

**STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF
CODESWITCHING AMONG IRANIAN/CANADIAN
BILINGUALS**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the codeswitching behavior in Persian/Canadian English conversations. The codeswitching data were collected from interviews with four homogeneous groups of 16 young adult men and women and middle-aged men and women. The analysis of 1,043 instances of intra-sentential codeswitching indicates no significant effect of age or gender on the CS patterns. In addition, the structural analysis of English lexical insertions shows that strict structural equivalence is not required for codeswitching to occur, as long as the inserted elements are congruent with the matrix frame. However, the lack of congruity between the verbal systems of Persian and English imposes some restrictions on the insertion of verbs. English verbs can only be inserted through light verb constructions. This study also provides evidence against the strict separation between borrowing and codeswitching and argues for a unified treatment of the two phenomena. Finally, the issue of motivations behind codeswitching is addressed.

Keywords: codeswitching, Persian, Canadian English, light verb constructions, lexical insertions, borrowing.

To my husband whose love and support made this work possible

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person
Adj.	Adjective
CLI	clitic
CLS	classifier
COMPR	comparative adjective marker
COP	copula
Def.	definite
DES	descriptive
Ez	ezafe
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
Indef.	indefinite
NEG	negative
OBJ	object marker
PL	plural marker
PI	plural
PP	past participle
Pro	pronominal
REL	relevance
Sg	singular
Subj	subjunctive
SUPRL	superlative adjective marker
VP	verb phrase

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Codeswitching as a bilingual speech behavior allows the speakers to alternately use the resources of the languages they command in the course of a single conversation. Codeswitching (hereafter CS) has been approached from a wide range of different disciplines. A large number of recent studies on CS have focused on the social and linguistic aspects of this phenomenon. From a sociolinguistic approach, CS is seen as a bilingual speech act which is influenced by social factors (e.g., age, gender, education, etc.), and the interaction among these factors. Those who approach the phenomenon from a linguistic perspective, on the other hand, attempt to find the constraints and rules which govern CS patterns.

This study pursues a detailed description of sociolinguistic as well as structural aspects of codeswitching among Persian (Farsi) / English bilingual speakers, a CS combination that is under-represented in the literature. The CS data used in this study were collected from voice-recordings of free-flowing conversations involving 16 Iranian/Canadian bilinguals living in Vancouver, Canada. The participants were divided into four homogeneous groups based on their age and gender. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the goal was to find the possible impact that social factors of age and gender may have had on the CS patterns of the participants' bilingual speech. Neither age nor gender was found

to be a deciding factor on the frequency of CS. Possible explanations for these findings are discussed.

From a linguistic approach, the structural aspects of CS between Persian and English are explored. The focus is on lexical insertions in general, and light verb constructions in particular. The aim was to find the possible impact that typological differences between Persian and English may have had on the CS patterns. As Poplack's (1980) Linear Equivalence Constraint and Woolford's (1983) Phrase Structure Congruence Model suggest, there should be no switch between Persian and English since the word order and morphosyntactic structure of these languages are different. In this study, however, it was found that CS occurs between these two languages despite all typological differences. In fact, all the inserted elements (excluding verbs) are syntactically and morphologically integrated into Persian frames. However, the incongruity between the verbal systems of the two languages imposes some restrictions on the CS patterns. English verbs can occur in Persian structures only through light verb constructions. A bilingual light verb construction always consists of a Persian light verb, which carries the required Persian verbal morphemes, and an English element, which may carry Persian morphemes (e.g., a pronominal clitic or a plural marker). The interesting point is that English verbs occur in a position where Persian verbs are not allowed. The English elements may also combine with Persian light verbs which are different from the ones which occur in Persian monolingual contexts. In other words, embedded single elements may alter the structures in which they occur. These findings provide some evidence that lexical

insertions are not always integrated into the Matrix Language frames. In other words, as Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997, 2002) suggests, it is not possible to draw a line between codeswitching and borrowing based on syntactic, morphological, or phonological integration. The rest of this study focuses on the characteristics of 'do constructions'. The aim is to see what makes 'do' the most frequent light verb in our study.

In pursuing the goals of this study, chapter 2 provides a background on the CS literature, motivations behind codeswitching, light verb constructions, and the Iranian community in Vancouver, Canada. Chapter 3 informs the reader about the participants, materials, and procedures used in this study. In chapter 4, a detailed description and analysis of our data is presented. The first section of this chapter reviews the motivations behind codeswitching among Persian/English speakers. It is shown that bilinguals use mixed utterances for various social, psychological, and stylistic purposes. The second and third sections of this chapter focus on sociolinguistic and structural aspects of Persian/English CS, and discuss the findings of this study. Chapter 5 explores the theoretical implications of the findings of this study. The compatibility (or lack of compatibility) of these findings with some CS theories is presented. Also, light verb constructions as the possible underlying structures for Persian verbs, and 'do constructions' as the most prevalent light verb constructions are discussed. The rest of this chapter focuses on the findings of this study which support a unified treatment of borrowing and codeswitching. Finally, chapter 6 brings

together all the major findings of the previous chapters and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I provide the necessary background for some of the concepts that will be discussed in the rest of the thesis. In section 2.1, I review the definition of codeswitching. I also review some of the existing theories in the CS literature which attempt to express the constraints and rules that govern CS situations. Section 2.2 focuses on the social motivations which encourage bilingual speakers to alternate the codes within a conversation. Section 2.3 is about borrowing and codeswitching as two different approaches to lexical insertions. In section 2.4, I review light verb constructions in the CS literature, and in Persian. Finally, a review on the Iranian community in Vancouver is provided in section 2.5.

2.1. Codeswitching

Codeswitching¹ has been defined variously in the literature, though generally, it can be considered as a process in which bilinguals use the resources of the languages they command in various ways for social and stylistic purposes and mix them in different ways. A recent definition relevant to the approach adopted here is that codeswitching (CS) is “the use of two languages in the same clause” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p: 3). It follows that codeswitching as a

¹ The term ‘codeswitching’ is spelled variously in the literature as “code switching” (Gumperz, 1967), “code-switching” (Muysken, 2000), and “codeswitching” (Myers-Scotton, 2002). In the present study, the last spelling is used, except for quoted material where the original is preserved.

speech behavior is a particular effect of language contact and is the result of the adjacency or availability of two linguistic systems in the mental lexicon of bilinguals. The investigation of the effects of this juxtaposition on speech behavior not only provides us with a unique opportunity to get a better understanding about the unconscious linguistic knowledge which resides in the minds of speakers, but also helps us to test our findings and hypotheses about individual languages (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p: 5).

The definition of bilingualism varies greatly within the literature. Some researchers adopt a very strict definition in which the speakers should have native-like control over both languages (Bloomfield, 1933; MacSwan, 1997). Other researchers take a wider perspective of the phenomenon and are satisfied with speakers who are able to produce complete meaningful utterances in both languages (Haugen, 1953; Myers-Scotton, 2002). In this study, I followed the latter approach treating people as bilinguals as long as they had functional fluency in English and Persian.

Codeswitching can be approached from either a structural or a social perspective. In a sociolinguistic approach, the attempt is to investigate and understand the social motivations and intentions underlying codeswitching as well as to see the effect of social factors such as age, gender, attitude, and education on CS patterns. In the structural approach, on the other hand, the aim is to explore the grammatical constraints which restrict switching between two languages.

The first attempts to account for the constraints on CS go back to the 1970s when both linguists and other researchers noticed that codeswitching is not an accidental behavior but that it is systematic and rule-governed. Over the years, several approaches to the study of CS have been developed. Naseh (2002, p: 36) categorizes all of the existing structural (syntactic in her view) approaches to CS constraints into six groups:

- a) Linear order approach
- b) Subcategorization model
- c) Theory-based models
- d) Matrix Language approaches
- e) No specific model of constraints (pursuing the idea that no specific rules or principles that lie outside the grammars of the languages involved constrain CS)
- f) A minimalist approach

Linear order approaches propose that codeswitching can be explained in terms of the similarity or dissimilarity of the structures of the two languages involved in CS. This type of approach is best exemplified by the Equivalence Constraint proposed by Sankoff and Poplack (1981), according to which codeswitching is only allowed at the points where the surface structures of the two languages coincide.

In contrast, the Subcategorization model proposed by Bentahila and Davies (1983, p: 329) asserts that the only constraint on CS is that a switch can not result in the violation of the argument selection rules of the languages.

Theory-based models, on the other hand, attempt to explain codeswitching by using the contemporary version of Chomskyan Grammar. Woolford (1983) and DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) attempted to use the GB framework, while more recently MacSwan (1997, 1999, 2000) has proposed an explanation within the Minimalist Program. Mahootian (1993), who uses the TAG formalism, for example, proposes the Null Theory of codeswitching according to which “codeswitching sequences are not subject to structural constraints beyond the general principles of phrase structure that govern monolingual sequences” (Santorini & Mahootian, 1995, p: 1). She believes that in both codeswitching and monolingual contexts a head is responsible for the syntactic properties of its complement.

The most followed approach to codeswitching is that of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, according to which one of the languages involved in CS has a more dominant role in determining the morphosyntactic structure of the CS utterance and is thus labelled ‘the Matrix Language’. The other language (the Embedded Language) has a less active role. Working within this framework, Myers-Scotton (1993 [1997], p: 83) proposes two principles of codeswitching. The first one, the Morpheme Order Principle, says that “in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents consisting of singly occurring Embedded Language lexemes and any number of Matrix Language morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the Matrix Language.” The second principle, the System Morpheme Principle, states that “in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, all system morphemes

which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language.”

In addition to these approaches, the Congruence Model proposed by Treffers-Daller (1994) and Winford (2003) makes a distinction between equivalence at the phrasal level and the level of each individual item. Regardless of differences in word order between the two languages involved in CS, switching is possible when there is functional congruence between the languages, i.e., when there is broad equivalence at the phrasal level. Winford (2003) states that the constraints on multi-word switches and single-word switches are similar. Therefore “any EL constituent, whether it be a single word, a part of a maximal projection, or a maximal projection, can substitute for an ML counterpart with which it is functionally congruent” (Winford, 2003, p: 161).

Another issue in the CS literature is the definition of the domain of CS. As Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 54) states “the main tradition in codeswitching studies had been – and continues to be – to distinguish only between inter-sentential and intra-sentential codeswitching, with the sentence as the reference point for structural analysis.” Structural approaches focus primarily on intra-sentential CS that is codeswitching within a sentence. The reason, according to Winford (2003, p: 126), is that inter-sentential alternations simply involve utterances which follow the grammar of one language, while intra-sentential codeswitching produces hybrid structures which need to be explained. Therefore, the focus of the present study will be on intra-sentential CS; in particular, we define the domain of

codeswitching as the CP (maximal projection of complementizer) because according to Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 55) it has the following advantages:

- It can be defined unambiguously in terms of phrase structure as a complementizer or an element in Specifier (Spec) position followed by an IP.
- It is a unit used by many syntacticians, no matter what model they espouse.
- Since CPs can contain null elements in the Comp (complementizer) position or elsewhere, using the CP as the unit of analysis avoids problems regarding the status of constituents with nulls.
- It is the unit of analysis that is easiest to apply and the one that offers comparability across examples not only for codeswitching, but also for other contact phenomena.

Within the Matrix Language Framework, one important question is which language is the Matrix Language. Many researchers have pointed to the differential roles of the participating languages in CS utterances and that one of the languages is more dominant. Various criteria have been expressed to determine the base language in a CS situation. Klavans (1983), Treffers-Daller (1994), and Boumans (1998) consider the verbal inflection the key to define a base language. Joshi (1985), however, considers all of the closed class items (e.g., determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, possessives, tense, and auxiliary verbs) as the main criterion to define the base language. He points out that all closed class items come from the more dominant language (the Matrix Language). Myers-Scotton (1993 [1997], p: 83) introduces two principles to test the premise of unequal participation of the two languages. She states that in

ML+EL constituents both the surface morpheme order and outsider late system morphemes (i.e., the late system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent) belong to the Matrix Language. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 61) also talks about ML/EL opposition and states that the number of morphemes is not a determining factor in distinguishing the ML from the EL. Although determining the Matrix Language has proved to be challenging in some CS studies (Nishimura, 1986), in this study it is clear that the ML is Persian, except for only one example in which the English CP contains a Persian prepositional phrase. The number of morphemes, as Myers-Scotton (2002) states, is not a determining factor in distinguishing the ML from the EL. The following instance of CS attested in this dataset is a good example of this. In addition, the word order is OV, as in Persian, and not VO, as in English. Thus, the Matrix Language is Persian even though it is represented by one sound only²:

- 1) **unique-e**
 -COP.3Sg
 ‘(It) is unique.’

In the above example, both the verb and the word order come from the Matrix Language, which is Persian.

² For the purpose of grammatical analysis and exemplification, the Canonical Trilinear Representation (Lehmann, 2004, p: 5) is used as a base. The first line of each example is the phonetic transcription of the bilingual utterance. The second line contains an Interlinear Morphemic Gloss (IMG). A customised abbreviation list (p: xi) is used to show the grammatical features of the most relevant morphemes. Finally, the third line is a free translation (idiomatic semantic equivalent) of the example into English.

2.2. Motivations behind codeswitching

One of the most fascinating questions in the CS literature is “Why do people codeswitch?” Codeswitching can be motivated by various syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, psychological, and sociological factors. Myers-Scotton (2005) argues that embedded elements are selected “because they convey meanings or connotations that are better captured by EL elements than those of the ML”. She proposes five inter-related factors motivating codeswitching. The first factor is that some concepts or objects may be absent from the Matrix Language lexicon. Such elements may enter the ML and become part of its lexicon very fast. The second factor is that the embedded element is a better candidate for a certain register, that is, it seems more compatible with a certain topic or context. The third factor is that the embedded element narrows down the meaning of an ML element and specifies it in a way that suits the speaker’s intentions. The fourth factor is that the embedded element may have a connotation that is not conveyed by the ML element. Finally, the fifth factor is that the embedded element may attract the listener’s attention or focus. As Winford (2003, p: 118) states, Myers-Scotton’s approach to social motivations for codeswitching “stresses the role of the speaker as creative actor who uses language choice to negotiate changes in the nature of the situation and the social relationships among participants”.

Some linguists are more context- or hearer-oriented. Olmedo-Williams (1983), for example, believes that variables such as characteristics of the participants, of the setting and activity, topic of the conversation, and the

semantic intention of the speakers are among the factors which influence codeswitching. Other researchers (e.g., McClure, 2001; Poplack, 1978; Genishi, 1976; Zentella, 1982) suggest that language proficiency, language preference, social identity, and role of the participants are also influential in a CS situation. For other linguists, the relationship between the two languages and the status, power, and prestige associated with them is also a determining factor when codeswitching. Lavric (2007), for example, investigates various code choice options from the point of view of Brown/Levinson's politeness theory. She talks about the role of "*prestige* or its opposite, *fear of losing face by making mistakes*". She states that by choosing a language over another "one might want (and manage) to impress the partner by one's good language competence, or one might be afraid of making a bad impression through a lack of fluency or a series of mistakes" (Ibid., p: 31). Clyne (1991) too lists eight factors triggering codeswitching: (1) interlocutors; (2) role relationship; (3) domain; (4) topic; (5) venue; (6) communication channel; (7) type of interaction; and (8) phatic function.

Other linguists consider the process during which CS occurs. Wei (2005, p: 382) suggests that "any interpretation of the meaning of code-switching, or what might be called the broad *why* questions, must come after fully examining the ways in which the participants locally constitute the phenomenon, i.e., the *how* questions." In other words, paying attention to the procedures used by the participants is necessary for understanding and interpreting of the language alternation.

Overall, various social, linguistic, psychological, and the interaction between these factors are involved in CS situations. In other words, the community where CS occurs, the groups who are involved in codeswitching, the individual personalities and attitudes, and discourse and pragmatic factors all play important roles when codeswitching. In chapter 4, some of the motivations behind codeswitching found in this study will be discussed.

2.3. Borrowing vs. codeswitching

In the CS literature, there are two main approaches to the analysis of lexical insertions. One approach considers single word insertions as borrowing forms and does not deal with these embedded forms in terms of codeswitching. This view makes a distinction between codeswitching and borrowing believing that these two phenomena are subject to different constraints. For example, Poplack and Meechan (Poplack & Meechan, 1995, p: 208) state that “borrowing involves the grammatical structure of one language only, with the other playing a solely etymological role.” They define borrowing as “the *adaptation* of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually phonological) patterns of the recipient language” (Ibid., p: 200). Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1991, p: 185) distinguish codeswitching from nonce borrowing and define nonce borrowing as “an incorporation from another language uttered a single time by a single speaker in some reasonably representative corpus”. Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1990, p: 81), working on Tamil/English data, suggest that since English single words are affixed with Tamil accusative marker, “these English single words are morphologically and syntactically integrated borrowings, if only

for the nonce". Muysken (2000) also considers codeswitching and borrowing as two different phenomena. However, he focuses on the formal characteristics rather than surface distributions, and states that "code-mixing can be viewed as involving words with different language indices inserted into a phrase structure for a clause C...while lexical borrowing may be seen as involving formatives inserted into an alien word structure" (Muysken, 2000, p: 75). Overall, the proponents of this approach do not deal with single word insertions in their studies of codeswitching. They believe that inserted single words follow the syntactic and morphological principles of the host language; hence, they should be considered as borrowed forms. In order to study codeswitching, these researchers refer to phrasal, rather than lexical, insertions.

In the second approach, however, there is no dividing line between codeswitching and borrowing. In fact, this approach views codeswitching and borrowing as similar processes which fall along a single continuum. The only difference between these two phenomena is the frequency of occurrence. Myers-Scotton (1993, p: 182) suggests that a single word may start as a CS element in a host language (classic codeswitching in her term) and become a borrowed form through obtaining a higher frequency of use by monolingual speakers. She admits that frequency of use may seem 'arbitrary' but has some empirical support. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 154) does not distinguish between CS single elements and phrasal constituents or islands. She believes that in both cases there is some interaction between the Matrix Language (the source of morphosyntactic structure of the bilingual CP) and the Embedded Language (the

source of inserted elements). For example, there is at least congruence checking between the two grammars at the abstract level of the mental lexicon. In other words, both languages are active when producing a bilingual utterance; however, the degree of activation differs in different contexts. Treffers-Daller (2005) also argues that the study on mixed French and Dutch compounds and nominal groups provides some evidence for the existence of a continuum between codeswitching and borrowing.

Backus (1996) also does not make a distinction between codeswitching and borrowing. He argues that a single word insertion could be considered as codeswitching when speaker's motivations are taken into account. Park (2000) argues that none of the criteria to distinguish codeswitching from borrowing is found to be "waterproof". Working on a Korean/Swedish corpus, Park (2006) states that "even proper nouns, which are generally assumed to be the most typical borrowings by many codeswitching researchers, undergo the same (or at least related) morphosyntactic processes and that they are not different from codeswitching." Therefore, morphological integration of inserted single elements, mentioned by some researchers, proves not to be adequate in making a distinction between CS and borrowing. Thus, the topic of this study, i.e., the investigation of CS in light verb constructions, which mostly involves lexical insertions, is theoretically justified.

This study follows the second approach that considers codeswitching and borrowing as similar processes falling across a continuum. This decision is based on two arguments. First, there is not a precise and unified criterion to differentiate

CS elements from borrowed forms. Second, the insertions of English verbs into Persian frames are examples of lexical insertions which are not syntactically or morphologically integrated in Persian frames. These arguments will be discussed thoroughly in chapters 4 and 5.

2.4. Light verb constructions

Unlike other open class elements (e.g., nouns, adjectives, etc.), verbs usually cannot directly be inserted from another language, i.e., inflected embedded verbs are avoided. As Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 134) states, many languages which participate in codeswitching “do not accept Embedded Language verbs as tensed forms (i.e., with Matrix Language inflections)”. In these cases, light verb constructions are the only way through which an EL verb can occur in a ML frame. A CS light verb construction is composed of two parts: a preverbal part which conveys the content of the verb and may be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a verb; and a verbal part which is a light verb (mostly ‘do’) and carries the morphology. Recently, many studies have focused on the underlying structure of light verb constructions, whether they should be considered as a single unit, whether they are syntactic in nature, or how the elements in a light verb construction are related to each other. For this reason, this study will pay particular attention to these structures.

In Persian, light verb constructions are very prevalent in monolingual situations. In fact, there is a tendency to use LVCs instead of simple verbs wherever possible, and, as Khanlari (1973) states, LVCs have gradually substituted for simple verbs since the thirteenth century. Light verb constructions

are highly productive in Persian. The productivity of LVCs is evidenced by the fact that they are not limited to monolingual structures. Since the seventh century, Arabic nominals are borrowed into Persian and have replaced Persian nominals to form light verb constructions. Light verb constructions in Persian are composed of two parts: a nonverbal part and a verbal part (light verb). The nonverbal part is a content word such as a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a prepositional phrase. The verbal part is a simple verb which may be selected from a wide range of simple verbs. It carries the inflection for tense, aspect, number, and person. Karimi (1997) lists the light verbs employed in Persian complex verbs as follows³:

kardan (to do)	kešidan (to pull)	čidan (to arrange)
zadan (to hit)	âvardan (to bring)	nemoodan (to show)
šodan (to become)	šostan (to wash)	oftâdan (to fall)
raftan (to go)	dâštan (to have)	pâšidan (to scatter)
xordan (to eat, to collide)	âmadan (to come)	sepordan (to entrust)
gereftan (to take)	andâxtan (to throw)	gozaštan (to pass)
dâdan (to give)	bastan (to tie)	boodan (to be) ⁴
bordan (to carry)		

Some of these light verbs (e.g., *kardan*, *šodan*, *gereftan*, *zadan*, *dâštan*, *dâdan*, and *kešidan*) are more prevalent than the others. Examples (2) and (3) show two monolingual Persian LVCs. In example (2), the nonverbal element is a noun and the verbal element is an inflected form of the light verb *kardan* ‘to do’. In example

³ The transcription of the words is changed to be consistent with the rest of this study.

⁴ Karimi (1997) considers ‘to be’ as a light verb. This treatment is not universally accepted; therefore, this study does not count ‘to be’ verbs as light verbs.

(3), the nonverbal element is an adjective and the verbal element is an inflected form of the light verb *šodan* 'to become':

2)
in xânoom in-jâ **zendegi** **mi-kard**
this lady this-place life HAB-did.3Sg
'This lady used to live here.'

3)
man **xaste** **šod-am**
I tired became-1Sg
'I became tired.'

Since there are similarities between monolingual Persian and CS light verb constructions, the interesting question now is whether light verb constructions occur in Persian/English bilingual contexts, and if they do, what the characteristics of these bilingual structures are. The question becomes even more interesting when we consider the fact that Persian and English are two typologically different languages. In chapter 4, I describe the data and explain the findings of this study in this regard.

Light verb constructions are referred to by different terms which are used interchangeably in some contexts. Some linguists (e.g., Karimi, 1997; Khanlari, 1973) refer to light verb constructions as 'complex verbs', in juxtaposition to single verbs. The term 'complex predicate' also is used in some contexts. Folli, Harley and Karimi (2005), for example, use the term CPr while other linguists (e.g., Muysken, 2000; Romaine, 1989; Moyne, 1970) use the term 'compound verbs' or 'compound constructions' as they are in fact a combination of two parts: a preverbal and a verbal. Since in some languages, the verb 'do' constitutes the verbal part of the compound, the term 'do constructions' is used in some contexts

(e.g., Myers-Scotton, 2002). However, in many languages including Persian the verbal part is not confined to one or two verbs. Therefore, the term 'light verb constructions' is preferred by many linguists (e.g., Jun, 2006; Yamasaki, 2006; Diesing, 2000; Van Pottelberge, 2000; Miyamoto, 1999; Hoshi, 1997; Kim, 1994; Nakajima, 1993; among others). This term also refers to the nature of the light verb which, unlike a heavy verb, has little semantic content of its own and does not bear a thematic relation to its nonverbal element (Mohammad & Karimi, 1992, pp: 201-2). Throughout this study, the terms 'light verb construction' and 'LVC' refer to the same thing.

2.5. Iranians in Vancouver

Similar to other cities in Canada, Vancouver is known as a multicultural society. In fact, people from all over the world (e.g., the United States, England, Italy, Greece, Spain, Germany, Hungary, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, the Philippines, Turkey, Iran, etc.) come to Canada, and to Vancouver. According to 2006 census profile published by Statistics Canada, Iran has been among the top 10 countries of birth of recent immigrants since 2001 (Chui, Tran, & Maheux, 2007, p: 10). The number of Iranians living in Canada formed 0.7% of all recent immigrants (living in Canada for 5 years or less) in 1981 and has increased to 3.2% in 2001 (Hou, 2005, p: 26). The census also shows that there are 27,150 Iranians living in British Columbia, which form about 0.7% of the population of BC. The first major influx of Iranian immigrants came to Canada after 1979 when the Islamic revolution happened in Iran. The post-revolutionary political turmoil, economic hardship, and restrictions on personal freedoms led many Iranians to

seek a safe and peaceful place to live. With the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980, which lasted for eight years, the speed of migration increased. Since then, the population of Iranians in Vancouver has been increasing steadily.

The majority of Iranians living in Vancouver reside in the downtown area, Coquitlam, or the North Shore which is composed of two parts: North Vancouver and the prestigious district of West Vancouver. In fact, especially in North Vancouver, shop signs in Persian have become the norm and Persian restaurants, supermarkets, notary publics, beauty salons, and other centres or organizations are visible throughout Lonsdale Avenue, the main shopping street. Different communities and associations are held by Iranians to meet each other on a regular basis. These communities either are founded to help newcomers adjust to the new environment or are based on common political, religious, and educational goals. Multicultural societies, for example, have employed many Iranians to help newcomers become familiar with the rules and regulations of the new country. Some schools, such as the Deh-Khoda (the name is taken from a famous Persian philosopher and writer) Institute, are established for Iranian children living in Canada who want to learn Persian and become familiar with Persian culture and history. Some communities, such as the Canadian-Iranian Community, also offer different programs, lectures, and concerts to bring Iranians together. There are also an increasing number of Persian newspapers, magazines, and yellow pages where a vast number of Iranian businessmen/women advertise their products and services. Two radio and three TV channels offer weekly Persian programs. Overall, Iranians who have been

living in Vancouver for more than ten years believe that the status of Iranian community has greatly changed since 1980. Iranians are now working in many different fields ranging from the academy, to service, and to industry. They run different businesses and try to have a more active role in Canadian society. They have also founded some Iranian-Canadian communities in order to keep up with the events going on in Canada.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Participants

The codeswitching data were collected during separate recordings of free-flowing conversations involving four groups of Iranian/Canadian bilingual speakers, living in the Vancouver area. The sample design required 16 subjects divided into four groups, each group containing four participants of the same gender and approximately the same age. Older men and women were between 45 to 55 years old. Younger men and women were between 20 and 30 years old. As Winford (2003) observes, most researchers define codeswitching as language mixture which is practiced by skilled bilinguals. Therefore, it was crucial that all participants in this study be fluent speakers of both Persian and English, and that they have no problem communicating with the native speakers of either language. In addition, this would ensure that avoidance of codeswitching is not due to lack of knowledge of either language. The individuals in each group knew each other well and socialized together outside their school or work environment. Gardner-Chloros (1991, p: 79) has found that codeswitching occurs significantly more when the interlocutors know each other and are not constrained by the overt norms which govern conversations. Overall, care was taken to have as homogeneous groups as possible.

In the young male group, except one participant who goes to Capilano College, the other participants go to Simon Fraser University. They meet each

other every 2 or 3 days and spend some time chatting, playing soccer, and playing music. The recorded data showed that participants in this group were mostly interested in talking about the memories they had as high school students, the courses they have got now, and the many funny events that had happened during their gatherings.

In the young female group, except one participant who has finished her BA and works at a bank, the other three participants are students at either Simon Fraser University or the University of British Columbia. They do not see each other very often but talk over the phone for hours every week. During the interview, they mostly talked about their other friends, boys, marriage, and travel.

All of the participants in the old male group are businessmen and have got their BA or BSc from different universities in the United States before returning to Iran. They have known each other for years and have family gatherings every now and then. Their most favorite topics in the interview were politics, economy, and real state.

The participants in the old female group have become familiar with each other after they have moved to Canada. All of them are busy working as a financial assistant, a salesperson, a manager, or a hairdresser. They rarely have time for group meetings during workdays but gather together with their families and have contact with each other either at their workplaces or via telephone. In the interview, they have mainly talked about their children, losing weight, exercise, shopping centres, and cooking.

All of the 16 participants have applied for immigration to Canada as normal applicants, and based on their field of study. They all know each other since they are either the researcher's friends or her friends' children, and have met each other during different occasions and parties.

3.2. Materials

At the beginning of the recordings, the participants signed a consent form to ensure their agreement to use the recorded data for this project. They also filled out a questionnaire (see the appendix) which contained 20 questions asking about their background knowledge of English as well as their social networking. Questions one to three inquired into the participants' identity, age, and place of birth. Questions four to six required the participants to provide information about how long they have been living outside Iran (their place of birth). Questions seven to eleven concerned language proficiency. The participants had to give information about their background knowledge of English and also to assess their own fluency in this language. In other words, the required information regarding the degree of bilingualism of the participants was obtained through self-evaluation questions, similar to Poplack (1980). Questions 12 and 13 were about the participants' social network. This information was considered to be relevant to investigate the relation between the occurrence of codeswitching and the social network of the participants. Questions 14 to 17 asked about the participants' attitudes towards codeswitching and using English elements in Persian contexts. The goal was to decide if there was any participant in the four groups who considered codeswitching as stigmatized or preferred behavior. Overall, all of the

participants had no problem with codeswitching in their conversations. Finally, the last three questions asked the participants to say with which community they mostly identify themselves, Iranian or Canadian. I review the participants' answers to these questions later when I talk about the effect of age on codeswitching patterns (section 4.2.1).

3.3. Procedure

Following the strategy proposed by Labov (1984), I did not conceal my interest in language use, though I avoided emphasis on the linguistic aspects of the study. As some tentative topics, I suggested that the participants talk about the social and cultural conditions for Iranians in Canada, the similarities or differences they themselves have found between the two societies, as well as their daily activities, problems, values, etc. However, they were allowed to talk freely about whatever they liked.

As codeswitching tends to occur in highly informal settings (Poplack, 1980), care was taken that conversations take place in informal gatherings and in a friendly atmosphere. According to Labov (1972), when people are aware that their speech is recorded, they tend to change their style of speech from casual to formal (The Observer's Paradox). Another factor, as Poplack (1980) states, is that the interlocutor's ethnicity is very important in a data-collecting situation. Thus the fact that the researcher and the participants belong to the same community contributed to casual recording sessions. Another factor minimizing the risk was that, as was mentioned before, the participants were free in choosing the topic of discussion. This probably made the participants less

conscious and more relaxed about what they wanted to say. As the review of the data reveals, in some cases the participants talk about their political views, love, the opposite sex, their body parts, etc. These topics are either taboo in Iranian culture or are talked about only among close friends and in informal settings. The fact that participants were the same age and gender as well as close friends was also a factor in generating very exciting debates among the members of each group in a friendly atmosphere. The researcher did not participate in the discussions unless it was necessary for the flow of the conversation. In fact, the participants were left alone after a while in order to avoid any undue influence on their speech. The conversations were recorded on a high-quality voice recorder. A small microphone was placed at the corner of the table where the participants were sitting and having lunch in the researcher's home.

3.4. Coding

In all, ten hours and five minutes of free-flowing conversations were recorded. Of these, eight hours (two hours for each group) were transcribed and translated (see Table 1).

Table 1: Recordings

Group	Recorded time	Time of transcribed data
Women (45-55 years old)	2 h.	2.00
Men (45-55 years old)	2 h. + 44 min.	2.00
Women (20-30 years old)	3 h. + 6 min.	2.00
Men (20-30 years old)	2 h. + 15 min.	2.00
Total	10 h. + 5 min.	8.00

As this research aimed at a study of codeswitching in Persian/English contexts, the recordings which contained monolingual Persian conversation were not used. These cases are the result of talking about certain topics in certain groups. For example, it was observed that codeswitching did not occur when young men were telling jokes; or occurred less than usual when younger women were talking about cooking. Excluding those sections had two advantages. First, all of the four groups contributed an equal amount of time of data. Second, the conversational topics for all groups were more or less similar. Some sentences were excluded because they were unintelligible. Also, some of the bilingual sentences were not included in the CS data because they were coatatives, that is, they were only repetitions of other people's words. Cultural names, religious names, proper names, street names, and technical terms that are recurrently used by both monolingual and bilingual Iranians were not counted as codeswitched elements, as many researchers in the field consider these borrowings. Extra-sentential codeswitching elements (e.g., *What?* or *Never!*) were excluded as well because linguists are undecided about the status of these terms and, as Myers-Scotton (2002) states, they might be monolingual CPs that include a number of null elements.

As was stated earlier, the unit of analysis in the present study is the complementizer phrase (CP). The following examples explain the criteria used for distinguishing a CP and the characteristics of bilingual CPs. Example (1) is a Persian sentence which contains English elements. Although this is an example of a bilingual sentence, it is not included in our CS data since it is composed of

two CPs, one monolingual Persian, the other one monolingual English. As Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 56) states, these types of sentences do not show Matrix Language – Embedded Language opposition:

- 1)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|------|------|---------|
| [they | don't | Understand] | [ke | šomâ | sob |
| | | | that | you | morning |
| bâyad | be-r-i | sar-e | kâr] | | |
| should | Subj-go-2Sg | head-Ez | work | | |
- 'They don't understand that you should go to work (every) morning.'

Example (2), on the other hand, is a bilingual CP which contains two English elements, a noun and an adjective:

- 2)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|------|-------------|-------|--------------------|
| âxe | bâvar-e | âdam-â | az | life | xeili | different-e |
| because | idea-Ez | human-PL | from | | very | -COP.3Sg |
- 'Because people's ideas about life are very different.'

Example (3) contains two CPs each of which has its own verb. In fact, the meaning of the first CP is complete on its own. The second CP just adds some information to or explains the first CP. In this example, the English element of the first CP (effort) is followed by a relative pronoun and the second CP:

- 3)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|------|----------|------------------|-----------|
| [man | ta'ajjob | mi-kon-am | az | in-hame | effort]-i | [ke |
| I | surprise | HAB-do-1Sg | from | this-all | | -DES that |
| mardom | mi-zâr-and] | | | | | |
| people | HAB-put-3PI | | | | | |
- 'I'm surprised from this much effort that people put (into it).'

However, in Persian, it is possible to have a null complementizer, relative pronoun, or conjunction. The following sentence, for example contains four CPs

with null elements. Each CP is separated from the other CP by a complementizer or conjunction:

4)

[vali	age	qarâr-e]	[âdam	film-e	<i>lord of the rings-o</i>
but	if	supposed-COP.3Sg	one	movie-Ez	-OBJ

be-bin-e]	[âdam	bâyad	be-r-e	too	cinamâ]
Subj-watch-3Sg	one	should	Subj-go-3Sg	in	movie theatre

[be-bin-e]

Subj-watch-3Sg

'But if (it) is supposed (that) you watch 'Lord of the rings', (then) you should go to the movie theatre (and) (you) watch (it).'

With these criteria for segmentation of data, the recorded sentences were analyzed. For the gloss under each example, Ahmadi-Givi and Anvari (2000) and Natil-Khanlari (2001) were consulted when necessary.

CHAPTER 4: DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the data as well as the description of the findings of this study. There are three main sections in this chapter. The first section (4.1) is a review of the motivations behind codeswitching found in this study. Section 4.2 focuses on the sociolinguistic aspects of Persian/English conversations. The results of the effect of age (section 4.2.1) and gender (section 4.2.2) on Persian/English codeswitching are presented. The findings are also compared to those of some other more prominent research in the sociolinguistic literature. Section 4.3 focuses on the morphosyntactic aspects of codeswitching in Persian/English conversations. Section 4.3.1 offers a general description of single word insertions of different categories (e.g., nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.). The details of CS patterns found in the insertion of English nouns and adjectives are presented in section 4.3.2. Finally, the last section (4.3.3) focuses on Persian/English light verb constructions as the only structures through which English verbs may occur in Persian frames.

4.1. Motivations behind codeswitching

In section 2.2, it was mentioned that various studies in the CS literature have explored the psychological, linguistic, and sociological motivations behind codeswitching. In the present study, also it is found that different factors (e.g., topic, setting, interlocutors, power, prestige, type of interaction, etc.) may encourage speakers to switch from one language to another. For example, in

some cases the reason for a speaker to codeswitch is to comply with his/her interlocutor. Example (1) illustrates the point⁵:

- 1) M fekr mi-kon-am **psychological-e**
 thought HAB-do-1Sg -COP.3Sg
 'I think it is psychological.'
- V **I don't know.**
- M **I guess.**
- M barâye in-ke har-joor fekr mi-kon-am
 for this-that however thought HAB-do-1Sg
 'Because the more I think...'

In the above conversation, the use of 'psychological' by the first speaker triggers the second speaker to reply in English. This, in turn, triggers the first speaker to continue the conversation in English. This phenomenon was also observed by Zentella (1982), who showed that older children would attend to the linguistic preference of their addressee and speak the respective language. Lavric (2007, p: 28) stresses the role of "compliance" in a CS situation and states that it may be "less present in a language department, but highly relevant in business and may be in most other language choice contexts". She believes that "in business practice, compliance is famed to be of particular importance every time it comes to selling something." As for the compliance mechanisms, she states that "in many business and also private situations, they are carried out even in those cases where the corresponding language skills are in fact insufficient". Auer (1984, p: 6) too talks about 'sequential implicativeness', and defines it as "the effect of a participant's choice of language at a particular point in the

⁵ Even though the focus of this thesis is on *intra*-sentential codeswitching, in this section I have used a few examples of *inter*-sentential codeswitching in order to support the discussion of motivations behind the phenomenon.

conversation on subsequent language choices by the same and other participants”. It is concluded that a speaker’s use of alien elements may trigger or motivate the other speaker to do the same. He/she may simply choose to repeat the English terms that the first speaker has used. Example (2) illustrates the point:

- 2) M **miss-et** kard-e aziz-am
 -CLI.Pro.2Sg did-PP dear-CLI.Pro.1Sg
 ‘S/he has missed you, my dear!’
- R na **miss-am** kard-e ke ne-mi-toon-e
 no -CLI.Pro.1sg did-PP then NEG-HAB-can-3Sg
- oon-vaxt xod-eš-o vefq be-d-e
 that-time self-CLI.Pro.3Sg-OBJ adaptation Subj-give-3Sg
- bâ mohit
 with environment
 ‘No, if s/he has missed me, then s/he won’t be able to adapt him/herself with the environment.’

Sometimes the embedded elements are more accessible in the minds of speakers, compared to their ML counterparts. In the present study and in a follow-up discussion, the participants admitted that most of the time, English and Persian terms can equally express their intentions but that the English words come to their mind faster than the Persian ones. Examples (3) and (4) are taken from the data:

- 3) to **practically** hič-či na-dâr-i
 you nothing NEG-have-2Sg
 ‘Practically, you have nothing.’
- 4) barâye in-ke xob **admit** kard-e-i
 for this-that well did-PP-2Sg
 ‘Well, because you have admitted (it).’

Examples (5) and (6) are monolingual counterparts for the above examples:

5)

to **amalan** hič-či na-dâr-i
you practically nothing NEG-have-2Sg
'Practically, you have nothing.'

6)

barâye in-ke xob **e'terâf** kard-e-i
for this-that well admit did-PP-2Sg
'Well, because you have admitted (it).'

All the participants agreed that examples (3) and (4) convey the meaning of sentences (5) and (6) respectively. However, they believe that sometimes and in some contexts, the non-native elements are more readily accessible and come to the mind faster than their native counterparts. Aguirre (1985, p: 60) points to the ease of accessibility and states that "switching occurs not because the speaker does not know the right word but because the word that comes out is more readily available." Lance (1970, p: 343), working on Spanish/English conversations, states that "when the situation excludes one language, the speakers can use only English or only Spanish. But when the situation allows more freedom, the speaker uses the construction that is closest to the tip of the tongue." Zentella (1982, p: 54) too points to the ease of usage and says that bilingual speakers codeswitch because they want to say "I belong to two worlds and can function in either, but I am most at ease when I can shift back and forth from one to the other". Becker (1997, p: 9) attributes this accessibility to the high frequency of exposure and states that "lexical items will be more available to bilingual speakers in language A than in language B if they are exposed to these verbal symbols at a higher frequency rate in language A."

Another factor behind codeswitching in Persian/English conversations of this study was linguistic economy. Example (7) clarifies the point:

- 7)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|------|------|------------|
| har | <i>move-i</i> | ke | âdam | mi-kon-e |
| Indef.Adj | move-Indef. | that | one | HAB-do-3Sg |
- 'Whatever move that one makes.'

The monolingual counterpart for the above example would be example (8) below:

- 8)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|------|------|------------|
| har | <i>harekat-i</i> | ke | âdam | mi-kon-e |
| Indef.Adj | move-Indef. | that | one | HAB-do-3Sg |
- 'Whatever move that one makes.'

As is shown, the word 'harekat', which is composed of three syllables, can be replaced by a monosyllabic word (i.e., move) which needs less linguistic effort. Li (2000, p: 13), working on Cantonese/English codeswitching in Hong Kong, has also found that linguistic economy is sometimes the reason for speakers to codeswitch. He states that "an English expression may also be preferred because it is shorter and thus requires less linguistic effort compared with its Chinese/Cantonese equivalent." In other words, phonological characteristics of an English word and the number of syllables may lead a speaker to choose that word over the native equivalent.

4.2. Sociolinguistic aspects of Persian/English codeswitching

The sociolinguistic framework of language study has demonstrated over the past 50 years that an individual's language is a heterogeneous system in which linguistic behavior can be influenced by factors such as sex, age, social class, ethnicity, race, and community size (Labov, 1994, p: 2). Some researchers

(e.g., Milroy & Wei, 1995; Jacobson, 1990b) add to this list the effect of other factors on linguistic variations, factors such as social networks and socio-economic standing.

In the CS literature, Ferguson (1959), Brown and Gilman (1960), and Fishman (1968) were among the first to notice the effect of social factors on CS. Pandharipande (1990) believes that structural constraints on CS cannot be understood apart from their social functions. She also states that it is “the function that determines the form” (Ibid., p: 16). Myers-Scotton (1993, p: 235) argues that Pandharipande has overemphasized the social functions of CS; however, she agrees that social functions operate within structural constraints. Bentahila and Davies (1992, 1998), and Boussofara-Omar (1999) also posit that in order to fully understand CS phenomenon, it is not sufficient to study it in terms of the grammatical aspects. The sociolinguistic factors should also be accounted for. Poplack and Sankoff (1988, p: 1175) do not focus on the social aspects of CS, but they believe that “social role or function of language mixing” is a determining factor in a bilingual situation.

This study investigates two social factors that have been demonstrated to be the most significant factors in language variation (Labov, 2000). The effect of age on CS patterns is investigated in section (4.1.1), and the effect of gender⁶ on CS patterns is investigated in section (4.1.2). In both sections, the findings of this

⁶ In this study, as is the norm in sociolinguistic studies, the term ‘gender’ rather than ‘sex’ is used to emphasize the social standing of the participants. While it is acknowledged that gender is the social construction of sex and permits subdivisions, there was no opportunity to explore the details beyond female-male classification. Thus, the labels male and female are used based on the biological sex of the speakers.

study are compared to those of some other more prominent studies in linguistics and sociolinguistics.

4.2.1. The effect of age on codeswitching

Intergenerational differences in linguistic behavior have provided us with the most obvious examples of language change in progress. Accordingly, the age of speakers becomes a very important factor when examining the speech pattern of a community.

Within the CS literature, Smith (2002, pp: 137-141), working on Spanish/English bilingual patterns in a northeast Georgia community of Hispanics who have immigrated from Mexico, South and Central America, and the Caribbean , reports that age has a significant effect on the participants' use of English or Spanish. He posits that both older males and females in his study have used higher average percentage of Spanish. For example, there is a significant difference in the rate of lexical insertions between younger females (9.1%) and older females (3.5%). The difference between the younger males (2.7%) and older males is less but still shows a decrease from 2.7% to 2.3%. He attributes this difference to the greater exposure of children to English in school. Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1982) have also found a difference between the younger and the older groups regarding the rate of CS. They state that in Spanish/English bilingual community in the United States, the younger participants use more English (the prestigious language) than the older participants. Hudson, Hernandez Chavez, and Bills (1995), working on the maintenance of Spanish among the Spanish population of five southwestern

states of the U.S., state that the youth are more probable to abandon their ethnic language in favour of the language which is socioculturally dominant. Gal (1978, p: 10), working on Hungarian/German conversations of 32 men and women living in Burgenland in eastern Austria, has found a similar pattern in codeswitching. She has found that from the youngest to oldest generation, use of German (the prestigious language) decreases. The difference is much greater for men whose social networks include a majority of non-peasants, so that the rate of using German words for men between 14 to 34 years old is 71%, for men between 35 to 55 years old is 55%, and for men between 56 to 76 is 45%. Naseh (2002, p: 209) also has found that age is a determining factor in predicting the rate of codeswitching in Persian/Swedish speech community. Contrary to the young group of subjects in her study, among whom codeswitching is considered as a very common behavior, the older speakers have not switched to Swedish unless for filling a lexical/conceptual gap. Zafarian-Sharpe (1999, pp: 81-95), working on the acculturation process of Iranians living in the United States, also has found that there is a direct link between acculturation process and speech behavior on the one hand, and between acculturation and age on the other hand. The young participants of her study have adopted the American culture more than the ones who came to the United States at an older age. Also, the total number of all-English plus mixed utterances of the young group is much higher than that of the old group.

In the present study, a comparison was made between the younger group and the older group of participants. The aim was to see if the age of the

participants had any influence on the number of CS utterances. As Figure 1 illustrates, the percentage of CS utterances to total number of utterances is 7% (6.7%) for the older group and 8% (8.2%) for the younger group. A t-test was performed and a p-value equal to 0.2 was obtained. The analysis shows that there is not a significant difference at the .05 level between the old and the young group regarding codeswitching.

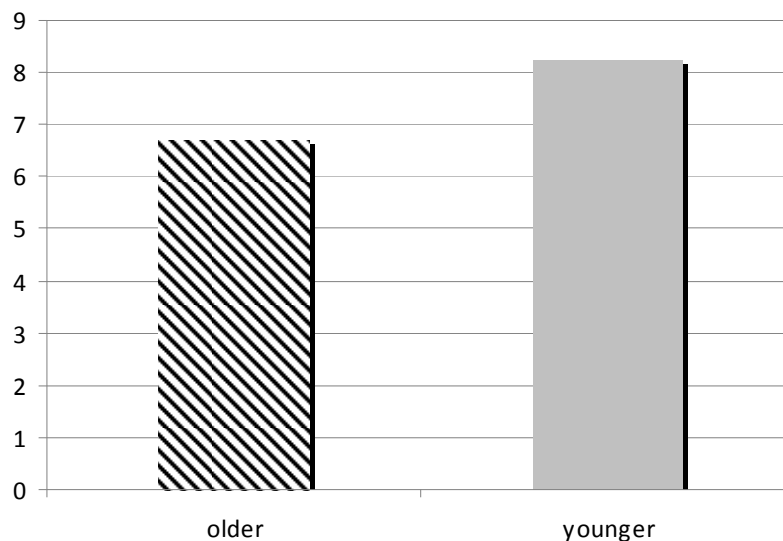


Figure 1: Percentage of total number of switches to total number of CPs for the younger and older groups

This finding is not compatible with the findings of other studies. As was mentioned above, age is found to be a deciding factor on the ratio of codeswitching so that the young members of a community tend to codeswitch more than the old members of the same community. Therefore, we may ask “Why didn’t we find a difference between the young group and the old group regarding the number of CS utterances?” In other words, “What is the reason that

the younger participants of this study do not codeswitch more than the older speakers?” In what follows, I will try to sketch out some possible answers, although I cannot give any definitive explanation.

One of the ways to explain the similarity in the rate of CS between the younger and the older groups of this study, versus the difference in the rate of CS between the young and the old groups found in the other studies, is to look at the differences between the Iranian community in Vancouver and other bilingual speech communities. The Iranian community in the United States, for example, is a relatively old and well-established community whose members seem to be more positive about the future. According to Irani (2007), who is himself an attorney at law in New York, there are many successful Iranian-Americans holding some of the highest positions in various fields. Many Iranians are in high-technology professions or work as university professors, physicians, specialists, dentists, and engineers. Iranian community in Vancouver, on the other hand, is mostly composed of newcomers whose most concern is finding a job. They also refer to other Iranians for doing business or getting services. This is especially obvious when referring to different medical centres, financial organizations, academic institutes, and even restaurants, or when celebrating various events such as Nowruz (the Iranian’s new year event). It seems as if having contact with people who come from the same language, culture, and history makes them feel less stressed out in the new environment. The family ties also are tight among Iranians so that children usually live with their parents until they get married, and depend on them for their housing and other expenses. Therefore, many parents

have kept their control over their children as for, for example, the places they can go, the people they are allowed to communicate with, or the way they should behave in the society. The youth, who are not adapted to the new environment yet, depend on their parents and follow the traditions. All these factors may encourage the young members of this community to talk mostly in Persian, which is more comprehensible to the older people.

Another way to explain why the younger speakers of this study do not codeswitch more than the older ones is to look at the differences between the immigrant experience in Canada and in other countries such as the USA. In juxtaposition to the label 'melting pot' which many use to characterize the immigrant experience in the US, Canadians use the label 'salad bowl' in order to describe the process on integration into their society. The implication is that unlike the US, where new immigrants are expected to lose their ethnic characteristics in order to 'melt into' the rest of the society, different ethnicities in Canada can work well together without losing their unique identities. In other words, Canada does not put overwhelming pressure on minority groups to give up their own traditions, and to adopt the Canadian life style or culture, and they feel more comfortable in keeping their own language, culture, and tradition.

Another possible way to explain the similarity in the rate of CS between the younger group and the older group of participants is to refer to the questionnaires answered by the participants and to see what possible similarities and differences we might find among them. In terms of length of residence, the participants' answers to questions 4 to 6 reveal that all of the 16 participants of

this study have been outside Iran only for 5-9 years. This is in contrast with the situation of Iranians who have taken part in Zafarani-Sharpe's (1999) study and have been living in the United States for 14-23 years, or those who have taken part in Naseh's (2002) study and have been living in Sweden for 9-13 years. It may be the case that there simply has not been enough time for the younger participants to become more integrated into their new community and to begin to represent that with a higher usage rate of codeswitching.

The participants' answers to questions 12 and 13 regarding their social networking also show that at least 20% of the participants' friends are English speakers, and that they have daily contact with the Anglo-Canadian community, either at work or at school, but most of their social networking is with Iranians. Therefore, there is no considerable difference between the old group and the young group in terms of social networking.

The review of the participants' answers to the last three questions of the questionnaire reveals that all speakers appear to have a positive association with the Iranian community in Vancouver, i.e., most of the participants considered themselves to belong to the Iranian community. However, there was a 20-year-old male who reports that he identifies himself with neither Iranians nor Canadians. Also, there were two women, one in the younger group and one in the older group, who considered themselves to belong to both communities. Overall, the review of the participants' answers to the last three questions does not indicate that there are any major differences between the two age groups in terms of social identity or social belonging. In other words, it seems that the

similar codeswitching rates between young and old speakers reflect similar levels of integration in their new community.

In explaining the lower occurrence of CS among the youth than what we expect, we may turn our attention to the analysis of CS data for each participant individually. Several studies (e.g., Labov, 1972:104, 1994, 2001; MacLagan, Gordon, & Lewis, 1999; Kochetov, 2006; Pappas, 2008; among others) have shown that investigating the behavior of particular individuals may help us understand the linguistic as well as non-linguistic characteristics of a variation. Therefore, the percentage of CS utterances to total number of utterances for each individual was calculated. The goal was to see if there are any outliers whose behavior skews the result. Table (2) shows the rate of codeswitching for the individuals participating in this study:

Table 2: The rate of CS for the individuals

Participants	Age	Gender	Rate of CS
AZ	20 (Y)	M	8.3
AJ	25 (Y)	M	10.5
KK	20 (Y)	M	7.0
MrF	21 (Y)	M	10.0
AIF	52 (O)	M	9.7
AF	53 (O)	M	6.2
AM	55 (O)	M	6.6
JK	53 (O)	M	5.5
HY	23 (Y)	F	9.7
LS	27 (Y)	F	4.4
MF	22 (Y)	F	8.1
SS	30 (Y)	F	7.7
FR	45 (O)	F	2.9
MM	46 (O)	F	10.5
RD	47 (O)	F	4.7
VM	45 (O)	F	7.3

The analysis of the data showed that no participants deviate significantly from the general pattern of their peer group, i.e., no outliers were found in the present study.

4.2.2. The effect of gender on codeswitching

The sociolinguistic literature contains many studies on the effect of gender on language variation. However, most of them have focused on the phonological or sound pattern differences between men and women. According to Cheshire (2002), there are very few number of research on the relation between gender and syntactic variation.

The effect of gender on language usage has been investigated both in sociolinguistics in general and in CS studies specifically. Early studies in sociolinguistics suggest that women are more sensitive to speech styles than men of the same social class. Mulac, Wiemann, Widemann, & Gibson (1988), for example, found that women use accommodation strategies more than men, and that they converge toward their partner's gaze in mixed-sex settings more than what men do. James (1996) and Eckert (1989), on the other hand, believe that the underlying sociological factor for the linguistic difference between men and women should be sought in the different degrees of power they have in the speech community. They believe that men are universally granted more power than women, and that the difference between the power statuses of men and women have led them to act differently in many behavioral aspects. Deuchar (1988) also notices the role of power in the linguistic differences between men and women, and states that women tend to use prestigious forms in order to protect their own face. Fasold (1990), however, has noticed that women use more standard variants in order to sound 'less local'. He suggests that by doing this women desire to protest against the social norms that place them in an inferior level than men. Milroy and Milroy (1993), on the other hand, have noticed the role of women in language change, and argue that the linguistic difference between men and women is because certain variants that are used by women become the prestigious variant in a society. They refer to group solidarity, social networks, and social class differences between men and women.

Within the CS literature, Poplack's (1980) research on the New York Puerto Rican community revealed that women codeswitch intra-sententially significantly more than men; however, Poplack (1987) found an opposite finding in the Ottawa-Hull community, where she found that women use fewer loan words than men. Treffers-Daller (1992), working on French/Dutch conversations, reports that she did not find any significant difference between men and women regarding intrasentential codeswitching. Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros's (1998) research on codeswitching Greek-Cypriot community in Britain revealed that men and women do not differ significantly in their overall rate of switching; however, women tend to codeswitch intra-sententially slightly more than men.

In the present study, the effect of gender on the use of bilingual sentences was investigated. On the basis of eight hours of recordings, a comparison was made between the number of switches made by women and men. As can be seen from Figure 2, when the number of switches was divided by the total number of utterances for each person, the average was 8% for men and 7% for women:

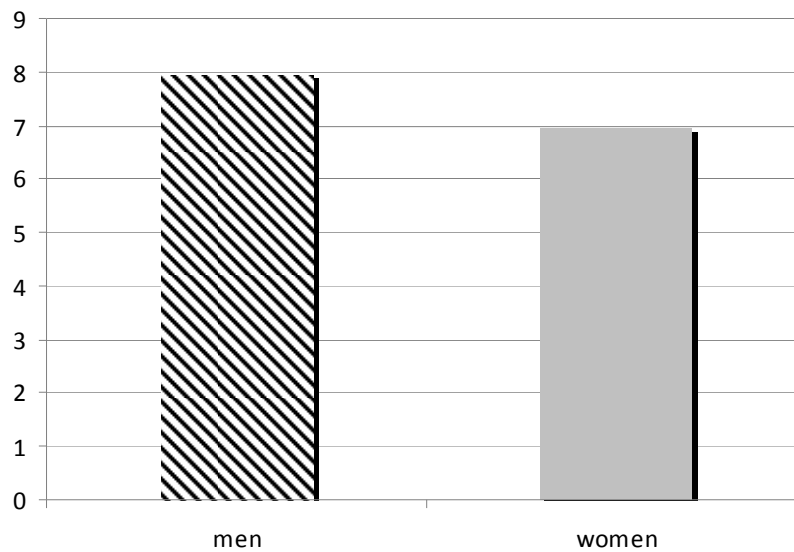


Figure 2: Percentage of total number of switches to total number of CPs for women vs. men

A t-test was performed on this data and the result showed that there is not a significant difference between men and women in codeswitching ($p\text{-value} = .38 > 0.05$). Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998, p: 19) have also found a similar pattern in their study on London Greek-Cypriot community. They too have not found a significant difference between men and women in codeswitching.

The data show that neither age nor gender can be singled out as a significant factor for codeswitching among the participants in this study. Various factors are involved in codeswitching and the interaction among these factors may act differently in different communities. Further research may help reveal the influence of some factors (e.g., the length of residence, type of employment, etc.) on codeswitching patterns. Also, more qualitative and quantitative studies are required in order to compare the situation of Iranians in Canada with other

bilingual speech communities. In fact, due to the small number of participants my conclusions can only be suggestive.

4.3. Structural aspects of Persian/English codeswitching

Codeswitching can be approached not only from a sociolinguistic but also from a structural perspective, i.e., one can investigate phonological, morphological, syntactic or even semantic aspects of this phenomenon. This section focuses on the morphosyntactic characteristics of Persian/English conversations. In this study, the analysis of the data reveals that codeswitching may occur at both the lexical and the phrasal level. Table (3) reviews the number of lexical and phrasal bilingual CPs in the entire corpus:

Table 3: Lexical and phrasal English elements

Type	Number
Total monolingual and bilingual CPs	13,535
Total CPs with En. elements	1043 (7.7% of total CPs)
Total En. elements:	1088 (8% of total CPs)
En. Lexical elements	953 (88% of En. elements)
En. Phrasal elements	135 (12% of En. elements)

The figures in this Table indicate that almost 8% of a total 13,535 complementizer phrases contain at least one English element, whether lexical or phrasal. Some CPs contain more than one English element; therefore, the total number of English elements (1088) is more than the number of CPs which contain English elements (1043). English lexical elements constitute 88%, while

phrasal elements form 12% of a total 1088 inserted English elements. I will be discussing the pattern of lexical insertions only.

4.3.1. General description of lexical insertions

In the present study, most of English lexical elements inserted in the Persian CPs are a noun, an adjective, or a bare infinitive (infinitive without 'to'). Table (4) gives a detailed review of the number of English single words inserted in Persian frames:

Table 4: English single words in Persian frames

Type	Number	%
Nouns	650	68
Adjectives	128	13.5
Bare infinitives	89	9.5
Verb/nouns	62	6.5
Adverbs	23	2.5
Prepositions	1	.1 (~0)
Total	953	100

As shown in this Table, English nouns form the majority of embedded lexical elements found in the corpus, that is, 68% of a total 953 English lexical elements are nouns. This is compatible with the findings of Smith (2002), Gardner-Chloros (1995), Köppe and Meisel (1995), Myers-Scotton (1993), and Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1990), who also found that lexical insertions tend to be nouns.

After nouns, adjectives are the most frequently occurring CS elements, and form 13.5% of lexical insertions. Bare infinitives only form 9.5% of the total number of lexical CS elements and occur primarily in light verb constructions

(LVC). There was only one case in which the preposition ‘according to’ was inserted in a Persian CP.

Overall, the analysis of the data showed that different types of English elements (e.g., noun, adjective, infinitive, verb/noun, adverb, and preposition) may be inserted in Persian morphosyntactic frames. Example (9) shows a bilingual Persian/English CP which contains an English single noun:

- 9)
- | | | | |
|---------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| čon | tool | be-šoon | ne-mi-d-and |
| because | | to-CLI.Pro.3PI | NEG-HAB-give-3PI |
- ‘Because they are not given the tools.’

Example (10) contains an English adjective:

- 10)
- | |
|-----------------|
| unique-e |
| -COP.3Sg |
- ‘(It) is unique.’

Example (11) contains an English bare infinitive:

- 11)
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| attract-eš | ne-mi-kon-i |
| -CLI.Pro.3Sg | NEG-HAB-do-2Sg |
- ‘You won’t attract it.’

Example (12) contains an English verb/noun⁷:

- 12)
- | | | | |
|------|------|----------------|---------|
| vâse | či | stop-et | kard-am |
| for | what | -CLI.Pro.2Sg | did-1Sg |
- ‘Why did I stop you?’

Example (13) contains an English adverb:

⁷ A verb/noun is a word which could be interpreted either as a verb or a noun. I consulted the Oxford dictionary (Hornby, 1987) in order to determine this classification.

- 13) az garden be paeen falaj mi-š-and **completely**
 from neck to down paralyzed HAB-become-3PI
 ‘They become paralyzed completely from the neck downwards.’

Finally, example (14) contains an English preposition:

- 14) dâšt-am sad-o-dah-tâ mi-raft-am **according to**
 (was+ing)-1Sg hundred-and-ten-CLS HAB-went-1Sg

 oon čiz lazer-eš-o-inâ
 that thing lazer-CLI.Pro.3Sg-and-else
 ‘I was going (driving) at one hundred and ten according to his/her...lazer or
 whatever.’

The embedded English elements (excluding verbs) share the property that they occur in the same slot where their Persian equivalents would occur even though English syntax and Persian syntax are different in many respects. English is an SVO language, while Persian is a verb-final language (SOV), i.e., the verb always occurs at the end in an unmarked structure. In an English structure, the object occurs to the right of the verb as its complement, while in Persian it precedes the verb. As scrambling is one of the characteristics of Persian, it is possible to move the elements (e.g., the verb) of a given sentence to different locations as, for example, topic or focus. Contrary to English nouns, Persian nouns are not marked for plurality when they follow a numeral. For example, a Persian equivalent for English ‘three books’ is ‘se ketab’ which means ‘three book’. Another difference between Persian and English is seen when a noun is modified by an adjective. Contrary to English in which an adjective precedes a noun, Persian has noun-adjective order when the adjective is either a simple or a comparative adjective.

Differences in word order, verbal system, and noun modifications, are only a few of many differences between Persian and English syntax. Despite all these differences, the insertion of various English elements in Persian frames does not result in ungrammatical sentences. For example, English adjectives may modify Persian nouns⁸, or English nouns may occur and replace the subject or object of the sentence.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide a detailed description of the various ways in which the English lexical items can be embedded into the Persian frames, and discuss pertinent aspects of the CS patterns. Section 4.3.2 focuses on the insertion of English nouns and adjectives, and section 4.3.3 pays attention to bilingual Persian/English light verb constructions. The theoretical implications of the findings of this study will also be presented in the next chapter, i.e., chapter 5.

4.3.2. Nominals

Nouns and adjectives are two of the most frequent English elements in bilingual Persian/English CPs. English nouns may occur either as a single noun or as a compound noun. Table (5) compares the number of single nouns with the number of compound nouns:

⁸ The word order, as Myers-Scotton (2002) suggests, is determined by the ML, which is Persian in these examples.

Table 5: The number of single nouns and compound nouns

Type	Number	%
Single nouns	601	92.5
Compound nouns	49	7.5
Total	650	100

As the Table shows, single nouns form 92.5% of a total 650 English nouns, while compound nouns constitute 7.5% of the total number of English nouns which occurred in Persian/English CPs.

The inserted English nouns and adjectives either are affixed by Persian markers or occur without any marker depending on the requirements of Persian grammar. The following examples illustrate the contexts in which English nouns may occur within bilingual Persian/English CPs. In example (15), the English noun ‘muscle’ replaces a Persian noun and receives two markers: a plural marker (*â*) and a clitic pronoun (*š*)⁹:

15)

asar gozâšt-e bood-e roo **muscle-â-š**
 effect put-PP was-PP on -PL-CLI.Pro.3Sg
 ‘It has had an effect on his/her muscles.’

In example (16), an English noun is affixed with a clitic pronoun, the suffix *-eš*, which is attached to it as a possessive pronoun:

16)

az jelo **office-eš** rad mi-shod
 from front -CLI.Pro.3Sg pass HAB-became.3Sg
 ‘(S/he-it) passed his/her office.’

⁹ In spoken Persian, the plural marker *hâ* is realized as *â*. Also, the clitic pronoun here acts as a possessive pronoun.

Example (17) illustrates that an English noun may also take a Persian bound copula morpheme *-e*:

17)
in ye **change-e**
this a -COP.3Sg
'This is a change.'

In example (18), an English noun is linked to its Persian adjective through the Persian *e-Ezâfe*¹⁰:

18)
vali hattâ too ye **conversation-e** sâde ham hast
but even in a -Ez simple too is/exist
'But it even exists in a simple conversation too.'

Example (19) shows that an English noun may take the object position in a Persian frame and receive the object marker *o*¹¹. Note that the object is not in a canonical English position. It has occurred where a Persian object would occur, i.e., before the verb:

19)
in **fact-o** qabool kard
this -OBJ accept did.3Sg
'S/he-it accepted this fact.'

Examples (20), (21), and (22) illustrate that an English noun may be affixed with *-i* which indicates 'indefiniteness' in some contexts, 'relevance' in other contexts, and 'descriptiveness' when the noun is followed by *ke* (that/ which/ who/ whom):

¹⁰ *Ezâfe* is a link between a Persian noun and its modifying element.

¹¹ In spoken Persian, the object marker *râ* is realized as *ro/o*.

20) hâlâ barâye **beginner-i** mesl-e man šomâ
 now for -Indef. like-Ez I you

 kodoom-e in do-tâ râh-o mi-g-in
 which-Ez this two-CLS way-OBJ HAB-say-2PI

‘Now, which of these two ways would you recommend for a beginner like me?’

21) ye mohr-e **deport-i** mi-zan-and
 one stamp-Ez -REL HAB-hit-3PI

‘They put a deportation stamp.’

22) tanhâ **problem-i** ke bood
 only -DES that was

‘The only problem which was there...’

In Persian, it is possible to use the suffix *-e* in order to make a noun definite.

Example (23) shows that this suffix may be used in a CS context too:

23) **officer-e** xod-eš oomad
 -Def. self-CLI.Pro.3Sg came.3Sg

‘The officer himself came.’

English single nouns may be inserted without any Persian marker if Persian syntactic and morphosyntactic rules are not violated. Example (24), which is followed by its monolingual Persian equivalent, illustrates the point.

24) in-o be **judge** be-goo
 this-OBJ to IMP-tell

‘Tell this to the judge.’

25) in-o be ghâzi be-goo
 this-OBJ to judge IMP-tell

‘Tell this to the judge.’

Table 6: English nouns with and without Persian markers

Type	With Pr. markers	Without Pr. markers	Double marking	Total
En. single nouns	250 (41.6% of SN)	351 (58.4% of SN)	0	601 (100%)
En. compound nouns	19 (38.8% of CN)	30 (61.2% of CN)	0	49 (100%)
Total	269	381	0	650

The figures show that almost 42% (250 out of 601) of English single nouns and 39% (19 out of 49) of English compound nouns receive a Persian morphological marker. Table (7) gives a detailed overview of the occurrence of Persian markers with English single nouns:

Table 7: English single nouns with Persian markers

Type	Number	%
En. nouns with Pr. pronominal clitics	67	26.8
En. nouns with Pr. bound copula morpheme	49	19.6
En. nouns with Pr. <i>Ezâfe</i>	48	19.2
En. nouns with Pr. plural marker <i>hâ</i>	37	14.8
En. nouns with Pr. object marker <i>râ</i>	24	9.6
En. nouns with Pr. suffix <i>-i</i> (indicating indefiniteness)	9	3.6
En. nouns with Pr. suffix <i>-i</i> (indicating relevance)	6	2.4
En. nouns with Pr. suffix <i>-i</i> (indicating descriptiveness)	5	2
En. nouns with Pr. suffix <i>-e</i> (indicating definiteness)	5	2
Total	250	100

The figures in this table illustrate that pronominal clitics are the most frequent type of Persian markers that combine with an English single noun (27%). The bound copula morphemes and *Ezâfe* occur in 20% and 19% of codeswitching

CPs respectively. The next most frequent Persian marker is the plural marker *hâ*, which occurs in 15% of cases.

Overall, among different categories of words English nouns are the most frequent elements in bilingual Persian/English CPs. This is compatible with the patterns found in other CS studies (e.g., Naseh, 2002; Bolle, 1994).

Adjectives are the second most frequent English elements in Persian/English conversations. Although the order of noun-adjective is different in Persian and English, it is possible to insert an English adjective in a Persian frame. Embedded English adjectives behave similarly to Persian adjectives in monolingual contexts. They occupy the same syntactic slot that Persian adjectives occupy, i.e., after the noun if they are either simple or comparative adjectives. They also may or may not occur with Persian morphological markers. The insertion of English adjectives never violates the syntactic principles of Persian. In example (28), an English adjective receives the Persian comparative marker *-tar*:

28) mâ che-qadr **nice-tar-im**
 we what-size -COMPR-COP.1PI
 'How nicer we are!'

In example (29), the English adjective receives the Persian superlative marker *-tarin*:

29) be nazar-e man **unique-tarin** jâ-ye donyâ-st
 to opinion-Ez I -SUPRL place-Ez world-is
 'In my opinion, it's the most unique place in the world.'

Example (30) shows that an inserted English adjective may be affixed with a Persian bound copula morpheme *-and*:

30) kas-â-i ke **powerful-and**
 person-PL-DES that -COP.3PI
 'Those who are powerful...'

In example (31), the English adjective, similarly to a Persian adjective, does not receive any marker:

31) xeili **under-funded** bood
 very was
 'It was very under-funded.'

Table (8) reviews the number of English adjectives that have occurred with or without a Persian marker in the present data:

Table 8: English adjectives with/without Persian markers

Type	With Pr. markers	Without Pr. markers	Double marking	Total
En. adjectives	48 (37.5%)	80 (62.5%)	0	128 (100%)

As the figures show, 37.5% of English adjectives are affixed with Persian morphological markers. Table (9) gives a detailed review of the Persian markers that combine with inserted English adjectives in the present corpus:

Table 9: English adjectives with Persian markers

Type	Number	%
En. simple adjective + Pr. bound copula morpheme	43	89.6
En. simple adjective + Pr. comparative marker	3	6.2
En. simple adjective + Pr. comparative marker + Pr. bound copula morpheme	1	2.1
En. simple adjective + Pr. superlative marker	1	2.1
Total	48	100

The figures illustrate that Persian bound copula morphemes form 90% of a total 48 Persian markers that combine directly with English adjectives. The Persian comparative marker *-tar* and superlative marker *-tarin* constitute 6% and 2% of the total number of these markers respectively. There was also one example in which a Persian bound copula morpheme was attached to an English adjective which had already received a Persian comparative marker.

As we have seen, the embedded English elements into Persian frames are not only syntactically, but also morphologically integrated in Persian, and follow the grammatical principles of this language. Naseh (2002, p: 100), working on Persian/Swedish conversations of Iranians living in Sweden, also has found a similar pattern. She states that “a Swedish constituent (a lexical item (e.g., a noun) or a phrase (e.g., a prepositional phrase)) may receive all the required morphological markers or may be inserted in Persian without any such markers if Persian requires so.” Neither in Naseh’s (2002) study, as she admits; nor in the present study, was there a case of an embedded noun or adjective which lacks the required Persian marker (a ‘bare form’ in terms of Myers-Scotton 2002). The implications of such integration are discussed in chapter 5.

4.3.3. Light verb constructions

The pattern of insertion for verbal elements merits a separate discussion. The analysis of CS in this study shows that there are no instances of English finite verb insertion into the Persian frame. This finding is compatible with findings of other studies in the CS literature (e.g., Bhatia & Ritchie, 1996). Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 76) seeks the reason of fewer occurrences of verbs, compared to nouns, in the congruity or lack of congruity between the two grammars involved in CS. She states that verbs are more difficult to insert from an Embedded Language because “unlike nouns – they are [+ thematic role assigner] and therefore carry more ‘syntactic baggage’ than nouns, meaning their fit with the recipient language may be harder to make”. She remarks that “*sufficient congruence* across grammatical systems in different languages is more an issue with verbs than nouns”.

However, there is one way to insert an English verb in a Persian structure and it is through complex verbs or light verb constructions. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 135) states that, LVCs occur in many languages of the world irrespective of their typological or geographical characteristics. She writes:

It occurs when the Matrix Language is an agglutinating language such as Turkish (Backus 1992, 1996, Türker 2000) or Chicheŵa (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1999), as well as when it is Japanese (Azuma 2001). South Indian agglutinating Dravidian languages also use the construction (Annamalai 1989). It also occurs with more fusional languages as the Matrix Language, such as the North Indian languages (Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan 1990, Romaine 1995) as well as with such mixed isolating-inflectional languages as Acholi/Lango (Myers-Scotton and Bernsten 1995) or inflectional languages such as Hausa (Bickmore 1985).

To the above list Edwards and Gardner-Chloros (2007) add combinations like Malay/Dutch (Muysken, 2000); Greek/American (Maniakas, 1991; Seaman, 1972); Greek/Australian (Tamis, 1986); Warlpiri/English (Bavin & Shopen, 1985); Japanese/English (Stanlaw, 1982); and German/Hungarian (Moravcsik, 1975).

Light verb constructions, as was mentioned earlier, are composed of a verbal and a preverbal part. These constructions are also prevalent in Persian monolingual contexts. Example (32) shows a monolingual LVC:

32) dâr-i be-š **fekr** **mi-kon-i**
 (are+ing)-2Sg to-CLI.Pro.3Sg thought HAB-do-2Sg
 'You're thinking about him/her/it.'

In Persian/English contexts, an English element such as a noun, an adjective, a verb, a verb+particle, or a verb/noun may occur in Persian LVCs. In fact, the only way for an English verb to occur in a Persian frame is through light verb constructions. In a Persian/English light verb construction, the light verb that carries the information on tense, aspect, and agreement comes from the Matrix Language (Persian), while the preverbal part comes from the Embedded Language (English) and may carry a clitic pronoun. Example (33) is a bilingual light verb construction consisting of an English noun and a Persian light verb:

33) man alân ye **responsibility-â-ye** dige **dâr-am**
 I now a -PL-Ez other have-1Sg
 'I have a number of other responsibilities now.'

In example (34), the light verb construction contains an English adjective plus a Persian light verb:

- 34)
 aslan **disappointed** **šod-am**
 totally became-1Sg
 'I became totally disappointed.'

Example (35) shows a LVC with an English verb as the preverbal element and a Persian light verb:

- 35)
 to **miss** **kard-e-i** Iran-o
 you did-PP-2Sg Iran-OBJ
 'Have you missed Iran?'

Example (36) contains an English verb+particle and a Persian light verb:

- 36)
 man tâ hâlâ **pull-over** **na-shod-e-am**
 I till now NEG-became-PP-1Sg
 'I've not been told to pull over so far.'

Example (37) contains an English verb/noun plus a Persian light verb:

- 37)
 vâse ĉi **stop-et** kard-am
 for what -CLI.Pro.2Sg did-1Sg
 'Why did I stop you?'

As we see from the above examples, not only English nouns and adjectives, but also English verbs may be inserted in Persian CPs through light verb constructions.

In the present study, there were 186 Persian/English light verb constructions, i.e., 17% of a total 1088 embedded English elements. In all examples, a Persian light verb combines with an English element to form a LVC. Table (10) gives a review of the distribution of different English elements which may combine with a Persian light verb to form a LVC:

Table 10: LVCs with English preverbal elements

Type	Number	%
En. bare infinitive + Pr. light verb	77	41.4
En. verb/noun + Pr. light verb	62	33.3
En. noun + Pr. light verb	27	14.5
En. verb & particle + Pr. light verb	12	6.5
En. adjective + Pr. light verb	8	4.3
Total	186	100

As the figures in the above Table suggest, the most frequent English element in Persian/English LVCs is 'bare infinitive'. From a total number of 186 light verb constructions, 41% contain a bare infinitive as the preverbal part and a Persian light verb as the verbal part. As was mentioned before, the verbal part of a bilingual LVC is always a Persian light verb, which may be selected from a range of simple verbs. Table (11) gives a detailed review of different Persian light verbs which combine with an English element to form a LVC:

Table 11: LVCs with Persian light verbs

Type	Number	%
En. element + <i>kardan</i> 'to do'	141	75.8
En. element + <i>šodan</i> 'to become	19	10.2
En. element + <i>gereftan</i> 'to take/to catch'	11	6.0
En. element + <i>dâdan</i> 'to give'	6	3.2
En. element + <i>dâštan</i> 'to have'	5	2.7
En. element + <i>kešidan</i> 'to draw/ to pull)	3	1.6
En. element + <i>zadan</i> 'to hit'	1	.5
Total	186	100

As the figures in the above Table suggest, the most frequent light verb in light verb constructions is *kardan* 'to do'. From a total number of 186 light verb

constructions, 76% contain an English element as the preverbal part and an inflected form of *kardan* 'to do' as the verbal part.

As was mentioned in chapter 2, LVCs are also prevalent in monolingual Persian. A comparison between bilingual LVCs and their Persian monolingual equivalents reveals an intriguing change. In most cases, the light verb in a bilingual Persian/English LVC is an equivalent of the light verb in its monolingual Persian counterpart. Example (38) contains a Persian/English light verb construction:

38)
be kas-i **rely** **na-kon**
to person-Indef. NEG-do
'Don't rely on anybody!'

Example (39) is a monolingual Persian equivalent for the above example:

39)
be kas-i **e'temâd** **na-kon**
to person-Indef. rely NEG-do
'Don't rely on anybody!'

As shown, in the above two examples the light verbs are the same. However, in some cases the light verb in the bilingual Persian/English LVC is not the same as the light verb in the monolingual Persian LVC. In such cases, there is a tendency in bilingual LVCs to have an inflected form of *kardan* 'to do' instead of any other light verb, that is, the bilingual LVC contains a 'to do' verb while the Persian counterpart contains a different light verb. Examples (40) to (49) show some of the cases where an inflected form of *kardan* (to do) is used for *šodan* (to become), *bordan* (to take), *dâdan* (to give), *dâštan* (to have), or *zadan* (to hit).

For example, in (40), the light verb *kard-e* (has done) is used for *šod-e* (has become). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*deltang-et šod-e*':

40)

<i>miss-et</i>		<i>kard-e</i>		aziz-am
-CLI.Pro.2Sg		did.3Sg-PP		dear-CLI.Pro.1PI

'S/he has missed you, my dear.'

In example (41), the light verb *mi-kard-im* (we did) is used for *mi-šod-im* (we became). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*šarik mi-šod-im*':

41)

ba'd	mâ	<i>share</i>	<i>mi-kard-im</i>	dige
then	we		HAB-did-1PI	(asking confirmation)

'Then we shared (it). Right?'

In example (42), the light verb *mi-kon-am* (I do) is used for *mi-bar-am* (I take). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*lezzat mi-bar-am*':

42)

man	ziyâdi	<i>enjoy</i>	<i>mi-kon-am</i>
I	too much		HAB-do-1Sg

'I enjoy (it) too much.'

In example (43), the light verb *kard-and* (they did) is used for *dâd-and* (they gave). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*tarfi' dâd-and*':

43)

secreter-ešoon-o		<i>promote</i>	<i>kard-and</i>	na	man-o
secretary-CLI.Pro.3PI-OBJ			did-3PI	no	I-OBJ

'They promoted their secretary, not me.'

In example (44), the light verb *mi-kon-am* (I do) is used for *dâr-am* (I have). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*entezar dar-am*':

44) ke **expect** *mi-kon-am*
 that HAB-do-1SG
 ‘...that I expect (it).’

In example (45), the light verb *kon-e* (s/he-it does) is used for *be-gir-e* (s/he-it takes). The equivalent Persian LVC would be ‘*tasmim be-gir-e*’:

45) ne-mi-toon-e **decide** *kon-e*
 NEG-HAB-can-3Sg do-3Sg
 ‘S/he can’t make a decision.’

In example (46), the light verb *mi-kon-am* (I do) is used for *mi-d-am* (I give). The equivalent Persian LVC would be ‘*tašxis mi-d-am*’:

46) man dâr-am **realize** *mi-kon-am* ke
 I (am+ing) HAB-do-1Sg
 ‘I’m just realizing that...’

In example (47), the light verb *kon-e* (s/he-it does) is used for *be-zan-e* (s/he-it hits)¹². The equivalent Persian LVC would be ‘*âsib be-zan-e*’:

47) âre oon-â-ro **damage** ke *kon-e*
 yea that-PL-OBJ when do-3Sg
 ‘Yea, when it damages them...’

In example (48), the light verb *kard-am* (I did) is used for *šod-am* (I became). The equivalent Persian LVC would be ‘*rad šod-am*’:

48) **fail** *kard-am*-o-inâ
 did-1Sg-and-else
 ‘I failed or whatever.’

¹² Note that the concept of this verb differs from ‘*xarâb-kardan*’, which means ‘destroy-to do’.

Finally, in example (49), the light verb *kard-am* (I did) is used for *šod-am* (I became). The equivalent Persian LVC would be '*qabool šod-am*':

49) ke man hame-ro *pass* *kard-am*
 that I all-OBJ did-1Sg
 '...that I passed (them) all.'

As is shown, there are many examples of bilingual light verb constructions in which an inflected form of *kardan* (to do) is used for a different Persian light verb. However, not even one opposite example was found in the data, i.e., there was not any case in the CS data in which a different light verb is used for monolingual Persian light verb *kardan* (to do).

As a summary, in the present data, English finite verbs do not occur in Persian frames. However, it is possible for an English verb, verb/noun, or verb+particle to contribute as part of a bilingual Persian/English light verb construction. In all cases, the light verb is Persian and carries the information for person, number, and tense. This light verb either is the same as the monolingual Persian light verb, or is not semantically equivalent of the light verb which would occur in a monolingual context. In the latter case, an inflected form of *kardan* (to do) is used. In the next chapter (chapter 5), I will discuss some of the theoretical implications of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings of this study. Now that the characteristics of codeswitching in Persian/English conversations are described in full detail, I turn my attention to the question of possible impact that typological differences between Persian and English may have had on the CS patterns. This issue as well as the compatibility or incompatibility of our findings with some of the constraints and models proposed in the CS literature are discussed in section 5.1. The next section (section 5.2) pays particular attention to ‘do constructions’ as the most frequently occurring light verb constructions in the data. Section 5.3 returns to my arguments for considering borrowing and codeswitching as a continuum. Finally, section 5.4 is a review of the effect of age on the CS patterns.

5.1. Codeswitching between typologically different languages

One of the questions raised by this study was whether codeswitching between Persian and English as two typologically different languages is possible, and if it is, what possible impact this dissimilarity would have on the CS patterns. Persian and English have different word orders, phrase structure rules, and verbal systems. According to Woolford’s (1983) Phrase Structure Congruence Model, codeswitching occurs where two languages share common phrase structure rules, and is prohibited where the PS rules or word orders are different. Poplack (1980) also proposes the Linear Equivalence Constraint according to

which codeswitching is possible only if there is a linear equivalence in the surface structure of the two languages at the point of the switch. She expresses her hypothesis as follows:

Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map on to each other. (Poplack, 1980, p: 586)

Our findings in this study, however, are not compatible with what these hypotheses suggest. The above-mentioned constraints may account well for codeswitching between languages with fairly similar grammars (e.g., Spanish and English), but fail to account for codeswitching between languages that have different grammars, as is the case for Persian and English. As we saw in chapter 4, despite all the differences between the grammars of Persian and English, codeswitching occurs between these two languages at various points. English nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and even verbs (through light verb constructions) can be inserted into Persian frames. Codeswitching between a noun and its modifying adjective is also possible even though Persian has a N-Adj order, and English has an Adj-N order. Also, there are many codeswitching instances in our data between a verb and its object complement, while Persian and English differ with respect to the position of verb and object. An English object usually follows the verb as its complement, while a Persian object precedes the verb. Example (1) illustrates the point. The object (*ticket*) precedes the verb *gereftam*:

- 1)
- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|
| ye | ticket | gereft-am |
| one | | got-1Sg |
| 'I got one ticket.' | | |

The Linear Equivalence Constraint predicts that codeswitching between Persian and English is blocked where the surface structures of the two languages do not map on to each other, but as seen above, our data provide many counterexamples to this hypothesis.

Codeswitching between a verb and its object complement is also problematic for the theories which are based on a Government and Binding approach, and attempt to explain CS patterns on the basis of the relationship between a governing and a governed element. DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986), for example, propose that CS is prohibited between a governing and a governed element unless there is an intervening factor (e.g., a determiner) between the two elements to act as a neutralizing factor (Language Index Carrier = L_q - Carrier). According to this hypothesis, it is expected that there should be no switch between a Persian verb and its complement, while there are many such examples of codeswitching between verbs and their complements in this study. Some examples contain the Persian object marker (*râ/ro/o*) which may play the role of a Language Index Carrier, while in other examples (e.g., example (1) mentioned above) codeswitching between a verb and its object occurs in the absence of such an element. Therefore, the existence or non-existence of a Language Index Carrier proves not to be a deciding factor for switchability between a verb and its object complement.

In this study, there are also many counterexamples to the Free Morpheme Constraint proposed by Poplack (1980, 1981). According to this hypothesis,

switching between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme of different languages is prohibited, while, as we saw in chapter 4, there are many examples in which Persian bound morphemes (e.g., copula morpheme, plural marker, e-Ezâfe, indefinite marker, comparative adjective marker, clitics, to name a few) are attached to English nouns or adjectives.

On the other hand, it seems that the findings of this study tend to support the proposals of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model. The model is based on the asymmetry and distinction between the more dominant language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) in a CS situation. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 15) states that "the participating languages in codeswitching do not contribute equally." She proposes that the Matrix Language dictates the surface word order as well as the morphosyntactic structure of the CS sentences. The EL elements may be inserted into the ML frames as lexical insertions, or as islands, which she defines as "full constituents consisting only of Embedded Language morphemes occurring in a bilingual CP that is otherwise framed by the Matrix Language" (ibid., p: 139). The unit of analysis, as the definition suggests, is CP (maximal projection of complementizer), rather than sentence. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 53) refers to CP as "the best unit of analysis for examination of any contact phenomena". She also defines a bilingual CP as a mixed CP which contains an ML + EL constituent. Myers-Scotton (Myers-Scotton, 1997, 1999; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000) also proposes the 4-M model, which is in fact a sub-model of the MLF. The 4-M model is based on the assumption that there are different types of morphemes at the abstract level of linguistic competence and production. All the

morphemes are broken down into two types, content and system morphemes, which in turn are divided into early system morphemes, and two types of late system morphemes, bridges and outsiders. All of these morphemes, according to Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 73), can be distinguished from each other by using a binary evaluation of the following features:

[+/- conceptually activated]

[+/- thematic role receiver/assigner]

[+/- looks outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form]

All nouns and most verbs, for example, are content morphemes because they are either thematic role assigners or receivers. All of determiners, articles, and possessive adjectives are early system morphemes because “they appear in the same surface-level maximal projections as their heads, and they depend on their heads for information about their forms” (Ibid., p: 75). Possessive *of* and *'s* (and their counterparts in other languages) are examples of bridge late system morphemes. These morphemes refer to their own maximal projection for the information about their forms. In contrast, outsider late system morphemes look outside their immediate maximal projection for information about their forms. Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 76) categorizes clitics/affixes, subject-verb agreement, and case affixes under this type of morphemes. Myers-Scotton predicts that outsider late system morphemes always come from the Matrix Language.

As has been discussed already, there are many structural differences between Persian and English. Codeswitching is possible even when it leads to structural inequivalence and what guides the resolution of such ‘conflicts’ are the requirements of the Matrix Language, i.e., Persian. For example, the order

between a noun and its modifying adjective as well as the order of a verb and its object complement are determined by Persian grammar. Also, the embedded English nouns and adjectives receive Persian markers wherever it is required by Persian grammar. They may also occur without any marker only when Persian requires so.

The findings of this study also support Myers-Scotton's prediction about light verbs and copulas. According to the 4-M model, light verbs and copulas are system morphemes in that they do not assign thematic roles nor receive them. Therefore, in a CS situation, it is predicted that they are provided by the Matrix Language. The findings of this study support this prediction. As the analysis of the data in chapter 4 shows, both copula morphemes and light verbs are always in Persian. The inflectional affixes, whether verbal or nominal, which are considered as outsider late system morphemes are also provided by Persian. Content morphemes (e.g., nouns and adjectives), on the other hand, can freely be switched.

Although Myers-Scotton's MLF model makes correct predictions about languages in contact situations, some questions remain unanswered, or at least, they are not satisfactorily answered. For example, as we saw in this study, English nouns and adjectives are syntactically and morphologically integrated into Persian frames. English verbs are also content words; therefore, we expect them to occur in the same syntactic or morphosyntactic positions as Persian verbs do, which is contrary to the findings of this study. As we saw in the previous chapter, English finite verbs do not occur in Persian frames. They also

do not attach to Persian verbal inflectional morphemes. The only way for English verbs to occur in Persian frames is to combine with Persian light verbs and form bilingual light verb constructions. Jake and Myers-Scotton (1997a) refer to the incongruity between the tense/aspect systems of the participating languages in order to explain why light verb constructions are required as a compromise strategy, but they provide little evidence to support this claim. The incongruity between verbal systems of the participating languages may be an appropriate explanation for some CS situations. Kim, Pappas, and Rezaeian (2006, 2008), for example, show that light verb constructions are used in both Persian/English and Korean/English conversations where the verbal systems of Persian and Korean are not congruent with that of English. There are many examples of LVCs used in CS between congruent languages such as Greek/English (Seaman, 1972; Maniakas, 1991), Spanish/English (Poplack, 1987), Greek/Australian (Tamis, 1986), German/Hungarian (Moravcsik, 1975), Hungarian/English (Bolonyai, 2005), and others, even though these languages are congruent in so far as they have the same Verb-Object complement word orders. Therefore, the prevalence of light verb constructions in codeswitching still requires explanation, as Myers-Scotton (2002, p: 136) herself concedes.

Perhaps the answer to this issue can be found in recent proposals that rethink the 'canonical' structure of verbs. First, it should be noted that LVCs do not occur in bilingual situations only, but are also prevalent in monolingual contexts. Persian and Korean are just two of several languages that employ these constructions. In Persian, these constructions are so prevalent that some

linguists (e.g., Khanlari, 1973; Bateni, 1989) have suggested that light verb constructions have gradually replaced simple verbs. In fact, for most (if not all) of Persian finite verbs, there are equivalent Persian light verb constructions, as seen in Table (12). Bateni (1989) states that Persian compound verbs are so productive that have completely replaced the former morphological rules of simple verb formation in this language.

Table 12: Persian simple infinitives and their equivalent light verb constructions

Persian simple infinitives	Persian light verb constructions
geristan (to cry)	gerye kardan (crying-to do)
lâsidan (to flirt)	lâs zadan (flirting-to hit)
porsidan (to ask)	porseš kardan (asking-to do)
raqsidan (to dance)	raqs kardan (dancing-to do)
âgâhânidan (to inform)	âgâh kardan (informing-to do)
xaridan (to buy)	xaridâri kardan (buying-to do)
šenâxtan (to recognize)	šenâsâi kardan (recognition-to do)

In the work of Hale and Keyser (cf. 2002 and references therein), the proposal is made that, in fact, all verbs are structured like LVCs, but in some languages the light verb is left mostly unexpressed, while in others the opposite is true. Folli, Harley, and Karimi (2005) also adopt this view, proposing that the structure of English and Persian verbs are syntactically the same before Spell-out, as seen in Figures 1a and 1b:

1.a. “John cried.”
(structure of English verbs)

1.b. “Kimea cried.”
(Persian LVC before Spell-out)



In Kim, Pappas, and Rezaeian (2008), we suggest that if, indeed, all verbs are structured as LVCs, this would explain the prevalence of LVCs in CS situations. Since verbs tend to carry the morphological load of sentences, and since this tends to lead to incongruity between the ML and the EL, expressed LVCs are employed to facilitate the switch by separating content from function.

5.2. ‘Do constructions’ as the most prevalent LVC

Light verb constructions with an inflected form of ‘do’ constitute the most frequent (76% of a total 186) forms of LVCs in the present study. Also, as we saw in chapter 4, when an English verb is transferred to a bilingual Persian/English LVC, the light verb either remains the same as the monolingual equivalent of the LVC or changes to ‘do’. In other words, ‘do constructions’ are the first choice and the most readily accessible form for alien verbs to occur in Persian contexts. However, the question now is that ‘what are the characteristics of ‘do constructions’ which make them more prevalent than LVCs with other light verbs?’. Karimi (1997) investigates the event structure of Persian compositional complex verbs. She refers to Hale and Keyser (1993) and suggests that in a CV (compound verb) the type of a light verb should be compatible with the type of its nonverbal element. Table (13) summarizes her argument about the type of some light verbs as well as the type of the elements with which they can combine. Note

that transcriptions of Persian elements are modified to match the other examples of the present study:

Table 13: The event structure of Persian complex verbs

Light verb/ Type	Nonverbal element/ Type
dâštan 'to have'/ possession	Noun/ entity
boodan 'to be'/ state	Adjective/ state
šodan 'to become/ change of state: as an achievement verb	Adjective (or a noun which can be interpreted as an adjective)/ change of state
kardan 'to do'/ change of state: as an accomplishment verb as an achievement verb	Noun Adjective

Karimi (1997) argues that the verb *dâštan* (to have) denotes 'possession', which is congruent with the type of nouns, which is 'entity'. The type of *boodan* (to be) is 'state', and is compatible with the type of adjectives. She elaborates on the difference between *šodan* (to become) and *kardan* (to do), and posits that both *šodan* and *kardan* are transition verbs, expressions which find their meaning relative to their opposition. The difference, however, is that *šodan*, as an unaccusative verb, makes only a reference to a predicate opposition, so it belongs to a type called 'achievement'. On the other hand, *kardan*, as a causative verb, may involve in a predicate opposition as well as the activity that causes the change. Therefore, it can combine with an adjective as an achievement verb, and can combine with a noun as an accomplishment verb. Karimi adds to these characteristics of *kardan* the fact that it can be used as a psyche or experiencer verb depending on the nonverbal element that combines

with it. The following examples are repeated here from the original text (Karimi, 1997, pp: 293-4). Note that translation of *kardan* as ‘doing’ or ‘to do’, as Karimi suggests, does not have any bearing on the discussion:

a.	xarâb kardan	(destroyed doing)	‘to destroy’	Accomplishment
b.	peydâ kardan	(found doing)	‘to find’	Achievement
c.	xošhâl kardan	(happy doing)	‘to please’	Psyche verb
d.	fekr kardan	(thought doing)	‘to think’	Experiencer verb

From these explanations, it becomes clear that *kardan* (to do), as a light verb, has a set of characteristics that make it different from other types of light verbs, and provide it with the opportunity to combine with a wide range of elements, whether nouns or adjectives. This explains the prevalence and productivity of ‘do’ verbs in Persian, not only in monolingual but also in bilingual contexts. More interestingly, in some languages ‘do’ verbs are the only light verbs that can form light verb constructions.

5.3. Borrowing and codeswitching as a continuum

As was mentioned in chapter 2, there are two approaches to lexical insertions in a CS situation. One approach draws a line between borrowing and codeswitching, and considers lexical insertions as borrowings. The proponents of this approach argue that lexical insertions are syntactically, morphologically, and sometimes phonologically integrated into the host language. The second approach does not make a categorical distinction between borrowing and codeswitching, instead it considers them as different ends of the spectrum. This study followed the second approach believing that there is not a precise and

unified criterion to differentiate CS elements from borrowed forms. Two arguments are provided here to prove that syntactic or morphological integration, proposed by most of the proponents of the first approach, is an invalid criterion in determining which insertion is an example of codeswitching, and which insertion is an example of borrowing.

First, many examples in the present data suggest that, similar to English single words, English phrasal constituents are morphologically integrated in Persian frames. They may occur with or without Persian markers according to the requirements of Persian grammar. Example (2) illustrates the point. In this example, an English noun phrase receives Persian plural marker *â* and *Ezâfe(Ez)*:

2)

age	yek-i	az	best	friend-â-ye	xod-eš
if	one-Indef.	from		-PL-Ez	self-CLI.Pro.3Sg

šoroo	kon-e	hit	kardan	be Omid
start	do-3Sg		to do	to Omid

'If one of her/his own best friends starts hitting on Omid.'

In example (3), an English noun phrase is affixed with Persian clitic pronoun *-am* and Persian object marker *-o*.

3)

man	dirooz	international	driving license-am-o
I	yesterday		-CLI.Pro.1Sg-OBJ

gereft-am
took-1Sg

'I got my international driving license yesterday.'

In example (4), an English noun phrase is affixed with Persian *e-Ezâfe*:

- 4)
 man **cultural advisor-e** in-â-m
 I -Ez this-PL-COP.1Sg
 'I'm these (people)'s cultural advisor.'

English phrasal forms may occur without any marker in a Persian frame if Persian grammar requires so. Example (5) demonstrates an English NP without any marker:

- 5)
 âmâde-i barâ **oral presentation**
 ready-COP.2Sg for
 'You are ready for the oral presentation.'

A comparison between lexical and phrasal insertions shows that English single words (e.g., nouns and adjectives) behave similar to English phrasal constituents, and that both types of insertions are syntactically and morphologically integrated into Persian frames.

The insertion of English verbs into bilingual Persian/English light verb constructions provides another argument for the invalidity of syntactic and morphological integration as a criterion for distinguishing between borrowing and codeswitching. As we saw in chapter 4, English verbs, as examples of lexical insertions, occur in a position where Persian verbs do not occur. The preverbal part of monolingual light verb constructions can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a preposition, but never a verb. In a bilingual context, however, the monolingual nonverbal position is filled by an English verb. I also provided many examples in which English elements combine with Persian light verbs other than the ones which normally occur in Persian monolingual contexts. For example, I

showed that the English verb *promote* occurs with a Persian 'to do' verb instead of a 'to give' verb (section 4.3.3., example 43). Such examples show that English verbs, although lexical insertions in nature, are not totally integrated into Persian frames. Dako (2002, p: 49) also, working on Ghanaian English, states that "morphological integration is not an absolute in determining which is what. Both LB [lexical borrowing] and CS can show morphological integration or lack of it."

As a conclusion, this study agrees with Myers-Scotton (2002) in that all types of embedded elements are instances of a broader CS continuum and undergo similar codeswitching processes, whether they are lexical or phrasal level insertions.

5.4. Social factors affecting codeswitching

The effect of social factors on language in general and CS situations in particular have been the focus of a great number of studies. Many researchers have investigated the effect of age, gender, education, ethnicity, degree of acculturation, topic, interlocutors, setting, social class, community size, race, social networks, and economic standing on the language patterns of conversations. This study, as we saw in chapter 4, focuses on the effect of age and gender on the CS patterns. The findings of this study regarding the frequency of CS in the older and younger groups are not compatible with the findings of most of the existing studies. Most of CS studies report that younger bilinguals of a community tend to codeswitch more than the older members of the same community. This is not the pattern found in this study. As was shown, I did not find any significant difference for age groups regarding the number of CS

utterances. It shows that even though there are general patterns in CS from community to community, each community's circumstance is different, and that plays an important role. Various factors and the interaction among these factors are involved in CS situations and as Edwards and Gardner-Chloros (2007, p: 86) states, "with essentially the same linguistic material, different sociolinguistic factors may lead to very different outcomes."

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The main objective of this study has been to offer a sociolinguistic as well as linguistic description of codeswitching between Persian and English. The CS data used in this study were collected from voice-recordings of free-flowing conversations among 16 Iranian/Canadian bilinguals who have been living in Vancouver, Canada, for five to nine years. The participants were divided into four groups based on their age and sex, so that young adult men and women and middle-aged men and women were represented in the study. From the interviews, a corpus of 1,043 instances of intra-sentential (within the CP) codeswitching were extracted and analyzed, from both a sociolinguistic and a structural perspective. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the effect of age and gender on the frequency of occurrence of codeswitching was investigated. It was observed that neither age nor gender has a significant effect on codeswitching. Other studies in the CS literature, however, have found that age is a determining factor on the rate of codeswitching. The incompatibility of these findings may lie in the characteristics of Canadian community, the situation of Iranian community in Vancouver, participants' attitudes, social identities, and degree of acculturation.

From a linguistic perspective, the structural patterns found in the data were explained. The focus has been on lexical insertions in general, and light verb constructions in particular. It was found that, contrary to Phrase Structure

Congruence Model (Woolford, 1983) and Linear Equivalence Constraint (Poplack, 1980), codeswitching occurs between Persian and English at various points even though Persian and English are typologically different languages. In neither case, the insertion of a single element results in an ungrammatical sentence. However, the incongruity between the verbal systems of the two languages imposes some restrictions on CS at some points. For example, codeswitching does not occur for finite verbs. English verbs can occur in Persian frames only through light verb constructions. The light verb of these constructions always comes from Persian (the Matrix Language), and carries the required verbal inflectional morphemes. The preverbal parts can be taken from English (the Embedded Language), and can be a noun, adjective, noun/verb, verb+particle, and a bare infinitive. This study follows Kim, Pappas, and Rezaeian (2006, 2008), and proposes that the requirement of light verb constructions for the insertion of alien verbs into Persian frames may be taken as an evidence for considering LVCs as the underlying forms of Persian verbs. This proposal explains the prevalence of LVCs in Persian monolingual and bilingual contexts, and the fact that bilinguals use these structures, while there are other, morphological strategies for codeswitching.

In this study, it was also found that the verb 'do' (*kardan*) has a special place among Persian light verbs. First, the number of Persian 'do' verbs is more than that of the other light verbs in the data (76% of a total 186 light verbs). Secondly, in a bilingual Persian/English light verb construction, the Persian light verb either is an equivalent of light verb in Persian monolingual LVC, or is a

Persian 'do' verb. It was shown that, as Karimi (1997) suggests, the characteristics of Persian 'do' verbs allow them to act as achievement verbs, accomplishment verbs, psyche verbs, or experiencer verbs. This property provides 'do' verbs with the opportunity to combine with a wide range of elements from nouns to adjectives, and this is why the number of these verbs is more than that of the other forms of light verbs in our data.

The findings of this study also revealed that morphological and syntactic integration of the embedded elements is not a valid criterion in distinguishing between borrowing and codeswitching in bilingual Persian/English contexts. English nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are syntactically and morphologically integrated into Persian frames. As was shown, there is no difference in this regard between English lexical insertions and English phrasal insertions. Embedded phrasal elements also follow the syntactic and morphological rules of the Matrix Language, which is Persian. English verbs, on the other hand, occur as the preverbal parts of bilingual light verb constructions, a syntactic position which is not open to Persian verbs. They may also combine with light verbs ('do' verbs) which are not the same as the ones that normally occur in Persian monolingual contexts. In other words, English verbs, although single elements, alter the structures in which they occur. Therefore, this study does not consider morphosyntactic integration of the elements as a criterion to differentiate borrowing and codeswitching, and agrees with Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997, 2002) in considering these phenomena as two extremes of a single continuum.

However, due to the small number of participants, these conclusions can only be suggestive. Various cross-linguistic quantitative studies of CS situations are required to verify these suggestions. For further research, it is suggested that the study be conducted with a larger number of participants. Then it will be more practical to look for differences among the individuals regarding social class, political attitudes, and degree of acculturation. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it would be informative to investigate the effect of various social factors such as the length of residence, education, economic status, and neighborhood on the CS patterns. This study also suggests that the existence or non-existence of a correlation between the social factors be considered. Smith (2002), for example, have found a correlation between age and gender so that codeswitching patterns are different between older female speakers and younger female speakers, or between old male speakers and old female speakers. From a structural perspective, it is suggested to examine the contexts in which codeswitching between Persian and English is prohibited. For example, there is only one CP in the entire corpus which contains an embedded English preposition; or there is not even one CP which shows a codeswitching between NEG and its complement VP, between modal auxiliary and VP, or between a quantifier or number and its complement NP. The result of such an examination will show if the non-codeswitching elements belong to a certain category of words, for example function words, or if the rarity and infrequency of occurrence of some elements (e.g., prepositions) are only accidental.

APPENDIX

Group Discussion Questionnaire for Persian/English Conversations Fereshteh Rezaeian

A. Background Information

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. How old were you when moving to Canada?
5. How long have you been in Canada?
6. Have you ever lived in other countries? If yes, how long and where?
7. What is your occupation?
8. Which university or college are you attending? (if applicable)
9. Did you study English before coming to Canada? If yes, for how long?
10. Do you have any problem with speaking English?
11. Do you consider yourself to be fluent in speaking English?
12. How many percent of your friends are English speakers?
13. Approximately, how many hours a day are you in contact with English speakers?
14. Are you comfortable with using English words when talking in Persian? If not, why?
15. Do you feel annoyed when your friends use English words when talking in Persian? If yes, why?
16. Do you try to have a native-like accent when talking in English?
17. Do you often miss your country?

B. Narrative Elicitation

1. What has been the most difficult thing about adjusting to Canadian life?
2. How do you spend your free time?
3. To which community you consider yourself to belong? Iranian or Canadian? Why?

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