The following points summarize the researcher's purposes for the investigation:

1. to examine the linkage between studies of code-switching and ESP classrooms as the general purpose of the research.

2. to describe and interpret the role of language alternation in the four ESP classes at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait during the second semester of the school year 1998-1999.

3. to describe and interpret some verbal and non-verbal behaviors of the four ESP classes under study.

4. to find out whether the claims of the functional-notional approach were the objectives to be accomplished in the ESP classrooms under study, and if not, what ends both teachers and their students tried to achieve.

**Research Questions**

In the beginning, the study grew out of my desire, as a researcher, to understand the socio-cultural context of the ESP classrooms at CBS in Kuwait. I started with an assumption thinking that if I paid special attention to classroom interaction!
would understand what role the teacher should play in order to achieve learners’ acquisition of the required ESP. Nevertheless, since the study was not intended to measure results of specific causalities, but rather to interpret some interactional behaviors of both teachers and students in the ESP classrooms under study, I needed to apply qualitative research methodologies. And since I was using ethnography as my main research methodology, I decided to reformulate my research questions, keeping in mind that those questions might need to be further reformulated during the course of research.

Because I was looking at both teachers’ behaviors and students’ behaviors, some of my research questions related directly to the main theme of the study, which was code-switching, while other questions related to the context of teaching ESP as an FL program in the College of Business Studies. I decided to provide the following two sets of questions. The first set of questions focused on code-switching as the main theme of the study. The second set of questions focused on other recurring incidences, (i.e., other teaching strategies, and students’ coping strategies). The questions would guide my focus during the phase of recording information. They would also be helpful during the phase of analysis.

The following are the research questions used in the study:

1. What was the nature of code-switching in the four ESP classrooms at the CBS in Kuwait?
   A. What forms did code-switching take when used by teachers and students?
   B. What were the purposes of using code-switching when used by teachers and students?
2. What were the other noticeable classroom behaviors in those four ESP classrooms?

A. What teaching strategies did teachers use in the ESP classrooms?
   
   a. Did the teachers repeat or paraphrase their instruction?
   
   b. Did teachers provide translations and explanations of reading comprehension passages?
   
   c. Did teachers use general English supplementary materials in the ESP classrooms? If so, what purpose did those materials serve?
   
   d. How were grammar exercises used in the ESP language?
   
   e. How were functional and notional situations presented?
   
   f. To what extent did teachers concern themselves with their students’ ability to pass the exams in the course?

B. What survival strategies did students use during class?
   
   a. How did keeping the veil on affect veiled students’ behaviors in the classrooms?
   
   b. Was seating used by some students as an avoidance behavior?
   
   c. What type of students’ responses were considered by their teachers to be acceptable or unacceptable?

The questions I presented helped me focus on what to look for during the observation phase. They also helped me examine the recurring behaviors during the analysis phase in order to make my interpretations of the ESP classrooms under study.
Review of the Literature

In order to understand the context of the study of ESP classrooms, as a researcher, I needed to review the extensive literature of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and its major conceptualizations. ESP is a particular program that developed in that larger professional literature, whose central interest was to understand the teaching and learning of English for Specific Purposes in various contexts throughout the world.

The central concept ‘Language Socialization’ was developed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) to mean both socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language. They claimed that many features of interaction carried social-cultural information (i.e., speech-act types, conversational sequences, interruptions, overlaps, gaps, turn length). In other words, the meaning of conversational structures was sociocultural and hence the use of language was considered a major tool for conveying sociocultural knowledge as well as a powerful medium of socialization.

One major theory of language socialization was that of ‘Language as a Social Semiotic’ (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985). That theory interpreted language learning as a social system of meanings and it related language to the social structure in which it was learned. Halliday, who proposed that theory was himself influenced by his teacher sociolinguist Firth (1957, 1968), and later by Firth’s student, sociolinguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes (1971). Its significance to this study was that it regarded teaching and learning a language as a social phenomenon that should be observed in its natural occurrence. Although the theory itself did not provide a methodology in ESL classroom research, it did help focus the attention of both sociologists and socio-linguists on the ESL classroom as an interactional environment. Therefore, the ESP courses under
study were observed in their natural occurrence to better understand how both teachers and students behaved to achieve students’ learning. It was also regarded as an important transitional step that emphasized Communicative Competence and helped lay the theoretical base for the manifestation of the Functional-Notional Approach, which was used during the time of the study in both ESL and ESP.

The second theory was the ‘Functional-Notional Approach’ (Hymes, 1971; Halliday, 1970; Savignon, 1972; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Savignon, 1983; Rosenfeld & Berko, 1990). Advocates of that approach believed that SL learners learned best through the use of the second language in communicative situations that were to be in functional contexts in order for the learners to understand and thus become able to use the language in appropriate situations. The significance of that approach, though the study was done in ESP classrooms, was that ESP followed the same trends of ESL and thus related to the rest of English Language Teaching (ELT) programs.

The third topic that is presented in the study is the area of ESP (English for Specific Purposes). ESP, as described by Robinson (1980), is a specific and purposeful English language for specialists, as opposed to the general language usage. It is aimed to satisfy the specific needs of the learners with the ultimate goal of their successful English usage for specialized occupations. ESP was appropriate for the present study because it was conducted in the classes of Business English, which was a branch of ESP. Therefore, it would be important for the reader to gain some insights into the issues of ESP.
The fourth concept that was explored was the area of code-switching. According to Zentella, "the ability of bilinguals to alternate between the languages in their linguistic repertoire, is generally referred to as code-switching" (1981, P. 109). Many researchers on bilingualism (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Zentella, 1981; Valdés-Fallis, 1978; Valdés, 1981; Auer, 1984, 1995; Heller, 1985; Johnson, 1995; and Stringer, 1997) studied the phenomenon of code-switching as a communicative skill that the bilinguals employ as means of reflecting social information and/or as a personal rhetoric preference. The importance of that concept to the study was that code-switching was the most recurring phenomenon in all the activities and interaction that took place in all four ESP classes observed. Its importance to the study was also that there is a lack of research of code-switching done in the area of ESP, and in particular in Kuwait.

Research Setting

The College of Business Studies: Historical Review

The study was conducted at the College of Business Studies (CBS) in Kuwait. Before presenting the setting of the study, a brief historical review of CBS will help provide the reader with a general idea of that college and the significance of those English for Specific Purpose (ESP) courses taught in that particular context.

During the period of conducting the research, the College of Business Studies (CBS) was one of the four main bodies that provided applied education programs in Kuwait. The other three colleges were the College of Basic Education, the College of Health Sciences, and the College of Technological Studies. The four colleges then belonged to a larger body, which was called the Public Authority for Applied Education
and Training (PAAET). PAAET itself was one of the two main bodies of higher education in Kuwait. The other one was Kuwait University.

The History of Applied Education and Training in Kuwait

In order to provide a clear picture of the College of Business Studies, it is important to understand the history of applied education and training in the State of Kuwait. The foundation for applied education and training had been laid down by the mid-forties, with the exploration of oil; its production; exportation and other related activities. Foreign oil companies working in Kuwait started to organize training programs in order to enable the national manpower to perform the necessary activities (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).

In the 1950s, The State of Kuwait, represented by its institutions, started establishing some training centers and organized programs to prepare the national personnel needed for each of its specialized fields. The Ministry of Education and other ministries established a number of institutions to meet the growing demand for technically skilled manpower in different specialized fields. Consequently, and because of the large numbers of those state-run specialized training institutions, the state authorities in the late sixties, found it very important to establish a central body to supervise and coordinate those training institutions.

Therefore, in the early 1970s, two main bodies were established to take over the supervision of all those state-run specialized programs. The first body was the Technical and Vocational Education Department, which supervised the technical and vocational schools, then belonging to the Ministry of Education. The second body was the Central
Training Department, which supervised training centers and institutions assigned to the other state ministries (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).

According to the College of Business Studies Yearbook 1996-1997 (1996), those programs were not then sufficient to meet the rapidly growing needs for more advanced and skilled expertise for all the different specialized sectors. In 1982, State Law Number 63 legislated the establishment of the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training (PAAET) as an autonomous body and as the lawful provider of applied education and training, with the aim to ensure that there would be no duplication of efforts or waste of funds. According to its establishment law, PAAET’s goal was then to develop the national technical personnel in the fields of middle-class labor and to meet the nation’s developmental requirements, by setting up plans for them.

PAAET carried on its activities, offering applied education and training programs, through its two main divisions. The first division was the Training Center that supervised the various training programs offered by other training institutes and centers. Those institutes and centers provided specialized training programs for different state ministries. The training institutes and centers that were run and supervised by PAAET were: the Water and Electricity Training Institute, the Telecommunication and Navigation Institute, the Industrial Training Institutes, the Special Training Courses Center for Parallel Education, the Nursing Institute, the In-Service Training Courses Center, the Vocational Development Center, and the Community Services Center. The duration of study and training, as well as the diplomas or certificates awarded, differed according to each program’s purposes and aims (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).
The second division was applied education, which provided applied educational programs offered by PAAET in its four colleges: The College of Basic Education, the College of Business Studies, The College of Health Sciences and the College of Technological Studies (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).

Although the language of instruction in the four colleges and institutions was Arabic, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses were offered in those colleges and institutions in the learners' specialized fields to familiarize the learners with the specialized language that they would meet in their future careers. The importance of offering those ESP courses lied in PAAET's objective to bring students to a prescribed level in English not only to qualify them for more advanced level of studies in their specialized fields, but also to emphasize the study skills required for the students' future vocational careers (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996). In the case of the students of the College of Business Studies, the emphasis was on the study skills required for business, commerce, and office and clerical work as their prospective jobs (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996-1997).

It is also worth mentioning that, unlike the study in the different colleges of Kuwait University, the study in all colleges and training centers of PAAET was sex-segregated. Each college and each institute had to have two separate buildings, one for female students and the other for male students. Because of that segregation, the population in the female sections was largely from either conservative families or those of Bedouin origins, whose families preferred that their daughters not be in a coeducational setting, such as the system in Kuwait University. Bedouin is a name for people who originally roamed and lived in the desert.
The College of Business Studies

The College of Business Studies (CBS) was first opened in October 1975 under the name The Kuwait Business Institute (KBI). The aim was to provide the labor market in the public, private and joint sectors with both male and female employees, who would receive proper applied education and training to acquire specific practical and technical skills required in the commercial, administrative and financial fields. The institute was then under the direct supervision of the Technical and Vocational Education Department in the Ministry of Education (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).

With the inauguration of the decree of 1982 and with the establishment of PAAET, the Kuwait Business Institute moved under the umbrella of PAAET. In 1986, that college was renamed The College of Business Studies (CBS). New specializations were added and others were modified to subdivide into several branches. The addition of new specializations and the new subdivisions were done according to the requirements of the development plans of PAAET and according to the labor market needs (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996-1997).

The studies in CBS then included the following specializations: (1) accounting, (2) administration and secretarial studies, (3) material management, (4) cooperative management, (5) postal administration, (6) business administration, (7) secretarial studies, (8) medical secretarial studies, (9) insurance, (10) banking, and (11) computer operating (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).
Research Context

The aim of this study was to describe and interpret classroom interactions that organized the teaching and the learning in those four ESP classrooms, with special reference to code-switching. This observational study was conducted in the ESP classrooms in the female section at the College of Business Studies (CBS) in Kuwait. CBS is a post-secondary two-year college, which offers a college diploma to its graduates. As mentioned above, the college offers degrees in eleven different specializations. Each specialization is meant to provide skilled and trained middle-class labor to work in the government, private, and joint sectors in the areas of commerce, administration, and financing (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996).

The reason for selecting the female section as the field of the study was that female teachers were not allowed to be in the male section. And as a researcher, I felt that I would not be granted access to that section. Even if I was granted access to the male section, the male students might not feel at ease in the presence of a female researcher, which might negatively affect their performance or their natural classroom behaviors. The researcher thought that that would defy the purpose of observing the phenomena in their natural cultural occurrence.

Cultural Background

Since the study was conducted in the female section of the College of Business Studies, it is worth discussing the cultural background of the participants in the study, both teachers and students. The population in Kuwait then consisted almost of 50% Kuwaiti citizens and 50% of different-nationality residents. The nationals themselves
divided into two main communities, with different cultures and different dialects: those originally from the city of Kuwait and those originally from the desert or remote towns and villages. The former were called the ‘Hadhar,’ while the latter were called the ‘Bedouins.’

The Bedouins themselves came from different tribes and accordingly, each tribe spoke its own different dialect. Nevertheless, the different tribes had nearly similar traditions. The Bedouins were considered more conformist than the Hadhar. For example, most Bedouin women were veiled. Most Bedouin families did not allow their daughters to drive. Family gatherings and occasions were gender-segregated in the Bedouin community. When it came to higher education, Bedouin women were allowed to receive post-secondary education only two decades or so before this research was conducted. Many Bedouin families then preferred that their daughters remained home after finishing their degrees to prepare for their future life as wives and mothers, if not already married at the time of their college studies. Many of the Bedouin female students were not destined to hold any future job after graduation.

Because CBS was not then a coeducational educational institute, its population was mostly Bedouins in the female section, where Bedouin families preferred their daughters received their higher education. The Bedouin students constituted two-thirds of the student body in that college. The remaining third consisted of mostly Kuwaiti Hadhar and a very small percentage of Arab students. Many Hadhar female students themselves were from conservative families, too.

Both male and female teachers were allowed to teach in the female section, but only male teachers were permitted to teach in the male section. The teachers were of
different nationalities, mostly Arabs. Nevertheless, the majority of the teachers were Kuwaitis, both Bedouins and Hadhar. Instructors in the English Service Department held either Ph.D. or Master’s degrees in Teaching English as a Second Language.

**English for Specific Purposes (ESP) Course Offerings**

As for the courses offered by the English Service Department, which was the English language unit at CBS, different courses of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), in addition to the general English courses, were offered to the students studying in that college. According to the course offering of that college (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997), each specialized program required its students to study at least one English as a Second Language (ESL) course, which is EN 101, in addition to at least two other English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses.

These ESP courses differed according to each specialization. CBS students specializing in accounting, administration and secretarial studies, materials management, cooperative management, postal management, business administration, insurance, and banking were required to take both course EL 154 and course EL 204, which were the business English courses, as required core courses. They were also required (except for the accounting and insurance students) to take the English Correspondence course, EL 201, as part of their specialist core courses and as part of their graduation requirements. According to the course descriptions and objectives, in those two ESP courses, EL 154 and EL 204, topics, vocabulary and structures were focused to the relevance of the students’ linguistic needs for achieving the functional English language tasks facing them
in their prospective jobs in business, commerce and office work (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997).

According to College of Business Studies Yearbook (1996/1997), there were also other different ESP courses for the rest of the specializations that students had to pass as a requirement for their graduation. Students specializing in secretarial studies were required to take, besides the general English course EL 101, the following ESP courses: EL 110; EL 115; EL 210, which are English for Secretarial Specialists courses; and EL 201, which was the English Correspondence course. The objective of teaching those ESP courses for secretarial students was to improve their basic proficiency in English. Students were trained to communicate in English within their specialized field. The courses were designed to introduce real life situations in English for clerical, secretarial and administrative work with emphasis on office practice, organization and routine correspondence and telephoning.

Students of Medical Secretarial were required to take the following ESP courses: EL 152, EL 202, EL 252 (the three courses were English for Medical Specialists), in addition to EL 201, which was English Correspondence. Those ESP courses were designed to teach and improve the students’ proficiency in English in the field of medical secretary as their future career area. The units taught were selected to familiarize the students with medical topics through which medical English language was developed. (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997).

Computer science students were required to pass, in addition to the general English course EL 101, the following ESP courses: EL 153 and EL 203. These two ESP courses were designed for computer science students. Materials were subject-specific.
The objective of the two courses was to develop the students' linguistic and communicative competence and performance in the area of computer science with emphasis on topics, vocabulary, commercial and technical terms, and structures that fell within the students' specialization to prepare them for their prospective careers (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997).

Since the focus of this study was only on course EL 154 and course EL 204, which were the business English courses, a full description of each of these two ESP courses is provided in Appendix D. The reason for selecting those two courses as the focus of the study was that they were offered as required core courses for the larger number of students in most specializations at CBS. Out of the eleven specializations offered by that college, nine specializations required their students to take these two business English courses, EL 154 and EL 204.

Theoretically, it was stated that the main goal of the English Service Department was to bring the students to a prescribed level in English proficiency that prepared them for advanced studies in their specialized fields with the emphasis on the study skills required for business, commerce and office and clerical work, each according to his/her prospective career. The course objectives stated in the course offerings also claimed that in ESP courses El 154 and El 204, topics; vocabulary; and structures were focused to the relevance of the students' linguistic needs for achieving the functional English language tasks facing them in their prospective jobs in business, commerce and office work (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996-1997)

Both teachers and students were closely observed in those four ESP classes. The study paid special attention to teachers' presentation of the lessons in those ESP classes.
The students were also closely observed to record their responses to their teachers’ presentation of the lessons. The claims of “Language Proficiency” and “Functional Tasks” were also examined to understand what the main concern of both teachers and students was if it was not “Proficiency”.

**Research Methodology**

**Methodological Overview**

The methodological approach followed in this study was relevant to my interest as a researcher in describing and interpreting the use of the subjects’ native language as means of code-switching and the role it played in the ESP classrooms under study. The selection of the research methodologies used in this study, which are the ethnography of interaction and participants’ interviewing, were chosen for their appropriateness for the objective of the study.

**Rational for the Research Methodology**

In order to provide a rational for the research methodology, I tried to answer the following question: Why were the two research methodologies (ethnography of interaction and participants’ interviews) used and how did they fit the purpose of the study? The two qualitative research methodologies, the ethnography of interaction and participants’ interviews, were chosen as means for collecting materials during the phase
of observation, as well as for analyzing those materials during the phase of data analysis. The decision to use qualitative research methodologies was based on the researcher's belief in the significance of observing the phenomena under study in their natural occurrence. Investigating the communicative behaviors of both the teachers and the students in the observed ESP classrooms required me to apply only naturalistic observations and subsequently to apply ethnographic measures during the analysis phase.

Correlational quantitative studies do not reveal the social process of education, while ethnographies provide descriptions of the educational process in systematic ways that would produce reliable data to both researchers and policy makers that would help them make well-informed decisions. Classroom interactions, as any other cultural system of behaviors, are organized in specific ways that can be discovered and analyzed (Mehan, 1982). The researcher is not going to discuss the appropriateness of the research paradigm for the ESL classroom research as that issue is presented and fully discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The researcher believed that observing the phenomena of the teaching and learning of ESP should be conducted in their natural occurrence, which was the ESP classrooms under study. I found it necessary to use a heuristic research methodology with the objective of discovering and describing patterns and relationships of the behaviors under study. Most activities in the ESP classrooms under study took place in the form of interaction. Thus, it was rather significant that the activities of the ESP classrooms under study be observed in their natural context, and be described and explained in interactional terms.
The study was not intended to examine specific language production aspects, such as linguistic discourse, but rather to examine interaction that occurred in the ESP classrooms under study. The objective was rather to describe both students' and teachers' specific interactional behaviors in that specific context, with special interest in investigating code-switching in the ESP classrooms under study. Consequently, I chose the methodology of the ethnography of interaction as the main research methodology.

According to Spindler and Spindler (1987), much ethnographic information is second hand because researchers cannot always directly observe the natives' behaviors. Therefore, natives were asked to speak about their own behaviors and provide their own accounts to compensate for the hidden behaviors. Eisner (1991) also contended that for the sake of validation, researchers should use interviews as they were considered second in importance to observations in qualitative research. Therefore, the researcher chose participants' interviews as means of information elicitation for both validating observed behaviors and getting more insights into hidden behaviors or participants' accounts.

Consequently, the two selected methodologies used to guide the study in both the phase of collecting materials and the phase of analyzing those materials were both ethnography of interaction, as the main research methodology, and participants' interviews, as the secondary research methodology. They were used because they would better serve the purposes of the study.
Ethnography of interaction

As in any other classroom, most activities in the observed ESP classrooms took place in the form of interaction. What made those observed classes different from other classes was that instruction was provided in the students' field of specialization (the register of business English in this study). Because both teachers' presentations of lessons and students' responses were mostly interactional in nature, it was rather significant that the activities be observed in their interactional natural context — interaction between teachers and students and interaction among students themselves — if the interactional behavior could be observed and recorded.

Because the ESP classrooms should be thoroughly observed in their natural occurrence, the researcher used the methodology of the ethnography of interaction as the main research methodology. Using the ethnography of interaction would help me describe and discover patterns of behaviors in those specific situations. I adopted Mehan's (1982) position in applying the ethnography of interaction as the appropriate classroom research methodology. I found Mehan's proposed methodology very useful when the research objective was to describe the "HOW" rather than to explain the "WHY". The research intended to reveal how both teachers and students behaved in the ESP classrooms under study. Not only did I adopt Mehan's position but also borrowed his classroom 'interactional sequences' in order to describe classroom events. Interactional sequences are fully discussed in the methodology chapter.

As a researcher, I chose to be a non-participant observer, which meant that I would not engage in the activities observed. During the time of the study, I was a sponsored graduate student, which meant that I was not allowed to teach in that college.
Consequently, I was not able to be a participant observer. Therefore, I took the opportunity to be free to take notes and audio-tape the classroom events and interactions without being tied to doing other classroom tasks. That allowed me to fully concentrate on the tasks of being an observer without being distracted by teaching.

Participants’ interviews

To further understand the classroom events and thus be able to validate my interpretations, I decided to use, in addition to direct observations, participants’ interviewing as my secondary research methodology. Interviewing was a technique used for information elicitation that allowed the participants to provide their own accounts of the recorded incidences or their own opinions and feelings about some unobservable aspects. Some behaviors were incomprehensible to me as a researcher, while other behaviors or conceptions were not observable at all (i.e., teachers’ perception of the functional-notional approach). Because I sought understanding in the first place in order to make interpretation of what was recorded, I decided to use the methodology of participants’ interviews as a tool for information elicitation.

The researcher adopted Eisner’s (1991) position in the use of non-formal interviews. According to him, this type of information elicitation as a research methodology was second in importance to direct observation when conducting qualitative research. The non-formal interviewing would help put the interviewees at ease. The non-formal interviewing was more of a conversation between the researcher and the interviewees. The conversation helped “focus on concrete examples and feelings rather than on abstract
speculations” (Eisner, 1991, P. 183) and thus yielded meaningful information that helped in making inferences and interpretations of the observed phenomena.

**Gaining Access**

To gain entry to the field, I first received permission to conduct my observational study from the Dean of CBS, Dr. Yaqoub Al-Rifai. The chairperson of the English Service Department, Dr. Salah Al-Mulla, also granted me access to the ESP classrooms. Copies of the support letters provided by my superiors are provided in Appendix C.

The subjects of this study were four ESP teachers and their students taking Business English courses at CBS in Kuwait. Six teachers, teaching either course EL 154 or course EL 204, and their students had been first contacted concerning the study. They provided a preliminary verbal approval to be observed during the study. From those six sections, I chose only four sections for the study. Two teachers taught classes studying intermediate Business English course EL 154, and two teachers taught two sections of the advanced Business English EL 204 course. The chosen four teachers and their students in each section were then involved in the study. Each section met three times, three hours a week. I conducted my observations during a period of a sixteen-week semester, not counting the ‘Adds and Drops’ first week and the final two weeks for the final examinations. Nevertheless, I did not continue my observation of two of the classes due to reasons beyond my control, as discussed in the limitations of the study section. The observations were conducted during the second semester of the school year 1998-1999.

The teachers participating in the study were all female Kuwaiti teachers. Three of them had Master’s degrees and one held a Ph.D. The teachers were first contacted for
permission to gain access to their classes. For confidentiality, I referred to the teachers as Mrs. A, Mrs. K, Mrs. R, and Mrs. M. The four female teachers approved being observed.

Being granted access to the classes by the four teachers and their superiors, I attended the first session of the second semester with each teacher to be introduced to their students. Then, each participant, both teachers and students, was handed a solicitation letter. That letter provided them with the following information: (a) some general information about the theme of the study, (b) its purpose, (c) its procedure, (d) the duration of time, (e) the possible benefits that the participants may gain, (f) the confidentiality of the data, and (g) the participants' right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Prior to having the teachers and their students sign their consent forms, I talked to them about the solicitation letter, made sure that they understood everything in it, and answered all the questions the participants asked. They were also informed that there would be audio-taping. They were assured of no penalty if they refused to be part of the study.

Data Corpus

During that semester, I kept an observation log and inscribed my field notes. I also audio-taped the classes I observed. I chose to be a non-participant observer. Consequently, I took that opportunity to fully concentrate on observing the classroom events without being distracted by doing another task, which would have been teaching. While observing the classroom events, I chose to sit in one of the front corners of the classroom in order to have a better view of both the teacher and the whole class at the
same time. I positioned my chair in a way that would allow me to see what the teachers wrote on the whiteboard.

Although I tape-recorded the classroom events in the classes I observed, I wrote down in my field-notebook all the incidences that I thought would be important or interesting to the study. Some incidences, for example, were so recurring that I believed they needed to be recorded for the study. Most importantly was the phenomenon of code-switching.

In addition to direct observations and audio-taping, I used the method of information solicitation as my other means for both collecting materials and later analyzing my recorded incidences. A number of interviews were conducted. A group of the participants voluntarily agreed to be interviewed. I conducted three different types of interviews. There were individual teacher interviews, teacher group-interviews, and student group-interviews. (Teachers’ interview questions and students’ interview questions are provided in appendices A and B.)

I also received a copy of the textbook that students of both courses EL 154 and EL 204 studied. Units 1, 2, 3 and 4 were assigned for course EL 154, while units 8, 9, 10 and 12 were taught in course EL 204. The teachers also provided their students with supplementary materials, which were mostly grammar drills in a general English context. I had also the chance to see those materials.
Definitions of Terms

The following operational definitions are terms related to this research study. As a researcher, I have provided these definitions to provide clarification for these terms as used in the present study.

**Bilinguals or Bilingual Speakers:** As used by linguists, ‘bilinguals’ is a term that is used to describe speakers with varying degrees of proficiency in two languages. From that perspective, the term ‘bilingual’ does not mean that speakers “are perfectly balanced in their use or strength in both their languages, but rather that they can function, to whatever degree, in more than one language. Bilingual individuals, then, may have in common only the fact that they are not monolingual” (Valdés-Fillas, 1978, PP. 3-4).

**Code-switching:** I used the definition provided by Zentella for its appropriateness for the present study. Zentella wrote, “The ability of the bilinguals to alternate between the languages in their linguistic repertoire, is generally referred to as code-switching” (Zentella, 1981, P. 109). It is also worth mentioning that the term ‘language alternation’, as used by some SLA scholars (e.g. Johnson, 1995 and Stringer, 1997), was also used to refer to code-switching in this study.

**English for Specific Purposes (ESP):** An ESP course is purposeful and is aimed at satisfying the specific needs of the students with the ultimate goal of the learners’ successful performance of the occupational and educational role of a specific register of English language usage (Robinson, 1980). Consequently, the ESP language refers to the
use of English language as a specialized language of the register it is used in. (See
definition of register)

**Ethnography of Interaction or communication:** The ethnography of communication is
the “description of skills and abilities involved in the acquisition and use of language in
different social situations” (Mehan, 1982, P. 63).

**Ethnography:** Van Lier (1988) defines ethnography as the description of a culture or
group of people possessing a degree of cultural unity in order to provide an interpretation
She describes ethnography as a field of study, which is primarily concerned with the
description and analysis of a given culture.

**Functional-Notional Approach:** This approach means that the SL learner’s instruction is
through the use of language in communicative situations. The situations are to be in
functional contexts in order for learners to make sense of, and thus be able to use the
language in the appropriate situations. Savignon (1983) claimed that although the
combined term ‘functional-notional’ was what had been mostly used to refer to a
semantic or meaning based syllabi, while the term ‘notional’ might be used alone to
include both general concepts of the language and its functions. ‘Notions’ were defined
as the general concepts of meaning, for example time, frequency, duration, location,
relationships. Savignon explains the concept ‘function’ in terms of language use in social
contexts by saying: “Function is the use to which language is put, the purpose of an
utterance rather than the particular grammatical form an utterance takes. A language function has to do with what is said as opposed to how something is said” (Savignon, 1983, P. 13) [Italics are Savignon’s emphasis]. “A consideration of notions in relation to various functions of language leads in turn to an identification of necessary or useful L2 forms, that is, grammar and vocabulary” (Savignon, 1983, P. 141). [Italics are Savignon’s emphasis]. According to her, there is an infinite number of language usage purposes, and the forms used for realizing those purposes are learned when students experience different communicative contexts.

**Interviewing:** Interviewing, as a means of information elicitation, provides us with what informants have to say about their activities, their feelings, and their experiences (Eisner, 1991).

**Language as a Social Semiotic:** Language is a sign system which has meanings derived from social contexts. In defining language as a social or semiotic structure, Halliday says, “Language does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse – the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another. The contexts in which meanings are exchanged are not devoid of social value; a context of speech is itself a semiotic construct; having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the participants to predict features of the prevailing register – and hence to understand one another as they go along” (Halliday, 1978, P. 2).
Register: As explained by Halliday (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985), a register is a field of discourse or language variation, with a specific configuration of meanings that requires its user to select, within its range, the type of functions; notions; and lexicogrammatical forms that realize those meanings.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA): Second language acquisition (SLA) refers not only to second language but also to any foreign language (FL). SLA also includes formal and non-formal settings for the acquisition of any foreign language. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) described the formal settings as institutional settings. The educational contexts in which English as a Second Language (ESL) can take place include ESL programs in English-speaking countries and FL programs in non-English-speaking countries, bilingual education programs, and immersion programs. According to Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), SLA also occurs in other non-formal (naturalistic) contexts for different purposes. A good example is the migrant workers in Europe who acquire their SL in naturalistic contexts related to their jobs. It is also worth noting that English is not the only SL learned, but it has increasingly become the international language for most people in the world. This is because English is widely used for business & commerce, science & technology, international relations & diplomacy, and other professional intercourse (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991).

Second Language Classroom Research (SL CR): SL CR is the research that is conducted in second language classrooms with the purpose of answering questions about the learning and or teaching of SL. SL CR collects data from authentic SL classrooms or
from experimental settings that are established to replicate what happens in the SL classrooms. The classroom research can focus on the teachers or the learners or on the interaction between them (Nunan, 1990).

**Key to Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>College of Business Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
<td>English for Academic Purposes</td>
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<td>EBE</td>
<td>English for Business and Economics</td>
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<tr>
<td>EGP</td>
<td>English for General Purposes</td>
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<tr>
<td>EFL</td>
<td>English as a Foreign Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>EL</td>
<td>English Language</td>
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<td>ELT</td>
<td>English Language Teaching</td>
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<td>EOP</td>
<td>English for Occupational Purposes</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESP</td>
<td>English for Specific Purposes</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>English for Social Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>EST</td>
<td>English for Sciences and Technology</td>
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<td>EVP</td>
<td>English for Vocational Purposes</td>
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<td>FL</td>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLA</td>
<td>Foreign Language Acquisition</td>
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<tr>
<td>LSP</td>
<td>Language for Specific Purposes</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAAET</td>
<td>the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training</td>
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SL or L2  Second Language  
SLA  Second Language Acquisition  
TCU  Turn Constructional Unit  

**Organization of the Dissertation**

In addition to the first overview chapter, the study includes the following chapters. The second chapter is the literature review chapter; it serves as the conceptual and theoretical framework that guided the study. This section of the research presents a review of the literature in areas pertinent to the research. The literature review described the theoretical grounds of Second Language (SL) acquisition, presenting four important concepts that are relevant to this study. The first theory is ‘Language as a Social Semiotic’. The second theory, which was then the most recent theory in the field of Second Language Acquisition, is the Functional-Notional Approach. The third conceptual ground for the research is the field of ‘English for Specific Purposes’ (ESP). The fourth concept is code-switching. The four areas of study were briefly described earlier in this chapter.

The third chapter describes the methodology of the research. In this chapter, I first provide brief descriptions of the two research methodologies followed for collecting my field-notes, as well as for providing a cultural analysis in interactional terms. Those two methodologies were the ethnography of interaction (Van Lier, 1988; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; and Mehan, 1982) and interviewing (Tarone, 1994; Spindler & Spindler, 1987; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; and Eisner, 1991). Next, the researcher presented a brief discussion of the development of Second Language (SL) research and how it was reflected in the research paradigm of SL. Chapter 3 also provides an overview of the
research context, a presentation of the research strategies in collecting data, the selection of the themes to be focused on, the transcription convention followed in the research, methods of data analysis, and finally the limitations of this study.

In the fourth chapter, I provide my cultural analysis of the themes, which was the focus of the study, along with representative exemplary drawn up from the data collected from the observed four ESP classes in the College of Business Studies in Kuwait. Finally, the fifth chapter is the closing chapter of the study, in which I present my conclusions and findings. I also include the research implications for practice, as well as my recommendations for further study.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The second chapter is the literature review chapter and it serves as the conceptual and theoretical framework that guided the study. This section of the research presents a review of the literature in the areas that were pertinent to the study. The literature review considered the theoretical grounds in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) that were relevant to the dissertation. Therefore, this section presents four theories of SLA. Those theories were reviewed in the following order: first was the conception of 'Language as a Social Semiotic,' second was the 'Functional-Notional Approach,' third was the field of 'English for Specific Purposes' (ESP), and finally was 'code-switching' (also referred to as language alternation).

The first theory was 'Language as a Social Semiotic.' That theory interprets language learning as a social system of meanings and it relates language to the social structure (Firth, 1957 & 1968; Halliday, 1970 & 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; and Hymes, 1971). Its significance to the study was that the ESP courses were observed in their social natural occurrence in order to understand how both teachers and students behaved in an attempt to achieve learners' ESP acquisition.
The second theory, which was then the most recent theory in the field of Second Language Acquisition, was the ‘Functional-Notional Approach.’ Advocates of that approach believe that Second Language (SL) learners learn best through the use of language in communicative situations, and that situations are to be presented in functional contexts in order for learners make sense of, and thus be able to use the language in the appropriate situations (Canale & Swaim, 1980; Savignon, 1972 & 1983; Hymes, 1971; and Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). The significance of that approach was that ESP then followed the same approach adopted by the field of Second Language Acquisition. Both the textbook used in the four ESP classrooms the researcher observed and the course objectives stated in the course descriptions of both courses claimed to follow the Functional-Notional Approach. Since the research observed classrooms claiming following that approach, it was very important to understand the theory behind it. That theory was important to this study not only because it explained the relationship between the language learned and the culture it was presented in, but also because it provided theoretical grounds which led to the field of communicative competence in SLA.

The third conceptual base for the research was the field of ‘English for Specific Purposes’ (ESP). ESP was described as a specific and purposeful language of the specialists and which was aimed to satisfy the specific needs of the learners in the specialized field (Robinson, 1980). Since the study was conducted in the classes of Business English, which is one branch of ESP, it was important to review the development of the literature in the field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) to reveal the significance of ESP in the rapidly developing world. That area of the review was
important to the study because it was an important aspect in the context of the study, which was observing the socio-cultural behaviors in the ESP classrooms at CBS in Kuwait.

The fourth area of investigation was ‘code-switching’ which is also referred to by some researchers as ‘language alternation.’ Studies done on code-switching revealed that when it was done by bilinguals, it was neither random, nor meaningless, nor did it necessarily reflect a language deficiency (Valdés, 1981; Gumperz, 1970; Stringer, 1997; and Johnson, 1995). According to Valdés-Fallis (1978), code-switching used by bilinguals is a device to convey social information, or is a stylistic process that can give ‘color or emphasis’ to an utterance.

Since the phenomena under study were interpreted and examined in terms of those four approaches, as a researcher, I found it very important that those theories would be the focus of the literature review of this dissertation. The four theories were interwoven, and each one related to the other in the area of Second Language Acquisition. Therefore, those theories were presented in relation to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies. Consequently, a historical perspective of Second Language Acquisition is discussed first.

**Second Language Acquisition Studies**

According to VanPatten and others, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research originally was the study of how learners acquire a second language in an English-speaking environment. More recently, it has been extended to include Foreign Language Acquisition (FLA) in environments where that language is not spoken as a native
language. According to many researchers (VanPatten & others, 1987; Johnson, 1992; and Sovignon, 1983), SL and FL research drew on insights gained from different fields, such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, artificial intelligence, education, etc. As Johnson puts it:

It is important to realize that no single view or set of questions from a single discipline can account for the complex and interacting social, cultural, cognitive, and linguistic processes involved in L2 use and learning. The field of second language learning is, and should be, multidisciplinary (Johnson, 1992, p. 16).

Research in second language (SL) and Foreign Language (FL) acquisition emphasized the Functional-Notional Approach as a trend then followed in SL and FL teaching and learning. That approach indicated that the SL learner learned best through the use of language in communicative situations. According to Savignon (1983), there was an infinite number of language usage purposes, and the forms used for realizing the social functions of the language were developed and learned by experiencing different contexts.

According to Hubbard and others (1994), most language courses involved the learners in using the SL as items, whether structural, lexical or phonological, ignoring the contextual functionality. According to them, any piece of language contained a functional element, which dealt with what that piece did, and a concept or notion element, which was more linked to the structure and lexis of the language. The Functional-Notional Approach treated language pieces as situational models, which meant that they were to be presented as contextualized in situations according to their functions. According to that approach, learners were supposed to establish the form and the meaning of the language they were learning.
Historical Perspective

According to Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983), foreign language teaching started a long time ago with the study of Latin. They claim that the traditional 'Grammar-Translation Method' that was used before the turn of the twentieth century was inherited from the methods of teaching Latin which was not taught for active use in any language community. They contend that "since Latin is not spoken in everyday communication, the analysis of Latin and the grammar-translation method ignore authentic spoken communication and the social variation of language which goes with it, and concerns itself primarily with the written language of classical literature" (Finocchiaro and Brumfit, 1983, p. 4).

The grammar-translation method was based on recognizing different types of sentences (declarative, interrogative, etc.). It also treated vocabulary as different parts of speech (noun, verb, preposition, etc.) (Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983). Therefore, according to that method instruction was organized around a syllabus of rules of language using unrelated sentences for translation practices and deductively taught grammar. Students were expected to study and learn rules. Teachers were expected to present those rules and correct errors whenever they occurred (Valdés, 2001). The problem with that method was that grammar used in Latin was inappropriate to English and that the reliance on teaching too much grammar "led to learning about the language rather than learning to use the language" (Finocchiaro and Brumfit, 1983, p. 5). According to them, although translation (both oral and written) played an important role, dissatisfaction with the
excessive use of teaching grammar led to rejection of the two parts of the grammar-translation method.

Finocchiaro and Brumfit claimed that the 'Direct Method' provided an alternative to the grammar-translation method in the early twentieth century. According to the direct method, emphasis was on 'aural-oral skills' and it rejected the use of a first language by the learners of a second or a foreign language. Reading and writing was postponed for months, if not sometimes for years. The idea was that written symbols would confuse learners in the use of sounds. Gradation and sequencing of materials were then based on artificially constructed sentences. Although that method provided learners of second languages with the opportunity of intensive immersion in L2, the artificially constructed statements used were only related to the classroom with no connection to real life.

The dissatisfaction with the direct method procedures led to the adoption of the 'Reading Method.' According to Finocchiaro and Brumfit, a report published in 1929 by a commission headed by Professor Coleman making a study of foreign language teaching, proposed that teaching a foreign language should focus on reading as a more appropriate goal for learners. The then new method relied heavily on providing FL learners with intensive and extensive reading passages, accompanied by the teaching of the grammar rules that were found in those reading passages only.

According to Met and Galloway (1992), during the first half of the century, teaching a foreign language and second language was based on teaching grammar rules, as viewed by experts in grammatical analysis, the structural linguists. And because the focus was on grammatical competence, there was no need to deal with language in real life contexts. During the 1940s, linguists like Bloomfield and Fries (in Finocchiaro &
Brumfit, 1983) started to apply the idea of structural linguistics to language teaching. The approach was then called the ‘Structural Approach,’ or even the ‘Linguistic Approach.’ Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983) claimed that that approach had its shortcomings too. It was held that patterns of the target language needed to be ‘over-learned’ through drills and pattern practice. Nevertheless, patterns of the target language (FL or SL) caused conflict with already established patterns of the learners’ L1.

In the 1950s, and 1960s, FL and SL curriculum focused on the ability of the learner to use language, that is, to speak it. The new methodology was then called the ‘Audiolingual Methodology,’ which was adapted from army specialized training programs. According to Met and Galloway, (1992); and Valdés, (2001), the Audiolingual Methodology was based on theories of structural linguistics and behavioral psychology. That approach involved pattern drills, repetitions, and dialogue memorization. “It was more important to ‘behave’ grammatically than to be able to give rules about the language. However, the aim was still grammatical competence, often without an abundance of concern for meaning.” (Met & Galloway, 1992, p. 860). Stimulus, response and reinforcement were very important because its theoretical ground is behaviorist. “Dialogs and drills are used extensively as students respond to stimuli, memorize, repeat and imitate. Teachers are seen as models of language who conduct drills, teach dialog, and direct choral response” (Valdés, 2001, p. 24).

Error avoidance was vital to that approach, as language was considered a restricted system whose use depended on the appropriateness of stimulus-response behavior. That is to say, learners of a new language would presumably be able to form
good grammatical habits through means of ‘over-learning,’ that is, by imitation and repetition of correct models (Met & Galloway, 1992).

In the early 1970s, linguists such as Dell Hymes (1971), Campbell and Wales (in Met & Galloway, 1992), and Savignon (1972), rejected the Audiolingual Methodology and called for replacing it with a new approach which would emphasize communicative competence and would consider grammatical competence as only one component of the communicative competence that native speakers possess.

Savignon (1972 & 1983) criticized the Audiolingual Methodology, which held the idea that avoidance of error was essential, lest learners develop what was called ‘bad habits.’ While avoidance of error was the nature of the Audiolingual Methodology, trial-and-error was the nature of the communicative approach. According to Savignon (1983), what mattered most at that time in the communicative approach was getting one’s meaning across. According to her, the communicative approach had to include measures of both communicative and linguistic competence. She also claimed that communicative language programs should start with learners’ need assessments to determine the immediate needs of the learners.

Met and Galloway summarized the shift from the Audiolingual Methodology approach to the communicative competence approach in the early seventies by saying: “Thus, the notion of language was significantly expanded to include not only its rules, but also its functions, context, meaning, humanness, verbal and nonverbal forms, a dynamic, rather than stimulus-response, nature” (Met & Galloway, 1992, p. 861). And if the Audiolingual Methodology was an error-avoidance approach, the Functional-Notional Approach, which was in direct opposition to the Audiolingual Methodology, allowed
errors to occur as they were going to, just as they occurred in first language acquisition (Savignon, 1983; Met & Galloway, 1992).

According to Omaggio, for a period of time from the early to mid 1980s, for advocates of communicative competence, the approach disregarded grammatical accuracy. Many researchers and practitioners at that time considered the foreign language learners communicatively competent if they got their meanings across to the listener, even if their grammatical accuracy was relatively low (cited in Met & Galloway, 1992).

Later work by advocates of that approach refreshed that notion and refined it. Most notable was the work of Canale and Swain (1980). According to them, communicative competence and grammatical competence are intertwined, because as grammar rules are useless without the rules of language use, rules of language use are useless without grammatical rules. Canale and Swain presented a refined view of the notion. They proposed a model of communicative competence which integrated four components: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. Those components were further elaborated by Savignon (1983). But the degree to which a person would be considered communicatively competent was not yet defined.

The notion of communicative competence was explored and debated both in the United Kingdom and the United States of America in the late 1970s and early 1980s, to determine the degree of a learner’s communicative competence. The Council of Europe focused on describing language, not in terms of discrete grammatical forms, but in terms of functions and notions (Met & Galloway, 1992; and Hutchinson & Waters, 1987).
Met and Galloway summarized the term competence as used by Van Ek and Alexander as the following:

The concept of a ‘threshold level’ in language use .... is a view of basic transactional competence as defined by abilities to (1) perform certain functions in the language, such as giving and getting directions, asking favors, expressing desire, expressing like and dislike, and so on; (2) express certain notions in the language, such as time and space; (3) interact in certain entry-level social situations (Met & Galloway, 1992, p. 861).

According to Met & Galloway again, although the guidelines of the Council of Europe did not provide or suggest a particular syllabus, the approach they suggested was viewed as ‘enlightening.’ In the United States, the debate was over levels of proficiency. A joint effort by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) and the American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL) resulted in identifying a scale with nine levels of proficiency. Subsequent efforts by the ACTFL resulted in what was then called the ‘Proficiency Guidelines,’ which aimed to identify levels of proficiency in each skill area: listening, speaking, reading and writing. The guidelines presented a measurement system for language proficiency, which defined a role for grammar accuracy in communication, as well. The proficiency movement resulted in the emphasis on the inclusion of grammatical accuracy as an important aspect of the communicative performance (Met & Galloway, 1992).

Criticizing the traditional presentation of grammar rules, Met and Galloway (1992) said that the traditional rules of grammatical structures were often divorced from their functions. And according to them, the communicative competence/proficiency movement resulted in changing those traditional rules by applying more functional
approaches to grammar of the language not only in formation and usage, but also in real-life use of particular structures. They summarized this point by saying:

This type of real-life function of the grammar has opened the door ... to a notion of classroom language learning that displays the grammar not as a series of discrete blocks, but rather as the varied realizations of communicative purposes which expand in depth and complexity (Met & Galloway, 1992, p. 863).

Theoretical Grounds of the Concept of Communicative Competence

According to Savignon (1983), before the mid-twentieth century, the notion communicative competence was confined to descriptive linguistics of SL methodologies. Structural linguists, such as Bloomfield and others, were concerned with the study of the phonemes and morphemes as isolated linguistic descriptions. According to Finocchiaro & Brumfit (1983), in the 1940s, the focus was on the structural approach, which was influenced by behaviorist psychology led by Skinner, provided theoretical justification for the application of the Audiolingual Methodology.

When the Audiolingual Methodology was introduced, it replaced grammar translation, reading methodology, and the structural approach (Savignon, 1983 & 1972; Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983). The Audiolingual Methodology claimed theoretical support both in structural linguistics and behaviorist learning psychology and claimed to be a scientific approach to L2 teaching. It was based on the structural analysis of spoken language, using language forms such as phonemes, morphemes, allophones, allomorphs, etc., with heavy reliance on active drills of those patterns. Finocchiaro and Brumfit claimed that the fashion was then for long dialogs. For many years, the slogan was “mimicry and memorization of the dialog” (1983, p. 7). According to that approach, students were being taught to parrot patterns but without communication and without
interaction. They were not allowed to use linguistic forms other than the ones on which they had been drilled.

Based on the support of both the structural linguistic theory and the behaviorist theory of language acquisition, "mimicry and memorization were considered the most efficient routes to L2 use" (Savignon, 1983, p. 19). Time was not then wasted on discussions of why and how but rather on active drills, with the aim of performing habits. Language behavior was not then "a matter of solving problems, but of performing habits so well learned that they are automatic" (Brooks quoted in Savignon, 1983, p. 19).

In the mid-twentieth century, Noam Chomsky directed linguistic studies away from structural linguistics to semantic structures as the way of understanding sentences. Chomsky (1965) attacked transformational-generative grammar which focused only on underlying grammatical competence, which assumed to be common to all native speakers. Chomsky's concern was rather semantic structures, the way in which sentences were understood. Describing his new linguistic theory, he said:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitation, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky, 1965, p. 3).

Savignon (1983) claimed that the discussion of the term communicative competence in the 1970s and early 1980s revealed three general interpretations of that term. The first interpretation proposed adding communicative activities to the then existing program, the audiolingual methodology. The second interpretation was that the focus should be on meaning through participation in speech acts and that might lead to
structural analysis. The third interpretation of communicative competence focused on the selection of items in the syllabus, as an analysis of language in situations and the meanings or functions it served in those settings.

The third interpretation led to what was then called the ‘Situational Method,’ as developed by Gouin (in Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983). According to that method, units in the text started with situational titles, for example, “At the Supermarket” or “At the Beauty Shop”. Dialogs then stemmed from those themes. Nevertheless, that method had some shortcomings, too. Finocchiaro and Brumfit summarized it as follows:

Once started on the path of the supermarket or the beauty shop, there was little or no deviation. Learners were generally not shown how a structure or an expression in a particular unit could be used in another. More important situations cannot be graded. The sequencing of situations was generally random, making it well-nigh impossible to grade the structures without falsifying the situation (Finocchiaro & Brumfit, 1983, pp. 8-9).

Once again, dissatisfaction with the approaches and methods used at that time led researchers to adopt the communicative approach. In the early 1970s, linguists such as Dell Hymes (1971); Campbell and Wales (in Met & Galloway, 1992); Halliday (1970); and Savignon (1972), rejected the Audiolingual Methodology and called for replacing it with a new approach, which would emphasize communicative competence. Many of those scholars were influenced by research done originally in social studies.

According to many researchers and scholars (VanPatten & others, 1987; Van Lier, 1988; Savignon, 1983; and Johnson, 1992), communicative competence was then a multidisciplinary field, which was influenced not only by linguists and behavioral psychologists, but also by sociologists and anthropologists. As Savignon put it, the field of communicative competence then looked at “language not as individual behavior but as
one of many symbolic systems that members of a society use for communication among themselves” (Savignon, 1983, p. 10). She contended that the languages that people used were viewed not in isolation but in their social contexts and settings.

According to Savignon (1983), communication is a continuous process of expression, interpretation and negotiation. From her perspective, communication includes systems of signs and symbols, of which language was only one form. Rosenfeld and Berko defined communication by saying: “Communication, the process of sending and receiving messages, includes six elements: sender, receiver, message, context, purpose, and feedback” (1990, p. 3).

Language as a Social Semiotic

Even before the seventies, social sciences and socio-linguistics influenced the field of SLA. According to Frey and others (1992), much communication research had been published in leading academic journals for more than fifty years. The research took different forms depending on the methodology applied. According to Frey and others, communication research was conducted to achieve three general purposes. The first purpose was to describe the natural communication behavior (as in surveys, content analysis, interaction analysis, and ethnographies). The second purpose was to relate the communication behavior to other variables (as in experimental researches). The third purpose was to critique communication behaviors to evaluate their effectiveness, appropriateness, or ethic (as in rhetorical critiques). Many social scientists concerned themselves with communication research to achieve the first purpose, describing the
natural phenomena in order to gain understanding of the group of people or the communities under study.

According to Halliday (in Halliday and Hasan, 1985), social scientists and sociolinguists were the first to discover the importance of studying conversation in order to better understand the cultural or social phenomena under study. Halliday claimed that Bronislaw Malinowski, who was an anthropologist, was the first to conduct research, studying interaction. In the 1930s, Malinowski studied a group of people who lived on a group of islands in the South Pacific, known as the Trobriand Islands. Their language was called Kiriwinian. Malinowski’s interest in these islanders led him to learn their language. In his attempt to interpret the language, he developed various methodologies. He started with a literal translation, which was unintelligible to English readers. Then he provided extended commentary to put the text in its lived environment. For that purpose, he coined the term ‘Context of Situation’ to refer to the environment of the text. He also believed that providing the cultural background was essential in interpreting the meaning of the language (Halliday and Hasan, 1985).

Firth was a sociolinguist who was also interested in the study of interaction. Firth (1968) acknowledged Malinowski’s contribution to linguistic studies. He claimed that Malinowski’s work and views on meaning, as the meaning of words lied in their usages, had greatly influenced linguistic studies, especially in Europe. Firth also acknowledged that Malinowski’s notions of the situation of context influenced so many linguists that they called him a ‘pioneer of the linguistic theory,’ though he was an anthropologist. Malinowski had made great use of the situation theory and had developed it in his ethnographic studies. Nevertheless, Firth found that Malinowski’s notion of the context
of situation was not quite adequate to be used for the study of text with a linguistic orientation. Although Firth derived his theory of the context of situation from Malinowski’s, he developed it and produced his own theory of ‘Context of Situation’ (Firth, 1957, 1968).

Firth held the view that the context of situation and the notion of types of speech functions were ‘schematic constructs’ that should be treated as a group of related categories. From his linguistic perspective, a linguist should look at three main types of interior relations when dealing with ‘meanings.’ He proposed the following ‘interior relations:

(a) the interior relations of elements of structures, words and other bits and pieces of the text;
(b) the interior relations of systems set up to give values to elements of structure and the bits and pieces;
(c) the interior relations of context of situation (1968, p. 154)

Explaining the third interior relations, Firth provided his own conception of what the context of situation should involve. According to him, scholars doing speech analysis should consider the following aspects of the context of situation: the relevant features of the participants in the situation, the verbal and non-verbal actions of the participants, other relevant features of the situation, and the effects of the participants’ verbal actions (Firth, 1968).

Firth’s concept led other researchers to apply it in a number of studies. Halliday (in Halliday and Hasan, 1985) claimed that a good example of its application would be the study done by professor T. F. Mitchell, ‘Language of Buying and Selling.’ According to Halliday again, Mitchell looked at the language of transactions in shops, markets and
auctions in North Africa. In describing his study, Mitchell borrowed Firth’s ideas regarding the nature of the context of situation of a text.

Anthropologist and linguist, Dell Hymes, who was a student of Firth and who was influenced by his conception, was also interested in the context of situation of a text. Hymes (1971) criticized the linguistic theory. He looked at the real speaker-listener’s actual social interaction, as opposed to Chomsky’s idealization of speaker-listener’s interaction. For Hymes, the focus should be on actual performance or language use, which became an integral part of the theory of communicative competence. According to him, those linguistic theories lacked the socio-culture factors. He claimed that for a theory to be adequate enough, it should account for all forms of communication, in which the grammatical factor was only one among others (Hymes, 1971).

Hymes studied the ethnography of communication and proposed a set of aspects to be taken into account when describing the context of situation: the forms and content of the message, the setting, the participants, the intent and effect of the interaction, the key, the medium, the genre and the norms of interaction (Hymes, 1971; Halliday & Hassan, 1985). According to Hymes, members of a community behaved and interpreted behaviors of others according to the knowledge of the communicative systems available in that community. “We then have to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical but also as appropriate” (Hymes, 1971, p. 5).

Hymes also proposed four parameters for the rules of communicative behavior in order to develop an adequate theory of language use. According to him, knowledge of all these parameters and the ability to use the knowledge were completing parts in his
perspective of communicative competence. Hymes concern was then studying language in social context. The following are the parameters he proposed.

(i) whether (and to what extent) something is formally possible;
(ii) whether (and to what extent) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available;
(iii) whether (and to what extent) something is appropriate in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
(iv) whether (and to what extent) something is in fact done, actually performed, and what its doing entails (Hymes, 1971, p. 12).

Another scholar and sociolinguist, Halliday, was also concerned with language use in social context. His interest in language as an interactional act was held from a perspective of the social system. He defined semiotic as to be the general study of a sign system in terms of meaning. According to him, linguistics was a type of semiotics because it studied the meaning of the language, which was one mode among other modes of meanings that existed outside the realm of language. Sign systems were very diverse and language was only one type of those systems. He contended that other modes of meaning might include art forms and non-art forms. On the one hand, art forms could be painting, sculpture, music, dancing, etc. On the other hand, there were non-art forms, such as modes of exchange, dress, structure of the family, etc. According to him, because all those forms were bearers of meaning in the culture, one could then define culture as “a set of semiotic systems, a set of systems of meanings, all of which are interrelated” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 4).

In defining language as a social or semiotic structure, Halliday said:

Language does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse – the exchange of meaning in interpersonal contexts of one kind or another. The context in which meanings are not devoid of social value; a context of speech in itself a semiotic construct; having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the participants to predict features of the prevailing
register – and hence to understand one another as they go along (Halliday, 1978, p. 2).

Halliday presented two perspectives of language. The first perspective was the one held by Basil Bernstein, a sociologist. His theory emphasized the social structure of the language, claiming that the semiotic systems, of which language was only one form, was differently accessible to different social groups. The second perspective, which was held by William Labov, was a linguistically conceptualized framework. According to Halliday, Labov’s linguistic system functioned in expressing differences in social roles. Although the two perspectives seem conflicting, Halliday claimed that they were complementary. He contended that language variations were attributes of the social system. At the same time, register variations expressed variations of the social process. Language then functioned both “as expression of and metaphor for social process” (Halliday, 1978, p. 3).

According to Halliday, text unfolded within an environment, and what was looked at as what came ‘with the text’ was then called a ‘con-text.’ Halliday claimed that the context served as a bridge between discourse and the situation in which the text actually occurred. To understand the text, one should look at the context of its occurrence, not as the words and sentences that came right before and right after a particular utterance, but rather as the living environment or situation in which that text took place. One should also consider the context of the culture in which the text occurred (Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

Halliday defined text as language that was doing a function in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences. According to his definition, a text had a meaning
as a semiotic unit. He claimed that text should be considered from two perspectives at
the same time, as both a social product and a social process. In explaining these two
notions, he said:

The text is a product in the sense that it is an output, something that can be
recorded and studied, having a certain construction that can be represented
in systematic terms. It is a process in the sense of a continuous process of
semantic choice, movement through the network of meaning potential,
with each set of choices constituting the environment for a further set
(Halliday and Hasan, 1985, p. 10).

And from Halliday’s perception, text as both a product and process, was, then, a
form of social exchange of meaning. Halliday (1978) claimed that the context had an
important role in determining what to say, and what to say played a part in determining
the context. Therefore, language should be interpreted by referring to its place in the
social process, within its social context. As a sociolinguist, Halliday asserted the idea
that second language studies be conducted in their context (the classroom as the center of
the sociolinguistic research in SL).

According to Halliday (1978), the context of the situation also played an
important role in the use and the interpretation of language. He contended that the
content of situation in terms of ‘what is actually said,’ ‘who is talking,’ and ‘what part the
language is playing’ were all determining factors in selecting language forms used for
expressing specific meanings. Halliday (1977) also claimed that there was a systematic
relationship between patterns of behavior and linguistic expressions produced.
According to his perspective, the patterns of behavior were derived from a social context
and were expressed as linguistic production. Those patterns were either social or
situational or both. The social behavior patterns referred to the interpersonal relations
and social roles. The situational patterns referred to use of language in settings or contexts.

Because Halliday was concerned with language use in social context, he added the ‘function of language’ to the theory of competence. According to him, the social functions of language were only one part of the three basic functions of language. His basic functions were: (1) the ideational function, which meant that language served for the expression of content by giving structure to experience; (2) the interpersonal function, which meant that language served for social interaction and social relations; (3) the textual context, as discourse in its written and spoken form, which meant that language enabled its user to construct texts that were situationally relevant (Halliday, 1970).

Describing the conceptual framework of language as a social semiotic, Halliday (Halliday and Hasan, 1985) used three concepts that serve interpreting the social context of situation. They were: (1) the ‘field of discourse,’ referring to what was happening and the nature of the social action occurring; (2) the ‘tenor of discourse,’ referring to the participants in the discourse in terms of their nature and their social roles and the type of relationships among them; (3) the ‘mode of the discourse,’ referring to what role language was playing, its function in the context.

According to Halliday (in Halliday & Hasan, 1985), the context of situation was the immediate environment, in which text functioned or realized its meaning. There was also a larger context, in which the text was interpreted in its context of culture, which was a boarded context. He claimed that the immediate context, the field; tenor; and mode, were all influenced by a package of things that went together in the culture. He asserted
that schools were good examples of the interference between the context of situation and the context of culture. Halliday described that interference as follows:

For any ‘text’ in school – teacher talk in the classroom, pupil’s notes or essays, passages from textbooks – there is always a context of situation: the lesson with its concepts of what is to be achieved; the relationship of teacher to pupil, or textbook writer to reader; the ‘mode’ of a question – and – answer, expository writing, and so on. But these in turn are instances of, and derive their meanings from, the school as an institution and of educational knowledge as distinct from common sense knowledge; the notion of the curriculum and of school ‘subjects’; the complex role structures of teaching staff, school principals, consultants, inspectors, departments of education, and the like; and the spoken assumptions about learning and the place of language within. (in Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p.46)

Halliday’s interpretation of language learning as a social system of meaning, relates language to the social structure. In explaining the social factor in learning and language, he said:

Learning is, above all, a social process; and the environment in which educational learning takes place is that of a social institution, whether we think of this in concrete terms as the classroom and the school, with their clearly defined social structures, or in the more abstract sense of the school system, or even the educational process as it is conceived in our society. Knowledge is transmitted in social contexts, through relationships, like those of parent and child, or teacher and pupil, or classmates, that are defined in the value systems and ideology of the culture. And the words that are exchanged in these contexts get their meaning from activities in which they are embedded, which again are social activities with social agencies and goals (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, p. 5).

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) were also influenced by Firth and Hymes, whose concern was the study of language functions in their social contexts rather than the treatment of them at their lexical and grammatical level, as done by structuralists and transformationalists. According to the two researchers, Sinclair and Coulthard, transformationalists’ work concentrated on the grammatical component and on the
definitions of lexical meanings independent of their contexts. They suggested that what was needed was looking at the function of the semantic components by relating both grammatical and lexical information in order to make an interpretation.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) also rejected Chomsky’s model, which treated the meaning and structure of language at a lexical level, ignoring performance and deeper meaning of the language in its context. Sinclair suggested that, “only by examining the context in which an utterance is produced, the presuppositions behind the utterance, the intention of the speaker and respondent, and the evidence available to a decoder, can one really understand the meaning of an utterance” (in Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, p. 2). In a preceding study, Sinclair examined the relationship between structure and its function in discourse. He claimed that questions, for instance, could have different functions, a declarative; an interrogative; an imperative; or a mood-less structure (in Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975).

Influenced by Hymes’ position of treating the language as actual social interaction, as opposed to Chomsky’s idealization of speaker-listener interaction, and influenced by Firth’s observation that a better understanding of language can be achieved in conversation, Sinclair and Coulthard came to the conclusion that emphasis should be placed on a “relatively small number of speech acts defined according to their function in the discourse and [on] combining them in predictable structures to form higher units” (1975, p. 11).

According to Savignon (1983), there was then a move away from teaching grammatical structures as isolated forms to be drilled. The movement was then towards learning language in settings, through sets of communication in contextualized situations.
She claimed that most of the communicative strategies developed unconsciously, most of which started from birth. They developed and were shaped through assimilation as well as through responses to different contexts in our interactional experiences. This led to the shift in SL learning. The shift was then from teaching grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation to learning communicative competence in different contexts.

The Functional-Notional Approach

The development of the Approach

Several sociolinguists influenced by Firth, such as, Hymes; Halliday; Savignon; Sinclair and Coulthard, emphasized the use of the notion ‘function’ in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language acquisition (FLA). Halliday was influenced by both Firth’s conception of context and the communicative approach in the field of SLA, which claimed that SL learners learn best through the use of language in communicative situations that are to be in functional contexts. And while other scholars interpreted function as the use of language, Halliday (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985) interpreted it as the fundamental property of language. For him, language was to be explained in terms of functions.

Halliday defined the notion function of language as ways people used their language. By use of language, he referred to talking, writing, listening and reading for different purposes. While scholars like Buhlar and Morris (in Halliday & Hasan, 1985) interpreted function as only the use of language, Halliday interpreted function as the fundamental property of language. For him, language was to be explained in terms of functions. Halliday developed his own classification of language functions which
included the following: informative use (an orientation to content), interactive uses (an orientation to effect, which included controlling others, mutual support, self expressing), and imaginative uses (subdivides into ritual and poetic). According to him, there were four components of the semantics of every language. They were: ‘experiential,’ ‘interpersonal,’ ‘logical,’ and ‘textual.’ Those components were interdependent and interwoven in the discourse (Halliday, 1978, Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

Halliday also saw that structures of language have functions. Explaining the relation between language functions and structures, he said:

Structures can be used in a sense which is more or less synonymous with system, where structure of language means, in effect, the linguistic system. ... The linguistic system is functions in origin and in orientation, so that in order to understand the nature of the linguistic system we have to explain it as having evolved in context of this set of basic functions. System is not identical with functions of language, but rather the linguistic system is organized around a set of abstract functions of language. ... the nature of the linguistic system is such that it has to be explained in functional terms (Halliday, 1978, p. 47) [Italics are Halliday’s emphasis].

Halliday (in Halliday & Hasan, 1985) claimed that there was a systematic relationship between the components of the context of situation, Field; Tenor; and Mode, and the functional components of the semantic system of language. According to his conception, the ‘Field’ was reflected in the experiential meaning of the text, the ‘Tenor’ was reflected in the interpersonal meanings, and the ‘Mode’ was reflected in the textual meaning. He also claimed that the immediate context, the field; tenor; and mode, are all influenced by a package of things that go together in the culture.

According to Halliday’s conception, even when breaking discourse down to the sentence level, each part of it had its own function. Nevertheless, he also contended that the sentence as a whole had a primary level of function. That led him to say that every
sentence in a text was multifunctional but in real life, language was not treated in that
same manner but rather as text within context. Attempting to explain his notion of the
multifunctionality of language, he said:

The meanings are woven together in a very dense fabric in such a way
that, to understand them, we do not look separately at its different parts;
rather we look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of angles,
each perspective contributing towards the total interpretation. That is the

The notion function was also explored by Savignon in terms of use in social
contexts. She explained it by saying: “Function is the use to which language is put, the
purpose of an utterance rather than the particular grammatical form an utterance takes. A
language function has to do with what is said as opposed to how something is said”
(Savignon, 1983, p. 13) [Italics are Savignon’s emphasis]. According to her, there was
an infinite number of language usage purposes, and the forms used for realizing the social
functions of the language were developed and learned by experiencing different contexts.

Savignon also explored the disjunction between the two concepts of
‘communicative competence’ and ‘linguistic competence.’ According to her, linguistic
competence in terms of mastery of the sound system and the structural patterns of a
language, was only one part of the major constituent of interaction. She contended that
restricting L2 learning to it would only result in disjunction from total communicative
competence, which she defined as “the ability to function in a truly communicative
setting – that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself
to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more
interlocutors” (1972, p. 8) [Italics are Savignon’s emphasis].

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Savignon summarized the notion of communicative competence by saying: “A theory of communicative competence rests ..., on a broad perspective of all cultures as communication or meaning, on the one hand, and the description of the patterned relationships of social role and social setting to linguistic expression, on the other” (Savignon, 1983, p.16).

According to Rosenfeld and Berko (1990), there were four characteristics of communications. As they claimed, those characteristics were as following: (1) Messages were simultaneously sent and received. Although the communication process was presumably an alternation between the sender and the receiver, in reality, the sender functioned as both the sender of the message and simultaneously the receiver of the reaction of the second party as a receiver. The receiver in his/her turn also functioned as both the receiver of the message and the sender of the feedback or the reaction to what had been received. (2) Messages could not be erased or taken back. Although they could not be erased in reality they could be modified or adjusted. (3) Communicators responded to messages proactively. That meant that they responded based on their backgrounds. Responses to messages, then, relied on the backgrounds of both the sender of the message and the receiver of the message. (4) The meaning of any message depended on the situation. The meaning of the act of communication should not be separated from its context, which in itself included three important aspects: the people interacting, their social relationships, and the surrounding environment.
Savignon (1983) used a similar model to characterize communications. The following was her suggestion of the characteristics of communications:

1- Communicative competence was a dynamic process, which depended on the negotiation of meaning between two or more participants.

2- Communicative competence could be applied to written and spoken forms of languages, as well as other forms of other systems of signs and symbols.

3- Communicative competence relied on one’s understanding of the context, appropriate choice of register, as well as other participants’ backgrounds.

4- Competence was what one knew, while performance was what one did. “Only performance is observable, however, and it is only through performance that competence can be developed, maintained, and evaluated” (P. 9).

5- Competence was relevant and dependent on the involvement of all participants.

According to Rosenfeld and Berko (1990), communication competency was the ability to achieve one’s communicative aims. According to their conception of communicative competence, in order for a communicator to reach competency, first he/she needed to understand the situation, him/herself and the skills it took to be effective. Second, a person needed to put knowledge and skills into use. Third, one had to be motivated to put the appropriate skills and knowledge into use. They asserted that for a competent communicator to be effective, one should not only communicate in a way
that achieved his/her goals but should also recognize the requirements of the situation and adjusted his/her communication accordingly. Speakers had to recognize the rules that guided their interaction appropriately according to the living situation, because different situations required different rules.

**Functional-Notional Textbook and Syllabi**

According to Valdés (2001), for most teachers, regardless of their theoretical or methodological orientation, the textbook has the most direct influence on their teaching. Therefore, it is important to discuss the functional-notional approach in relation to textbooks and syllabi. Melrose (1991) contended that before the manifestation of the communicative competence or what is now called the functional-notional syllabus in mid 1970s, two syllabi were then in use. They were the grammatical syllabus (also called the structural syllabus) and the situational syllabus. According to Melrose (1991), David Wilkins was the first to introduce the functional-notional syllabus with his pioneering work ‘Notional Syllabus,’ which was published in 1976. According to Savignon (1983), at that time, SL textbooks followed one of three basic patterns: structural, notional-functional, or situational. Some textbooks were a combination of two or of all those patterns.

According to Savignon (1983), a structural syllabus (or grammatical syllabus as called by other scholars) usually introduced points of grammar as described by linguists (usually called linguistic structure or descriptive grammar). Hubbard and others (1994) claimed that structural grading consisted of structural items or patterns that were usually arranged in a suitable order. Wilkins explained that type of syllabus by saying that the
grammatical syllabus was “one in which different parts of language are taught separately and step-by-step so that the acquisition is a process of gradual accumulation of the parts until the whole structure of the language has been built up” (in Melrose, 1991, p. 5). In her critique of that type of syllabus, Melrose claimed that language learning was not complete when grammar was mastered because learning grammatical forms did not guarantee the learning of grammatical meanings, nor did it account for the way it was used in an utterance.

As for the situational syllabus, Melrose (1991) said that it consisted of lists of situations with the description of the linguistic content of these situations. Savignon (1983) explained that type of syllabus by saying that language samples were organized in situations or settings, in which vocabulary and expressions were grouped in situations, for example, at the airport, at the bank, first day of school, etc. And if structures and functions were included in the situational syllabus, they were organized in the situational units as grammatical points and functions as introduced in those units. Wilkins criticized that type of syllabus claiming that situation did not necessarily predict language. He also claimed that situation was not helpful in cases of speech acts (i.e., requesting, greeting, disagreeing, etc.), which were used in a variety of situations and not only in a particular situation (in Melrose, 1991).

Some scholars questioned the use of the two concepts ‘functional’ and ‘notional’ interchangeably, as done by Melrose (1991). Hutchinson and Waters (1987), for example, claimed that they were two different concepts. For them, ‘functions’ were concerned with social behaviors and intentions, while ‘notions’ reflect the way the human mind thought. Nevertheless, Savignon (1983) claimed that although the combined term
'functional-notional' was what had been mostly used to refer to a semantic or meaning based syllabi, while the term 'notional' might be used alone to include both general concepts of the language and its functions. Notions were defined as the general concepts of meaning, for example time, frequency, duration, location, relationships, etc. "A consideration of notions in relation to various functions of language leads in turn to an identification of necessary or useful L2 forms, that is, grammar and vocabulary" (Savignon, 1983, p. 141) [Italics are Savignon's emphasis]. Wilkins (in Melrose, 1991) added that the notional-syllabus' starting point was then achieving the desired communicative competencies.

According to Hubbard and others (1994), a functional-notional syllabus is also arranged in 'pieces' of language not only as language forms but also as functions and notions. They claimed that "a given language form cannot immediately be identified as having a particular use, without reference to the circumstances in which it occurs. At the same time, we cannot avoid the fact, in a given set of circumstances, some forms are appropriate while others are not" (P. 242). Thus, Hubbard and others provided us with the main criteria for a functional-notional syllabus, which was appropriateness.

Nevertheless, Hubbard and others claimed that functions were easier to be arranged as 'language contents' that would say what a particular language piece did other than concepts, because notions or concepts, in practice were more linked to the structure and lexis of a language. They also claimed that all functional-notional courses had a strong situational feature because functions had to be presented in contextualized situations. But because some situations had strict conventions, which controlled the language form used (i.e., using the telephone), functional-notional courses often
contained situational units that were governed by the topic element. Consequently, the situational units “chosen for presentation purposes will make clear the special reference or appropriacy of the forms chosen to express the functions in question” (Hubbard & others, 1994, p. 245).

According to Savignon (1983), a functional-notional syllabus organized language content by functional categories, starting with the specifications of the communicative needs of the learner. Melrose (1991) claimed that in order for us to determine the learners’ communicative needs, we needed to specify a model for the communicative competence, which would enable the syllabus designer to produce a communicative syllabus appropriate for the needs of specific learners. Munby explained it as follows: “It works like this. Relevant information about the identity and language of the participants (learners) is first collected and referred to the Communicative Needs Processor. This takes account of the variables that affect communicative needs” (P. 6), by “organizing them as parameters in a dynamic relationship to each other” (Munby in Melrose, 1991, p. 6). Savignon (1983) claimed that those specifications would enable the learner to advise, greet, express uncertainty, report, etc. The functions were then considered in terms of the semantic concepts (notions) as related to their performance.

Melrose (1991) categorized the types of meanings that learners of a functional-notional syllabus needed to express. According to her, those types of meanings were: ‘semantico-grammatical,’ ‘modality,’ and ‘communicative functions.’ Melrose categorized the first type of meaning, semantico-grammatical, as perceptions of events, processes, states and abstractions. She claimed that the semantico-grammatical meanings consist of time, quantity, space and relational meaning.
The second type of meanings, according to the Melrose categories, was modality, which revealed the speakers' attitudes. According to her, modality included scales of certainty (personalized and impersonalized) and scales of commitment (intentions and obligations). Her third type of meaning was the communicative function, or what she also called speech acts. It consisted of categories of judgment and evaluation (i.e., assess, excuse, approve, blame, disapprove); suasion (i.e., advise, order, warn, threaten, permit); agreement (i.e., inform, request, refuse, agree, disagree); rational inquiry and exposition (i.e., conclude, compare, define, explain); personal emotions (i.e., pleasure, displeasure); and emotional relations (i.e., greeting, sympathy, gratitude) (Melrose, 1991).

Some scholars opposed the grammatical syllabus (i.e., Wilkins, Hubbard and others, Savignon and other scholars) claiming that knowledge of structure and lexis did not insure that the learner would be able to communicate effectively when required to do so in different circumstances. Hubbard and others (1994) believed that this problem could be overcome by designing a functional-notional syllabus because it would make learners sensitive to the use of appropriate language in a given situation (using language for a purpose). They also added another advantage of the functional-notional syllabus, which was its relevance to the learners' needs. They explained it as follows:

Because of its obvious value in providing language which is relevant to the learner's needs, the functional-notional syllabus should enormously enhance motivation. Instead of learning to manipulate language items in vacuum, the student will be able to recognize the value of the language he learns (Hubbard & others, 1994, p. 247).

Hubbard and others (1994) also believed that the functional-notional syllabus was of great value for learners of ESP because in those courses, the topic element would be
very important and that required the production of special lexis and specific structural items relevant to each specialization.

According to Wilkins, the situational syllabus could also make a contribution to the notional syllabus if they were combined because the “choice between different grammatical structures by which one function may be realized will be largely determined by the exact sociolinguistic (or stylistic) conditions under which communication is taking place” (in Melrose, 1991, p. 6). Therefore, the functional-notional syllabus was presented in an inventory of grammatical categories (concepts) and categories of communicative functions, which were presented along with linguistic forms in sociolinguistic conditions that would realize the concepts and functions of those forms (Melrose, 1991).

English for Specific Purposes (ESP)

Introduction to the Field of ESP

According to Robinson (1980), an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) course is purposeful and is aimed at satisfying the specific needs of the students with the ultimate goal of the learners’ successful performance of the occupational and educational roles. According to Robinson, professional attention focused on language needs of specialists as opposed to the general language. However, there had been little research in that particular area and what there was, had been mostly done without a clearly defined theoretical position. Therefore, the majority of ESP courses followed the trends of L2 and ESP related to the rest of ELT (English Language Teaching).
Although ESP ascribes to EFL and ESL research and approaches, Schleppegrell and Bowman (1986) provided researchers with two major differences between ESP and EFL/ESL. They contended that the first major difference lies in the nature of the learners and their purpose for learning the language. They explained that by saying that the ESP learners are adults or adolescents who already have some familiarity with English and who are learning ESP in order to be able to communicate and perform particular job-related functions. According to them, the second major difference is the scope of the goals of instruction. Explaining that difference, they said: “Whereas in EFL, all four language skills; listening, reading, speaking, and writing, are stressed equally, in ESP a need assessment determines which language skills are most needed by the students, and the program is focused accordingly” (1986, p. 1). For example, one ESP program may focus on reading skills for engineering students, while the development of conversational skills is the emphasis of an ESP program for tourist guides.

According to Savignon (1983); Robinson (1980); Schleppegrell and Bowman (1986), ESP was the term used to describe programs developed to meet the specific needs of adults’ or adolescents’ specific occupational, academic or social needs. The context in which the learner was required to use the SL determined the type of ESP program and the range was wide. There was English for airplane pilots, nurses, economists, lawyers, restaurant managers, mechanics, tourist guides, and so forth.

Register

Some ESP scholars referred the specific field of the ESP course by what they called ‘register.’ According to Widdowson (1981), describing the language as a register (specialization) involved making statements about its formal properties as a type of
English text. Describing it as rhetoric involved making statements about the English
textualization of a type of discourse as a mode of communication. Textualization was
defined as the way a particular language realized the concepts and functions of a
particular type of discourse. The ESP course should contain the type of language that
was “effective in developing the ability to achieve the special purpose after teaching is
over” (p. 5).

According to Halliday, a register was a semantic concept. He defined ‘register’ as
follows:

It can be defined as a configuration of meanings that are typically
associated with a particular situational configuration of field, mode, and
tenor. But since it is a configuration of meanings, a register must also, of
course, include the expressions, the lexicogrammatical and phonological
features, that typically accompany or REALIZE these meanings (Halliday

A register, in that sense, included many varieties of fields, which would range from the
language of minor documents, like tickets and greeting cards, to more highly specialized
fields, like technology and medicine. He also added the transactional registers, like the
registers of buying and selling in shops, markets and auctions; and the register of
doctor/patient communication.

According to Halliday (1978), ‘register’ was first conceived of in
lexicogrammatical terms. But he characterized ‘register’ as a language variation
according to use. “The register is recognizable as a particular selection of words and
structures. But it is defined in terms of meaning” (P. 111). The register, then, determined
the semantic orientation of the speaker in a particular context. In other words,” the range
within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression
...... determine the register” (P. 31). Register is, then, the subject matter, “as an aspect of
the ‘field of discourse’ – of the whole setting of relevant actions and events within which the language is functioning – for this where subject matter belongs” (p. 33).

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) claimed that there were three large categories that could be identified under the heading ESP. They were EST (English for Sciences and Technology), EBE (English for Business and Economics) and ESS (English for the Social Studies). The last one was the least common because it was not considered significantly different from General English, which was humanities-based. Both EST and EBE subdivided into EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and EOP (English for Occupational Purposes) and EVP (English for Vocational Purposes), depending on the purpose of studying them. Savignon provided a similar categorization. She said:

A large subgroup within these specialized programs has to do with the communicative uses of English in the fields of science and technology. This study of scientific English has become known as EST (English for Science and Technology). Another, somewhat overlapping, subgroup is English for Academic Purposes (EAP). ESL programs that meet specific vocational needs (for example, airplane pilots, police, bank clerks) are sometimes referred to as VESL (Savignon, 1983, p. 125).

**Historical Review**

According to Swales (1985), ESP is relatively a recent development in the fields of teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language. He also claimed that it did not have a clear and defining independent beginning, as it always ascribed to the ESL or EFL fields.

According to Hutchinson and Waters (1987), ESP emerged as a phenomenon that grew out of a number of convergent factors or trends. They traced those trends to the era of the ‘demands of the New World,’ the era of the ‘revolution in Linguistics,’ and the trend of the ‘focus on the learner.’ They claimed that by the end of War World Two, the
world witnessed an age of enormous expansion in scientific, technical and economic activities at the international level, which created a world dominated by technology and commerce. The progress in those areas created a demand for an international language. Because of the United States’ economic power, that language was English. The result was a mass of people wanting to learn English, because “English was the key to international currencies of technology and commerce” (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 6).

According to Swales (1985), many researchers mark the beginning of ESP to 1962 with the publication of Barber’s article Some Measurable Characteristics of Modern Scientific Prose. Swales acknowledged the difficulty to obtain that articles by scholars so he provided a copy of Barber’s article in his own book Episodes in ESP (1985). Swales claimed that during that era, English for Science and Technology (EST), and not ESP, did not develop to its wider range until early 1970s. At that time most publications were for EST, which was then the senior branch of the field of ESP. EST is not only senior in age but also senior in the large volume of publication and employed practitioners, compared to other branches of ESP.

The second trend that Hutchinson and Waters traced was the linguistic revolution. According to them, late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a growing demand for English courses tailored for specific needs. This movement was influenced by the revolution in linguistics. At that time, new studies shifted the attention from teaching lexical and grammatical forms to discovering ways of teaching the actual usage of language. That, in turn, influenced ESP courses because attention was paid to the differences between different specialist courses. Therefore, English for particular groups of learners was
identified by analyzing the linguistic characteristics of their specialists’ fields. Hutchinson and Waters explained it as follows:

In English language teaching, this gave rise to the view that there are important differences between, say, the English for commerce and that of engineering. These ideas married up naturally with the development of English courses for specific groups of learners. The idea was simple: if language varies from one situation of use to another, it should be possible to determine the features of specific situations and then make these features the basis of the learners’ course (1987, p. 7).

In that era, the work of English for Specific Purposes was mostly in the area of English for Science and Technology (EST). Hutchinson and Waters claimed that EST and ESP were considered almost synonymous at that time.

According to Swales (1985), techniques of modern linguistics that influenced the teaching of second language in the 1960s, were also applied to the language of science and technology. He noted that syllabi then were basically structural following the traditional grammar movement. EST was no different. While tenses of English were taught as part of the language system of EST, Barber (1962 in Swales, 1995) argued that progressive tenses should not be taught in scientific English classes.

The third trend was the ‘focus on the learner.’ Hutchinson and Waters (1987) claimed that the new development in educational psychology emphasized the importance of the learner’s needs and attitudes to the learner, claiming that it would influence the learners’ motivations toward their learning and the effectiveness of it. That trend lent support to ESP development in terms of what was ‘relevant’ to the learners’ needs and interests. Robinson (1980) also added that ESP courses should be developed with a new concern for the learners’ feelings and needs rather than as an externally imposed syllabus.
According to Hutchinson and Waters (1987); Robinson (1980); Swales (1985); and Johns (1991), the development of ESP had undergone a number of main changes since the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the first stage, the concept of special language was associated with register analysis with the aim of identifying grammatical and lexical features to make the ESP courses more relevant to the learners' needs. Hutchinson and Waters (1987) explained it as follows: "The aim was to produce a syllabus which gave high priority to the language forms students would meet in their science studies and in turn would give low priority to forms they would not meet" (p. 10).

During that phase, ESP researchers' emphasis was on sentence-level characteristics of the types of ESP to be identified as useful to the ESP students. Therefore, ESP researchers did extensive analysis of the lexical and grammatical features of the language of each ESP register. According to their analysis, they discovered that, for example, English for Science and Technology (EST) favored the use of the present simple tense, the passive voice and noun compounds. They also discovered that the business letters contained a specific set format, formulaic expressions, a limited vocabulary, and a limited set of conjunctions. According to their analysis, ESP practitioners organized ESP syllabi as grammar-based curricula around specific features of each special register (Johns, 1991). That stage reflected the trend in EFL and ESL which was then the grammatical approach. Thus, the stress was on preparing ESP courses using specialized lexis with emphasis on the use of proper grammar for ESP (Swales, 1985).

In the second phase, which started in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the focus shifted to a level beyond the sentence level. The movement was to analyze discourse
during that phase (Johns, 1991). Swales (1985) noted that during that era, there was a shift from the theoretical linguistics to applied linguistics with the development of the communicative approach in language teaching and learning. ESP advocates addressed the problem of ESP usage. The emphasis was still on scientific communication in English for the field of EST. According to Halliday (in Robinson, 1980), special language was then characterized by the different distributions of grammatical patterns and the special meaning of lexical patterns, as well as the discourse features of texts, which would include connectives and other cohesion devices. Johns (1991) contended that with the move away from counting linguistic features of the specific register began to focus on the purposes of the ESP discourse.

As Hutchinson and Waters put it more clearly:

Register analysis had focused on sentence grammar, but now attention shifted to understanding how sentences were combined in discourse to produce meaning. The concern of research, therefore, was to identify the organizational patterns in texts and to specify the linguistic means by which these patterns are signaled. These patterns would then form the syllabus of the ESP course (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987, p. 11).

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) and Johns (1991) claimed that the third phase focused on the target situation analysis. In that stage, the purpose of ESP was to enable learners to function adequately in the target situation, which required first identifying the target situation and then analyzing the linguistic features of it. The process was also called ‘Need Analysis.’ The learners’ needs were, then, still not considered. At that time, ESP only looked at the surface linguistic features of the target situation. According to Robinson (1980), the purpose was then to make specialists capable of communicating adequately, in both speech and writing, in their field of study. I believe that the second and third phases of ESP development were directly influenced by the transitional stage.
between the structural approach and the functional-notional approach eras, when the emphasis was on communicative competence, called by many scholars the communicative approach.

The fourth phase of ESP was an attempt to look not at language itself, but at the thinking process underlying language use (skills and strategies). That stage was influenced by cognitive learning theories. Widdowson (in Robinson, 1980) suggested that learners should be involved in the communicative activity and not just learn usage. Explaining it, he said that ESP learners should be exposed to problems that would require them to use the cognitive processes needed in the learning of the specialist fields. Hutchinson and Waters explained that phase as follows:

The principle idea behind the skills-centered approach is that underlying all language use there are common reasoning and interpreting processes, which, regardless of the surface forms, enable us to focus closely on the surface forms of the language. The focus should rather be on the underlying interpretive strategies, which enable the learner to cope with the surface forms (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 13).

During the fourth stage, ESP was then influenced by the functional-notional approach. According to Johns (1991), ESP in the functional-notional syllabus would provide learners with sample dialogs taking place in different contexts, among different people to realize the ESP learners' communicative purpose within specific contexts of the specific register.

Advocates of the functional-notional approach believed that any given language could not be identified as having any particular usage without referring to the situations or circumstances in which it occurred. It was believed that English for Specific Purposes (ESP) then followed the same trend. According to Hubbard and others (1994), in specialist English or ESP, the topic aspect became very important, which required that
lexis related to that particular specialization be emphasized. Applying the functional-notional approach in ESP gave it an advantage because only those language functions that were performed by specialists were focused on. For that approach to be effective, it should be done communicatively.

Savignon was one of the scholars who called for the use of the functional-notional approach in ESP learning. She claimed that formal practice of acts of communication of a specialized nature was a valuable source in order for learners to be professional. An important aspect for the learner to learn in an unfamiliar communicative context was that the interpretation of the communicative act was what mattered. “Conveyance of meaning in unfamiliar contexts requires practice in the use of the appropriate register or style of speech” (Savignon, 1983, p. 8).

According to Hutchinson and Waters (1987), the fifth stage, which they called the learning-centered approach, shifted the focus from language-use to language-learning. According to Johns (1991), instead of concentrating on discourse, communicative situations, or the learners’ communicative purposes, the focus of that phase was upon strategies, which learners employed to acquire the target ESP.

According to Hutchinson and Waters (1987), that stage would treat ESP as an approach and not as a product. It was an approach to language learning, which was based on the learner’s needs. Therefore, ESP was then “an approach to language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner’s reason for learning” (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 19). They proposed the following aspects to be taken into consideration when designing an ESP syllabus: (a) measurement and use of
learners’ current knowledge, (b) learners’ interest in the ESP material, (c) how learners store and retrieve information, and (d) learners’ active involvement.

On the other hand, Mackay (1981) contended there was no ideal procedure for the planning and preparation of an ESP syllabus. Nevertheless, he suggested following operational models to help ensure that no essential steps were left out of the program. He also claimed that current real needs, future real needs, and future hypothetical needs were all important for ESP syllabus planning. He also suggested that information about those needs would be gathered through means of questionnaires and structural interviews intended for both the subject-matter teachers and the ESP students.

Widdowson (1981) differentiated between two different types of learners’ needs. He claimed that syllabus specification should be derived from the communicative needs of the learner. According to him, needs might mean what the learner needed to do with the language he/she had learned (goal-oriented definition), or it might mean what the learner needed to do to acquire the language (procedure-oriented definition). According to him, learners’ needs specification could be used to determine the content of the ESP course. Widdowson believed that the ‘learners’ needs’ was an important issue to consider. According to him, ESP courses should be learner-oriented, especially because they were adult learners. The identification of the learners’ needs should be defined by the learners themselves, the teaching institutes, and the learners’ employers. He also contended that the need analysis should be an on going process because the learners’ needs might change during the course.
As many advocates of the functional-notional approach contended that ESP followed the same trend as SL does, Ellis and Johnson (1994) believed in the same approach. Nevertheless, they claimed that there was no one ‘best’ methodology in teaching ESP. According to them, that was because teachers and learners of ESP operated in different countries and different cultural backgrounds. Consequently, the ESP environments were far more ranging and eclectic. Ellis and Johnson explained the ESP environment situation as an interactional one, between the teacher and the learners on one hand, and between the learners and the activities to be learned on the other hand. And while a particular method would work for a group of learners in a particular culture and a particular setting of circumstances, it might not work for another group with a different background and different circumstances. As Ellis and Johnson put it, “there may be several good choices, but there may be only one choice which is right for the particular mix of learners, trainer, and any other factors that may be important” (1994, p. 219).

As Robinson summed it up:

In conclusion we may say that an ESP course is purposeful and is aimed at the successful performance of occupational or educational roles. It is based on a rigorous analysis of students’ need and should be ‘tailor-made.’ Any ESP course may differ from another in its selection of skills, topics, situations and functions and also language. It is likely to be of limited duration. Students are more often adults but not necessarily so, and may be at any level of competence in the language: beginner, post-beginner, intermediate, etc. Students may take part in their ESP course before embarking on their occupational role or they may combine their study of English with performance of their role, or they may already be competent in their occupation or discipline but may desire to perform their role in English as well as in their first language (Robinson, 1980, pp.13-14).
ESP in the Developing World

According to Berrios-Escalante (1993), communication and language play a significant role in the development of all countries, especially that the world is now seen as a "global village". Language of the great power of the world is hence seen as the international channel of communication. According to Berrios-Escalante (1993), the language in which most people all over the world seek training is English, which is considered the lingua franca for many disciplinary and occupational fields. According to a study conducted by Inman (1979), the Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP) courses were mostly done in English for LSP courses in 1979. Westrup provided the following reason for the need for an international language. She noted that, "the number of exchange and collaborative projects between universities in the Third World and industrialized nations has increased considerably, as has the number of students from developing countries attending higher level education in the west" (1992, pp. 34-35). And according to Berrios-Escalante (1993) this situation continues today requiring ELT teachers from all over the world to contribute to the area of ESP.

Allen and Widdowson provided another reason for the use of English as the language of instruction for most LSP courses. They wrote, "English teaching has been called upon to provide students with the basic ability to use the language to receive and (to a lesser degree) to convey information associated with their specialist studies. This is particularly so in the developing countries where essential textbook material is not available in the vernacular languages" (Allen & Widdowson, 1974, p.1)

According to Berrios-Escalante, although many ESP courses are taught in the English-speaking countries, ESP is considered more important in the non-English-
speaking counties. This is because it plays a direct role as a tool for economic development in many non-English-speaking countries. She wrote, “ESP is a ‘foreign’ – an EFL-phenomenon in the sense that it occurs mostly outside the English-speaking world. It has grown mostly outside English-speaking countries and continues to do so today. Its relevance is not only academic, but also occupational and professional, and its impact is felt in the economic sphere, where it plays the role of language for world communication” (1993, p.28).

According to Berrios-Escalante again, there are a number of common features of ESP in many of the developing countries. First, there seems to be an emphasis on English for Academic Purposes (EAP) compared to efforts directed towards English for Vocational Purposes (EVP) or English for Occupational Purposes (EOP). Second, there is an increasing interest in the use of ESP as the language of instruction in many educational systems in many of the developing countries, particularly English for Science and Technology (EST). Third, ESP centers in many developing countries get support from English-speaking organizations. Berrios-Escalante provided three examples of such organizations, The British Council, The British Overseas Development Administration, and the United States Information Services. The fourth feature is that most of the reports on the work of ESP in the developing countries have been written by English-speakers, a fact that Swales (1985) also asserted. Swales claimed that all the episodes of the ESP experience in the developing countries were described from the point of view of English-speaking researchers. According to Berrios-Escalante, ESP approaches were created by English-speaking scholars who happened to be involved in the international schemes. She regrets that those approaches did not include the local view in the literature.
Nevertheless, she acknowledged that more recent ESP projects have been gradually handed over to local experts.

A good example of the significance of ESP to non-English-speaking countries would be Swales’ book *Episodes in ESP*, published in 1985. In his book, he reported the EST work that was done not only in Britain and the United States, but also in Chile; Colombia; Iran; Kuwait; Libya; Sudan and Thailand. All of the works reported claimed that English was the language of instruction for academic studies in science and technology in all the above-mentioned countries. In fact science and Technology is not the only field where English has become a *lingua franca*. The range of ESP programs is very wide. For example, Bodley (1984) reported that in the early 1980s, English was chosen as an operational language for the ‘Sawari Project,’ which was an arms supply contract between Saudi Arabia and France. Because the two parties were from non-English-speaking countries, the French naval instructors were required to take a 120-hour ESP course so they could later teach those technical subjects in English to Saudi navy personnel.

**ESP in the Middle East**

After providing a general description of the significance of ESP in the developing world, I would like to talk about ESP in the Middle East as an example of the increasing interest in ESP in that part of the world. In many countries of the Middle East economic interest determined the need for national development. Many studies cited that English was the medium of instruction for many university and college courses in medicine, science, engineering and agriculture. According to Swales (1985), the Middle East in the
1970s offered good opportunities for the development of the field of ESP. He claimed that there have been many ESP practitioners employed in the Arab world compared to any other part of the world, especially at the undergraduate level.

In Jordan for example, a number of studies were based on the work on ESP or EAP (English for academic purposes). A study done by Doushaq (1986) is an example of the stylistic errors of Arab students writing EAP in Yarmouk University in Jordan, which is a site of EAP activity. Two other researchers, Zughoul and Hussain, (1985) also did a study on the extent of English language use and needs at Yarmouk University in Jordan. Also in Jordan, Khaled (1984) did a study on the management selection of the nursing textbook. He recommended that a type of linguistic analysis of specialized texts be used in order to develop criteria for the selection of adequate teaching materials and the need for the use of authentic ESP language for the nursing courses.

Saudi Arabia is also another Middle-Eastern country that focused greatly on EAP and ESP. According to Harper (1986), the English Language Center at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah with a joint effort with the British Council started a project in 1975. The project started by the cooperation between the two bodies with a gradual withdrawal on the British Council part so that the center operations be completely handled by the Saudi University. Another example of Saudi Arabia’s interest in the development of ESP is that the country sends professionals and/or technicians to English-speaking countries for ESP training. Bynum (1985 cited in Berrios-Escalante, 1993, p. 31) described a program prepared in the United States of America for training forty Saudi Arabian petro-chemical plan operator trainees.
A number of studies were also done on the work of ESP in Egypt. One of the examples would be the study done by Elsheikh (1987). The study compared general English versus Specific English proficiency on the academic achievement of Egyptian students specializing in pharmacology and dentistry at Al-Mansura University in Egypt. The findings of the study showed that academic achievement correlated with ESP proficiency in comparison with the EGP proficiency, which revealed less degree of correlation.

Other Universities in Egypt were also mentioned by other researchers as providers of ESP or EAP courses. Robinson (1991) reported that Alexandria University, had an ESP center which published Pharo, an ESP newsletter. Robinson also reported the Center for Developing English Language Teaching (CDELT) in Ain Shams University. CDELT was supported by both the United States of America since 1974 and the British council since 1978. It was established to train the EFL Egyptian teachers to be able to teach ESP courses for Egyptian students in different specialization in that University.

Swales (1985) also talked about his experience preparing an ESP teaching course and actually teaching it to Arab students of the Engineering Department in the University of Libya, which is now known as Al-Fatah University. According to Swales, the aim of the course was to prepare Arab students to be able to do scientific writing in English.

Kuwait is also one of the Middle East countries which have been interested in the field of ESP. The College of Business Studies, the College of Health Studies, the College of Basic Education, The College of Health Studies, along with other specialized colleges of Kuwait University, have been a source for ESP programs for over than twenty-five years (1982/1995 Achievement, 1995/1996). For example, the Public Authority for
Applied Education and Training (PAAET), which is a government body, claims that one of its main goals is to develop the national technical personnel in the fields of middle class labor to meet the developing requirements of the state of Kuwait. The English Service Department in PAAET’s four colleges offers ESP courses with emphasis on the study skills required for Kuwaiti students’ future vocational careers. In the case of the College of Business Studies (CBS), the objective is to qualify students for their future careers in the areas of business & commerce, and office & clerical work (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997).

Nevertheless, local researchers and ESP teachers who did some research on those ESP courses in that college (i.e., Al-Attili, 1986; and Albazaz, 1994) expressed their dissatisfaction with the ESP materials taught in CBS. Al-Attili recommended a boarder needs analysis to be conducted in order to assess the ESP materials and therefore be able to select the ones more appropriate for both students needs and local market needs. Albazaz studied the low achievement of the Kuwaiti students in CBS and claimed that the ESP materials and textbooks used to teach those ESP courses were one of the reasons for the students’ low achievement.

PAAET is not the only ESP program provider in Kuwait. Kuwait University provides a number of ESP courses and programs throughout its colleges and its Community Service Center. For example, James Herbolich (1985) talked about his experience teaching at the English Language Unit of the College of Engineering in Kuwait University in the late 1970s. Herbolich described the ‘Box Kite’ project which he claimed was carried out successfully by his engineering students who took the ESP course English 221. According to him, the project required the students to do library
research exercise, discuss the box kite, build it, describe it, write instructions on the assembly of it, and finally prepare manuals that would contain illustrations; labels; as well as written instructions. All the work was done by the engineering students in English, using mainly EST.

Robinson, (1991) also listed two specialized journals that were published in English by Kuwait University specialized schools. They were: Al-Manakh and EMP Newsletter: English for Medical and Paramedical Purposes.

Two Examples of Classroom Conducted ESP Research

The following study is an example of studies done on ESP classrooms by English-speaking researchers in an English-speaking country. The study was conducted on International students doing their Master’s degrees, majoring in plant biology, at Birmingham University in England in the early 1980s. The study was conducted by Johns and Dudley-Evans (1985) who were English teachers at that University.

Johns and Dudley-Evans’ program involved the overseas students in English for Academic purposes (EAP) courses to prepare them understand written examination of the subject matter. With the collaboration of the ESP teachers and the subject-teachers, the team work provided the overseas students with the specific language that the subject teachers wanted their students to recognize and use. Johns and Dudley-Evans described the situation as follows:

The student needs to know how his performance is measuring up to the expectations of his teachers, and to have immediate assistance with his difficulties as they arise. The subject teacher needs to have a clear idea of how effectively he is communicating with his students, and how that communication might be improved. His teaching inevitably incorporates an element of language teaching, and there is at
least a *prima facie* case that the side of his work may be assisted by a language teacher (1985, p. 141)[Italics is the authors’ emphasis].

To help solve that pedagogical problem, Johns and Dudley-Evans prepared an ESP program with the collaboration of the subject teachers in order to be able to grasp the conceptual structure of the subject. The aim was that Johns and Dudley-Evans fully understood the range of different subjects and how difficulties arise during the course in order to prepare an ESP program that would help the students overcome those problems. The activities ranged from discussing general points, specific details, technical vocabulary, semi-technical vocabulary, oral presentations, project work, and examinations and questions. The significance of that study is that it was a study conducted in actual classrooms, though the aim was preparing ESP materials and piloting those materials in ESP settings.

The second example of actual ESP classroom research is the one conducted in at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait. The study was conducted by an FL non-English-speaking teacher, Albazaz, in a non-English-speaking country, Kuwait. Albazaz (1994) claimed that the study investigated the problem of unsatisfactory achievement in Business English of the students in that college. Although the researcher claimed following a naturalistic approach conducting the study, the study mainly relied on questionnaires and material analysis. Even when Albazaz conducted observations at work sites, he never audio-taped conversation, nor did he provide any interaction analysis. The observations, interviews, and what he called panel-discussions were mainly used in order for the researcher gain more insights into the field of investigation. The research findings indicated that the students low achievement in Business English is mainly attributed to the teaching materials used for teaching those courses. He also
provided a remedy to the problem suggesting using an alternative approach to curriculum development, providing his own model.

**Code-switching**

**Introduction**

One of the clearest definitions of code-switching was provided by Zentella. She wrote, "The ability of bilinguals to alternate between the languages in their linguistic repertoire, is generally referred to as code-switching (Zentella, 1981, p.109). In early studies of language alternation, researchers referred to this phenomenon as 'speech mixture' (Espinosa, 1917 in Valdés, 1981). Another researcher, Auer (1995), referred to the phenomenon of code-switching as code-alternation. In recent studies, the terms 'language alternation' and 'code-switching' have been used interchangeably, i.e., Johnson (1995) and Stringer (1997). Valdés provided a definition for code-switching as follows: "Code-switching may be defined as the alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level" (Valdés, 1981, p.95).

Explaining code-switching, Valdés-Fallis (1987) wrote that when bilingual speakers of English and Spanish, for example, are speaking Spanish and introduce a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence that is recognizably English, they are said to have code-switched to English. According to her, the same bilinguals can code-switch to Spanish in the same manner.

According to Johnson (1995), language mixing (language alternation) occurs around the world. He provided us with the following examples: In Paraguay, people speak Yopara, which mixes features of the Spanish language and the Guarani language.
In the Philippines, Taglish speakers mix English and Tagalog. A mix of Spanish and English has been reported as a mode of everyday interaction in many communities in a wide zone along both sides of the United States-Mexico Borders. The spoken mixture of Spanish/English is given different names by the different people speaking it. Among those names are: Tex-Mex, Cal-Mex, Chicano Spanish, Chicano English, Boarder slang, Pocho, Pachuco, and Spanglish. Johnson himself used the term ‘Tejano’ to refer to the mix of English and Spanish that is spoken in Texas. According to his definition, Tejano is an informal language mix used by people among family members and close friends, but rarely heard in formal or official language situations, such as governmental interactions or business interactions between strangers.

According to Valdés-Fallis (1978), code-switching has been found to be neither random nor meaningless, nor does it necessarily reflect a language deficit. Studies by some researchers (Gumperz, 1970; Valdés, 1981; Valdés-Fallis, 1978; and Johnson, 1995) asserted that language alternation is justified for the same reason that monolinguals choose among different styles of speech. Researchers of language alternation conducted their studies of the phenomenon from different perspectives. For example, Blom and Gumperz (1972) studied code-switching in terms of social relationships among speakers, while Rayfield interpreted code-switching occurrences “as a personal rhetoric device which is used both to add color to speech and to emphasize a given statement” (1970 in Valdés, 1981, p. 96).

Valdés-Fallis (1978) claimed that code-switching is a device that bilinguals employ to convey social information or used by bilinguals as a stylistic process. Other researchers believe that code-switching is a discourse necessity for bilinguals. Lavandera
(1977 in Zentella, 1981) claimed that bilinguals may feel uneasy in a monolingual setting in either language, because they are constrained from employing the full range of their linguistic repertoires and thus the use of code-switching would put them at ease. As Johnson claimed, “there is order in bilingual talk and that some of that orderliness can be explained” (1995, p. 34).

As explained by Valdés-Fallis, code-switching can be a stylistic process. In that case, it depends on the individual speaker's personal preference for one or the other of the two languages. She claimed that code-switching may be used “to add color to an utterance, to emphasize, to contrast, to underscore a context, to create new poetic meanings, and the like” (1978, p.10). According to her again, code-switching has different functions. It may be used as a means of reflecting social information. It can also signal that the bilinguals use it to shift their role relationship, or to shift topics. It can also signal that they respond to changes in their setting, or they mark their identities. Code-switching may be also used to express solidarity or intimacy between bilingual speakers.

According to Gumperz (1982 in Martine-Jones, 1995), among other contextualization cues, code-switching is only one of the communicative resources available for bilinguals to construct and interpret meanings in context. From his perspective, code-switching can be seen as a resource or a means of conveying ‘pragmatic information’ to interactants as to what a particular utterance means in a context.
Nevertheless, not all code-switching situations can be interpreted as a personal rhetoric preference or as means of conveying social information. For example, Echevarria (1997) wrote that Spanglish was the result of a deficit in one language or the other. Another scholar, Stringer (1997), did not agree with Echevarria. He argued that language alternation is not “ordinarily a consequence of a language deficit” (p. 12). Gumperz (1970) also acknowledged that code-switching could sometimes occur as a slip of a tongue that the bilingual usually corrected in the next sentences. He also claimed that it also occurs when a bilingual lacks the familiarity with the style he is employing in one language. He also contended that though such errors occur, code-switching is a “communicative skill” which speakers use as a verbal strategy in much the same way that skillful writers switch styles in a short story.

Auer (1984) claimed that there is preference of style in monolingual speech. For the same reasons of same language style preference, he argued that language alternation could be explained as language choice or language preference that could serve to accomplish conversational tasks. Nevertheless, Auer emphasized that one should not expect that every alternation case would have a particular function or have to do conversational work, because some cases of language alternation may be the result of a lack of competence in one of the languages.

Valdés-Fallis (1978) also acknowledged that not all code-switching occurs as a kind of a proficiency in two languages that enables speakers to alternate between them meaningfully, depending on the social situation requirement or stylistic preferences. She asserted that in some bilingual situations, not all speakers have the resources needed to switch because when speaking in their strong language, bilinguals code-switch to their
weaker language to add color or emphasis to their strong language. In other situations, bilinguals use high-frequency words of the weaker language. The level of proficiency of the first language in contrast with the level of proficiency of the second acquired language also plays a role in code-switching.

Valdés-Fallis' interpretation of some cases of code-switching as a result of proficiency in the weaker language was also significant to this study because I adopted that perspective, especially when interpreting some cases of students' code-switching. According to Valdés-Fallis, during initial stages of learning a second language, speakers mostly speak their first language and switch only a little to the second language but not the opposite. Because their second language is weaker, they would not be able to code-switch in sentence-length switches in the weaker language. On the other hand, for the bilingual who is fluent in the two languages, the two linguistic systems are managed separately or blended, according to the bilingual's needs or preferences.

Questions studied by different researchers about code-switching are summarized by Valdés as follows:

1. Is code-switching random and meaningless?
2. Is social information conveyed by a change in language?
3. Is code-switching related to the relative proficiency of bilingual speakers in each of their languages?
4. Is code-switching rule-governed?
5. Are speakers aware that they switch languages?
6. How can different code-switching patterns be classified in order to facilitate further studies?
And finally,

7. How do personal, as opposed to transactional, factors work to produce the “momentary inclination” which results in specific kinds of socially unpredictable switching?” (Valdés, 1981, pp.95-96)

Valdés (1981) provided three preconditions for language alternation as a deliberate verbal strategy. Those preconditions are: (1) that both participants be bilingual, (2) that both participants be members of the same speech community or at least be accepted as persons with whom both languages maybe used freely, and (3) that both participants have the linguistic resources to carry out the required code-switching.

According to Milroy and Muysken, the complexity of research in the field of code-switching is that it “is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon” (1995, p. 12). They contended that the referential scope of the term overlaps and that sometimes it is used differently by different scholars. They claimed that code-switching is of a multidisciplinary nature which draws from perspectives from different disciplines and frame work. Another researcher, Martin-Jones (1995), also contended that code-switching is cross-disciplinary in nature, which has reflected different currents of influences. The range varies from educational research on classroom interaction and teacher talk to more recently, from conversational analysis and the ethnography of interaction. According to her, research on bilingual classroom-based research has been conducted since the mid-seventies and early eighties.
Code-switching and Bilingual Studies

Language alternation has been found to be a common characteristic shared by many bilingual communities, Swedish and English, Greek and English, French and English, two dialects of Norwegian and English, German and English, Yiddish and English, Italian and English, two dialects of Hindi and English, Hindi and Punjabi and English and Spanish. (Valdés, 1981; and Valdés-Fallis 1978). According to Milroy and Muysken (1995), the most central issue in bilingualism research is code-switching. Valdés-Fallis (1978) contended that language alternation researchers concerned themselves with the study of code-switching either as a reflection of a social situation, or as a stylistic process that bilinguals perform to emphasize, paraphrase, narrate, or to convey functional information.

According to Johnson (1995), bilingualism may occur as the use of only one language in some specific situations and the other language in other situations. Sometimes, it occurs as a mixture of two languages within the same interactional situation. Other times, speakers alternate between two languages so frequently that this mixture of language is recognized by their communities as a linguistic code by itself, which is sometimes given a name for its own. According to Johnson (1995), code-switching, or language alternation, is actually ‘bilingualism’ that is demonstrated within an easily observed unit of time or within a single interaction. In this study, I did not looking at code-switching that occurred as using one language in some situations, while using the other language in other situations, but rather I looked at code-switching that occurred within the same interactional situations in the observed ESP classrooms.
Because language alternation is performed by bilinguals, it is important to define what the word ‘bilingual’ means. According to Johnson (1995), the clearest way to distinguish between definitions of bilingualism is to look at definitions that focus on societal bilingualism and on individual bilingualism. According to him, societal bilingualism is when more than one language is used by members of one human social group. In a multilingual society, speakers have a variety of language competencies and performances, though all speakers are not necessarily bilingual. Societal multilingualism was the result of a number of reasons, including imperialism, federation, and migrations. According to him, Belgium, Switzerland, Paraguay, Canada, India, and many areas of the United States can be described as societal multilingualism.

The definition of individual bilingualism was debated over a period of time. According to Weinreich (1963 in Johnson, 1995), the older narrow definition defined a person as bilingual as someone who is equally competent in two languages. The newer and broader definition of individual bilingualism defines a person as bilingual if he/she is even minimally competent in more than one language. Weinreich warned against the older narrow definition, because such a definition might induce language contact researchers to exclude many sociolinguistic situations that deserve careful studying.

This stand is very appropriate for my study of the code-switching in four ESP classrooms in the College of Business Studies in Kuwait, because interactants in those classrooms possessed different degrees of competence in their second spoken language, which was English. In this study I regarded both teachers and students as bilingual speakers from Weinreich’s broader concept of individual bilingualism.
I also adapted Valdés-Fallis’ definition in describing both the ESP teachers and their students in this study as bilinguals with varying degrees of language proficiency. As used by linguists, the word bilingual “is a general term that includes varying degrees of proficiency in two languages. Bilingual, from this perspective, does not mean that speakers are perfectly balanced in their use or strengths in both their languages, but rather that they can function, to whatever degree, in more than one language. Bilingual individuals then may have in common only the fact that are not monolingual” (Valdés-Fallis, 1978, pp. 3-4). [Underlining is the author’s emphasis]

According to Milroy and Muysken (1995), expansion of educational provision, massive population migrations, technological advancement in mass communication, and other social changes lead to an increase in bilingualism as a worldwide phenomenon. They also claim other factors, such as modernization and globalization, led to having a large number of people, located within relatively limited boundaries, speaking national languages alongside international languages.

Milroy and Muysken cited Leopold’s study as the first classic study of bilingualism. Leopold recorded the development of the German-English bilingualism of his own daughter during the period of 1939 – 1949. He used central themes of child bilingualism research in his study. Among those themes Milroy and Muysken listed the following: “the separation of the two languages,” “the influential role of the interlocutor,” “the asymmetrical characters of bilingual competence,” and “the influence of the dominant language on the weaker one” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995, pp. 4-5).

Although studies of bilingualism started in late 1930s, studies on code-switching were slow in starting because early bilingual studies focused on lexical issues of
bilingualism. According to them, the focus on the code-switching phenomenon came as a result of studies done on stable bilingual communities in the 1970s, such as Spanish-English and Hindi-English communities. Nevertheless, they dated the start of code-switching research with the publication of Joshua Fishman (1962 in Milroy and Muysken, 1995), which according to them, continued to influence many researchers in the field.

Martine-Jones claimed that studies of bilingual classroom interactions started with a more linguistic approach. She provided two examples of early studies of the analysis of classroom discourse: the work of Milk (published in 1984) and the work of Guthrie (published in 1984). According to Milk (1981 cited in Martin-Jones, 1995), the understanding of the status of each language in a bilingual program would be obtained by focusing on classroom discourse functions. Martin-Jones claimed the two studies by Milk and Guthrie shifted the focus to the accomplishment of interactive acts in bilingual classroom discourse. According to Martin-Jones again, "more attention was now given to the ways in which teachers and learners get things done with two languages in bilingual classrooms and to the way in which language values are transmitted through communicative choices" (1995, p. 93).

Studies on Code-switching

One of the early studies done on code-switching is the one done by Blom and Gumperz (1972). Blom and Gumperz studied code-switching in terms of social relationships among speakers in Hemmesberget, Norway. According to Blom and Gumperz, the residents of Hemnes, as it was called in the study, were all native speakers
of Ranamal. All speakers of Ranamal also spoke Bokmat. The former language was used by the natives at home and abroad to identify themselves with the linguistic region of Northern Norway. On the other hand, the formal language used in Hemnes town is the standard Norwegian language, Bokmat. Bokmat was used as the official language for transactions, religion, mass media, as well as the formal language used in education.

According to Blom and Gumperz, the two languages were perceived as distinct. According to their study, the two languages were the natives’ linguistic resources, which speakers might employ in their social interaction. The study claimed that the natives selected between the two languages as situations demanded. Speakers never mixed the two languages, but rather used one or the other. Their language alternation was viewed as a shift between two distinct entities which could occur within the same setting, depending on the shifts of social events.

Another early study was done by Valdés-Fallis (1978). She studied bilingual classrooms and provided a categorization of the different patterns of code-switching that she noticed in the observed bilingual classrooms. She divided her categories into two main patterns of code-switching: in response to external factors and in response to internal factors.
### Principal code-switching patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patterns</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Switching Patterns That Occur in Response to External Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational switches</td>
<td>Related to the social role of speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual switches</td>
<td>Situation, topic, setting, etc., linked to the other language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity markers</td>
<td>In-group membership stressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotations and paraphrases</td>
<td>Contextual: related to language used by the original speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Switching Patterns That Occur in Response to Internal Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Random switches of High frequency items</td>
<td>Unpredictable: do not relate to topic, situation, setting, or language dominance; occur only on word level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switches that reflect lexical need</td>
<td>Related to language dominance, memory, and spontaneous versus automatic speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triggered switches</td>
<td>Due to preceding or following items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preformulations</td>
<td>Includes linguistic routines and automatic speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse markers</td>
<td>but, and, of course, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotations and paraphrases</td>
<td>Non-contextual: not related to language used by original speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stylistic switches</td>
<td>Obvious stylistic devices used for emphasis or contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential switches</td>
<td>Involves using the last language used by the preceding speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table adapted from Valdés-Fallis, 1978, p. 21*

Table No. 1 Principal code-switching patterns

Valdés-Fallis’ study of code-switching as used in the observed bilingual classrooms revealed both students’ and the teachers’ switching patterns. She also found
out that the language of instruction was primary Spanish. And while Spanish was used essentially to teach the lesson, English was used for classroom control.

Another early study on bilingual classroom code-switching was done by Zentella (1981). Zentella conducted her ethnographic study by observing bilingual Puerto Rican students and their teachers in two New York City bilingual classrooms, one third-grade and one sixth-grade. In her analysis of teacher-learner interaction, she initially focused on ‘Initiation–Response–Evaluation,’ which is called IRE sequence by classroom ethnographers. According to her study, the two teachers alternated between Spanish and English in their classroom interaction to do the following: admonish, make asides, make meta-linguistic commentaries.

According to Zentella, the social meaning of code-switching varies in each bilingual speech community. She provided patterns of the language choices of the bilingual Puerto Rican students and their teachers. According to her observation, there were some patterns of language choices. Table No. 2 presents those patterns as follows:

Patterns of language choices in bilingual classrooms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Pattern Choice</th>
<th>Teacher’s Initiation Language</th>
<th>Student’s Reply Language</th>
<th>Teacher’s Evaluation Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speak the language spoken to you</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher follow the student</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher includes the child’s choice</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Code-switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher includes the child’s choice</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Code-switching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Zentella, 1981, p.119)

Table No. 2 Patterns of language choices in bilingual classrooms
Valdés’ (1981) study regarded code-switching in both direct and indirect requests as interactional strategies used by the bilingual speakers to both mitigate and to aggravate requests (1981). She took a discourse-centered approach to explain the social role of language alternation between Mexican-Spanish and English. In her study, she attempted to explain code-switching in only one type of speech action, which was requests, among Mexican-American bilinguals. She claimed that language alternation occurred strategically in order to mitigate and/or to aggravate requests. Valdés interpreted the use of code-switching in Mexican-American speech as a deliberate verbal strategy. She contended that code-switching could alter the role relationship between interactants. She provided the following example of an interaction between a mother and son to explain how code-switching is employed by interactants change their role relationship:

M: An’ then what?

S: Well, we dint really say nothing.. Poncho got on his bike an’ went off.

M: Umm.

S: Yeah… and...

M: Listen, your gum is driving me up a tree.

S: He… took off… and…((son continued to chew gum noisily)).

M: Tira el chicle y Luego me dices. (Throw your gum away and then tell me).

(Valdés, 1981, p. 101) [Parenthesized utterances is English translation of Spanish].

Valdés argued that the mother switched to Spanish to change the relationship in the interaction. It started with a story teller and a listener but switched to a mother and son relationship. When the son ignored his mother’s remark about his gum chewing in
English, she code-switched to Spanish, as a disciplinary role and a direct order to throw the gum away.

The significance of Valdés' (1981) work is that it emphasized the function of language switching in interaction and how it accomplishes interactional tasks. Although I did not adopt Valdés' divisions of code-switching in response to external and internal factors and although some of her code-switching forms did not seem to fit in my study, I find her studies in Valdés (1981) and Valdés-Fallis (1978) of great importance. Her work has greatly informed the current research. This study actually borrowed some of Valdés' patterns of code-switching for interpreting the phenomenon of code-switching in the ESP classrooms under study.

Martin-Jones (1995) cited two early studies done on bilingual classroom code-switching, the work of Milk (published in 1984) and the work of Gutnrie (published in 1984). According to Martin-Jones, the two researchers described and analyzed audio-recorded classroom interaction. They drew on descriptive framework developed by scholars whose work was on monolingual classroom discourse. Milk's work used an adapted version of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, in Martin-Jones, 1995). Milk recorded a twelfth grade civics class in San Jose, California. A Mexican-American teacher taught that class bilingually. Milk's study focused on code-switching patterns in his recorded-data.

According to Martin-Jones (1995), Milk's study claimed that English was the dominant language in the bilingual class. The act of elicitation was the only act that was equally done in both English and Spanish. In other cases, English was dominant. Milk
claimed the predominance of English in classroom discourse put Spanish-dominant
students at a disadvantage.

Guthrie (1984, in Martin-Jones, 1995) did a comparative study of two teachers,
one was bilingual the other was monolingual. The two teachers worked with American-
Chinese students in an elementary school in California. Guthrie adapted an analytic
framework developed by Dore (1977, in Martin-Jones, 1995) for the study of child
monolanguage development. He adapted Dore’s system to code the two teachers’
utterances in his audio-recorded data.

According to Martin-Jones (1995), Guthrie’s comparative study’s finding was
that, compared to the bilingual teacher, the monolingual teacher was less able to manage
the teaching/learning interaction with the American-Chinese students, whose English was
still at an early stage of development. That placed him at a disadvantage as compared
with the other bilingual teacher. Guthrie identified five communicative functions of
code-switching. According to his study, Chinese switching was used: (a) for translation,
(b) as a ‘we code,’ (c) for procedures and directions, (d) for clarification, and (e) to check
for understanding.

Some scholars have treated language alternation differently according to the
function it played during the interaction. For example, Auer (1984) divided language
alternation into two categories, language or code-switching and language transfer. In his
system, a language transfer was the insertion of a short utterance from one language into
a stream of talk in the other language. According to his study, he claimed that a language
switch constituted an invitation to talk in the new language until further notice was made,
while language transfer did not influence the language the speaker mostly used in the interaction.

Auers's categorization did not seem to be very clear. He himself acknowledged that a dividing line between switches and transfer was not always possible. His examples considered cases of mainly speaking in one language and the insertion of short utterances of the other language as cases of language transfer. On the other hand, examples of language switch were treated as occasions when the conversation started with one language and at a point of time during the interaction the speakers switched to talking in the other language.

In this research, as a researcher I do not agree with Auers's categorizations because they don't seem to fit the data. Auers's categorizations would rather be considered as two different forms of language alternation and not as two functions of language alternation. Code-switching can occur at a word level, phrase level, sentence level, or even at a turn level. These differences should be treated as different forms and not necessarily as different forms doing different functions. Another reason of disagreeing with Auers's categorizations is that it is very difficult to draw dividing lines as to which form does which particular function.

Auer, in a later study (in Martin-Jones, 1995), claimed that discourse-related switching is speaker-oriented, which is considered a resource for accomplishing different communicative functions during interaction, i.e., "changing footing, moving in and out of different discourse frames, doing a side sequence, representing the voices of different characters in a narrative, making topic changes" (P. 99). Martin-Jones (1995) added other similar discourse-related functions of code-switching as documented by other
scholars. According to her, there are communicative functions, such as making asides, quoting, specifying a particular addressee, moving in and out of the teaching/learning frame, and so forth. Auer (1990, in Martin-Jones, 1995) acknowledged that it is impossible to compile a comprehensive inventory of the functions of code-switching because the number of functions is infinite.

In another study, Auer (1995) provided another elaborate typology of code-switching, derived from research done on language alternation. According to Auer, the list seemed to cover across bilingual communities in conversational situations in which switching is particularly frequent. He compiled a list of types of functions of code-switching as used by different scholars which included the following: (i) reported speech, (ii) change of participant constellation, which he explained as the use of code-switching to include; exclude; or marginalize co-participants or bystanders, (iii) ‘parentheses’ or ‘side comments,’ (iv) ‘reiterations,’ where the purpose was to put emphasis on demands or requests; to clarify; or to attract the attention, (v) ‘change of activity type,’ which he also called ‘mode shift’ or ‘role shift,’ (vi) ‘topic shift,’ (vii) ‘puns’ or language play, and (viii) ‘topicalisation,’ which he also called ‘topic/command structure.’

Auer (1995) contended that although such lists are useful in revealing that some conversational situations are receptive to language alternation, those lists are problematic for a number of reasons. His first reason was that some categories used were ill-defined, second, he claimed that the typologies of language alternation often confuse conversational structures, linguistic forms and functions. Third, he doubted that such lists could provide an explanation of why code-switching may have a conversational meaning or function. Finally, he argued that such listings may imply that code-switching
occurs in both directions from language A to language B and vice versa. He claimed that exact conversational meaning of cases of alternation was often not identical in the two directions of code-switching of the two languages.

Another study was conducted by Monica Heller (1985). She conducted her study on bilinguals in Quebec, Canada, which was a community with two distinct languages. According to her, for social and historical reasons, laws enacted that French be the language of work in Quebec by the mid-1960s. Therefore, any person seeking employment must speak French. Nevertheless, in that context, people (both Anglophone and Francophone) accepted the unequal relationships of French and English.

Heller studied how language alternation occurred in a clinic and a restaurant, where interactants had never met before, and who had no knowledge of each other’s background or expectations. She claimed that clerk/patient, waiter/patron, and others in similar configurations, always found themselves in uncertain situations as to what language choice was appropriate. Her study asserted that in the configurations she observed, one interactant usually seemed uncomfortable until a norm of language choice was established for the conversation. Usually, that norm was to be based upon the preference of the other interactant. The choice of the language by the other interactant also took different forms, i.e., pretending not to hear what the other interlocutor said to make him/her repeat what was said in the other language, or when one participant asked the other his/her language of preference and then switching to that language choice.

According to Heller’s study, in those configurations in Quebec, any failure to respond to an interlocutor’s initiation in one language was almost always interpreted as a norm for code-switching to the other language. She also wrote that “any given utterance
can have many social-significances (or none at all) as a function of the way language has been used in that utterance; the intended degree and kind of significance is discoverable only if interlocutors share a frame of references” (1985, p. 88). Heller’s study attempted to explain how language choice was negotiable in those two interactive settings in which a speaker’s performance or choice of language was not easily determined by the person’s physical appearance or name.

According to Martin-Jones, code-switching in a bilingual classroom can be seen from two angles, (a) discourse related switching and (b) participant-related code-switching. Explaining the discourse-related switching, Martin-Jones wrote,

Whilst the languages used in a bilingual classroom are bound to be associated with different cultural values, it is too simplistic to claim that whenever a bilingual who has the same language background as the learners switches into a shared code, s/he is invariably expressing solidarity with the learners. Code-switching is employed in more subtle and diverse ways in bilingual classroom communication. Teachers and learners exploit code contrasts to demarcate different types of discourse, to negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meaning on the spur of the moment (1995, p. 98).

According to Martine-Jones, participant-related code-switching is more of a hearer-oriented type. She claimed that it took into account the hearer’s linguistic preference or competence. She also contended that that type was particularly salient in studying bilingual classroom discourse because classrooms are settings where teachers and learners as interlocutors have different language abilities and communicative repertoires, particularly in the early years of the bilingual learning L2. In such situations, participant-related switching appears to be an important communicative resource for managing teaching/learning interactions.
Milroy and Muysken's study (1995) describes the different forms of code-switching. According to them, sometimes it occurs between turns of different interactants, sometimes between utterances within a single turn and even within a single utterance.

They use the following terms to differentiate the different forms that code-switching takes:

- 'Intra-sentential' used to refer to switches that occur within the sentence.
- 'Inter-sentential' used to refer to code-switches between sentences.
- 'Tag-switching,' 'emblematic switching, and extra-sentential' used to refer to switches between an utterance and the tag or interjection attached to it.

Romat (1995) claimed that a great deal of code-switching occurred in her study of code-switching between a dialect and a standard language in an Italian community. The forms of code-switching in her study followed a model similar to that provided by Milroy and Muysken. She coded code-switching as 'inter-sentential,' 'intra-sentential,' and 'tag switches.' She also added the 'word internal code-switching,' which she claimed occurred with relatively low frequency during her study.

The two studies that informed this research were the study done by Michael Johnson (1995) and the work done by Jeffery Stringer (1997). The two studies, which relied heavily on code-switching as occurred in naturally-occurring everyday discourse, focused on the use of code-switching that was specifically employed by bilinguals to mark moments of discontinuity in their talk.
Another recent study on code-switching was conducted by Nzwanga (2000). Nzwanga studied the use of code-switching in a foreign language teaching and learning environment, a classroom of French as a second language at the Ohio State University. The study examined the role code-switching played in that particular environment. The study was an ethnography which relied heavily on naturally occurring classroom interaction, which was video-taped, transcribed, and analyzed according to the conversation analysis method of sequential analysis. According to the study, code-switching in the observed classroom was unavoidable by both the teacher and her students. Nzwanga also claimed that code-switching played significant roles in that teaching and learning environment at two levels, the informal level and the formal level of the classroom interaction. At the informal level, code-switching played a communicative role in the parts of the lesson that involved administration or management. On the other hand, the formal code-switching related to situations in which the target language was formally taught in order to do functions like introducing, explaining, commenting, practicing the target language, and so forth. The study emphasized the communicative and pedagogic roles that code-switching played in that particular environment.

Michael Johnson’s (1995) study on code-switching was important to this study. Although Johnson’s study relied on everyday naturalistic interaction, rather than classroom interaction, the study identified specific code-switching markers, which bilinguals employ to mark specific shifts in their talk. He explained how Tejano speakers used code-switching at a word level as a ‘disjunct marker’ (disjunctive marker) that the bilingual speakers employed to emphasize a topic shift. In his study, the Spanish
disjunctive marker ‘oye’ is a discourse resource that served as an attention-getting device which was used to signal the listener to a shift in the speaker’s topic. In his study, language alteration served to mark a moment of discourse discontinuity. Johnson also contended that the Tejano speakers used language alteration to set off reported speech from the surrounding talk to achieve dramatic effect. He claimed that the bilinguals used language alteration as an additional discourse resource.

According to Johnson, language alteration, as used by the Tejano speakers, also helped them achieve expressions of intimacy, distance, solidarity, or status. It was also used to accomplish conversational tasks, such as marking moments as problematic or transitional. He also acknowledged that some language alteration situations appeared insignificant, aside from being an overall pattern of switching. Nevertheless, he asserted that the larger pattern of switching can define the speakers as members of the Tejano speaking community.

Jeffery Stringer (1997) studied the combination of two languages as a form of ‘language variation’ that is common places in some bilingual cultures. In his study, it was the Latino culture in a border city, EL Paso. Stringer argued that language alteration between Spanish and English did not destroy the sense of identity of Latinos among Spanish-English bilinguals in the El Paso community. To the contrary, he asserted that in a bilingual community, such as El Paso, frequent language alteration among interactants helped create a sense of community among them. In that particular bilingual community, language alteration helped the bilingual speakers mark themselves, not just as English speakers and not just as Spanish speakers, but as members of a particular cultural group that was defined as consisting originally of elements of two
cultures. His study concluded that language alternation was a performance that the El Paso bilinguals used to create and maintain community, which also allowed them to appreciate their own language practice.

Stringer also claimed that language alternation was used by El Paso bilingual speakers to highlight important moments in their talk. He also studied the use of language alternation to report speech. According to him, language alternation may occur at climactic moments, which he called ‘punchlines’ that bilinguals used as a discourse resource to highlight punchlines in their talk. Stringer (1997) also asserted that there were cases of language alternation in his study of the bilinguals in El Paso where occasions of mixed languages occurred without having particular functions or meanings.

Many scholars looked at code-switching with special focus on grammatical constraint. Johnson cited Poplack (1981, in Johnson, 1995) who proposed restrictions on language switching between a variety of grammatical categories. According to her study there are two general grammatical constraints on code-switching, the ‘free morpheme constraint’ and the ‘equivalent constraint.’ The former constraint prohibits switching that would lead to a bound morpheme in one language. On the contrary, the latter constraint allows switches because the grammatical structure of the two languages involved in switching are parallel. Johnson claimed that studies seeking to uncover grammatical constraints on code-switching were problematic. From his perspective, data of such studies are often obtained by presenting written sentences or speech samples to be evaluated as acceptable or unacceptable. Another researcher, Nantey (1982 in Johnson, 1995), found examples of code-switching that seemed to violate Poplack’s grammatical constraints. According to his study on Andannaa/English, code-switching occurred
around bound morphemes and there were switches that took place in non-parallel constructions.

Johnson (1995) argued that grammar-based approaches emphasize the linguistic mechanics of language alternation. According to him, limits to such research are: (1) sentences constructed by researchers examining grammatical constraint are usually quite different from how people actually talk. For example, people do not usually talk in complete grammatically-correct sentences and their talk is not isolated sentences but rather interactional. (2) grammatical approaches failed to show consistent relationships between linguistic structure and social structures. Stringer (1997) also argued that a sociolinguistic approach seemed an inadequate means for describing language alternation in bilingual conversation. His study was done with an ethnographic orientation.

As a researcher, I agree with both Johnson and Stringer’s position. This study was not designed to examine bilingual interaction from a linguistic prospective but rather from a pedagogical angle with an ethnographic perspective. I did not emphasize grammatical and linguistic approaches to code-switching but rather treated the phenomenon as a bilingual performance that was used as a classroom practice. This research did not treat language switching with grammatical-based approaches as they seem inappropriate for this kind of study. The study did not examine discourse in isolated sentences but rather as language switching as it occurred in naturally-interactional situations in the context of ESP classrooms. The study attempted to identify the role code-switching played and what they meant to the interactants, which required a different approach, the ethnography of interaction.
According to Stringer (1997), language alternation existed in print, but rarely in nonfiction publications. It appeared in literature such as poetry and short stories written by bilingual authors. My research did not concern itself with the written form of language alternation but rather code-switching as an oral practice. Thus, the literature review of code-switching was designed to shed light on studies of languages alternation performed in oral usage.

**Summary**

Because the aim of this study was to describe and interpret types of the sociocultural behaviors, including the communicative behaviors of interactants in the four ESP classrooms under study, this study was guided by a number of theories that provided the conceptual framework of the study. Those approaches were ‘Language as a Social Semiotic,’ the ‘Functional-Notional Approach,’ ‘English for Specific Purposes,’ and ‘code-switching.’

This chapter provided a review of the literature on those approaches as the conceptual framework that guided the study. This chapter first provided a review on the concept ‘Language as a Social Semiotic,’ which interpreted language learning as a social system of meanings and which related language to the social structure. The second section of the literature review was the ‘Functional-Notional Approach,’ which claimed that Second Language (SL) learners learned best through the use of language in communicative situations, and that situations were to be presented in functional contexts in order for learners make sense of, and thus be able to use the language in the
appropriate situations. The third section of the review was ‘English for Specific Purposes’ (ESP), which was defined as a specific and purposeful language of the specialists, and which aimed to satisfy the specific needs of the learners. Finally, the fourth concept reviewed in this chapter was code-switching, which was treated by many scholars as a device that bilinguals employ to convey social information and as a stylistic process.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Overview

This chapter first provides the philosophical background of the research methodology. This section includes descriptions of the two research methodologies that are followed to collect the research data and which were later used for providing a cultural analysis of the data in interactional terms. The two research methodologies were: (a) the ethnography of interaction as the main methodology for conducting ethnographic observations, and (b) participants’ interviewing as the secondary research methodology. Next in this section, a discussion of the development of Second Language (SL) research and how it was reflected in the research paradigm of SL is provided. Then, the research’s paradigm choice is presented. Next in this chapter, the data collection is discussed. In this section, a presentation of the research strategies for collecting data which were direct observations, audio-taping, interviewing, and taking field notes is provided. Third comes the data analysis section, under which the following are discussed: (a) the selection of the focus for the study, (b) the transcription conventions followed in the research, and (c) how data was analyzed. The final section of this chapter talks about the limitations of this research.
The Philosophical Background of the Research Methodology

Research Methodologies

Since ESP classrooms aim to relate the learners’ communicative competence in a field of specialization (the register of business in this study), most activities in the observed classrooms took place in the form of interaction. Thus, it was rather significant that the activities of the ESP classrooms under study be observed in their natural context in order to be described and be interpreted in interactional terms. Therefore, the methodological approach followed in this study was relevant to my main interest in describing and interpreting a type of an interactional behavior, which was code-switching, in the four ESP classrooms at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait. As a researcher, I was also interested in understanding how teachers and learners interactionally behaved and what their interactional behaviors were geared to achieve. Whether it was achieving the learners’ communicative competence in the area of ESP or any other unstated objective. In order to understand the phenomena of the ESP classrooms under study, two research methodologies were followed: the ethnography of interaction and participants’ interviews.

Ethnography of Interaction

Van Lier (1988) defined ethnography as the description of a culture or group of people possessing a degree of cultural unity in order to provide an interpretation of that culture. Therefore, ethnography is a kind of inquiry, which attempts to record how natives behave and how they interpret their own behavior. (The word ‘natives’ refers to the subjects of the study as described in ethnographic studies). According to Spindler
and Spindler (1987), ethnography is ‘an orderly report’ of the recording of the natives’ behavior. Applying this definition to the ethnography of interaction, one can adopt Mehan’s position. According to Mehan, the ethnography of communication is the “description of skills and abilities involved in the acquisition and use of language in different social situations” (1982, p. 63). He claimed that language does not occur in isolated sentences but rather in “speech acts” and “speech events” (p. 63). He also claimed that speaking is like any other cultural system of behavior that is organized in specific ways and can be discovered and analyzed by investigators.

The talk about the “natives” in ethnography refers to people in situations, not necessarily only people living in remote jungles and villages. From that perspective, the word ‘natives’ could refer to any group of people in different situations, which includes children and youth in school. Nevertheless, the talk about the ‘natives’ necessarily means talking about a group of people possessing a degree of cultural unity, as described by Van Lier (1988).

When conducting an ethnographic study, one needs to take into account a number of significant aspects. Van Lier (1988) presented some very significant aspects to be taken into consideration when conducting ethnographic studies. He said:

“Relevance is decided on basis of an emerging framework, however fragile and tentative. .... Once we decide that context is essential in the examination of the interactional data, we engage, of necessity, in explanatory work. And we describe to explain and explain to understand. The mental activities are of course part and parcel of ordinary, everyday scrutiny of people’s action and talk, and all people, not only researchers, engage in them. The essential methodology therefore, includes ‘common sense’ as one of the tools of the trade” (Van Lier, 1988, p. 11).

The above quote draws our attention to several significant issues in SLCR (Second Language Classroom Research). The first issue is the basis for deciding the
relevance of which part of the context to be studied. Van Lier (1988) claims that we need
to look at the context, which may be regarded as extended. Nevertheless, he contends
that a dividing line needs to be drawn only to limit the context for the sake of the study,
in order to select what is relevant.

What Van Lier (1988) said in the above quote also draws our attention to another
important point, which is the aspect of selecting relevant features. Among the many
things we observe, we need to select the relevant contextual features that need to be taken
into account. The second important point to note is to look at the context as an essential
factor in examining the interactional behaviors.

The third issue to note in Van Lier’s quote is that the data collected in L2
classrooms is mostly interactional or discursal, which also makes the context an
interactional one. The fourth issue to consider is that in CR we need to do both
descriptive and explanatory work and that it is impossible to do one without the other.
And the last issue to point is the importance of gaining insights from studies done on
ordinary talk for the sake of understanding L2 classroom interaction, which requires that
we use ‘common sense’ as one of the ‘tools of the trade.’

In recent years, application of the ethnography of interaction has widened in
various fields such as sociology, linguistics, sociolinguistics, and education. All those
fields focus on studying the human behavior in its social context. SL classrooms were no
exception. Ethnography of communication has been used as a research methodology to
study SL classroom interaction behaviors. It has aimed to provide valid interpretation of
the SL classroom as a social setting in which language learning could occur (Van Lier,
1988).
According to Johnson (1992), when conducting ethnographic research in SL, it is important that the ethnographic studies be naturalistic without the researcher’s manipulation, as the main purpose of ethnographies is to provide in-depth descriptions of the phenomena to find out the recurrent patterns and to be able to do qualitative interpretation. According to Spindler and Spindler (1987), in the recording data stage, the investigator needs to make ethnographic reports, which requires him/her to do observations. Observations are to be collected repetitively to differentiate between behavioral patterns and one-time events.

According to Mehan, for ethnographers of Second Language Classroom Research (SL CR), the concern is the speech community and not the sentence. According to his perspective, the speech community “is the shared or mutually complementary knowledge and abilities of its members for the production and interpretation of socially appropriate speech” (Mehan, 1987, p. 63). According to Saville-Troike (1982), it is rather significant that the ethnography of communication uses qualitative information for both data sampling and data recording.

Conducting this study, especially during the phase of collecting materials, the above described suggestions by scholars, such as Mehan (1982); Spindler and Spindler (1987); Saville-Troike (1982); and Van Lier (1988) were considered. Since this was a study of four ESP classrooms at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait, which required me to provide an ethnographic report, the ethnography of interaction as the main research methodology was applied. The ESP classrooms were observed in their natural occurrence to be able to provide my ethnographic report. And since the context of those
classrooms was an interactional one, research emphasis was on the interactional context of the observed classrooms.

Consequently, this study applied the ethnography of interaction in order to understand particularities in that specific educational setting under study. The significance of the ethnography of interaction as a research methodology applied in this study was that it allowed me to see HOW teachers and students interactionally behaved in the ESP classroom, and whether their interactional behaviors were geared towards language acquisition in the first place. The ethnography of interaction was an appropriate research methodology for this study because the ESP teaching and learning were both educational and social processes, which were influenced by a package of other things that went on, not only in the classrooms and the institute, which were also social environments, but also in the broader context of the culture.

Because of my belief as a researcher that instructional institutions are good examples of the interference between the context of situation and the context of culture, I adopted Hadday's position in interpreting language learning as a social system of meanings. According to him (1985), language learning in school is influenced by both the immediate environment, which is the context of situation, and a broader context, which is the context of culture. The ethnography of interaction allowed me to understand the context of situation (classroom situations) as the immediate environment, while information elicitation provided me with information about the context of the culture as the boarder context (i.e., students' educational and cultural backgrounds).
Van Lier (1988) also asserted that because of the diverse variables that play different roles in different L2 classrooms, researchers should pay more attention to the context of L2 classroom. He provided us with two views of context. The first one is a micro view, which he described as “the context second-language speakers create for themselves and the context created for them by their interlocutors” (PP. 7 - 8). The second view is the macro view, which looks at “home-school relations, L1-L2 relative status, learners’ attitudes and reference groups, and so on” (p. 8). Van Lier described the former view as ‘context-in-performance’ or ‘interactive context,’ while the latter as ‘socio-cultural context.’ According to him, there are many contextual factors that are relevant and many are related and come together to produce the dynamics of the classroom work. Therefore, L2 classroom study should be context research, in which all central data derive from what actually goes on in the classroom.

Mehan (1982) also advocated applying an ethnographic methodology for studying the classroom interactional behavior. According to him, ethnographic studies of classroom events provide researchers with a better understanding of the teaching-learning processes, which in their turn contribute to the development of both learning skills and the school role. He also claims that ethnography does not provide answers to educational problems but rather provides “an entirely different way of looking at schooling and asking questions about the educational process” (p. 59). In other words, the goal of such research would be “to specify the machinery that generates the social order observed” (p. 59).
Mehan (1982) contended that the ethnography of interaction is particularly important in describing the interaction in educational settings because the school is a culture within itself, which requires its members to be communicatively competent. In other words, it requires its members to produce behaviors and be able to interpret behaviors of others in order to effectively participate in interaction. And since I did not seek answers to educational problems but rather an understanding of how teachers’ and students’ interactional behaviors worked towards achieving the required ESP acquisition, I found the ethnography of classroom events vital to this study.

Saville-Troike (1982) recommended describing and analyzing communicative actions in their boundaries. Explaining that point, she claimed researchers needed to notice the communicative activities, which have recognizable boundaries, as discrete units of analysis. For her, part of doing ethnography of communication is discovering what constitutes a communicative event and classes of events within a speech community. In order to understand the structured processes in any classroom, one needs to look at them as units within boundaries. Each unit has distinctive functions. Different scholars treated classroom events or units differently. For example Saville-Troike (1982) borrowed Hymes’ units of analysis to describe the communicative activities, which are: situations, events, and acts. She defined the first aspect of the units of analysis, which is the communicative situation, as the context in which interaction occurs (i.e., church services, class in school, an auction, etc). According to her, the second aspect of the unit of analysis is a communicative event. A communicative event is a unit for a descriptive purpose. The third aspect of the units of analysis is the communicative act. She described the communicative act as to be a single interaction function within the event, which can
be either verbal or non-verbal. Another scholar, Heap (1982), described the classroom events as ‘instructional sequences,’ while Mehan called them ‘interactional sequences’ in which the instructional phase is only one part of it. Mehan summarized the structure of classroom events as follows:

“Teachers and students mark the boundaries of interactional sequences, topically related sets, event phases, and school events themselves through shifts in kinetic, paralinguistic, and verbal behavior. The presence of these boundary markers in the interaction indicates that participants are oriented toward the sequential and hierarchical organization of school events” (Mehan, 1982, p. 71).

According to Mehan (1982), the school day can be segmented into ‘events.’ The events can be analyzed into constituent parts, which he called ‘phases.’ Lesson phases can also be segmented into constituent parts, called ‘interactional sequences.’ The interactional sequences differ according to the classroom events, whether it is a circle event, lesson event, or work-time event. According to Mehan again, the instructional sequence is the heart of the lessons, where academic information is exchanged between teachers and students. This exchange of academic information takes place in interactional units called ‘elicitation sequences.’ Mehan described those units as to be ‘interactional,’ which are a joint production of teacher and students. He also described them as to be ‘sequential’ because they take place one after the other in interaction. According to him, those sequences have three interconnected parts. They are: an ‘Initiation Act,’ a ‘Replay Act,’ and an ‘Evaluation Act.’ In explaining the interconnectedness of the three parts, Initiation–Reply–Evaluation, Mehan borrowed the description of the two coupled ‘adjacency pairs’ as used by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). According to Mehan, the Initiation–Reply is the first adjacency pair,
which when completed becomes the first part of the second adjacency pair. The second
part of the second pair is the Evaluation act, which comments on the Initiation–Reply

Initiation Reply Evaluation

The Three-part Instructional Sequence (Mehan, 1982, p.69)

Mehan (1982) also claimed that during the instructional phase of the lesson,
interactional sequences are organized around topics. The instructional topics are
established in ‘basic sequences,’ teacher-student interaction. Sometimes, the topic
sequence ceases with the completion of the basic sequence. On other occasions, the basic
topic may be expanded by teachers and students with a series of ‘conditional series.’

Participants’ Interviews

In theory, qualitative researchers prefer observing the spontaneous natural data
and reject the use of instrumentation in collecting data. Nevertheless, in practice this
seems to be difficult to do. Spindler and Spindler (1987) claimed that much ethnographic
information is second hand. That is, since researchers cannot always directly observe the
behaviors, they have the natives speak about them. Spindler and Spindler claimed that
validity is then affected and therefore ethnographers seek compensation by taking the
accounts of many people who would like to talk about the behaviors hidden to the
ethnographers.
Spindler and Spindler (1987) provided researchers with a piece of advice when conducting an ethnographic study. They claimed that a significant requirement for an ethnographic study is that both the behaviors in situations and their explanations from the natives’ point of view be carefully and systematically recorded, using whatever helpful aids for that purpose. At the stage of interpretation, the ethnographer needs not only to do ethnographic observations but also to elicit cultural knowledge from the natives, who would explain their behaviors and sometimes defend them.

According to Tarone (1994), some researchers, such as Douglas and Selinker, Cohen and Olshtain, Hymes and others, value research methodologies that seek out the learner’s opinion in order to achieve a better understanding of the phenomenon of SLA under study. Dell Hymes contends that “the participant’s own explanations and conceptualizations of their behavior” should be added to the observations of the communication, because “mere observation, however systematic and repeated, can obviously never suffice to meet ... high standards of objectivity and validity” (quoted in Tarone, 1994, p. 324).

According to Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), SLA researchers vary in the way they conduct oral interviews. Some follow structured interviews to elicit the desired data by exercising control over topics and questions. By doing so, they steer the conversation in a way where subjects are led to produce only the structure or data studied, especially research done with linguistic orientation. On the other hand, other SLA researchers allow their subjects the freedom to choose the topic they want to talk about in order to produce more spontaneous speech, especially research done with ethnographic orientation.
Eisner (1991) also contended that the use of interviews as a research methodology is second in importance to direct observation in qualitative research. Interviewing, as a means of information elicitation, provides us with what informants have to say about their activities, their feelings, and their experiences. Eisner advocated the use of non-formal interviews that would likely yield substantial information. He claimed that interviews need not be formal but rather should aim to put the interviewee at ease. He says, “Conducting a good interview is, in some ways, like participating in a good conversation: listening intently and asking questions that focus on concrete examples and feelings rather than on abstract speculations, which are less likely to provide genuinely meaningful information” (1991, p. 183).

Eisner (1991) also provides us with a piece of advice for what to focus on while conducting interviews. According to him, it is usually better to focus on things that the interviewees have done. For example, it is useful to ask questions to explain something they said or did in the class; the way they introduced a topic; responded to a student; or why they selected a particular issue for discussion.

Since the study was not intended to examine specific linguistic production aspects as linguistic discourses but rather to examine interaction in the ESP classroom context in order to be interpreted, participants’ interviewing, which is a technique of information elicitation, appeared to be an appropriate methodology for the study. Some observed situations did not yield the desired behaviors that were looked for, while other observed behaviors were not understandable to me as a researcher and thus needed some clarification according to the participants’ accounts in order to construe and categorize. Therefore, participants’ interviews seemed an appropriate technique to be used, along
with ethnographic observations. The two qualitative research methodologies were used to collect materials at the data-recording phase, to construe information at the interpretation phase and to appraise the recorded materials at the findings phase.

The Development of SL Research and SL Research Paradigms

Theoretical Background

Researchers have been interested in second language acquisition (SLA) since ancient times, not only because researchers seek knowledge for its own sake but also because it is a fascinating study and its understanding draws upon knowledge from different fields. Research in second language acquisition is conducted from different perspectives. SLA can be looked at with a linguistic orientation, according to sociolinguistic theories, from a sociological perspective, with an anthropological orientation, or with a psychological orientation. The field of educational research looks at SLA with a focus on the study of teaching and learning (Johnson, 1992; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Seliger & Shohamy, 1995).

According to Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), in modern times, in the era of pre-ESL, researchers emphasized language teaching and teaching methods because the assumption was that if language teaching methods could be made more efficient, learning would take place more effectively. Larsen-Freeman and Long also claimed that most researchers date the beginning of SLA with Corder’s article “The significance of learners’ errors”, which was published in 1967 or Selinker’s “Interlanguage”, which was published in 1972. And as a result of the findings from comparative studies over the nature of
learning and the revolution in linguistics, the researchers’ focus shifted from teaching processes to learning processes.

In the 1960s, a research methodological dispute erupted. Because of the debate between psychologists and behaviorists concerning the character of human learning (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991), and because of the Chomskyan revolution against transformational generative grammar, which assumed the grammatical concepts to be common to all natives (Chomsky, 1965; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991), many researchers looked at the new field of SLA as an area to be researched quantitatively (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). The original research methodologies of SLA were first borrowed from first language (L1) research. Others continued relying on research methodologies from education, which were then related to disciplines in language teaching methodologies.

According to Markee (1994); Tarone (1994); Van Lier, (1988); and Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), there are two traditions in SLA research. The first tradition is a nomothetic one, with which experimental, quantitative methodology is associated. The second tradition is the hermeneutics, with which naturalistic, qualitative methodology is associated. The former paradigm, to which most researchers in SLA ascribe, is concerned with explaining and predicting how phenomena work. The latter paradigm focuses on understanding and interpreting how phenomena are organized. The nomothetic approach works from the perspective that there is a single discoverable reality or Truth that can be explained by means of a “causal-process approach” (Tarone, 1994, p. 323). This approach relies on the experimental quantitative methodology to reveal those causal relationships by testing hypothesis (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991).
On the other hand, the hermeneutic approach to research in SLA assumes that there is no single Reality but multiple realities, as perceived differently in terms of their users and their contexts. All perceptions are important to this research approach because this approach claims that, "the value of a phenomenon derives from its usefulness for some purpose (rather) than from some kind of approximation to abstract an ideal Truth" (Tarone, 1994, p. 324). The hermeneutic approach relies on the use of naturalistic qualitative methodology. According to Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), qualitative methodologies mostly entail ethnographic studies in which researchers do not attempt to test hypotheses but rather observe the phenomena within their focus. Consequently, the behaviors of the subjects and the incidences are free to change during the course of observation.

According to Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), advocates of the nomothetic tradition, with which the experimental quantitative methodology is associated, question the naturalness of the observational studies, claiming that the presence of the observer will force the subjects to behave differently. According to them, findings of observational studies cannot be generalized and that it is impossible to sort out the typical from the unique. Advocates of the nomothetic tradition also object to the observers' subjectivity, which they claim makes their studies less objective. And that they are time-consuming is another drawback they take against observational studies.

On the other hand, many researchers (i.e., Van Lier, 1988; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; and Markee, 1994), who follow the hermeneutic approach, criticized the treatment of language quantitatively because, in attempting to find out causalities between different variables, researchers ignore looking at the context as a whole. Markee (1994) provided
a critique of the nomothetic tradition from an ethno-methodological perspective. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that qualitative and quantitative researches were complementary paths to knowledge about the phenomena of SLA. His justification for the critique was to question the dominance of the nomothetic tradition in the field.

Rist (quoted in Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, p. 11) explained the clash between the two paradigms by saying, “Ultimately, the issue is not research strategies *per se*. Rather, the adherence to one paradigm as opposed to another predisposes one to view the world and the events within it in profoundly different ways” [Italics are Rist’s emphasis]. Reichardt and Cook (cited in Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991) also explained the clash by saying that it is assumed that the paradigms are inflexible and if researchers subscribe to one paradigm they should use different research methodologies. Larsen-Freeman and Long rejected those assumptions and found them unjustified. They believed that paradigm attributes are not necessarily linked to one methodology and believe that a combination of both paradigms is also possible. They claimed that although particular attributes may be commonly associated more with one paradigm than the other, there should not be a fixed and rigid dividing line between the two paradigms, but rather a continuum of methods with the two paradigms at either end.

In spite of all the dispute about the adherence to a particular paradigm, recently there has been a considerably growing agreement among SLA researchers on both sides that both qualitative and quantitative studies, though contradictory, could be compatible and could be useful for each other and for the advancement of the research in SLA (i.e., Seliger and Shohamy, 1995; Markee, 1994; Cohen & Olshitan, 1994; Douglas & Selinker, 1994; Van Lier, 1988; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; and Hancock, 2001).
Seliger and Shohamy provided us with a solution to the problem of paradigm-adherence by saying:

“The study of the phenomena associated with second language learning must necessarily be multifaceted and multidisciplinary, taking account of knowledge and research methodologies from areas such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, education, and others .......... each of these areas provides the researcher with different perspectives, goals, and tools for studying the phenomena of second language learning. These different disciplines and the wide range of research methodologies represented in these areas can provide a more complete picture of second language acquisition” (Seliger & Shohamy, 1995, p. 23).

According to Van Lier (1988), there is such a tremendous variety of SL classrooms that progress in the research of this area is slow. Nevertheless, the understanding of the diversity can help identify the universal. SLA research is also complex because it draws on many fields, and that is why it is considered a multidisciplinary area of study. Nevertheless, it is because of the fact that it is a multidisciplinary field that SLA research can inform these different related fields with some sort of insights into the process of SLA.

Larsen-Freeman and Long provide researchers with some examples of the benefits of SLA research that different fields can gain. They say:

“SLA provides a good test case for linguists’ claims about language universal, and for psychologists’ observations on individual learning style differences. It also provides fertile ground for anthropologists’ exploration of cultural universals and for sociologists’ study of achievement. Psycho-linguists should be able to use SLA research findings in order to address a perennial problem for them: how to sort out the effect of cognitive development from normal child language development. Sociolinguists should find second language acquisition research helpful in explaining their understanding of when speakers prefer one speech style over another. Neurolinguists will find that SLA evidence can be brought to bear on issues in human biological development” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, p. 4).
Classroom research now focuses on the teachers or the learners or on the interaction between them. According to Nunan (1990), teacher-focused SL CR examines factors such as the teacher's classroom decision-making or teacher talk. Teacher talk encompasses elements such as questions asked by the teacher, amount of teacher talk, kind of instructions, type of error correction and feedback to the learners, and speech modifications the teacher makes while teaching SL. Learner-focused SL CR looks at aspects such as the developmental factors of SL, learning styles and strategies used by different learners, classroom interaction that takes place among learners and its effect on SL development, etc.

CR methodology took different forms depending on the different aims of the studies done. The goal of statistical correlational studies is to provide an explanation of the causal relation between different variables. The research question is then 'WHY.' On the other hand, the aim of ethnographic studies is to seek rules or principles that organize behaviors in particular circumstances. The research question is then 'HOW.' Some researchers follow quantifications in their correlational studies, while others use qualitative research methodologies to describe the classroom interaction as a natural phenomenon (Mehan, 1982). Nevertheless, Hancock (2001) claimed that the pendulum of SL research had swung to the naturalistic paradigm during the second part of the 1990s. He contended that SL research needs to be conducted in both the 'rationalistic' and the 'naturalistic' paradigms. He recommended a model of SL research that would use both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to bridge the shift between the two paradigms with the ultimate goal of understanding the complex SL learning process. According to Hancock again, what is needed for the new millennium is more of a
collaborative approach to SL research which “has the potential to provide quality, robust, large-scale, longitudinal national research as a complement to independent research efforts currently under way” (Hancock, 2001, p. 366).

Paradigm Choice

Tarone (1994) agreed to the idea that there is no single research approach that is superior to the other approaches. This is because each approach has its own advantages and disadvantages and they all aim at understanding the complex phenomena of SLA. According to Tarone, the various research approaches are valid for their own purposes. In other words, what makes a research methodology better for a given research purpose may not make it so for a different research purpose.

Other SLA researchers also adopted different positions ranging from choosing the research methodology that is appropriate for the study without adherence to a particular paradigm (i.e., Seliger and Shohamy, 1995; Markee, 1994; Cohen & Olshtain, 1994; Douglas & Selinker, 1994; Van Lier, 1988; and Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991) to combining research methodologies (i.e., Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991; and Hancock, 2001). According to Seliger and Shohamy, SLA research “cannot adopt the research paradigm of any one of these related fields but must develop research methodologies of its own which allow for a variety of approaches and flexibility in investigating research questions” (1995, p. 41). Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), who suggested a continuum of methods with the two paradigms at either end, also suggested broadening the scope of SLA research to include a variety of subjects, languages, settings, and purposes.
Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), who themselves did quantitative research, claimed that some researchers considered the difference between the two types of methodologies a fundamental clash between two paradigms. Nevertheless, the important issue is not the prior adherence of a researcher to a certain paradigm, but rather the clarity of the purpose of the study in order to match the purpose with the attributes most likely to accomplish that purpose.

Therefore, it is the clarity of the research purpose that determines the research paradigm choice. In an attempt to provide a rationale for choosing the appropriate paradigm to follow in this study, as a researcher, I sought answers to the two following questions: Why do we study SLA in general and what can the ethnography of interaction as an SL CR methodology achieve?

**Why should this study conduct the ethnography of Interaction as an SL CR methodology? And what can it achieve?**

As for why researchers need to conduct second language (SL) research in classrooms in the first place, Van Lier (1988) contended that the second language classroom research (SL CR) might have different aims but generally the aim would be either to improve or solve problems (wanting to help) or to construct, test or strengthen a theory (wanting to know). According to Johnson (1992), although learning a second language occurs in both formal and informal settings, for most learners of second language in their countries, the English as a second language (ESL) or the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom, which creates situations that promote “naturalistic”
acquisition, is the only context for using L2. Therefore, the institutional contexts should shape the research.

Van Lier (1988) claimed that researchers had tended to avoid the classroom as a place to conduct their research because they considered it a ‘messy’ source of data. To the contrary, according to Van Lier, it is a valuable resource of data that would add to the cumulative understanding that would benefit the profession. Because interaction is the main element that characterizes SL classroom activities, researchers need to observe interaction in its place of occurrence, which is the classroom. Therefore, it is important to note that “the classroom is a necessary complement both as a resource of data and as a criterion of relevance of findings” (Van Lier, 1988, p. 27). He also provided us with another significant reason for conducting CR as a branch of second language acquisition (SLA) research, which is that it deals directly with the teacher, who most researchers do not concern themselves with. Thus, CR can bridge the gap between theory and practice when it studies what really goes on in the actual classroom. CR is particularly important to the teacher because the researcher provides immediate feedback, as well as the relevant findings, which would be very useful to the classroom teacher.

Reviewing CR in general and SL CR in particular indicates that the talk about CR means the talk about a preference for a particular research methodology. Although there has recently been considerably growing agreement among SLA researchers on both sides that both qualitative and quantitative studies, though contradictory, could be compatible and could be useful for each other and for the advancement of the research in SLA (Markee, 1994; Cohen & Olshtain, 1994; Douglas & Selinker, 1994; Van Lier, 1988; and Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991), it is rather difficult to talk about what ethnography can
achieve in the SL classroom without talking about what other methodologies cannot achieve.

In the following argument, the aim is not to deny the advantages of other research methodologies or to advocate the adherence to a particular methodology, but rather to show the appropriateness of the ethnography of interaction and participants’ interviews as the research methodologies for conducting second language classroom research (SL CR).

According to Van Lier (1988) and Nunan (1990), observation is a crucial component of L2 classroom research because classrooms are social context, in which discourse is a central part. Since SL classrooms are specifically designed for the purpose of facilitating language learning, classroom contexts provide a sufficient justification for studying what goes on there (Nunan, 1990). Van Lier emphasized observing the interactions in their social context. He emphasized the use of ethnography when studying the SL classroom, for all data must be interpreted in the context of their occurrence, which is a classroom context. For him, that context is not only a cognitive and linguistic one, but also an essentially social one. He explained the importance of the use of observation of interaction in the SL classroom as follows:

“Classroom interaction is not all of one kind: at various times during lessons learners are called upon and call upon themselves and each other to communicate in the target language in a great variety of ways. This produces a rich and diverse source of data for second-language acquisition research which, in spite of the logistical difficulties inherent in the setting as a locus for research, offers opportunities for the study of learners’ interlanguages that no amount of experimentation or elicitation can match” (Van Lier, 1988, pp. 25 - 26).

Nunan (1990) also advocated the use of classroom ethnography as a research methodology as opposed to experimentation. According to him, there is a pressing need at the moment for conducting research in real classrooms, or what he called
"contextualized research," and not research in simulated environments that are only constituted for the purposes of the research itself without consideration for the teaching and the learning that actually take place in real classrooms.

According to Van Lier (1988), tests and examinations cannot be taken as direct measures of the SL classroom because those examinations and scores do not really inform us of the role of the classroom or how the success was obtained. To the contrary, to determine all the different variables and their role in the success of SLA we need to go directly to the classroom itself and examine all interactional behaviors, along with other social and cultural factors. Relevance is another important reason for conducting ethnography of interaction in SL classrooms. Explaining the aspect of relevance in relation to the examination of the interactional data, Van Lier asserts that selecting the relevance should be based on both the conceptual framework and the interactional and socio-cultural context.

Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) and Van Lier (1988) claimed that another important reason for conducting observational studies, especially if combined with introspection, is that cognitive processes are not directly available for observation or testing. Therefore, observable interactional behaviors can provide useful interpretations and useful clues about the mental processes that are not obtainable by any other methodology.

In general, in explaining the preference of the ethnography of interaction as an SLA CR methodology over other quantitative methodologies, one can adopt the position of Mehan, one of the advocates of ethnography of interaction. Mehan (1982) claimed that results yielded from surveys are not helpful for policy makers, educators and
researchers because they provide correlational relationships between input and output variables without direct examination of what really goes on in school. Mehan proposed the ethnography of communication as an alternative research methodology to be applied to Classroom Research (CR). He claimed that the ethnography of communication reveals the "interactional work that structures educational environments" (1982, p. 80). And because surveys do not reveal the social processes of education, ethnographies provide rigorous descriptions of those processes in systematic ways that would produce reliable data for researchers and policy makers to help them make well-informed decisions. Mehan also noted that the drawback of surveys is that their results are probabilistic (because they report average distributions across a large population), which makes those findings inapplicable to particular circumstances, while findings from ethnographies are more applicable to particularities in particular educational circumstances.

Mehan summed it up as follows:

"In short, the tabulation of data into frequency distributions obscures the processes of interaction that take place in practical circumstances. .... I do not think that answers to questions about the role of schooling in society will come from large-scale comparisons between schools, but will come from careful description of what takes place in educational environments, in and out of school. .... The findings from constitutive ethnography are presented as videotapes or transcripts, not probabilistic summaries, which means that they apply to particular educational circumstances. Because these materials are concrete, not abstract, they can provide the specific information needed to figure out what does make a difference in educational settings" (Mehan, 1982, pp. 81 - 82).

Because the ethnography of interaction as a research approach starts free of any prior hypothesis to be tested, researchers are free to discover any potential factor which could influence the SLA process. This methodology provides researchers with detailed and thorough descriptions of SL subjects' behaviors because it is based on systematic
observation, which constitutes scientific description, analysis and interpretation (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Van Lier, 1988).

Accordingly, findings of ethnographies of interaction would be more meaningful than findings of any other research methodology in SL classrooms. And as Miles and Huberman contended, “words, especially when they are organized into incidences and stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavor that often proves far more convincing to a reader – another researcher, a policy maker, a practitioner – than pages of numbers” (quoted in Frey & others, 1992, p. 7). Although the ethnography of communication is expensive in terms of time and labor, it is deeply valuable for the teacher to develop his/her self-reflection with the ultimate goal of improving his/her instruction, as well as for consultants, specialists and administrators to make well-informed political and administrative decisions (Heap, 1982).

To conclude, the above argument was not about the adherence to a particular tradition, but rather was used to provide justifications for the research paradigm choice according to the appropriateness of the paradigm for the purpose of the study. As a researcher, I believe that if the phenomena are best treated by numbers, the research should follow a quantitative methodology. While there are aspects that are best presented in numbers and therefore should be measured, there are other aspects that are best studied through means of qualitative methodologies, especially when conducting SL CR. As Eisner puts it: “The point of using qualitative means to render and interpret the educational world is that it enables researchers to say what cannot be said through numbers – or at least cannot be said as well” (Eisner, 1991, p. 187). The paradigm choice
is not only relevant to its appropriateness as a research methodology but also to the objectives of the research itself.

The aim of this research was to describe and understand the phenomena under study in order to be interpreted. The aim was to describe and understand HOW teachers and learners interactionally behaved in the observed ESP classrooms, with special reference to code-switching. Consequently, qualitative description and interpretation were the best methods of analysis for this research. Therefore, qualitative research methodologies were the most appropriate research methods for this study. As Van Lier (1988) contended, a wide range of methods and tools can be employed, in isolation or in combination, to do an ethnographic classroom research. Therefore, this research study conducted ethnographic observations and informants’ interviews not only because of their appropriateness as qualitative research methodologies but also because of their appropriateness for the objectives of the study.

Data Collection

Data Collection Strategies

According to Johnson (1992), field techniques include the following: observing and interviewing, and using written resources and non-written resources. Consequently, the research’s five main strategies, for both collecting materials and field notes and analyzing those materials in a later phase, were direct observations; asking questions; note-taking; audio-taping, and obtaining written materials.

Gaining naturalistic information through means of observation and gaining elicited information through means of enquiry were the two main methods of collecting
materials. They were combined to provide not only different perspectives but also to provide validation. Those two field techniques used in this ethnographic study were done through means of watching and asking.

The other three techniques for collecting data were note-taking, tape-recording, and obtaining written materials. According to Eisner (1991), note-taking and audiotaping are crucial tools in conducting any qualitative research because they provide the researcher with reminders, quotations, and details for both descriptions and interpretations. Researchers should keep in mind that not everything recorded is needed and what is significant does not announce itself. Therefore, it is the researcher’s task to both see and remember events using the available tools he/she has in hand. As for the written materials, I used the textbooks used for teaching those ESP courses as a valuable resource of data for both examining the claim of the use of the functional-notional approach and interpreting classroom activities.

**Ethnographic Observations**

The observational study was conducted in four ESP classrooms at the female section of the College of Business Studies in Kuwait during the second semester of the school year 1998/1999. Each class attended three one-hour sessions a week. The hours of observations of each class varied for different reasons. Mrs. R allowed me to observe only two sessions of her class. I observed Mrs. A’s class only four times at the beginning of the semester because she had an accident and was hospitalized for the remaining part of that semester. I observed Mrs. K’s class for six hours because I had to alternate
between attending her class and Mrs. M's class. I spent most time observing Mrs. M's classroom. I observed fourteen hours of her class.

As an ethnographer, I chose to be a non-participant observer. Being a non-participant observer meant that I would not engage in the activities observed. That allowed me to be free to take notes and make audio-recordings during the phase of observation. As Spindler and Spindler suggested, at this stage inferences should be held back or be used only parsimoniously. They believed that during the data recording phase, the ethnographer is required to "defer judgment, avoid premature interpretation and generalization, and confine ethnography to observation of behavior, eliciting the cultural knowledge of natives, and writing close to the ground" (Spindler and Spindler, 1987, p. 28) [Italics are the authors' emphasis].

And, because it was a heuristic study, which meant that it would be based on gaining information through my own discovery of the phenomenon under study, I approached it without a prior hypothesis to be tested. That allowed me to be free to discover any potential factors that could influence the ESP acquisition process. And because it was heuristic research, I did not try to impose any kind of control or restriction. I did not reveal to the subjects what kind of behaviors I was looking for, but rather I did my observations and my recording of the participants' natural conversation in order not to draw the subjects' attention to what type of information was being sought.

**Audio-Taping**

Audio-taping was another vital method used during the phase of recording my materials. According to Heap (1982), audio-taping and/or videotaping classroom events
the way they are structured and not as following presumptive re-constructions (i.e., categorization) to ensure that the information yielded is not pre-coded. According to Heap again, that methodology would deepen the observer’s understanding of the phenomenon observed. It also allows the observer to discover more than what was presumed.

The use of tape-recording allowed me to replay the events and transcribe them to describe what actually had happened. I audio-taped a total of twenty-six hours of class sessions, two hours of audio-taping of Mrs. R’s class; four hours of Mrs. A’s class; six hours of Mrs. K’s class; and fourteen hours of Mrs. M’s class. All teachers’ interviews and students’ interviews were also tape-recorded. I used tape-recording as means of collecting data. I replayed my recorded materials not only to be transcribed, but also to be used as records to look at as a reminder of the interactional behaviors that took place in the ESP classrooms under study. I also used the recorded materials for extended interactional analysis in the data analysis phase.

**Note-Taking**

Note-taking is highly related to doing an ethnographic study, because it is an important tool used with other tools during observations. According to Eisner (1991), it is a crucial tool in conducting qualitative research in both the data recording phase and the data analysis phase. According to him, while recording data, the researcher should provide interpretive comments alongside the occurrences. The researcher’s feelings about the phenomenon under study should also be included in the commentary. Those notes would be then used as reminders of the events that occurred during observations.
During the ethnographic observations, an observation log was used to put down field notes during the phase of collecting materials. That log was used as a reminder of some important behaviors or events. Nevertheless, at the data collection phase, judgments or generalizations about the behaviors of the subjects under study were not made and only interpretive comments were provided parsimoniously.

Written Materials

Written materials were also used as one of the research methods. The textbook, *We’re in Business: English for commercial practice and international trade*, was a valuable resource for both recording materials and understanding classroom events. Other written materials were also used as field resources, such as supplementary materials provided by the teachers; some authentic documents provided as examples; vocabulary lists; and other curriculum materials. Those resources enabled the researcher to understand the different activities that took place in those ESP classes and to interpret recurrent patterns of behavior occurring in each activity. Written materials, such as the textbook and other documents were also used as sources to gain insights of the classroom events. Those materials are vital to this study because they also provided a proposition about the author’s intentions, which was providing the learners with functional-notional situations.

Interviewing

Natural observations were combined with information elicitation to provide different perspectives on the same issue as well. Explanations from the natives’ points of view about their behaviors and/or other aspects that influenced their communicative
behaviors in the classroom were sought. Participants’ interviewing was used as an elicitation technique. During the interviews, some kind of control over the topics and the questions was exercised but the interviewees were allowed to answer freely to those specific asked questions. Nevertheless, the subjects were given the freedom to talk about their own opinions about some topics of their own choice.

The interviews took two forms. There were teachers’ interviews and students’ interviews. With the teachers, the interviews took a different shape. I had two types of teachers’ interviews, individual-interviews and a group-interview. I first conducted a teachers’ group-interview, in which three teachers participated, two teachers whose classes I observed (Mrs. R and Mrs. M) and a teacher who volunteered to be interviewed (Mrs. Y), though I never attended her classes. Nevertheless, one teacher (Mrs. R) had to leave during the course of interviewing because she had a class to attend. I finished the interview with the remaining teachers. Later on that day, I continued interviewing Mrs. R individually. Because Mrs. K could not attend the group-interview, I had to interview her individually, too. It is worth mentioning that I did not have a chance to interview Mrs. A because she was hospitalized then.

Although interview questions were asked in English, the teachers were informed in advance that they were free to use the language they felt comfortable with. In the individual teacher’s interviews, questions were asked in English and the teachers were allowed to respond in the language they preferred. The two teachers who participated in the individual-interviews expressed their opinions mainly in Arabic with occasional code-switching to English. In the group-interview, interview questions were asked in English. Some clarification to some ambiguous questions were translating in Arabic to the
interviewees. The teachers mostly responded in English. When I asked the teachers about the functional-notional approach and their perceptions about it, they only responded in English. The teachers themselves used English in general whenever they talked about some notions or terms in the business context or when they talked about the courses they taught. Nevertheless, code-switching which was done by the teachers in the interviews was not included in the study because the focus of the study was classroom interaction. The teachers’ interview questions were divided according to the following aspects: (a) teachers’ perceptions of the functional notional approach, (b) business skills, (c) teaching for the sake of the exam, (d) cultural and social issues, (e) textbook, and (f) teaching methodologies. (Teachers’ interview questions are provided in Appendix A)

In the students’ interviews, all the participants were given the freedom to answer the questions in the language of their preference and what they felt more comfortable with. The students preferred to be asked in Arabic and be allowed to respond in Arabic, too. I translated all the questions into Arabic and allowed the participants to answer in the easier language which was Arabic.

It was the 20 of May 1999, the last day of the scheduled classes. I conducted three students’ group-interviews. The first students’ group-interview was conducted in Mrs. A’s classroom. Mrs. MM, the substitute teacher for Mrs. A, Mrs. K and Mrs. M, each allowed me half an hour of her class time to conduct the interviews with her students. The three students’ interviews were conducted as group-interviews. Although I used some prepared questions, the interviews did not exactly follow that set of questions which were prepared beforehand. They were rather open-ended interviews as many questions
came up during the interviews and students expressed their own accounts of different topics.

With Mrs. A’s students, I asked that only ten students participate in the interview and asked the rest of the students to leave the class if they didn’t want to be part of the interview. Only eight students volunteered to stay with me for the rest of the class time to be interviewed. Five students were from the first row. All of the five students were those who always sat in the first row during the semester. Three students were from those who always sat in the middle rows. One of the three middle-row students was veiled. I needed more veiled students. It was important to have the veiled students interviewed because I sought their own opinions about how having the veils on influenced their participation on the classroom activities. Therefore, I asked two of the veiled students who always sat at the back of the class to be interviewed as they were preparing to leave with the rest of the students not attending the interview. The two veiled students agreed to stay.

As for Mrs. K’s students, only seven students volunteered to stay with me for the rest of the class time to be interviewed. Four students were those who always chose to be seated in the first row during the semester. Two students were some of those students who always sat in the middle rows. And only one student from the last row of the class volunteered to be part of the interview. None of the veiled students was willing to participate in the interview.

Mrs. M’s class showed more interest in the interview. Seventeen students volunteered to stay with me for the rest of the class time to be interviewed. Eight students were from the first row. All of the eight students were those who always sat in
the first row during the semester. Seven students were from those who always sat in the middle rows and only two were from those who always sat in the last row of the class. Those two students were preparing to leave with the rest of the students not attending the interview, when I asked them if they would like be interviewed, especially because they were veiled students and their opinion was sought to clarify how keeping the veils on affected their classroom participation. They reluctantly agreed to stay for the interview.

The students' interview questions dealt with similar related aspects but took different forms to suit their status of being students. Their interview questions were about the following issues: (a) business skills, (b) studying for the sake of passing the exam, (c) motives and learning styles, and (d) cultural and social aspects. (See Appendix B)

Data Analysis

Selecting a Focus

According to Spindler and Spindler (1987), there is constant interaction between observation and interview. As an observer, I started by formulating and asking questions, to which I received answers to in return. Next, I observed with sharper and clearer perceptions gained by the new cultural knowledge. Then, I refined my questions, which focused on particular critical relevancies. Then, I observed some more looking for repetitions of behavior patterns with more focus than I started with. The fact that the recorded behaviors were natural and that no restriction was imposed on the scope of the phenomena under study allowed me to rely more on my judgment concerning what to concentrate on and what to ignore. It is my belief as an investigator that the less controlled the research is, the more interpretive the research becomes. Therefore, in the
interpretive stage I imposed a structure on the data, which depended heavily on my own perception of the naturally recorded behaviors.

As Eisner (1991) claimed, qualitative research does not seek to mirror the detailed factual account of the events, but rather seeks to provide an account, which portrays what the researcher thinks is important to say about the event under study. He also claimed that, in qualitative studies not everything the researcher sees is usable. Therefore, the researcher needs to decide what to focus on. According to him, focus “is determined by selecting out of the interactions that count, given the frame of reference, theory, conceptual system, or set of values the observer brings to the scene” (1991, p. 188). Consequently, as a researcher, I tried to craft a picture of the phenomena under study by finding a focus and selecting the themes that represented what was crucial to the study.

Eisner (1991) also contends that a qualitative researcher should try to craft a picture of the phenomenon under study. Consequently, finding a focus and selecting and organizing what to say was crucial to the study. My task was to tell a story with a theme, plot, and points of important consideration. As for how the focus can be decided, Eisner suggests that at the data analysis phase, themes need to be formulated by distilling materials.

I bore this in mind when I reread all the accounts. I looked for repeated themes in order to find a focus and tried to select what was only significant to the study. A method of counting the times code-switching or any other phenomenon occurred was used to determine whether to be considered important themes to be included in the study. Themes were then compared in order to decide how to craft the narrative with a theme, plot, and points of important consideration. The research focus was determined by the
relevance of the presence or absence of the observed themes in relation to the study's conceptual framework, which was mainly finding out how code-switching was performed and what role it played in the ESP classroom under study. Although code-switching was the most recurrent phenomenon, other classroom behaviors were also noticed. For example, incidences teachers altering their teaching methods and other incidences of students’ avoidance strategies were also observed in those classrooms. The research considered those issues as the secondary themes of the study.

**Tape-recorded Materials**

Audio-taping was a vital method used not only during the phase of recording the data, but also during the phase of analysis because tape-recording has many advantages. According to Heap (1982), that data collecting strategy would deepen the observer's understanding of the phenomenon observed. It also allows the observer to discover more than what was presumed.

Second, tape-recording can be used as an estrangement device. According to Van Lier (1988), because classrooms are familiar settings to the researcher, he suggested that ethnographers use tape-recording while observing the natural communication in the classroom. According to him, tape-recording is a tool for both description and analysis, and as an estrangement device. As a former teacher of ESP courses myself, I needed to use an estrangement device to be able to look at the communicative behaviors of the ESP classrooms as an outsider rather than an insider. The use of tape-recording allowed me to replay the events and transcribe them to describe what actually had happened without
being misled by my own assumptions as a native myself. Tape-recording helped me make the familiar strange for the purpose of the study.

A third advantage of the use of tape-recording, as Sacks (1994) claimed, is that tape-recorded materials could be replayed and could be transcribed not only to be studied extendedly by the researcher him/herself but also to be used as records to be seen by others who might disagree with the researcher. The recorded materials were to be transcribed for extended interactional analysis. Besides, transcriptions of tape recordings would be the recorded materials to be looked at by other researchers if needed.

It was also a vital research strategy because tape-recorded materials allowed the researcher to replay them not only to transcribe classroom events and interactions, but also to enable me, as a researcher, to provide translations of the Arabic utterances. It is worth mentioning that transcribing the data involved providing literal translations to all Arabic utterances.

**Interpretations and Inferences during the Phase of Analyzing Materials**

According to Spindler and Spindler (1987), analysis in ethnographic studies is a necessary step to move from the data to generalization. They contended that analysis of ethnographic data, beyond its orderly collection and presentation, is directed toward goals that are usually shaped by both theoretical and practical concerns. Therefore, the first step in doing analysis is to generate some grounded inferences from the collected data. Spindler and Spindler explained the grounded inferences as statements of relationships between variables. Those statements are the generalization of the ethnographic study and they form the hypotheses for further investigations and explorations.
Spindler and Spindler (1987) emphasized the role of theory in the data analysis stage. According to them, at the data analysis phase the ethnographer needs to draw reliable inferences governed by systematic models, paradigms or theory. Nevertheless, after data have been recorded, it is impossible to evaluate the social significance of the data without ethnographic knowledge about the social norms that control and govern the subjects’ linguistic choice in the observed situation.

As a researcher, I adopted the position held by both Halliday and Van Lier in interpreting language learning as a social system of meanings. According to Halliday (1985) and Van Lier (1988), language learning in school is influenced by both the context of situation and the context of culture. Schools, as social instructional institutions, are good examples of the interference between the context of situation and the context of culture. Therefore, during the phase of analysis, inferences about the ESP classrooms under study were generated relying not only on my ethnographic knowledge of the context of situation but also on my ethnographic knowledge of the broader context, the cultural context. In this research, as a researcher, I basically observed the interactive context, which is also referred to as the micro context. I also considered the socio-cultural context (the macro context) that influenced both teachers’ behaviors and students’ behaviors in the ESP classrooms under study.

During the phase of analysis of materials, inferences were made about the context of situation through means of ethnographic observations. On the other hand, inferences about the cultural context were gained through means of interviewing the natives. Interviews, as an elicitation methodology was significant to this ethnographic study because interviewing is a means of eliciting the cultural knowledge that informants
brought into the observed situations. According to Spindler and Spindler (1987), because much of the behavior of the subjects is guided by tacit, undeclared rules, taking the account of the natives is an important methodology for eliciting the natives’ cultural knowledge. Eliciting the natives’ cultural knowledge would then help provide the investigator during the phase of data analysis with explanatory elements of the hidden behavior.

During the phase of analysis, Mehan’s (1982) position, which treats language not as isolated sentences but rather as “speech acts” and “speech events”, was adopted (p. 63). For ethnographers of Second Language Classroom Research (SL CR), the concern is the speech community and not the sentence. Seeking an understanding of how teachers and students behave to achieve the required goal of ESP acquisition, As a researcher, I looked at the ESP classrooms as speech communities and tried to analyze the interaction as speech acts or events within their recognizable boundaries. To do so, Mehan’s (1982) treatment of the structure of classroom events were borrowed. What he called ‘interactional sequences’ were used in this study as means for describing and understanding the structure of classroom events, in which the instructional phase is only one part of it.

**Categorizing the data**

After recoding the observed data, the classroom interactions were transcribed. The transcriptions presented all classroom activities and interactions, along with the natives’ accounts. It is worth mentioning that translations to English of what was said in Arabic during both classroom activities and the teachers’ and students interviews was used during the phase of transcribing. Both tape-recorded data and transcriptions
provided reminders of what actually happened. They also helped during the phase of selecting the focus of the study. According to Van Lier (1988), ethnographers need to do both descriptive and explanatory work and it is impossible to do one without the other. This study followed Van Lier's advice during the analysis phase. An analysis around describing and interpreting the interactional events was crafted to provide an ethnographic account of the classroom events and interactions. Van Lier's advice was also followed concerning following one's 'common sense' as one of the 'tools of the trade' for the sake of understanding the ESP classroom interaction.

According to Eisner's suggestion, at the data analysis phase, themes need to be formulated by distilling materials. He explained it by saying that notes, transcripts, comments, etc. could be used inductively to generate thematic categories. Those categories are the recurrent messages interpreted from the events observed. Those thematic categories are also the tools used to distill the major themes, which would provide a structure for describing, interpreting, and appraising the events described (Eisner, 1991).

In this research, the observed recurrent incidences were recorded to be categorized. During the phase of analysis, those recurrent events were then used as the thematic categories which were used to help the study provide a structure for describing, interpreting and appraising those observed events. Although code-switching was the most recurrent event, and therefore was used as the main theme of the study, other recurrent events and incidences, both interactional and non-interactional were also observed as important incidences that deserved to be considered important phenomenon of the four ESP classrooms under study. Although they were not given the same weight
of concern as code-switching, they were considered as the secondary themes of the research that also needed to be presented in order to provide a broader interpretation of the phenomenon.

After transcribing all classroom events and the interviews, these transcriptions were reread and the audio-tapes were listened to again. Then, the information from those transcripts was distilled by actually dissecting the body of the transcriptions according to the recurrent incidences. The technique that was applied involved using different color highlighters and some different symbols to refer to each recurring incidence. The outcome of that dissection provided the following recurrent events: (a) teachers’ and students’ language alternation between Arabic and English during instructional activities, (b) teachers providing translations and definitions, (c) teachers explaining and/or translating reading passages, (d) teachers providing instruction repetition, (e) teachers’ use of general English supplementary materials in ESP classrooms, (f) teachers’ use of ESP language in ESP functional situations, (g) teachers’ use of grammar exercises to reinforce ESP language, (h) students’ collective answers, (i) students’ verbal survival strategies, and (j) teaching for the sake of passing the exams.

Having decided the focus of the research, the next step was to code the data in order to be interpreted. The procedure of coding was similar to the procedure followed in distilling and dissecting the body of the data. Nevertheless, because some of the above mentioned recurrent behaviors were cross-functionary and interwoven, a categorization was used to fit the data to the research questions. Therefore, the coded categories were as follows: (a) code-switching, (b) teacher’s instructional strategies, and (c) students’
survival strategies. Each of the three main categories has sub-categories, as will be discussed in the following section.

**Code-switching**

The category of 'code-switching' was used to refer to any incidence when the speaker switched from one language to another. In the observed classrooms, there were incidences when the speaker started speaking in English, then switched to Arabic or vice versa. A restriction to coding incidences of code-switching under this category was followed. Only incidences of code-switching were coded under this category when they did not appear to serve other purposes, such as a translation activity.

Different forms of code-switching were recorded and coded. The categorization was first considered according to: the language switched to, the speaker, and the forms it took. Categorization according to language switched to was as follows: (a) code-switching from English to Arabic, (b) code-switching from Arabic to English, and (c) continuous code-switching by alternating back and forth from one language to the other within the same TCU. The phenomenon was also coded according to the speaker as follows: (a) code-switching by teacher, and (d) code-switching by student. Nevertheless, in both cases, switching from English to Arabic or from Arabic to English, code-switching took different forms. Therefore, the following categories were coded: (a) single-word code-switching, (b) phrasal code-switching, (c) sentence code-switching, and (d) mixed code-switching. The single-word code-switching is an expression that is used to refer to incidences when the speaker used one language during her TCU but occasionally switched to the other language using single words from that second
language she switched to. The phrasal code-switching refers to incidences when the speaker switched to the other language at a phrase level (i.e., part of a compound sentence or a complex sentence). The sentence code-switching refers to incidences when the speaker switched to the other language at a sentence level. The mixed code-switching is used to refer to the use the three forms within the same TCU (Turn Constructional Unit).

It was difficult to decide which language should be considered the dominant language during many TCUs. Should the study consider the language that started a TCU as the main language and the other one was the language switched to? Or, should it consider the amount of speech in each language during the TCUs as the criterion to decide which language was the main language and which one was the one switched to. In many cases, it was difficult to draw a line between the two languages in some TCUs because speakers sometimes alternated between the two languages back and forth within the same TCU. Therefore, a different methodology in categorizing code-switching was followed. Consequently, in the analysis I decided to sub-categorize code-switching according to the speaker and the form of code-switching rather than according to the speaker and the language switched to. Thus, the categories were coded as follows:

1. Code-switching by teacher:
   a. Single-word code switching.
   b. Phrasal code-switching
   c. Sentence code-switching.
   d. Mixed code-switching alternating between the two languages using all different forms within the same TCU.

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2. Code-switching by student:
   b. Phrasal code-switching.
   c. Sentence code-switching.

   After coding the forms of code-switching, I examined what role it played in those ESP classrooms. According to my interpretation, it was used to employ different functions. Categorization code-switching according to functions was coded as follows:

1. To accomplish instructional tasks:
   a. Teachers providing instructional clarification.
   b. Teachers providing instructional translation.
   c. Teachers providing definitions.
   d. Teachers providing evaluation to students’ responses.
   e. Teachers checking students’ understanding.

2. To accomplish conversational tasks:
   a. Used as an attention-getting device.
   b. Used to signal topic shift.
   c. Used to highlight climactic moments.
   d. Used as a stylistic process.
3. To convey social information:
   a. Used to create a sense of community.
   b. Used to achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance or status.

**Teachers’ Instructional Strategies**

The second theme to be presented and interpreted is ‘teachers’ instructional strategies.’ This category was used to refer to strategies, other than code-switching, that were applied by the four teachers in the observed ESP classrooms. To answer the research question, what teaching strategies teachers used in those four ESP classrooms, the theme of ‘teachers’ instructional strategies’ was coded into the following categories:

1. Providing instructional repetition.
2. Translating and explaining reading comprehension passages at a sentence level.
3. Using general English supplementary material in explaining grammar rules.
4. Using grammar and vocabulary exercises in a business context.
6. Providing instructions to enable students to pass their ESP course examinations.
Students' Survival Strategies

The third theme to be presented and interpreted is 'students' survival strategies. This category was used to refer to strategies that were applied by the students in the observed ESP classrooms. To answer the research question: what survival strategies students used during lessons in the four ESP classrooms, the category of 'students survival strategies' was coded into the following sub-categories:

1. Keeping the veil on used by some students as an avoidance of classroom participation.
2. Seating choice used by some students as an avoidance of class participation.
3. Types of students' responses considered as acceptable or unacceptable classroom behaviors:
   A. Students' answering collectively used as an acceptable classroom behavior.
   B. Students' avoidance of providing incomplete answers.
   C. Students' avoidance of providing correct utterances.

Transcription Conventions

This research study used transcription conventions based on those developed by Gail Jefferson (1978,1984), and as used by Van Lier (1988) and Schegloff (1988). The transcripts are an attempt to capture how the participants actually talked. I tried to make
the transcripts readable by adopting Jefferson's transcription convention. Nevertheless, I borrowed only the symbols that would serve the study and I added a few other symbols of my own to reveal some aspects (such as translations of the talk actually said in Arabic) to make the transcripts readable to English-speaking readers to serve the purpose of their presentation in the study. Below are the transcription conventions actually employed in the research:

(words) Parentheses surrounding a word or set of words indicate uncertainty about the transcription.

( ) Parenthesis around an empty space on a line indicate an utterance incomprehensible to the researcher.

*words* A word or set of words with asterisks indicate soft utterances.

(( )) Double parenthesis surrounding statements provide either scenic description or non-verbal action description.

( . ) Parentheses around a dot on a line or between lines indicate a pause or laps of time.

(0.4) Parentheses around a set of numbers on a line or between lines indicate a length of an unheard utterance, in tenth of seconds.

[ ] Open brackets indicate the onset of simultaneous talk between the linked utterances.

= Equal signs come in pairs, at the end of one line or utterance, and at the start of a subsequent one; the talk linked by equal signs (whether by different speakers or same speaker) is continuous and is not interrupted by any silence or other break.
Double slashes indicate a point at which one speaker overlaps another.

Numbers before a line indicate the order of the TCU in transcriptions.

Punctuation marks indicate intonation contours; they do not indicate grammatical status (i.e., question).

Underlining indicates emphasis.

The hyphen indicates an interruption of the preceding utterance either by the same speaker or by another speaker.

Colons mark the prolongation of the preceding sound.

The letter ‘h’ in parentheses indicates aspiration in the course of a ward, commonly laughter.

Utterance bolded and in italics indicates utterance was actually said in Arabic but their translations are provided for the purpose of understanding the transcripts by English readers.

A single regular arrow (→) before a line indicates the occurrence of the phenomenon to be noticed. In some occasions, a bolded arrow (→), double regular arrows (→ →), one regular arrow followed by a bolded one (→ →), or two bolded arrows (→ →) are used within the same instructional sequence or excerpt as indicators for different categories.
Limitations

Because this study was intended to observe, describe, and interpret classroom interactional behaviors of both teachers and students in the ESP classrooms under study, as a researcher, I was faced by the problem of having about 60% of the students in the classes observed not willing to interact at all. The teachers also did not initiate any kind of interaction with those students who were not willing to participate. Those teachers only interacted with students who were willing to participate in the classroom activities. What made it even more complex was that about 20% of those female students kept their faces covered with veils during classes, which hid their identities and they were among that percentage of those students who were not willing to participate in classroom interaction. Therefore, the main limitation of this study was the avoidance of participation in classroom interaction by many students. Although the study aimed to analyze the communicative behaviors of the ESP classroom, I tried to deal with that limitation by treating the avoidance of interaction and having the veil on by some students as a socio-cultural behavior to be focused upon.

The second limitation was that Mrs. A’s class was assigned to a different teacher during the semester because she had an accident and was hospitalized for a period of five weeks. That in fact terminated the continuing of my observations of her classes. Another limitation was that after attending two sessions of Mrs. R’s class, she informed me that she was not willing to continue having me in her classes as an observer. Nevertheless, she did not completely withdraw from the study because she allowed me to use the two observed sessions as part of the research. I tried to deal with the limitation by continuing observing the other two classes, Mrs. K’s and Mrs. M’s. Although I relied mostly on
Mrs. K’s and Mrs. M’s classes during the analysis phase, I used the recorded data of Mrs. A’s and Mrs. R’s classes to support my analytical interpretation of the phenomenon under study.

Another limitation to the study was my presence as an observer in the classrooms. Although I asked the subjects to ignore my presence and stated that I would not be a participant in any case, many times during classes, the teachers checked the correct translations of words with me or asked for my opinion about some issues. On many occasions, the students kept watching what I was doing and their teachers had to remind them to pay attention to the lesson not to the observer, which made me sometimes feel that they were trying to control their behavior during my presence.

Another limitation to the study was that it provided a limited scope of cultural factors in relation to the phenomenon under study. The reason was that some cultural factors were discussed under the theme of teachers’ instructional strategies and students’ survival strategies which were the secondary themes of the study.

Finally, a limitation to the study was the lack of communication between research done in the field of ESP and studies done in the area of code-switching. That fact limited my reliance on literature on that particular issue. Nevertheless, I tried to deal with that limitation by attempting to conduct this study to provide that linkage between the two areas of research.
Summary

This chapter provided the philosophical background for the research methodology. It first provided descriptions of the two research methodologies that were followed for collecting field notes and materials and for providing analysis. Under that section, it described both the ethnography of interaction as the main methodology for conducting ethnographic observations, and participants' interviewing as the secondary research methodology. Next, it provided a discussion of the development of Second Language (SL) research and how it was reflected in the research paradigm of SL. Next, the research's paradigm choice according to the appropriateness to the purposes of this research was presented. This chapter also discussed the data collection. Next was the data analysis section. Under that section, a presentation of the research strategies, the selection of the focus for the study, a description of data analysis, and the transcription conventions, were all provided. Finally, the limitations of this study were also discussed.
CHAPTER 4

PRACTICES IN FOUR KUWAITI ESP CLASSROOMS

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data collected from the four ESP classrooms under study. The first section provides brief descriptions of the instructional activities that took place during the observation of the classes. The next section is the presentation and the discussion of the themes of the study in the following topics: (a) code-switching, (b) teachers’ instructional strategies, and (c) students’ survival strategies.

The first theme of the chapter concerns the main theme of the study, code-switching. This theme is then sub-divided into two main categories: forms of code-switching and functions of code-switching; the two main categories are then further sub-divided. The final sub-categories of the forms of code-switching are: (a) code-switching by teachers and (b) code-switching by students. The purposes of code-switching are then sub-divided into: (a) to accomplish instructional tasks, (b) to accomplish conversational tasks, and (c) to convey social meanings.

The second theme presented in the chapter concerns these four teachers’ instructional strategies. This theme is also sub-divided into sub-categories. They are: (a)
instructional repetition, (b) translating and explaining reading comprehension passage at a sentence level, (c) use of general English supplementary materials in the ESP classrooms, (d) use of grammar and vocabulary exercises in ESP language, (e) use of ESP language in ESP functional situations, (f) teachers’ concern for students to pass the exams in the ESP course.

The third theme is the students’ survival strategies, with categories as follows: (a) keeping the veil may be used by some students to avoid English classroom participation, (b) seating choice used by some students to avoid class participation, and (c) types of students’ responses considered to be acceptable or unacceptable classroom behaviors. The third category is sub-divided into the following sub-categories: (i) students answering collectively as an acceptable classroom behavior, (ii) avoidance of providing complete answers, and (iii) avoidance of providing correct utterances.

**Descriptions of the Four ESP Classrooms**

Before presenting and analyzing the data, it is important to provide a description of the observed classrooms of each teacher. The selected excerpts provided in this section were derived from some of the observed lessons. The selection of those transcripts was based on their representation of specific classroom behaviors or events. Sessions that took place during different periods during the semester were also included, for example, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the semester. Although Mehan’s (1982) treatment of the structure of classroom events as ‘interactional sequence’ was adopted, only the instructional activities in the description of the four ESP
classrooms under study were presented. The events were segmented into instructional activities, which in turn were presented in instructional sequences. Mehan's treatment of the elicitation sequences as I–R–Es was used whenever the instructional sequence took the form of Initiation–Response–Evaluation. Under each teacher's classroom, the instructional activities that took place during the lessons, how students' seating was arranged, and who mostly participated in the class discussions, were all presented.

Mrs. R's Classroom

Transcriptions No. 1 and No. 2 represent the two only sessions I observed of Mrs. R's classroom. The first session took place on March 14, 1999. The lesson started at 10:00 a.m. and lasted for an hour. The lesson started with a grammar activity. The first instructional sequence of that activity was doing an exercise on the use of the definite and non-definite articles, which the teacher gave as an assignment the lesson before. The exercise was in a general English context that the teacher provided as supplementary material. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es (Initiation–Response–Evaluation). The second instructional sequence of this activity was also done on the use of the same articles but that time it was done using the textbook exercise (Exercise 8.7) in a business context. The exercise took the form of a reading passage with blanks to be filled in by the students with the appropriate articles. The teacher read the passage as a comprehension activity, checking the students' understanding of the business vocabulary and notions. While reading and explaining the text, she made her initiations prompting students to provide the appropriate articles to fill in each blank. The second instructional activity was also done using supplementary material in a general English context on the
use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter.’ The activity also took the form of I−R−Es. Mrs. R
assigned the textbook exercise (Exercise 8.9) on the use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’ as
homework for the next class session.

Transcription No. 2 refers to the lesson that took place on March 16, 1999.
During the first instructional sequence, Mrs. R checked the students’ answers to the
textbook exercise that she assigned as homework in the previous session. During that
time, the students were drilled on the use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’ in a business
context. The sequence took the form of I−R−Es. The next instructional activity was
doing the textbook exercise 8.11 that was mainly a comprehension and vocabulary
exercise in a business context (understanding the contents of a bank statement and bank
transactions). During the first instructional sequence, Mrs. R discussed the meaning of
bank statements and bank transactions by providing examples and prompting her students
to provide further information. The second instructional sequence was explaining the
different parts of a bank statement and the different transactions which appeared on that
statement provided in that exercise. The third instructional sequence of the activity was a
discussion of the comprehension questions. That sequence also took the form of I−R−Es.

The students in Mrs. R’s classroom sat in five rows. Each row was made up of
eight seats. The first two rows were fully occupied. The students in the first two rows
constituted about 50% of the total number of students in that classroom. The third and
fourth rows were about 60% occupied, but the students who sat in those two rows
constituted only about 30% of the total number of students. The fifth row was almost
fully occupied, but the students constituted about 20% of the total number of the students
in that classroom. The students who sat in the first four rows were all unveiled students.
The veiled students who chose to sit in the first rows removed their veils during the lesson. Of the seven students who sat in the back row, six were veiled students who kept their veils on. During the two lessons of Mrs. R’s class, the students who willingly participated in the class activities were the ones who sat in the first two front rows. Those who sat in the back row did not participate in any activity during the two lessons. The only case in which a student participated from the back row was when the teacher called upon the only unveiled student in the back row.

Mrs. A’s Classroom

I selected Transcriptions No. 3, 4, 5, and 6 as the representative lessons of Mrs. A’s classroom. Transcription No. 3 refers to the lesson that took place on March 14, 1999. The session started at 11:00 a.m. and lasted for an hour. The lesson started with an instructional activity on the use of the present simple tense in comparison with the present continuous tense. Mrs. A started the first instructional sequence of that activity by providing examples herself of both tenses and by prompting students to provide some examples themselves. The next instructional sequence was doing an exercise on the use of the two tenses she discussed earlier in the first instructional sequence. The exercise was given to the students as supplementary material in a general English context. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The time was not enough to finish the exercise, so the teacher assigned the rest of it to be done as homework.

Transcription No. 4 refers to the lesson of March 16, 1999. The lesson started at 11:00 a.m. and lasted for about an hour. During that session, Mrs. A continued the exercise they did not finish during the previous lesson (the exercise on the use of the
present simple tense and the present continuous tense in a general English context). The second activity was the use of the past simple tense. In the first instructional sequence of that activity, Mrs. A. explained the use of the past simple tense in sentences that she wrote on the whiteboard. In the second instructional sequence of that activity, she required the students to change the verbs of the sentences in the exercise they were working on from present simple tense to past simple tense. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The next instructional activity was ‘question formation.’ During that activity, Mrs. A started the first instructional sequence by explaining on the whiteboard some question forms using the three tenses she earlier explained in the previous activities. The second instructional sequence of that activity was doing an exercise on question formation in a general English context. The exercise was provided to the students by the teacher as supplementary material. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. When the time of the class was up, Mrs. A assigned the rest of the exercise as homework.

Transcription No. 5 refers to the lesson that took place at 11:00 a.m. on March 21, 1999. The first instructional activity was a grammar activity. In the first instructional sequence of the activity, Mrs. A provided a quick revision on ‘question formation,’ an instructional activity that the previous lesson ended with. The second instructional sequence was doing exercise 1.2, which required the students to form questions on the characters provided in the reading comprehension dialog that they read during a previous lesson. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The next instructional activity was reading different job advertisements and matching them with the appropriate characters previously introduced in a reading comprehension activity. At the end of that instructional activity, Mrs. A. provided a wrap up by summarizing each job
advertisement with the appropriate occupational requirements. At the end of the lesson, Mrs. A required her students to bring in their own advertisements from local newspapers and magazines as an assignment for next time. Mrs. A also assigned textbook exercise 1.4 as homework.

Transcription No. 6 refers to the lesson that took place on March 23, 1999. It started at 11:00 a.m. and lasted for about an hour. The first activity of that lesson was Mrs. A’s checking the advertisement homework that she assigned in the previous session. During that activity, she discussed the different forms of the advertisements that the students provided. She also drew her students’ attention to the specifications of each advertisement. The second activity was checking the textbook homework exercise (Exercise 1.4) that was a vocabulary exercise. The instructional sequence during that activity took the form of I–R–Es. The third activity was a textbook vocabulary exercise (Exercise 1.5) in a business context that the teacher went over with the students. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. Students were informed that exercises 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8 were deleted and they moved to the next instructional activity which was on language functions (Textbook Exercise 1.9). The exercise required the students to do two things. The first part required the students to form requests. The second part required them to respond to those requests. Mrs. A divided the activity according to the functions. In the first instructional sequence of that activity, she provided an explanation of the formation of requests. Next, she provided examples of requests herself. The next instructional sequence within that activity was that Mrs. A required the students to form requests using the prompts provided by the textbook exercise followed by asking them to provide responses to those requests. Mrs. A moved to the last instructional activity by latching
the previous activity's use of the future simple tense, that the students used in their responses to the requests they made. to explaining the future simple tense as her next instructional activity. At the end of the lesson, she told her students to provide three requests of their own along with their responses for the next lesson.

The students in Mrs. A's classroom sat in five rows. Each row was made up of eight seats. The first two rows were fully occupied during the lessons I observed. The students in the first two rows constituted about 50% of the total number of the students in that classroom. The third and fourth rows were less occupied. Only about 60% of the seats were occupied, but the students who sat in those two rows constituted about 30% of the total number of students. The fifth row was almost fully occupied depending on the attendance of those students who chose to sit in the back row. Nevertheless, the fifth row students constituted about 20% of the total number of the students in that classroom. The students who sat in the first four rows were either unveiled students or veiled students who removed their veils during the lesson. The students who sat in the back row were mostly the veiled students who kept their veils on. In very rare occasions, one or two unveiled students sat in the fifth row. During the observed lessons of Mrs. A's class, the students who willingly participated in the class activities were the ones who sat in the first two front rows. The ones who sat in the third and forth rows were less likely to participate. Those who sat in the back row did not willingly participate in any activity during the observed lessons unless the teacher called upon them to respond, which also very rarely occurred.
Mrs. K’s Classroom

Five lessons of Mrs. K’s classroom were selected to draw the representative examples. Transcriptions No. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 were selected. Transcription No. 7 refers to the lesson that took place on March 21, 1999. The lesson started at 9:00 a.m. and lasted for about an hour. The first instructional activity was a reading comprehension activity. The first instructional sequence during that activity was Mrs. K reading the comprehension passage with occasional checking of her students’ understanding. In the next instructional sequence during that activity, Mrs. K asked her students some comprehension questions of her own on the passage she read. The third instructional sequence of that activity was doing textbook exercise 9.4, a vocabulary exercise that provided the students with definitions of some vocabulary, and the students had to provide the appropriate vocabulary from the reading comprehension passage. The next instructional activity was a grammar activity on the use of the ‘passive voice.’ During that activity, Mrs. K started the first instructional sequence by providing her students with the grammatical formulas of the passive voice in different tenses. The next instructional sequence was doing the textbook exercise on passive voice, of which Mrs. K and the students did only two sentences because of the lack of time. Mrs. K told the students to find all the passive voice forms in the reading passage that she read earlier to be done at home as an assignment.

Transcription No. 8 refers to the session that took place on April 18, 1999. The class met at 9:00 a.m. and lasted for about an hour. The first instructional activity was textbook exercise 10.4 which was a reading comprehension passage in a business context. During that activity, Mrs. K started by first reading the comprehension passage sentence
by sentence, providing explanation and translation along her reading. The second instructional sequence during that activity was doing a vocabulary exercise that required the students to either fill in the blanks with words from the reading passage, or provide the correct vocabulary of the definitions provided in the exercise. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The second instructional activity was the completion of a table providing information learned in earlier activities about four types of businesses, but the teacher and the students did only part of it together. The next activity was a grammar drill on the use of the conditional ‘if’ with unlikely possibilities. Before doing the textbook exercise, the teacher explained the examples given in the textbook exercise in a business context. The teacher went over the drill with the students and provided them with further explanation in cases of difficulty. That instructional sequence mostly took the form of I–R–Es.

Transcription No. 9 refers to the lesson that took place on May 9, 1999. The time of the class and the duration of the lesson were the same as the other above mentioned lessons. The first instructional activity of that lesson was a comprehension reading activity from the textbook. The passage was in a business context (Import Regulations). Mrs. K read the passage sentence by sentence providing Arabic translation to each sentence. She checked her students' understanding from time to time during the activity. The activity consumed the whole time of the lesson. The teacher assigned the reading comprehension questions as homework.

Transcription No. 10 refers to the session of May 13, 1999. The first activity was a grammar drill on the use of relative pronouns. During the first instructional sequence of that activity, Mrs. K provided examples of relative pronouns on the whiteboard to which
she provided an explanation of their different usages. The examples were in a general English context. The second instructional sequence of that activity was Mrs. K’s explanation of the examples provided in the textbook exercise which was in a business context. The third instructional sequence was actually working on the textbook exercise (Exercise 12.2), which was in a business context. That sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The last instructional sequence of that activity was Mrs. K providing a wrap up of the grammar rules of the use of the relative pronouns ‘who,’ ‘which,’ and ‘where.’ The next instructional activity was doing the textbook vocabulary exercise (Exercise 12.1) which was in a business context. The instructional sequence of that activity took the form of I–R–Es. The third instructional activity was doing a flow chart of the reading comprehension passage of exercise 12.3, which they had read during the previous lesson. The next instructional activity was doing an exercise on obligation, which was a grammar exercise in a business context. Mrs. K started the first instructional sequence by explaining the rules of using “must”, “must not” and “do not have to.” Mrs. K provided her explanation mostly by using general English and occasionally switching to Arabic. The second instructional sequence of that activity was Mrs. K doing number one of the textbook exercise as an example. Then she allowed her students about three minutes to work individually on the rest of the exercise. Mrs. K resumed the activity by working on the exercise together with her students. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The final interactional sequence was dictating the students some sentences in Arabic to be translated into English as an assignment.

The last selected session for presentation and analysis was the one that took place on May 11, 1999 (Transcription No. 11). The first activity required the students to
recognize and name copies of some business documents (Customs Documentation). That activity was called document labeling. The teacher started the first instructional sequence by providing explanation of the activity and what needed to be done. The second instructional sequence was actually going through the different documents provided by the textbook (Exercise 12.5). The teacher read the contents of each document and provided explanation both in English and Arabic and then the students provided the name of the documents. The next instructional activity was a grammar activity. Textbook exercise 12.7 was about "having things done." The teacher started the first instructional sequence by explaining the examples provided by the exercise. The next instructional sequence was doing the exercise drills. That sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The final instructional activity was a translation activity. The teacher went through the Arabic sentences that she dictated to her students in the previous lesson. The teacher read the sentences in Arabic and the students provided the English translations to which Mrs. K provided her evaluation. The sequence took the form of I–R–Es.

The same patterns of students' seating were almost repeated in Mrs. K's classroom. The students sat in five rows. Each row was made up of 8 seats. The first two rows were always fully occupied by the same students during every observed lesson. The students in the first two rows constituted about 50% of the total number of students in that classroom. The third and fourth rows were less occupied. Only about 60% of the seats were occupied, but the students who sat in those two rows constituted only about 30% of the total number of students. The fifth row was almost fully occupied depending on the attendance of those students who chose to sit at the back of the class. Nevertheless, the fifth row students constituted about 20% of the total number of the
students in that classroom. The students who sat in the first four rows were either unveiled students or veiled students who removed their veils during the lesson. The students who sat in the back row were mostly the veiled students who kept their veils on. On very rare occasions, one or two unveiled students sat in the fifth row. During the observed lessons of Mrs. K’s class, the students who were willing to participate in the class discussions were the ones who sat in the first two front rows. The ones who sat in the third and forth rows were less likely to participate on their own. Those who sat in the back row did not show any interest in participating in any activity during the lessons. In all cases, Mrs. K never called upon any student in any row unless they lifted their hands requesting a chance to talk.

Mrs. M’s Classroom

Five lessons of Mrs. M’s classroom were selected to draw the representative examples from. Transcriptions No. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 were selected. Each Transcription represents a lesson, which lasted for about an hour. Mrs. M always met with her students of that class at 11:00 a.m. Transcription No. 12 refers to the lesson that took place on April 14, 1999. The lesson started with a grammar activity (the use of count and mass nouns). During that instructional activity, Mrs. M started the first instructional sequence by explaining the notions of count and mass nouns providing examples herself and involving her students in the discussion. The second instructional sequence was a wrap up of the two notions. The third instructional sequence was having the students provide further examples of mass nouns. The fourth instructional sequence was drilling the students on the use of ‘much’ and ‘many’ with mass and count nouns.
The fifth instructional sequence was doing the textbook exercise (Exercise 2.7). The sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The grammar activity consumed all the lesson time.

Transcription No. 13 refers to the lesson that took place on April 15, 1999. The first instructional activity was reading comprehension in a business context (understanding and writing the parts of a check). The teacher read the reading passage of Exercise 2.8 sentence by sentence, providing explanations both in English and Arabic. The next instructional sequence was Mrs. M providing an authentic check of a local bank and explaining its parts. The next instructional sequence was Mrs. M explaining the parts of the check provided by the textbook exercise. The next instructional sequence was actually writing out the check provided by the textbook. The last instructional sequence of that activity was answering the reading comprehension questions. That sequence took the form of I–R–Es. The teacher moved to exercise 2.10 which was also a reading comprehension activity in a business context (More about Checks). Mrs. M started the first instructional sequence by reading the comprehension passage and explaining it sentence by sentence both in English and Arabic. The next instructional activity was doing the vocabulary exercise (Exercise 2.11). The instructional sequence of that activity took the form of I–R–Es.

Transcription No. 14 refers to the lesson of April 18, 1999. In the first instructional activity, Mrs. M went through the vocabulary lists of Unit One and Unit Two. Mrs. M asked her students to provide the meanings of the words. They responded by providing the meanings in Arabic, to which she provided her evaluation. The activity mostly took the form of I–R–Es (Initiation–Response–Evaluation) and consumed most
of the lesson time. At the end of the lesson, students were given a quiz which they finished in less than ten minutes.

Transcription No. 15 refers to the lesson that took place on April 22, 1999. The first instructional activity was the continuing of textbook Exercise 3.2. The exercise was divided into two activities, a reading comprehension activity and a vocabulary activity. Both activities were in a business context (Transportation and Consignment). Mrs. M and her students had finished the first activity in a previous lesson. They were doing the vocabulary part during the lesson of that day. That section of the exercise required the students to fill in the blanks with words from the text they read in the reading comprehension passage. The activity took the form of I–R–Es. The second activity was a grammar exercise on the use of ‘used to.’ The exercise was in a business context. The teacher started the first instructional sequence by using the first sentence of the exercise as an example to explain the grammar rule. The next instructional sequence was guiding the students through the rest of the exercise to provide the required answers, sometimes through hints and other times through I–R–Es. The next instructional activity was a grammar exercise on comparisons and superlatives. The exercise was in a business context. Mrs. M started the instructional sequence by providing explanation to the grammar rules but told her students she was not going to do the textbook exercise with them. The third instructional activity was a grammar activity on reported speech. The teacher provided explanation of the rule by guiding the students through examples but she assigned the textbook exercise on reported speech as homework.

Transcription No. 16 refers to the lesson of May 11, 1999. The instructional activity that consumed the lesson time was revising the returned midterm examination
paper. Mrs. M discussed the students’ answers. The activity mostly took the form of I–R–Es with occasional explanation by the teacher of why some answers were right or why others were wrong.

The same patterns of students’ seating were again repeated in Mrs. M’s classroom. The students sat in five rows. Each row was made up of 8 seats. The first two rows were fully occupied during the observed lessons. The students in the first two rows constituted about 50% of the total number of students in that classroom. The third and fourth rows were less occupied. Only about 60% seats were occupied but the students who sat in those two rows constituted only about 30% of the total number of students. The fifth row was almost fully occupied depending on the attendance of those students who usually sat in the fifth row. The students of the fifth row constituted about 20% of the total number of the students in that classroom. The students who sat in the first four rows were either unveiled students or veiled students who removed their veils during the lesson. The students who sat in the back row were mostly the veiled students who kept their veils on. On very rare occasions, one or two unveiled students sat in the fifth row, too. During the observed lessons of Mrs. M’s class, the students who were willing to participate in the class discussions were the ones who sat in the first two front rows. The ones who sat in the third and forth rows were less likely to participate on their own. Those who sat in the back row did not show any interest in participating in any activity during the lessons unless they were called upon by Mrs. M. On a few occasions, Mrs. M called upon some students who were not willing to participate by calling their names from the attendance sheet.
The Presentation and Interpretation of the Theme of Code-switching

The category of ‘code-switching’ was used to refer to any incidence when a speaker switched from one language to another. In the observed classrooms, there were incidences when the speaker started speaking in English, then switched to Arabic or vice versa. A restriction to coding incidences of code-switching under this category was followed. Only those incidences of code-switching under this category when they did not appear to serve other purposes, such as a translation activity, were coded.

Different forms of code-switching were observed. Code-switching according to the language switched to was not categorized, because of the difficulty of deciding whether the language that started a TCU (Turn Construction Unit) was the main language and the other one was the one switched to, and because of the difficulty of drawing a line between the two languages in some TCUs, as to which language should be considered the dominant language during the TCU and which one was the language switched to. Therefore, code-switching according to language switched to was not coded as a category. In an attempt to answer the research questions, code-switching was categorized according to speaker and form, on the one hand, and according to the role it played, on the other hand.

The phenomenon of code-switching as it occurred in the ESP classrooms according to the speakers and the forms it took were categorized. According to speakers, it was coded according to the following categorization: (1) code-switching by teacher, and (2) code-switching by student. Nevertheless, in both cases, switching from English to Arabic or from Arabic to English, code-switching took different forms. Therefore, the
following categories were added according to the form it took: (a) single-word code-switching, (b) phrasal code-switching, (c) sentence code-switching, and (d) mixed code-switching. The single-word code-switching is the term that was used to refer to incidences when the speaker used one language during her TCU but occasionally switched to the other language using single words from that other language. The phrasal code-switching refers to incidences when a speaker switched to the other language at a phrase level (i.e., part of a compound sentence or a complex sentence). The sentence code-switching referred to incidences when a speaker switched to the other language at a sentence level. The mixed code-switching referred to a mixed use of more than one form within the same TCU. Thus, combining categories according to form and speaker were grouped as follows:

1. Code-switching by the teacher:
   b. Phrasal code-switching.
   c. Sentence code-switching.
   d. Mixed code-switching alternating between the two languages using more than one form within the same TCU.

2. Code-switching by a student:
   b. Phrasal code-switching.
   c. Sentence code-switching.
It is worth mentioning that there was not a single incidence of mixed code-switching by students recorded by the data.

After establishing the categories of code-switching according to the different forms it took and according to speakers, the role it played in the observed ESP classrooms was coded. According to the analysis, it was used for different functions. Categorization according to functions was organized as follows:

1. To accomplish instructional tasks by the teacher:
   a. Providing instructional clarification.
   b. Providing instructional translation.
   c. Providing definitions.
   d. Providing evaluations to students' responses.
   e. Checking students' understanding.

2. To accomplish conversational tasks, it was used:
   a. As an attention-getting device.
   b. To signal topic shift.
   c. To highlight climactic moments.
   d. As a stylistic process.

3. To convey social information, it was used to:
   a. Create a sense of belonging to a bilingual community.
   b. Achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance, status or reproach.

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The Analysis of Code-switching According to Form and Speaker

The first main category under the theme of code-switching is code-switching according to form and speaker. As explained earlier, this category is sub-divided into two categories: (1) code-switching by teachers and (2) code-switching by students. Each category is further sub-divided into sub-categories. The description of these two categories includes both the presentation of some exemplary incidences along with an analysis. The following table presents code-switching according to speaker and form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code-switching according to speaker and form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. word code-switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. phrasal code-switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sentence code-switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mixed code-switching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 3 (Code-switching according to speaker and form)
What forms did code-switching take in the four ESP classrooms at CBS in Kuwait?

**Code-switching by Teachers**

This main category includes the following four sub-categories, ‘single-word code-switching,’ ‘phrasal code-switching,’ ‘sentence code-switching,’ and ‘mixed code-switching.’ There were many incidences of teachers’ doing the different forms of code-switching. For the sake of the analysis, different indicators were used to show where each different type of code-switching occurred. A single regular arrow (→) was used as an indicator of ‘word code-switching.’ The ‘single-word code-switching’ category refers to those incidences when a teacher used one language during her TCU but occasionally switched to the other language using single words from the other language she switched to. It is worth mentioning that incidences of code-switching at a morpheme level were also treated as word code-switching. The second sub-category, which is the ‘phrasal code-switching’ category, refers to incidences when a speaker switched to the other language using either incomplete sentences or phrases. The double regular arrows (→ →) indicator was used to point to ‘phrasal code-switching.’

As for the third sub-category, ‘sentence code-switching,’ it was used to refer to incidences when within the same TCU a speaker used mainly one language but switched to the other language at a sentence level. Even when a word code-switch to the first language occurred within the sentence code-switch, it was still considered a sentence code-switching. A regular arrow followed by a bolded one (→ ➔) indicate such an occurrence. And finally, I used the bolded arrow (➔) as an indicator of the fourth category, ‘mixed code-switching,’ when a speaker alternated between the two languages
doing different forms of code-switching within the same TCU. The following are representative examples from the selected Transcription of each teacher's classroom.

It is worth mentioning here that the representative excerpts provided in this section followed the Transcription convention (See Transcription Convention provided in Chapter 3). The reader should read the interaction as an English utterance when it is presented in plain typeface. The reader also needs to read the italicized typeface as an Arabic utterance which was translated by the researcher into English for English-speaking readers who cannot read Arabic.

**Code-switching by Mrs. A**

Mrs. A’s classroom provided many examples of teachers’ code-switching. During instructional sequences, Mrs. A did the four different forms of code-switching. In this section, the forms of code-switching were only referred to without interpreting their function in Mrs. A’s classroom. The following examples were drawn from only one session, Transcription No. 3.

In the following two excerpts, Mrs. A started her TCU in Arabic then switched to English using a single-word code-switching. In line 2, she addressed her students in Arabic checking that everyone had gotten five different pages. She switched to English to start the activity. In line 44, she provided her negative evaluation to a student’s response and tagged it with the question word ‘why’ in English.

1  ((The teacher hands out some sheets to the students))

→ 2  T: *Everyone has got five different pages*. Finished? (. ) Finished?

→ 44 T: *No, it is wrong*. Why?
In the following incidence, Mrs. A started her TCU in line 111, speaking in English. In the same TCU, she switched to Arabic doing a sentence code-switch. Nevertheless, within the same sentence code-switch, she did a word code-switch using English, which was followed by resuming speaking in English. In line 113, she did much alternation between the two languages, switching back and forth from one language to the other. In that line, she started speaking in English and switched to Arabic at a sentence level. Within her sentence code-switch, she did a word code-switch to English. Then she resumed talking in Arabic and switched back to English at a word level. After her word switch to English, she continued talking in English but again switched to Arabic at a phrase level. After the phrasal switch, she switched back to English, doing a word switch in Arabic within the same switch. She switched to Arabic again but only to do another phrasal code-switch to English within. Finally, she checked the students’ understanding in English. In line 113, Mrs. A did several switches at a word level, phrasal level, and sentence level. Line 113 is a good example of the mixed code-switching that was done by a teacher.

111 T: Plays. Okay? So, again in the present simple we express or talk about a fact. A fact. Or we talk about regular actions, regular verbs. Regular activity. Okay? Here, I eat my breakfast every morning. I eat breakfast at home. This is a regular activity. *An action which occurs regularly. Whenever I mention it, and it is considered a present simple.*

Okay? Are you following?

112 SS: Yes.

113 T: Okay. *So you know when to use the present simple. And you know the form of the verb.* And I take care *that there should be an agreement*
between the verb and the subject. So, if we have the subject as he, she or it, then we must add an ‘S’ to the verb. Is it understood?

In the following excerpt, she spoke mainly in English but switched once using Arabic. She did a phrasal code-switching, within which a word code-switching occurred.

⇒ 118  T: Now to do a direct exercise. *When I want to answer a direct exercise on the* present simple or present continuous, we understand, first of all from the meaning, I can guess if this sentence should be in the present simple or should be in the present continuous. But beside this, we have some keywords helping us to know or to decide the tense of the sentence. Just helping words or keywords. Okay? For the present continuous, the keywords we have? Do you know the keywords? I said I am talking at this moment. Now, she is writing. Okay.

During that same activity, the teacher continued talking about the keywords of the present simple tense and the present continuous tense. While discussing it with her students, she made her remark in line 131, doing sentence code-switching, within which a word code-switch to English occurred.

126  T: Now. Now, we are discussing. We are talking. Right now, Okay?

We are listening. (.)

127  T: ((Teacher addresses a student lifting up her hand)) Yes?

128  S5: (Still)

129  T: And she is still—
S5: Writing.

T: Still writing. Still writing. You have here the keywords.

At the end of that activity, the teacher provided a quick revision of the tenses she had earlier discussed. During both line 141 and 143, Mrs. A did much code-switching, alternating the two languages. During that alternation, she did word code-switching, phrasal code-switching and sentence code-switching. Sometimes there was a code-switch within a code-switch. For example, in line 141, she switched several times to Arabic doing sentence code-switching. Within two of her Arabic sentences, she did word code-switching in English. She did the same thing in line 143. I considered the following excerpt a good example of mixed code-switching.

T: Okay. Just a second please. Again. Let's revise it very quickly. The present simple. We said that we use it when we express a fact or talk about a fact. And about a regular action. Okay. We know about the verb and that there is an agreement between the verb and the subject. And that we are supposed to put an ‘S,’ if we have she, he, or it as a subject. And now, we will go to some keywords. Okay? Sometimes we call them keywords, helping words. But sometimes, like that sentence, there is not ‘every.’

T: ((Teacher points to a sentence on the board and reads it)) I eat my breakfast at home.

T: ((Teacher explains to students)) Where do you eat your breakfast? I eat my breakfast at home. This is a fact. (.) Okay? So, if I want to talk about a fact or a regular action, I use the verb in the present simple. Okay? (.) Forget about Dr. Badrieh. Forget about her and pay attention
Okay. *So, whether I have a keyword or I don't have a keyword,* what matters is what I am expressing. *The keywords help us when we are doing a direct exercise.* *They would help me to answer.*

Okay?

In the following excerpt, Mrs. A made two different forms of code-switching, a phrasal code-switch and a sentence code-switch. In line 160, she started speaking in English, but she switched to Arabic, making a phrasal code-switch, she but soon switched back to English. In line 165, she did a sentence code-switch. She switched from English to Arabic. Nevertheless, she made a word code-switch, providing the English word ‘keyword’ within her Arabic-switched sentence.

158  T: Often. Often.
159  ((Teacher writes the word on the board))
160  T: And take care. *It is written* often but the ‘T’ is not pronounced. We said often. Yes?
161  S3: Silent.
162  S4: Yet.
163  T: No. Yet is for another tense. Huh?
164  S5: *Once*.
165  T: Okay. Here we say generally. Generally, we have to study different English courses. *So, what keyword do we have here?*
166  S: Generally. =
167  T: = Generally.
168  ((Teacher writes the word on the board))
Code-switching by Mrs. R

Mrs. R's classroom also provided good examples of different forms of code-switching. She alternated between Arabic and English during her TCUs doing word code-switching, phrasal code-switching, sentence code-switching, and mixed code-switching. It is worth mentioning that during instructional sequences, Mrs. R did code-switching more often than any other teacher observed. It is also worth mentioning that most of her code-switching cases were of the mixed form. Due to the number of incidences of code-switching done by her, I decided to provide the following representative examples out of the fifty-one incidences of the different forms of code-switching that occurred in the selected session for analysis. Transcription No. 1 was chosen to draw the representative examples.

In the following incidence, Mrs. R was explaining the use of articles in a specific exercise statement. She explained it mostly in English but towards the middle of her TCU in line 47, she alternated between Arabic and English doing phrasal code-switching, then sentence code-switching, and finally phrasal code-switching. Since the two forms of code-switching occurred during the same TCU, the example was considered a form of mixed code-switching.

45 T: Why do you say the bicycle that he wanted for his birthday? (.) Ha?

46 S: ( )

47 T: No. We are talking-- We are defining the bicycle. Okay? Not just a bicy-- any bicycle. He wanted a bicycle for his birthday for his birthday. So, a special bicycle. Okay? So, he bought him the bicycle that he
wanted for his birthday. In this case, the. Okay? We are defining the bicycle he wanted for his birthday, not any bicycle. There is a specific bicycle, for example. All right. Number two? Hanan?

In the following excerpt, we have two different forms of code-switching, phrasal and mixed. In the selected incidence, when a student failed to provide the correct article, Mrs. R explained what was wrong about her answer. In line 67, she started speaking in Arabic by saying 'In the first place' then she switched to English to provide the explanation of what was wrong about the student's answer. Although the TCU started in Arabic, it was coded as a phrasal code-switching to Arabic because the TCU was mainly done in English. Therefore, the phrase said in Arabic was an example of phrasal code-switching, which occurred at the beginning of the teacher's TCU. In line 69, Mrs. R resumed her explanation, but she alternated between the two languages within the same TCU, doing mixed code-switching. In the mixed code-switching, she first started her TCU in Arabic, then she switched to English at a sentence level. Next, she switched to Arabic at a sentence level, within which she switched to English at a word level with the use of the article 'an.' Then she switched back to English at a sentence level, within which she did a word code-switching. Next, she did a switch to Arabic at a sentence level. And finally, she switched to English at a word level.

58 Ho: ((Student starts reading)) (From the past) //
59 T: No. Number three. We're doing number three. =
60 Ho: = Three? ((Student starts reading number three)) Ria is studying an English—
T: An English?

SS: ((Students provide their answers collectively but at different points of time.)) The English.

T: The English? Which English? Which English?

SS: (*A*)

T: Huh? (. ) ‘A’ English?

SS: (No article)

⇒ ⇒ T: In the first place, a English is wrong because English starts with a vowel.

(2)

⇒ T: You don’t use ‘a’ with it. You use ‘an’ with words start with vowels. You have to use an. (. ) ‘An.’ Also we don’t use with it because it’s— She is studying English. It’s a subject. Okay? English. There is no need to use an article. And, math?

In the following excerpt, Mrs. R gave her positive evaluation to a student’s answer, followed by making another initiation in English. Then she switched to Arabic repeating her initiation. Her repeated initiation was done in Arabic switching at a sentence level. Within the sentence code-switch, she switched to English at a word level. So, that was a word code-switch within her sentence code-switch.

S: We crossed The: Atlantic Ocean. =

T: = Correct. We crossed to the Atlantic Ocean. Okay.

⇒ ⇒ Number fourteen. Quickly. Who would do number fourteen?
In the following excerpt, the teacher did a word code-switching in line 186 using the word ‘instrument’ in Arabic. In line 190, she spoke mainly in Arabic but switched several times to English, doing both word code-switching and sentence code-switching. So, that was coded as a form of mixed code-switching since it was done within the same TCU.

183     S:  *Can’t we say* a violin?  
184     T:  A guitar?  
185     S:  A violin.  
186     T:  A violin? No. Because here we are defining which *instrument*.  
        Which musical instrument.  
187     S:  An instrument. I mean— (.)  
188     T:  *We are defining which musical instrument.*  
189     S:  But this is the name of the instrument and it is not necessarily—  
190     T:  *No. We have many instruments.* Okay? *There is this* 
        *instrument and that instrument and that instrument.* Okay? *But I am*  

In another incidence, Mrs. R explained why the student’s answer was wrong. She started talking in English. Then, she switched to Arabic at a sentence level, within which she switched to English two times. The first code-switching within the main code-switching was the word ‘the.’ The second code-switching was the phrase ‘which one.’

193     Wi:  When we were in Alaska, we saw the Eskimo village.  
194     T:  The Eskimo village? How many Eskimo villages are there? In
Alaska? (. ) We saw an Eskimo village. Okay? (. ) If you put the, then you are defining which one. All right? An Eskimo village. Nineteen.

Phil can't go. Khazna.

Code-switching by Mrs. K

Mrs. K also provided good examples of code-switching. She did code-switching at the word level, phrasal level, and sentence level. She also alternated between Arabic and English back and forth doing mixed code-switching. Nevertheless, there were relatively fewer incidences of code-switching in her classes than the recorded incidences of code-switching did by the other three teachers. There were only twenty-two incidences of combined forms of code-switching in the selected session for presenting the representative examples. The following representative incidences of the different forms of code-switching that occurred in that selected session for the analysis were taken Transcription No. 9.

In the following excerpt, the dominant spoken language during that TCU was Arabic, during which Mrs. K did code-switching two times. The first code-switching was a phrasal code-switch from Arabic to English. The second one was a sentence code-switch to English, too. Since the two forms of code-switching occurred within the same TCU, it was considered a case of mixed code-switching. This excerpt is also important because it provides examples of phrasal and sentence code-switching from Arabic to English, as Arabic was the dominant spoken language during that TCU.
According to the passage we read in exercise three, we are going to do labeling for these documents. You're going to say what each one is, according to the passage we read last time. Okay. Now, look at exercise five, page 100.

The following excerpt provides two examples of the same form of code-switching, which is mixed code-switching. In line 45, Mrs. K started her TCU first by speaking in English but she kept alternating between the two languages. First, she switched to Arabic at a sentence level. Within the second Arabic sentence, she switched to English at a phrase level. Then she switched back to Arabic at a phrase level to resume speaking in English. Towards the end of her TCU, Mrs. K switched to Arabic again at a sentence level. Within that switch, she made two switches to English at a word level. In line 47, she did one phrasal code-switch and two sentence code-switches. She started her TCU in English. Then she switched to Arabic at a phrasal level. She resumed her talk in English, switching to Arabic two times at a sentence level. She switched back to English at the end of her TCU.

44  T: ((Teacher reads the second part of the example)) I must have the photocopier mended.

45  T: ((Teacher explains to the students)) It means that you will get someone else to mend the photocopier for you. I must have the photocopier mended. (. ) So we can differentiate between the first sentence and the second sentence. The first sentence means that you are going to do it yourself. But the second sentence means that you are going to have someone else to do it for you. I must mend the
photocopy or I must have it mended. *Then the difference is that I use*

‘have’ *and the past participle of the verb.*

46 (1.2)

⇒ 47 T: Apply this example to the rest of the sentences. *You have* number 1, mend the photocopy. *This is done for you as an example.* Let’s look at number two. Check the consignment. *If you want to say that you are going to do it yourself, what are you going to say?* Check the consignment.

In the following excerpt, Mrs. K did a sentence code-switch to Arabic, within which she made a single word code-switch to English, using the English word ‘have.’

73 T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Abeer?

74 Ab: I must sign the forms.

75 T: Must? (. ) Okay. I must sign the forms. And I must have?

76 Ab: The forms.

77 T: No. I must have them?

78 Ab: To be signed?

⇒ ⇒ 79 T: Signed. (. ) *With ‘have’ use the past participle.* I must have the forms signed I must have them signed.

In the following excerpt, Mrs. K was checking whether the students did their assignment. She did code-switching two times. In line 96, she started speaking in English but she switched to Arabic making a sentence code-switching. In line 102, she started with the English word ‘Okay’ but soon switched to Arabic by asking a question in
Arabic. Then, she switched back to English. Therefore I considered it a case of sentence
code-switching to Arabic.

94  T: I remember that I gave you some sentences to be translated.
95  ((Students get out the translation sheet))
96  T: I think I gave you only four. (.) And today I’ll give you

→  another three sentences. (.) Did you translate them at home?

97  S: Yes Miss.
98  T: Did you all do it?
99  SS: Yes.
100 T: Yes?
101 S: *I was absent last time.*

→ 102 T: Okay. What about the others? Because you didn’t do them, I’ll give

you the other three sentences to do them all.

In the following excerpt, after Mrs. K had distributed the midterm exam papers,
she asked the students to check their marks. She started her TCU by speaking in Arabic.
Then, she switched to English finishing her Arabic sentence by saying ‘come and ask,’
which is a phrasal code-switching.

133  T: ((Teacher distributes the midterm exam papers))
134  T: If you see anything wrong in adding up your marks or you

→  have doubts about anything, come and ask.
135  ((Students check their midterm Exam papers))
Code-switching by Mrs. M

I examined Transcription No. 12 to draw my representative examples from Mrs. M's class. Mrs. M was one of the teachers who relied heavily on speaking in Arabic during her instructional sequences. She did all different forms of code-switching. I counted 48 incidences of code-switching during that selected session. She did word code-switching, phrasal code-switching, and sentence code-switching. She also alternated between Arabic and English doing mixed code-switching. From that session, I provided the following excerpts as my representative examples.

In the following incidence, Mrs. M started her session introducing the students to the activity they were going to do that day. In line 1, her first TCU, she started her introduction speaking in Arabic. Then she kept alternating between the two languages throughout her TCU. Although Mrs. M started her TCU in line 1 by speaking in Arabic, it was rather difficult to decide which language was the one switched from and which one was the language switched to and the form the switches took. Depending on the language she started with, the code-switch was then to English. She first switched to English at a word level. Then she started her next sentence in English to switch back to Arabic at a phrasal level. She switched back to English at a phrasal level to resume her talk in Arabic at a phrasal level. The sentences in that TCU started in one language and finished in the other language. This TCU is a good example of a mixed code-switching case. When a student made a remark in English, Mrs. M responded in English, only to switch back to Arabic, doing a sentence code-switch in line 3.
Today we will learn about collective nouns. Count and mass nouns. Mass nouns are treated as nouns that can’t be counted. For example, salt, flower, sugar, rice. Like other words that you know already.

S1: Like water.

T: (. ) Yes, like water. Sometimes you can say waters. But it’s only in some rare and unusual cases. Sometimes you can say waters.

In the following excerpt, Mrs. M started her TCU speaking in English. But soon she switched to Arabic. She did a sentence code-switch, within which she did a word code-switch in two parts of her sentence code-switching. In fact, it was more of a letter code-switch in that case since she was referring to the letter ‘y’ and the letters ‘ies’ in English. Then she switched back to English.

T: We have the seven skies. Skies.

S2: Skies? Can we say skies?

T: Yes, of course. (. ) Of course. You remove the ‘Y’ and put the ‘IES.’ What else? Huh?

During that same activity, after Mrs. M had explained the count and mass nouns, she asked the students to provide her with some examples of collective nouns. The students provided her with a few words and failed to provide further examples. Mrs. M tried to remind them of some of the words that they had studied at the beginning of the semester. In line 52, she spoke mostly in Arabic during her TCU. She did code-switching two times, switching to English. The first one was a phrasal code-switch
followed directly by a sentence in English. The second one was a word code-switch. Since three different forms of code-switching occurred during the same TCU, it was considered a case of mixed code-switching. In line 54, she did a word code-switching to English. In line 56, she did a sentence code-switch to Arabic.

50  T: Another word?

51  (1.4)

➔  52  T: It’s at the beginning of unit two that Dr. Amal taught you. Do you think I don’t know what is in unit two? Didn’t you take cups and plates and saucers and I don’t know what? At the beginning of unit two. What do we call those?

53  S: Crockery.

➔  54  T: One is crockery and the other one is?

55  S: *Cutlery*. =

➔  ➔  56  T: = Cutlery. Are they countable? No, they aren’t. All right.

In the following excerpt, in line 72, Mrs. M spoke mainly in English switching once to Arabic, doing a phrasal code-switch. In line 76, she asked her question in English but she switched to Arabic, doing a word code-switch.

72  T: ((Teacher writes the word on the board and says it while writing it)) Forks. Right? (. ) Another word? What else? More?

➔  ➔  73  (2.0)

74  T: We did furniture, we did correspondence, we did crockery, we did cutlery. What else, you’ve taken it also.

75  (1.8)

➔  76  T: What about equipment?
SS: (Students answer collectively but at different points of time))

Equipment.

Mrs. M provided further explanation on collective nouns during an exercise which required the students to use either ‘how much’ or ‘how many.’ In line 183, she asked her question in Arabic but switched to English doing word code-switching. In line 186, she spoke mainly in English but switched once to Arabic doing a sentence code-switch. Within the Arabic sentence, she did a word code-switch back to English.

181  T: What is counted here? Do we count equipment?
182  ((Chatter))
→ 183  T: Do we count equipment?
184  SS: No.
185  S: We count the components.
→ → 186  T: We are not talking about components now. I am now talking only about equipment here. How much or how many equipment?
187  SS1: How much.
188  SS2: How many.

In the following excerpt, in line 191, Mrs. M responded to the student’s question in line 190, which was initiated in Arabic. Mrs. M responded in English but switched to Arabic. Although Mrs. M started her TCU in English, I considered it a word code-switch to English that occurred at the beginning of the TCU since the dominant language during that TCU was Arabic. She also did another word code-switch referring to the letter ‘S,’ which in that case it was considered more of an allophone code-switch. In line 193, she
started speaking in English using only one word, then resumed talking in Arabic as the
dominant language in the first part of her TCU. She did word code-switching to English
three times within the first part of her TCU. In the second part of her TCU, she switched
to English at a phrasal level but resumed her TCU completely in English. Therefore, it
was coded a case of mixed code-switching. She kept alternating between the two
languages in line 196 in the same manner. In line 200, she started speaking in English.
Then, she switched to Arabic at a sentence level, within which she made a word code-
switch to English.

190  S: *Is much for non-countable.*

→ 191  T: *Much is used for non-countable. Nouns that lack the plural*

    ‘S,’ *don’t take a number.*

195  S: *And it takes* much.

→ 193  T: *And it takes* much. (. ) All right? *Unless the collective noun is

preceded by one of theses expressions, pieces or items, then it is treated

as a regular noun.* All right? (. ) *If I want to ask a question about,*

there are three pieces of furniture. *How, how— What do I say? How

many pieces or how much pieces?*

   

194  S: //

   How many.

195  SS: ((Students speak at different points of time providing the

same answer)) Many.

→ 196  T: Many. *Because it is countable. The countable noun takes*

many *and the non-countable noun takes* much. Countable, many.

Uncountable, much. *Understood?* Yes, I know it’s a lot of information
to put in your head. But I know that you’ve done it in 099 and 101. *And*
you already did it at secondary school. So, don’t try to fool me. This is
the third or the fourth time you’ve done this. I’m being nice by going so
much into detail. Right? (. ) Number two. I would like twenty knives or
twenty cutlery?

197 SS: Knives.

198 T: Which one can be preceded directly by a number?

199 SS: Knives. =

200 T: = Knives. That’s right. (. ) Good. Have you got a, or have

got any plain crockery? First, plain means what? You took it before?

201 S: Plain.

The last excerpt is an important example of word code-switching. Although the
following TCU is rather short, the teacher did code-switching at the word level several
times within the same short TCU. In line 227, she started with one English word but she
soon switched to Arabic as the main language of instruction during that TCU. Therefore,
the word ‘yes’ at the beginning of the TCU was considered a word code-switch to
English that occurred at the beginning of the TCU. Providing her explanation of the rule
in Arabic, the teacher had to switch to English at a word level referring to the English
words in the exercise. Then, there was the question word ‘Right?’ in English which she
used to check her students’ understanding. The teacher resumed speaking in Arabic,
switching again to English at a word level twice. Since the instruction was in Arabic, the
teacher had to switch to English whenever she referred to a particular English word in the
exercise they were doing. Although there were a number of switches during that TCU,
since all switches were at a word level, I considered it a case of word code-switching.
We said if there is the plural ‘S,’ then it takes many. Right?

Because furniture must take much. (.)

To conclude, different forms of code-switching were made by the four teachers in the observed ESP classrooms. They made single-word code-switching when they started speaking in one language and switched to the other language using a single word or morpheme from the language switched to. They also made phrasal code-switching when they spoke mainly in one language but switched to the other language at a phrasal level. Sentence code-switching was also done by those four teachers when they spoke in one language and code-switched to the other language at a sentence level. Finally, the fourth form of code-switching that the observed four teachers made was mixed code-switching, which refers to the teachers’ alternation between English and Arabic doing more than one form of code-switching.

Code-switching by Students

Compared to code-switching done by teachers, occasions of code-switching made by students occurred very rarely in the observed classes. It is also worth mentioning that code-switching by students, though very rare, mostly took the form of word code-switching to English when they spoke in Arabic during their TCUs. Very few occasions of phrasal and sentence code-switching were recorded in all the observed classrooms. Cases of mixed code-switching by students were not observed by the researcher during the observed sessions. Therefore, that form of code-switching was not included under the main category of ‘code-switching by students.’ Therefore, the only categories that were
coded for analysis were the following: (a) single-word code-switching, (b) phrasal code-switching, and (c) sentence code-switching.

For the sake of the analysis, different indicators were used to show where each different type of code-switching occurred. A single regular arrow (→) was used as an indicator of 'word code-switching.' The single 'word code-switching' category refers to those incidences when a student used one language during her TCU but occasionally switched to the other language using single words from the other language she switched to. In some cases, the word code-switching was used to refer to incidences of code-switching at a morpheme level. Double regular arrows (→ →) were used to point to 'phrasal code-switching,' which is the second sub-category. The 'phrasal code-switching' category refers to incidences when a student switched to the other language using either incomplete sentences or phrases.

As for the third sub-category, 'sentence code-switching,' a regular arrow followed by a bolded one (→ ⭕) indicate such an occurrence. The category of 'sentence code-switching' was used to refer to incidences when within the same TCU a student used mainly one language but switched to the other language at a sentence level. Even when a word code-switch to the first language occurred within the sentence code-switch, it was still considered a sentence code-switching. And finally, because there were no incidences of mixed code-switching by students, there is no indicator of such a category under students’ code-switching.

Because there were a few incidences of students’ doing the different forms of code-switching, all incidences from all the Transcriptions of all the teachers’ observed sessions are presented. It is also worth mentioning that in some sessions there was not a
single case of code-switching by students. The following are my representative examples
from the selected Transcription of each teacher’s classroom.

**Code-switching by Mrs. A’s Students**

There were very few cases of code-switching by students in Mrs. A’s class. From
Transcription No. 3, only one occasion of code-switching by students was recorded. Two
other occasions of code-switching by students were found in Transcription No. 4 and
none was drawn from Transcription No. 5. And finally, only one occasion of code-
switching by students was found in Transcription No. 6.

The following excerpt is from Transcription No. 3. Mrs. A was explaining why a
student’s answer was wrong, trying to get the students to provide the correct answer by
eliminating the wrong ones. When a student provided a wrong choice, Mrs. A asked her
why she thought it was a correct answer. The teacher asked her question in Arabic in line
336. In line 337, the student responded to the teacher’s question in Arabic. Nevertheless,
since the talk was done in Arabic, the student was obliged to code-switch to English
when referring to particular English words in the activity, ‘enjoy,’ ‘ING,’ ‘enjoying,’ and
‘prefer.’ She switched to English, doing a word code-switch.

330  T: *Then*, it’s singular. *It can be replaced by* ‘he’ or ‘she.’ *Then, in that
case?*

331  SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) ‘S.’

332  S: Enjoys.

333  T: *That’s why that one is wrong.* (.) It’s not my friends. *Not plural.* It
is not plural. Just singular. *Then, enjoy is wrong.* Okay. *When you
said my friend enjoying, is it correct?”*
SS: No.
S: Yes.
T: ((Teacher speaks to the student who said yes)) Okay, *why is it correct?*
→ S: *Because enjoy takes ‘ING.’ It becomes* enjoying. Prefer, ‘ING.’
T: No.
S: Enjoy and prefer take ‘ING.’

The following two excerpts are drawn from Transcription No. 4. In the first excerpt, a student asked a question about the answer of the previous statement of the exercise they were doing. In line 150, she asked her question in Arabic. Nevertheless, since she initiated her question in Arabic, she had to code-switch to English when referring to the English word ‘now,’ which was provided in the answer of the previous sentence she was asking about.

147 T: Yes. Pierre knows all the new words very well now. Number twenty-one.
148 T: ((Teacher reads)) We always do our English lessons carefully.
149 T: ((Teacher talks to a student raising up her hand)) Yes?
→ 150 S: *Why didn’t we use the present continuous when we had ‘now’ in the sentence?*
151 T: *You mean twenty. Why didn’t we use the present continuous even when we had now?* Because it’s a fact. ___________________________
The second incidence of code-switching by students in that session was a sentence code-switch to Arabic. In the following incidence, Mrs. A wrote the wrong question form that a student had provided. She asked the other students to think about what was wrong with that question formation. In line 271, a student attempted to provide the correct question formation, but only to cut off her attempt to initiate a question in Arabic concerning the subject that she was going to use in her question.

257  T: Okay, how many or for how many hours. Let me write it, and then we will correct it. When we said,

258  T: ((Teacher writes the question on the board and reads it while writing))

For how many hours, the student said, the children sleep every day.

259 (2)

260  T: Okay, Do you think it is right?

261 (1.5)

262  T: Think about it. There is, There is a mistake here. Can you find it?

263 (3.6)

264  T: There is something wrong here.

265  S: (   )

266  T: No, the first part is okay. How many hours or for how many hours, is okay.

267 (2.2)

268  T: Huh? There is something wrong about the structure of it. Huh?

269  S: (   )

270  T: What is it? Say it.

271  S: For how many hours e.h, are— Is it wrong to use the name?
T: *It is the* 'children.' *It's not a name.* Listen to me when I say here, for how many .................................................................

There was only one incidence of code-switching by students in Transcription No. 6. In the following excerpt, a student used the word 'handle' in a sentence during the translation activity. When Mrs. A provided her with a negative evaluation to the use of that word in that sentence, the student asked about the meaning of the word she used. Her question in line 144 was initiated in Arabic. Because she was referring to the word 'handle' that she used in her translation sentence, she did the word code-switch to English at the beginning of her TCU.

132 S: I want handle in the International Commercial Bank. It's a very good bank.
133 (1.2)
134 T: What do you mean?
135 S: *I want to deal with the Commercial Bank because it is good.*
136 (1.0)
137 T: Say it from the beginning.
138 S: I want handle in the International--
139 T: I want?
140 S: Handle.
141 T: No. You can't use it here.
→ 142 S: Handle, *doesn't it mean deal with?*
143 T: There, it means not exactly *deal with.* It means to do something with. *It means* to arrange, to control, (.) Okay? *Here,* deal with means he is working with this thing. Okay? *Which is* deal with. We said David
handles all the customers’ accounts. It means he works with all the customers’ accounts. Okay?

**Code-switching by Mrs. R’s Students**

I attended only two sessions of Mrs. R’s class. In those two sessions, there were a few cases of code-switching. From Transcription No. 1, two occasions of code-switching by students were recorded. Three occasions of code-switching by students were drawn from Transcription No. 2.

The following two excerpts were drawn from Transcription No. 1. The first incidence was after the teacher had initiated her question several times in Arabic. In line 27, Mrs. R initiated her question in English and switched to Arabic providing the question word ‘when’ in Arabic. There was a pause of 2 seconds in line 28. Mrs. A repeated her initiation in Arabic in line 29 when she did not receive any response to her question. There was another longer pause in line 30. So, Mrs. R made another initiation in Arabic. In line 32, a student responded, starting her answer by speaking in English but soon switched to Arabic, within which she did a word code-switching to English. Although the student started her TCU by providing the English word ‘America,’ I considered it a case of code-switching to English at a word level that occurred twice, at the beginning of the TCU and at the end of it.

27    T: No. Okay. All right, what about— ss— When do we:— Or where—

The case we don’t use the articles. *When?*

28    (2)

29    T: *When? We said we don’t use articles.*

30    (2.7)
T: Hum. *When?*

S: America, *we don’t say* the America.

In the second excerpt, we have a student attempting to provide the correct articles and the teacher helping her to finish her statement. Mrs. R repeated the student’s answer and provided further explanation in line 178. And although she started a new initiation in the same TCU, another student asked a question about the previous statement. In line 183, student 2 initiated a question. She asked her question in Arabic but did a word code-switch to English.

175 S1: Rita plays *ah* the voyelen?

176 T: The violin.

177 S1: and her sister plays the g– g– (.)

178 T: Guitar. Okay. Rita plays the violin and her sister plays guitar. You don’t need to repeat the article here, the violin and the guitar. The, here, as if you say it is a conjunction. Okay? Like in Arabic. *It is conjunctive with* guitar. So, she plays the violin and her sister plays again the guitar. Okay. Eighteen.

183 S2: *Can’t we say* a violin?

186 T: A guitar?

187 S2: A violin.

188 T: A violin? No. Because here we are defining which *instrument.*

Which musical instrument.

From Transcription No. 2, three incidences of code-switching by students were found. The first incidence was when the teacher asked a question about the meaning of a
particular word. The teacher’s question came in Arabic. A student in line 59 attempted to provide the answer in English but she soon cut off her talk in English to provide the answer in Arabic, doing word code-switching to Arabic.

55 T:  *Which one are you doing? If the sentence says* one is for goods sent by sea.  *Have you seen it?*

56 Wi:  *Yes.*

57 T:  *What is meant by one?*

58 (1.4)

→ 59 Wi: The ss— *sea.*

In the second incidence, Mrs. R initiated her question in line 308 and repeated it in line 310. A student responded to the teacher’s initiation doing a word code-switch to Arabic in line 311. The student provided the answer in English preceded by the article ‘the’ in Arabic. Although the Arabic word occurred at the beginning of the TCU, since the answer was provided in English, it was considered a word code-switch to Arabic that occurred at the beginning of the student’s TCU. The code-switch to Arabic using the word ‘the’ is not actually a word switch but rather a morpheme switch. The interesting thing about the switch using ‘the’ is not treated as a separate word but rather as a morpheme. Although it is used as a defining article in Arabic, it is used by attaching it to the beginning of the nouns or the name which it is defining.
T: Yes. Okay? All right. *Who can find* ‘E,’ *which is* the number of pounds Anne paid to Barclaycard?

(3.3)

T: The number of pounds Anne paid. *She paid. Where do you find it?* Under which column?

S: *The payment.*

In the following incidence, in line 441, a student initiated her question doing a phrasal code-switch. The student started her TCU by speaking in English but soon switched to Arabic.

T: *We have finished by now.* Do for me— *We have finished* unit eight.

Now prepare unit— A:h. *The* translation, a:h. *For Wednesday.*

*Because— because there will be* a quiz on Wednesday. () Okay? All right.

S: A quiz on what?

T: *On* unit eight.

S: Vocabulary?

T: *On the* vocabulary.

**Code-switching by Mrs. K’s Students**

As was the case in the other teachers’ classes, there were very few cases of code-switching by students in Mrs. K’s class. From Transcription No. 7, I was able to draw three occasions of code-switching by students. I found only one occasion of code-switching by students in Transcription No. 8. I found two occasions of code-switching
by students in Transcription No. 9, while there was none in both Transcription No. 10 and Transcription No. 11.

The following excerpts were drawn from Transcription No. 7. In the first excerpt, a student asked about the meaning of the word ‘mistake.’ The question was initiated in Arabic. Nevertheless, since the student chose to say her question in Arabic, she was obliged to switch to English because she was asking about the meaning of that particular English word. It was a case of a word code-switch into English.

118 T: ((Teacher addresses a student raising up her hand)) Yes?
119 S: What’s the meaning of mistake?
120 T: Mistake. ((Teacher asks the question to the other students)) What’s the meaning of mistake?
121 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Mistake.

In the next excerpt from that Transcription, Mrs. K was explaining a rule. At the end of her TCU, she initiated a question in Arabic. A student responded by providing the answer in English, as the teacher’s question required her to provide the conjugation of the verb ‘to be’ in the past. Nevertheless, the student did a word code-switch to Arabic in her response in line 140.

139 T: ((Teacher writes on the board and explains while writing the formula as she called it)) Present tense. We have verb ‘to be.’ And then the verb in the past participle. This is a general rule for all the cases of the passive voice. Let’s see here. Verb ‘to be’ needs to be conjugated in the present and therefore becomes, ((writes on the board and explains the
rule while writing it)) ‘Is,’ for the singular. ‘Are,’ for the plural. Plus, the verb in the past participle. (. ) I’ll give you examples on it later. But this is a formula to be learned by heart. (. ) In the case of using it in the past, verb ‘to be’ is also conjugated and becomes?

→ 140 S: Was or were.

The third excerpt from that Transcription is the following. The teacher allowed the students a few minutes to copy a grammar rule she wrote on the board. A student asked a question in Arabic about a word on the board. In line 161, another student asked about another word written on the board. She initiated her question in Arabic but she did a word code-switch to English inquiring about an English word written on the board.

156 ((Teacher allows the students a few minutes to copy the rules she has written on the board))

157 T: ((Teacher addresses a student raising her hand)) Yes?

158 S1: ((Student points to a word on the board)) What is that?

159 T: Continuous.

160 ((Teacher allows more time for the student to finish copying what is on the board))

→ 161 S2: Is that future?

162 T: It used with the future and with ‘must,’ ‘may,’ ‘can.’ The modals. ‘Be’ and the past participle.
The following excerpt was drawn from Transcription No. 8 and it was the only incidence of a student’s code-switching during that session. During the translation activity, the teacher read the sentences in Arabic and required the students to provide English translations for them. Sometimes, students had different translations of the same sentence. In this excerpt, the teacher inquired whether anyone had a different translation from the one provided by the student in line 164. In line 168, a student responded in Arabic. She did a word code-switch referring to English words in the translation sentence she did.

163  T: Stock exchange. Yes. One more time. Who can say it? ((Assigning the turn to a student)) Yes, Fatima.

164  Fa: Usually, shares are bought and sold at stock exchange. =

165  T: = At stock exchange. Or, we can say?

166  S: Shares of public limited companies can be sold and bought at stock exchange.

167  T: Okay. ((To a student holding up her hand)) Yes, Yasmeen?

168  Ya: I only used the shares usually.

169  T: Shares. The shares.

170  Ya: Shares usually.

171  T: Yes. Shares are usually bought and sold. Shares are usually bought and sold at stock exchange. (.) Number Three.

From Transcription No. 9 I was able to find three incidences of code-switching by students. In the following excerpt, a student asked a question in Arabic. She did a word code-switch to English using the word ‘Celand,’ which is an imaginary name of a country
used in the reading passage. Because the student in line 96 chose to speak in Arabic, she had to code-switch to English since there was no equivalent for that word in Arabic and since she was referring to a particular word in the reading passage.

94 Fa: Miss?
95 T: Yes.

96 → Fa: Why do they import from Celand as long as their bikes are the most expensive?

97 T: Because Celand wants to export its bikes. Aland doesn’t only import because they want to but because Celand wants to export its bikes.

The second incidence from that Transcription is the following. In line 104, a student initiated a question in Arabic but only to switch to English referring to particular exercises. In line 106, she repeated the same question in the same manner. The switches in the two lines were considered cases of phrasal code-switching. The important point in that incidence is the use of the conjunction word ‘and’ in Arabic to conjunct two English words ‘one’ and ‘two.’ The word code-switch occurred within the phrasal code-switch.

104 → 104 S: Are we going to do exercises one and two at home?
105 T: Yes?

106 → 106 S: Are we going to do exercises one and two at home?
107 T: I don’t mind that you do them at home, so that you have an idea about the vocabulary. But we are going to do them together in class. If you don’t read the vocabulary, you will not be able to do exercises one and two. So, you have to read the vocabulary list.
Code-switching by Mrs. M’s Students

Code-switching by students in Mrs. M’s classroom was relatively more frequent than in other teachers’ classrooms. Nevertheless, there were only a few incidences during each session. I found only one incidence in Transcription No. 12, another incidence in Transcription No. 13, and one more incidence of code-switching by students from Transcription No. 14. And I was able to draw four more incidences in Transcription No. 15. And finally, I found only two incidences of code-switching by students in Transcription No. 16.

The following excerpt was drawn from Transcription No. 12 and it was the only incidence during that session. In that incidence, Mrs. M was discussing collective nouns, which as she explained did not take the plural ‘s.’ In line 79, a student protested claiming that the word ‘equipment’ could be used with the plural ‘s.’ Because she was speaking in Arabic referring to an English word ‘equipment,’ she did a code-switch to English at a word level.

76   T:  What about equipment?
77   SS:  ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time))
   Equipment.
78   T:  Yeah. Do we have one equipment?
79   S:  Miss we can say equipments.
80   T:  No you can’t.
81   S:  But there is equipments.
82   T:  Where? Show me.
The following excerpt is from Transcription No. 13. In the following incidence, a student initiated a question starting it in English but only to switch to Arabic and then back to English. It was not clear whether it was a switch to Arabic since the TCU started with English, or it was a switch to English as Arabic seemed to be the dominant language of students’ initiations. I decided to treat it as a case of word code-switching that occurred at both the beginning and the end of the student’s TCU.

506  T: ((Teacher addresses the students)) A lot of information. I know. But I told you that today was important because we were going to do all the checks. I don’t like to do it in portions. Okay? A lot of information. But that means we nearly finished unit 2.

507  ((Teacher turns pages))

508  S: Page 17 is the lesson of the definitions?

509  T: Which one, darling? Page 17 is definitions. Yes. The only thing you have left is page 15. ..............................................................

The following excerpt was drawn from Transcription No. 14. In that incidence, a student asked Mrs. M a question about the meaning of a word. In line 207, she first asked her question in Arabic using the pronoun ‘it’ to refer to the word she was asking about. Clarifying her question, she repeated it in line 209 but she also provided the English word she was asking about. Therefore, since the question was initiated in Arabic, she had to code-switch to English at a word level. The same interpretation applies to the word code-switch in line 213.

206  T: Yes, Memo. (.) Memorandum? Memo is the short form of memorandum. Then you have office.
207  S: *What does it mean?*

208  T: Sorry?

→ 209  S: *What does it mean?* The memo.

210  T: *Don't you remember the comparison we did last time between the* letter and the memo? *We said that the letter contains two addresses,*

*and a greeting and so and so. And we said the memo doesn't contain*

*those things. Do you now remember?*

211  S: Yes.

212  T: I'm very glad.

→ 213  S: *Isn't memorandum the same as this one?*

214  T: It's the same. *The original word is memorandum and its short form*

*is memo. The original word is long and difficult. The short form is*

*memo. All right? Negotiable? Negotiable?*

The following excerpts were drawn from Transcription No. 15. In the first,
excerpt, Mrs. M was going over some pages in the textbook, telling her students which
pages were deleted. A student interrupted asking about a particular exercise. Her
question came in Arabic but she referred to the exercise switching to English at a word
level.

151  T: Definitions or words that you have to find the meaning of. Okay?

All of these. Right. Next, page 23 is out. Page 23 is not included.

→ 152  S: *Is exercise 3.3 deleted?*

153  T: Sorry?

154  S: Exercise 3.3?

155  T: All of page 23.
In the following incidence, the teacher was doing an activity, which required the students to paraphrase the statements using either ‘used to’ or ‘did not use to.’ The teacher explained the activity mostly in Arabic with occasional code-switching to English. She asked a question in Arabic in line 207. In line 208, a student responded in Arabic, but she switched to English referring to the letter ‘D.’ Another student did the same thing in line 212, asking a question about the teacher’s initiation in Arabic in line 211. In those two cases of code-switching, since the two students talked in Arabic, they had to switch to English referring to particular words in English in the activity they were doing.

199  T: (Teacher reads number 2) Transworld sends containerized goods nowadays.

200  S: (    )

201  T: This means? Did they send or didn’t they send goods?

202  S1: They sent.

203  T: No. Now they send.

204  S2: Even before.

205  T: So, in the past they didn’t send. So, what’s my sentence going to be?

(    ) It’s going to be negative past. (    ) They didn’t?

206  S: They didn’t used to.

207  T: How am I going to write used to?

208  S: Without the ‘D.’

209  T: Without the ‘D.’ Thank you. They used to— Sorry, they didn’t use to.
((Teacher writes the first part of the sentence on the board.))

T: ((Teacher stops writing the sentence and addresses students)) They didn’t use to, what? Where is the verb?

→ 212 S: After to?

213 T: Yes. They didn’t use to, what?

S: Send.

During the same activity, in line 258, Mrs. M initiated a question in Arabic. In her question she did a word code-switching to English because she was asking about a particular word in English. In line 261, the assigned student responded in Arabic, also doing a word code-switching to English referring to a particular word they were working on.

258 T: Yes. Right. The last row. ((Pointing at a particular student sitting at the back row)) The student sitting over there, why did I put ‘be’?

259 (1.2)

260 T: Please?

→ 261 S2: Because of the ‘used.’

In the following excerpt, we have a student initiating a question asking about when she can use ‘does.’ The student’s initiation was done in Arabic but because the question was about the use of a particular English word, she had to switch to English referring to it.

→ 345 S2: When can we use ‘does’?

346 T: When do we use ‘does’?
In the next excerpt, Mrs. M was discussing comparisons, when a student made a remark in Arabic. Since the student chose to speak in Arabic referring to a rule in English, she had to do a code-switching referring to the ‘ER’ in the comparison form.

T: I’ll tell you where to look. Page 27. There is a summary. On page 27, there is a summary about comparisons and superlatives.

((Students turn their books to that specified page))

T: Okay? Right. It tells you short word— Short words mean the one-syllable words. Right? Small, wide, big, heavy.

S: We add ‘ER’ to them.

T: Yes. You put ‘ER’ except— Be careful. If the ending is with ‘Y,’
you ..............................................................

The following excerpt appears in Transcription No. 16. Two students did code-switching. The teacher was explaining why ‘is having’ is not appropriate in a particular sentence. In line 162, a student inquired whether its use was wrong. The student asked her question in Arabic but code-switched to English referring to ‘is having.’ In line 168, another student made a remark in Arabic but switched to English referring to a particular word in English in the sentence they were working on.

T: Because of the now. Right? Our manager is having a meeting now. Right. According to the rule, this is what it should be. This is what it should be, ‘is having a meeting.’ But according to usage, this is wrong. I
want to tell you that this is one of the irregularities. Usually you don’t say
‘is having.’ You would just say, our manager has a meeting now. All right?

So, I want the people who have put ‘has’ to mark it as right. (.) Because it
should be ‘has.” This is a mistake. It should be has. All right?

S1: Is ‘is having’ wrong?

T: Is having. I gave the mark any way because it wasn’t my exam and I
didn’t correct it the day of the exam. So that was my mistake. All right?

S2: Our manager without the ‘is’?

T: Our manager,

S2: Has. =

T: = Has. Directly without the ‘is.’

S2: Without the ‘is.’

T: Without the ‘is.’ Yes.

In conclusion, the students observed in the four ESP classrooms did different
forms of code-switching. Word code-switching was done by students when they used
one language during their TCUs but occasionally they switched to the other language
using single words from the other language they switched to. In some cases, the word
code-switching was used to refer to incidences of code-switching at a morpheme level.
There were incidences when students switched to the other language using either
incomplete sentences or phrases making phrasal code-switch.
Sentence code-switching was also done by the observed students when within some TCUs students used mainly one language but switched to the other language at a sentence level. Finally, it is worth mentioning that no incidences of mixed code-switching by students were recorded during the observed lessons.

Functions of Code-switching

This section is the cultural analysis in interactional terms of the functional roles that code-switching played in the four ESP classrooms under study. According to my interpretation, code-switching was used to employ different functions, which were instructional, conversational, and social. Consequently, categorization according to functions was coded as follows: (a) to accomplish instructional tasks, (b) to accomplish conversational tasks, and (c) to convey social information. Each category sub-divides into other sub-categories as will be explained under each category later in the analysis.

The complexity of providing interpretation of the functions of code-switching was that some incidences served to employ more than one function at the same time. For example, while some incidences of code-switching served to accomplish some conversational tasks, they were also considered as a means of conveying social information, as being a member of a bilingual community or as expressing a social status. Whenever possible, the same exemplary excerpts used under the section of code-switching forms were also used under the section of functions of code-switching. This is because the study aimed to demonstrate that there was no connection between the forms of code-switching and the different functions of it. For example, the form of word code-switching was employed to play a particular role in some incidences, while it was used to
perform other functions in other incidences. The point is, each form was not necessarily employed to play a particular role. The following are the analyses of the categories of the functions of code-switching in interactional terms, along with their representative examples drawn from the transcriptions of the ESP classrooms under study.

The following table refers to the different functions of code-switching:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of Code-switching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Instructional tasks:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Providing instructional clarification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Providing instructional translation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Providing definitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Providing evaluations to students’ responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Checking students’ understanding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Conversational tasks:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. As an attention-getting device.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. As a signal of topic shift.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. As a highlighter of climactic moments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. As a stylistic process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social information:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Creating a sense of community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Expressing intimacy, encouragement, distance, reproach, or status.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 4 (Functions of code-switching)

**Code-switching Used to Accomplish Instructional Tasks**

As mentioned above, code-switching served different functions, instructional, conversational, and social. The first category under the theme of functions of code-switching is the category of 'the use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks.' Under this category, the following sub-categories were coded: (a) teacher providing instructional clarification, (b) teacher providing instructional translation, (c) teacher
providing definitions, (d) teacher providing evaluations to students’ responses, and (e) teacher checking students’ understanding.

Because the representative examples may serve as examples of different types of functions under the same sub-category or under more than one sub-category within the same TCU, different indicators were used to refer to each specific function it served. The category of the ‘use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks’ included five sub-categories. The first sub-category is ‘teacher providing instructional clarification.’ That sub-category referred to incidences when a teacher used code-switching to Arabic to clarify specific points during her instructional activities. A single regular arrow (\(\rightarrow\)) was used as an indicator of incidences of using code-switching to provide instructional clarification.

The second sub-category, which is the ‘teacher providing instructional translation’ category, referred to incidences when a teacher switched to Arabic to provide literal translation of her instruction in English. Double regular arrows (\(\rightarrow \rightarrow\)) indicate occurrences of such incidences. As for the third sub-category, ‘teacher providing definitions,’ it was used to refer to incidences when a teacher switched to Arabic to provide Arabic definitions of specific English words used in the activities. A regular arrow followed by a bolded one (\(\rightarrow \boldsymbol{\rightarrow}\)) indicate such an occurrence.

The fourth sub-category is the ‘teacher providing evaluations to students’ responses’ category. It referred to incidences when a teacher provided her evaluation to a student’s response to the teacher’s initiation. A bolded arrow (\(\boldsymbol{\rightarrow}\)) was used as an indicator of the fourth category, ‘providing evaluations.’ The fifth sub-category is ‘teacher checking students’ understanding.’ This sub-category refers to incidences when
a teacher switched to the other language to check her students’ understanding during an instructional sequence. Double bolded arrows (➡️ ➸) indicate such an occurrence. In the following section, those categories are presented and analyzed, along with the representative examples drawn from each teacher’s classroom.

Mrs. A’s Classroom

Mrs. A’s classroom provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks. The following are some examples drawn from Transcription No. 3. The following incidence took place during an instructional sequence when Mrs. A was explaining the present simple tense to her students. After explaining it, she provided her students with prompts and required them to provide the correct form of the verb with different pronouns. When some students provided the wrong answer in line 86, she provided further explanation by switching back and forth between Arabic and English. Her TCU in line 88 is an example of providing instructional clarification by her constant switch to Arabic.

82 T: She eats her— Her, not my. Her breakfast at home every morning. She eats her breakfast at home every morning. If we say they? They? Huh?

83 (1.2)

84 S: They eat.

85 T: They?

86 SS1: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Are.

[ SS2: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Eat.

88 T: Eat. Why do you put are here? No, we use are with the main verb with ‘ING.’ This would be the verb in the present continuous. Then we will
have two verbs. But here, according to the present simple, it would be only one verb. And the one verb is in the present simple. The first conjugation of tenses. But if I have the subject he, she or it, then we add an ‘S’ to the verb. Why? Because in English language there is an agreement, agreement. Here there must be an agreement between the subject and the verb. Okay. I have here the subject, subject, I. Okay. We have the verb in the first conjugation of tenses without the ‘S.’ But if we have the subject, the subject ‘he,’ ‘she,’ or ‘it,’ the verb needs to take an ‘S.’ So, if we have here she, we need, she eats. I cannot say she eat, because ‘she,’ ‘he,’ or ‘it,’ they require ‘S’ with the verb when used with the first conjugation of tenses. There should be an agreement between the subject and the verb. Okay. It is not all the time that the verb in the first conjugation of tenses is used. No. We have here with the rest of the pronouns we use the first conjugation but when I use the subject as ‘he,’ ‘she,’ or ‘it,’ then I should add an ‘S’ to the verb. So here, she eats. He?

S: Eats.

Still working on the same verb tense during the same instructional sequence, Mrs. A continued providing prompts and students provided the form of the verb according to the pronoun provided by Mrs. A. Sensing that her students understood the activity, Mrs. A wrapped up in line 111 mostly in English. Nevertheless, she switched to Arabic during that TCU to provide instructional translation, referred to by the → indicator. She provided translation in Arabic to her explanation of the term she used ‘a regular activity.’ Checking her students’ understanding during the same TCU, she switched to English. The incidence of checking understanding is referred to by the → indicator. During
her TCU in line 113, Mrs. A provided further instructional clarification by code-switching to Arabic. Nevertheless, she switched to English to check her students’ understanding within the same TCU.

90   T: It?

91   SS: Eats. =

92   T: = Eats. The cat. Drink. The cat?

93   SS: Drinks. =

94   T: = Drinks. Okay? He, between brackets clean. So, he?

95   SS: Cleans. =

96   T: = Cleans. Okay. We, between brackets cat. We?

97   SS1: Eat.

98   SS2: Eats.

99   T: Eat. We eat. They?

100  SS: Eat.

101  T: Eat. Play. They?

102  SS: Play. =

103  T: = Play. You?

104  SS: Play.

105  T: Play. He?

106  SS: Plays.

107  T: Plays. She?

108  SS: Plays. =

109  T: = Plays. It?

110  SS: Plays.
T: Plays. Okay? So, again in the present simple we express or talk about a fact. A fact. Or we talk about regular actions, regular verbs. Regular activity. Okay? Here, I eat my breakfast every morning. I eat breakfast at home. This is a regular activity. An action which occurs regularly.

Whenever I mention it, and it is considered a present simple. Okay? Are you following?

SS: Yes.

T: Okay. So you know when to use the present simple. And you know the form of the verb. And I take care that there should be an agreement between the verb and the subject. So if we have the subject as he, she or it, then we must add an ‘S’ to the verb. Is it understood?

SS: Yes.

The following excerpt is part of an instructional sequence on the use of the present simple tense. In the following sequence, Mrs. A was trying to explain why the student’s answer in line 240 was wrong. During her TCU in line 243, Mrs. A did mixed code-switching, explaining both the student’s wrong answer and Mrs. A’s provided answer. The → indicator is used here to refer to the occurrence of code-switching to Arabic as used by Mrs. A to provide instructional clarification. The → → indicator is used in the same TCU to refer to code-switching to English by the teacher checking her students’ understanding. An important note here is that while most instruction was done mostly in Arabic with occasional switching to English, checking students understanding was done in English by the use of the English word ‘Okay?’.
T: ((Teacher addresses the student allocated the turn in line 231)) What did you say? Say it. The children. Say it.

S: The children (sleeps).

T: No. You say it. You have said it before. Sleeps. We are learning here and as long as we are learning, we make mistakes. No problem. In order to learn, we need to learn from our mistakes. Say it the same way you said it before. You said, the children sleeps. Isn't that right?

Okay. No problem. We are going to write it to learn what is right and what is wrong. ((To the other students)) Please, if you know it, keep it to yourselves until we finish.

((Teacher writes the wrong answer on the board))

T: Here we have, the children sleeps for two hours every afternoon.

→ Every afternoon means that the verb, the action happens regularly. This means that the sentence should be in the present simple tense. (.)

The present simple means that we use the verb in its first conjugation. But there should be an agreement between the verb and the subject. (.)

→ Okay? We said before that if the subject is 'he,' or 'she' or 'it,' then we have to add the 'S' to the verb. Or what can substitute them. For example, instead of he we have the boy, Ahmed, the man. Instead of she, the woman. Okay? And so on. Instead of it, the cat. (.) Okay?

→ Other than that, when you have 'I,' 'we,' 'you,' 'they' or what takes their places. For example, instead of they, the students. And so on. In that case, the verb remains without adding the 'S.' Here we have the subject is what?
SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) The children.

During the same instructional sequence, Mrs. A explained why they needed to add an ‘s’ to the verb in a sentence they were working on. The teacher code-switched to Arabic in lines 276 and 280. In both TCUs, the code-switching was employed to provide instructional clarification about the use of the third person singular form of the present tense with ‘she’ or ‘the French girl.’

269 T: ((Teacher reads the sentence)) That French girl speak English very well. That French girl speak English very well.

270 S1: A:h, That French girl speaks?

271 T: Speaks English very well. What tense is this?  
//

272 S1: English very well.

273 S1: Present e:h simple.  
//

274 T: Simple. And it is?

275 S1: Aad we can put she.

276 T: Yes. We can replace it by she. Okay. That's why we added the ‘S.’ Here, it becomes speaks. Do you have any keywords here? Any keywords?

277 S1: No.

278 T: No. There isn’t. And it’s a fact.

279 S 2: But she is speaking and-

//

280 T: This is a fact and that’s why we put it in the
present simple tense because it expresses a fact. Someone or the French girl speaks English. And this is a fact about her. That's why we use the present simple. Understood?

281 S: Yes.

The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 4. During an instructional activity, Mrs. A was going over a grammar drill exercise in a general English context. The exercise required the students to change the verbs in brackets using the appropriate tense. The student assigned the turn failed to provide the correct tense. Mrs. A responded in line 63 by providing a negative evaluation to the student's answer. Her negative evaluation took the form of code-switching to Arabic that occurred at the beginning of the TCU, followed by the teacher providing clues in English. She did not provide the correct form of the verb but she told her that it was present simple. She also provided another clue by asking the students to provide her with the keyword in the sentence. When some students responded by saying 'very,' she provided another negative evaluation in Arabic in line 66.

56 T: ((Teacher reads)) It rain very much in the United States.

57 T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Come on Layla.

58 La: A:h, it rain in much in the: (.)

59 T: United States.

60 La: United States.

61 T: Okay, it is?

62 La: ( )
T: *No, it is* present simple. Do you have any keyword here? Do you have any keyword?

S: Yes, yes.

SS: Very.

T: *No.* There is a difference between *very* and *every.* Okay? Every day but very means too much.

The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 6. During an instructional activity, Mrs. A was explaining two language functions ‘requests’ and ‘replies.’ To explain the meaning of the word ‘reply,’ she switched to Arabic in line 279. Her code-switching was used to provide the Arabic definition to the English word ‘reply.’

T: Okay. If— Also, I would like to send a letter to you and I need an answer quickly. So, at the end I can say, please, huh?

S: (*reply*)

T: Okay. Please, reply to me as soon as possible. Reply means *answer my letter.* Reply to me as soon as possible. Or, if I need a special book from you, and you are studying abroad. Outside the country. And I need a book. A special book. I’ll give you the title of the book. You are my friend. So, I’ll ask you to send me the book. What could I say? What could I write for you?

Mrs. R’s Classroom

Mrs. R’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks. I chose Transcription No. 1 to provide my representative examples. The following incidence took place during an instructional sequence. In line
33, Mrs. R spoke mainly in English. She switched to Arabic at a word level to provide the Arabic definition of the word ‘general’ that she used to explain about the use of articles.

33 T: Okay. When we talk about Ameri– We say the United States of America, but America, we don’t use the article. We don’t use articles when we talk about things in general. (.) Okay? For example, when we say fruits are good for you. Salads are good for your health. Okay? People wear jewelry to make themselves e:h, beautiful. Okay? And so on. Huh? We don’t use articles here because we’re talking about things in general.

General. General, huh? Okay. Let’s do number one. We’ll start with you Shatha?

In the following instructional sequence during the same activity, Mrs. R code-switched to Arabic to provide translation to her explanation in English of a particular use of an article in a sentence they were working on.

34 Sh: (Student start reading the sentence) Jules–

35 T: Jason’s father. =

36 Sh: = Juson’s father buy–

37 T: bought him. =

38 Sh: = bought him a a:h a bicy–bicycle that he had wanted for his birthday.

39 T: Do you say the bicycle he wanted (.) for his birthday?

40 Sh: A bicycle.

41 T: Ha:? A bicycle?

42 SS: ((Students provide their answers collectively but at different points of time.)) The.
T: Why— Why 'a' not 'the'? I mean why 'the' not 'a'?

T: Why do you say the bicycle that he wanted for his birthday? (.) Ha?

S: (       )

T: No. We are talking— We are defining the bicycle. Okay? Not just a bicy— any bicycle. He wanted a bicycle for his birthday for his birthday. So, a special bicycle. Okay? So, he bought him the bicycle that he wanted for his birthday. *In this case*, the. Okay? *We are defining the bicycle he wanted for his birthday, not any bicycle*. There is a *specific bicycle for example*.

All right. Number two? Hanan?

During the same activity, the following instructional sequence occurred. In line 103, Mrs. R did a mixed code-switching. Throughout her TCU, she provided instructional clarification to the use of the correct defining article by switching to Arabic. During that same TCU, she also switched back to English to check her students’ understanding. She checked her students’ understanding two times in line 103. Mrs. R mostly switched back to English wherever she checked her students’ understanding.

T: We say (.) no one in the Spanish class knew a correct answer or the correct answer?

SS: (Students provide the same answer but each starts at a different point of time)) The correct answer.

T: The correct answer. Okay? *Because I have* correct answer and wrong answers *and I am defining* the correct answer. *Besides*, one answer would
be correct. Okay? Not a correct answer. As if I have so many answers that would be correct. (.) The correct answer to Mrs. Pareez's question. Number eight, .................................................................

In the following excerpt, Mrs. R provided further instructional clarification on the use of articles in a particular sentence they were working on by switching to Arabic. During the same TCU, she switched back to English to check her students' understanding by the use of the word 'Okay.' The students' understanding check was followed by a code-switch to Arabic to provide further explanation by comparing the use of a conjunction in English to its use in Arabic.

175  T: Seventeen. Huh?

176  (3.8)

177  S: Rite—

178  T: Rita plays.

179  S: Rita plays a:h the voyelen?

180  T: The violin.

181  S: and her sister plays the g— g— (.)

182  T: Guitar. Okay. Rita plays the violin and her sister plays guitar. You don't need to repeat the article here, the violin and the guitar. The, here, as if you say it is a conjunction. Okay? Like in Arabic. It is conjunctive with guitar.

So, she plays the violin and her sister plays again the guitar. Okay. Eighteen.

The following excerpt was taken from an instructional sequence on the use of 'the former' and 'the latter.' In line 499, a student mispronounced the word 'latter,' to which
Mrs. R provided a negative evaluation in Arabic with an explanation of why the student’s reading was wrong in line 500. When the same student made another mistake in line 501, Mrs. R provided her negative evaluation again in line 502 followed by further instructional clarification. It is important to note that Mrs. R used code-switching in line 502 that employed a different function. First, she provided her negative evaluation in Arabic at the beginning of her TCU. Then she switched to English, providing the correct answer. She switched back to Arabic to provide further explanation to what should be done in that sentence. She switched back to English two times during that TCU to check her students’ understanding. The important point in line 502 was that Mrs. R checked her students’ understanding three times by switching to English as indicated by the use of the

\[\Rightarrow \Rightarrow\] indicator.

497 T: ((Teacher reads sentence number 1)) Mr. Nixon and Mr. Regan are the ex-presidents of U.S.A. Mr. Nixon died last month but Mr. Regan is still alive.

498 T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Go ahead.

499 S: The later is-

\[\Rightarrow 500\] T: Not the later. Don’t say the later. The later means the delayed. The latter, double T, huh? =

501 S: = The latter is still alive and the former is a:h died.

\[\Rightarrow 502\] T: No. You have read the sentence, Mr. Nixon died last month. So, you say the former died last month. What you are going to do, you remove or you delete or you omit the name and you put instead ‘the former.’ You
don’t add any word. All right? And the other one, the second half, you remove ‘Mr. Regan,’ you delete or you omit ‘Mr. Regan’ and you put ‘the
latter.' Okay? Is it clear or not?

Mrs. K’s Classroom

Mrs. K’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks. The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 9. In the following excerpt, Mrs. K was explaining the use of relative pronouns during a grammar activity. In line 12, she spoke mainly in Arabic with occasional code-switching to English to refer to the English relative pronouns. During the same TCU, she switched to English to check her students’ understanding. In line 14, she started explaining the exercise in English but she switched to Arabic to provide further clarification.

12  T: Then, ‘which,’ ‘who,’ ‘where.’ ‘Which,’ when I talk about a thing. ‘Where,’ when I talk about a place. And ‘who,’ when I talk about a person. Of course, in this exercise they talk about things relevant to the lesson. (.) I asked you to do it at home in order to become familiar with it.

Right? So, in exercise two.

13  T: (Teacher reads the instructions of exercise 12.2)) Rewrite these definitions and say which words they define.

14  T: (Teacher stops reading to explain the exercise to the students)) You are going to use ‘which,’ ‘where,’ and ‘who.’ Of course, it depends on what you’re defining. What you are talking about. Are you talking about a place? Are you talking about a person, or a thing? (Pointing to the words on the board!) So, you have to use one of these. ‘Where,’ ‘which’ and ‘who.’ These are called relative pronouns. So, you’re going to use one of them, when you’re
defining this word. (.) Let’s look at the words that you have here. You have

some examples.

The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 11. This instructional sequence took place during the document labeling activity which required the students to provide the correct name of each provided document. In line 3, Mrs. K was explaining to her students what they were supposed to do in that particular exercise. Her code-switching occurred at the word level from English to Arabic to provide the meaning of the word ‘content’ in Arabic. The code-switch served to provide the definition of the word in Arabic. In line 5, Mrs. K provided the Arabic definition of the word ‘manufactured.’ In line 7, she first switched to Arabic to provide the Arabic definition of the term ‘certificate of origin.’ During the same TCU, she resumed speaking in Arabic with an occasional code-switch to English to provide instructional clarification.

3  T: We have five documents and we want to label these documents
   according to the information in the passage, in exercise 3. (.) Look at
   document number one. Read it carefully. Read the content, content. Read
   the content of this document and then tell me what it is.

4  T: (Teacher reads the information in Document number 1)) Republic of
   Deland. All the goods mentioned in this document have been wholly
   manufactured in Eland.

5  T: (Teacher stops reading to check students’ understanding)) They are
   wholly manufactured in Eland. They are made in Eland. So, what is this
   document?
6 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Certificate of origin.

7 T: Certificate of origin, Certificate of origin, which is a certificate of origin. This is what was required from Celand. It was required from Celand. It says that all the goods mentioned here are manufactured in this country. So, this is a certificate of origin. This is a certificate of origin. (.) Look at number 2.

Mrs. M's Classroom

Mrs. M’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks. The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 12. During an instructional activity on the use of count and mass nouns, Mrs. M explained their usage to her students, followed by asking them to provide her with examples. In line 109, she provided a wrap-up. She started her TCU in English but she switched to Arabic to provide further explanation of the uncountable nouns. She also switched to English during her Arabic switch to refer to the non-definite article ‘a’ and the plural ‘s.’ She also switched to English to check her students’ understanding during that same TCU. In line 110, Mrs. M did not receive any response to her initiation in line 109. In line 111, she provided further clarification to her question by reminding them of the rule. The dominant language in that TCU was mainly Arabic with two switches to English to refer to the plural ‘s’ and one switch to English in order to check her students’ understanding. Her question of line 109 was reinitiated in Arabic at the end of line 111. In line 112, she received a wrong response. In line 113, she provided a hint in Arabic
that mass nouns lack the plural ‘s.’ She switched to English to provide the students with
two possible answers to choose from.

T: ((Teacher addresses students)) All right? Now. Now, you understand

that the collective nouns— The collective nouns furniture, equipment,
correspondence, stationery, crockery, cutlery, can not be counted directly. It
can’t be preceded by a number directly. All right? And it doesn’t take the
article ‘a,’ because ‘a’ takes the place of number one. Okay. (.) And it
doesn’t take the plural ‘s.’ What verb does it take, then? What verb does
it take? I want to say there is furniture in this room. What can I say?

(1.2)

T: Don’t forget that it is a collective noun, and plural nouns take plural
verbs. Right? Nevertheless, these are odd plural words because they take
the plural ‘s.’ And because they lack the plural ‘s,’ what verb are they
going to take?

S1: Are.

T: They lack the plural ‘s.’ They take a singular verb. Do we say, there
are furniture or there is furniture? =

S2: = Is.

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Is.

T: There is furniture. You are right. And you say, there is correspondence
on my desk. There is crockery in the shop. There is cutlery in the drawer.
There is stationery in that shop. And there is equipment in that box. All
right?
Providing translation of instruction did not always come as a long set of
instructions followed by their translations in Arabic. The following excerpt provides a
good example of such incidences. In line 169, Mrs. M was telling her students to follow
particular items in the textbook exercise and ignore some other items. She provided her
translation of her instruction to ignore those particular items first in Arabic followed by
providing the same instruction in English.

→ 169 T: Have a look at the exercise on page 13. (Teacher clears voice) The
ones below, not the ABC. Ignore them. Ignore them. We’ve just done
them.

Code-switching from the Teachers’ Point of View

Three out of the four teachers whose classes were observed participated in the
teachers’ interviews that were conducted as both individual and group interviews. Mrs.
A was the one whom I could not interview because of her hospitalization. Nevertheless,
another teacher whose classes I did not observe, Mrs. Y, participated in the teachers’
group interview. When I asked about their use of Arabic translations and the code-
switching to Arabic that they did during the lessons, they responded as follows:

Mrs. R: The cultural background of the students has influenced the way I followed
teaching them. Yes, I agree. It does influence the amount of translation I use in my
classes as well as the amount of the teacher’s code-switching, while speaking in
English. The reason is that the students’ lack of motivation and unwillingness to
participate has to do with their educational backgrounds, if you will. Most of our
students are the ones who were not admitted to either Kuwait University or the
College of Basic Education, which both require secondary school graduates to have attained good grades. Mostly, they end up in our colleges with very low self-esteem and low expectations of their achievement by both parties, the students themselves and their teachers.

**Mrs. M:** The cultural background of our students does influence our teaching. I do it in both ways. For example, I may speak in English all the time or switch to Arabic. Sometimes, they force you to do that and ask you to provide them with the Arabic meanings. When I first started teaching, I used only English as the language of instruction and I got bad results. So we switch to Arabic and it becomes easier for both the teachers and the students. In time, it becomes a method of instruction even without having them ask for translations. I think it takes less effort to explain in Arabic. It's too difficult to be done in only English. For example, which is easier to tell them the meaning of the word transport? Is it easier to provide the translation in Arabic as one word or is it easier to say that it means to take something and move it to another place or maybe try to find its synonym in English? The teacher chooses to do it in the easy way that would save her time and effort with better results in understanding.

**Mrs. Y:** I provide Arabic translation only in the translation activity but not in other activities. Nevertheless, I occasionally switch to Arabic during my instruction. The students themselves encourage the teacher to switch to Arabic. I translate words into Arabic when they ask me to do so. I only do this with single words or terms but I don't translate whole sentences.
Mrs. K: I do 50% of my instruction in Arabic. I do both code-switching to Arabic and Arabic translations. Let me tell you why I do it, it is because of the students’ level in English. Most students admitted to this college are weak students. Let me tell you this incidence. When I first taught in this college, I taught only in English. The students made a complaint against me to the chairperson. Although he did not oblige me to use Arabic during my lessons, he did imply that I needed to do something about the complaint made against me by using some Arabic during my instruction. Although no action was taken against me, I got the message that if I continued teaching only in English I would not be considered a good teacher because I was not able to convey information to my students in a way they could understand the lessons. So, I decided I would use more Arabic during my lessons.

Code-switching from the Students’ Point of View

I was able to interview Mrs. K’s students, Mrs. M’s students, and Mrs. A’s students. Although I conducted an interview with Mrs. R, I was not able to interview her students. I conducted the students’ interviews of each teacher during their last session. When I asked Mrs. R to allow me some of her class time to interview her students, she told me that she had finished all her sessions with them and they had been given the remaining days off until the day of their final examination. The following are excerpts from the students’ group-interview I conducted with the students of the other three teachers.
Mrs. A's Students. As I mentioned earlier I did not have a chance to interview Mrs. A but I was able to interview her students. When asked about their teacher's use of Arabic during their lessons and whether they preferred their teacher to talk only in English or to code-switch to Arabic during instructional activities, they responded as follows:

S1 (Front-row student): I don't think it is for the best of our interest to be taught English by explaining it by Arabic all the time. We are not asking them to speak in Arabic in class. And truly they shouldn't.

SS1: (Four other front-row students agreed with S1. They all said they preferred that only English be used in class.)

SS2: (Three middle-row students and two back row students disagreed with S1. They believe that it would be better if Arabic was used to explain English lessons.)

I addressed the students who preferred Arabic to be used in explaining English lessons, asking them to explain why they wanted their teacher to use Arabic. They responded as follows:

S6: (Middle-row student) Sometimes, I understand only part of the passage that the teacher reads. Some words are very difficult and they make the passage difficult to understand as a whole. When the teacher translates the difficult words into Arabic and when she explains the sentences in Arabic, I better understand the passage as a whole.

S7: (Middle-row student) I want the teacher to provide me with translations of some difficult words, but I don't want her to translate every word and every sentence as they are doing now.
S8: (Middle-row student) No. Not everything. I don’t need the rule to be translated into Arabic, but I want the teacher to explain how to answer the questions in Arabic. I may know the rule, but mostly I don’t understand what is required of me to do in a particular exercise.

SS2: (Two back-row students said they needed everything in grammar to be translated into Arabic.)

When the students were asked to express in percentage how much Arabic translations and code-switching to Arabic they feel helped them understand the classroom activities, they responded as follows: Five front-row students said they understood 90% of what the teacher said when she used translations and code-switching. The three middle-row students’ responses ranged between 60% and 80%. The two back-row students who said they wanted everything be translated into Arabic responded by saying that Arabic translations and code-switching helped them to better understand the instructional activities only by 50 to 60%.

Mrs. K’s Students. Mrs. K’s students’ views about their teacher’s use of Arabic translations and the amount of code-switching to Arabic the teacher did during the lessons and whether they preferred their teacher to talk only in English or to code-switch to Arabic during instructional activities, were as follows:

S1: (Front-row student) She is not supposed to speak in Arabic in an English class. I personally prefer that she only translate the difficult words, especially the vocabulary lists and some new words in the reading passages. But not everything, as the way she is doing it now.
S2: (Front-row student) Yes. This is wrong. Teaching should be only in English. I also don't like her to translate everything into Arabic, even if this is a way of helping the weak students. I think that is a wrong strategy and it doesn't help us learn the language correctly.

S7: (Back-row student) My English is very poor and by translating everything into Arabic, the teacher enables me to understand what is said in English. Otherwise, I wouldn't understand a thing. Even with all the explanations in Arabic, I would still get a 'D.' And without that, I will never be able to pass any English course. I think she does that because many weak students would not be able to understand most of what she said if she only spoke in English. She is doing it as a way to help those weak students.

SS1: (Two front-row students agreed with both S1 and S2.)

SS2: (Two middle-row students agreed with S7.)

When the students were asked to express in percentage how much Arabic translations and code-switching to Arabic helped them understand the classroom activities, they responded as follows:

S1: (Front-row student) It really doesn't matter much because I understand her instruction either way.

S2: (Front-row student) I don't want the teacher to translate everything into Arabic and I don't consider it a good method of teaching English.

S7: (Back-row student) This way helps me understand the teacher 99% because that is the only way I understand what the teacher says.
S3: (Front-row student) I prefer the teacher forbid Arabic to be used in her class because this way encourages everyone to speak in Arabic instead of English. Because Arabic would be an acceptable language to be used in class, nobody will attempt to say anything in English.

S5: (Middle-row student) With the Arabic used in class, I think I understand the teacher’s explanation about 80%.

S6: (Middle-row student) This method allows me to understand 90% of what she says.

S4: (Front-row student) Although this method allows me to understand 90% of what she says, I prefer that she only spoke in English. It would be better if I understood 80% of what she said in English than 100% of what she says in Arabic. If we were put in situations where only English was allowed to be spoken, we would be obliged to speak English more. And thus improve our language by practicing it.

Mrs. M’s Students. When I asked Mrs. M’s students about their teacher’s use of Arabic during their lessons and whether they preferred their teacher to talk only in English or to code-switch to Arabic during instructional activities, they responded as follows:

S1: (Front-row student) No, not everything. For example, there are new vocabularies that I don’t know and by providing the Arabic definitions, I feel I can learn those words better.
S2: (Front-row student) But we still need the teacher to go through the words and their meaning with us. We need her to provide us not only with the meanings in English but also in Arabic. Even if we are not required to provide the meanings in Arabic, still the Arabic definitions provided by the teacher help us to better understand those English words. It makes it easier for us to understand those English words and their definitions in English because the Arabic translations bring the English meanings closer to the Arabic words we already know.

SS: (All the other students agreed with S1 and S2, claiming that providing them with the definitions in Arabic helped them to better understand the new English vocabulary.)

S9: (Middle-row student) I myself would like her to translate the new words into Arabic and also explain grammar in Arabic.

SS2: (Many middle-row students and the two back-row agreed with what S9 said that they preferred both vocabulary and grammar to be presented to them translated into Arabic)

S3: (Front-row student) I don't agree to that. I prefer the translation to be confined to single words or sometimes to some keywords that would help me understand grammar for example, or would help me to understand what is required of me to do when it comes to exam questions but not everything.

S4: (Front-row student) I don't prefer the teacher to explain everything in English, even when explaining English grammar. I would like her to translate only the difficult words when we ask her to do so, and never explain grammar in Arabic. She should provide us with complete explanation of grammar rules only in English.
SS1: (Two other front-row students agreed with S4.)

SS3: (The two back-row students said that they wanted everything to be translated word by word into Arabic in order to understand the activities.)

When the students were asked whether their teachers’ translations into Arabic and her use of code-switching to Arabic as teaching strategies helped them understand the business English contents of the course, all the students agreed that those two strategies helped them to better understand the business English context. The students from all different rows agreed that the use of Arabic helped them to better understand the activities. Their responses ranged from 80% to 90% of better understanding.

Conclusion

Code-switching as interpreted from the observations. As the representative examples indicated, code-switching was used by the four teachers in the ESP classrooms to accomplish the following instructional tasks: to provide instructional clarification, to provide instructional translation, to provide definitions, to provide evaluation to students’ responses, and to check students’ understanding. Those teachers switched to Arabic to provide instructional clarification to some instructional activities. They also switched to Arabic to provide instructional translation of their instructions in English. During the teachers’ TCUs that were mainly in English, they switched to Arabic to provide meanings in Arabic of some English words they used in their interactional sequences. They also provided their evaluation to the students’ responses mostly in Arabic. Nevertheless,
when the dominant language of some of the teachers’ TCUs was Arabic, they switched to English to check their students’ understanding. Although checking students’ understanding is considered an instructional task, it is cross-functional with the teachers claiming their role as teachers, which is also a social task (claiming their status as teachers).

**Code-switching as interpreted from the Teachers’ Interviews.** The teachers’ interviews demonstrated that the four teachers applied code-switching as a productive teaching strategy that they all applied to achieve instructional tasks. Some teachers claimed they did it because it was a necessity. The justification for code-switching varied. According to Mrs. R’s justification, the reason was students’ low self-esteem and the low expectations of their achievement by both the students themselves and their teachers. Both Mrs. M and Mrs. K provided similar justification, describing their students as weak students and low achievers. The teachers’ knowledge of their students’ cultural and educational backgrounds was another justification provided by two teachers, Mrs. M and Mrs. K. Their knowledge of their students’ backgrounds encouraged them to change their teaching strategies. The two teachers admitted that when they started teaching in CBS, they only spoke in English. Mrs. K learned that her students had made a complaint against her and was told to use Arabic during her lessons, which made her decide to use code-switching as an alternative teaching strategy. Mrs. M claimed that when she started teaching in that college and only used English as the language of instruction, she had bad results with her students. In another part of the interview, she also claimed that she learned about the complaint made against one of the teachers because she used only English as the language of instruction. Some teachers
claimed that their students required them to use Arabic during their lessons. Mrs. Y and Mrs. M claimed that their students asked them to do so. Mrs. M also claimed that she chose to do it as an easy way that would save her time and effort with better results in her students’ understanding.

In conclusion, those teachers code-switched as a teaching strategy to accomplish instructional tasks. Some of the teachers learned to do it through the immediate context of the situation (the classroom events). For example, their students asked them to provide definitions of words in Arabic or asked them to explain things in Arabic. And even without being asked to use Arabic, when teachers sensed the students’ inability to comprehend, they switched to Arabic to provide an easier way for their students to understand the instructional activities. The teachers also learned to do it through the larger context, namely the culture of CBS and the students’ cultural and educational backgrounds. Some of them learned to do it the hard way, as in the case of the complaint against Mrs. K. The culture of the college encouraged the teachers to provide instruction in those ESP courses using both English and Arabic. Some teachers had enough knowledge of their students’ cultural and educational backgrounds to employ code-switching as a teaching strategy. The teachers’ knowledge of their students being low achievers and their acknowledgement of their low expectations made them decide to use code-switching as an alternative teaching strategy which made it easier for them as teachers and which resulted in better students’ understanding. In time, even without having the students asking their teachers to provide their instruction in Arabic, code-switching became a preferred teaching strategy because it made things easier for both teachers and students.
Code-switching as interpreted from the Students' Interviews. What can be understood from the students' interviews is that not all students favored the use of code-switching to Arabic by their teachers. Those who did not want their teachers to use Arabic during the lessons were mostly the front-row students. Mrs. K's front-row students in particular expressed their strong disagreement to the use of Arabic during lessons and considered its use as a disadvantage to them. They believed that allowing the use of Arabic during lessons encouraged most of the students not to communicate in English during activities. From their perspective, if they were put in situations where English was the only communicative language allowed, they would be obliged to communicate during class using it, which would allow them opportunities for practicing it. Those students wanted the use of Arabic during the lessons to be very limited and to be confined only to providing them with the definitions of the new vocabulary. Mrs. M's front-row students expressed similar perspectives. Although they agreed that code-switching and the Arabic translations used by their teacher were helpful, they also wanted the use of Arabic to be restricted to providing vocabulary definitions and only to be provided when students asked about specific words or terms used during the different activities.

Nevertheless, most of the middle-row and back-row students of the three teachers, including a few front row students in Mrs. M's class, agreed that code-switching to Arabic helped them understand the instructional activities and wanted their teachers to continue using Arabic during the different interactional activities. The students' responses to the degree of helping them understand the ESP course context ranged from 50% to 99% of better understanding when code-switching was employed. In conclusion, from the middle-row and back-row students' perspectives, code-switching was considered a privilege that
enabled them to better understand the business English in the ESP classrooms. From the front-row students' perspective, its use should be limited to providing them with the meanings of the new words and terms that they encounter during different activities. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that code-switching as a teaching strategy was considered by the majority of the average and below average students (middle-row and back-row students) as a useful strategy used by the four teachers in those four bilingual ESP classrooms at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait.

**Code-switching Used to Accomplish Conversational Tasks**

As mentioned above, code-switching served different functions, instructional, conversational, and social. The second category under the theme of functions of code-switching is the category of ‘the use of code-switching to accomplish conversational tasks.’ Under this category, the following sub-categories were coded: (a) used as an attention-getting device, (b) used to signal topic shift, (c) used to highlight climactic moments, and (d) used as a stylistic process.

Because the representative examples may serve as examples of different types of functions under the same sub-category or under more than one sub-category within the same TCU, different indicators to refer to each specific conversational task it served. The category of the ‘use of code-switching to accomplish conversational tasks’ included four sub-categories. The first sub-category is ‘code-switching used as an attention-getting device.’ That sub-category refers to incidences when a speaker code-switched from one language to the other get the attention of her listeners. A single regular arrow (→) was used as an indicator of incidences of using code-switching as an attention-getting device.
The second sub-category, which is ‘code-switching used to signal topic shift,’ refers to incidences when a speaker switched from one language to the other to signal a topic shift. Double regular arrows (→ →) indicate the occurrences of such incidences.

As for the third sub-category, ‘code-switching used to highlight climactic moments’, it was used to refer to incidences when a teacher switched to Arabic in situations where a climax in the instructional or interactional sequence occurred. A bolded arrow (➔) was used as an indicator of such an occurrence. The fourth sub-category is ‘code-switching used as a stylistic process.’ That sub-category refers to incidences when a speaker used code-switching as a stylistic preference with no other apparent function. Double bolded arrows (➔ ➔) were used as an indicator of such an occurrence. In the following section, those categories are presented with an analysis, along with the representative examples drawn from each teacher’s classroom.

Mrs. M’s Classroom

Mrs. M’s classroom provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish different conversational tasks. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 13. In the following incidence, Mrs. M was explaining the different parts of checks and how to write checks. During the following instructional sequence, Mrs. M switched to Arabic to provide instructional clarifications. Nevertheless, every time she checked her students’ understanding or tried to focus their attention, she switched to English. She also switched to English during the same TCU to signal topic shift. It was not another topic she shifted to, but rather another point in the same activity. She was explaining the payee part of the check. She checked the students’ understanding
in English. Next, she used the word ‘right’ as an attention-getting device and continued speaking in English to signal the shift to the part of the check referring to where the amount of money should be written.

44   T: ((Teacher holds up her checkbook and shows it to the students)) Yes. Pay or to the order. It’s written **pay or to the order.** See. I’ll show you.

45   T: ((Teacher goes around holding up the check and points to the part she wants the student to look at and explains while going around)) Look. See. **Pay or to the order.** It’s the same. Pay or order. Do you understand? (.)

Right. And then we have **the amount written** in two different ways. Right?

We have **the amount written by words** and then we have **the amount written in figures.**

During the same instructional activity, Mrs. M was still explaining the activity of the check. In line 51, she provided her explanation both in English and Arabic. At the end of her TCU, she switched to English to check her students’ understanding and to get their attention to the point on which they were working. In the following instructional sequences, Mrs. M responded to a student’s inquiry about her explanation in line 55. Mrs. M responded in line 59 by saying ‘All right.’ Although her TCU was mostly done in Arabic, the code-switch to English at the beginning of the TCU served to get the attention of the student who made the initiations in line 54, 56, and 58.

50   ((Teacher draws two slashes after the figures in the check in her book and shows it to the students))
T: You have to finish it off like this, so that nobody can add anything to it. You’ve got to do it like this. Right? So, you do it now on your checks, so that you know it. Okay? We added two things. We added the word only, and we added those two slashes. All right? Everybody with me?

SS: Yeah.

T: They are very important.

S1: Two slashes?

T: Yeah. A slash one way and one the other way. So that nothing can be added. All right?

S1: I didn’t understand.

T: Which one?

S: That one you are saying.

T: All right. You don’t understand it. Don’t you have inside the box, four hundred ninety two? What’s the exact amount? Twenty eight. =

S2: = Twenty eight.

The following excerpts were derived from Transcription no 12. The two incidences occurred during the instructional activity on mass and count nouns. In the first incidence, Mrs. M accepted a students’ initiation providing water as a mass noun. The teacher’s approval of the word was followed by using the same word by her as a count noun. To provide the same word not as what the role they were following raised the issue to a climax. To lessen the climactic moment before any disagreement arose from the students, Mrs. M code-switched to Arabic to explain the rare usage of the plural
form of the word ‘water.’ When a student responded to the remark by saying it is uncountable, Mrs. M agreed without referring to her previous remark to avoid confusion.

1 T: *Today we will learn about collective nouns.* Count and mass nouns.

Mass nouns are treated as nouns that can’t be counted. For example, salt, flower, sugar, rice. Like other words that you know already.

2 S1: Like water.

3 T: (.) Yes like water. Sometimes you can say waters. *But it’s only in some rare and unusual cases.* Sometimes you can say waters.

4 S2: It’s uncountable.

5 T: It is uncountable. Yes. There is water. Anything else?

In the following incidence, Mrs. M was still working on mass and count nouns. A student in line 79 claimed that she can use equipment as a count noun. Mrs. M provided a negative evaluation. Nevertheless, the student insisted that she read the plural form of the word. In line 86, Mrs. M tried to reduce the climax by responding with a code-switch to Arabic to explain why they cannot use mass nouns as plural and the context in which some mass nouns may be used as count nouns.

74 T: We did furniture, we did correspondence, we did crockery, we did cutlery.

What else, you’ve taken it also.

75 (1.8)

76 T: What about *equipment*?

77 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Equipment.

78 T: Yeah. Do we have one equipment?

79 S: Miss, we can say equipments.

80 T: No you can’t.
S: But there is equipments.

T: Where? Show me.

S: Many times I read magazines–

T: Bring your magazine. Show me. I need to see it. I need to see the context.

S: Maybe, it’s American English.

T: But still it’s English. American or English, it’s still English. Show it to me.

⇒ Maybe it means something different. Maybe it has a special meaning. There are things that are used with an ‘S,’ only in a special context to provide a special meaning. Other than that– There are things like that. There are things that come in this way to have a special meaning. You know that fish is non-countable. It’s a collective noun. Right? Usually it is not counted. We always say fish, a collective noun. But sometimes we say fishes. Okay? What other– e:h, There is something else, usually doesn’t take– Like paper. Paper is supposed not to be counted.

S: Papers.

⇒ T: No. Paper as paper is not supposed to be counted. But when I talk about a single paper, I am talking about, for example, a research paper or a report paper. I can say papers. I gave one paper, two papers, three papers or four papers. But usually paper is uncountable. But in some rare occasions it becomes countable. All right? We are trying not to make it very difficult for you. We only provide you with general cases. Okay?

The use of the words ‘okay,’ ‘right,’ and ‘all right’ was constantly repeated as a code-switch to English when the dominant language of the TCU was Arabic. Mrs. M used those words sometimes to check her students’ understanding and other times to refer
to a topic shift. The use of the defining article ‘the’ in Arabic attached to the beginning of an English word is another example of stylistic preference that both Mrs. M and her students employed during the lessons. As explained earlier, the use of the Arabic defining article occurs as a morpheme attached to the beginning of a noun or a name that it is defining and not as a separate word. Because literal translation of the Arabic utterances was provided in the transcripts, there was no way to express it in English as the two languages’ structures did not allow me as a researcher to do it. The important point was that both Mrs. M and her students did it as a stylistic preference. The indicator ➔ ➔ is used to refer to the occurrence of those incidences in the following excerpts.

The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 13:

83 T: = No. The money is Transworld’s. You have to be very careful. Not all the checks will be the same as this one. And not all the check will be like mine. You might have a joint account check. A joint account. Right?

➔ ➔ You have two names. You can have, ‘and or.’ And you can have ‘and’ only.

➔ ➔ Okay? There are different types of checks. You have to be very careful. So that when you have a question asking who is the payee or who the check is made out to, all right? You have to know. Is this a company check, or is this a personal check, or is this a joint account check? (.) Okay? This is a company check. I’ll be able to know whether you understand now. And you will change your answers of you don’t know. Okay?
T: Signature. You sign a check with your signature not with your name.

With your signature. The signature is different from the name. Why is the name printed at the top? Why do they print the name? They print the name because— .................................................................

The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 15:

T: How am I going to write used to?

S: Without the ‘D.’

T: Without the ‘D.’ Thank you. They used to— Sorry, they didn’t use to.

Code-switching by students was not always a language deficiency as the following example demonstrates. During a language activity, Mrs. M explained the use of mass and count nouns. In an instructional sequence, she prompted her students and the students were required to say whether the nouns she provided were mass or count nouns. In the following sequence, she asked about the word equipment. A student responded by saying it was countable, adding the plural ‘s’ to the end of the word. The student talk in lines 79, 83, and 85 was all in English, which demonstrated that she was proficient enough to communicate in English. Nevertheless, the student switched to Arabic in line 81. That the student was able to communicate clearly in English but chose to switch to Arabic at a phrase level once indicates that her code-switch was done as a stylistic preference.

T: We did furniture, we did correspondence, we did crockery, we did cutlery. What else, you’ve taken it also.

(1.8)
T: What about equipment?

SS: (Students answer collectively but at different points of time)
Equipment.

T: Yeah. Do we have one equipment?

S: Miss, we can say equipments.

T: No you can’t.

S: But there is equipments.

T: Where? Show me.

: Many times I read magazines–

T: Bring your magazine. Show me. I need to see it. I need to see the context.

S: Maybe, it’s American English.

T: But still it’s English. American or English, it’s still English. Show it to me. Maybe it means something different. May

Mrs. K’s Classroom

Mrs. K’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish different conversational tasks. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 11. During an instructional activity on labeling business documents, Mrs. K started by providing her students with instructions on what the exercise required them to do. Although her talk was mainly in Arabic, she switched to English two times. The first time, the switch was to refer to the name of the activity they were going to do. The second time, the switch was to shift from providing instructions to actually doing the exercise. Mrs. K used the word ‘okay’ to signal the topic shift.
According to the passage we read in exercise three, we are going to do labeling for these documents. You're going to say what each one is, according to the passage we read last time. (.) Okay. Now, look at exercise five, page 100.

The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 7. After finishing a grammar activity, Mrs. K signaled a shift to the next activity, which was to be done as homework. Mrs. K’s TCU was mainly done in Arabic with occasional code-switching to English to refer to ‘passive voice.’ Nevertheless, the word code-switch to English at the beginning of the TCU with the use of the word ‘okay’ was done to signal a topic shift. Towards the middle of the same TCU, she switched to English to check her students’ understanding followed by the statement ‘So, read it carefully at home’ as an attention-getting device.

Okay. In the same passage, if you read it at home for next time. When you read it, find all the verbs in the passive voice. You have some verbs conjugated in the passive voice. Underline them. Next time, we’ll say which sentences contain passive voice. Okay? So, read it carefully at home. First, in order to answer, exercise four, and second, in order to find the sentences that contain verbs in the passive voice. Underline all the verbs in the passive voice. (.) Have you understood what you are going to do?

The use of the words ‘okay,’ ‘right,’ ‘all right’ and ‘understood’ was constantly repeated as a code-switch to English when the dominant language of a TCU was Arabic.
Mrs. M used those words sometimes to check her students’ understanding and other times to refer to a topic shift. The use of the defining article ‘the’ in Arabic attached to the beginning of an English word was done by both Mrs. K and her students during the lessons served as an example of stylistic preference. Mrs. K’s students used code-switching to Arabic to join two English words, which is also considered a stylistic preference.

The following excerpts were taken from Transcriptions No. 7 and 9. In the following incidence, Mrs. K used the defining Arabic article attached to the English word vocabulary. She also used the ‘okay’ to check her students’ understanding, which is also considered a stylistic preference done by Mrs. K.

1 T: ((Teacher distributes a vocabulary list to the students)) *Here you have* the vocabulary list. Words. *The* vocabulary list *includes words that come in the lesson and the exercises. Let’s see the passage together.* I’ll read it for you. Listen carefully. And I suppose that you have read it at home. So,

you must have information about the passage. (. ) Okay? It’s exercise 3, page 72.

139 T: ((Teacher writes on the board and explains while writing the formula as she called it)) Present tense. *We have* verb ‘to be.’ And then the verb in the past participle. *This is a general rule for all the cases of the* passive voice. Let’s see here. Verb ‘to be’ needs to be conjugated in the present and therefore becomes, ((writes on the board and explains the rule while writing it)) ‘Is,’ *for the singular.* ‘Are,’ *for the plural.* Plus, the verb in the past participle. (. ) *I’ll give you examples on it later. But this is a formula to be learned by heart.* (. ) In case of using it in the past, verb ‘to be’ is also
conjugated and becomes?

140 S: Was or were.

The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 9. It is another example of students’ code-switching as a stylistic preference. The student in line 104 and 106 spoke in Arabic and switched to English to refer to the exercises they were going to do. Within her sentence code-switch to English, she did another code-switch at a word level using the Arabic conjunction and.

104 S: Are we going to do exercises one and two at home?

105 T: Yes?

106 S: Are we going to do exercises one and two at home?

107 T: I don’t mind that you do them at home, so that you have an idea about the vocabulary. But we are going to do them together in class. If you don’t read the vocabulary, you will not be able to do exercises one and two. So, you have to read the vocabulary list.

Mrs. A’s Classroom

Mrs. A’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish different conversational tasks. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 4. The following excerpt provides examples of Mrs. A’s use of code-switching to achieve the following conversational tasks: to focus her students’ attention, to signal a topic shift, and to lessen a climax. Mrs. A was working on a grammar activity. She provided the students with sentences that needed to be corrected by providing the correct tense of the verbs followed by having those sentences written on the whiteboard.
She moved to another grammar activity which required the students to form questions. In line 249, she used word code-switching using the word ‘okay’ to shift from the ‘correcting the tense’ activity to the ‘question formation’ activity. She also initiated her question in English in the same line to which she did not receive any response. After several prompts, she received a wrong response. She wrote the wrong answer on the board but told the students that she was going to write it first and then they would correct it. The switch in line 257 served to lessen the climax before students started expressing their disagreement to the wrong statement that the teacher was going to write on the board. She urged her student to think about it and find the mistake. The code-switch to Arabic in line 262 and again in line 264 was done to focus the attention of the students on finding the mistake.

243 T: ((Teacher writes the sentence and reads it while writing it)) Mr. Brown paid all his bills last month.

244 (2.4)

245 T: Okay. (.) Now. Who would like to do questions out of these sentences?

(.) The first sentence,

246 T: ((Teacher reads the sentence on the board)) The children sleep for two hours every afternoon. Okay.

247 T: ((Teacher addresses a student holding up her hand)) Any question? You want to form a question?

248 S: Yes.

→ → 249 T: Okay. Let me see here. (.) Ask about the two hours.

250 (1.7)
T: I want you to form a question asking about for two hours. Can you do it?

(2)

T: Let’s see how we are going to do it. Try, whether right or wrong and we will see about it. Huh?

S: How many e:h (hours), how many hours the children sleep. =

T: = Yes, how many hours or for how many hours.

S: The children sleep every afternoon.

⇒ T: Okay, how many or for how many hours. Let me write it, and then we will correct it. When we said,

T: ((Teacher writes the question on the board and reads it while writing))

For how many hours, the student said, the children sleep every day.

(2)

T: Okay, Do you think it is right?

(1.5)

⇒ T: Think about it. There is, There is a mistake here. Can you find it?

(3.6)

⇒ T: There is something wrong here.

Mrs. A also used code-switching to Arabic as a stylistic preference. The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 6. The instructional sequence was mostly done in English. Mrs. A first switched to Arabic at a phrase level to provide translation to some English words that she used in her TCU. The two next switches are at a word level and they are considered a stylistic preference. The first switch used as a stylistic preference was the defining Arabic morpheme which is translated into a separate
English word ‘the.’ The second one was ‘you have,’ which is also one word in Arabic but when it is translated into English, it becomes two words.

124 T: Deals. Deals. Okay, what’s the synonym of deals?

125 (2.2)

126 T: You see the word deals? Okay.

127 Za: Miss, handle?

128 T: Handle. Yeah. Okay? You see the first column. The first column of exercise 1.4. You have the words need, expand, deals with, contact, control, call. The synonyms. The same meanings, on the other column. You have ‘grow,’ ‘be in charge of,’ ‘write or telephone,’ ‘require,’ ‘ring,’ ‘handle.’ (.) So, here Zaytoon used the word deal with. She said, David deals with the customers’ accounts. So, deal is matching with handle.

Deal with, matches with handle. Okay. (.) Another sentence.

Mrs. R’s Classroom

Mrs. R’s classroom also provided many examples of the use of code-switching to accomplish different conversational tasks. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 1. Mrs. R tagged her question with the Arabic question word ‘what.’ The code-switching to Arabic using that single Arabic word at the end of the sentence is considered an attention-getting device. Mrs. R did it repeatedly during her lessons. The following are three excerpts that represent the category of ‘attention-getting device.’

97 T: So we have Miss Parecz’s. Miss Pareez. She has the question. And

⇒ there is what?
T: Okay. Lowe played basketball and baseball at what?

293  T: ((Teacher stops reading to check the students’ understanding)) There, they give you examples. These examples are what?

When Mrs. R’s talk was mainly in Arabic, she switched to English to signal a topic shift. When the dominant language of a TCU was English, she switched to Arabic to signal a topic shift. In line 220, Mrs. R’s talk was mainly in English. She used two devices as a topic shift. The first one was the English word ‘all right,’ which signaled the finishing of the sentence they were working on. She also switched to Arabic saying ‘the next one’ as a device to signal their shift from the previous sentence to the next sentence. In line 227, Mrs. R’s talk was in Arabic. Mrs. R responded to a student’s question in Arabic. She switched to English to signal a shift from finishing providing an answer to resuming reading. She used the English word ‘okay’ to signal that shift. The third important code-switch was in line 232. In line 227, Mrs. R initiated a prompt for students to provide an answer using the appropriate article. Students responded by providing a wrong response and a correct response but because they spoke collectively, their responses were not clear. The teacher made another initiation to which she received the wrong response only. To lessen the climax, Mrs. R switched to Arabic in line 232 to provide a clarification to the climactic situation.
T: In spring. No article. In spring. All right. The next one. Twenty four.

SS: ((Students answer collectively and voluntarily, but at different points of time)) The queen–

T: The Queen Elizabeth Two? We don’t use an article with it. Queen Elizabeth Two is–

S: (?)

T: Monarch, monarch. What do we call it in Arabic?

SS: (Kingdom)

⇒ ⇒ T: A kingdom, something like that. Okay.

T: ((Teacher resumes reading the sentence)) is the monarch of?

SS1: ((Students answer at different points of time.)) The Great Britain.

SS2: ((Students answer at different points of time.)) Great Britain.

T: Huh?

SS: ((Students answer at different points of time.)) The Great Britain.

⇒ T: We did not study it with Great Britain. What did we use with it? No article. Read the book and you will see it. Okay? Is the monarch of Great Britain.

Twenty five. Huh? Hanan.

In the following excerpt, Mrs. R initiated her question in line 308 and repeated it in line 310. A student responded to the teacher’s initiation doing a word code-switch to Arabic in line 312. The student provided the answer in English preceded by the article ‘the’ in Arabic. As explained earlier, the switch to Arabic using the defining article in Arabic attached to an English word is considered a stylistic preference by the student who did it.
T: Yes. Okay? All right. Who can find ‘E,’ which is the number of pounds Anne paid to Barclaycard?

(3.3)

T: The number of pounds Anne paid. She paid. Where do you find it? Under which column?

S: The payment.

Conclusion

In the four observed ESP classrooms, code-switching was used by both teachers and students to accomplish some conversational tasks. Beside the instructional tasks that the four teachers used code-switching to employ, they used it to get their students attention. As the representative examples demonstrated, those teachers employed different techniques of code-switching as an attention-getting device. For example, when Mrs. M mainly spoke in Arabic, she switched to English using the word ‘right’ as an attention-getting device. Mrs. A switched to Arabic actually using words like ‘think about’ or ‘can you find the mistake,’ especially when she received no responses to initiations or when students failed to provide the correct answers. Mrs. R used the word ‘what’ in Arabic to tag her questions in English. As for the use of code-switching to signal topic shift, the four teachers employed code-switching to accomplish that task. Once more, signaling topic shift was employed similarly by the four teachers. When their talk was mostly in Arabic, they code-switched to English to signal topic shift saying English words like ‘okay,’ ‘right,’ ‘all right,’ and so forth.
The four teachers also switched to Arabic during climactic moments, either to lessen the climax, clear the confusion, or avoid students' disagreement. As the representative examples demonstrated, there is a plethora of incidences when teachers and students code-switched to Arabic, especially at a word level or sometimes at a morpheme level, such as the case with the use of the Arabic defining article to be attached to an English word, which can be interpreted as a stylistic preference.

**Code-switching Used to Convey Social Information**

As mentioned above, code-switching served different functions, instructional, conversational, and social. The third category under the theme of functions of code-switching is the category of 'the use of code-switching to convey social information.' Under this category, two sub-categories were coded: (a) used to create a sense of belonging to a bilingual community, (b) used to achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance, reproach, or status.

Because the representative examples may serve as examples of different types of functions under the same sub-category or under more than one sub-category within the same TCU, different indicators were used to refer to each specific function it served. The first sub-category is 'code-switching used to create a sense of belonging to a bilingual community.' That sub-category refers to incidences when a speaker code-switched from one language to the other not because of a language deficiency but because it provided them with a sense of community. A single regular arrow (→) was used as an indicator of the occurrence of such incidences. The second sub-category, which is 'code-switching
used to achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance, status or reproach,’
refers to incidences when a speaker switched from one language to the other to provide
some social expressions. Double regular arrows (→ →) were used to point to the
occurrences of such incidences.

Mrs. M’s Classroom

Mrs. M’s classroom provided some examples of the use of code-switching to
convey social information. The following two excerpts were derived from Transcription
No. 12. In the first excerpt, Mrs. M first showed compassion with the students that there
was a lot of information to learn. Then, although the students provided a correct response
to her initiation, she switched to Arabic showing distance by saying she knew that they
had done the same rule in secondary school and therefore, they should not try to fool her.

193   T:  *And it takes*  much.  (.)  *Unless the collective noun is
         preceded by one of theses expressions,*  pieces or items,  *then it is treated as
         a regular noun.*  All right?  (. )  *If I want to ask a question about,*  there are
three pieces of furniture.  How, how–  What do I say?  How many pieces or
//
   how much pieces?

194   S:  How many.

195   SS:  ((Students speak at different points of time providing the same answer))
       Many.

196   T:  Many.  *Because it is countable.  The countable noun takes*  many and
       the non-countable noun takes  much.  Countable, many, uncountable, much.

*Understood?*  Yes, I know it’s a lot of information to put in your head.  But I
know that you’ve done it in 099 and 101. And you already did it at secondary school. So, don’t try to fool me. This is the third or the fourth time you’ve done this. I’m being nice by going so much into details. Right?

(.) Number two. I would like twenty knives or twenty cutlery?

During the same activity, Mrs. M finished the instructional sequence with a mockery tone in line 208. The rising chatter by the students in line 209 made Mrs. M change the tone to a more companionate one. She code-switched to Arabic to show more intimacy when checking her students’ understanding.

206 T: Okay. Number four. There is some or there is a stationery over there?

207 SS: ((Students answer at different points of time providing the same answer)) Some.

208 T: There is some. There is some stationery over there. Does anybody not understand? Is anyone asleep? I don’t think so because I have a loud voice.

209 SS: ((Chatter))


212 SS: ((Chatter))

214 T: No? Yes? No? Too fast. Is it okay?

Transcription No. 13 also provided an example of cross-functionary code-switching. The following excerpt can be interpreted as ‘teacher reproaching a student,’ as ‘teacher being distant,’ and as ‘teacher claiming her authoritative role.’ In the
following incidence, Mrs. M interrupted the instructional activity to reproach a student
who was chewing gum. The reproach was done mostly in English as the teacher was
claiming her authoritative status as a teacher ordering the student to swallow the gum.
The teacher also expressed her distance telling the student that she did not care what
swallowing the gum would do to the student’s stomach.

\[ \rightarrow \rightarrow 19 \quad T: \ ((Teacher \ addresses \ a \ student)) \ If \ you’re \ chewing \ gum, \ swallow \ it \ fast. \]

Very fast. I don’t care what it does to your stomach, just swallow it.

Swallow it. Okay? If you are chewing gum, swallow it.

The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 15. Mrs. M was doing a
grammar exercise on the use of ‘used to.’ Although she did the activity mostly in English
during the previous three instructional sequences of that activity, she switched to Arabic
in her TCU in line 201. The side sequence started in Arabic by both the teacher and the
student (S1). Nevertheless, the student showed enough language competence in English
in her following TCUs to indicate that the student has a choice to speak in either
language. The teacher did not discourage the use of Arabic and therefore, code-switching
to Arabic by both the teacher and the student was an acceptable verbal behavior.
Consequently, code-switching in that incidence provided a sense of belonging to a
bilingual community. As explained under the category of code-switching as a stylistic
preference, when code-switch did not appear to be employed to accomplish a particular
function, it can be interpreted as a stylistic process. Similarly, any code-switching that
did not appear to accomplish any function is interpreted as means of maintaining a
feeling of belonging to a bilingual community. Therefore, the two categories, code-
switching as a stylistic preference and code-switching to maintain a feeling of belonging, are cross-functionary.

196  T: ((Teacher writes the sentence on the board and reads it while writing it))

They used to handle dangerous cargo, but they don’t since the accident. But they don’t since the accident.

197  T: ((Teacher addresses students)) All right? Something that they did in the past but they don’t do it anymore. Half is in the past and half is in the present. Yes? Right. Number 2.

198  T: ((Teacher reads number 2)) Transworld sends containerized goods nowadays.

→  199  S: (   )

→  200  T: This means? Did they send or didn’t they send goods?

→  201  S: They sent.

→  202  T: No. Now they send.

→  203  S: Even before.

→  204  T: So, in the past they didn’t send. So, what’s my sentence going to be? (.)

It’s going to be negative past. (.) They didn’t?

→  205  S: They didn’t used to.

→  206  T: How am I going to write used to?

→  207  S: Without the ‘D.’

→  208  T: Without the ‘D.’ Thank you. They used to— Sorry, they didn’t use to.

→  209  ((Teacher writes the first part of the sentence on the board.))

→  210  T: ((Teacher stops writing the sentence and addresses students)) They didn’t use to, what? Where is the verb?

→  211  S: After to?
Mrs. K’s Classroom

Mrs. K’s classroom also provided examples of using code-switching to convey social information. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 8. Mrs. A was working on a comprehension activity. After reading the comprehension passage, the students were required to fill in the blanks of a table on the types of businesses that they read about in the reading comprehension passage. The instructional activity was mostly done in English. Mrs. K switched to Arabic at a phrase and word level with no apparent instructional function of her code-switching. This incidence indicates that the code-switching was a stylistic choice that was allowed in that ESP classroom. That indicates that code-switching was an acceptable verbal behavior in that classroom that speakers were free to do, which would provide them with a sense of belonging to a bilingual community.

T: ((Teacher reads the headings of the table)) The number of owners. Name of owners. Liability of owners. If the business fails. And additional information.
T: ((Teacher addresses the students)) Let's start with the first one, which is
the sole proprietorship. (.) How many owners do we have? How many
owners? Sole proprietorship. How many owners?
S: One.
T: One. Sole means the only. One. So, we have only one owner. (.)
Name of the owner? What do we call him or her? What do we call the
owner?
(1.2)
T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Yes?
S: Proprietor.
T: Proprietor. Proprietor. Then, liability of owners is done for you.
Unlimited liability. Then. If the business fails, owners go? Owners go? (.)
((Assigning the turn to a student)) Yes.

The following example was derived from Transcription No. 7. Another incidence
of the use of code-switching at a word level by both Mrs. K and a student was recorded.
That incidence of code-switching to Arabic indicates its usage by interactants in Mrs. K’s
classroom to create and maintain a sense of belonging to a bilingual community. Code-
switching was not discouraged by the teacher and it was allowed since the teacher
communicated by code-switching to Arabic.
156   ((Teacher allows the students a few minutes to copy the rules she has
written on the board))
157   T:   ((Teacher addresses a student raising her hand)) Yes?
→ 158   S1:   ((Student points to a word on the board)) What is that?
159   T:   Continuous.
160   ((Teacher allows more time for the student to finish copying what
is on the board))
→ 161   S2: Is that future?
→ 162   T: It is used with the future and with 'must,' 'may,' 'can.' The modals.
   'Be,' and the past participle.

The following example was derived from Transcription No. 11. In the following
incidence and during an interactional sequence, Mrs. K addressed her students in Arabic.
The talk started casual about the exam papers she had distributed. Speaking in Arabic in
line 134 indicates her intimacy towards her students showing that she would respond to
any concerns about their exam. During the same TCU, she switched to English
reclaiming her role as a teacher having the authority to deal with their concerns.

133   T:   ((Teacher distributes the midterm exam papers))
→ → 134   T: If you see anything wrong in adding up your marks or you have doubts
     about anything, come and ask.
Mrs. A's Classroom

Mrs. A's classroom also provided examples of the use of code-switching to convey social information. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 3. During an instructional activity on verb tenses, Mrs. A prompted her students by reading the sentences with the underlined verbs to be corrected. Students provided their responses collectively but provided different answers. In line 217, Mrs. A reproached the students for the chaos they caused by switching to Arabic and assigned the turn to a student. When the student provided a wrong answer, other students claimed the turn by providing the correct answer collectively, which Mrs. A ignored and reproached those students instead. Her reproach was done by a code-switch to Arabic in line 221 followed by another code-switch to English reclaiming her authoritative role as a teacher ordering them to keep their answers to themselves.

209 T: Three. ((Teacher reads the sentence)) Miss Stewart, between brackets, look at the newspaper now.

210 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Looking.

211 T: She: or Miss Stewart, huh?

212 SS: Looking.

213 S: Is now looking.

214 T: Huh?

215 SS1: ((Students answer at different points of time)) Looking.

216 SS2: ((Students answer at different points of time)) Is now looking.

→ → 217 T: Just a second. One by one, please. Yeah. How are you going to say it Zaytoon?

218 Za: Looking?
T: Looking *comes alone*?

SS: Is looking.

//

→ →

T: *One moment please.* (.*) If you know it, keep it. *Give her a
chance to think. Okay say it now.*

(1.1)

T: Miss Stewart, what at the newspaper now? =

Za: = Is looking?

T: Is looking. Correct. Is looking. *Because she is now doing the action
now.* (.*) It is still going on. This is present continuous. Is looking.

In the following sequence of the same activity, Mrs. A responded to a student’s
wrong response by code-switching to Arabic showing compassion and encouragement for
the student not to be ashamed of her mistakes. During the same TCU, she switched to
English to reclaim her status as an authoritative teacher ordering the other students to
keep their answers to themselves.

T: ((Teacher addresses the student allocated the turn)) What did you say?

Say it. The children. Say it.

S: The children (sleeps).

→ →

T: *No. You say it. You have said it before.* Sleeps. *We are learning here
and as long as we are learning, we make mistakes.* No problem. *In order
to learn, we need to learn from our mistakes. Say it the same way you said
it before. You said*, the children sleeps. *Isn’t that right?* Okay. No
problem. We are going to write it to learn what is right and what is wrong.

((To the other students)) Please, if you know it, keep it to yourselves until
we finish.

285
The following excerpt was taken from Transcription No. 6. The following incidence provides an example of the use of code-switching by both Mrs. A and a student during their interactional sequence as an acceptable communicative behavior. The code-switch to Arabic, especially when used at a word level, did not seem to provide any instructional function but rather it was used to create and maintain a sense of belonging to a bilingual community, which was in that case Mrs. A’ ESP classroom.

124  T: Deals. Deals. Okay, what’s the synonym of deals?

125  (2.2)

126  T: You see the word deals? Okay.

127  Za: Miss, handle?

128  T: Handle. Yeah. Okay? You see the first column. The first column of exercise 1.4. You have the words need, expand, deals with, contact, control, call. The synonyms. The same meanings, on the other column. You have ‘grow,’ ‘be in charge of,’ ‘write or telephone,’ ‘require,’ ‘ring,’ ‘handle.’ (.) So, here Zaytoon used the word deal with. She said, David deals with the customers’ accounts. So, deal is matching with handle. Deal with, matches with handle. Okay. (.) Another sentence.

129  (1.2)

130  S: Miss.

131  T: Okay.

132  S: I want handle in the International Commercial Bank. It’s a very good bank.

133  T: HOW?
S: I want handle in the International Commercial Bank. It’s a very good bank.

T: What do you mean?

S: I want to deal with the Commercial Bank because it is good.

T: Say it from the beginning.

S: I want handle in the International--

T: I want?

S: Handle.

T: No. You can’t use it here.

→ S: Handle, doesn’t it mean deal with?

→ T: There, it means not exactly deal with. It means to do something with.

→ It means to arrange, to control. (.) Okay? Here, deal with means he is working with this thing. Okay? Which is deal with. We said David handles all the customers’ accounts. It means he works with all the customers’ accounts. Okay?

S: Yes.

Mrs. R’s Classroom

Code-switching in Mrs. R’s classroom was also used to convey social information. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 1. The first excerpt provides examples of achieving a sense of belonging, providing reproach to a student, and reclaiming the role of a teacher. In line 49, Mrs. R used a word code-switch to Arabic with no apparent instructional function. Therefore, it is considered a language
preference which allows the speaker to achieve a sense of belonging to a bilingual community. In the same line, Mrs. R assigned the turn to Horiya. Horiya failed to read the sentence. Mrs. R provided her with a prompt in line 51, to which she received no response. Mrs. R switched to Arabic to reproach Horiya in both lines 53 and 55. In line 57, Mrs. R switched back to English reclaiming her status as an English language teacher.

48 Ha: ((Student reads number two)) The, the statue of Liberty was a gift from the French – friendship from France to the United States. =

49 T: = Okay. The statue of Liberty, a:h of friendship from France. Correct. → From, then no article. From France to the United States. Number three, Rita is studying? Horiya.

50 Ho: ((Student reads)) *Rita* (.)

51 T: R:ita.

52 (2.4)

→ → 53 T: You didn't prepare it? Huh?

54 Ho: // (I did)

→ → 55 T: You prepared it?

56 Ho: Yes.

→ → 56 T: Then read it.

In the following instructional sequence, both Mrs. R and a student code-switched to Arabic. The code-switching by Mrs. R in some contexts did not seem to provide any instructional purpose, although at other times it did. The student also code-switched to Arabic once in line 197. Nevertheless, it was clear that the student was communicatively competent enough to speak in English. She code-switched because it was a verbal
practice that was allowed in the classroom of Mrs. R. Both Mrs. R and the student used code-switching to achieve a sense of belonging to a bilingual community, which was the ESP classroom of Mrs. R. Mrs. R also code-switched to English during her Arabic-dominant TCUs to check her students’ understanding. As mentioned earlier, the switch to English to check students’ understanding is cross-functionary because the teacher was also reclaiming her status as an English language teacher.

→ 183 S2: *Can’t we say* a violin?

184 T: A guitar?

185 S: A violin.

186 T: A violin? No. Because here we are defining which *instrument*. Which musical instrument.

187 S: An instrument. I mean—(.)

188 T: *We are defining which musical instrument.*

189 S: But this is the name of the instrument and it is not necessarily—

→ → 190 T: *No. We have many instruments.* Okay? *There is this instrument and that instrument and that instrument.* Okay? *But I am defining the* violin.


The following excerpt provides examples of code-switching to Arabic by the teacher to provide encouragement to students. During an instructional activity on the use of the former and the latter, Mrs. R provided encouragement to her students to claim the turn in line 513. When the assigned student failed to provide the correct pronunciation of the word ‘latter,’ Mrs. K showed intimacy by switching to Arabic telling the student to learn to pronounce the word correctly.
T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Huh?

S: The former’s population is higher than latter’s.

T: Very good. The former’s population is higher than the latter’s. Four.

Huh? Four. **Come on, do it for me.**

T: ((Teacher reads number 4)) Kuwait airways has two flights to Canada. The first is on Tuesday and the second one is on Friday.

S: The former is on Tuesday and the latter is on Friday. =

T: = Latter. **Learn to say it, latter.** Okay? (.) Number five.

In line 21 from Transcription No. 2, Mrs. R interrupted her instructional sequence to reproach a student who was chewing gum. The reproach was done as a code-switch to Arabic. Then she resumed her role as a teacher speaking in English.

19 T: ((Teacher reads the example)) The two credit cards are Visa and MasterCard. Visa is called Barclaycard and MasterCard is called Access.

20 T: ((Teacher stops reading to explain to the students)) So, what do we say? When we talk about the first section of the sentence, huh? We have to--

T: ((Teacher addresses a student chewing gum)) **Remove it, remove it.**

Okay?

During the same instructional activity, Mrs. R code-switched to Arabic to reproach the students. The rule of the use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’ was explained by Mrs. R in the previous lesson. After doing three sentences of that exercise during that lesson, a student failed to provide the correct answer. Mrs. R got angry and showed her anger by reproaching the student in Arabic in lines 106 and 110. After reproaching the
student in line 110, Mrs. R resumed her role as a teacher by switching back to English towards the end of her TCU.

100  T: Say it again for me. You pay?

101  S: (.) You pay a:h (.)

102  T: A subscription.

103  S: for the latter.

104  T: for the latter. Correct.

105  S: and, a:h credit card.

\[\rightarrow \rightarrow 106\]  T: NO, no, no. You do not need it. Why? It appears that you have not understood it. (.) If you do not understand it, you might have been absent?

107  S: No.

108  T: Didn’t I do it yesterday on the board and didn’t I give you a sheet with an exercise that we did together?

109  T: ((Teacher moves toward the board to explain it to the students)) Okay. Here we have the former.

\[\rightarrow \rightarrow 110\]  T: ((Teacher stops explaining to reproach students in an angry tone)) When I said have you understood, you said yes, like parrots. I do not want it like that. Okay? Because it is not my job to explain it to you twice or three times. (.) You should have said that you did not understand from the beginning. Not after a class or two, you come and say you did not understand. All right?
The final excerpt is used as an example of using code-switching by both Mrs. R and her students to create and maintain a sense of belonging to a bilingual community, which was in that case the ESP classroom of Mrs. R. The use of the Arabic defining article attached to an English word in line 440 is considered a stylistic preference which is cross-functionary with conveying social information. In that case it was used to also achieve a sense of community. Students were also allowed to code-switch to Arabic in that bilingual community. In line 441, a student code-switch to Arabic at a phrasal level as an acceptable verbal behavior. Mrs. R did the same code-switch in lines 442 and 444 to maintain that sense of belonging.

```
440  T: *We have finished by now*. Do for me—*We have finished* unit eight.

➔  Now prepare unit—A:h. *The* translation, a:h. *For Wednesday. Because—because there will be* a quiz on Wednesday. (.) Okay? All right.

➔  441  S: A quiz *on what*?

➔  442  T: *On* unit eight.

443  S: Vocabulary?

➔  444  T: *On the* vocabulary.
```

**Conclusion**

Interactants in the four ESP classrooms used code-switching to convey social information as demonstrated by the representative examples. Both the teachers and their students in those four ESP classrooms used code-switching to create and maintain a sense of belonging to a bilingual community that allowed them to have the choice to alternate between the two languages, Arabic and English. Although code-switching was never verbally encouraged by the teachers, their verbal behavior of code-switching encouraged
their students to follow their example as an acceptable communicative behavior in those four ESP classrooms. The four teachers also used code-switching to achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance, status or reproach. The four teachers sometimes switched to Arabic to express their intimacy, encouragement, distance, or reproach. Nevertheless, the four teachers almost always switched to English to reclaim their authoritative status as teachers giving orders. During their Arabic-dominant TCUs, they also switched to English to check their students’ understanding. Although checking their students’ understanding was used as an instructional task, it also had to do with claiming their status as teachers. Therefore, code-switching to English to check students’ understanding is considered cross-functionary.

**Teachers’ Instructional Strategies**

This section is the cultural analysis in interactional terms of the theme of ‘teachers’ instructional strategies’ in the four ESP classrooms under study. Representative examples are provided from the four teachers’ classrooms. Under this theme, the following categories were coded: (a) providing instructional repetition, (b) providing translation and/or explanation of reading comprehension passages at a sentence level, (c) using general English in explaining grammar rules, (d) using grammar and vocabulary in a business context, (e) using ESP in functional-notional situations, and (f) providing instruction to enable students to pass their ESP course examinations. The
following table provides the different instructional strategies used by the four observed teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers' Instructional Strategies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Providing instructional repetition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Providing translation and/or explanation of reading comprehension passages at a sentence level.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Using general English in explaining grammar rules.</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Using grammar and vocabulary in a business context.</td>
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<td>e. Using ESP in functional-notional situations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Providing instruction to enable students to pass their ESP course examinations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 5 (Teachers’ instructional strategies)

Because the representative examples may serve as examples of different types of teachers’ instructional strategies, different indicators were used to refer to each specific strategy employed by those four teachers. The first category, ‘instructional repetition’, was used to refer to incidences when the teachers provided instructional repetition more than two times about the instructional activity or task either within the same TCU or over a number of TCUs. A single regular arrow (→) was used as an indicator of incidences of teacher providing instructional repetition.

The second category, ‘teachers providing translation and/or explanation to reading comprehension passages at a sentence level’, referred to incidences when a teacher provided translations to the sentences and words of the reading passage as an instructional strategy. The translations and explanations could refer to incidences when
they were provided by the teachers or by the students as a response to their teachers’ initiations. Double regular arrows (→ →) indicate the occurrence of such incidences.

As for the third category, ‘using general English to explain grammar rules’, it was used to refer to incidences when a teacher provided examples or supplementary material in general English to explain the grammar rules that were used in a business context in the textbook. A regular arrow followed by a bolded one (→ ➔) indicate such an occurrence. The fourth category is ‘providing grammar and vocabulary in a business context.’ It referred to incidences when a teacher provided explanation of grammar or notions in a business context. A bolded arrow (➔) was used as an indicator of the fourth category.

The fifth category is ‘the use of ESP in functional-notional situations.’ This category was used to refer to incidences when teachers actually applied the functional-notional approach either as required by the textbook activity or by the teachers’ transformation of an activity to a situational one. Double bolded arrows (➔ ➔) were used as an indicator of such an occurrence. The sixth category is ‘providing instructions to enable students to pass the ESP course examinations.’ This category was used to refer to incidences when a teacher basically provided instructions on what needed to be done on the exam or how an activity was altered in order to help students understand how the activity would appear in the exam. A double-headed arrow (↔) was used to refer to the occurrence of such incidences. In the following section, I present those categories with my interpretive analysis, along with the representative examples drawn from each teacher’s classroom.
Mrs. M's Classroom

Mrs. M used several teaching strategies in her ESP classrooms. She repeated her instruction, translated sentences of reading comprehension passages, explained grammar in a general English context, used grammar and vocabulary in a business context, taught her students for the sake of passing the ESP course examinations, and provided ESP in functional-notional situations. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 13. The following excerpt provides examples of Mrs. M's translation of a reading comprehension passage sentence by sentence and her instructional repetition. In lines 21, 25, and 29, she translated the sentence that she had read from the reading passage. In line 27, Mrs. M did not only provide translation to her reading but also repeated her instruction ten times during her TCU to provide clarification to the word 'an order.' The following excerpt is also an example of the use of an ESP reading comprehension activity in a business context, which required the use of ESP vocabulary throughout the reading passage.

T: ((Teacher resumes reading the passage)) Anne Bell has an account at Bonds Bank.

20 T: ((Teacher stops reading to provide an explanation of the sentence she has already read)) Ann has an account at Bonds Bank. (. ) The Bank is called Bond. The National Bank, the Commercial Bank, Whatever.

21 T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) When she wants to pay money to someone, she writes a check.

22 T: ((Teacher stops reading to provide an explanation to what she has read)) When she wants to–
T: No. When she wants to pay money—*When she wants to pay money to someone, she writes a check.* Yeah?

T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) This is an order.

T: ((Teacher stops reading to explain)) Here, underline it because it is a definition for the word check. A check is an order to the bank to pay money to someone from her account. This is the definition of the word check. *What's the meaning of check? The check is an order to the bank. An order to the bank to pay some money from my account.* (.) Right? As if I am saying to the bank, I am ordering you. This is an order paper. *The check is an order paper.* It's an order. All right? An order to the bank to pay money to someone from her account. And it says,

T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) You can write a check on anything.

T: ((Teacher explains)) *I can write a check on anything.*

T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) A man once wrote a check on a cow and the bank paid the money.

During the same activity, Mrs. M provided her students with an authentic check to compare it to the one provided by the textbook. The activity continued and they went further with the check activity to actually make out a check after learning its different parts. The writing of the check was done in a functional-notional situation that allowed the students to deal with check writing after learning its variables, as Mrs. M called them.

T: Number two is pay. What is pay?

S: *Paid.*

S2: *An order to pay.*
T: *The payee, who is paid for. It means to his order.* Yes. *If we are going to do it in Arabic, you’re going to say, pay to his order. If it's a check in both Arabic and English it's written on it, pay to the order.* I think I have one *that has both.* I think.

((Teacher searches in her handbag for a check to use as a model))

⇒ 44 T: ((Teacher holds up her checkbook and shows it to the students)) Yes. Pay or to the order. It’s written *pay or to the order.* See. I’ll show you.

⇒ 45 T: ((Teacher goes around holding up the check and points to the part she wants the student to look at and explains while going around)) Look. See. *Pay or to the order.* It’s the same. Pay or order. Do you understand? (. ) Right. And then we have the *amount written* in two different ways. Right? We have the *amount written by words* and then we have the *amount written in figures.*

Although the writing of the check was done in a functional-notional situation, the aim was not to put the students in a functional situation to better learn the ESP but rather to enable them to learn how to write the different variables of a check when a similar one was provided to them on their exam. That was interpreted by what Mrs. M said in the previous lesson about the importance of attending the check writing lesson. The following excerpt from Transcription No. 12 stated that aim.

⇔ 234 T: *Any one doesn’t understand what is required? (. ) And it’s very, very important that you attend the lesson of the check. Very important. Okay? Because you need to learn how to fill in the variables of a check to be able to do it on the exam. Okay?*
Mrs. M showed her concern about her students' ability to pass the exam on several occasions. In the following incidence, she talked to her students in lines 213, 215 and 217 about clues that can guide them through the exam to differentiate between count and mass nouns.

211 T: Okay. Thank you. (.) Right. Number five. I told you that paper is non-countable. It is one of the non-countable nouns. Generally, paper is not countable. So, I haven't got?

212 SS: ((Students speak at different points of time providing the same answer))

Much.

⇔ 213 T: Much paper. Even, if you don't know the word, even if a word comes in the exam, just to give you a hint? To give you a clue. If the word is not followed by the plural 'S,' certainly it takes much. If it is not followed by 'S,' for sure it takes much.

214 S: Miss, how is it going to be on the exam? What kind of question?

⇔ 215 T: Like this. (.) Or, for example, you have a blank and you have choices, much and many. And you have to choose one of them. Okay?

216 S: Yes.

⇔ 217 T: But even if you have a word like stationery, which is stationery, and it is difficult for you and you don't know its meaning on the exam, should you leave it? No. If it doesn't have an 'S,' it means it takes much, it means it takes some, it means it takes any, it means it doesn't take a number, it means if I want to use it in the plural, I have to use one of the expressions that are countable. All right? These are the rules. You have to assimilate them to your brain. Okay? You know all this from before. You have to
remember it again. All right. Number six. There was or there were only a few chairs?

Mrs. M also explained grammar rules in a general English context before doing the grammar activity in a business context in the textbook. The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 12. Mrs. M started the activity of mass and count nouns by providing some examples of mass nouns in a general English context before moving to the textbook exercise on mass and count nouns in a business context. The use of general English to present grammar rules was used as a teaching strategy that helped the students to understand the rule in a familiar context before presenting it in a more unfamiliar and complex context, which was business English in that case.

1  T: *Today we will learn about collective nouns.* Count and mass nouns.

→ →  Mass nouns *are treated as nouns that can't be counted.* For example, salt, flower, sugar, rice. Like other words *that you know already.*

→ →  2  S1: Like water.

→  3  T: (.*) Yes like water. Sometimes you can say waters. *But it's only in some rare and unusual cases.* Sometimes you can say waters.

→  4  S2: It's uncountable.

→ →  5  T: It is uncountable. Yes. There is water. Anything else?

→ →  6  S: Sky.

→ →  7  T: *We have the seven skies.* Skies.

→ →  8  S2: Skies? Can we say skies?

→ →  9  T: Yes, of course. (.*) Of course. *You remove the 'Y' and put the 'IES.'* What else? Huh?

→ → 10  S: Like air. (.*) Also air.
Mrs. K's Classroom

Mrs. K used several teaching strategies in her ESP classrooms. She repeated her instruction, translated sentences from reading comprehension passages, used grammar and vocabulary in a business context, taught her students for the sake of passing the ESP course examinations, and provided ESP in functional-notional situations. Nevertheless, there were no recorded incidences of her use of grammar in general English context. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 8. In the first excerpt, Mrs. K was explaining the use of the conditional ‘if’ with unlikely possibility. She repeated her instruction four times providing both paraphrasing and Arabic translation to her explanation in line 38. The excerpt also serves as an example of using grammar in a business context, as the rule was explained using ESP language rather than general English.

32 T: *Let's look at the exercise about* unlikely possibilities, *which is* exercise seven. Unlikely possibility what is the meaning of the word possibility?

33 (1.2)

34 T: Possibility?

35 S: *Possibility.* =

36 T: *Possibility.* Huh? Unlikely, means?

37 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) *Might not happen.*
T: May not— ch. Might or might not happen. Unlikely possibilities mean possibilities that might not happen. These possibilities are unlikely to happen. These possibilities might or might not happen. (. ) If we look at the example that we have here in this exercise. Which is, if you buy shares, you will own part of the company. If you buy shares you will own part of the company. This is ‘if’ rule. (. ) Which one? Type?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) The first.

T: One. Okay? Type one. ‘If’ rule one. We have two verbs. If you buy. ‘Buy’ is a verb in the present, and the other one?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Future.

T: Will. ‘Will’ and the infinitive. You will own. You will own. A person responded to this sentence and said, I’m not going to buy shares. I’m not going to buy shares. Then, this thing is not going to happen. So, if it is not going to happen, we need to change the tense of the verb. If you buy becomes, if you?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Bought.

T: Bought. So, the verb changes from the present to the?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Past.

T: Past. (. ) If you bought shares, then ‘will’ becomes?

S: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Would.

T: You would own part of the shares. Part of the company. (. ) Okay? So,

this is ‘if’ rule two. When do we use ‘if’ rule two? (. ) If the possibility of this verb is unlikely to happen. The possibility of this verb is very weak. Therefore, we use it in the past. (. ) You have all the sentences in ‘if’ rule one. We need to change them from ‘if’ first type to ‘if’ second type, which
is "if" rule two. A verb in the past tense and would and the verb. Look at number one.

Besides providing students with a number of translation statements to be memorized by them to be done on the exam and besides memorizing some business documents to be labeled on the exam, the students also had their concerns about their final examination of that Business English course although it was then early in the semester. Mrs. K addressed their concerns about the exam in lines 125 and 127.

124  S1: Do you bring questions on this passage in the exam?

125  T: No. But this passage gives an idea about computers and the usage of computers. There will be no direct questions on the passage.

( ) No direct questions.

126  S2: What about definitions? You are not going to ask us to define?

127  T: The words to be defined are almost all taken from the passage. ( ) Any question?

128  (1.2)

129  T: Understood? ( ) ((Addressing a student)) Seeta? No other question?

The final example was derived from Transcription No. 9. It serves as an example of Mrs. K providing translation to a reading comprehension passage. She either provided the translation herself or prompted the students to provide the translation of some terms or vocabulary. The following situation occurred during a reading comprehension activity on import and export regulations.
T: ((The teacher reads exercise 12.3, which is a reading comprehension passages and explains it to the students)) Aland, Beland, and Celand all manufacture motorbikes.

T: ((Teacher stops reading to check students’ understanding)) What’s the meaning of manufacture?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time))

*Produce.*

T: Yes, to manufacture means to produce.

T: ((Teacher resumes reading the passage)) The biggest market for motorbikes is in Aland. So, both Beland and Celand export to Alaad.

T: ((Teacher stops reading and explains to the students)) *Look at the picture and tell me who manufactures the largest number of motorbikes?*

SS: Aland.

T: It’s Aland.

T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) It is cheaper to manufacture motorbikes in Beland than in Aland.

T: ((Teacher stops reading and explains the sentence to the students)) *Do you see the price to manufacture a motorbike in Beland, compared to that in Aland. Of course it’s cheaper.*

Mrs. A’s Classroom

Mrs. A used several teaching strategies in her ESP classrooms. She repeated her instruction, translated sentences of reading comprehension passages, explained grammar in a general English context, used grammar and vocabulary in a business context, and provided ESP in functional-notional situations. No incidences of teaching for the sake of
the students' passing the ESP course examinations were recorded in Mrs. A's classroom. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 5. The following instructional sequences of the advertisement activity provide examples of Mrs. A’s use of instructional repetition, her use of translating words from a reading passage, and her use of ESP vocabulary and notions in a business context. In line 256, Mrs. A provided translation to the word 'required' that was used in the reading passage. She also provided the translation of another word in line 258 and required the students to provide a translation for another word. In line 260, she prompted the students to provide the translation of another word. Mrs. A also used instructional repetition of the same reading excerpt that she was working on in lines 260 and 262. The whole instructional activity involved the use of ESP language in a business context.

255 T: ((Teacher starts reading the advertisement)) Custom Clerk required.

256 T: ((Teacher interrupts her reading to explain a word for the student))

→ → Required means needed. (.) Okay? Required, needed, required.

257 T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) Experience and good knowledge of custom procedures essential. Good salary. Write to Transworld Freight public limited company, and the address. (.)

258 T: ((Teacher stops reading and explains what she has read to the students))

Okay. Again. Customs clerk. It means an employee who works at the

→ → customs area, required. What are requirements? Requirement. What are the requirements here? First, experience. We know by now experience. And good knowledge. Good knowledge of customs procedures is essential. Let’s see what essential means. Essential means very important.

→ → 259 SS: Important.
260 T: Yeah. Essential means very important that they want. *What is the essential thing they want?* Knowledge of customs procedures. Knowledge, okay? Good knowledge of customs procedures. *We know by now good knowledge and we know* customs, *but what’s the meaning of* procedures?

261 S: *Procedures*.

262 T: Procedures, *which is procedures*. Okay. So here we have, *they require experience in what? They ask for experience in having good knowledge in the customs procedures. And this is an essential requirement.* Okay? ( ) And we have here good salary. Good pay. Good salary. If you like this. If you have these requirements. You feel you really have it, write to Transworld. So, here the person, who would like to have this job, he couldn’t call. He can just write. And they put the address. So, who will be suitable for this job?

262 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Nick.

At the end of the instructional activity on job advertisements, Mrs. A required her students to bring their own advertisements cut from newspapers or magazines. She transformed the reading activity to a functional-situational one. She wanted them to bring authentic advertisements and she required them to look for things that would attract their attention, for example the colors, fonts, style, drawings, and so forth. She also required them to find job advertisements and to look for some specific elements in those advertisements. Mrs. A repeated her instruction several times during her TCU.

310 T: Kevin Hughes could be the Transworld Freight—Sorry, the export manager. ( ) Okay? So, from those advertisements, the first thing we observe is that in any advertisement, there is something that attracts the
reader. (. ) Through these advertisements we should learn and understand that there should be something that would attract the reader.

(.) Okay? And this is the most important thing in the advertisement, how to attract the reader. Okay? By big letters, by headlines, by colors, by drawings, sometimes pictures. Sometimes, drawings or pictures. And so and so. Then, the requirements. The requirements for the job. The requirements for the job or of the advertisement. And then, if there is a job or something, they tell you how to contact them. (. ) The address, telephone number and so and so. (. ) Okay? (. ) Is there any question about it? (. ) Is it clear? (. ) Okay. Now, (. ) Okay for extra work, (. ) for extra work (. ) Can I ask you, okay? If you can get an advertisement from any magazine, any newspaper? Okay? Cut it out and try to know what that advertisement is about. Okay? (. ) What is it about? Just do it for me. Cut a piece of the newspaper and stick it on a piece of paper and just write, okay? Here. Or you can just put highlighter. You're going to highlight the requirements.

Say this advertisement is for a new job, this is for a new company. This advertisement is for what. Now, these advertisements, all of them for?

SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) For jobs.

T: For jobs. But what we want to know, when we get any advertisement, we need to know this is for what, first. Second, what attracts you in this advertisement. Finished? Drawings, headlines. The things that attract you attention to this advertisement. Is it the color? Is it the font? Is it the style? Is it the drawings? Okay? And third, the contents of the advertisement, the contents of the advertisement. Is it the occupation or the name of the company? Or for example, the requirements for that job.
Or the description of that company. If it was an occupation, here to contact the company, is there an address or not. Sometimes, we see advertisements without an address. Then, this is wrong. Right? So, these three main points we have to observe in any advertisement. (.) Just for extra work, as homework, please prepare this one. Any advertisement.

Mrs. A also used supplementary materials in a general English context before actually doing grammar in a business context in the textbook. An example of Mrs. A employing that instructional strategy was derived from Transcription No. 3. During an instructional activity on the use of the present simple tense and the present continuous, Mrs. A used a general English context in all her examples before working on the supplementary material she distributed to her students. The following excerpt provides an example of Mrs. A’s use of grammar in a general English context.

→ 74  T: ((Teacher writes a sentence on the board and reads it while writing)) I am talking. She is writing. You are listening.

75  T: ((Teacher stops writing and explains what she has written to the students)) These three sentences (.) They are in the present continuous, or we say present progressive. The same thing. So, present continuous. (.) We use the present continuous when we want to talk about or describe an action or an activity that is still going on at the present time or the present moment. Okay?

76  SS: Yes.

77  T: And here we really use two verbs.

78  T: ((Teacher underlines the verbs of the sentences written on the whiteboard while explaining the present tense)) We use am or is or are, as helping verbs.
Plus, the main verb with ‘ING.’ Main verb with ‘ING.’ (.) Now, when we talk about a fact or a regular action, we use the present simple tense. As we said, today is the fourteenth of March. She is a student. She is single. You are married, for example. I have children. All these are facts. When we want to talk about a fact, we should put the verb in the present simple tense, or we use the present simple tense. Let’s put some examples here of the present simple tense.

79 T: ((Teacher writes some examples on the board and explains while writing)) Here, we put the verb in the first condition but we have to take care of the subject. If the subject is he; or she; or it, we should use the verb in the first condition plus ‘S.’ So, if I say for example,

80 T: ((Teacher reads aloud what she has written)) I eat my breakfast every morning. If we change the subject to she. Continue.

81 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) She eats.

Mrs. R’s Classroom

Mrs. R used several teaching strategies in her ESP classrooms. She repeated her instruction, translated sentences of reading comprehension passages, explained grammar in a general English context, used grammar and vocabulary in a business context, taught her students for the sake of passing the ESP course examinations, and provided ESP in functional-notional situations. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 1. The following instructional sequences occurred during a reading comprehension activity. The following excerpts are only part of the instructional activity that continued in the same manner throughout the whole activity. Mrs. R read the comprehension
passage sentence by sentence providing translations to the sentences and words that were used in the passage. Sometimes she prompted the students to provide the translations of some terms or words to which she provided her positive evaluation by repeating the same translation or by elaborating more on the translation. In line 431, Mrs. R provided a translation to her own reading. In line 433, she prompted her students to provide the translation of the term ‘outstanding balance’ to which a student responded providing the Arabic translation in line 434. Mrs. R showed her positive evaluation by repeating the student’s response.

430 T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) Credit cardholders do not have to pay their accounts every month, but they must pay a minimum amount of five pounds or five percent of the bill. Whichever is greater.

431 T: ((Teacher stops reading to check the students’ understanding and to explain what she has read)) Okay? According to your agreement, either you pay five percent—You agree to either pay a certain percentage or a certain amount of money. Are you following? That is according to your agreement with your bank. All right.

432 T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) Then, the outstanding balance—

433 T: ((Teacher stops reading to check students’ understanding)) What is the meaning of outstanding balance?

434 S: The remaining balance.

435 (1.2)

436 T: The remaining balance.
The following instructional sequences took place during an activity on the use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter.’ Mrs. R provided her students with supplementary material in a general English context before moving to the same task in business context in the textbook.

504  T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Do number two for me.

→ 505  T: ((Teacher reads number 2)) I have two close friends. Fatima goes to the university, while Mona works in a bank. Fatima is married but Mona is still single.

506  S: The former is married.

507  T: Uba. =

508  S: = But the latter is still single. =

509  T: = Yeah. The former is married but the latter is still single. Three.

→ 510  T: ((Teacher reads number 3)) China and India are two Asian countries.

China’s population is higher than India’s.

511  T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Huh?

512  S: The former’s population is higher than latter’s.

513  T: Very good. The former’s population is higher than the latter’s. Four. Huh? Four. **Come on, do it for me.**

→ 514  T: ((Teacher reads number 4)) Kuwait airways has two flights to Canada.

The first is on Tuesday and the second one is on Friday.

515  S: The former is on Tuesday and the lad- the later is on Friday. =

516  T: = Latter. **Learn to say it, latter.** Okay? (. ) Number five.
During the next lesson from Transcription No. 2, Mrs. R and her students moved from doing the activity of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’ from a general English context to doing it in a business context. The first instructional sequence was in a business context. Nevertheless, sensing her students’ struggle with the rule in a business context, Mrs. R provided further explanation in a general English context in the second instructional sequence. Providing instruction in general English was always used by Mrs. R to help her students first learn the rule in a more familiar context before doing it in a more complex or unfamiliar context which was in that case the business English.

89 T: ((Teacher reads)) There are credit cards and travel cards. You pay a subscription for travel and entertainment cards. Credit cards are free.

90 T: ((Teacher stops reading and talks to the students)) Huh? (. ) You Pay?

91 S: You pay (. ) You pay (. )

92 T: Subscription. What do we mean by subscription? *What is the meaning of* subscription?

93 S: *Fees.*


95 S: For travel and the latter, ah–

96 T: No, no, no. For what?

97 S: The latter.

98 T: For travel and the latter?

99 S: (. ) The latter.

100 T: Say it again for me. You pay?

101 S: (. ) You pay a:h (. )

102 T: A subscription.

103 S: for the latter.
T: for the latter. Correct.
S: and, ah credit card.

T: NO, no, no. You do not need it. Why? It appears that you have not understood it. (.) If you do not understand it, you might have been absent?
S: No.

T: Didn’t I do it yesterday on the board and didn’t I give you a sheet with an exercise that we did together?

T: ((Teacher turns to the board to explain it again)) The former, which means the first one we mention in the sentence. And we have the latter, which is the second one we mention in the sentence. Okay? In the sentences we have repeated words. Instead of repeating the words, we say the former and the latter. It is the same like in Arabic. (.) Okay? When I gave you the first example which is,

T: ((Teacher writes on the board and reads while writing)) A group of men and–

T: ((Teacher interrupts writing to ask students to complete the sentence for her)) What is it? Finish it for me. And what?

SS: A group of women. =

T: = A group of women.

T: ((Teacher writes the rest of the sentence on the board))

T: ((Teacher explains what she has written on the board)) This is the one we have mentioned first. Right?

SS: Yes.

T: And this is the second one we have mentioned. What’s written then?
SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) The men were French.

T: The men were French.

Teacher writes the sentence on the board)

S: and the women were-

T: Okay. And the women?

S: were German.

T: ((Teacher continues writing the sentence and reads while writing)) were German.

T: ((Teacher stops writing on the board and speaks to the students)) Here, what is this sentence? The men were French and the women were German. Why do I repeat the same words? There is no need because the words are already there in the first sentence. In the first part. Right? So that I don’t repeat them, I will use instead the former and the latter. Which one did we mention first?

SS: ((Students answer collectively providing the same answer but at different points of time)) The men.

T: The men. ((Teacher explains it on the board)) So, I remove this one and I put the former. All what I do– We do not change anything in the sentence. All I do, I remove the repeated noun and I put the former instead. Okay? And here. ((Teacher points at the second part of the sentence)) What does it become?

SS: ((Students answer collectively providing the same answer but at different points of time)) The latter.
131 T: The latter. ((Teacher explains it on the board)) I remove women and I put the latter instead. (. ) Who does not understand? Understood or not?

Grammar in a business context was also used to reinforce ESP language and notions. In the following instructional sequences, Mrs. R used the grammar exercise to reinforce ESP language and notions. During the activity of the use of ‘the former’ and ‘the latter’ in a business context, Mrs. R stopped to check the students’ understanding of the language and notions used in the exercise. She checked their understanding of the use of ‘orders’ and ‘invoices’

164 T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) Here is an order and an invoice.

165 T: ((Teacher stops reading to explain to students and to check students’ understanding)) I have two things. What are they? Order and invoice. //

166 SS: ((Students answer but at different points of time)) Order and invoice.

167 T: What is an order?

168 (1.2)

169 SS: ((Students answer collectively providing the same answer but at different points of time)) Order.

170 T: You took this word before. Order for what? In English what do you say? A request. For what?

171 (1.2)

172 S: *Goods*.

173 T: Goods. A request for goods. Okay. And an invoice. What is an invoice?
SS: ((Students answer collectively providing the same answer but at different points of time)) A request.

S: A request for payment. =

T: = A request for payment. *What does that mean? Invoice is a bill. It means a request to pay. They put each one and its meaning.* Is that clear?

All right.

T: ((Teacher resumes reading)) One of them is a request for payment.

T: ((Teacher stops reading to explain)) You have to know the meanings of these two words *in order to* know whether you use the former or the latter. What do you say?

SS: ((Students answer collectively providing the same answer but at different points of time)) The latter.

T: The latter?

S: Is a request for ( )

SS: ((Students read collectively at different points of time and in a chaotic way)) (is a request for payment.)

T: *NO. Say it again,* I couldn’t hear it well. Please the rest be quiet so that I can hear her.

S: The latter of (.) a:h. The latter is a request for payment.

The final example from Mrs. R’s classroom is her instruction for the sake of her students’ passing the ESP examinations. The following incidence occurred in the second week of the semester. Nevertheless, Mrs. R took the opportunity of distributing the translation sheets to remind them of the importance of those sheets because the translation section of their examinations used some of the sentences that were provided
by the ESP teachers and done together inside the classroom. The students were urged to memorize those translation sentences in order to improve their grades on the ESP course examinations.

((Teacher hands out some sheets to a number of students sitting in the first row and they in their turn distribute the sheets among other students))

T: When you get this translation sheet, take it home and do it as homework. Okay? This exercise is very important. Are you following? The sentences themselves are all from the units. (.) Those of you who read the book and revise, will find out that, Oh! That’s the translation of a particular sentence on that sheet. Okay? There is no hard effort. Following? Now, I am going to give it to you so that you can do it for:– What is today?

SS: Wednesday.

T: Okay. (.) *I am giving it to you to give you a chance to revise it because on the exam you are going to encounter the same sentences.* Following? *If you don’t do it yourself and work hard on translation, you will not be able to get the required mark for passing.* *The translation is given a big mark.* Okay? *It will help you to pass the course.* *If you are a failure, you may get a ‘D.’*

**Instructional Strategies from the Teachers’ Accounts**

Three out of the four teachers whose classrooms were observed were asked about their instructional strategies. As mentioned earlier, Mrs. Y, whose classroom was not observed, also participated in the group interview. When those four teachers were asked whether their knowledge of their students’ educational and cultural background had
influenced their instructional strategies, the four teachers, Mrs. R; Mrs. M; Mrs. K; and Mrs. Y, all agreed that it did influence the amount of Arabic translation and the amount of code-switching to Arabic that they used in their classes. They also agreed that they changed or modified their teaching strategies because of their knowledge of their students’ backgrounds.

**Mrs. K:** Although I believe that the four skills of learning a language, which are listening, speaking, writing and reading are all important, we don’t teach them those skills. For example, the only listening skill they do is listening to me because the listening parts of the textbook were deleted or changed because the tapes are not available. The speaking skill is also done very little as many students are not willing to communicate in the classroom. As for the writing skill, it was altogether deleted because we cannot check the students’ writings, especially with those big numbers of students we have. So, what we are left with is the reading. And believe me, many students don’t want to do even that. We only provide them with grammar drills and the type of activities that they would use in the exam. As a teacher, I am faced with large numbers of students who came from secondary schools and who are very weak in English.

**Mrs. R:** I always write grammar on the board. I always explain it both in English and in Arabic. I even provide them with examples of reference words in Arabic to bring it closer to their comprehension, so that they can understand it in the same way in English. After I explain it in Arabic and make sure that they understand it, I tell them that it is the same in English.
Mrs. M: It does influence our teaching. I do it in both ways. For example, I may speak in English all the time or I may switch to Arabic. Sometimes, they force you to do that and ask you to provide them with the Arabic meanings.

When they were asked about whether ESP tools were made available to their students, they responded as follows:

Mrs. R: The textbook, the supplementary materials, authentic documents, like real checks; advertisements, credit cards, sales vouchers, statements of accounts. I myself didn’t bring a real statement of an account from a local bank because it would look different from the ones in the book. And as you know, the textbook is British and the statements of accounts are different from the ones we have in Kuwait.

Mrs. M: We all present our students with authentic artifacts, for example, checks, sales vouchers and statements of accounts. We also spend so much time dissecting checks and labeling what we called variables.

When they were asked about why some business functional-notional exercises were deleted, for example, preparing a memorandum of association; articles of association; trade negotiations; telephone inquiries; and so forth, they responded as follows:

Mrs. K: There are only a few functions or notions in a business context that we do in those courses. The rest are deleted. For example, we have the check writing, analyzing advertisements, reading and understanding statements of accounts. Nevertheless, we deleted the rest of those functional situational exercises and skills because in order for me to teach those functions I need to put those students in communicative situations and you can’t do
that. The first obstacle is the students' low level in English. Most students in this college are low-achievers and they are mostly below average. The students are unable to communicate in English. The second obstacle is the large numbers of students in each class. We're talking 50 students or so. After adds and drops, they become between 35 and 40 students. There is little chance that I can create functional situations and observe 50 students communicate in those situations. If those two obstacles were overcome, only then can we use this book or any other textbook using the functional-notional approach.

**Mrs. R:** I agree that we deleted them but this is only because we were told to do so by the course coordinator. We have to follow the course plan. We are supposed to emphasize the exercises that would benefit the students. We usually don't cover exercises that we don't test the students on. We don't teach them those functions. We may test them on functions but they only come in the form of structures, as expressions, for example. We usually test the structure of the form or the expression. Therefore, they are tested under language structures. As I told you, we teach functions under grammar rules and they are also tested under grammar. Even when the textbook presented some functional business situations, we deleted them. For example, we deleted exercises that have functional usage in a business context like note-taking, telephone messages, negotiations, and so forth.

**Mrs. M:** We can't apply the functional-notional approach even if it was partially intended by the book. The problem is that it is easier if we did functions under grammar. That's because of the large numbers of students in each class. We have too many students in each class. If we wanted to do that sort of thing, the class is too large to get everyone involved in the interaction. If you want to teach language in its functional usage you have to have everyone interact. That by itself is another problem. It will take the students some time to
interact because they are not used at all to this sort of learning. Those students are used to rote learning and memorizing. It will take a lot of effort on your part as a teacher to have them interact. What we need is workshops. We need to have the workshops as their regular classes or as additions to their classes. My suggestion is that you work with them at least once a week in workshops. But you will need not more than 10 students in each class. Then, you can sit in the middle and you would interact with them and can do that sort of thing. But we are not allowed to do that. Anna and I tried several times to do that but the students made complaints against us. Even if the book doesn’t include functions, we can still add to the book and make the course better by including the functional-notional approach. That is not to say that the textbook is not devoid of the approach. But what we actually teach from the book itself does not include any functions. The problem is not the inclusion of the approach, the problem is its applicability. I would like also to say we don’t practically apply it because of the large numbers of students even if the approach is included in the textbook. What hinders applying this approach is mainly the large numbers of students and secondly, the students’ reluctance to interact in front of the others. And third, you don’t test them in functions, so you either delete or change the functional exercises.

Mrs. Y: I don’t apply it. I can’t apply it since I don’t have the facilities, especially with the large numbers of students. I don’t think we can teach according to this approach as long as we have those huge numbers of students in each class. Under the circumstances, we can’t allow group work, pair work, or even individual interaction because of basically that problem.
When they were asked whether they taught their students mainly for the sake of passing the course examinations, they responded as follows:

**Mrs. R:** I teach my students the whole content and they are tested on what was covered. Then, I tell them that the exam will be on some specific things. I only specify what will be included. Nevertheless, when I teach them, I don’t teach them only the things that will be put in the exam. I teach the whole content, as I see it as what is important for them.

When I noted that there was a great emphasis on teaching the students the contents of checks as variables to be learned by heart and that all the teachers emphasized the importance of knowing those variables for the sake of the exam, **Mrs. R** responded by saying: We had to do that particularly with checks. The material that we need to cover for this course is very limited. We need to teach them the check form and variables and emphasize on that because it is always a part of their exam. If you have a lot of materials, then you don’t limit yourself to a particular item, like the check for example.

**Mrs. R** also noted: The exams are made easy so that the students would pass them. I also agree that we provide them with enough practice on the type of questions that they will encounter on the exam. (Mrs. R also agreed that sometimes she had to change the textbook exercises or have them modified in order to make them similar to the types of questions that came on the exam.)

**Mrs. K:** We have a system in this department which is the coordination system. For each course, there is a coordinator who decides what is to be taught and what is to be deleted. According to the coordinators’ plans, anything that is not going to be tested is deleted. The system here does not rely on teaching the students to benefit them but rather to facilitate the
students’ being able to pass the exam. Therefore, what is tested is only what is concentrated on.

Mrs. M: We assign more than half the time of the class for explaining in lengthy detail a particular item. My concern was not its relevance to real business situations but rather its relevance to their exam. That is because all our teaching is geared toward what’s coming on the exam. So we spend more time on what will be included on the exam. In the end, we are teaching them for the sake of the exam. Frankly, this is what is going on here.

Mrs. Y: Of course. I want all my students to pass the exam. Yes, I admit that it is my first concern. Our teaching is mainly a practice for the students to insure that they would pass the exam rather than enabling them to learn something to benefit them for their future careers. I agree. Sometimes we mention that a particular point is coming on the exam to attract their attention and have them respond to us in the class.

Mrs. M: I always provide them with some old quizzes and exams to allow them enough practice on the type of questions that would come on the exam. We all provide our students with old exams as mock-ups to allow the students enough practice on the type of questions coming in the exam. I think that we mainly train them to pass the exam.

Mrs. Y: Yes, we give them old exams for practice because we want them to get used to the format of the exam but we are not giving them the exact same questions. We want them to become familiar with the format itself.

When the teachers were asked about the students’ reluctance to participate in the classroom activities and what the teachers did to encourage more participation and communication, they responded as follows:

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Mrs. R: I don’t motivate them. I can’t motivate them. I am dealing with adult learners. They should know what is good for them. I am in a situation where I only teach them the material and whether they study it or do not study it, it’s their own business. Nevertheless, I can only provide them with some verbal motivation by giving advice. But that’s the only type of motivation I can provide.

Mrs. K: Most of the students would not take part in the classroom discussions and only a few participated. I usually react to that by ignoring those who don’t want to participate. I can’t force anyone to work. Not at this level and this age.

Conclusion

The four ESP teachers who were observed during their classes at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait used several teaching strategies in their ESP classrooms. They repeated their instruction. They translated and explained reading comprehension passages, sentence by sentence. They explained grammar in a general English context, except for Mrs. K as no incidence of such an occurrence was recorded. They all used grammar and vocabulary in a business context. They taught their students for the sake of passing the ESP course examinations, except for Mrs. A as no incidence of such an occurrence was recorded. They all provided ESP in functional-notional situations. Nevertheless, when an activity was presented in a functional-notional context, the aim was not to put the students in functional situations to better learn the ESP but rather to enable students to answer particular questions on the exam, for example writing the different variables of a check which was also required to be done in the same way by the students on their exam. All four teachers altered the textbook exercises and activities or
modified them to serve that end. According to the teachers’ interviews, there were many obstacles that hinder the application of the functional-notional approach. The teachers explained that the large numbers of students was the main reason for changing their instructional strategies. The second reason was that many students were reluctant to interact in front of other students, either because of their educational background (being weak in English or being described as low achievers), or because of their cultural background (coming from a Bedouin community or a conservative community). The third reason was that since students were not going to be tested in functions, the textbook exercises in functional-notional contexts were either deleted or altered to suit the exam format.

**Students’ Survival Strategies**

This section is the cultural analysis of the theme of ‘students’ survival strategies.’ The students in the four observed classrooms also applied their own coping or survival strategies. Some of the observed behaviors were recorded as follows: The first classroom behavior was that many veiled students kept on their veils choosing not to reveal their identities, which also resulted in not being initiated to by their teachers. The second classroom behavior was that about 20% of each teacher’s students, mostly also veiled ones, chose to sit at the back of the classroom (the last row). That practice helped them to be out of view or less noticeable by their teachers. That was because the classes were overcrowded with more than forty students in each class. The students in those classrooms also developed some verbal behaviors to help them survive the classrooms’ demands.
Accordingly, the theme of students' survival strategies sub-divides into the following categories. The first category is 'keeping the veil on used by some students as an avoidance of classroom participation.' The second category is 'seating choice used by some students as an avoidance of class participation.' The third category was 'types of students' responses considered as acceptable or unacceptable classroom behaviors.' The third category sub-divides into the following sub-categories: (a) students answering collectively used mostly as an acceptable classroom behavior, (b) avoidance of providing complete answers, and (c) avoidance of providing correct utterances. The following table demonstrates the theme of Students’ survival strategies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students' Survival Strategies</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Keeping on the veil as an avoidance behavior.</td>
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<td>2. Seating choice as an avoidance strategy.</td>
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<td>3. Types of students' verbal behaviors used as survival strategies:</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. Students answering collectively used mostly as an acceptable classroom behavior.</td>
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<td>b. Students' avoidance of providing complete answers.</td>
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<td>c. Students' avoidance of providing correct utterances.</td>
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Table No. 6 (Students’ Survival Strategies)

Keeping on the Veil and Seating Choice as Two Classroom Avoidance Strategies

The two first categories, keeping on the veil and seating choice as classroom avoidance strategies, are presented and analyzed jointly because they appeared to be two cultural practices that some students in those four ESP classrooms employed to avoid interaction and to avoid being involved in the classroom activities other than being only
an audience. They are also presented and interpreted together because there seemed to be an interconnectedness between those two practices in those ESP classrooms.

Each class of the four ESP classrooms that were observed had a population of about forty students. The classes started with the full number of students that the registrar office allowed, which was forty-five. After the period of adds and drops, the number of the students in those classrooms ranged between thirty-nine and forty-two students per classroom. The veiled students constituted a large percentage of the classroom population in each classroom (between 35% to 45%). Those who chose to remove the veils inside the classrooms usually sat in the front and middle rows. Nevertheless, about 20% of the total number of students in each class were veiled students who chose to keep on their veils and who always chose to sit at the back of the classrooms.

The seating pattern was almost repeated in the four observed ESP classrooms. In each classroom, the students sat in five rows. Each row was made up of 8 seats. The first two rows were fully occupied in the four ESP classrooms during the lessons I observed. The students in the first two rows constituted about 50% of the total number of students in each classroom. The third and fourth rows were less occupied. Only about 60% of the seats were occupied but the students who sat in those two rows constituted about 30% of the total number of students in each classroom. The fifth row was almost fully occupied depending on the attendance of the students who usually sat in the fifth row in each classroom. The students of the fifth row constituted about 20% of the total number of the students in each of those classrooms. The students who sat in the first four rows were either unveiled students or veiled students who removed their veils during the lesson.
The students who sat in the back row were mostly the veiled students who kept their veils on. On very rare occasions, one or two unveiled students also sat in the fifth rows. During the classroom observations of the four teachers, the students who were willing to participate in the class discussions were the ones who sat in the first two front rows. The ones who sat in the third and fourth rows were less likely to participate on their own. Those who sat in the back row did not show any interest in participating in any activity during the lessons unless they were called upon by their teachers, if the teachers called upon them. On a few occasions, the teachers called upon some students who were not willing to participate.

**Students' Responses Considered by their Teachers as Acceptable or Unacceptable Classroom Verbal Behaviors**

The third category under the theme of students’ survival strategies is ‘types of students’ responses considered as acceptable or unacceptable classroom verbal behaviors.’ The third category sub-divides into the following sub-categories: (a) students answering collectively used mostly as an acceptable classroom behavior, (b) avoidance of providing complete answers, and (c) avoidance of providing correct utterances. Since those three sub-categories were considered verbal classroom behaviors, they were interpreted in interactional terms. Different indicators were used to refer to those sub-categories. A single regular arrow (→) was used to refer to the occurrence of incidences of students’ providing answers collectively. Two regular arrows (→ →) were used to refer to the occurrence of incidences of students providing incomplete answers. A bolded
single arrow (⇒) was used to refer to the occurrence of incidences of students’ avoidance of providing correct utterances.

Mrs. M’s Classroom

Mrs. M’s classroom provided many examples of the occurrence of providing answers collectively, providing incomplete answers, and avoiding providing correct utterances. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 15. The two excerpts refer to an incidence of avoiding providing a complete answer. The two excerpts were taken from an instructional sequence on the use of ‘used to.’ Some students provided incomplete answers in lines 162, 163, 164, and 166. The student who was allocated the turn cut off her talking in lines 166 and 168 which indicated uncertainty. After several prompts and further explanation by Mrs. M, the student kept providing fragmented answers guided by the teacher’s hints and prompts. In lines 193 and 195, the teacher ended by providing the answer herself.

160 T: ((Teacher reads number one)) They don’t handle dangerous cargo since the accident.

161 T: ((Teacher stops reading to give instructions to the students)) I want you to use ‘used to’ in this sentence. What am I going to write, according to what I told you last time? My sentence is, they don’t handle dangerous cargo since the accident. Which means?

⇒ ⇒ 162 S1: They used to.

⇒ ⇒ 163 S1: They used to.

⇒ ⇒ 164 S2: They used to.

//
165 T: They used to. ((Teacher assigns the turn to the student claimed
the turn in line 164)) Yes?

→ → 166 S1: They used to be handle-

→ → 168 S2: No. They used to-
169 T: ((Teacher addresses S1)) Huh? Again. You think about it first and then
you tell me. Come on.

174 T: ((Teacher rereads number 1)) They don’t handle dangerous cargo since
the accident.

175 T: ((Teacher addresses the students)) *Is it present or past?* Past or present?
Is it past or present?

176 S1: Past.
177 S2: Present.

178 T: Present. So, this is the second part of the sentence because of the ‘don’t.’
I want, ‘they used to,’ which is the par– past part of the sentence. Right?
This is what they do now. I want to know what they did in the past.

179 (1.2)

180 T: ((Teacher addresses the student in line 166)) What are you going to tell
me? (. ) You are nearly right. (. ) You said, they used to.

→ → 181 S1: They used to handle.

182 T: They used to handle.
183 S1: E:h.
184 T: They used to handle what?

→ → 185 S1: Cargo?
T: Dangerous.

S1: Cargo, since?

T: No. They used to handle dangerous cargo. But?

S1: But now (. ) no?

T: But now no?

S1: No.

T: They used to handle dangerous cargo, but? (. ) Say it from the beginning.

S1: But they didn’t.

T: They don’t anymore. Right? But they don’t anymore. They used to handle dangerous cargo but they don’t anymore. That’s why I told you the exercise in the book is more complicated than what we did last time. All right? They used to handle dangerous cargo, but they don’t any more. (. ) Do you want me to write it on the board?

SS: Yes.

T: (Teacher writes the sentence on the board and reads it while writing it))

They used to handle dangerous cargo, but they don’t since the accident. But they don’t since the accident.

In the following incidence, Mrs. M was initiating questions about the contents of a bank statement that they went through together. The students answered her questions mostly collectively. Although the students answered collectively, they provided their answers at different points of time, which sounded chaotic. Nevertheless, that verbal behavior was accepted since the activity went on smoothly. That verbal practice continued throughout the whole instructional activity with occasional individual answers by students who claimed the turn on their own.
T: ((Teacher reads the question)) Whose account number is 013378234?

→ 148 SS1: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time))

Transworld.

→ 149 SS2: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) The company.

150 T: Transworld. *It's the company's account.* You do understand. Yeah. *This is the account number of the company.* This is the account number of Transworld. Not of Liz's. *In this case only, because she signed it on behalf of the company.* Okay? (. ) All right .

151 T: ((Teacher reads question number 6)) At which bank does Transworld have an account?

→ 152 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Counts Bank.

153 T: Counts Bank. Yes. *What's the name of the bank that Transworld has an account with?*

→ 154 SS: Counts Bank.

//

155 T: Counts Bank PLC. All right? (. )

156 T: ((Teacher reads question number 7)) Who made out the check?

→ 157 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Liz Shepherd.

158 T: Right. What does it mean to make out a check? To make out a check means, to?

→ 159 SS: *Write a check*

160 T: Give me another word in English.

161 S: To write. =

332
The last example is on students' avoidance of providing correct utterances. The following excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 12. The teacher was going over mass and count nouns during that instructional activity. After providing them with examples in a general English context, she wanted to introduce them to the mass noun 'correspondence' which was also the name of a required course for most of the students. Mrs. M initiated her question in Arabic asking about the course. Next, she asked them to provide her with the name of that course in English. A student tried to provide the name of the course in English but failed three times to utter the word. The teacher tried to help her by asking her to provide the spelling of the word instead. The student also failed to provide the correct spelling. At the end, Mrs. M provided the English word both in written and spoken forms but did not insist on having the student pronounce the word herself.

12  T: *How many of you are studying correspondence?*

13  (1.4)

14  T: *You haven't taken it yet. What do we call correspondence in English?*

⇒  15  S: (Coros)


⇒  17  S: Coros.

18  SS: (Other students laugh))

19  T: Try again.

⇒  20  S: Corospo.
((Teacher mumbles an incomprehensible word making fun of the student’s utterance and other students laugh))

T: You know how to spell it?

S: Yes.

T: You know how to spell it?

S: ‘C’ ‘O’ ‘R,’

T: Yes,

S: ‘P,’

T: It has a ‘P.’ Yeah.

((Students laugh))

T: Correspondence. *You take the course and you don’t know how to spell it?* Correspondence, *correspondence.*

((Teacher writes the word correspondence on the board))

**Mrs. K’s Students**

The following example is about ‘students answer collectively.’ The excerpt was derived from Transcription No. 8. Mrs. K’s class was doing an instructional activity on the use of conditional ‘if’ with unlikely possibilities. Mrs. K initiated a question in line 55. Students answered collectively, which Mrs. K accepted as a classroom verbal behavior. When she made another initiation, she assigned the turn to the student in line 60. When the student failed to provide an answer, other students claimed the turn providing their answers collectively. Mrs. K accepted their answer and made another initiation to the student who was allocated the turn. The student failed to provide the correct answer even with all the hints and prompts that Mrs. K provided her with. Instead
of producing a complete sentence with the correct forms of the verbs, she continually provided incomplete answers which were also incorrect. Other students claimed the turn again providing their answer. Mrs. K ignored their responses in lines 87 and 89 and made another initiation to the student who was assigned the turn. The student provided a correct but an incomplete answer which Mrs. K accepted and she provided the full correct answer herself in line 92.

58  T: *If I provided you with half the sentence. If I provided you with half the sentence. One of the verbs is in the past. Then, you would know that you need to put the other verb using ‘would’ plus the infinitive. If I provided the part that contains ‘would’ and the verb, you would use the other verb in the*?

→ 59  SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) *In the past.*

60  T: *In the past. Of course, this indicates whether I need to use the verb in the past or the present. (.) Number 3.*

61  T: ((Teacher reads the sentence)) You’ll have unlimited liability, if you start a partnership. (. )

62  T: ((Teacher assigns the turn to a student)) Yes, Riham. Can you do it?

63  Ri: (1.8)

64  T: *We are going to change the verbs to?*

→ 65  SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Past.

66  T: Past. Okay?

67  (1.2)

68  Ri: You would not.

69  (1.0)
T: A: huh?

Ri: Be.

T: No. You have the verb? Huh?

(1.4)

T: It's number three.

(1.2)

T: Is it three?

SS: Yes.

T: Huh? You will have— What will it become?

(1.4)

Ri: You would have.

T: You would have (.). Finish it.

(1.2)

T: *Read it. You only changed the verb to, 'you would have.'* Continue.

(1.4)

→ 85 Ri: If you start.

86 T: If you?

→ 87 Ri: You wouldn't.

88 T: If you?

→ 89 Ri: A partner.

[ ]

SS: Started.

90 T: Start?

→ 92 SS: Started.

93 T: *What will the verb be?*

94 Ri: Started.
95 T: Started. If you started a partnership, you would have unlimited liability.

You would have unlimited liability, if you started a partnership. ((Assigning the turn to a student)) Seeta, number 4.

In the following incidence which was derived from Transcription No. 10, a student was assigned the turn to reread a sentence in an exercise using either ‘must,’ ‘must not,’ or ‘do not have to.’ The student pronounced the word ‘importers’ wrong. Mrs. K corrected her pronunciation of the word. The student ignores the correction and avoided uttering the correct pronunciation and resumed her reading. In line 305, the student provided an incomplete answer which was also incorrect. Mrs. K asked her to only read the sentence first without providing the answer. Mrs. K. also started the sentence providing the student with the first word of the sentence that she had mispronounced earlier. The student not only mispronounced the word provided by Mrs. K but also mispronounced another word to which Mrs. K provided the correct pronunciation. The student continued reading the sentence without repeating the correct utterances provided by the teacher. Mrs. K continued the activity by ignoring the student’s repeated mispronunciation of those words.

300 T: From Celand. Aland importers do not have to pay duty on motorbikes from Celand. Aland importers do not have to pay duty on motorbikes from Celand. Number four. Number four. ((Assigning the turn to a student))

Rania.

301 (1.0)

302 Ra: Import,

303 T: Importers.
Mrs. A’s Students

Mrs. A’s classroom provided many examples of students providing answers collectively and examples of students providing incomplete answers. Nevertheless, during the five observed lessons of Mrs. A, no incidence of students’ avoiding providing a correct utterance was recorded. Therefore, the following representative examples refer only to the first two sub-categories, providing answers collectively and providing incomplete answers. The following examples were derived from Transcription No. 5.
The following incidence occurred during an instructional activity on question formation. After Mrs. A discussed the yes/no questions with her students, she prompted them with the questions and required them to provide the short answers for her questions. During the following instructional sequences, Mrs. A accepted the students’ collective answers. Lines 71, 77, and 79 serve as both being examples of students providing answers collectively and an example of providing an incomplete answer which Mrs. A did not accept.

70 T: Okay? If I answer—If I ask you, does Nick work at Transworld? Does Nick work at Transworld?

71 SS: ((Students answer collectively but at different points of time)) Yes.

72 T: Yes, he?

73 SS: Does.

74 T: He does. If I say no. No.

75 SS: No, he doesn’t.


77 SS: Yes.

78 T: Yes?

79 SS: Yes.

80 T: He? He?

81 SS: Yes, he is eating

81 S1: Yes, he eat.

81 S2: Yes, he does.

82 T: No.
S2: Yes, he did.
T: No, no. *Just a moment.* Is. Is.

**Mrs. R**’s Students

Mrs. R’s classroom provided many examples of the occurrence of incidences of providing answers collectively, providing incomplete answers, and avoiding providing correct utterances. The following example was derived from Transcription No. 1. The following incidence occurred during a grammar activity which was done in a general English context. Students were required to read the sentences providing the correct articles. A student was assigned the turn. She responded by providing part of the sentence. In line 118, Mrs. R prompted her to finish the sentence by reading the next two words. The student avoided resuming the reading from where she actually had stopped and resumed the reading from where Mrs. R had stopped. In line 122, Mrs. R prompted her again to complete the answer by reading the first part of the sentence. Nevertheless, the student provided only one word, not completing the sentence which Mrs. R had started. Mrs. R eventually ended up providing the completion of the sentence along with the appropriate article. In line 125, some students claimed the turn overlapping Mrs. R’s own answer.
S: There are only a few seats left—
   // Seats. Seats.

T: For tonight's, Huh? musical.
   //

S: at a university.

T: A university?

S: ( )

T: There are only a few seats left for, huh?

S: Tonight's.

T: = tonight's musical. Only. Finished. Tonight's musical at (.) the
   // university.

SS: The university.

The following excerpts are representative examples of students' avoidance of providing the correct utterances. Mrs. R and the students were still working on the article activity which required them to reread the exercise sentences providing the correct articles. Because the activity involved the students in doing the reading of those sentences, many students had difficulty pronouncing some English words. When the teacher corrected the students' utterances or provided them with the pronunciations of the words they could not pronounce on their own, they used a technique of avoidance. Instead of uttering the words the teacher pronounced for them, they continued the reading from where the teacher had stopped.
In the first representative example, Mrs. R assigned the turn to a student to do sentence number fourteen. The student stumbled on some words to which Mrs. R provided the correct pronunciations. In lines 153, 155, and 157, the student repeated the words the teacher helped her with. In line 159, the student resumed reading where Mrs. R had stopped. Mrs. R literally provided the pronunciations of five words in the sentence that the student was doing. Because of the student’s inability to read the sentence and because of Mrs. R’s frequent responses to the students’ inability to utter those words, the sentence was fragmented. Therefore, Mrs. R reread the second half of the sentence providing the correct pronunciation of the last word of the sentence which the student could not utter.

149  T: Fourteen. Enas?

150  En: The mount a:h (.)


152  En: Rushmore.

153  En: Is the ss— (. )

154  T: Is the sight.

155  En: The sight of the (. )

156  T: Magnificent. =

157  En: = Magnificent (. ) trieb— (. )

158  T: Tribute. Yes.

159  ➞ En: To (. ) the (. ) the four a great American (. ) presed— press— press— (. )

160  T: To: to four great American presidents.
In the second representative example of students' avoidance of providing the correct utterance, Mrs. R and her class were still working on the same activity, providing the correct articles. In the following incidence, a student was assigned the turn to read the sentence providing the correct article. In line 177, she started reading the sentence with an incorrect utterance to which Mrs. R responded by providing the correct pronunciation of the word. The student responded by repeating the word. In line 179, the student mispronounced another word. Mrs. R provided the correct pronunciation of that word. In line 181, the student avoided repeating that word. She resumed her reading from where Mrs. R stopped. During the same TCU, she stumbled on another word. Mrs. R did not only provide the correct pronunciation of that word but also repeated the whole sentence providing the correct answer herself.

175 T: Seventeen. Huh?
176 (3.8)
177 S1: Rite–
178 T: Rita plays.
179 S1: Rita plays a:h the voyelen?
180 T: The violin.
181 S1: and her sister plays the g– g– (.)
182 T: Guitar. Okay. Rita plays the violin and her sister plays guitar. You don't need to repeat the article here, the violin and the guitar. The, here,
**Students’ Survival Strategies from the Students’ Point of View**

**Mrs. M’s Students.** Seventeen students of Mrs. M’s class took part of the students’ interview. They also represented different students, the front-row students; the middle-row students; and the back-row veiled students.

When Mrs. M’s veiled students were asked about their keeping on their veils, they responded as follows:

S1: The teacher didn’t ask us to remove it. I didn’t think it really mattered much to her.

S2: If the teacher asked us to remove it, we would do it. But she never asked us to do so and I figured it wasn’t important to her.

S3: I don’t think it mattered much. Otherwise, she would have asked us to remove it.

When the students were asked whether they thought that keeping on the veil would negatively influence their grades, especially when it came to evaluate them for class participation, they responded as follows:

S1: I don’t think so. Since the class participation doesn’t count, I don’t think it influences my grades if I don’t remove the veil and reveal my identity.

S2: This may slightly affect the grade but not much.

S3: It may help me a little to be known by the teacher, but I don’t think it would hurt me if I kept my veil on.

When the students were asked whether they received any points for class participation, all the students responded by saying no. When they were asked whether that was the reason for
not participating, all the students agreed that since participation did not affect their final grades, they didn’t see any point in participating.

When they were asked whether attendance was assigned any points, they responded as follows:

S1: (Front-row student) Most teachers assign five or ten points for class participation, but mostly they give those points for class attendance, instead.

S2: (Front-row student) The teachers only cared if we were physically present in the class rather than being part of any class activities.

S3: (Many middle-row students agreed to what S2 said)

S3: (Front-row student) Some teachers don’t even care about our attendance and they give those ten points any way. For free, I mean, as a way to help us to pass the course or get better grades.

S4: (Middle-row student) Yes, many teachers give away those ten points as a way to help students, even if we didn’t attend classes regularly.

S5: (Front-row student) I think if they assigned those ten points for class participation, it would be much better. Because, only then, students would care about being part of the class participation.

When those students were asked whether there were other reasons for not participating, they responded as follows:

S6: (Middle-row student) Most of us come from secondary school with a hatred for the English language and find it very difficult to be learned in the first place.
S7: (Middle-row student) Yes. That's right. I get anxiety before English exams. I also feel the same anxiety during classes. I am always worried that I might be asked to read or answer a question by the teacher in front of the others. I hate doing it in front of other students because I fear embarrassment if I didn't provide the correct answer.

SS: (All non-participant middle-row and back-row students agreed that the feeling of embarrassment was their main reason for not participating.)

S8: (Middle-row student) Sometimes I am all taken by surprise when the teacher asks me a question during reading or writing something. Then, I am not sure that what I will say is correct. Even if I know the answer, fearing embarrassment in front of others hinders me from saying the answer.

S9: (Middle-row student) Some teachers make remarks when we make mistakes. It's better not to participate than being embarrassed in front of the other students.

S3: (Front-row student) Another reason for not participating willingly is that we are in a culture that taught us to get things easily and without much hard work. We've learned to be spoon-fed and not to think independently.

S7: (Middle-row student) The educational system started with a wrong approach to teaching English in the first place. All we needed to do in order to pass English exams from grades 1 to 12 is learning the spelling of some vocabulary lists along with some grammar rules. Language usage was never their concern.

When the interviewees were told that the claim of public schools textbooks was that they were intended to be taught following the functional usage of the language?
S1: (Front-row student) The textbook follows one approach and what is applied is a totally different thing. They used to provide us with vocabulary lists to be studied by heart for the exam.

S4: (Middle-row student) Even now, all what we have to do is studying the words and their meanings by heart and studying some grammar rules and we can pass the exam.

S1: (Front-row student) They don’t teach us conversation in the first place. The courses are not based on communication. So, we don’t communicate much.

S2: (Front-row student) You’ve seen what our teachers are doing. Let’s take for example the slightest thing, which is reading parts of the reading passages. The teacher never asked us to read out loud for the rest of the class. She did all the reading all the time. They are doing all the reading and all the talking. Why is it so? And when are we going to use English, communicatively speaking.

When they were told that their teachers claimed that the students did not want to communicate and that the teachers would not force the students to do so, the interviewees responded as follows:

S1: (Front-row student) Not all of us are people who are not willing to participate. There are only a few students who are not willing to participate but the teachers generalize and decide that all of us are not willing to participate. I, myself, find it better to do mistakes and be corrected by the teacher than not being corrected at all. If we were allowed to read and make mistakes and then be corrected by the teacher, we would learn from our own mistakes and the mistakes of others. Not all of us are ashamed of making mistakes. So, why don’t they give us a chance to do it?
To verify the teachers' claims of their students' low achievement, the following questions were asked: How many of the students joined this college because they had a secondary school G.P.A. or their achievement score in the secondary certificate did not allow them to be admitted to the university? How many of them preferred to enroll in this college and not the university even with a high G.P.A.? How many of them joined this college because of a cultural influence that did not allow them to join the university because it is a coeducational system? How many of them did it because of other reasons?

SS1: (10 out of the 17 students answered that they joined this college because their G.P.A. did not allow them to be admitted to the university. 7 out of the 10 also mentioned that even if their G.P.A. had allowed them to join the university, their families wouldn't allow them to join a coeducational institution.)

SS2: (Only 3 students said that they had a G.P.A that allowed them to enroll in the university but preferred to join this college because of their own interest in studying in this college.)

SS3: (3 students said that although their G.P.A. allowed to be admitted to the university, they were not admitted to the university because of the reason of progression of their secondary school certificates. The three students had to stay home after getting married after finishing secondary school and later returned to school.)

S: (Only one student said that she transferred from Kuwait University to CBS because she wanted to finish school in two years instead of four years.)
The students were also asked whether they intended to work after graduation. They responded as follows:

S 1: I hope I can resume my studies at the university to get a higher degree.

SS1: (14 students said that they would use their diploma to qualify them to work after graduation.)

SS2: (2 students were not sure they would be allowed by their families to work.)

Mrs. A' Students. When the veiled students who sat in the back were asked why they chose to sit in the back and chose to hide their identities under the veils, they responded as follows:

S: I don’t think that the teacher knows everyone in her classes and therefore, she is not going to assign a big portion of the points for classroom participation.

(The other two veiled students agreed with her)

When they were asked how they thought their teacher would grade them according to their participation knowing that there were 10 points that the teacher assigned for classroom participation and how that would affect their overall grades, the three veiled students failed to provide any response saying they did not know.

When those students were asked if they were going to work after graduation, the three students responded by saying they were not sure that their families would allow them to work after graduation. One of them believed that she was destined to stay at home until she
got married and even then she would not be sure that the future husband would allow her to work.

When the interviewed students were asked about their lack of participation or in some cases reluctance to participate in the class discussions, they responded as follows:

S1: (A student sitting at the back) I didn’t participate because I didn’t understand most of the times. If I didn’t understand what is asked, how could I answer?

S2: (A student sitting in the middle row) I find difficulty in understanding the teacher most of the times and even if I understand her questions, I find it difficult to reply.

S3: (A student sitting at the back row) That’s true. We have difficulty understanding the teacher. I myself don’t know what to say when she asks a question. And frankly, it’s not fair to compare us to those sitting in the front rows because their specialization is either banking or accounting and they understand English better than we do.

S4: (A student sitting in the first row) That’s not true. It is not necessarily the case that those who sit in the front are the ones specializing in Banking or Accounting and therefore they know English better than the others. Look at me for example. My specialization is Post Management and yet I always sit in the front and I always participate.

When the three veiled students sitting in the back were asked whether they tried to do something about their being weak in English like preparing the lessons daily and doing their assignments in order to better understand what the teacher was saying in class, they responded as follows:
S3: I tried several times but it never helped much. There is no use. I just don't understand a thing said in the class.

S2: My English is very poor and I truly find it very difficult to understand anything if I work on my own. All I can do is memorize the word lists because I don't understand the rest of what is said in class.

S3: Even if I prepare and study, I still find difficulty. Maybe not as much as when I don't study at all, but still I don't want to embarrass myself in front of the others by showing how bad I am in English.

Mrs. K's students. It is worth mentioning here that there were no veiled students involved in the interview of Mrs. K’s students. Therefore, there were no questions directed to the interviewees concerning that issue.

When the students were asked whether they thought the two business English courses offered to them in that college would be helpful for their future careers, they responded as follows:

S1: I don't find this course and other ESP courses very helpful. The courses offered by this college are very weak and offer very little help for us in our future careers.

S2: I think they are helpful but it only depends on where we are going to work after graduation.

S3: If we join the public sector, we are not going to use English. Therefore, there is no use why we study it in the first place.

S4: Only if we work in banks or companies, will we need to speak in English and use it.
S5: I personally will work in the public sector, which means that I will only use Arabic. I see no relevance between what we study in this course and my future career since I am not going to use English.

SS: (Two other students agreed with her that there is no relevance between their study in the Business English courses and their future careers in the public sector. They also don't see they may benefit from their studies in their future careers.)

When they were asked whether their answers to the previous question were based on their own choice or because of cultural and social influences, they responded as follows:

S1: My choice is influenced by my specialization. You see my specialization is Banking. So, I will definitely work in a bank.

S2: Me too. My specialization is Insurance and eventually I will work for an insurance company.

S3: My family would not allow me to work in a bank or a company. If I work, it must be in one of the government ministries.

SS: (The other four students who said they would work in the public sector agreed with S3 that there are social influences that determine where they could work after graduation.)

When I remarked that I had noticed that most students did not participate in the class discussions and what they thought the reason was, they responded as follows:

S1: I don't participate because I don't prepare before coming to class.

S2: Even if I prepare, I feel very embarrassed if the teacher asks me a question and I make a mistake. So, I always keep the answers to myself.
S3: Some of us don’t participate not because we are not willing to do so, but because we are unable to participate. Some of us are so poor in English that we can’t even speak in English.

S4: One of the main reasons for not participating is absence. If I miss a class, I come to the next class feeling at a loss, especially when the current lesson builds on the previous one. Most of us don’t attend regularly.

S2: I do prepare the units at home, but I always keep the answers to myself when the teacher asks a question. I don’t want to speak in English because my English is very poor and I don’t want to embarrass myself in front of the other students.

SS: (Two other students agreed with S2.)

When the students were asked whether they thought that class participation was important, they responded as follows:

S1: Not really. You see the teachers don’t assign any points for class participation. Whether you participate or not wouldn’t affect your grade. So, many of us don’t see any point why we should participate.

S2: Not necessarily. It all depends on the student herself. If she wants to benefit from the course, she should come to class prepared and share in the discussions. If all she cared about is what counts towards her final grade, she wouldn’t participate. I know that participation doesn’t count, but still I do it because I want to fully benefit from the course.

When the students were asked whether their teacher assigned points for attendance, they responded as follows:

S1: Yes, 10 points.
S2: Those 10 points are usually given to all the students even if they don’t attend regularly. Most teachers give away those points to their students as a gift to help them pass the course.

When they were asked whether they thought they were going to get those 10 points even if they did not attend regularly, they responded as follows:

S: Not all the 10 points. But let’s say that a student was absent for six or seven hours during the semester, the teacher would then deduct only three points or maybe four points. So, you still get some points and yet you are doing nothing.

When the students were asked how they knew that there were no points assigned for classroom participation and why they were so sure that they would get at least some points for their attendance, they responded as follows:

S1: At the beginning of the semester, the teacher informed us of the course mark distribution. She didn’t mention any points for class participation and she did assign 10 points for attendance.

S2: Besides, we all know that from all the previous English courses we already took with other teachers. No teacher ever assigned any points for participation.

**Students’ Survival Strategies from the Teachers’ Point of View**

When the teachers were asked about the veiled students and how they dealt with that group of students who keep their identities hidden under the veils, the teachers responded as follows:
Mrs. R: I usually ask them to remove the veils. Nevertheless, even if they remove their veils, if they are not distinguished students who are willing to participate on their own, I can’t recall their names or even faces. I have six sections, each with forty students and above. I have at least two hundred forty students each semester. I can’t recall all of them.

When the interviewer noted that those veiled students always chose to sit at the very end of the class and chose not to participate at all. The teachers were asked to comment on their overall performance.

Mrs. K: Yes, I agree most of them sit in the back and they mostly don’t participate. Nevertheless, there are quite few of them who get good overall grades. There are a quite few who choose to remove the veil in class and sit in the first rows. They do participate and they are good on the written exam. But as I told you, those are only a few and they are rare cases. Mostly the veiled students sit in the back rows and choose not to participate.

Mrs. M: I always ask them to remove their veils. Most of them refuse to remove it. I don’t know who they are and they don’t participate. So, it’s their problem.

When the teachers were asked about their acceptance of the students’ voluntary answers produced collectively, they responded as follows:

Mrs. K: It’s okay. I consider it an acceptable behavior. The reason why I always accept it as an answering method is that I would appreciate the least they could produce whether when they are called upon or when they did it voluntarily. The students’ backgrounds had to do with that too.

Mrs. M: Certainly it’s a cultural issue. They are mostly low motivated and who would do the very little and would accept the least as long as they get passing grades. We also fear the
reputation of being too pushy. Students will refuse to sign up in your classes and complaints
would reach your superiors. And of course you have to suffer the consequences and in a
few years you will be considered a provocative teacher. You're dealing with a situation
where most students are not willing to participate, so it's better to accept any kind of
participation from those who are willing to do so and not discourage them.

Mrs. Y: Although I don't assign any points for participation, I accept any kind of
participation.

When the four teachers were asked about their students' lack of participation and what
they did about it, they responded as follows:

Mrs. R: Maybe this is true only for a few students because most of them would not
participate even if I assign those 10 points for participation. Assigning the 10 points for
attendance instead is a way to help them gain more points. Otherwise, many of them would
fail the course. I myself give them 10 points only for attendance because I can't assign
those points for class participation. They mostly don't participate and by assigning those 10
points for class attendance, at least I know that the students would care for attending my
classes. Although the students mostly don't participate, at least I know that by just being
there, they are gaining something by only listening to what is going on around them.

When Mrs. R was asked whether not assigning points for classroom participation
encouraged the students to not take part in classroom communication, she said:

Mrs. R: I agree with you but let me tell you why we are allowing it to happen the way it is.

All our classes are forty students and above. So, it is very difficult that you assign points for
participation. This is number one. The second thing is that you don’t have a choice for class participation. Unless you are doing an exercise and some students volunteer to participate, you can’t force the others to participate. I refer that to the students’ psychological and social backgrounds. As you know, most students come from a social background that makes them reluctant to participate. They lack confidence in themselves when it comes to English. Because they are very weak, they feel that they would be embarrassed in front of others if they make mistakes. This is the problem. I sometimes ask them just to read a text and they start giving me excuses, so that I relieve them from reading in front of the others. Even if I assign a student a small paragraph, I would get an excuse such as “I have a cold”. Then I can’t force her. It is very difficult to force them as grown-ups to participate if they choose not to do so.

Mrs. M: If a student doesn’t want to answer voluntarily, we can’t force her. You would be forced to do so, if you were in the same situation. It’s definitely the students’ cultural background. The students are very uncommunicative. They keep silent all the time. You don’t waste your time to make them communicate if they refuse to do so. You try to get them to speak but eventually you get fed up and you give up on them. That’s why you end up doing the whole work and you only work with those who are willing to participate and communicate with you.

Mrs. Y: Honestly, students are not assessed for their participation and those 10 points would be a gift from us to the students for doing something else. As for me, I give them to them just for turning in homework. Some teachers may not assign points for participation but only to help them to get those points doing something else. Nevertheless, class
participation, even when not assigned points, does help when it comes to their overall grades. I always consider giving extra points for those who always participate.

**Mrs. M:** I, myself, assign those 10 points for participation. I threaten my students with those 10 points to make them participate. I want them to talk to me, even if they give wrong answers. I don’t mind as long as they utter something. Whether right or wrong, it doesn’t matter. All I want them to do is talk to me. It really gets on my nerves when they refuse to speak, like my 10 o’clock students. It really depends on the student. If she was willing to learn not only for the sake of the grade, then she would participate. She should participate, not to impress me but in order to do something for her own good, whether I assigned points or not for class participation. Students at this age should care for their own good.

**The Cultural Interpretation of the Theme of ‘Students’ Survival Strategies’**

A package of cultural issues in the micro and the macro contexts influenced the classroom behaviors of those four ESP classrooms. The students’ survival strategies were influenced by their educational and their cultural background. Some students used keeping on their veils and sitting in the back of the classroom as two avoidance strategies. Keeping their identities hidden also helped them to be almost out of the picture in order not to be initiated to by their teachers. Sitting in the back of the classroom also helped them to be out of their teachers’ focus. Those who applied those two strategies were the ones who admitted being weak in English or being embarrassed by making mistakes in front of others. The students’ behaviors of keeping on their veils and choosing to sit at the back of the classroom were two classroom behaviors that were considered by the four
teachers as a practice of avoidance. The teachers in those four classrooms responded to those two behaviors by accepting them. The four teachers mostly avoided initiating any question to those veiled students sitting in the back of the classroom.

The three other verbal behaviors – answering collectively, providing incomplete answers, and providing incomplete utterances – were also the result of a package of cultural issues. Students avoided participating in the classroom discussions either because they were weak in English or because they feared being embarrassed in front of others. The issue of being weak in English has a history from their previous English education from first grade to twelfth grade. Although English textbooks that were used in public schools followed the functional-notional approach, as the same case with the ESP textbook used in that college, the teaching of those textbooks followed a different approach. Students were drilled to do grammar rules according to formulas provided by their teachers followed by drill exercises. Students also were trained to memorize sets of vocabulary lists to be able to pass their English exams. Students blamed their being weak on the public school system allowing that kind of practice. Their teachers in CBS continued the same practice almost ignoring the textbook’s claim of following the functional-notional approach.

Lack of participation and other verbal and non-verbal avoidance strategies were also interpreted by the four teachers. The issue of communication was never the concern of those four teachers. The teachers justified the situation by a number of factors. According to the teachers, the first reason was the students’ low achievement. It was the first factor that hindered them from encouraging communication in their classrooms. The second reason was that the classrooms were overcrowded which did not allow them to
apply a communicative approach and which resulted in altering their teaching strategies. The third reason was that their teaching under those circumstances was not geared towards achieving their students' communicative competence but it was rather geared towards having their students pass the ESP courses' examinations.

According to the students, there were also a number of factors that played an important role in their verbal and non-verbal avoidance practices. Some students blamed it on their English educational backgrounds which resulted in their inability to use English to communicate. Some of them blamed their avoidances on psychological factors, fear of embarrassment or anxiety. Some of them referred it to lack of motivation which they blamed on their teachers. According to the students, the teachers encouraged them not to participate by not assigning points for classroom participation. According to them, the teachers assigned the ten points for classroom participation to attendance, instead. That claim was also verified by the teachers who said that they did not assign points for classroom participation and those points were assigned to attendance, instead. Some students also went further, claiming that at least some of those points were given away by most teachers as gifts to help them to pass the course or to improve their grades.

To some degree, the situation seemed to be moving in a circle. Both teachers and students blamed the situation on the students' educational background. Nevertheless, those teachers did not concern themselves with changing those educational practices but rather continued drilling their students in the same old fashion followed in the students' earlier English education in public schools. The teachers claimed they stopped assigning points for participation because they had knowledge of their students' educational and cultural backgrounds, being low achievers and low motivated. The students also had
knowledge of their teachers’ culture. They knew that their teachers would not penalize them for not participating and that the participation points were given to them anyway for attendance, instead. The cross knowledge of each party’s culture helped to create and encourage the students’ avoidance behaviors.

Consequently, physical presence was an important issue for both teachers and students. Teachers believed that by assigning points to attendance they were helping the students in two ways. First, by being physically present in class, the students would somewhat benefit from what was going around them. Second, by assigning those points to classroom attendance, the students were helped to get better grades by just being physically there. From the students’ perspectives, all that mattered to their teachers was not their participation but their physical presence and that was what they mostly did. Many students claimed they were in the classrooms but they did not understand what their teachers said most of the time. According to the students, if they attended regularly, memorized the vocabulary lists, and understood some grammar rules, they would get passing grades.

The low achievement issue and the lack of motivation were also verified by the students’ interviews. Many students admitted their being weak in English. The interviews also demonstrated that many of them joined CBS because they had low secondary school GPAs that did not allow them to join Kuwait University. (The most prestigious higher education institution in Kuwait) Many students also admitted that they were not destined to work after graduation or at least were not sure they would because their families would not allow them to work, which also explained their overall low motivation in education.
in conclusion, the cross knowledge of each party’s culture helped to create and encourage the students’ avoidance behaviors. The teachers had knowledge of their students’ educational and cultural backgrounds, being low achievers and low motivated. The students had also knowledge of their teachers’ culture knowing that their teachers would assign the participation points to attendance, instead. Therefore, both teachers and students concerned themselves with the students’ physical presence and the students being drilled in the type of questions that would come on their exams rather than achieving the students’ communicative competence.
CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN AN ESP EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT FOR PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

Introduction

Chapter one provided the introduction to this study. Chapter two reviewed the related literature. Chapter three discussed the methodologies used to conduct this research. Chapter four was the presentation and cultural analysis of the collected materials in interactional terms. In addition, this chapter discusses the most important components of the findings of the study, along with the implications of the study for both practice and research.

To recapitulate, the purpose of the study was to describe and analyze the use of code-switching and the role it played in four ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classrooms at the College of Business Studies (CBS) in Kuwait, with special reference to the business English courses taught in that college. In order to understand the nature of code-switching in those four classrooms, two areas of investigation were examined. The forms of code-switching that occurred in those four classrooms were the first area of investigation. The second area of investigation was the different functions that code-switching achieved in those educational settings. The functions were investigated according to following tasks: (a) to accomplish instructional tasks, (b) to accomplish
conversational tasks, and (c) to convey social meanings. In order to better understand those functions, other verbal and non-verbal cultural aspects of those four classrooms were also investigated, which were teachers’ instructional strategies and students’ survival strategies. Qualitative research methodologies were employed to record and interpret the phenomena under study. The main research methodology was the ethnography of interaction which required direct observation and audio-taping the four ESP classrooms’ interactions. The secondary research methodology was participants’ interviews which were conducted as two different types of interviews, teachers’ interviews and students’ interviews.

Findings of the Study

The findings of the study provided answers to the research questions. The research started in chapter 1 with the following questions:

1. What was the nature of code-switching in the four ESP classrooms at the CBS in Kuwait?
   A. What forms did code-switching take?
   B. What were the purposes of using code-switching?

2. What were the other noticeable classroom behaviors in those four ESP classrooms?
   A. What teaching strategies did teachers use in the ESP classrooms?
      a. Did the teachers repeat or paraphrase their instruction?
b. Did teachers translate and/or explain the reading comprehension passages at a sentence level?

c. Did teachers use general English supplementary materials in the ESP classrooms? If so, what purpose did those materials serve?

d. How were grammar exercises used in the ESP language?

e. How was ESP used in functional-notional situations?

f. Was instruction aimed to enable students to mainly pass the ESP courses’ examinations?

B. What survival strategies did students use during class?

a. How did keeping on the veil affect veiled students’ behaviors in the classrooms?

b. Was seating choice used by some students as an avoidance behavior?

c. What types of students’ responses were considered by their teachers as acceptable or unacceptable?

As the interpretive analysis of the representative examples (Chapter 4) demonstrated, code-switching in the four ESP classrooms at CBS was an unavoidable behavior by both the four ESP teachers and their students. The code-switching which was made by the interactants in those particular settings took different forms. It took the following forms: (a) word code-switching, (b) phrasal code-switching, (c) sentence code-switching, and (d) mixed code-switching. As the interpretive analysis demonstrated there
was no direct relation between the different forms of code-switching and the functions it accomplished.

Code-switching was also used by the four teachers in those ESP classrooms to accomplish some tasks. It was employed to achieve instructional tasks, to accomplish conversational tasks and to convey social information. As the study demonstrated, the four teachers used code-switching to accomplish the following instructional tasks: (a) to provide instructional clarification, (b) to provide instructional translation, (c) to provide definitions, (d) to provide evaluation to students' responses, and (e) to check students' understanding. Code-switching was also used by the interactants in those four ESP classrooms to accomplish the following conversational tasks: (a) as an attention-getting device, (b) as a signal for topic shift, (c) as a highlight of climactic moments, and (d) as a stylistic preference. Code-switching was also employed by the interactants in the four ESP classrooms to convey social information as follows: (a) to create a sense of belonging to the ESP bilingual community in that particular college, and (b) to achieve expressions of intimacy, encouragement, distance, reproach, or status.

The analysis of the other two themes of investigation — Teachers' instructional strategies and students' survival strategies — showed relevant findings. The research demonstrated that under those specific circumstances, the four teachers in those ESP classrooms adapted their teaching methods. A major factor for students' low achievement in ESP was that most of those students represented the secondary school stage product in English which was unsatisfactory. Therefore, they were described by themselves and their teachers as weak or poor students in English. Another factor was the sizes of those ESP classes where the number of students reached forty-five students in
some of those classes. A third factor was a cultural factor which was attained from both the teachers’ interviews and the students’ interviews. Many students were unmotivated because of their uncertainty about being able to work after graduation. Some of the students lacked self-esteem, feared embarrassment or felt anxiety when communicating in English in front of the others.

Being faced with the above mentioned problems, those four teachers were forced to change, or at least adapt, their teaching practices. Instead of following the functional-notional approach, as was intended by the textbook which they used in those ESP courses and by the courses’ objectives, those teachers employed their own instructional strategies. Besides code-switching, some of the most prevailing recorded strategies were as follows: (a) providing instructional repetition, (b) providing translation and explanation of reading comprehension passages at a sentence level, (c) using general English in explaining grammar rules, (d) using grammar and vocabulary in a business context, (e) using ESP in functional-notional situations, and (f) providing instruction in order to enable students to pass their ESP course examinations.

Based on the analysis of students’ survival strategies, students also employed their own strategies. A number of factors, other than the students’ educational and cultural backgrounds, played a role in the students’ lack of interest in communication in those classrooms. The first factor was that classroom participation was not assigned any points and therefore, it did not influence their overall grades. The second factor was that communication was not encouraged by the four ESP teachers. As a result, those students, even the ones who were able and who were willing to communicate, did little communicating in those classrooms. A third factor was that the ultimate goal for most
students was not to benefit from those courses for communicative purposes or for future jobs needs, but rather to be able to pass their examinations in ESP. The analysis of the students' survival strategies in the four observed ESP classrooms at the CBS demonstrated the following findings: (a) some students kept on their veils as an avoidance of classroom participation, (b) some students sat in the back row to avoid being involved in the classroom interaction, and (c) some students employed some classroom verbal strategies as responses to their teachers' initiations, i.e., answering collectively, avoidance of providing complete answers, and avoidance of providing correct utterances.

A general finding of code-switching, teachers' instructional strategies, and students' survival strategies as the phenomena of the four ESP classrooms at the CBS in Kuwait was that the cross knowledge of each party's cultural and educational backgrounds played an important role in creating those phenomena. The teachers had knowledge of their students' educational and cultural backgrounds – being low achievers and low motivated. The students also had knowledge of their teachers' culture knowing that their teachers would instead assign the participation points to attendance. They also knew that the teachers' concern was to drill them on the types of questions that would enable them to pass their ESP courses' examinations. Therefore, both teachers and students concerned themselves with the students' physical presence without having them communicate in the target language (ESP). The students continued to attend with little interest in classroom interaction applying their own survival strategies. The teachers adapted their teaching strategies – using code-switching and applying other instructional strategies – to enable their students to pass their ESP course examination, as the ultimate goal of both the four teachers and their students in those ESP classrooms, rather than
achieving their students’ communicative competence which was the claim of both the course objectives and the textbook of those ESP courses.

**Implications for Practice**

An important implication of the research is that the four teachers in the four ESP classrooms at the College of Business Studies in Kuwait is that those teachers’ classroom practices were different from the approach which the textbook and the course objectives claimed to follow. According to Valdés (2001), SL teachers’ practices used in SL classrooms are influenced by a package of things: by the trends and traditions of SL instruction theory or approach that the textbook employs, by the teachers’ own experiences as SL teachers, by the institutions’ expectations, and by the curricular documents and framework. The field of SL teaching itself is characterized by a proliferation of both approaches (theories and philosophies) and methods (procedures for teaching SL). Nevertheless, studies on SL teaching demonstrated that teachers usually combined a number of practices without adhering to a particular theory.

The textbook that was used in the two ESP courses was *We’re in Business: English for commercial practice and international trade*. It claimed following the functional-notional approach providing learners with authentic commercial information which is presented to them in the context of an import/export agency. According to the author, Susan Norman, the commercial content is introduced step by step and recycled throughout the course to enable the learners to practice the four language skills in a business context. According to the author of the textbook again, the sound structural
program and graded vocabulary development are fully integrated. She also contended that the four language skills are developed through realistic job tasks (Norman, 1983). According to the two courses’ objectives, Course 154 and 204 are ESP courses for students specializing in Business studies. Topics, vocabulary and structure are business-focused and are related to the students’ linguistic needs for achieving the functional English language tasks facing them in their prospective jobs. The methodology described in the course description stated that the course is functionally oriented and its methodology is communicative. Activities involve verbal and written communication in its productive forms (College of Business Studies Yearbook, 1996/1997). According to the claims of both the textbook and the objectives of the two ESP courses, the approach to be followed in theory was the functional-notional approach. The concern of that approach is to achieve learners’ communicative competence by exposing them to the target language in functional and notional situations.

The four ESP teachers’ own experiences as ESP teachers and their knowledge of the institution they work for (CBS), along with their knowledge of their students’ educational and cultural backgrounds influenced their teaching methods in those four classrooms. That is because there is no one best teaching method in SL taking in account the mix of the learners, the teacher, the activity to be learned, the immediate situation, the institution, the larger culture outside the institution. According to Ellis and Johnson, this is because teachers of ESP operate in different countries and cultural backgrounds and the ESP environments are thus far-ranging and eclectic. According to them, the teaching situation is an interaction between the learners and the teachers and between the learners and the activity itself. While a particular approach would work with a group of learners
in a particular country or culture, it might not work with another group from a different background (Ellis and Johnson, 1994).

According to the findings of the study, the four teachers in those four ESP classrooms applied instructional strategies that were different from what was intended by the textbook or the course objectives. The most important strategy that was applied was code-switching. That strategy was used, along with other strategies, in order to enable the students to pass the exams of those ESP courses, as their ultimate goal. All the classroom practices were influenced by that end. Under the circumstances, code-switching appeared to be a useful strategy that helped the average and below average students in those classrooms. Another productive strategy to serve that end was altering the textbook exercises from the functional-notional type of activities to the grammar and translation methods. That method may not achieve the students’ communicative competence but it helped them achieve a degree of learning that would enable them to pass those courses’ examinations.

Implications for the Teachers

Although those classroom practices were created and encouraged by the circumstances, for example, large number of students in each classroom, students’ low achievement, and students’ cultural background, the ESP teachers in the College of Business Studies in Kuwait might find the following implications useful in their classrooms:
• **Involve the students in more interaction.** The teachers can encourage students' classroom interaction in English by involving them more in the activities. For example, instead of reading the reading comprehension passage herself, students can take turns doing the reading. The teacher can then check their pronunciations of some mispronounced words and can provide explanation and some translation for particular words that the students find difficult to understand.

• **Limit the use of Arabic in classroom instruction.** Although code-switching to Arabic proved to an effective method of teaching in those classrooms, teachers should limit its use. Teachers may provide Arabic definitions at a word level when it comes to clarifying some words in the activities instead of providing their instructions mostly in Arabic.

• **Use English as the dominant language of instruction.** By using English as the language of instruction, teachers would provide a model for students to follow. Students would be exposed to more ESP which would enhance their comprehension of the listening skill of the ESP language.

• **Encourage more group and pair work.** Many activities in the textbook were intended to be done in pairs or in groups. Nevertheless, those teachers never did those activities as they were intended. The practice was mostly done as grammar drills. Encouraging pair and group work would encourage students to interact, if not with the teacher, it would be at least with each other. Students may not be as hesitant to speak in English in pair and in small group.
• **Encourage students to bring their own authentic documents.** Students may be assigned some group projects. They may bring their own authentic documents or materials and discuss them in class in groups. For example, they may bring authentic advertisements, bank statements, invoices, vouchers, extracts from newspapers; magazines and the internet, or any other business document related to the notions and functions presented in the textbook.

• **Collaborate with other teachers teaching the same ESP courses.** Teachers teaching the same courses can help each other planning for the course, finding the appropriate supplementary materials, designing different exams for different levels of students, looking for alternative textbooks, and so forth.

• **Change the exam format to suit the approach followed.** According to the teachers’ interviews, exams in the two courses had followed the same format for more than fifteen years. Volunteer teachers who have the experience and who are capable of creating exams on the approach can help by providing exam forms which are not only suitable for the approach but also based on both students’ needs and students’ abilities.

• **Listen to the students.** A great deal can be learned from students’ feedback. For example, although most students did not object to the use of Arabic during instructions, many of them objected to the amount it was used in. The teachers thought they were helping the student by their code-switching but the students wanted it to be limited to providing the
meanings of single words or to be confined to when they ask the teachers to provide further explanation in cases of difficulty.

- **Assign points for classroom participations.** When those teachers decided to stop assigning points for classroom participation, they thought they would help those students who were unwilling to participate. Both students who were incapable of communicating in English and students who were communicatively competent were encouraged to not interact since no points were assigned for classroom participation.

- **Assign points for attendance.** Attendance must be assigned points for its own sake to encourage students' attendance. The weak students would benefit from being in the classroom regularly because missing classes can aggravate the problem because of the students' low achievement.

**Implications for Administrators**

The findings of the study demonstrated that there were some factors that created those above mentioned conditions in the four ESP classrooms at the CBS in Kuwait. There was much dissatisfaction by both the four teachers and their students in those four ESP classrooms. On the teachers' part, dissatisfaction was with the low students' achievement, low students' motivations, the textbook used, the heavy load of teaching hours, the large numbers of students in each classroom, and the inappropriate preparation of students in English for General Purposes (EGP) courses. On the students' part, dissatisfaction was with the instructional methods applied by the teachers, the textbooks used, the inappropriateness of the course contents to their different specializations, their
inappropriate preparation in the general English courses, and their inappropriate ESP preparation for their future careers. To address those concerns, the following implications for the administrative body and policy makers may be helpful:

- **Assign a textbook committee of the teachers themselves.** Since the teachers showed dissatisfaction with the textbook used, a committee of the teachers themselves is needed to look for, evaluate and recommend appropriate textbooks for the ESP courses.

- **Develop different ESP courses for different specializations.** The business English course as an ESP course was assigned as a required course for the majority of students in the CBS in different specializations. CBS students specializing in accounting, administration and secretarial studies, materials management, cooperative management, postal management, business administration, insurance, and banking were all required to take both course EL 154 and course EL 204, which were the business English courses, as required core courses. Since the book was in a business context providing commercial information in the context of an import/export agency, both the four ESP teachers and their students expressed dissatisfaction with the contents of their textbook. The business English courses should be developed into separate different ESP courses with different textbooks to suit the different needs of the students from different specializations.
• **Provide appropriate English for General Purposes (EGP) courses for students.** Both teachers and students expressed dissatisfaction with the general English courses that the students were required to take before studying the ESP courses. Students should be better prepared in EGP to better prepare them to understand and learn their ESP courses. Although CBS is not responsible for the problem of enrolling students with low achievement in English, it is responsible for bringing them to a prescribed level of proficiency in the target language before they are introduced to the ESP courses offered in the CBS.

• **Provide English communication courses.** Some students showed interest in improving their communication skills to overcome their lack of confidence when they need to communicate in English. What is needed is an English communication course or a conversation-based course that would allow students to communicate in the actual usage of the language.

• **Provide teachers with workshops and seminars.** Teachers should be provided with workshops and seminars on the application of the approach that the textbook claims to follow and that the course objectives attempt to achieve. Teachers need to change their perspectives towards teaching strategies to meet the needs of the approach to be followed. The four teachers in those four ESP classrooms relied heavily on grammar drills and translations. Therefore, teachers should be provided with workshops and seminars in teaching instructional strategies for students’ involvement in the intended approach to be followed.
• **Limit the sizes of the classes.** Teachers complained about the large numbers of students in their ESP classrooms. The number of students in each classroom can reach forty-five in many classrooms. In a foreign language teaching environment, the ideal number of students is between fifteen and twenty-five students. Nevertheless, with the limited facilities of CBS and the language department in that college, a recommended number of students would be not more than twenty-five.

• **Involve both teachers and students in course developments.** A great deal can be learned by listening to the two most important components of the ESP classrooms at the CBS, which are the teachers and the students. Questionnaires can be distributed to students to help policy makers decide what changes need to be done according to the students’ actual needs and capabilities. Teachers’ feedback may also provide policy makers with significant insights into the issues related to the teaching and learning of ESP in that college.

**Implications for Research**

The findings of the study may be valid for the circumstances found in those four ESP classrooms. The interactants in the four ESP classrooms at CBS in Kuwait employed code-switching to accomplish instructional tasks, to achieve conversational tasks, and to convey social information. More investigation into language alternation performed by ESP bilinguals in similar institutional situations can help researchers
understand why it is a common phenomenon in language contact situations, where language choice can serve as a resource to accomplish those different tasks or any other tasks.

As Martin-Jones (1995) contended, there are different views about the values and purposes of bilingual education which are manifested in bilingual discourse practice. There are also many interesting influences that affect the bilingual classroom interaction which are also shaped by political and social conditions beyond the classroom. As a researcher, I find the analysis of the influences that Martin-Jones recommended very important in any bilingual classroom research, including the ESP classrooms. Analysis of those influences is needed to build up comparative accounts of the different ESP bilingual environments. Those accounts can enable and/or constrain the ESP bilingual interaction. More ethnographic research of how code-switching plays different roles in ESP bilingual classrooms and how it is differently shaped by different social conditions in different ESP bilingual classrooms, is needed in order to gap the disconnectedness between studies of code-switching and ESP.

Another recommendation to further research would be doing more studying examining the different roles of other cultural factors in relation to code-switching. A suggested study for investigation would a comparative study on the outcomes of ESP classes where code-switching is applied in comparison with outcomes of other ESP classrooms where code-switching is not applied.
Summary

Chapter five presented the findings of the study according to the research questions that were asked in chapter one. The findings that were related to the first area of investigation provided the forms of code-switching that occurred in the four ESP classrooms in the CBS in Kuwait. It also presented findings of the different employed functions of code-switching in those ESP classrooms. The findings revealed that code-switching was employed to achieve instructional tasks, to accomplish conversational tasks and to convey social meaning. Findings of the two other areas of investigation – teachers’ instructional strategies and students’ survival strategies – were also presented. Implications of the research for practice and research were also provided in this chapter.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A

Teachers Interview Questions

I. Teachers perceptions of the functional notional approach

1. How do you perceive the functional notional approach?

2. What is the source of your knowledge?

3. How much do you think it is applied in your lessons?

4. Do you think the book follows this approach? By what percentage?

5. Are there obstacles that hinder its application? What are they?

II. Business Skills

1. Do you think the book is intended to teach students business skills, which is the focus of the skill-centered approach?

2. While the book is intended to teach some business skills (e.g., greetings, introductions, making requests, telephone inquires, business letters, writing checks, reading bank statements, preparing memorandums, trade negotiations, etc.), why is it that those exercises are always changed or done differently than how they are intended by the book?

3. Do you think that your students do not need to learn those skills because they are not
needed in their future careers, or is it because they are not going to be tested on them and therefore you do not think you should spend time doing them in such a way, or are there any other reasons for not teaching those skills?

III. Teaching for the sake of the exam

1. Is your first concern to teach in a way to ensure that your students pass the exam?

2. Do you change the book exercises and modify them to make them similar to the types of questions that come on the exam?

3. What are the methods that you follow to ensure that your students will be familiar with the types of questions on the exam?

4. I learned that the exams are common exams for all the sections, who writes the questions and who decides which questions are going to be on the exam?

5. Does this method ensure that all students in different sections will be familiar with the exam content that they are held responsible for? Explain.

6. During the exam, how much help is provided and is there any immediate feedback to their inquiries concerning the exam questions?

IV. Cultural & Social Aspects

1. Explain how the cultural background of your students has influenced the way you teach them concerning the following:
   
   a. the amount of the teacher's translation into Arabic.
b. the amount of the teacher's code-switching, while speaking in English.

c. dealing with the students' avoidance of turn-taking.

d. dealing with the students' voluntary answers produced severally or collectively.

e. dealing with an imposed policy by your superiors because of the students' cultural-background influences.

f. changing or modifying your teaching methodology because of that influence.

2. Some teachers claim that many of their students lack motivation and are unwilling to participate in the class and that some of the teachers give up on their students. Do you think that is a socio-cultural issue? Explain.

V. Textbook

1. Do you think that the textbook follows the functional notional approach? In terms of percentage, how functional do you consider it?

2. The book was published in 1983 and has been used as a textbook for both courses, Business English EL 154 and EL 204 for about 10 years, do you think that it is an out-dated book?

3. If you had the choice, would you consider changing the textbook?

4. Have you made any effort to change the book?

5. Why do you think it is still used as a textbook?

6. Who chooses the textbooks? And how often is the decision revised?

7. Have you ever served as a member on the book selection committee?

8. Do you think that the content of the book (as a business English textbook) is appropriate
for the students' needs and levels?

9. Do you think that the book is more advanced than the average student's level and would
you prefer to start with a beginner's level book for EL 154 and an intermediate level for EL
204 instead?

10. Do you think the content of the textbook is relevant to their future career needs?

11. Do you think that the book, though in business context, is appropriate to the local business
market in Kuwait?

12. Do you think the book contains outdated material? If so, what do you do about it? And
what about telex for example, which is still used as a type of document that the students will be
held responsible for on the exam?

13. If the book is to be changed, say whether or not you would like the new textbook to:

   a. be based on a syllabus which is developed in the context of everyday business
      functions? For example, telephoning to make arrangements, making appointments, arranging
      meetings, making inquiries, asking polite requests, dealing with business negotiation, placing
      orders, discussing and preparing business plans, inviting, socializing, etc.

   b. encourage fluency in active use of language?

   c. contain authentic materials from real companies and real business situations?

   d. offer opportunities to practice the four skills of language: listening; speaking;
      reading and writing?

   e. use grammar that is only needed in business contexts and for learning a particular
      business skill?
Teaching methodology

1. How do you motivate your students, especially those who are not willing to participate, by the stick or the carrot?

2. Do you assign homework?
   a. How often?
   b. If you assign homework, do you collect it, check it, and return it back to the students with some feedback?
   c. If you don’t, Why not?

3. Do you think that ESL teaching methods are the same as ESP teaching methods? How different or similar are they?

4. Are the activities done and skills to be learned grounded in real business-like situations?

5. Since the textbook is out-dated and much of the information needs to be up-dated, do you use supplementary materials in an attempt to up-date the book’s information? What kind of supplementary materials do you provide your students?

(The interviews would be open-ended and other questions may come up during the interviews. Other questions might be also added after the observations because the researcher may need to ask questions that would clarify some behaviors that are not understandable only by observations.)
APPENDIX B

Students Interview Questions

I. Business Skills

1. Do you think that the course teaches you enough business skills to be used in your future career?

2. Does the book provide enough practice in business skills?

3. Does the teacher provide enough practice in business skills?

3. Are business skills part of the exam?

II. Studying for the sake of the exam

1. What is the purpose of studying ESP? Is it for the sake of learning it (in the first place) or for the sake of passing the exam?

2. Do you study it regularly or do you only study the day before the exam?

3. How does this method of studying ensure that you pass the exam?

4. Some teachers provide their students with vocabulary lists:
   
   a. Does your teacher provide you with a vocabulary list?

   b. Is she obliged to do so?
c. What if she doesn’t?

d. How much does this list help you study for the exam?

5. Before the exam, do you ask the teacher to review with you or does she do it without being asked to do so?

6. Does the revision include the types of questions you will encounter on the exam?

7. During the exam, are you allowed to ask questions?

8. Were you familiar with the types of questions on the exam? In other words, did you get enough practice doing them before the exam?

9. Was the amount of time for the exam suitable for you? What about the average student?

10. Do you think it is easy to pass the Business English courses?

11. What methods do you use to ensure passing the exam?

III. Motives & Learning styles

1. How many of you had a high school G.P.A. that allowed you to be admitted to the university but preferred to enroll in this college?

2. According to the teachers, most students do not participate in the class discussions. What do you think the reason is?

3. Do you think that class participation is important?

4. If you are a non-participant student in the discussions, how do you think you are going to be evaluated for class participation? Does it matter to you?

5. What grade do you expect to get in this course?
6. Is your expectation based on your knowledge of your abilities, your hard work, or is it only a hunch?

7. Is your main concern earning a good grade or passing the exam with any passing grade?

8. For those whose concern is a good grade, do you work hard to get a better grade? If yes, explain how you try to do it?

9. Does your seating at the front or the back of the class reflect how much you are willing to participate?

10. Do you understand most of what is said in the class? What percentage?

11. If your answer to question # 10 is no, do you try to ask the teacher to repeat explaining the activity or skill to be learned? If not, why not?

12. If your answer to question # 10 is yes, is your understanding reflected in higher marks on the exam?

IV. Cultural & Social Aspects Issues

1. After graduation, where do you intend to work, for the government or the private sector?

2. Is your answer to question # 1 based on your own choice or because of the cultural influences? Do you know these influences are?

3. Do you think that there is relevance between what you study now in general and your future occupation? Will your study benefit you?

4. Do you think that there is relevance between what you study now in ESP courses and your future occupation? Will it benefit you?
5. Do you think that the students influence the way the teacher teaches? In what ways?

6. A question for the veiled students only. If you keep your identity covered under the veil, how do you expect the teacher to know you and be able to give you points for class participation? Do you think it matters?

(The interviews would be open-ended and other questions may come up during the interviews. Other questions might be also added after the observations because the researcher may need to ask questions that would clarify some behaviors that are not understandable only by observations.)
APPENDIX C

LETTER OF SUPPORT I

Date: June, 8, 1998

To: Behavioral and Social Science Human Subject Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Office of Research Risk Protection
Human Subject Review Desk
300 Research Foundation
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, OH 43210-1063

From: Dr. Yaqoub Al-Rifai, Dean
College of Business Studies
Dean Office
P O Box 44069
Hawali, 32055
State of Kuwait
Phone #: (965)261-9012

To the members of Behavioral & social Science IRB,

This is a letter of support, which is provided to Ms Badrieh Dehrab on her request. Ms Dehrab has introduced herself to us as an investigator of a research study conducted by Professor Beverly Gordon, as the principle investigator and herself, as the co-investigator. The study is titled An ethnographic study of the socio-cultural behavior of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classroom at The College of Business Studies in Kuwait, with special reference to business English courses, in view of the functional notional approach and the situated learning theory. Ms Dehrab has contacted us to be permitted to conduct her class observations and teachers and students interviews in the Business English classes of the College of Business Studies. We hereby grant her access to the ESP classes in our college to enable her conduct the above mentioned research study. In case you have any question, please contact the Dean Office. Thank you.

Dean of the College of Business Studies
Dr. Yaqoub Al-Refaai
LETTER OF SUPPORT 2

Date: June, 8, 1998

To: Behavioral and Social Science Human Subject Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Office of Research Risk Protection
Human Subject Review Desk
300 Research Foundation
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, OH 43210-1063

From: Dr. Salah Al-Mulla, Chairperson
College of Business Studies
The English Department
P O Box 44069
Hawali, 32055
State of Kuwait
Phone #: (965)262-5132

To the members of Behavioral & social Science IRB,

Ms Badrieh Dehreb has contacted me to be permitted to conduct her class observations and both teachers and students interviews as part of a research study titled: An ethnographic study of the socio-cultural behavior of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) classroom at The College of Business Studies in Kuwait, with special reference to business English courses, in view of the functional notional approach and the situated learning theory. I was informed that the research is conducted by Professor Beverly Gordon, as the principal investigator, and Ms Dehreb as the co-investigator as part of Ms Dehreb's doctoral dissertation. This letter is to support the study and permit the investigators to conduct their study in the classes of ESP at the College of business studies. If you have any further question, feel free to contact me. Thank you.

Chairperson of the English Department
Dr. Salah Al-Mulla