



Title: Language behaviour and the contributing factors towards it among the Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton

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LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR AND THE
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TOWARDS IT AMONG THE
GEORGIAN ETHNIC MINORITIES IN LUTON

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LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR AND THE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TOWARDS IT
AMONG THE GEORGIAN ETHNIC MINORITIES IN LUTON

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2017

Declaration of Authorship

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the Georgian language behaviour and contributing factors to this language behaviour among the Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton (UK).

Attention was paid to the following: language choice and code-switching as the language behaviour phenomena in bi-/multilingual context. Research into language behaviour explored age-related behaviour, attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language, social networks including closest and non-closest ties in the UK and outside the UK, and participants' perceptions of their identity (ethnicity). Forty-two individuals were approached to participate in this sociolinguistic and partly ethnographic study, employing mixed-methods approach conveyed in the questionnaire, interview and observation data collection formats.

The research results indicate consistent links between the language behaviour and contributing factors to the language behaviour – social networks, age, language maintenance and identity. It was found that language choices, as well as code-switching, depend on other factors too, such as their interlocutors, environment, activity, choice of topic, length of utterances, language fluency, which varied across the age groups, hence language choice and code-switching patterns. Language shift was found in a non-indigenous member of the Georgian community. Accommodation took place in the observed interactions whilst participants converged or diverged in their speech. Code-switching instances varied across the age groups with different speakers. It was found that they code-switch either intentionally or spontaneously. Various types of code-alterations were found in participants' speech, such as inter- and intra-sentential code-switching, and intra-word code-switching. The stronger networks participants had with Georgians, the more they used Georgian. It was evident that participants try to maintain Georgian and preserve their identity through their language, culture and networks and vice versa- maintain their identity and social networks through their language.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Georgian ethnic minority community

Georgian language behaviour and contributing factors towards the language behaviour among the Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton are being researched in this study. Georgians originate from Georgia (საქართველო /Sak'art'velo/), a small country (4m.497.6 population, according to the National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2012) with an ancient cultural heritage, history and language with one of the few unique writings in the whole world. It is situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, with the neighbouring countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia and Turkey and is located along the Black Sea coastline to the West. Due to the political, social and economic changes, many citizens have migrated mainly to Europe and the USA in the past couple of decades. Britain has been one of the European countries that welcomed migrants from different parts of the former USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) from mid-90's, Georgians among them.

Luton, which is in the South-East part of England and where a small number of Georgian minorities took up residence, has a population of around 203,600 speaking over 100 different languages according to ONS' (Office for National Statistics, 2011), an estimate provided by the Luton Borough Council (2012). There is however hardly any demographic data on Georgian ethnic minorities in the UK, including that of Luton. The only official source of data providing scarce information on the Georgian population in the town is the National Insurance Register (2010) provided by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), and Crimes Data provided by the Luton Police. With the lack of information on demographics, despite an extensive evaluation in the literature on the language choice, code-switching and contributing factors to the language behaviour, there is a gap in the literature in that, not much is known about the Georgian language behaviour in the ethnic minority contexts, neither in the UK nor in

other parts of the world. This study aims to gain a better understanding of the Georgian language use by the ethnic minority group, Georgians, in this multi-cultural and multi-lingual town, Luton. It explores their language choices and code-switching (CS) (as language behaviour phenomena) and looks at various contributing factors towards their language behaviour, with emphases on social networks, age, their attitudes towards the Georgian language maintenance, and their perceptions of identity - ethnicity in this case. For the reasons of the researcher being a part of the Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton, the networks were easily identifiable and accessible, enabling her to gain deeper insights into the aforementioned issues.

1.2 Aims of the research

This study is motivated to a great extent by a) an existing gap in the literature on the abovementioned issues in the Georgian ethnic minority context, b) Luton being one of the most multi-lingual and multi-cultural towns in the UK and possibilities of its impact on language behaviour, and c) the fact that the researcher is a part of the community sharing the same language, similar national and cultural values.

The aim of this research study is to investigate and gain new insights into the Georgian language behaviours of the Georgian ethnic minorities living in Luton (England) with their interlocutors and other factors influencing their language behaviour. The study focusses on the use of the Georgian language and gives an insight into the inter-relationships between the language behaviour and these factors in Georgian minority context on a personal and community levels by providing sociolinguistic and partly ethnographic profiles. The research employs a mixed methods approach in order to address the following research questions:

- RQ1 - What are the language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities in different contexts?
- RQ2 - To what extent, and in what ways do the Georgians in Luton code-switch?
- RQ3 - What are the factors contributing towards the language behaviour (RQ1 and RQ2)?

- a. Does attitude towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour? If so, how?
- b. Does social network play any role in their language choice and code-switching? If so, how?
- c. Does participants' age have any impact on their language behaviour?
- a. Does their identity perception play any role in their language behaviour?

Whilst the analysis gathered through questionnaires and interviews will focus on the participants' attitudes and perceptions, for instance, towards their language behaviour, social networks and identity, observations will investigate their language behaviour in action, in real life situations and different contexts. The three datasets will help to compare and identify similarities and differences between the reported and the observed data, and to further analyse the relationships between the abovementioned factors contributing to the language behaviour (RQ3A-d) of the Georgian ethnic minority group in Luton, on both, the individual and inter-group levels, hence the advantage of the mixed-methods research approach.. The quantitative data, which consists of the information that can be quantified, is analysed by using Microsoft Excel. Thematic analysis is used to identify patterns in the qualitative data, which are then coded on structural, memos and thematic levels.

In terms of the Georgian minority group's language behaviour and the contributing factors outlined in RQ3 (a-d), this research draws on the insights from several areas of sociolinguistics and ethnography studies. These include the theoretical and methodological literature (Labov, 1966, 1972; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Giles 1991, Dragojevic et.al, 2015), studies concerned with issues originally raised in theoretical linguistics (Cook, 1993), studies on language behaviour (Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Walters, 2005; Nguyen and Cornips, 2016; Li Wei, 2017), studies on social networks (Gal, 1979; Wellman, 1979; Li Wei, 1994, Dumanig, 2010), studies on ethnography (Emerson et al, 1995; Brewer 2000), studies on personal identity and rapport management (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Spencer-Oatery, 2006; Potowski, 2013), studies highlighting age as one of the contributing factors in language behaviour (Labov , 1972; Li Wei, 1994;

Broeder and Extra, 1999; Yagmur & Akinici, 2003; McCann, & Giles, 2006; Dumanig, 2010).

1.3 Two stages of the study

The research was conducted in two main stages, the pilot study and the main study. All participating individuals were from Georgian background in both stages, who live in Luton. Participants were selected from different families and locations in town, mixed in terms of age, gender and ethnic origin. Nine individuals took part in the first stage and forty-two- in the second stage of the research, which, considering the approximate total number of Georgian population in Luton was proportionate. Taking a sociolinguistic approach in the pilot study research, instruments such as interview and questionnaires were employed for the data collection, whereas in the main study, for the reasons of gaining deeper insights into the research questions, the main study research took an ethnographic approach in orientation, in addition to sociolinguistic perspectives. That is, participants were observed over four months period of time, which this time included children under thirteen.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on language choice, code-switching, and the contributing factors to such language behaviour. Chapter 3 details the methodology, including the research approach and methods, tools for data collection, sampling and participants' profiles. Chapters 4-6 will attempt to address the research questions, providing the quantitative and qualitative data results and discussion in light of the literature presented in Chapter 2. More specifically, Chapter 4 will address Research Question 1 relating to language choice; Chapter 5 addresses Research Question 2 related to code-switching; Chapter 6 will present the results and discussion regarding Research Question 3, covering factors contributing towards the language behaviour (language maintenance, social networks, age and identity – ethnicity). Chapter 7 summarises the findings of this research, and

conclude this thesis with a discussion on the limitations and implications of the present study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As proposed in the introduction chapter, this study investigates language behaviour - language choice and code-switching. It also explores the contributing factors towards the language behaviour with the focusing on attitudes towards language maintenance, social networks, age and perceptions of identity (ethnicity). Extensive research has been undertaken in these areas of interest and this chapter provides a review of the existing literature, both theoretical and empirical in sociolinguistic and ethnographic contexts.

2.2 Language behaviour

This section will review the literature concerning language choice and code-switching with the relevant theories, but some definitions will be provided first.

Early, in 1921, Sapir defined language as a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires, which are expressed by voluntarily produced symbols. Later, in 1957, Chomsky regarded language as a set of sentences constructed out of a finite set of elements. More recent definitions by various authors include Goldstein (2008), according to whom, language is a system of communication where we use sounds or symbols, which enable us to express feelings, thoughts, ideas and experiences. Language is one of the most powerful emblems of social behaviour and it is interesting to realise how individuals may judge others' background or intentions based just on the language, their dialect or even a choice of a single word. The notion of sociolinguistics is that language use is the symbolic representation of social behaviour and interaction. Although this notion sounds simple, language reflecting behaviour is more complex and the relationship between language and society has an impact on interpersonal and broader relationships (LSA, 2012). Wardhaugh (2010) describes sociolinguistics as the act of investigation of the relationships between

the language and society for the purposes of better understanding of the language structure and how languages function in communication. In behaviourist theory, Skinner (1957) pioneered in describing language behaviour and how humans develop language. He suggested that like any other skill, language is acquired by reinforcing responses from the environment and it is an act of gaining language skills as a result of interacting with the environment. Individuals who speak more than one language are referred as multilingual. Multilingualism is “a phenomenon devoted to the study of production, processing, and comprehension of more than two languages, respectively” (Bhatia, 1997). Muysken (2004) suggests that different processes of contact-induced language change are related to the mixing patterns such as borrowing, shift, the genesis of a new language and convergence through bilingual contact. Brewer (2000, p.189) defines ethnography as “the study of people in naturally occurring settings or fields by methods of data collection which capture their ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally”. A sociolinguistic research may sometimes take an ethnographic approach in orientation, as defined in Bax (2006). That is, although a study may not be fully ethnographic, it can meet its criteria by being interpretive and qualitative, where significant events emerge and there is no claim to objectivity.

2.2.1 Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is concerned with the links between language, context, as well as identity, and it accounts for both - intergroup and interpersonal factors (Gallois & Giles, 1998). It was originally developed by Howard Giles (Giles, 1973) as speech accommodation theory (SAT), which has since then undergone some conceptual refinements (Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007; Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982, cited in Dragojevic, et.al, 2015) over the years and has also been elaborated on in many works, such as, by Coupland, Coupland, Giles & Henwood, 1988; Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005. According to CAT, individuals adjust their language strategies in order to identify themselves with a certain social group. In general, it proposes that when interacting, individuals adjust their speech style, including vocal patterns and gestures as a way of expressing their attitudes to the interlocutors and to accommodate to them (Giles et al, 1991). This is in the result of

their assessments of their interlocutor's communicative characteristics and additionally their desire to form and maintain a positive personal and social identity (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). These behaviours are exchanged between the conversational partners and their evaluations influence the nature of present and future according to Gasiorek and Giles.

Different types of speech behaviours are defined by this theory some of which initially were: convergence, divergence, maintenance and overaccommodation:

- Convergence - refers to speech behaviour when speakers adopt their interlocutors' language behaviour in order to be similar to them, such as in language, accent or length of utterance, pitch. This type of accommodative behaviour is regarded as contextually appropriate, which according to Giles (2008) signals camaraderie and respect.
- Divergence - refers to accentuating verbal and nonverbal differences with interlocutors, with the purpose to appear dissimilar. Dragojevic et.al (2015) give an example of Welsh participants from Bourhis and Giles (1977), who began to broaden their accents and emphasized on their language and identity, as well as distancing themselves from their English interviewer as soon as they came to know that Welsh was a dying language with a dismal future.
- Maintenance is when speakers would not adjust to others' language behaviour but would maintain their initial way of communication, "which is sustaining one's "default" way of communicating without adjusting for others" (Dragojevic, et al, 2015, p.4)
- Overaccommodation was initially defined as making too much effort to accommodate to the interlocutor's needs, but this type of accommodation had later been collaborated on.

More recently, Gasiorek and Giles (2012) attribute overaccommodation and underaccommodation to nonaccommodation. For example, patronising talk to older adults is given as an example for overaccommodation whereas using acronyms or jargons, which a listener may not understand without clarification is an example for underaccommodation defined as talk that is not sufficiently adjusted for the listener's

needs. A critical point of over- and underaccommodation phenomena appears to be inherently subjective, which happens to be “the recipients’ perception of a behaviour- not any objective quality of the behaviour itself- that determines whether or not it is considered over- or underaccommodative” (Gasiorel & Giles, 2012, p.311).

Adjustment in speech can be seen as *upward* (shifting to a more prestigious speech) or *downward* (shifting towards a less prestigious variety of speech), which may be either full or partial in nature. Caulmas (2005) states, that for bilingual speakers language choices are natural, automatic and unplanned. “Interactants may diverge from one another to varying degrees, ranging from partial to complete divergence (e.g., from code-switching of a few words to speaking an entirely different language” (Dragojevic, et. al. 2015, p.4). For instance, it is more likely for the salesperson to converge to the shoppers, rather than vice versa (asymmetrical case). Coupland (1984) investigated the phonological tape-recorded data in the travel agency in central Cardiff study (1984), where fifty-one native clients were recorded with an agency assistant. The recorded speech was spontaneous as the clients were not aware of being recorded until the encounter was over. Coupland found that the travel agent shifted her pronunciation to adjust to her client’s speech behaviour in accordance with their social class. Also while utilising “audience design” framework, Bell’s research in Auckland (1984) showed newsreaders’ accommodating their audience on two separate radio stations. These audiences ordinarily varied in their backgrounds, such as age, education and class. It was discovered that speech style of the newsreaders was shifted when responding to their listeners. In another example, whilst carrying out a research in New Zealand, Bell (2001) examined the accommodation aspect of communication between Maori and Pakeha (white) speakers, which exhibited that speakers shift of their style were determined by the interviewer’s ethnicity.

It is clear from the abovementioned studies that interlocutors and their background (e.g.: language, accent, class, identity) play the most important role during interactions. Speakers tend to accommodate them when taking turns and they tend to adjust their speech style and pattern, accent or pronunciation. Accommodation takes place even when speakers diverge from their interlocutors’ language behaviour. For instance, while

the travel agent shifted her pronunciation to adjust to her client's speech style (Coupland, 1984), Welsh participants began to broaden their accents to emphasise on their language and identity as soon as they were told that their language – Welsh was dying. They even tried to distance themselves from their English interviewer.

According to CAT, both, convergence and divergence can be unimodal or multimodal, which means either shifting only one dimension, such as an accent (unimodal) or several dimensions simultaneously (multimodal), such as posture, topic initiation, accent, etc. Besides, convergence and divergence do not necessarily exclude one-another but may occur at the same time in the same stretch of talk.

CAT (Coupland et al, 1988; Giles, 2016) lists four main accommodation strategies that can be identified during interactions:

- Approximation,
- Interpretability,
- Discourse management and
- Interpersonal control.

For example, speakers focusing on their interlocutor's language and communication, adjusting their verbal and non-verbal behaviour to either converge or diverge (approximation strategy). Speakers assessing their conversational partner's ability to comprehend what is being communicated, they would decide whether to use different vocabulary, simplify syntax or become louder (interpretability strategy). Speakers, who are concentrating on their interlocutor's macro-conversational needs, would offer speaking turns, select and share certain topics, which would interest both (discourse management strategy). Finally, if speakers are focusing on role relationship during the communication, they would use interruptions or honorifics to remind the interlocutors of their status or role (interpersonal control strategy). The listed strategies can be adopted by speakers simultaneously, just like convergence and divergence can occur on multiple dimensions at once. For instance, a speaker could simplify an explanation to

aid interpretability and remind a subordinate of his/her position and the goals speakers attend to may vary during the interaction (Coupland et al, 1988; Giles, 2016).

While Giles's (1973) initial theory of accommodation looks at convergence and divergence in short-term interactions, other studies have been focussing on both, short-term as well as long-term accommodation. In discussing accommodation between dialects and regional accents, Trudgill (1986) draws the distinction between the two by explaining that short-term accommodation may take place in a particular situation with a particular conversational partner, where linguistic adjustment is transitory. Whereas, when the accommodation takes place in the long-term, the adjustments become non-transitory despite the factors such as setting and interlocutor, for instance, minority groups (mobile) who adjust to the speakers (non-mobile) of the language spoken by the majority in the contact area. Trudgill brings examples of his own and British speakers' experiences of changes in their language behaviour, which occurred in a relatively unconscious way, such as in pronunciation, whilst living long-term in the United States. Trudgill points out his awareness of the possibility of being subjective in his own case, but he explains that his language behaviour was evaluated linguistically and his colleagues would also point out his "Americanisms" from time to time. Among other researchers on long-term accommodation, Hirano (2008) looked at native speakers' of English (NSE) in the Anglophone community of Japan, who according to Hirano, had frequent contact with other NSE from different parts of the world while they lived in Japan (39 participants in total). These individuals were exposed to the varieties of English spoken by the interlocutors they came across daily. Hirano investigated into the NSE's long-term accommodation towards these varieties of English. In her work, she demonstrated that linguistic modification can occur in a non-native English speaking country like Japan, depending on the frequency of the speaker to be in contact with a particular variety of English.

The literature above suggests that speakers have the capacity to assess their conversational partners' abilities and identify their needs in order to accommodate them accordingly. However, nonaccommodation may also take place during interactions when speakers over- or underaccommodate their interlocutors (Gasiorek and Giles,

2012). The distinction was made between short-term and long-term accommodation, where long-term accommodation can be investigated between the minority groups who adjust their speech behaviour to the non-mobile interlocutors who speak the native, dominant language. According to Trudgill (1986), such linguistic adjustment is non-transitory as opposed to short-term accommodation, where the adjustment is transitory. The current study investigates the Georgian minority group and their Georgian language behaviour. For this reason, attention will be paid to both, short-term and long-term accommodation that takes place in the settings where Georgian is spoken. Short-term accommodation will focus on the particular situations and with the particular interlocutors, whereas long-term accommodation will consider the patterned behaviour in participants' speech.

2.2.2 Language choice

The idea of language choice, especially concerning the choice of language to use by speakers, and community of speakers, of more than one language, cannot be meaningfully discussed without first understanding the sociolinguistic notion of a 'speech community'.

Several eminent sociolinguists have provided definitions of a 'speech community'.

- Within certain communities, successive utterances are alike or partly alike and any such community is a speech community (Bloomfield, 1926).
- Gumperz (1971, p.101) defines speech community as "a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by the frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication". It is "a system of organized diversity held together by common norms and aspirations. Members of such a community typically vary with respect to certain beliefs and other aspects of behaviour. Such variation, which seems irregular when observed at the level of the individual, nonetheless shows systematic regularities at the statistical level of social facts" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 24).
- According to Romaine (1994, p.22), "a speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are

essentially social rather than linguistic... A speech community is not necessarily co-extensive with a language community".

The concept of a speech community is central to the understanding of language and meaning-making as "it is the product of prolonged interaction among those who operate within shared belief and value systems regarding their own culture, society, and history as well as their communication with others" (Morgan, 2004, p.3). According to Morgan, the notion of speech community not only focuses on the communities sharing the same language but language also represents, constructs and constitutes purposeful partaking in a society and culture.

The notion of speech community has existed since the 1920's, however, it has been conceptualised from various perspectives over time. For example, Bloomfield (1933) considered a speech community as a group of people sharing the same set of speech signals - the description that was relevant to monolingualism, that is, one language in one state where society share the same background and experiences, such as culture, beliefs or history and most importantly the language. Bloomfield draws attention to different aspects of communication such as density, accent and idiom, for example, in American English and British English, when communication can be easily established between the speakers of these speech community members, however, there may be differences in how they speak. In fact, the differences can be found between the speakers of the same speech community. "If we observe closely enough, we should find that no two persons – or rather, perhaps, no one person at different times - spoke exactly alike" (Bloomfield, 1933, p.45). Later, in 1965 Chomsky disregarded these concepts and proposed approaches to identify people's ability to produce language, instead of considering language as a social construct, which, in a sense, was something new from what had been said in the field of linguistics. Similarly, Duranti (1997) suggests abandoning the speech community as "an already constituted object of inquiry", and rather take it as a point of view of analysis. He sees speech community as "the product of the communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people" (p.82). The notion of speech community was brought back by the work of Hymes (1964), who described it as the paramount concept for the link between language, speech and social

structure, and Gumperz (1972b), who explained speech community as “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (p.219). In other words, the notion of speech community which formerly highlighted language systems, relationships and boundaries, broadened to combine social norms such as attitudes, values, beliefs, and practices, hence the members of such communities operating their language as a social and cultural item. Language, being the main ingredient in any communication, has been discussed from different perspectives, including in multilingual and ethnic minority contexts, where language behaviour is looked into more details.

The sociolinguistic literature offers various definitions of language choice ranging from the selection of words and phrases to the register, genre, tone of the speaker, or topic in bi-, multi-lingual interactional contexts. In Fishman’s (1965) seminal work, language choice concerns *who speaks what language, to whom and when*. Fishman suggests that this question needs to be discussed on the level of individual face-to-face encounters first and then approach it on a broader level of the larger group or cultural setting, such as in immigrant or multilingual contexts. Language choice among bilingual speakers, who have more than one language at their disposal, have been of particular interest to sociolinguists. However, there is much more to the *choice* than simply picking one language over another. Coulmas (2013) explains that distinction is sometimes made between micro-sociolinguistics or variationist sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics or sociology of language. “The former is concerned with lower-level choices of phonetic, morphological and syntactic variants, whereas the latter deals with the choice of styles and languages and their functional allocation in society” (p.123). Coulmas cautions that while the distinction is useful for analytic purposes, it does not always provide a clear contrast in real life. In Li Wei’s (1994) point of view, language choice may occur at several different levels, ranging from small-scale phonetic variables to large-scale discourse patterns such as address systems, conversation routines, politeness strategies, and choices between languages.

Regarding language choice at a societal level, Myers-Scotton (2006) states that, in a speech community, there is always a dominant or weak language and according to

Ferrer and Sankoff (2004) it is the dominant languages that trigger language preference, because of its wider social forces. This can be the reason why bilinguals may choose a dominant language, as it provides them with an advantage of the expansion of their social networks, acceptance and better opportunities. Managan (2004), for instance, suggests that the choice of a dominant language gives speakers the sense of prestige and an opportunity to socialise which may lead to success. According to Pascasio (1990) and Sibayan (1999) cited in Lanza and Svendsen (2007), English and then Filipino are the dominating languages in most of the powerful arenas in the Philippines, especially in formal settings. Despite the fact that the vernaculars dominate in the home setting and in the local communities, English is regarded as a very important language for their interactions. In a large-scale study of language preferences in relation to formality, Pascasio (1990) found that the vernacular and Filipino are perceived to be the appropriate languages for informal situations, while English is mainly for formal use.

Over the last several decades, extensive work, both theoretical and empirical, has been conducted by sociolinguists in identifying factors motivating different language choices, at the individual level and the societal level. Fishman (1965) identifies three main controlling factors in language choice, which are: group, situation and topic. Fishman (1965) gives an example of a government official in Brussels who speaks three different languages, depending on where and whom he is with. He speaks in standard French in his office, standard Dutch - in a local club and distinctly local variant of Flemish - at home. Fishman explains that this individual identifies himself with the groups he belongs to, wants to belong to or seeks acceptance from. He suggests that when identifying these criteria, location, setting and other environmental factors should not be overlooked, as they also play important role in individuals' language choices. Situation (setting) as one of the three controlling factors in language choice may comprise of many different aspects, such as speakers, the physical setting, topic, functions of discourse or style, according to Fishman, but he limits the use of term to style only, suggesting that other variables also need to be looked at in their own right. In Fishman's view, some styles within languages, particularly in multilingual settings, by some interlocutors are considered to be intimacy, informality, solidarity and equality among other indicators, therefore speakers may be reserved for some situations but not others, for example, the government official speaks in Flemish to a fellow official in the office,

coming from the same background and share many common experiences. By speaking in Flemish they treat each-other as intimates, rather than government officials, however, they do not cease being the government officials. On the other hand, when they discuss work affairs or literature, they speak in French, but the intimacy mood remains throughout.

According to Fishman (1965), the fact that interlocutors share the intimacy, such as in the example above, lead to topic related language switch in their encounter, makes a topic to be one of the regulators of language use in multilingual settings. It seems that some topics are better handled in one language than in another, for instance: due to training and having skills (e.g. knowing specialised terms) to conduct a satisfactory discussion with (somewhat) equally competent interlocutor in the same subject; the particular language itself may lack certain terminology; it is strange or inappropriate to discuss some topics in certain languages. Fishman notes that “the very multiplicity of sources of topical regulation suggests that topic may not in itself be a convenient analytic variable when language choice considered from the point of view of the social structure and the cultural norms of a multilingual setting. It tells us little about either the process or the structure of social behaviour. However, topics usually exhibit patterns which follow those of the major spheres of activity in the society under consideration” (p.93). While the topic is certainly a crucial factor in understanding language choice, he suggests that individual language use must be examined against more stable choice patterns in their multilingual settings.

Grosjean (1982, p.136) lists factors influencing language choice under four main categories: participants, situation, the content of discourse, and function of interaction. For example, factors under the “participant” category include as language attitude, language preference, ethnic background and social relations (kinship, power), as well as language proficiency, age, sex, occupation and education, among other factors. Factors under the “situation” category include location/setting, the presence of monolinguals, degrees of formality and intimacy, whereas in the category of “content discourse”, topic and type of vocabulary are included. Finally, factors under the category of “function of interaction” includes: raising status, creating social distance, excluding someone and requesting command. Notably, however, in the study of Chinese-English Student

community in Newcastle upon Tyne by Li Wei and colleagues (Li Wei, 1988; McGregor & Li Wei, 1991, cited in Li Wei, 1994), they investigated the interactive effects of interlocutor, topic and setting in relation to language choice and found that speakers varied in their choice of language regardless of the topic and the setting.

In more recent literature, Thomason (2001) echoes Fishman's view that language choice depends on the topic, as well as other several factors, such as relative status and identity of a speaker. Coupland (2010) states that language choice in domains of public performance, have to be seen reflective of local circumstances and it is important to take genre and style into consideration. Coupland (2007) highlights the importance of understanding how individuals use or perform social styles for different symbolic purposes, which give the opportunity to see that "style (like language) is not a thing but a practice" (Eckert 2004, p43, cited in Coupland 2010).

To cite some empirical work on language choice, a study into language choice was conducted ethnographically, to investigate formal and informal events of voluntary organisations in a small town in France (Managan 2004). Participants were of different backgrounds (age, experience, group activities) who were observed during spontaneous interactions. It was found that they considered French as high variety language used for formal encounters and Kreyol – as low variety language, used for informal communication. The findings revealed different language choice patterns among the participants due to various factors, such as context and tone of the speaker, their backgrounds and political views. Similar results were found by Qawar (2014), who investigated language choice among the Arabs of Quebec – Canada, attempting to explore language choice of Arabic, English and French in different domains. A hundred Arab residents of different backgrounds (gender, age, occupation, education) were approached to conduct interviews and they also were asked to fill out questionnaires. The results revealed that they use the Arabic language in the home domain, with family members, worship places and when listening to the radio. However, they use English and French in formal establishments (governmental, educational). It was also evident that they mix these languages when interacting in the neighbourhood and with friends. It was found that participants had positive attitudes towards all languages and their choices. French seemed to be the dominant and most prestigious language which was

mostly used for formal purposes and English perceived as a global language, by which, according to the author, respondents' Canadian identity was fully expressed.

Language choice, in general, seems to be linked to various other factors that impact individuals' choices and patterns. For example, Broeder and Extra (1999) in the study of minority languages in the Netherlands found age and generation-related language choices, such as children chose Dutch over their home language, and language shift was also evident among the younger generation. However, language choice patterns differed across various ethnic groups. Zentella (1997), on the other hand, who studied language change and maintenance among Spanish and English-speaking individuals of Puerto Rican background in New York, found that it was the density and complexity of the individuals' network and the variability of their linguistic patterns that characterized the process of growing up bilingual in this community. Gal (1979), who studied the situation of the Hungarian minority in Austria, found that those with strong peasant ties in Oberwart adopt a Hungarian-dominant language pattern, while those with urban networks use more German. She found that different linguistic systems obtain different social symbolism and this is due to speakers and their language choice. Gal argues that though there are patterned relations between speakers' language choice and the characteristics of their social networks, a key determinant for language choice is the interlocutor. Social status seems to also influence speaker's language choice. For example, in one of the studies in Singapore (Tan 1993, cited in Dumanig, 2010) shop assistants were observed in thirty different shops and the findings revealed that there was a correlation between speakers' perceived social status and their language choice. For example, the shop assistants would use English if the customer seemed from a higher social class. It was also evident that if the customers seemed to be from a lower class then they were spoken to in Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien or Teochew. More research on the various contributing factors to language choice will be reviewed in Section 2.3.

2.2.3 Code-switching

Gumperz (1964) introduced the concept of code-switching (sometimes referred to as code mixing (e.g. Muysken, 2004)) as an interactional strategy, suggesting that multilingual individuals have the ability to choose certain languages for certain

purposes. Woolard (2004) defines code-switching as a speaker's use of two or more language varieties in a single speech event. Language choice situation usually occurs in multilingual communities where different languages are spoken. Therefore, interlocutors choose a language which is appropriate in a particular situation, although the choice may vary in different domains of interaction, hence possible solidarity between the speakers (Giles, 1979).

In 1993, Myers-Scotton developed a model of the Markedness - a sociolinguistic theory, which is recognised as the social indexical motivation for code-switching. This model was adapted following Gumperz's (1964) introduction of the notion of code-switching as an interactional strategy. In accordance with the markedness model, speakers use language choices to index Rights and Obligations (RO) Sets - social codes between participants while interacting. She argues that this model is applicable to all language choices beyond code-switching. According to Myers-Scotton, languages in multilingual context are linked to social roles where interlocutors signal their understanding of a specific situation by choosing one of the languages they speak, which also indicates their role in this situation. Myers-Scotton calls this "negotiation principle" (1998). According to her, for any interactional situation, there is an unmarked and marked maxim, which is determined by the social factors in individuals' groups where speakers decide whether to follow or reject the nominative model. The unmarked choice is made when one would like to affirm responsibility and obligation, whereas marked choice establishes a new RO set, which is conscious and interlocutors makes these choices rationally. So, social meanings and the reasons for code-switching are proposed in accordance with rights and obligations.

To describe the Markedness model in simple words, "what community norms would predict is unmarked, what is not predicted is marked" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p.5). However, Myers-Scotton also adds that this approach does not assume that these oppositions are categorical. Besides, there is not necessarily a single marked or unmarked choice, but often there is a dominant unmarked choice with regard frequency and community norms. Auer (1998) challenged the markedness model, arguing that the model does not sufficiently outline interlocutors' perceptions of their own language behaviour. To Auer, when speakers code-switch, they do not refer to any preceding

normative model, but instead, effectively make and deliver the social meaning of the particular interaction. More recently, Woolard (2004) argued that code-switching is not always deliberate or conscious, therefore, objecting to the assumption that switching is strategic. Her research demonstrated that interlocutors do not always know they were code-switching in their interactions.

Various types of code-switching have been described in the literature. For example, situational and metaphorical code-switching, which first appeared in Blom and Gumperz's (1972) when they studied switches between standard and local dialect in Norway. Situational code-switching refers to a tendency in a speech community where different languages or language varieties are used in different situations or switching varieties for the purposes of marking a change in situations. Metaphorical code-switching is the tendency where bilinguals alternate codes in conversation in order to talk about a topic which would usually fall into another conversational domain. They suggested there was a functional difference between the two. They found there were clear changes in the speakers' definition of their interlocutors' rights and obligations, triggered by a change of language signals, but could also in itself help bring about the changed context. Gumperz and Hymes (1986) make a distinction between situational and metaphorical switching where one considers alternation between varieties and the latter considers alternation enriching the situation with more than one social relationship in the situation.

Woolard (2004) notes that Gumperz (1982) associated this well-established code-switching with Fishman's (1967) version of diglossia - the use of different languages as high (prestige) and low (prestige) varieties. The distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching was criticized by Auer (1984, p.91), stating that in situational code-switching "the relationship between language choice and situational features is less rigid, more open to re-negotiation, than a one-to-one relationship", and in metaphorical code-switching "things are less individualistic, less independent of the situation. The distinction collapses and should be replaced by a continuum" (ibid.). Gumperz later characterized situational and metaphorical code-switching as two points on a continuum rather than two contrasting types of code-switching (Woolard, 2004).

Regarding the structural aspects of code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993a/b) proposes that code-switching is bilinguals' use of language forms from an embedded variety in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. She also proposes that there are inter- and intra-sentential types of switches which can be derived from utterances. Muysken (2004) remarks that Myers-Scotton's work on Swahili-English bilingualism in Africa and interest in strategies of neutrality, code mixing as a marked or unmarked choice, and a comprehensive psycho-linguistically embedded linguistic model for intra-sentential code mixing, explains the definition she provides, as above. Others also identified inter- and intra-sentential code-switching, Callahan (2004) among them. More recently, Kebeya (2013) looked into code-switching patterns during Luo/Lyuya and Luo/Gusii contact in Kenya while observing members of eight local households in Winam and Suneka. It was found that both inter- and intra-sentential switching was taking place in language contact situations. It was challenging to determine the matrix and embedded language of code-switched utterances. "Unlike in the case of inter-sentential switching, certain issues affecting intra-sentential switching are shrouded in controversy" (Kebeya, p.225). For this reason, it was concluded that inter- and intra-sentential switching were not comparable.

While the above-mentioned authors mainly focus on switches between the languages (within a sentence or between different utterances in bilingual speech), Thomason (2001, 2007) explores phonetic switches within the words. In her discussion on language contact, Thomason (2001) notes that correspondence rules or borrowing routines (in Heath's (1989) terms) are a variety of situations where related languages are in contact, therefore, providing valuable evidence of bilingual speakers' capacity to manipulate two languages (often phonological). As one of the examples, she refers to the report from Rudolf de Jong, (1995) on Fayyumis and Cairene Arabic. Fayyoun Oasis being 100km from Cairo and the population having business contacts adopted some phonological items, which entered in Cairene Arabic as loanwords from European languages. "The borrowers adapt the words in a way that shows that they've applied correspondence rules to diphthongize the Cairene (and the original European) monophthongs: so Cairene tilifo:n 'telephone' turns up in Fayyoun Oasis as talafawn, and Cairene gine:h 'guinea' is ginayh in Fayyoun Oasis" (p.11). Some more recent studies also identified code-switching phenomena beyond the inter-/intra-sentential

distinction. Code alterations occurring within a word boundary – intra-word code-switching was found, for example, in Das and Gambäck (2013) investigating into English-Bengali and English-Hindi code-switching in social media context, namely Facebook; and in Nguyen and Cornips (2016), who found that Twitter users do code-switch within words, combining elements from standard Dutch and minority Limburgish.

Although it is evident that such language behaviour in bilingual speech occurs, what remains unclear, as Thomason (2001) questions, is whether the application of correspondence rule is conscious or unconscious. She agrees with the other authors who claim that the borrower is always subconscious of his/her application of correspondence rules, and speakers who usually use two or more lects have intuition of the sound correspondences, as well as the ability to convert the phonological terms from one lect to another (Ross & Durie, 1996, cited in Thomason, 2001). However, Thomason argues that although such language behaviour is in most instances unconscious, sometimes bilinguals have the knowledge of what they are doing as they negotiate the linguistic outcome of language contact. Among other evidence, one of the examples for this claim, according to her, is the observation conducted by Ratliff (2000), who found that speakers of Arabic and Tamil, who know literary standard, which is different from the colloquial language, can “retard the process of natural language change in the colloquial quite consciously so that the two do not drift apart past a tolerable limit” (Ratliff, 2000, cited in Thomason 2007, p.47). Tamil speakers consciously “reversed an umlaut role, modelling the change on literary Tamil, when the umlauted vowels became socially stigmatized” (Pargman, 1998, cited in Thomason, 2007 p. 47). So, they apply correspondence rules retrospectively, knowing exactly what they are doing. The distinction between intentional and spontaneous code-switching also appear in other works, such as by Poplack (1987), Li Wei (1998), Heller (1988), De Bot (2002) and Stel, Van Baaren, & Vonk, (2008). For example, De Bot (2002) uses the terms motivated - where interlocutors code-switch deliberately, and performance switching - when the code-switching is unintentional.

Relating individual bilinguals’ code-switching behaviour to a more macro (societal) level of language change, Thomason (2007) argues that speakers’ choices can lead to

radical linguistic changes which only sometimes have a permanent impact on the speech to a community level. When such changes have a permanent effect, it is due to specific social factors, such as small community; multilingualism with or without a socioeconomic dominant group in the contact situation; the emergence of a new ethnic group that seeks a language to symbolize its new identity. In Thomason's point of view, although contributing factors are important conditions, they are not sufficient ones, and no matter how powerful contributing factors may be, it would be difficult to predict when bilinguals' choices will bring major changes in a language.

Some of the most influential code-switching research in recent years is probably Li Wei's (2017) theoretical and empirical work on *translanguaging*. Li Wei (2017) refers to a type of code-switching that changes the meaning by combining two different lexical items. He brings an example of new Chinglish (Li Wei 2016a) - ordinary English utterances being re-appropriated with totally different meanings for interaction between Chinese users of English as well as creations of words and expressions that adhere broadly to the morphological rules of English but with Chinese twists and definitions. For example: "Chinsumer", which is a mesh of Chinese consumer, referring to Chinese tourists buying large quantities of luxury goods overseas, and "Smilence", combining smile and silence, referring to the stereotypical Chinese reaction of smiling without saying a word. Although these examples look English, according to Li Wei, a monolingual English speaker may not be able to understand their meanings and connotations and existing term such as code-switching seems "unable to fully capture the creative and critical dimensions of these expressions" (2017, p.5). He suggests that the interpretations must entail an understanding of the sociopolitical context where these expressions are used, as well as the subjectivities of the individuals who produced and use these expressions, including linguistic ideologies that these expressions challenge.

2.2.4 Contributing factors to language choice and code-switching behaviour

The present study explores various contributing factors which may have an impact on individuals' language behaviour. This section will focus on language maintenance, age and generation, social networks and identity.

2.2.4.1 Language maintenance and shift

The concept of language maintenance is defined in the following terms in the Handbook of Applied Linguistics: it is “used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres” (Davies & Elder, 2004, p.719).

Attitudes towards maintaining languages are usually either reported, observed or acquiring both, along with the background information on individuals’ residency and contact with languages. Researchers then draw links between these reported and observed information. As Allport’s (1935) early work explained, “attitudes are never directly observed, but unless they are admitted, through inference, as real and substantial ingredients in human nature, it becomes impossible to account satisfactorily either for the consistency of any individual’s behaviour, or for the stability of any society” (p.839). Individuals often express their attitudes, whether it is towards the language maintenance, social networks or their ethnicity, through their “...beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour” (Oppenheim, 1982, p. 39). Through investigating attitudes, it is possible to reveal personal learning experiences of becoming a member of a network (family, group, society) that makes them react to their social world in a “...consistent and characteristic way” (Sherif, 1967, p.2).

The issue of language maintenance often arises among children belonging to minority language groups (Sridhar, 1994), so as with adults, as in the sections (age and generation-related language behaviour). Language maintenance is usually discussed on an individual level, nuclear unit (such as family) level and societal level, all of which are inter-dependent. In Fishman’s (1991) view, language maintenance involves intergenerational transmission, otherwise, if it is ceased, speakers would shift to another language. In fact, the benefits of learning through the mother tongue were recognized as early as 1957 in the UNESCO declaration stating the right of every child to be educated through their language. However, due to a number of reasons, such as immigration,

people share geographical space to speak different languages with one dominant language which is widely used in the areas of residence. As Potowski (2013) explains, there may be monolingual individuals of different languages, such as monolingual French speakers and monolingual German speakers coexisting in Switzerland, but there can be various bilingual individuals, such as in Hindi and English in India or Catalan and Castilian in Spain. However, as a result of immigration, individuals arrive speaking their home language fluently but having their children brought up in a new country, who usually become bilinguals have their children (grandchildren of the original immigrants) adopting the dominant language as monolinguals. This pattern of language behaviour has been evidenced in ethnic minority context by various researchers, such as Li Wei (1994), who found that age-related language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant monolingualism was taking place within the Chinese community in Tyneside, and Broeder and Extra (1999) in the study of minority languages in the Netherlands who also found age and generation-related language choices, with children choosing Dutch over their home languages, and language shift also taking place among the younger generation, as discussed earlier.

While addressing the individual level of language maintenance, Potowski (2013) suggests that one of the main factors in minority language is proficiency, as, if an individual does not have sufficient level of proficiency of the mother tongue, it will be almost impossible to use the language in socially significant ways and pose a challenge to pass it on to generations. Along with attrition, another well-established phenomenon among bilinguals is code-switching, which to some is a sign of language shift, while others consider it a sign of maintenance. However, to those who do not have much personal experience with code-switching, it is sometimes seen as “a sign of lack of mental control or confusion” (Li Wei, 2013, p. 366).

Another area of interest to researchers on minority language maintenance is attitudes towards it. Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) looked into Spanish speaking teenagers in Australia and discovered that there were strong links between positive attitudes towards bilingualism and better Spanish proficiency. Nonetheless, Potowski (2013) points out that positive attitude is not enough for language maintenance to take place. It has been found that Spanish speakers in the USA regard Spanish positively, however, almost all

of them tend to shift to English by the third generation (Zentella 1997; Potowski 2004). On the other hand, a negative attitude seems to pave the way towards speedy language shift, such as in the case of Telugu speaking individuals in New Zealand shifting to English within approximately two years (Kuncha and Bathula, 2004, cited in Potowski, 2013).

Apart from individuals' language proficiency and attitudes, family, social networks and the community are considered as vital parts for maintaining the home language. In her work on immigrant languages in Australia, Pauwels (2005) describes the role of the family in maintaining the minority language and the barriers to passing the language on to the younger generation. She notes that elderly in the family, going to or having visitors from their homeland, all contribute to favourable effects on family language use. It was also found in another research that older people, such as grandparents in Arabic speaking families in South Turkey, had positive effect in home language maintenance (Sofu, 2009), although unless there is additional support such as the minority language activities and classes, all the pressure for the maintaining the language go to the families.

On a community level, on the other hand, lack of intensive Arabic interaction in different Turkish localities resulted in Arabic language loss. Potowski (2013) suggests that the location, distance and the communities bordering the countries influence the maintenance of minority languages. For example, Francophones in northern Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine retained French more than people living inland in Maine and Rhode Island (Romaine, 1995, cited in Potowski, 2013). Whilst discussing the societal attitudes, Potowski argues that societies can exhibit different attitudes toward minorities, such as anti-German legislation and negative attitudes in relation to the world wars damaging the use and transmission of German in the United States (as in Ludanyi, 2010). According to her, some societal impacts are not related to world politics, but more to the culture, such as in Arabic speaking community mentioned earlier. Members of this community hid their Arabic identity and passed this sentiment to their children by restricting speaking in Arabic outside the home. Their children were taught in Turkish at schools and parents worked in a Turkish speaking environment,

however, the third generation had more exposure to Arabic and expressed their pride in their Arabic identity.

Romaine (2011) argues that:

“- Both the macro- and micro- sociolinguistic level language has probably always played and will continue to play a critical role not simply in articulating identities, but also in actively constructing them as speakers make choices in their social interactions in favor of some varieties over others (and likewise, within those varieties, of some variant forms over others). Macro-level processes such as language maintenance and shift are the long-term, collective consequences of consistent patterns of language choices (both conscious and unconscious) made by speakers at the micro-level. Thus, the everyday forces that shape people’s linguistic repertoires are the same ones that drive language change and the evolution of language more generally” (p.7).

Romaine considers language maintenance and shift to be macro-level processes only, although she argues that the driving forces for the macro processes (maintenance and shift) and the micro-processes (individuals’ language choice) are the same.

Based on the extensive studies in the 1990’s in Netherland, Broeder and Extra (1999) look at the immigrant minority languages and ethnicity from various disciplinary perspectives, including sociolinguistics. They provide various scale levels and sources of evidence by taking case study approach into a large-scale home language survey of the immigrant minority children. While looking at language choice, language dominance and language preferences among other areas of research, they argue that language related criteria are determinants of ethnicity. Broeder and Extra suggest that there was no strong correlation between the degree of vitality of a language group and country of birth of the parents. They found that home languages were in strong competition with Dutch. The majority of the children’s language choices were Dutch with their family members, taking the fact into account that some children were the third generation of the families. Language shift was also evident in the study. Attitudes towards language shift varied between male and female parents, with the mothers

supporting the notion of “mother tongue”, while fathers choose the language of the country of residence - Dutch. Apart from gender, they also found various language choice patterns among different ethnic groups. With the language dominance in mind, age-related patterns were evident, with the home language decreasing with younger age children (children spoke less mother tongue), which was similar to the language preference perspectives.

The findings based on Broeder and Extra’s (1999) study give the clear evidence that there is a relationship between the language, environment, social networks and identity in line with variables such as gender, age and ethnicity. However, the time aspect (length of residence in another country with the foreign-dominated language) seems to be crucial towards maintaining the mother tongue, which was less evident in Romanian ethnic groups, as they report. According to Broeder (1999), the degree to which a language other than the state language in the country of residence (Dutch in his research), is always/often spoken with family members provides a good indication of the degree of language maintenance in the immigration context.

Toyota (2008) looks at language maintenance from another angle - cultural and religious perspectives. Toyota argues that the archaism of grammatical structure among the Caucasian languages (including Georgian) is somehow related to religion (which in its history has been reasonably stable) and lack of contact with other languages. The majority of Indo-European languages have changed dramatically after the Renaissance period and Church reformation. A similar change is not found in the Caucasus and this can be a reason for the current grammatical status of the Caucasian languages. He suggests that these languages are unique due to the archaism in their grammatical structure since they have preserved an alignment system (also known as active alignment developing into either accusative or ergative (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, 1995)), approximately for the past six thousand years. Though there has been increased contact in the area for the past couple of centuries (such as with Russia), and there have been slight changes, this has not affected the overall structure of the language, i.e. alignment. Potowski (2013) also notes that religion often plays a very important role in language maintenance and that some ethnic communities utilize their mother tongue for

religious purposes, such as Yiddish-speaking Hasidic Jews in New York and Dutch-speaking Amish and Old Order Mennonites in Pennsylvania (Fishman, 2006).

Coulmas (2013) also discusses the role of time in the maintenance of language and proposes that when an adequate number of speakers foresee future encounters and care enough about ‘their future together’, the conditions are good for a linguistic tradition to be continued. Having said that, Coulmas also adds that Dutch academics do not seem to anticipate their future together endangered by the domain invasion of English because they take English as addition to and not a replacement of, Dutch. This concerns academia, while other domains of Dutch society remain unchallenged. Derhemi (2002) explains that an endangered language is not necessarily a minority language and not all minority languages are endangered. However, it is possible that, with time, a neglected minority language will be endangered. According to Derhemi, apart from sociolinguistic parameters of endangered minority languages and communicative functions, structural indicators, for example, lexical or grammatical loss are also important factors in language attrition. Derhemi points out that structural disintegration or recovery factor influences community language use and the attitude of the speakers of this community towards their language. She emphasises on the need for the participation in longitudinal sociolinguistic research with individual communities and revitalisation of endangered languages.

Let us take a look at the Georgian language (focused on in the present study) in terms of language maintenance and shift. It is said that “80% of the world’s 6,000 or so living languages will die within the next century” (Crystal 1997, p.17). Although Georgia is small in population, it is a multi-nation country with a variety of languages and cultures. It is possible that one of the reasons the Georgian language is maintained in Georgia is the number of indigenous people living in the country- 83.8% of Georgians (CIA, 2002), which means the big majority of the population in Georgia is of Georgian origin. On the other hand, due to the fact that Georgian ethnic minorities live in other countries, the language might be in danger of language shift in those other countries. Based on Tsova-Tush study materials in Georgia, Shavkhelishvili (2008) suggests that globalisation processes have a painful influence on the languages of small nations,

particularly if they have no scripts. Mufwene (2002, p.162) suggests that “languages are parasitic species whose vitality depends on the communicative behaviours of their speakers, who in turn respond adaptively to changes in their socio-economic ecologies. Language shift, attrition, endangerment and death are all consequences of these adaptations”.

It would seem that whether the minority languages are protected under language policies it plays an important role in their survival or death. According to Romaine (1995) languages of minorities which are under threat (in danger of language shift) and not protected (policies, intervention) can die. Romaine (2002) associates “no language policy” with “anti-minority language policy” and explains why language policies fail. She also identifies solutions and better strategies for maintaining minority languages, supporting the idea that endangered languages should be saved while acknowledging the difficulties in conveying the idea in practice. Romaine (2002) investigated the impact of language policy on endangered languages in a variety of countries such as the United States, Canada, Norway, New Zealand, Turkey and Australia, among others. According to her, less than 4% of the world’s languages have any sort of official status in the countries where they are spoken. She argues that the fact that most languages are not written or officially recognised and restricted to smaller groups reflects the balance of power in the overall linguistic marketplace and when unsupported, minority languages die. She also points out that the speakers can be hesitant too to use their language especially related to the administration, such as Basque speakers in BAC (Basque Autonomous Community). This is not because they are not allowed to, but because they have difficulty in doing so due to lack of education and being unfamiliar with new terminology in this domain.

This illustrates an important point that while language policy plays an important role in the language maintenance or shift, an official status of a language in itself is far from sufficient to effect maintenance or shift. For example, according to Fishman (1997; 1991), languages become endangered because they lack informal intergenerational transmission and daily life support and not because they are not being taught in schools or lack official status. He argues that the efforts educational system, churches,

communities and government make are symbolic, which cannot possibly prevent shift, however, the efforts will have the value if the families also do their best to maintain the home language. McCarty and Watahomigie (1998) support the idea that language rights do not guarantee the language maintenance, and it depends on the home language choices. Romaine (2002) also agrees that only getting families to speak a threatened language to their children will guarantee transmission. As to what patterns of language behaviour are the best in the home environment for the language maintenance is a different matter and ideas vary. For instance, Pauwels (2005) suggests that for the minority language transmission to be successful, each parent would use a different language with their children. However according to Zentella (1997), for example, a minority language is maintained or acquired by children mostly when both of their parents speak the same language.

2.2.4.2 Age and generation

A substantial body of research has investigated the link between age (children, adults, elderly) or different generations (first and second generation immigrants) and language behaviour. Early works on this include Giles and Bourhis (1976) and Bourhis and Giles (1977), which found that the second and the third generation West Indians in Wales had assimilated to such a degree that their interaction on the recording was labelled as “white”, whereas non-white residents living in the United State for many more generations still carried their ethnic identity through their speech most of the time.

Language preference of children in a multilingual society was examined by Ledesma and Moris (2005). Eighty-one bilingual children were randomly selected from two schools in Metro Manila. It was found that the majority of the children had a preference for English over Filipino due to the factors such as English being used in school, media and other formal institutions. The remaining children who preferred Filipino were mainly due to social factors, informal conversations and settings. It was concluded that language choice varied in accordance with the speakers’ purpose, echoing Gumperz (1964) and Fasold (1990) who also noted that bilinguals have the ability to choose a specific language for a specific purpose.

The resistance of the minority second-generation children towards maintaining their heritage language, regardless their parents’ efforts, were found in studies, such as in

Zhang and Slaughter-DeFoe (2009). They investigated attitudes towards heritage language maintenance and the efforts made by parents to promote maintenance in Philadelphia. The interview analysis indicated that Chinese parents value and take positive actions for their children to maintain their language. Nonetheless, children fail to see the point of learning and resist their parents' efforts.

In Yagmur & Akinci's (2003) study on the relationship between societal factors and individuals' perception of the language contact situation among the first and the second generation Turkish immigrant community in France, respondents reported that the Turkish language is important for maintaining their identity and cultural survival. The results also showed that second-generation informants have more positive attitudes towards Turkish than the first generation immigrants. However, in the view of language choice distribution, preference for French was evident in the younger generation, whereas the older generation preferred Turkish under all circumstances.

As part of a larger sociolinguistic project Li Wei (1994) provided empirical data on the language behaviours of different generations of Chinese (58 Chinese-English speakers) residents in Tyneside in the north-east of England. This included their language choice strategies among others. Li Wei (1994) describes various language behaviour practices in his research as interactional reflexes of the generation-specific and network-specific language choice preferences of the speakers. "Through experience, they develop the sense of "script" or "schema" for which language is used to whom and when, and exploit the linguistic resources available to them to achieve special communicative effects" (Li Wei, 1994, p.178).

Li Wei (1994) found that language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant monolingualism was taking place within the Chinese community in Tyneside. However, age alone as a factor was not enough to explain the language shift. For example, speakers who did not speak English well and maintained Chinese dominant language choice pattern formed strong links with other Chinese in the community. On the other hand, those who adopted English dominant language choice patterns and spoke English better-developed links with non-Chinese networks. Li Wei linked the language use and the language ability to their social networks.

2.2.4.3 Social Network

The current study investigates Georgian language behaviour in the Georgian ethnic minority context in Luton. It explores language behaviour in different social contexts from individual to community levels. The study also examines the density and links of individuals' close-knit ties inside the household, outside the household and outside the UK. As this study investigates social network as one of the factors influencing language behaviour, relevant literature has been reviewed.

Holmes (2008) regards the notion of the social network as a pattern of informal relationships of individuals on a regular basis which plays a part in mediating the speakers' speech habit. Similarly, Finch (2000) proposes that social networks determine their group dynamics and have an impact on speech in a subtle way.

The social network in the field of sociolinguistics is defined as the structure of a speech community, which is formed by a web of ties (Milroy, 1987) among individuals. The network is determined by the types of ties which along with the interaction usually lead to the language change. Structure of the social networks can be described from different perspectives, among which are:

- Density – numbers of ties between individuals (actors) and potential links (Bergs, 2005). The larger the density, the denser a network is.
- Close ties (member closeness centrality) – measures individuals' closeness to the members of a community, with an individual being a central member having frequent communication with other members of the network. They often are

socially motivated to interact in accordance with the pre-existing norms specific to the network (Milroy, 2002).

- Multiplexity – the number of distinct ties between two individuals, where they interact in various social contexts (Bergs, 2005).
- Orders – position (place) of a speaker within a network. Individuals are categorised into three separate zones (first – direct connection to an individual within the network, second – group of individuals linked with the same network, and third – individuals indirectly linked to a network through other connections), which depend on the strength of their tie to another individual/actor (Milroy, 1980). An individual becomes more powerful within his/her network when there is a close tie to the central actor of this network.

All of the above can measure connections, which outlines a network structure. The social network is a theoretical construct, often used to investigate relationships between individuals and social units (e.g.: communities, organisations). The whole point of social network approach is for it to examine these relationships, rather than the properties of these units themselves (Scot, 2000). As an analytical notion, social network originated from Barnes (1954), and later appeared in the studies undertaken by Bott (1955), Mitchell (1969), Wellman (1979), Auer, Barden and Grosskopf (2000); Eckert (1988, 1989, 2000); Gal (1978); Labov (1972a); Li Wei (1994); Milroy J. and Milroy L. (1978, 1985, 1993); Milroy L. (1980); Milroy L. and Li Wei (1995); Milroy L and Milroy J. (1992); Zentella (1997) among many others.

Individuals and organisations play roles as social actors within societies, which make up a social structure that consists of ties these individuals and organisations interact with. To identify and investigate the dynamics of these networks, social network analysis (SNA) emerged, which, according to Yasuda (1997), examines how the structure affects the behaviour and thoughts of the individuals within these networks. SNA deals with “understanding the linkages among social entities and the implications of these linkages” (Wasserman and Faust 1994, p.17). SNA was pioneered in the disciplines of sociology, psychology and anthropology, which first appeared in more of a non-technical form in the field of anthropology, by Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955). His notion of social structure was based on and developed from early 20th century sources

emerging from the fields of anthropology and sociology (e.g.: Scott, 1991; Moreno, 1934, cited in Wasserman and Faust 1994).

Social network theory highlights two main findings – high density and low-density factors, with highly dense networks being more resistant to the linguistic change than low-density networks. Sociolinguists tend to focus on a strong tie and weak tie theory and investigate the relationship between language and social networks. Labov's (1972a) study in Harlem investigated New York City monolingual teenagers belonging to street gangs. Links between teenager's language and position in the peer group network structure was identified. Their local Black English was seen as a significant factor of group identity. Labov discovered that those teenagers who were in more central positions within the group used more vernacular forms. Similarly, Eckert's (1989) ethnographic study of the monolingual adolescent social structure looks at speech norms in Detroit high schools, which showed that students imitated urban, more prestigious peers who demonstrated toughness (which to them was a desirable quality) and adopted their speech behaviour. According to Eckert (2000, pp. 1–2) "... the social life of variation lies in the variety of individuals' ways of participating in their communities – their ways of fitting in, and of making their mark – their ways of constructing meaning in their own lives". Individuals try to come to terms with their environment, so variation depends on what they do with their language (and vice versa).

Other studies showed that close-knit networks prevent monolingual speakers' to shift from local to standard language forms, such as studies on children gangs in Reading, (Cheshire, 1978, 1982, 1998), and Belfast studies on working-class population in Northern Ireland (Milroy J. 1980; Milroy, J and Milroy, L, 1978). Labov's (1966) study of African American local English in Harlem explores low-density factors, where African American social networks were the initiators of language change in their groups. This approach was developed later by Milroys in the 1970's in their study of local English in Belfast examining the relationship between the integration of speakers in the community and their language behaviour. Deviation from the regional standard was found among the speakers, which was influenced by density and multiplicity of the social networks where individuals integrated. It was determined that close-knit ties are vital for dialect maintenance.

As already mentioned, Li Wei (1994), who studied the relationship between social networks and language behaviour among the Chinese community in Newcastle, England, found that age-related language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant monolingualism was taking place within the Chinese community in Tyneside. However, only age was not enough to explain the language shift. For example, speakers who did not speak English well and maintained Chinese dominant language choice pattern formed strong links with other Chinese in the community. On the other hand, those who adopted English dominant language choice patterns and spoke English better-developed links with non-Chinese networks. The correlation between language use/language ability and social network was consistent at both groups (generations) and the individual levels. It has also been reported that social networks affect and are affected by their members' language behaviour. Li Wei showed that while network interacts with other variables, it generally accounts for the language choice patterns and code-switching better than other variables such as sex, length of stay and occupation.

As discussed earlier, Zentella (1997) looked into language behaviour among Spanish and English speakers of Puerto Rican background in New York and found that apart from their linguistic patterns, it was the density and complexity of the individuals' network that characterized the process of growing up bilingual in this community. Also, in the study of the Hungarian minority in Oberwart, Austria (Section 2.2.2), Gal (1979) found that individuals' language behaviour depended on their social networks and ties. Gal concluded that there were patterned links between individuals' language choice and the characteristics of their social networks. It was also found that Individuals' language choices indicated their membership of this group. Those who preferred speaking German made work-related language preference. Dumanig (2010) comments that "it is evident that the speakers' social networks categorize their social status. As their language becomes established people tend to identify themselves according to their group membership. For example, the Hungarian language signifies membership of the peasant group while the German language signifies membership of people in higher status" (p.44).

Wellman (1979) studied social network phenomenon from a support networks perspective. Since the 1960's in his study of communities as social networks, Wellman showed that communities are not only neighbourhoods but a larger-scale social organisation, where speakers make use of their ties in order to obtain resources. He pioneered the study of social support. In the East York study (first survey 1968; 1979) with 33 participants, he tried to provide the evidence to show that ties and networks provide different social support. For example, he found that sisters provide emotional support and parents-financial aid; the support came more from the characteristics of the ties than from the networks; wives maintained social networks as for their husbands, so as for themselves. Wellman concluded that social support is much more of a tie phenomenon than a social network phenomenon. The theory of weak ties, articulated in Granovetter's (1973, cited in Liu et al, 2017) seminal piece "The Strength of Weak Ties," concerns the role of weak social ties in diffusing ideas and information. In the labour market study, Granovetter measured tie strength through the frequency and duration with their contacts, inquiring the frequency people acquired job information from them. He also measured the extent to which their ties provided reciprocal utility, such as social support and the level of intimacy in their relationships. Granovetter identified that weak ties – acquaintances and loosely connected social actors generally require little investment as opposed to close ties. To explain this statement, he concluded that bridging ties provide the pathways between two unconnected clusters and the strength of weak ties is not in the number of connections, but rather in their abilities to access a broader and heterogeneous set of information sources. Milroy (1987a, b) on the other hand, refers to the social network as a unit where individuals feel a sense of belonging.

As Hudson (1980) suggests, in general, society seems to influence individuals' speech by providing norms and the motivations to adhere them. These norms vary in different societies and people tend to learn and adopt them according to their abilities in order to identify themselves as part of particular social groups. Speech may vary according to variables such as location, status, ethnicity, age or gender, such as in the abovementioned study by Li Wei (1994), where he links social networks and ties with individuals' language behaviour, and the studies by Milroys (Milroy, L. 1987a/b;

Milroy, J. 1992; Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. 1985), linking micro linguistic behaviour to macro societal structures.

2.2.4.4 Identity

The concept of identity in sociolinguistics has been looked at from numerous perspectives (depending on the research interests) in the past few decades, such as personal, social, ethnic, cultural, or linguistic, and psychological, biological, political or historical point of view among others. The focus in this section is limited mainly to ethnicity as one of the forms of identity drawing links between language behaviour (RQs 1 and 2) and ethnicity, and with social networks (one of the contributing factors to language behaviour – RQ3).

Spencer-Oatey (2007) focuses on “face” as the concept of self, exploring the rationale behind the definitions of face and identity. According to her, theories of identity typically distinguish between personal (individual) and social (group or collective) identities. It may seem that some characteristics have more collective potential than others, such as ethnicity, but Simon (2004, cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2007) explains that it depends on how people experience a self-aspect. On the other hand, Brewer and Gardner (1996), and Hecht (1993; 2002) distinguish individual (personal), interpersonal (rational) and group (collective) levels of self-representation/self-concept (Spencer-Oatey, 2007).

Regarding the relationship between the language behaviour and identity, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) make the important argument that for multilingual speaking individuals’ language choice is not only a means for maximizing the effectiveness of communication, but also an act of identity. Earlier, Hudson (1980) made a similar assertion that every speech utterance may be seen as an act of identity by its speaker. In a similar vein, Myers-Scotton (1998) who proposed the Markedness Model also argues that the language choice (marked, or unmarked) in the process of code-switching is the form of identity negotiation. An example given by Holmes (2008) is that interlocutors sometimes use verbal filters or linguistic tags to signal their ethnicity. For instance, Malaysians insert the particle “lah” when speaking in English, signalling their identity as Malaysians (Dumanig, 2007). Block (2007) even defines identity in relation to language, stating that it is “...the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one’s

sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language, a dialect or a sociolect” (p.40).

Ethnic identity is often regarded as a social construction according to Waters (1990), where one identifies with “a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and share segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients” (Yinger, 1976, p. 200).

Regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and language, researchers have argued for such a link from an early stage. Gumperz (1982) correlated language behaviour and identity, who noted that code-switching is an indicator of various ethnic identities. For Giles and Byrne (1982), language is the marker of ethnic identity and in their ethnolinguistic theory, they relate ethnic identity to language maintenance and language shift. According to Fishman (1977, cited in Fishman 1989, p.32), “language is the recorder of paternity the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology”. To Fishman (1989), the shaping of an ethnic group is facilitated by language because it adopts and adapts the subjective conviction of a community in a common ethnic identity. In a more recent publication, Fishman (2010) states, that ethnic identity is one of the forms of identity that individuals and aggregates may display and be aware (conscious) of. With the consciousness raising, identity is also raising. However, identity and identity consciousness are not the same and can be spread among the population to various degrees of levels.

Whilst discussing language in relation to gender and nationalism, Kikvidze (2010) takes it further, stating that “language is the one that expresses, accumulates, regenerates, and actualizes a nation’s spiritual values” (p.84). According to him, the language should be viewed as the necessary constituent of culture. He says it is true that language only partially reflects the societal reality, however, as a matter of fact, vocabulary, metaphors, semantic etc. make up appropriate systems of concepts, in which speakers of a language are rooted with their cognition.

Other studies have been undertaken in relation to language behaviour and social networks in the construction of ethnic identity in different parts of the increasingly

diverse world. Nonetheless, much still remains to be explored about how bilingual/multilingual speakers construct their ethnic and linguistic identities (Fought, 2010). For example, in the 1990's study in Netherland, (Broeder and Extra, 1999, Section 2.2) investigating immigrant minority languages and ethnicity among children, found language related criteria as determinants of ethnicity, with the home languages being in strong competition with Dutch. It was evident that the children's language choices were Dutch with their family members. Social networks of the individuals within the families influenced their language choices. While mothers supported the concept of the mother tongue, fathers' language choice was Dutch - the language of the country of residence, so they identified themselves as part of Dutch community. Dabène and Moore (1995) explain that sometimes two languages can also "act as group-membership symbols and demonstrate ethnic identity" (p.24). They note that the young generation from Iberian and Algerian backgrounds who are fluent in the host language than the language they learnt in early childhood, continue to use their ancestors' language with their family members on daily basis, which plays an important role in group membership. Some view peoples' network ties as part of their identity. For instance, back in 1972, Labov's work on Martha's Vineyard summarises how ethnicity, social structure, and language interact among three ethnic groups of English, Portuguese and Native Americans on the island. He found that compared with the older generation and some of the other descents, that young ones used some linguistic variants less. These were due to their experiences linked to their identity and integration. For Le Page (1968), individuals create systems for their linguistic behaviour in order to resemble the group(s) they wish to be identified with as long as they have the opportunity, motivation and ability to analyse, choose and adapt their behavioural systems. Gumperz (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 1982) suggested that social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language.

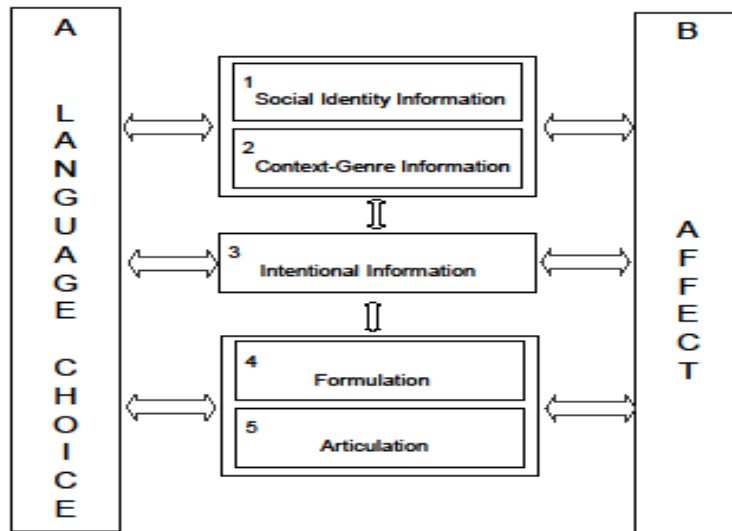
According to Holmes (2008), interlocutors sometimes use verbal filters or linguistic tags which signal their ethnicity. For instance using particle "lah" inserted by Malaysians when speaking in English, signalling their identity as Malaysians (Dumanig, 2007). Identity and its correlation with language were explored by Asmah Haji Omar (1993, cited in Dumanig, 2010) on an individual, group and community levels by collecting data through a questionnaire, conducting a survey and interviewing students

of various backgrounds (Malays, Chines, Indians). It was discovered that Malaysians' self-categorisation was ethnic-centred. Furthermore, regardless of what descent participants were, it was evident that they identified themselves with Malaysian society for different reasons, such as their role in the society, being a member of the larger community, which also provided them with some privileges and a sense of security. When the language was concerned, results showed participants had different identity features in different ethnic contexts. Although the use of English was found to identify themselves with higher social status, their language choices seemed to also accommodate to interlocutors belonging to other ethnic groups.

One work of particular relevance to the present research is worth mentioning. Putkaradze (2005, p.398) who explores Georgians' mother tongue and dialects in Tao-Klarj (now on the territory of Turkey) states that the "knowledge of the mother tongue is the inherent, immanent awareness of one's own nationality". According to Putkaradze, the strength of the facets defining the national identity of an individual such as mother tongue, traditional religion and the knowledge of the ethnic roots is different for the people in their motherland and in the countries of other ethnos. He found that the majority of Georgians living in Tao-Klarj under the jurisdiction of Turkey no longer have either mother tongue (the Kartvelian/Georgian literary language or the native dialect) or historical religion. Having said that, Putkaradze argues that the awareness of own ethnic roots largely determines the national identity. People also maintain their ethnic identity through their dance style, traditions of Georgia cuisine and other features of analogous value, even though the majority of them no longer speak Georgian language (Putkaradze, 2005).

2.2.4.5 Summary of contributing factors to language choice and code-switching behaviour

Walters (2005) brings the above-mentioned issues together in bilingual contexts and summarises the links between some of the topics of interest in the current research in his SPPL (Sociopragmatic-Psycholinguistic Model of bilingualism):



*Figure 2. 1 SPPL (Sociopragmatic-Psycholinguistic Model of bilingualism)
Walters, 2005*

This model can be considered as a valuable asset in bilingualism studies, but, as the author suggests, it can also be used in different disciplines as it is based on different concepts. Walters indicates the relations between five main components and language choice, with the social identity being the lead component as grounded in the social world of a speaker. According to Walters, social identity is changing with time and environment. He further explains that the second-context-genre component represents the setting, genre and topic of interaction, which also considers code-switching, or code-alteration, as Walters refers to it, in an immigrant/immigration context. The third component entails pragmatic and lexical preferences/choices and speakers' intentions conveyed through language behaviour, as well as his/her identity. The fifth component is an articulator, which according to Walters accounts for a bilingual merged system of sound, even if the person has no accent. In other words, this model links speakers' language behaviour to their identity where context, lexical preferences/choices and the ways of conveying utterances play a role in their interactions.

2.3 Chapter Summary

The current research investigates language behaviour – language choice and code-switching and the contributing factors: language maintenance (and shift), age, social network and identity - ethnicity in this case. The reviewed studies bear relevance to the

present study. The literature on the abovementioned factors has demonstrated the insights in language choice and code-switching in various contexts, which appears to be multiplex phenomena in nature. It is evident from the literature that language behaviour is linked to a variety of contributing factors, but much still need to be explored as individuals and communities vary in their choices, as well as in their perceptions across the nations. The elements emerging in various studies have informed the development of the conceptual and methodological structure of the study, which will be provided in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Following the chapter which reviewed a body of literature relevant to the focus of the current study and on which research questions were based, this chapter will explain the research methodology employed in this study. First, the research approaches adopted in this study will be discussed, followed by the study design to address the research questions. Then the sampling method and participants profile will be described with the methods and instruments used for the data collection and the methods for analysing the data. Ethical considerations for this research will be provided towards the end of this chapter.

To reiterate, the Research Questions which this study attempts to give an explanatory insight into, are as follows:

- RQ1 - What are the language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities in different contexts?
- RQ2 - To what extent, and in what ways do the Georgians in Luton code-switch?
- RQ3 - What are the factors contributing towards the language behaviour (RQ1 and RQ2)?
 - a. Does attitude towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour? If so, how?
 - b. Does social network play any role in their language choice and code-switching? If so, how?
 - c. Does participants' age have any impact on their language behaviour?
 - d. Does their identity perception play any role in their language behaviour?

As it was mentioned in the introduction chapter, this research takes a complex methodological approach incorporating a range of research tools, in order to explore and fill the gap in the existing literature.

3.2 Research approach

The research approaches adopted in this study and the rationales behind them are described in this section. In doing so, this section will touch upon various issues in relation to research paradigms (Section 3.2.1), quantitative and qualitative methodology (Section 3.3), data gathering tools (questionnaire, interview, observation) (Section 3.5), and deductive and inductive approaches to data analysis (Section 3.2.5), while discussing and justifying the research approaches taken in this study.

3.2.1 Study paradigm

Paradigms are research traditions that offer an “implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism” (Kuhn, 1970, p. 17). Paradigms are a “net that contains the researcher’s epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises” and it is an interpretive framework with a set of beliefs that guides action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p31).

To develop approaches to this research study, the paradigm of mapping research was taken into account (O’Gorman & MacIntosh, 2015), which includes:

Ontology - our assumptions about how the world is made up and the nature of things.

Epistemology – our beliefs about how one might discover knowledge about the world.

Ontology is the study of being or reality. Ontological assumptions are divided into objective and subjective configurations, with the objective perspective that can be measured and tested and can also exist independent of us. In contrast, “a subjective perspective looks at reality as made up of the perceptions and interactions of living subjects” (O’Gorman & MacIntosh, 2015, p.56). It looks at facts as culturally and historically located, for this reason, subject to variable behaviours, attitudes, experiences

and interpretations. Subjectivity applies to both, the observer and the observed. According to the authors, 'true' does not mean that it is universally accepted. "Subjective ontology approaches reality as multiple in the sense that each individual experiences their place and time in the world in a different way" (p.57). Because there is an existing reality outside peoples' interactions which can be measured and predicted, objective and subjective ontologies are not mutually exclusive.

This research employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to gather and analyse data in order to address the research questions of the study from both objective and subjective perspectives.

Qualitative research tools, including semi-structured interviews and long-term observations, were employed to gather insights into participants' language behaviour and the factors contributing towards these behaviours (the role of attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language, the role of age, identity and social networks towards their language behaviour), which would address all three research questions. Interviews were semi-structured and complementary to the questionnaire so they widely relied on self-reported data. On the other hand, long-term observations enabled collection of a richer dataset that could be observable and independent from participants' self-reports, would also address all three research questions. Observations gave the opportunity for the researcher to look into the reality of individuals, their perceptions and interactions in real life communication, to see through their eyes and walk in their shoes. The qualitative analysis helped in evaluating the data against existing theories, such as CAT (communication accommodation theory) and making comparisons between reported and observed data and whether they were in agreement or not, because scholars (Chapter 2) argue that the two often disagree. Having said that, subjective ontology considers everybody's experience to be different, as already mentioned, so similarities and differences would only enrich our understanding about complexity in people's perceptions, attitudes and actual behaviour in real life situations inducing to bring new knowledge, new truth.

Epistemology is the study of knowledge. It concerns the way in which we obtain valid knowledge, which considers mainly four positions: positivist, critical realist, action research, and interpretivist. Whilst we hold assumptions about reality (ontology),

epistemology helps researchers to choose the ways that would allow them to develop valid knowledge (O’Gorman & MacIntosh, 2015). Although these positions have been considered useful, all do not necessarily apply to this research due to the limits as to how far they may let a researcher investigate. For instance, critical realism believes in an external reality, such as past and future, but is critical of human ability to access and measure it, being biased due to individual experiences (Bhaskar, 1978; 1989; 1993). As for the action approach, it makes an emphasis on affecting changes to the situation under investigation. It is often regarded as working with organisational members on matters that concern them and are in need of taking action to bring changes (Eden & Huxham, 2001). Although positivism is usually linked with natural sciences, some would argue that this approach can be as well used in social science (Donaldson, 1996). Drawing on the work of scholars who either support or refute positivist approach, O’Gorman and MacIntosh (2015) conclude that in social science, unlike physical sciences, paradigms cannot be true or false, as ways of looking, but they can only be somewhat useful. Interpretivism considers that, as opposed to physical sciences (objects external to a researcher), social sciences have more to do with action and behaviour initiated from the human mind and researcher and the researched have a mutual relationship; however, the social and human world depends on the researcher’s interpretation. Interpretivism allows understanding the context, rather than just measuring it (Paton, 1990; Klein & Myers, 1999). O’Gorman and MacIntosh (2015) make distinctions between positivist and interpretivist approaches stating that an objective ontology naturally takes a quantitative methodology and is usually linked with a positivist approach to knowledge, whereas subjectivity is generally driven by an interpretivist epistemology and is aligned with a qualitative methodology.

Table 3. 1 Research assumptions and positivistic and interpretivist paradigms.
 (Adapted from O’Gorman, 2008)

Assumption	Question	Positivism	Interpretivist
Ontological	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is singular, set apart from the researcher	Reality is multiple and interpreted by the researcher
Epistemological	How do we obtain knowledge of that reality?	Researcher is independent of that being researched	Researcher interacts with that being researched
Rhetorical	How is the language used in the research?	Formal, based on set definitions; impersonal voice	Informal, evolving decisions; personal voice
Axiological	What is the role of values	Value-free and unbiased	Value-laden and biased

The purpose of this study is to provide explanatory insights into the Georgian ethnic minority group’s Georgian language use in Luton and the links between the language behaviour and their social networks, identity and age. Given the complexity of the above-mentioned phenomena and the requirement to construct the account that weaves these perspectives together, it has been decided that interpretivist paradigm is the most suitable approach for this research study. As already mentioned above, individuals’ experiences and their worldviews differ, so the reality is multiple and it is dependent on the interpretations of the researcher. The nature of an ethnographic research - the approach this study takes, is to indwell within the research community, so interacting with those being researched is essential. The rhetoric of this study is to present personal views and experiences as of the participating individuals in this study, so as the investigator and there is a value-laden link (presupposing the acceptance of a set of values) between them, as the researcher is actually part of this ethnic community. Driven by the interpretivist approach, with subjective ontology, this research pursues a qualitative and quantitative methodology for this study both of which are equally weighted.

3.2.2 Sociolinguistics and ethnography

Definitions for sociolinguistics and ethnography are given in Chapter 2. The current research is focussed mainly on the spoken language being used at the present time only. This is a sociolinguistic and partly ethnographic study as it corresponds with the definitions provided in Chapter 2 and it takes the language behaviour phenomena, social

networks and identity into account. Heller (2008) suggests that ethnographies can address a broad range of questions, such as “ideologies of language, the relationship between practise and beliefs about language, or the role of languages in the construction of relations of difference and inequality in many sites, from face-to-face interaction to institutional and State – or enterprise-level forms of social organization” (p.254). An ethnographic approach was employed for the current research because it would give a better understanding and insight into the issues listed in the research questions in real life situations based on long-term observations.

According to Heller (2008) explanatory data has two varieties with the first one being concerned with the observable context where things happen, the ways in which practices are tied to particular conditions, resources and interests, the second one connecting “practices to people’s accounts of why they do what they do (recognizing that all accounts are just that” (p.255), which are narratives that help us see how people make sense of their world. Having said that, literature suggests that reported speech often differs from the observed one (Gumperz (1982) (see Chapter 2), therefore, to make the collected sources richer and more reliable, the main study took an ethnographic approach in orientation (with sociolinguistic approach), as defined in Bax (2006). While the pilot study was mainly based on the self-reported data, the main study incorporated long-term fieldwork including observations as part of the data collection, and observations were carried out over the course of over 4 month period of time.

3.2.3 Indwelling and considerations for fieldwork

Considerations were given to the position/status of the fieldworker within the researched community.

“To indwell means to exist as an interactive spirit, force or principle, and to exist within as an activating spirit, force or principle. It literally means to live between, and within. Perhaps this dictionary definition can be translated for qualitative research to mean being at one with the persons under investigation, walking a mile in the other person’s shoes, or understanding the person’s point of view from an empathic rather than a sympathetic position” (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994 p.25).

In reflection to the above statement, one of the advantageous assets of the current study is that the researcher was a part of the investigated community - Georgian ethnic minority group living in Luton, therefore a participant observer - in cases, where researcher's full or partial participation was essential, and an observer - where the researcher allocated time for note-taking, thinking and reflecting on the experiences.

A qualitative researcher attempts to gain an understanding of a person or situation that is meaningful for those involved in the inquiry. To achieve this, the human instrument is the only data gathering instrument which is complex enough and indwells for a long period of time to capture the important elements of individuals or activities, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) explain. The literature on ethnographic research methodology suggests that a researcher carries an important role of being an observer and a fieldworker particularly when indwelling within the community he/she is investigating. Patton (2003), for example, pays attention to the balance of emic and etic perspectives. That is, an observer being an insider as a community member (emic) and an outsider as a researcher/ observer (etic). In his model of evaluation, Patton provides a design of fieldwork and the observer's ways of participation. These include the questions about who conducts the inquiry, people that are being studied and the duration of observations (in terms of hours and long-term multiple observations, which may take months or years).

To be able to gain in-depth and accurate insights into Georgian community experiences and reflect accordingly, the researcher attempted to strike a balance between emic and etic perspectives; that is, the researcher being an insider as a member of this ethnic minority and an outsider as a research fieldworker at the same time.

The following efforts were made to strike a balance:

- a. "participants first" in mind, (respecting their confidentiality, privacy and dignity; respecting their preferences, e.g. location and time for meetings, interviews, observations).

- b. taking participants' perspectives into account (not own perspectives, although this is subject to comparison and reflection), as they were the source of information and it was fundamental to capture their stories and worldviews by their expressions, feelings, attitudes, behaviour, opinions, values or knowledge.
- c. sustaining objectivity by constantly reminding the researcher of the purpose of being there or interviewing/observing and the overall aims and objectives in the first place. In other words, what was the purpose of this research generally; what needed to be explored and achieved without being biased and subjective.

Just to draw on some examples, the researcher had to be selective of questions and careful about the extent to which she would go to try and gain access to the data in her observations. For instance, when interviewees felt uncomfortable in discussing their medical, legal or personal matters (brought up during observations), the researcher had to know the limits/boundaries not to push further just to achieve goals of gaining the information. For this reason, topics were changed for instance by asking a different question, generating new ideas or giving the participants pace to do so. In short, individuals' privacy had to be respected. This also led to mutual understanding and gaining more trust and confidence. On the other hand, some participants were of opposite attitudes, who wanted to share "too much" and it was up to the researcher's discretion whether or not to share, record, or if already recorded, whether to transcribe the data or not. In the cases where the decision was made for the data not to be transcribed, these episodes were labelled as "inaudible segments".

3.2.4 The researcher's position in fieldwork

This section describes how fieldworkers can be involved in observation processes and what kind of involvement was selected for this research.

Spradley (1980) introduces types of participation of a fieldworker during observations:

Table 3. 2 Spradley's fieldworker's types of participation

Degree of Involvement	Type of Participation
High	Complete
	Active
Low	Moderate
	Passive
(No Involvement)	Non-participation

As indicated in Table 3.2, fieldworker’s types of participation are categorised according to his/her degree of involvement. The higher the degree of involvement, the more complete and active type of participation is, and the lower the involvement, the more passive fieldworker’s engagement.

Spradley’s approach was taken into consideration for the main study research and the following adhered to the observation processes:

Table 3. 3 Fieldworker’s participation in this research

Type			Who	Activity
40%	1	Fully involved	Fieldworker	Observation Audio-recording Journal writing
30%	2	Partly involved	Fieldworker	Observation Audio-recording Field-note taking (as convenient) Journal writing
30%	3	Not involved 1	Spectator fieldworker	Non-obtrusive observation Audio-recording Field-note taking Journal writing
	4	Not involved 2	Designated volunteer	Audio-recording Journal writing
	5	Not involved 3	N/A	Audio recording Journal writing

As shown in Table 3.3, a fieldworker’s participation in observations is listed in five categories, from fully involved to non-involvement. To make the most of the observation tool for data collection, all five types of participation was practised in this research, and audio-recording and post-observation journal writing were carried out in all five categories.

In the first category, due to the researcher's full involvement, it was not practical to take notes as the observation needed to be as natural as possible without another reminder (apart from audio-recording) that the participating individuals had been observed. Full participation meant that the observer was taking part in the activities with the participants, such as discussing some topics with adults or making a birthday card with children.

In the second category, the researcher was involved partly, which meant that although participating, she was not actively involved, giving her the opportunity to allocate time for note-taking. It had been assumed that it would not be always possible to take notes and maintain the participation at the same time. This meant that on some occasions note-taking was not suitable, for instance, due to the nature of activities. Therefore, the note-taking technique was used only when it was convenient. These types of the situation may be attributed to the fact that the researcher was a part of the community and there was an established expectation of her to be actively involved. This is where factors between emic and etic perspectives were considered.

In the third category, the researcher held a non-intrusive position, who observed without any involvement but rather was a spectator. This is where fieldnotes were taken and participation was not essential.

Categories four and five were applied in the study with the intention of not imposing on participants by the researcher's presence, to enable the participants to be observed in more naturalistic situations. In category four, there were designated volunteers who would simply switch on an audio-recorder when activities started and switch it off by the end of it. In category five, the researcher took this responsibility. These two categories were included because Gal (1979) for example, used a similar technique in her research in Austria, which proved to be successful. Having said that, such technique in this research was almost impossible in practice. There may be explanations to this, for example, unlike Gal (2079), the researcher of this study was a part of the community and an insider with already established relationships with most of the participants and it was almost always expected that she would be involved in the activities, including

discussions. So, to some extent, this can be considered as one of the limitations of this study. However, it is believed that this did not affect rich data collection in general.

3.2.5 Deductive and inductive approaches

Brewer (2000, p.189-190) among other scholars, explains the definitions of deductive and inductive approaches. According to the author, the deduction is “an approach to the formulations of truth claims and statements which deduces general statements from a theory... which are then tested against prediction and observation”. Brewer explains that this approach is associated with positivism (objective enquiry based on measurable variables and provable propositions (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) and forms part of the natural science model of social research. Hereby, as mentioned above, the collected data of the current research will be tested against CAT.

On the other hand, Brewer gives the definition of inductive approach as follows:

“This is an approach to the formulation of truth claims and statements which argues that general statements, if they are to be made at all, should emerge from the data themselves and not be imposed on the data by prior conceptions and theoretical assumptions” (2000, pp.189-190).

Here, induction is associated with naturalism (an orientation concerned with the study of social life in real, naturally occurring settings; the experiencing, observing, describing, understanding and analysing of the features of social life in concrete situations as they occur independently of scientific manipulation- attention paid to what humans feel, think, perceive and do in natural situations (Brewer, 2000, p.33)) and with an approach to theory formation known as grounded theory (a specific methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for the purpose of building theory from data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)).

This research takes both deductive and inductive approaches, since this research not only evaluate the observed phenomena against the existing theory, but it also seeks the new truth based on the observations of real-life situations, discussions, activities, as well as attitudes, perceptions and worldviews of the researched community, gathered with

the help of quantitative and qualitative tools, in order to address the research questions stated at the beginning of this chapter.

3.3 Research Design

This research adopted a mixed-methods research design. Dörnyei (2007) defines mixed method research as “a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods within a single research project”. The real matter in this method describes Dörnyei, “concerns how the QUAL-QUAN combination takes place, the variety of possible combinations is rich, going well beyond simple sequential arrangements (i.e. a research phase is followed by a second phase representing the other approach)” (2007, pp.44-45). It must be noted that there may be limitations as well to mixed method approach, therefore equal weight must be given to each data type (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2006). Limitations could include differing data from qualitative and quantitative results. According to Patton (1999), a combination of research tools such as interview, observation and document analysis are expected in fieldwork, but in cases when only one method is used in a study, it becomes more vulnerable to errors, than those studies with multiple methods providing cross-data validity checks. Dörnyei lists strengths of quantitative research being “systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled, involving precise measurement and producing reliable and replicable data that is generalizable to other contexts” (2007, p34) and qualitative research - having exploratory nature, making sense of complexity, broadening understanding such as in longitudinal examination and providing rich material.

In their “naturalistic inquiry”, Lincoln and Guba (1985) explore the internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity of qualitative research through evaluating the trustworthiness, pointing out four major factors that contribute to it:

1. Truth value (establishing confidence in research with respondents and the context in mind);
2. Applicability (findings applicable in other contexts);
3. Consistency (ability to repeat findings in the same or similar context);

4. Neutrality (non-bias, objective and natural findings).

Lincoln and Guba highlight the importance of the confirmability of the data and the concept of objectivity with the following techniques for assessing it: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability and identify these terms with validity, reliability and objectivity. In addition, they provide insights into journal writing technique and the importance of using it as providing the reflexive account of the above-mentioned techniques for establishing trustworthiness.

Patton (1999) also takes above-mentioned factors into account and the dependency of credibility on three distinct but related elements:

- “rigorous techniques and methods for gathering high-quality data that are carefully analyzed, with attention to issues of validity, reliability, and triangulation;
- the credibility of the researcher, which is dependent on training, experience, track record, status, and presentation of self; and
- philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry, that is, a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, purposeful sampling, and holistic thinking” (Patton, 1999, p. 1190).

Patton refers to the logic of triangulation based on the premise that “no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival explanations. Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of data collection and analysis provide more grist for the research mill” (1999, p.1192). Similarly, Dörnyei (2007) explains that combining qualitative and quantitative research strengths (as in the first paragraph of this section) and using both QUAL and QUAN approaches can bring out the best of their paradigms, hence being an advantage of mixed method approach.

For Johnson et al. (2007) too, mixed method is “an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints”, by which they mean that it involves and is a mixture of both, quantitative and qualitative methods. One of the four types of mixed methods design proposed by Creswell and Plano-Clark (2006) is the triangulation for collecting complementary data,

which puts strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods together. It makes comparisons and contrasts the results of both methods to expand or validate the results. The other three methods include: embedded – one set of data supporting the primary one, often used when there is a time limitation for extensive data collection; explanatory – quantitative data explained by qualitative data, often used to validate significant results from the quantitative data (Morse, 1991); and exploratory – using different phases of qualitative data in support of the initial results (Greene et al., 1989). Among these types, this research employed the triangulation method (see Figure 3.1 below), where quantitative and qualitative data were gathered simultaneously and analysed independently and results from both types of analysis were compared and contrasted at the end of the research in order to increase the credibility and validity of the data.

The following is the research method used in this study:

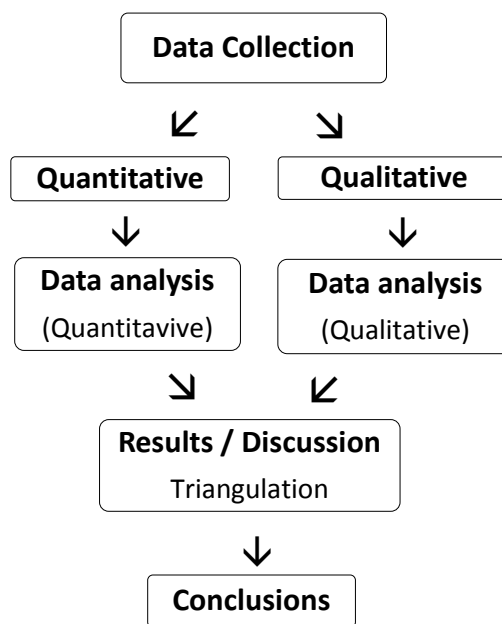


Figure 3. 1 Research method

Table 3. 4 Overview of the gathered data sources and analysis methods

Focus	Rationale	Research instrument	Participants (Pilot Study)	Participants (Main study)	Data analysis
Language choice (RQ1)	To identify language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities in different contexts.	1. Questionnaire (Quan) 2. Semi-structured Interview (Quan+Qual) 3. Observation (Qual)	9 9 ---	36 14 12	1.DS (Quan) 2.DS (Quan) & TA (Qual) 3.TA (Qual)
Code-switching (RQ2)	To what extent, and in what ways do the Georgians in Luton code-switch?	1. Semi-structured Interview (Quan+Qual) 2. Observation (Qual)	9 ---	14 12	1.DS (Quan) & TA (Qual) 2.TA (Qual)
Contributing factors towards the language behaviour (RQ3)	To identify the factors contributing towards the language behaviour (RQ1 and RQ2). In particular, whether: a. attitude towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour. b. social networks play any role in their language behaviour and if so, how. c. age has an impact on participants' language behaviour d. their identity perceptions play any role in their language behaviour	a.1. Interview (Semi-structured) (Quan+Qual) a.2. Observation (Qual) b.1. Questionnaire (Quan) b.2. Interview (Semi-structured) (Quan+Qual) b.3. Observation (Qual) c. Observation (Qual) d.1. Questionnaire (Quan) d.2. Interview (Semi-structured) (Quan+Qual) d.3. Observation (Qual)	9 --- 9 9 --- --- 9 9 ---	14 12 36 14 12 12 36 14 12	a. DS (Quan) & TA (Qual) a. TA (Qual) b. DS (Quan) b. DS (Quan) & TA (Qual) b. TA (Qual) c. TA (Qual) d. DS (Quan) d. DS (Quan) & TA (Qual) d. TA (Qual)

Note: DS=Descriptive Statistics, TA=Thematic Analysis

Triangulation of complementary data approach can ensure effective, valid and reliable data collection, particularly because it includes both – quantitative and qualitative data. The explanatory mixed research procedure also helps explain and analyse the relationships between these data (Creswell, 2008).

As already mentioned above, this study used a mixed methods approach, triangulating results obtained from quantitative and qualitative tools. The research tools were questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and observations. All questionnaire and interview items were trialled and discussed first, by the fellow colleagues in a postgraduate forum and then piloted prior to the main study research. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected during four and a half months period of time, from January 2013 to mid-May 2013. Originally four months was planned for the fieldwork; however, for the convenience of one of the participant families, it was decided to extend time. Participants were Georgian speaking population. The data was collected in Luton with varying locations and mainly in family settings. Full details will be provided in the following sections of this chapter.

3.4 Sampling

This section will discuss the general demographics of the Georgian population in Luton, including non-participants (those who were not selected to participate in the research). Then participants' profile will be presented for both – the pilot study and the main study research. The data collection methods for the main study research will then be detailed.

3.4.1 Demographics of Georgian population in Luton

In the process of identifying and finding potential participants for the pilot study, it was found that no governmental/local authority or any independent organisation provided these figures when approached. For this reason, although identifying the demographics of Georgian community in Luton was not within the scope of this study, the researcher took an interest in gathering this information in order to understand the extent to which the sampling of the main study the research population would represent the overall proportion of this ethnic community.

The snowball sampling technique was used to collect the data of non-participant individuals (individuals who did not take part in this research study), which is commonly used method in SNA (social network analysis). Cohen (2011) notes:

“In snowball sampling researchers identify a small number of individuals who have characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify, or put the researchers in touch with, other who qualify for inclusion and these, in turn, identify others- hence the term snowball sampling (also known as ‘chain-referral methods’)” (Cohen, 2011, p. 158).

Bernard and Ryan (2010) call this small number of individuals “starters” with whom a researcher has a relationship of trust (key informants). Once they recommend people, researchers are handed from informant to informant, therefore sampling frame grows and eventually it becomes saturated as no new names are offered.

This technique may be used for different purposes, for instance when a researcher has difficulty or no access to the population. In the case of this study, the snowball sampling technique was used to identify the total number of individuals of Georgian community, as well as other data, such as their gender, age and background of origin. As explained in the previous chapters, some individuals from Georgia are of different ethnicity by origin, so when Georgians are mentioned in this report, it may mean their background by location (Georgia) and not only by origin, unless specified otherwise.

The results showed that in total, there were approximately 131 individuals of Georgian background living in Luton. This included 42 individuals who participated in the research study. The total number of Georgian population is approximate for the reasons of employing the aforementioned technique, which is said to lack of accuracy (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

Table 3.5 below lists the Georgian community members, who did not participate in this research.

Table 3. 5 Non-participants of Georgian Background

Non-participants					
Age Range	No of People	Gender		Place of Birth	Origin / Ethnicity
		M	F		
1-4	10	5	5	UK (10)	Kurdish (7) Armenian (1) ½ Kurdish/ ½ Armenian (1) ½ Georgian/ ½ Polish (1)
5-12	14	10	4	UK (10) Georgia (2) Russia (2)	Kurdish (10) ½ Georgian/ ½ Irish (2) ½ Georgian/ ½ Polish (1) Armenian (1)
13-19	5	3	2	UK (2) Georgia (2)	Kurdish (3) Georgian (1) ½ Georgian/ ½ Kurdish (1)
20-39	36	20	16	Georgia (36)	Kurdish (26) Georgian (6) 3 Armenian (3) 1 ¾ Kurdish/ ¼ Georgian (1)
40+	24	12	12	Georgia (24)	Kurdish (15) Georgian (5) Armenian (3) ½ Georgian/ ½ Kurdish (1)
Total Age range (1-69)	89	50	39	Georgia (65) UK (22) Russia (2)	Kurdish (61) Georgian (12) Armenian (8) Mixed (Geo-Kurd) (3) Mixed (Geo-Pol) (2) Mixed (Geo-Irish) (2) Mixed (Arm-Kurd) (1)

The following Figure shows the total of Georgian population (approximate) in Luton, including the individuals who participated and who did not participate in the study.

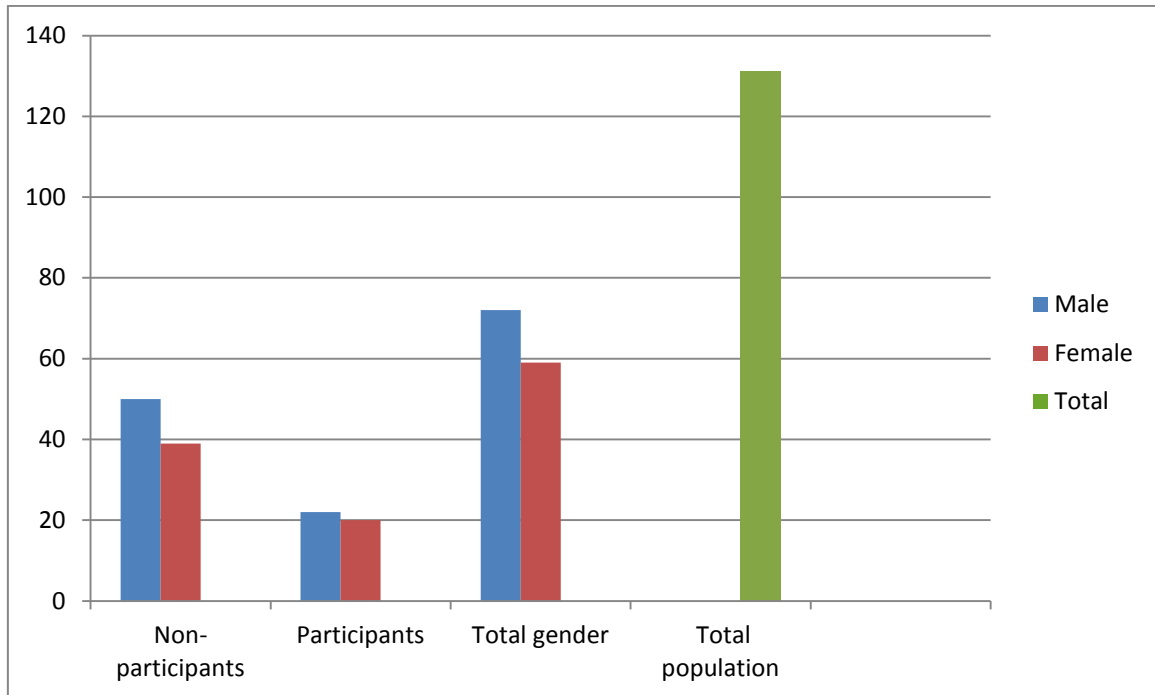


Figure 3. 2 Total number of Georgian Community Members in Luton

As mentioned earlier, Figure 3.3 above also provides the sampling proportion of the population who participated in the study, which is relatively appropriate for the main study research considering the total number of individuals in the community.

3.4.2 Participants of the pilot study

Participants for both the pilot study and the main study were chosen from different parts of Luton and from different families. They were selected in a way that would cover a range of ages, gender and ethnic origins. It must be noted that although the target community for this research is of Georgian background, this does not necessarily mean that they are all Georgian by origin, as some participants' ancestors were of different ethnicities and not naturally occurring population of Georgia, but have lived in Georgia for generations and moved to the UK in the recent years.

Nine individuals participated in the pilot study. Like the main study research described below, the pilot study also mixed ethnicity of the individuals of Georgian background in this study.

Table 3.6 shows participants' profiles in the pilot study.

Table 3. 6 Participants in the pilot study

Age Range	Male	Female	Total	Data Collection Format
13-19	1	2	3	Questionnaire / Interview (Group)
20-39	1	2	3	Questionnaire / Interview (Group)
40	1		1	Questionnaire / Interview (Individual)
40+	2		2	Questionnaire / Interview (Pair)
Total	5	4	9	9 Questionnaire, 9 Interviews

As it is demonstrated in the table above, five male and four female individuals participated in the pilot study. All nine of them filled out questionnaire individually, but different types of data collection were applied during the interviews. The number of participants in the interviews was from one to three. It was limited to three because based on other studies, group contribution is more effective with fewer individuals in it. For example, in the research involving 269 students in Japan, to explore effects of a number of participants have in group oral tests, Nakatsuhara (2011) focused on introvert and extrovert participants. She found that groups limited to three seemed to have made more attempts to make collaborative interaction than groups of four. All three formats of interviews in the current study were successful and had their advantages and disadvantages. The more members were included in a group, the longer and more natural discussions adult participants generated, while it is also worth noting that topic diversion was also observed.

In a group of three teenagers, on the other hand, there were hardly any discussions, although all questions were answered individually. This could have been due to reasons, such as teenagers not being very close to each other, felt too shy or uncomfortable to blend in. The individual interview proved to be more effective in the pilot study as the interview was more focused, less time consuming and straight to the point. However, it had its limitation of not having discussions/debates with other group members, which provides further insight into the issue. As individual interviews proved to be more

effective than in pairs or in groups, individual data collection was applied for the interviews in the main study research.

3.4.3 Participants in the main study

Different data collection formats were employed in the main study, in order to achieve the maximum contribution to the study area. Table 3.7 below provides the data collection formats where the participants are allocated based on their age:

Table 3. 7 Participants in the main study

Age Range	Male	Female	Total	Data Collection Format
5-12	2	3	5	Observation
13-19	3	3	6	Questionnaire and/or Interview and/or Observation
20-39	6	6	12	Questionnaire and/or Interview and/or Observation
40+	11	8	19	Questionnaire and/or Interview and/or Observation
Total	22	20	42	36 Questionnaire, 14 Interviews, 22 Observations (target 12, non-target 10)

Individuals who participated in the main study were between 5 - 70 years old. Table 3.7 is divided into four age ranges: 5-12, 13-19, 20-39 and 40 and over. Special care was taken to have an almost equal number of male and female representatives in each of these age groups. In total, 22 male and 20 female individuals participated, out of whom 36 filled out questionnaires, 14 were interviewed and 22 observed - 12 targeted and 10 non-targeted individuals. The ‘targeted’ here means those individuals who were selected for long-term observations and the ‘non-targeted’ means those who happened to be in the place of observation, but who also participated in other activities of the research - interview, filling out a questionnaire, or in both.

Children in the age range of 5-12 were not selected for participation in the interviews, so as for the questionnaires. This was decided due to the exhausting interviewing processes and the length of the questionnaire, as well as the complexities of the two.

Due to the fact that the Georgian language shift (Chapter 5) was found to be taking place in one of the teenagers’ case in the pilot study, criteria for selection for the main

study research changed. Participants were interviewed informally prior to the research and the main criteria for their selection and participation were based on how frequently they spoke the Georgian language. Individuals had to speak Georgian at least once a month to be included in the study. The reason behind this principle was that individuals who speak the Georgian language much less frequently might not have been able to contribute to the present study, as this research investigates Georgian language use in real life situations and interactions.

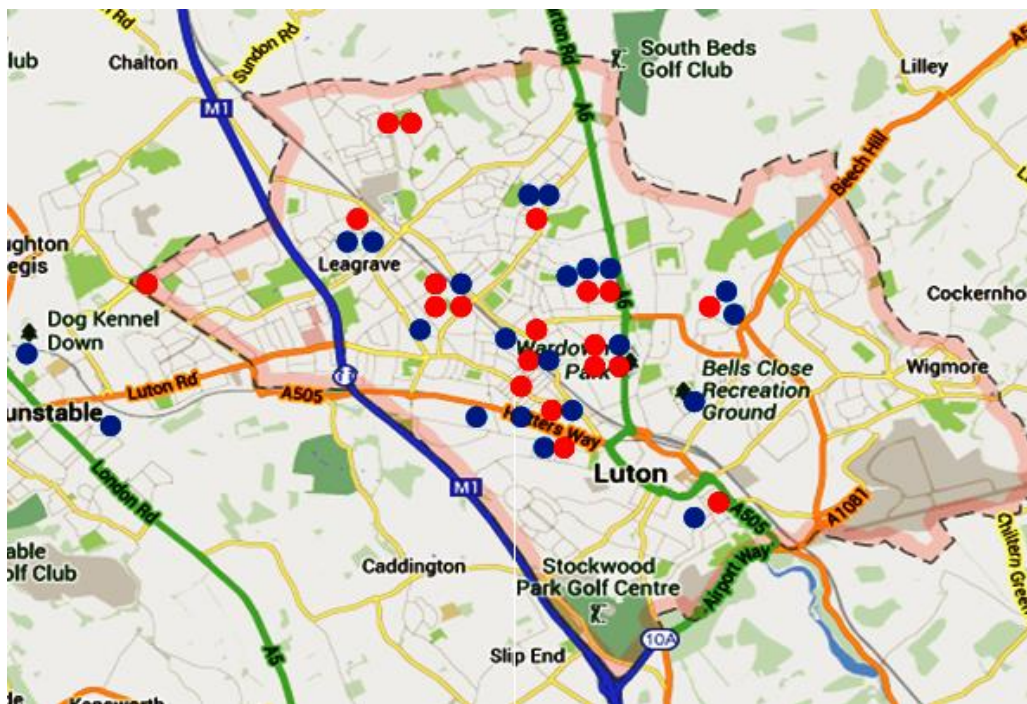


Figure 3.3 Participants of the main study research on the map

Figure 3.3 demonstrates the residential locations of the selected individuals for the main study research with blue dots representing male participants and red - female participants.

3.5 Research tools for the data collection.

The pilot study was undertaken prior to the main study to evaluate the effectiveness of the selected quantitative and qualitative data collection instruments and to modify the instruments or add alternative ways of data collection tools to the main study. Based on the pilot study experience, some modifications have been made to the main study research methodology which includes:

- Taking an ethnographic approach in orientation to the study in line with the sociolinguistic approach (Section 3.2.2);
- Adjusting the questionnaire and interview tools by swapping questions to suit the context, changing the wording, removing and adding items, including Russian and Georgian translations;
- Adding an observation tool to the data collection format and conducting observations for 4 months period of time;
- Examining inter-coder reliability for the coding interpretations of the interview and observation data.

A mixed methods approach was used in this study, triangulating results obtained from quantitative and qualitative tools (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dörnyei, 2007). Instruments chosen for the main study: questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and observations, seem to be the most efficient tools in sociolinguistics and ethnography. A questionnaire is a widely used tool for gathering a large amount of quantitative data, which usually is very versatile, structured and can be time-efficient for data collection once it is designed (Dörnyei, 2003). Semi-structured interviews are “compromise between two extremes, structured and unstructured” (Dörnyei, 2007: 136), that is, there is a set of questions pre-prepared for the interviews, but there is also flexibility for discussion and eliciting more information. “And yet, no questionnaires can fully replace observation of real-life verbal activity of informants in an atmosphere close to natural” (Švejc, 1986, p. 149). Reported and observed behaviours often are not the same (Gumperz 1982; Li Wei, 2008). In a questionnaire and interview, a researcher can obtain only self-reported behaviour, whereas long-term observations are the main feature in ethnographic fieldwork, as they help in “understanding the context in which bilingual behaviour is taking place” (Li Wei, 2008, p. 41). However, observations are lengthier processes and much more complex than structured questionnaires or interviews. While the pilot study demonstrated that the questionnaire and semi-structured interview were useful to gain insights into the many aspects of the issue raised in this research, an observation tool was included in the main study research to elicit richer and more reliable data.

These following sections give further detailed account of how research data were obtained in the main study. Research tools (questionnaire, interview and observations) are discussed individually and accounts will be given to how qualitative and quantitative items were incorporated to access feasible information. The modifications that were made to the research tools after conducting the pilot study research will also be provided in relevant sub-sections.

3.5.1 Adapting questionnaire and interview items

Some items in the questionnaire and interview were adapted from:

A. Gal's (1979) Language Choice questionnaire

Gal (1979), in her study of language shift in Oberwart, Austria, conducted a research over several months involving 68 participants, out of whom 8 household members were tape-recorded (p.66). For data collection, Gal used language choice questionnaire.

B. Wellman's (1979) Measuring Social Network Scores questionnaire.

Barry Wellman was one of the pioneers to study social support phenomenon of non-local friendship and kinship ties. Wellman conducted his first fieldwork of a large population in East York study (Toronto, 1968). The second East York study was conducted with Leighton in 1977-1978 (later revised in 1978-1979) researching more about social networks with 33 participants and investigating the social support of different kinds of ties.

The items of these questionnaires were not fully adopted because certain questions were either not the focus of the current study or relevant to it (e.g.: support networks), but some questions were modified to suit the context of the current research.

3.5.2 Questionnaire

In this section, some modifications that were made to the questionnaire will be discussed first, followed by its format (see Appendix 2 for the full questionnaire).

Taking the pilot study experiences and a larger sample of the Georgian population into consideration, modifications were made to the main study questionnaire by including Georgian and Russian translations in each item. This is because some people were not confident in reading or writing in English, or felt more comfortable with the Georgian or Russian languages than English.

Some modifications were made in wording and sentence structuring in the questionnaire, simply for clarity reasons. For example in section A of the pilot study questionnaire, participants were asked to state their occupation together with other personal details on the list. To reduce the confusion between occupation and profession, one more option - profession was added.

Language choice (RQ1), the role of social network (RQ3b) and identity perceptions (RQ3d) were mainly addressed in the questionnaire. Thirty-six main study questionnaires were filled out by the participants. It comprised 44 questions that were spread in five sections: A, B, C, D, E of two parts:

Part one consisted of 14 items in total:

Section A - Personal details (8 items). This included immediate family members and their personal data, with the purposes of establishing participant's social networks.

Section B - Geographical location (2 items), including the length of time lived in different places for investigating language use, therefore in the option "others: where else have you lived", the question was extended in brackets "for more than 6 months". It was thought that an individual may experience notable language behaviour change when lived in any other language speaking country for more than 6 months.

Section C - Frequency of using Georgian (1 item)

Section D - Level of education (3 items)

Part two consisted of 30 items in total:

Section E - Social Network (30 items).

In this section items in relation to language behaviour were incorporated with the items around social networks. For example, item 15 explored with whom and how much time individual participants spend on a usual day (Monday-Friday) or item 16- on weekend. Subsections of these items were provided within the tables listing possible responses. The final questions of these subsections were about what language(s) participants spoke with each person they indicated on the table. Similar techniques were utilised in other items, which would provide better insights into individuals' language behaviour with their interlocutors. Such would be item 17, which investigates leisure activities and the people participants do these activities with. Here, too, a question about their language(s) choice was asked in the aforementioned context.

Items 18-28 and 29-39 were spread in 2 tables, with Table 5 (18-28) and Table 6 (29-39). Table 5 contained questions around closest ties inside the household (18-28) and Table 6- outside the household (29-39). Both tables were divided in two main sections A and B. In B section of Table 5 participants were asked to list the closest ties inside the household that were close to one-another and what language(s) participants spoke in a group of these ties. In section B of table 6, participants were asked to list the closest ties of the household who were close to participants' closest ties outside the household. So B sections differed with the intention to investigate not only participants' close connections with them but also connections of their closest ties with one-another inside and outside the household. Table 6 too ended with the question about language use in a group of the people that the respondents listed.

Items 40, 41 and 42 were focussed on the connections with Georgia, frequency of going and length of staying there, as well as the language(s) participants spoke in Georgia.

Item 43 intended to elicit information around the topics participants discussed, interlocutors' location, but also the language in which they discussed these topics. The

final question of section E was in relation to confidence in using Georgian language, which was hoped to be supporting information when researching their language behaviour in real situations.

3.5.3 Interview

In this section, modifications to the main study interview will be discussed first and then the format of the interview (See Appendix 1 for the list of the prepared questions in the interview).

Relatively few and minor modifications were made to the main study interview followed by the pilot study. One of these modifications was that Question 10 of the pilot study interview was completely shifted and placed in the main study questionnaire as item 11 of section C. This is purely for the reason of it being a closed-ended question and did not require much discussion, which read “how often do you speak Georgian” with 5 possible answers varying from every day to every month with an additional option “other” for any other possible response.

Language choice (RQ1), code-switching (RQ2), attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language (RQ3a), the role of social network (RQ3b) and identity perceptions (RQ3d) were addressed in the interviews. The interview was semi-structured with scripted questions and other follow-up questions. Questions were prepared in English with the view that only the interviewer (the researcher) would have an access to it and would translate into the preferred language during the interviews whenever needed. These items on the list were more of a guide which could have been elaborated on as necessary.

Fourteen individuals of mixed age and gender participated in the interview, as in Table 3.8:

Table 3. 8 Participants' age range for the interview

Age Range	Male	Female	Total
5-12	0	0	0
13-19	2	1	4
20-39	2	3	5
40+	3	2	5
Total	7	6	14

As explained in Section 3.4.3, children in the age range of 5-12 did not participate in the interview and did not fill out a questionnaire.

Interviews were conducted in English or Georgian depending on the age and participants' language preference. For example, to accommodate teenagers, English (or in some cases Georgian) was used throughout the interviews, whereas with the adults Georgian was used mainly. Interviews were audio-recorded and the responses were also noted down on the paper, which was done as carefully as possible so that the participants were not distracted. For instance, by maintaining interest in what was said and checking on understanding, maintaining eye-contact and responding adequately (Egan 2002).

There were 25 items in total in the interview:

- Item 1- in relation to ethnicity/race
- Items 2-6 and 10-11 - in relation to mother tongue, languages participants used and the language preferences
- Items 7-9 - in relation to Georgian language use in the UK and in Georgia in different settings
- Items 12-17 - in relation to code-switching: awareness, interlocutors, situations, code-switched languages
- Items 18-20 - in relation to changes in the Georgian language use
- Items 21-25 - in relation to language maintenance.

Some items were a combination of questions so that the respondents could elaborate on. For instance, item 1 essentially comprised three questions:

- a. How would you define your ethnicity
- b. What is your race
- c. What makes you to be of this race

Questions were open to further explanation, discussion or a debate.

3.5.4 Observation

In this section, the research population will be discussed first, followed by the format of the observation tool with types of observations used in the fieldwork and the observer's involvement.

To reiterate what was noted earlier, 22 Georgian ethnic minorities were observed in the main study research. Below are the 12 participants' profiles for the observations with their gender and age varying from 6 to 54:

Table 3. 9 Participants for the observation

Age Range	Male	Female	Total
5-12	1	3	4
13-19	1	1	2
20-39	1	2	3
40+	2	1	3
Total	5	7	12

As already mentioned earlier in this section, in contrast to the questionnaire and interview, observations did not involve series of questions and exhausting processes. Therefore, it was decided to include children under the age of 12 in the observations in order to make the research data richer and more interesting.

Participants were observed in the family environments at least once in a fortnight, but having more than one individual/family under observation, this meant that generally,

observations took place from every day to once a week, depending on their convenience. There were occasions when the observations did not take place with a week or two gap due to holidays and/or participants' occasional travel and therefore lack of availabilities. For this reason, it was decided to change the observation timescale by extending it for further two weeks. On some occasions, several observations were conducted in one day. For instance, when children and parents were occupied with their activities in different rooms, they were observed separately when time and circumstances allowed doing so.

The length of single observation varied from approximately 7 minutes to 4 hours depending on the situations, for example, due to availability or inaudible segments such as silence (for instance when children were observed whilst watching a cartoon on TV) or where conversation was about a specific politician and the part of an observation was decided not to be transcribed for confidentiality reasons, hence being labeled as inaudible.

The orientation of the observation was to obtain the views, thoughts, and attitudes from the insiders of the Georgian community themselves. Long-term observations were used to address all three research questions. It would also help to make comparisons between self-reported and observed behaviour. To achieve the best, participants were observed in three different settings:

- Spontaneous
- Arranged situations
- Discussions

In spontaneous settings individuals/families were observed in a naturalistic environment while doing everyday activities such as usual evening family gathering, dinner, friends meeting, children playing or watching TV, friends helping each-other, invitations to traditional meals, as well as special occasions such as birthdays, new year's party and celebrating spring. Involvement of non-participant individuals in spontaneous setting was not restricted as the observation took place in naturalistic environments and people usually have guests or visitors in normal daily life. This way it was possible to observe

how participants utilised their language behaviour with different network ties. From the observation point of view, the focus was maintained on the participants in such cases, unless the non-participants were non-targeted individuals (for the observation) who participated in other research activities of this study (interview, questionnaire).

Arranged situations were organized by the researcher or they were collaborative decisions between the researcher and the participants. Arranged situations varied with the purpose of investigating what was participants' language behaviour in different situations, that is, whether their language choice and code-switching behaviour differed in various situations. These situations were, for example, children making jewellery, drawing pictures or assembling jigsaw puzzles, and adults filming an advertisement as a college assignment or photo-shooting sessions as college projects. In contrast with spontaneous settings, arranged situations involved only selected (targeted) individuals/families and none of the non-targeted ones.

The third type of observation was discussions. That is, participants were given/led to a topic and they were observed during discussion processes which would give a better insight into their code-switching behaviour whilst talking about different subjects. For instance, children were asked to watch a cartoon and after watching it, they were asked to express their views about it or they were given projects to draw a picture or make a birthday card, whilst discussing the processes they were going through and adults discussing their college project or talking about a legal document.

Artificial settings, such as discussion, may have had the disadvantage of not being natural, but they were feasible as one of the main purposes of conducting these types of observations was to deduce whether there were differences or similarities in reported/stated behaviour in questionnaire and interviews and the observed ones.

Journal logs (Appendices 3-7) were written after each observation with the primary elements listed in the first section of each log, such as date; time of the day (participants appeared to be available mostly in the evenings after work/school, which proved to be advantageous as most of the family members were present which enriched the collected data); number of the recording and the length of it; participating individuals by allocated numbers; present non-participants (where applicable); activity they were engaged in;

and the setting (settings are discussed below). The following section in the journal log gave a description of the setting and the event, which often included an image for a couple of reasons: 1. visualising the event and, 2. finding the logs easily (as a visual reference). These photos were taken either on the day of observation or borrowed from the internet that resembled those, such as traditional dishes. No photos were taken with any persons in it. This was followed by a section comprising transcribed data with a column next to it for comments/coding. Fieldwork notes were also taken during observations.

3.6 Methods for data analysis

In this section, an overview of the methods of the data analysis for the current research is provided, with the quantitative and qualitative data analysis presented in separate sections.

3.6.1 Quantitative data analysis

A quantitative approach to data analysis has been used in sociolinguistics since the mid-20th century (e.g. Fischer, 1958; Labov, 1963; Wolfram, 1969). Quantitative research is considered to be deductive, “based on already known theory we develop hypothesis, which we then try to prove (or disapprove) in the course of our empirical investigation” (Rasinger, 2013, p.11). The main characteristic of quantitative research is that the data consists of such information that can be in some ways quantifiable. As already discussed in this chapter, a questionnaire was one of the main research tools used for quantitative research data collection. A semi-structured interview was to elicit further information from the participants on the questions asked in the questionnaire, therefore, most of the questions in the interview were analysed quantitatively.

Before analysing any data, the following questions were taken into consideration: who was the audience or who would use the data source, why this research was undertaken (taking research questions into account) and what format was the best to demonstrate the findings.

3.6.1.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised 44 questions. After they were filled out, the collected data were entered into Excel spreadsheets in the following format, before reducing the items to a more straight to the point categories that would address the Research Questions 1 and 3. The items were coded in accordance with Strauss and Gorbin (1998).

Table 3. 10 Excel excerpt 1

Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q9
G01	F	14	Pupil	Pupil	Georgia	Georgian	North-East
G02	M	18	Student	Student	Germany	Georgian	North-East
G03	M	25	Business & Management	Unemployed	Georgia	Kurdish	West
G04	M	47	Physicist	Plumber	Georgia	Georgian	North-East
G05	M	53	Cook	Car Washer	Georgia	Georgian	South
G06	M	37	Business & Law	Plumber	Georgia	Georgian	West

The excerpt in Table 3.10 is an example of the entered questions Q1-Q9 (except question Q8, which was entered in a separate spreadsheet) from the questionnaire in the first row, with the responses below, which contains the following domains: given ID number in the first column (for anonymity reasons), followed by gender (Q2), age (Q3), profession (Q4), occupation (Q5), place of birth (Q6), ethnic origin (Q7) and part of Luton where they reside (Q9) in the column to the right. The spreadsheets were colour coded for personal reason, such as to visually locate certain data for quick reference (e.g. participants' gender and age coloured in yellow).

Some items in the questionnaire were closed-end questions with the response options, for example, every day, every other day, weekly, such as in Q11, which inquired how often participants speak in the Georgian language. In such cases, "yes" was simply coded as "y" and "no" as "n" for every option as shown in table 3.11.

Table 3. 11 Excel excerpt 2

Q1	Q2	Q3	Q11						
			Every			Once a			
			Everyday	other day	Weekly	Fortnightly	month	Other	Hours
G01	F	14	y	n	n	n	n	n	6
G02	M	18	y	n	n	n	n	n	4

G03	M	25	y	n	n	n	n	n	3
G04	M	47	y	n	n	n	n	n	1
G05	M	52	y	n	n	n	n	n	4
G06	M	37	y	n	n	n	n	n	6

Some data were more complex as Q15 below.

Table 3. 12 Q. 15 from the questionnaire: With whom and how much time do you spend on a usual day (Monday-Friday)? (Please tick all that apply)

	None	Up to 1h	1h-3h	3h-6h	6h-9h	More than 9h	What language(s) do you speak with him/her?
Alone							
With (immediate) family members							
With partner/girlfriend/boyfriend							
With relatives other than immediate family members							
With friends							
With colleagues/ classmates							
With neighbours							
With relatives and friends in Georgia using internet/ phone							
With relatives and friends in another country using internet/ phone to speak							
Other: (please specify with whom)							

There were two separate questions (with whom? and how long?) combined in one table and response options were provided in the table for both, with whom (e.g. family, friends) and how much time spent (e.g. 1-3 hours, 3-6 hours). Respondents had to tick the cell where the intersection point of the two questions was.

Below is an example how this question was entered into an Excel spreadsheet:

Table 3. 13 Excel excerpt 3

Q1	Q2	Q3	Q15 (weekdays)											
			Alone Language	With family Language	With partner Language	With relatives Language	With friends Language	With colleagues/ classmates Language						
G01	F	14	2	n	3	GE	0	n	0	n	4	E	4	E
G02	M	18	3	n	3	GE	0	n	0	n	3	E	2	E
G03	M	25	3	n	0	n	0	n	5	GR	2	G	1	R
G04	M	47	2	n	2	G	2	G	0	n	1	G	1	GE
G05	M	53	2	n	0	n	4	RL	0	n	1	GR	4	ER
G06	M	37	0	n	5	G	5	G	0	n	3	G	0	n

Responses about the length of interaction to each category (alone, family, friends, etc.) were coded in numbers:

0 = None

1 = Up to 1h

2 = 1-3h

3 = 3-6h

4 = 6-9h

5 = More than 9h

And the languages participants use with their interlocutors were entered in capital letters:

n = N/A

E = English

G = Georgian

R = Russian

K = Kurdish

L = Lithuanian

A = Armenian

Where participants reported speaking two or more languages with a particular interlocutor, all of these language initials were entered, such as G01 reported speaking Georgian and English languages with the family members, so GE was entered.

The entered responses for each category were then calculated as in Table 3.14 below (for the full results, see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1).

Table 3. 14 Amount of time spent with the family

Age	With family					
	Up to 1h	1-3h	3-6h	6-9h	More than 9h	TOTAL
13-19		2 (5.6%)	3 (8.3%)			5 (13.9%)
20-39	2 (5.6%)		3 (8.3%)	1 (2.8%)	2 (5.6%)	8 (22.2%)
40+		5 (13.9%)	5 (13.9%)	1 (2.8%)	2 (5.6%)	13 (36.1%)
TOTAL	2 (5.6%)	7 (19.4%)	11 (30.6%)	2 (5.6%)	4 (11.1%)	26 (72.2%)

Table 3.14 illustrates frequencies and percentages of the response items for each sub-category. It shows that each response to category “family” is calculated separately, such as in sub-category (response option) “1-3h” and the total of responses are given in the bottom of the column, which means 7 (19.4%) participants reported spending 1-3 hours a day with their families. Responses were also calculated in line with each age group and the total of responses for the category “family” is given in the column on the right-hand side. For instance, 8 participants in the age group of 20-39 reported spending time with their family members on a usual weekday.

Other data formats, such as pie-chart and bar-chart were also used to illustrate the demographics of the Georgian community in Luton.

According to Fitzpatrick et al. (2004), in many cases, descriptive statistics will be sufficient to answer most stakeholders’ questions when analysing quantitative data. Descriptive analyses of the data were given in the findings chapters 4-6. This way it was possible to summarise a large amount of information, which included the counts and percentages of certain data, allowing addressing Research Questions 1 and 3.

3.6.1.2 Interview

Being semi-structured, interviews were mainly analysed quantitatively. Discussions on qualitative analysis of the interviews are provided in Section 3.6.2.1.

Quantitative Interview data were entered and coded in Excel spreadsheets as the questionnaire above for both the pilot study and main study analysis (see table 3.15 for examples).

Table 3. 15 Excel except 4

			Q1a: Ethnicity	Q1b: Why this ethnicity	Q2: Languages	Q3: Why consider L1 as a mother tongue?	Q4: Frequently spoken language	Q5: Preferred language
G01	F	14	G	Born	GE	Learnt First	EG	EG
				Family from G				
G02	M	18	G	Family	GE	Spoke longest	E	EG
G04	M	47	G	Language	GER	Brought up	GE	GER
				Culture		Education		
				Tradition		Thinking		
				Country		Dreaming		
				History		Friends		
G05	M	52	G	Born	GRELP	Georgian race	REG	GRELP
				Parents		Born Georgian		
						Parents' L		
						Surname		
G06	M	37	G	Ancestors	GRE	Education	GE	GE
				History		First learnt L		
				Homeland				
				Surname				

In the examples in Figure 3.8, question: 1a asked about participants ethnicity and 1b – what makes them be of this ethnicity (race); 2 - what languages they speak (they had to write their mother tongue as language 1); 3 - why they considered L1 to be their mother tongue; 4 - frequently spoken language(s); 5 – preferred language(s). Each category, such as Q4 (which languages do you speak more often? Please begin with the languages you use most) were analysed separately under each code (e.g. EG = English and Georgian), which were calculated in accordance with the frequency (amount of times reported by the participants) and percentage of this frequency (see Table 3.16).

Table 3. 16 Frequently spoken languages (Chapter 4)

Age	G	E	GE	EG	GER	GR	REG
13-19	-	2 (14.3%)	-	2 (14.3%)	-	-	-
20-39	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	-	-
40+	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)
Total	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (21.4%)	3 (21.4%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)

The table above corresponds with the finding based on the data entered in Excel spreadsheet. The data under language coding is presented in line with the age groups showing the frequency (total response) at the bottom of each language code column. For instance, 2 teenagers in the age group of 13-19 reported using English and Georgian, Georgian in language column 4 (EG) and only one participant in the age group of 20-39 reported similar language behaviour totalling in three participants (21.4%) out of all fourteen interviewees.

3.6.2 Qualitative data analysis

This study is sociolinguistic and partly ethnographic. Therefore, it uses qualitative analyses due to the research tools used for the data collection, such as semi-structured interviews and observation, because, in general, qualitative approach focusses on language use in communities and how individuals represent themselves to the world (Langman, J. and Sayer, P. 2012). Qualitative research in general provides reliable and valid findings and takes an inductive approach, with the purpose to condense raw data into a summary format, identify links between research aims and the findings from the raw data, develop a framework of the underlying structure of experiences or processes that are evident in the raw data (Thomas, 2006).

3.6.2.1 Interview

Qualitative data of the interview were transcribed (McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig (2003)) and coded (Strauss and Gorbun, 1998). Excerpts were taken from the interviews to demonstrate participants' speech utterances, where interesting language behaviour,

such as code-switching occurred. Interviews were collected from 14 individuals and analysed to address all three research questions, including the sub-questions.

Before analysing any data, 10% of the audio recorded interviews in the pilot study were transcribed by another transcriber (Casual Transcriber) in order to compare and check the translation/meaning and accuracy of the transcripts as the interviews were conducted in both the Georgian and English languages:

Table 3. 17 Transcription comparison

IT=Initial Transcriber CT=Casual Transcriber				
Group 1	ITEM	INITIAL TRANSCRIBER	CASUAL TRANSCRIBER	COMMENT
Q1	1	Um	Umm	Individual usage of filler words
	2	- don't worry...(laughter in the back)	(laughter in the back) don't worry	CT1-early insertion
	3	Er	Eeh	Individual usage of filler word
	4	Now, I want you to	Now I want you <u>too...</u>	Individual pause (short and long) perception. Pause less than a second
	5	talk with each-other. Um...	talk with each other <u>umm...</u> <u>umm</u>	Individual usage of filler word CT1-double insertion
	6	ethnicity, or your <u>ori-</u> origin	ethnicity or your or-origin	Word or phrase repetition
	7	what you think your ethnicity is (long pause).	what you think your ethnicity is....	Individual pause (short and long) perception. Pause more than 3 seconds
	8	You'l- you'll be the first	<u>You you read it first ...</u>	CT1-mismatched segment Individual pause (short and long) perception
	9	I'm Georgian but I think	I'm Georgian but <u>umm</u> I think	CT1-assumed filler word insertion
	10	my ethnicity is sort of, English,	my ethnicity <u>is like...</u> English..	Unclear segment
	11	<u>cause...English</u> , it's like my first language now.	coz it's like my first language	Individual use of conjunction, pause (short and long) perception, omitted utterance.

As in the extract in Table 3.17 above, the comparison between two transcripts (by the researcher and Casual Transcriber) identified only minimal differences which were mainly around personal perceptions or understanding filler words or unclear segments. Impairment around the wording was minimal with no significant impact on the overall meaning.

Transcription comparison (for translations and accuracy) was not employed in the main study research as it was already tested and proved reliable in the pilot study. However, inter-coder reliability technique was employed to check the reliability of the data, where 10% of the total audio recordings were coded by another coder which was 85% in agreement with the original coding by the researcher.

Some excerpts from the interviews were included in the results chapter. Transcriptions of the excerpts were made in accordance with Shosted and Chikovani (2006) for Georgian pronunciation in the examples where intra-sentential code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993a,b; Woolard, 2004; Kebeya, 2013) occurred, such as when a combination of a Russian word 'сварка' /svarka/, for “welding” and Georgian prefix 'ს' /a/ and suffix 'ებ' /ebs/ was noted, sounding like: /a-svark-ebs/, where the Georgian suffix and prefix indicate an action of a third person (he/she/it) (see Chapter 5). Where appropriate, orthographic version of the excerpts was presented first, followed by phonemic transcription using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and then translation was also provided. In the excerpts where the orthographic transcription was not chosen to be used, utterances in the English language were provided in italic. These were also applied to the excerpts from the observations.

Microsoft (MS) Excel was used to enter and analyse the interview data quantitatively. As part of the Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss (1967)), open coding was used to break up and categorise the data. For example when the participants were asked about how they define their ethnicity, it was deducted from their responses that they were born, brought up in Georgia, had Georgian grandparents or parents, brought up with Georgian Orthodox church traditions or cultures, and such codes were inserted next to the responses, for easy identification and categorisation later on. Table 3.18 illustrates an example initial coding that the researcher carried out in one of the pilot study interviews (which was conducted in a group):

Table 3. 18 Interview excerpt

I01	Why do you think that you are Georgian?	
G08	My mother is Georgian, so is my father. So, I turn out to be a Georgian.	Parents
	...	
G06	I am Georgian, my grandfather was Georgian, so was my grandmother.	Grandparents
	...	
G06	My mother is Georgian, so is my father.	Parents
	...	
G06	Being Georgian, being Georgian means that we have a Georgian surname, we know our history, our...	Surname; history
G08	Our traditions	Traditions
G06	traditions, our generation [/ancestors/].	Traditions; ancestors

Note: G06 and G08 in the table indicate participants and I01 – the interviewer.

Then a separate table (as in Table 3.19 below) was created to list these categories together for each question and each participant separately:

Table 3. 19 List of responses before grouping them under the codes

	G01	G02	G03	G04	G05	G06	G07	G08	G09
Q1	Georgian Born	Georgian Lived Relatives Roots	Georgian Culture Values Passport	Georgian Culture Education Language Relatives Traditions	Georgian Name Surname	Georgian Ancestors Grandparents History Parents Surname Traditions	¾ Georgian Surname Traditions	Georgian Blood From G. Parents	Georgian Born Brought up Religion Traditions

Axial coding is the disaggregation (separation into component parts) of core themes in qualitative data analysis. In Grounded Theory, through inductive and deductive thinking, axial coding is the process of identifying the relationships between codes (categories and concepts) to each other Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998).

Some codes which had a similar origin, or meaning were then generalized under a different code, such as grandparents and parents were subcategorized under ‘ancestors’ and were entered into MS Excel with this code. Further coding was used in Excel where numbers were given instead of words for different reasons, firstly to save some space and to make the items easily identifiable (see Table 3.20 for an example).

Table 3. 20 Coded categories in numbers

Participants	Q1
G01	2
G02	1;2;5
G03	4;10;11
G04	3;4;5;7;9
G05	1
G06	1;3;8
G07	1;3
G08	1;2;6
G09	2;3;12

The items that were listed most were numbered as 1 less mentioned items were given number 2 and so on in the Excel spreadsheet for further analyses. The definitions for each number code above were given in the comment box on the spreadsheet: 1=Ancestors, 2=Country, 3=Traditions, 4=Culture, 5=Relatives, 6=Blood, 7=Education, 8=History, 9=Language, 10=Passport, 11=Values, 12=Religion. Some of the responses remained coded as they had been named initially, such as religion or language, but several items (responses) were united under some of the codes above, for example: 1-ancestors: Parent(s), grandparents, roots, ancestors, name, surname; 2-country: From Georgia, lived, born, or brought up in Georgia.

Selective coding explains the relationships between axial codes. It is the process of choosing one category to be the core category emerged from the coded data (Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998).

The relationships between these codes were then ready to analyse. Similar coding technique was used for the observation data analysis.

As such, the interview data were quantified, and descriptive statistics were carried out in order to report frequencies and percentages of emerged categories from responses.

3.6.2.2 Observation

In total, 47 observations were conducted and 32 observations were selected for transcription. The selection was random from 1 to 32, which fell within the first three months of observations. Observations were described in a narrative format and instances where different language choices and code-switching occurred were

transcribed. Thematic analysis was conducted on the observation data. Thematic analysis is a commonly used form in analysing qualitative data (Guest, 2012), such as observation in the case of this study. Thematic analysis involves identifying, coding and understanding emerged themes systematically. There are mainly three kinds of codes for analysing data: structural codes – describing features of the environment, participants, interviewer, etc.; theme codes – marking instances of themes and showing where these themes occur in a text. They are also called referential or index codes, because they indicate the location of the themes; and memos – taking notes in relation to codes and observer’s comments. Themes can be elicited from data (the inductive approach), or from theory (the deductive approach) (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). This study has taken both deductive and inductive approaches, as it draws on the existing theories and also seeks the new truth.

Journal logs were written after each observation (audio recording transcription), which had primary elements at the beginning of each log. This included date, time, number of the recording and the length of a recording. This section also included participants (each was given a number (e.g. G02) instead of a name for anonymity reasons), the title of the activity and where it was taking place. For an example, see Table 3.21 below.

Table 3. 21 Extract from a journal log

Journal Log 12
Date: 18.02.13
Time of the day: Afternoon
Recording No: 12 Hours: 01:36:15
Non-participants: N/A
Participants: (4) G07, G10, G11, G21
Activity: Children watch a cartoon in English and discuss with G07
Setting: Discussion

The primary information was followed by the cell with the description of the setting and the event, which often included an image (of an activity or a product of an activity, such as a picture drawn by a child), but this was not mandatory, as these images were used only

for illustration and convenience to find the logs without reading the titles. The final row was divided into two columns – one for the actual talk/activity and another one was for the comments (e.g.: Appendix 5).

In contrast to journal logs, fieldwork notes included observer's thoughts, feelings, expectations or predictions. However, maintaining note-taking proved to be not feasible at all times during fieldworker's non-involved or partly involved observations, although it was anticipated that it would be done when non-intrusive observations would be in place. So note-taking was done as it was determined by the situation and the setting. Regardless the note-taking flexibilities, it still had a disadvantage of the possibility of missing out more important behaviour that can be only achieved by looking and observing.

To thematically analyse data, the coding strategy was used for both predetermined theory-driven themes and the themes that were emerged from the analyses. For example, one of the predetermined themes was “communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Chapter 2), with the subsection, “code-switching”. These instances were marked with categories, such as convergence, or divergence when applicable and were coded to show where they occur in a text and a recorded material, by indicating exact time (e.g. 00:11:09). The text and the comments columns were separated for better reference. The text was mainly written in a third person narrative form as some of the recorded material contained inaudible segments for different reasons and a narrative mode made better sense. However, dialogues/conversations that included language behaviour (RQ1, RQ2), such as language code-switching instances were fully transcribed word by word.

As mentioned above, thematic analysis was also used to gain further insights into new knowledge and elicit new themes emerging from the observed data. For example historical or cultural values, including traditions, humour, thoughts and sentiments, all of which complemented the research questions. But also instances, such as, when children demonstrated their preference of using English over Georgian, or where Russian code-switching occurred in Georgian speech and due to the analysis it was possible to determine that comparing to other age groups adults aged 40 and over insert more Russian utterances than English in their Georgian speech. These instances were all

inserted in an MS Word table under three main situational categories: spontaneous, arranged and discussion with several initial references, such as age, gender, journal log number, interlocutors and comments for further analysis (see Table 3.22 for an example).

Table 3. 22 An extract from the list of observations

Language Behaviour: Language Choice									
Age	Spontaneous	With	Log	Arranged	With	Log	Discussion	With	Log
5-12	E	Friends	16	E	Friends/ sister	32	EG	Friends	12
	GE	Mother	16	GE	Grand- mother	32	G	Friends' mother	12
	E	Friends	17				E	Friends/ sister	31
	E	Friends/ sister	29						
	G ("yes")	I01	29						
	GE	Mother	29						
5-12	E (short utterance (eg.: "No"- response)	Mother	3	E (for longer speech)	Mother	1	E (Short utterance, nouns) (responses to G)	God-mother	4
	E	Friends	7,8,16	A question in E about TV	Mother	5	G (short utterance, limited vocab	God-mother	4
	G language (G11)	Mother	8	E	Sister/ friend	7	I01 tried to maintain G in dialogue but G11 unwittingly insisted on E	God-mother	4
	G	Family	13	G (response)	Father	7	G with insertion of E (mainly nouns, but some verbs too)	God-mother	6

As already mentioned earlier, apart from the age and gender column, the table above is divided into three main settings for language choice behaviour: spontaneous, arranged and discussion. Each setting shows what language participants chose to speak with their interlocutors and in which log this interaction can be located.

Similarly to the interview data, the headings for the excerpts from the observations are written in the following format: Log number; recording times, the name of the activity followed by the excerpt itself.

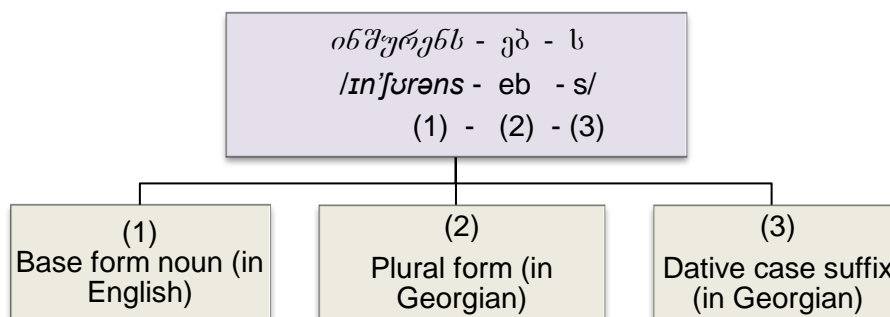
Utterances in Georgian are not written in the Georgian language. However to distinguish the two languages, utterances in the English language are written in italic as in example 1 below.

Example 1:

- 01 G21: “aw granny, I will do it again *for forty days*”
02 G23: “yes, you are already playing and how are you doing *forty days?*”

In cases where, for instance, intra-sentential code-switching is concerned and some grammatical explanation is required, Georgian utterances are written in Georgian with phonetic transcription and further detailed analysis (see Example 2 below).

Example 2:



3.7 Ethical considerations

In the modern research world, great emphasis is made on the ethical considerations during data collection and handling the information. “It is important to consider ethical issues from the early stages of a research project. From the beginning of the design

process, provisional decisions are usually taken about the nature of the research sample, and of the methodology” (Oliver, 2010, p.9).

Spradley (1980 p. 20-25) talks about the ethical principles, boundaries and safeguarding informants rights, interests and sensitivities. He explains the importance of considering informants first as well as their values, interests and concerns, which may sometimes be in conflict with the fieldworker’s. The Principles of Professional Responsibility (1971) by the Council of the American Anthropological Association, observed by Spradley (1980) sets out the following ethical factors:

- Consider informants first (to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare; honour their dignity and privacy)
- Safeguard informants’ rights, interests and sensitivities (to consider consequences; work in partnership with the participants and plan with them)
- Communicate research objectives (to whom, what, how much; and get to know the informants well)
- Protect the privacy of the informants (confidentiality and anonymity; fieldworker’s ethical dilemma- situations of danger, harm; and use of pseudonyms)
- Don’t exploit informants (to respect informants’ services)
- Make reports available to informants (that is access to data).

Spradley explains the fieldworker’s responsibility to act adequately to protect and/or resolve issues. According to the author “no matter how unobtrusive, ethnographic research always pries into the lives of informants” (1980, p.22). He explains further that participant observation is a very powerful tool for invading other people’s lives, which reveals information that can be used to affirm their rights, interests and sensitivities or to violate them. “All informants must have the protection of saying things ‘off the record’ that never find their way into ethnographer’s field notes...The aim of the investigation should be communicated as well as possible to the informant” (1980, p.22).

Ethical considerations were taken into account and the current study was guided by the principles and code of practice of the University of Bedfordshire and the researcher signed the University of Bedfordshire Research Ethics Scrutiny (RS1 form), which had been signed off by the Research Institute Ethics Committee before conducting the research.

When talking about individuals' rights, Williamson (2007, p.9) guides that "participants need to appreciate fully what they are getting into in order that they can consent to participate prior to taking part". In other words, researchers have to make sure that the individuals make informed decisions.

Research processes were explained to the prospective participants of this study before giving their definitive agreement to take part in the study. They were informed that the interview would last approximately 30 minutes, the questionnaire- 1 hour and observations would depend on the circumstances/situation and might vary from 30 minutes to 3 hours approximately.

It was also explained that their personal information would be used only to validate and process the data they provide. It was made clear that the collected data would be treated strictly confidentially and would be used for the research purposes only. The participants were also made aware of the fact that the provided data would not be disclosed to any third party, nor would be made any unauthorised copies, except the situations of immediate or possible harm and danger. The confidentiality agreement/consent form included the following points:

- "All citations (spoken and written) from the data used in published works or presentations shall be anonymised.
- Children will not be approached without parents or adult representatives present.
- This is not a legally binding agreement, it is a goodwill document and anyone signing it will have the copy of this consent form.
- The researcher, individuals or families can terminate the process at any time there is a need or necessity to do so, which should be explained. It would be very

helpful if we know about the termination as soon as possible so that arrangements with other families could be made.”

Participants declared that they granted the researcher of the project the permission to record their views on tape-recorder and to take notes as required; any recordings and interviews might be transcribed and they agreed to these recordings and transcriptions to be used for the research; and that anonymised extracts might be used in publications.

3.8 Summary

In order to address the research questions of this study (Section 3.1) related to the Georgian ethnic minority context in Luton, the current study took inductive and deductive approaches in this sociolinguistic and partly ethnographic research. The researcher’s role within the community and her participation was explained to give a better understanding of her position within this ethnic group during the fieldwork. This chapter described the sampling techniques, also providing the demographics of Georgian community in Luton as a whole followed by the methods, approaches and tools for data collection (quantitative and qualitative) and data analysis. A full account of ethical considerations was also provided.

Although not an exhaustive list, in accordance with Patton’s (2003) guidelines on fieldwork and evaluation, the following steps were taken to make this research as successful and fieldwork experiences as clear to the reader as possible. For instance:

- selecting participants in such a way that they adequately represented the Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton as a whole
- describing the experiences of observations (field-notes, post-transcription notes) in accurate and factual ways, by using some quotations and capturing participants’ views or experiences in their own words (to be followed in chapters 4-6).
- using interviewing skills (as in Egan, 2002)
- triangulating mixed methods for data gathering

- collecting a great deal of information (questionnaire, formal and informal interviews, several types of observations)
- the building, or in some cases reinforcing trust with the informants
- staying focussed and disciplined throughout the research processes.

Following the methodology explained in this chapter, the next three chapters will address Research Question 1 relating to language choice (Chapter 4), Research Question 2 relating to code-switching (Chapter 5) and Research Question 3 relating to the contributing factors to the language behaviour as in Research Questions 1 and 2 (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER FOUR: LANGUAGE CHOICE (RESULTS AND DISCUSSION)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the findings from both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the gathered data concerning participants' language choice in different domains and the findings are discussed in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The results provided in this chapter will help to address Research Question 1 (What are the language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities in different contexts?). Results related to question 3c will be presented in relation to language choice, but the question (RQ3) will be more fully considered in Chapter 6. This chapter is divided into three main sections: results and discussion based on the questionnaire (Section 4.2); results and discussion based on the interview (Section 4.3); results and discussion based on the observation (Section 4.4), followed by a short summary integrating and triangulating all findings from the three data sources (Section 4.4).

4.2 Results and discussion based on the questionnaire

The data gathered through the questionnaire is based on the self-reported information provided by the participating individuals. Apart from the demographic profile and other related sociolinguistic questions, participants were asked to report their perceptions of their language choice behaviour, such as: with whom and how much time they spend on a usual day and what languages they speak; the activities they do in their leisure time, whom they spend this time with and what languages they use; their language choices with closest ties in three domains: inside the household, outside the household (UK) and outside the UK; the topics of interaction on a daily basis, with whom and in what language. The results of the questionnaire are followed by the discussion on the abovementioned matters.

4.2.1 Languages used on a usual weekday

It was discussed in Chapter 3 that thirty-six members of Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton filled out the questionnaire.

Results relating to the question with whom and how much time participants spend on a usual day (Monday-Friday) are provided below. In Q15 of the questionnaire, participants were able to select more than one interlocutor from the list provided. The options included: alone, family, partner, relative, friend, colleague/classmate, neighbour, relatives in Georgia and relatives in other countries. The option “other” was also offered for any additional subject of interaction if needed.

The following table is an illustration of the calculated results for the languages used and the length of interaction in the family domain. Initials in the table such as G; E; R; K; A; stand for the languages: G for Georgian, E for English, R for Russian; K for Kurdish; A for Armenian, and in many cases these are combined as an acronym. For instance, GE would mean Georgian and English together, simultaneously. For example, 4GE (11.1%) in a cell would mean that 4 individuals representing 11.1% of the total of 36 participants chose to speak both Georgian and English with certain interlocutors, such as family members. This is provided in a cell with the amount of time (on top) spent with their interlocutors.

As shown in Table 4.1 below, twenty-six (72.2%) participants indicated that they spend time interacting with their family members in the UK, although the length of time they spend vary significantly.

Table 4. 1 Languages and length of interaction with the family members

Age	Up to 1h	1-3h	3-6h	6-9h	More than 9h	TOTAL
13-19		1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%)	3GE (8.4%)			1G (2.8%) 4GE (11.1%)
20-39	1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%)		1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%) 1GER (2.8%)	1G (2.8%)	2G (2.8%)	5G (13.9%) 2GE (5.6%) 1GER (2.8%)
40+		2G (5.6%) 1GE (2.8%) 1GEA (2.8%) 1E (2.8%)	2G (5.6%) 1GR (2.8%) 1GK (2.8%) 1ER (2.8%)	1GE (2.8%)	1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%)	5G (13.9%) 2GE (5.6%) 1GEA (2.8%) 1GR (2.8%) 1GK (2.8%) 1E (2.8%) 1ER (2.8%)
TOTAL	1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%)	3G (8.3%) 2GE (5.6%) 1GEA (2.8%) 1E (2.8%)	3G (8.3%) 4GE (11.1%) 1GER (2.8%) 1GR (2.8%) 1GK (2.8%) 1ER (2.8%)	1G (2.8%) 1GE (2.8%)	3G (8.3%) 1GE (2.8%)	26 (72.2%)
	2 (5.6%)	7 (19.4%)	11 (30.6%)	2 (5.6%)	4 (11.1%)	

Based on the data obtained from the questionnaire, it has become clear that the majority (72.2%) of the participants from the Georgian background, who live in Luton, spend their time with family members on a daily basis ranging from one to more than 9 hours a day. On average, 3-6 hours a day is spent with the family members reported by eleven (30.6%) participants and all speak in Georgian or Georgian in combination with other languages in the family environment, except one participant in the age group of 40 and over, who reported speaking only in English and Russian at home. Adults reported spending the same amount of time with their partners (as no teenager indicated having a partner) out of whom two speak different languages with them, due to the partners' ethnic/linguistic backgrounds. A considerable amount of time spent with their colleagues or classmates - 6-9 hours were reported by nine (25.0%) participants and seven of these speak English or English and Russian with them. The remaining participants spend time with on any usual day are relatives, friends, neighbours, family and relatives back in Georgia and interlocutors living in other countries. Time spent

with them ranged from up to an hour to three hours. The big majority of the participants reported Georgian as the main language for interaction with the above-mentioned interlocutors, but some with exceptions, when Russian, English, Kurdish and/or Armenian are practised. Interlocutors with whom the majority of the participants (seven out of ten - 27.8%) reported using the English language, were neighbours.

4.2.2 Languages used on weekends

The same question was asked in the questionnaire about the weekend, i.e. with whom and how much time participants spend on weekends and what languages they speak with them.

Comparing the findings between weekdays and weekends, respondents' language choice did not largely differ except a few minor differences which are worth mentioning. For instance, one of the teenagers (2.8%) speaks English with her friends during weekdays. However, she also speaks Georgian with her friends on weekends. Only one (2.8%) individual in the age group of 20-39 indicated that he does not interact with his partner during the week but on weekends, he speaks to her in the Georgian and English languages. One (2.8%) participant of the same age group does not interact with his friends during the week but on weekends he interacts with them in Georgian and Russian. Six (16.7%) participants of the same age group interact in English with their colleagues during the week, however, only two (5.6%) interact with them on weekends (in English). Lastly, three participants (8.3%) in the age group of 40 and over speak in Russian with their colleagues, whereas on weekends they do not interact with them at all. During the week, six respondents (16.7%) reported they interact in English with their colleagues and only four (11.1%) speak with them in the English language on weekends. The impact of social networks on language behaviour will be revisited in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3).

4.2.3 Activities and languages use with interlocutors in leisure time

Respondents were asked about their leisure time, whom they spend their leisure time with and in what languages they speak with them in Question 17 of the questionnaire. The activities in the questionnaire were listed in an alphabetical order including those which participants reported in the section "other" in the pilot study, where they had an

option to include any other activities that were not listed in the corresponding question. In this section, attention was paid to their language choices with the individuals they spend free time with. The results below show the activities that the majority of participants are engaged in, so if more than a half of the total number responded to the question, it is regarded as the majority. This is calculated based on the number of individuals in each age group, where gender is almost equally divided. In the age group of 13-19, there were five teenagers, so the majority of the participants would be three and more. In the age group of 20-39, there were twelve participants and the majority would be six and more. In the age group of 40 and over there were nineteen participants and the majority would be nine and more. These calculations were used in other sections too, where the majority is concerned.

The teenagers reported fewer activities they are engaged in, than the adults. The most frequent activities with the majority of the respondents and accordingly, language choices they reported, were related mostly to friends: calling friends on the phone by four teenagers (11.1%), where the language choice of three (8.3%) is Georgian and one of them also chooses to use English and one (2.8%), who speaks only English with her friends on the phone; Doing sports activities with their friends- four teenagers (11.1%) reported they all choose to speak English, except one (2.8%), who also speaks Georgian with her friends during these activities; meeting with friends - four teenagers (11,1%), all of whom reported talking to their friends in the English language; going to the park- four teenagers (11.1%), who reported they go there with friends and speak English with them. One of them (2.8%) included a pet (dog) in her response and reported that she speaks both - Georgian and English languages to her; using the internet - where all five teenagers (13.9%) said they are using internet for interaction. Two (5.6%) respondents reported using the English language on the internet and three (8.3%) said they use both Georgian and/or English with their friends or any other person on the internet.

Other activities teenagers reported being frequently engaged in and mostly with their friends and/or family (members) are cinema, shopping, visiting (friends, family) and watching TV, where they reported using Georgian and/or English. However, some interesting language choices were reported here, which will be revisited in the discussion at the end of this chapter. Two teenagers (5.6%) reported they use the

English language with their family when going to the cinema and choosing the Georgian and English languages with family when watching TV.

In total, there were twelve (33.3%) respondents in the age group of 20-39. From a long list of activity options, there were some that the majority of respondents from the age group 20-39 reported doing frequently and using a selection or combination of languages with their friends and/or family. The activities that the participants reported they are mostly engaged in were: calling friends - ten individuals (27.8%) out of twelve (33.3%) in total in the age range of 20-39 speak a variety of languages with their friends. For example six (16.7%) adults choose to speak only Georgian with them, two (5.6%) choose to speak a combination of the Georgian and English languages, one (2.8%) speaks only English with friends and one (2.8%) - Georgian, English and Russian; hosting guests - eight participants (22.2%) said they mainly host family, friends or relatives, out of whom four (11.1%) adults in this age group said they talk in Georgian with their friends and relatives, two (5.6%) speaks Georgian with family and English with friends and relatives and two (5.6%) Georgian, English and Russian with family, friends and relatives; meeting friends - ten participants (27.8%) reported meeting friends in their leisure time. Six (16.7%) respondents said they speak only Georgian with friends, and the other four (11.1%) combine Georgian with English or Russian; partying - nine participants (25.0%) said they party with their friends or family mainly. Four (11.1%) adults reported they use a combination of Georgian and English and Georgian, English and Russian with their friends, three (8.3%) uses Georgian with family and friends, and one (2.8%) uses only English; shopping - nine participants (25.0%) reported shopping either alone or with family and friends. Four (11.1%) respondents said they speak Georgian when shopping with family members, and one (2.8%) reported using English with friends whilst shopping; using the internet - eleven (30.6%) respondents reported using internet for reading or socializing. Three (8.3%) of these choose to speak Georgian with family and friends and one (2.8%) - English with any other individuals, one (2.8%) - Georgian and English, and one (2.8%) - Georgian, English and Russian with their friends and relatives; watching TV- twelve participants (33.3%) said they watch TV alone or with their family and friends. Two (5.6%) adults reported they watch TV with family during which time they talk in Georgian, two

(5.7%) reported using English with their family whilst watching TV, and one (2.8%) - Georgian and English simultaneously. The rest reported watching TV alone.

Other activities participants in the age range of 20-39 said being engaged in quite frequently, mostly with their friends and/or family (members) were: cinema, clubbing, gym/sports, walking in the park and visiting friends and the languages used are Georgian, English, Russian on their own or in most cases simultaneously and Kurdish in combination with Georgian, English and Russian.

There were nineteen (52.8%) respondents in the age range of 40 and over. The majority in this age group reported doing similar activities to the age group of 20-39 and using languages singly or the combination of languages mainly with their friends and/or family. Similarly. The activities they reported they usually do involve: calling friends - eighteen individuals (50.0%) out of a total of nineteen (52.8%) said they speak different languages when calling friends. Ten (27.8%) participants said they use Georgian with their friends and family, four (11.1%) said Georgian and Russian and one (2.8%) speaks Georgian, English and Russian simultaneously, one (2.8%) - English or Russian, one (2.8%) reported speaking to them in Georgian, Russian and Armenian simultaneously and one (2.8%) - a combination of Georgian, Russian and Kurdish; hosting guests - sixteen (44.4%) reported using different languages when hosting guests, including neighbours (reported by three participants). Five (13.9%) respondents reported using Georgian with family and friends, five (13.9%) said Georgian and Russian with family and friends, three (8.3%) use Georgian and English with family, one (2.8%) speaks Georgian, English, Russian and Kurdish simultaneously with family and relatives. Only one (2.8%) participant reported using only English and only Russian with his friends and relatives. One (2.8%) indicated using Georgian, Russian and Armenian with guests, one (2.8%) - Georgian, Russian and Kurdish; and one (2.8%) - Georgian and Kurdish; meeting friends- eighteen (50.0%) responded to this question, where six (16.7%) reported using a combination of the Georgian and Russian languages, seven (19.4%) said they use Georgian with them, one (2.8%) uses Georgian and English together, one (2.8%) of the participants chooses to speak a combination of Georgian, English and Russian and one (2.8%) respondent reported his language choice with friends is Georgian, English, Russian and Kurdish simultaneously. One (2.8%) of the participants

reported using the Georgian and Kurdish languages, one (2.8%) – Georgian, Russian and Armenian, and one (2.8%) – Russian and Kurdish; partying - sixteen (44.4%) respondents said they party with their family, friends, relatives, neighbours and others. Three (8.3%) respondents said they use only Georgian when partying, three (8.3%) said only Russian, one (2.8%) – only English. Two (5.6%) participants' language choice is Georgian, Russian and Polish. The remaining participants reported choosing to use the combination of the following languages: Georgian and Russian; Georgian, English and Russian; Georgian, Russian and Kurdish; Georgian, English, Russian and Kurdish; shopping- fourteen (38.9%) participants said they do shopping alone, with their family or friends. When shopping with family, ten (27.8%) participants of the age group of 40 and over said they speak Georgian with them. Two (5.6%) said they use Russian with them, two (5.6%) said they speak English with the family members whilst shopping and one (2.8%) reported using a combination of the Georgian, English and Russian languages; using internet- eighteen (50.0%) individuals use internet in the age group of 40 and over and talking to their family, friends and relatives. Five (13.9%) respondents reported using only Georgian with them, only one (2.8%) said - English and the remaining participants reported using the combination of the following languages: Georgian and English, Georgian and Russian; English and Russian, Georgian, Russian and Armenian.

The other activities the age group of 40 and over said being often engaged in and using these languages mostly with friends and/or family are: going to the church, walking in the park and sightseeing.

4.2.4 Language choice with closest ties

This research investigated participants' language choices with their closest ties in three different settings: inside the household in the UK, outside the household in the UK and outside the UK. In questions 18-39 of the questionnaire, participants were asked to list the members of their closest ties of all three settings, indicate who outside the household and outside the UK were very close to their closest ties inside the household in the UK and what languages they spoke with them individually and in groups.

Table 4.2 below shows what languages respondents speak inside the household and with the groups of these closest ties, i.e. a) among the groups of closest ties of the household

and outside the household in the UK, and b) among the closest ties of household and those outside the UK.

Table 4. 2 Closest ties and language choices among the groups in three settings

Participants	h/h	h/h + outside h/h UK	h/h + outside UK
5 (13.9%)	Age: 13-19		
	4 GE 1 G	1 E	1 G
12 (33.3%)	Age: 20-39		
	3 G 1 GER 2 G/GE 1 E 5 N/A	5 G 3 G/E 1 GR 1 GE/E/ER 1 GE 2 N/A	5 G
19 (52.8%)	Age: 40+		
	1 GE 1 GER 5 G 1 G/GE 2 R 9 N/A	8 G 3 G/R 1 G/GR 1 R 6 N/A	7 G 1GR 2R 7N/A

NOTE: e.g.: GE=Georgian and English languages simultaneously; G/R= Georgian and Russian separately; h/h= household

Table 4.2 above is divided into three main columns, which show the settings for language choices, as discussed earlier, where the results are shown in age groups. The left-hand-side figures indicate the number and the percentage of the participants in each of these groups. Considering the language choices in a group of closest ties, some responses were not applicable, in cases such as: an individual lives alone; lives with just one person (parent, partner, neighbour); there are no closest ties between closest ties of two settings and the closest ties inside the household; there are no closest ties in one of the settings.

All teenagers live in a family environment. It was reported by the participants in the age group of 13-19 that four of them speak in both Georgian and English with their parents

and one speaks only Georgian with them inside the household. One participant uses English in a group of closest ties inside the household and outside the household in the UK. One of the teenage respondents indicated that he speaks Georgian in a group of closest ties inside the household and outside the UK.

Five participants in the age group of 20-39 said that they speak Georgian with the closest ties at home, but two of them also use Georgian and English simultaneously. One of the respondents prefers to combine Georgian, English and Russian inside the household and one uses only English with the closest ties in the household. As for the closest ties outside the household in the UK, three respondents in this age group speak in Georgian with them, one – either Georgian or English and one - Georgian and Russian simultaneously. In a group of the closest ties at home and outside the UK, four respondents reported speaking Georgian, two out of whom also speaks in English only. One of the participants reported using Georgian and English simultaneously, only English or English and Russian at the same time. When it comes to the closest ties among household and outside the UK, three participants use only Georgian with them.

Respondents in the age range of 40 and over indicated that one of them chooses to interact with his closest ties inside the household in Georgian and English simultaneously and the other one in Georgian, English and Russian. Five participants of this age group speak only in Georgian in the household and one either Georgian or Georgian and English combined. Two participants reported they speak only Russian at home. In the settings between the closest ties in the household and outside the house in the UK, eight speakers said they interact in Georgian, three established that they use either Georgian or Russian, one said either Georgian or Georgian and Russian and one interacts only in Russian in this group of people. As for the interactions between the groups of closest ties inside the household and outside the UK, seven speakers use only Georgian, two – Russian, and one – a combination of Georgian and Russian. The majority of the closest ties inside the household are family members and relatives and all the respondents interact with them every day from 1 to 9 hours.

4.2.5 Language choice in Georgia

Participants were asked what languages they speak when they are in Georgia. Thirty (83.3%) out of total thirty-six (100.0%) participants said they speak Georgian in

Georgia. In contrast, only six (16.7%) respondents reported using other languages in combination with Georgian: three (8.3%) said Georgian and Russian, one (2.8%) speaks Georgian and Kurdish, one (2.8%) said Georgian and English and one (2.8%) uses Georgian, Russian and Kurdish when in Georgia.

4.2.6 Language choice and topics for interaction

Topics in the question were selected as generally most spoken and discussed among people on a daily basis and they were listed in an alphabetical order. The option “other” was also offered to expand on, where participants added new topics such as phobia, building work, knitting/embroidery and gossip. Topics participants listed in the option “other” of the pilot study were already included in the list of topics of the main study questionnaire.

The table below is divided into two main sections (across). The first lists a. the topics that the majority of the participants talk about, b. top topics of each age group (in italic), c. topics all respondents talk about with their interlocutors (in italics and underlined). The second section shows the entries of responses (not the number of respondents) to indicate the locations their interlocutors are/live.

Table 4. 3 Topics with interlocutors, their country of residence and languages for interaction

	Age: 13-29	Age: 20-39	Age: 40+
*Most discussed topics	Animals		Animals
			Appointments/meetings
			Books
*Top topics in each age group	Business	<i>Business</i>	
		Cars	<i>Cars</i>
*Topics all respondents talk about in the age groups (and/or across all groups)		Children	<i>Children</i>
	Computers		
	Education	<i>Education</i>	Education
		<i>Emotions/feelings</i>	<i>Emotions/feelings</i>
	Entertainment		
			Family affairs
	Fashion	Fashion	
		<i>Finances/money</i>	<i>Finances/money</i>
	Food		Food
	Friends	Friends	Friends
	<i>Future</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Future</i>
	Hairstyle		
			<i>Health</i>
		<i>Homeland</i>	<i>Homeland</i>
			<i>House/flat</i>
	Life in general		Life in general
		<i>Love</i>	Love
			Marriage
	<i>Movies</i>		Movies
	<i>Music</i>	Music	Music
		<i>News (paper, TV...)</i>	
	Parents		
		Politics	
	Relationships	Relationships	
Sports			
<i>School/work</i>		School/Work	
	Shopping	Shopping	
Technology			
	Traditions	<i>Traditions</i>	
	Travelling	Travelling	
	TV programs	TV programs	
	No. of Entries	No. of Entries	No. of Entries
UK	63	226	477
Georgia	0	72	185
Other	0	16	33

The majority of the participants in the teenage group (13-19) discuss the following topics mainly with family, friends and school: animals, business, computers, education, entertainment, fashion, food, friends, hairstyle, life in general, sports and technology.

Topics that all five (13.9% of the total of 36 participants) teenagers talk about are the future, movies, music and school/ work. They all indicated that their interlocutors they discuss these topics with, are/live in the UK and not in Georgia or any other country.

The majority of the respondents in the age group of 20-39 discuss the following topics mainly with the family/ relatives and friends: cars, children, fashion, friends, music, parents, relationships, shopping, traditions, travelling and TV programs. More actual topics than the above listed among the participants and their conversational partners appear to be business, education, emotions/feeling, future, homeland and love. The topic that all twelve (33.3%) participants of this age group talk about is finances/ money. In this question, there were 226 entries by the participants to indicate that their interlocutors with whom they discuss these topics are in the UK. 72 entries were for Georgia and 16 entries for other countries.

The majority of the participants in the age group of 40 and over discuss the following topics mainly with the family/ relatives and friends: animals, appointments/ meetings, books, education, family affairs, food, friends, life in general, love, marriage, movies, music, politics, relationships, work/job, shopping, travelling and TV programs. More actual topics than the above listed, that the respondents discuss with their interlocutors are cars, children, emotions/feelings, finances/money, future, health, house/flat, news (paper, TV, etc.) and traditions. The topic that all 19 (52.8%) participants of this age group talk about is a homeland. In this question, there were 477 entries by the participants to indicate that their conversational partners with whom they discuss these topics are in the UK. 185 entries were for Georgia and 33 entries for other countries.

Comparing these responses, teenagers report more topics in common with the age group of 40 and over, than with the age group of 20-39. The shared interests between the age groups of 13-19 and 40 and over seem to be animals, food, life in general, movies and school/work, whereas there were only two topics of interest between the teenagers and the participants of the age group of 20-39 and these were business and fashion. Having said that, there were four main topics that all three age groups talk about and these are education, friends, future and music. According to their reports, the two adult age groups seem to have many interests in common, than any adult age group and the teenagers. Adults of both age groups discuss cars, children, emotions/feelings,

finance/money, homeland, love, relationships, shopping, traditions, travelling and TV programs, none of which was listed in the teenage most discussed topics. It must be reiterated here, that the topics that the participants discuss or talk about on a daily basis are not limited to only the ones provided in this report. As an example, teenagers do talk about books, family affairs, finances/money and other age groups also have many other interests, but this report is focussing on the topics that are most discussed by the majority of the respondents and spoken languages associated with these topics.

Language choices for the most discussed topics are provided in the following three tables (4.4 – 4.6) first being the age group of 13-19, second - 20-39 and third – 40 and over. The tables are divided in accordance with the interlocutors who have been named as the main subjects of interaction: family (or partner, wife, husband, girlfriend/boyfriend) or relative; friends; school and everybody (anybody) else, which includes the interlocutors named in option “other”, such as doctor, bank, landlord, solicitor, etc. There are languages or the combination of languages and a total number of entries for each language presented in these categories.

Table 4. 4 Language choices for most discussed topics (age: 13-19)

Age group of 13-19							
Lang.	Family/ Partner/ Relative	Lang.	Friends	Lang.	School	Lang.	Everybody else
G	8	G	0	G	0	G	0
GE	31	GE	2	GE	0	G/E	7
E	0	E	38	E	9	E	0

NOTE: Examples of abbreviations: G=Georgian, E=English, GE=Georgian and English simultaneously, G/E=either English or Georgian

There were 8 entries for using the Georgian language in the teenagers’ age range. Teenagers recorded no English use at home, or with relatives, however, they all speak with them in both - the Georgian and English languages simultaneously. Comparing with Georgian use only, there were 23 more entries for speaking GE (Georgian and English simultaneously) by teenagers than only Georgian with the family/relatives, totalling 31 entries. Language choices with their friends and family are dissimilar as there is no Georgian language use shown with their friends. Only two entries were reported for GE language choice by teenage participants. The big majority of the entries

were for the English language, totalling in 38 entries for using the English language with friends. With their conversational partners at school, 9 entries were reported in total for using English. 7 entries were recorded for using either Georgian or English language with everybody/anybody else. In comparison with the other settings, more language choices were found in the family settings. However, in terms of the entries, there were more entry reports with friends than other groups of interlocutors/ settings.

Table 4.5 shows the language choices of the participants in the age group of 20-39.

Table 4. 5 Language choices for most discussed topics (age: 20-39)

Age group of 20-39					
Lang.	Family/ Partner/ Relative	Lang.	Friends	Lang.	Everybody else
G	93	G	65	G	6
GE	11	GE	15	GE	1
E	3	E	10	E	2
GER	8	GER	12	GER	7
GR	5	GR	2	GR	0
ER	7	ER	0	ER	0
R	1	R	1	R	0

NOTE: Examples of abbreviations: G=Georgian, E=English, R=Russian; GE=Georgian and English simultaneously

It is apparent that the Russian language use emerged in the age group of 20-39. The results show that this age group of 20-39 use more Georgian with their interlocutors than any other language singly or the combination of languages, except with “everybody else” where there are 7 entries for using GER (Georgian, English and Russian), whereas there are only 6 entries for using Georgian in the same setting. As opposed to the teenage group, adults of the age of 20-39 use English at home, with family, although there were only 3 entries recorded for it. There were 11 entries for using both - Georgian and English simultaneously in the same setting. Similarly, there were 15 entries for using GE with the friends. GER seems to be quite actual language combination in this age group, whether with family/relatives, with friends or anybody else. There were 8 entries with the family/relatives, 12 entries with friends and 7 entries with everybody else. In terms of the entries, there were more entry reports with

family/relatives (128), than with other two groups together (121: friends - 105 and everybody else - 16).

Table 4.6 shows the language choices of the participants in the age group of 40 and over.

Table 4. 6 Language choices for most discussed topics (age: 40+)

Age group of 40+					
Lang.	Family/ Partner/ Relative	Lang.	Friends	Lang.	Everybody else
G	223	G	103	G	11
R	36	R	2	R	1
GE	15	GE	0	GE	2
GR	12	GR	9	GR	4
GERK	9	GERK	9	GERK	6
E	4	E	2	E	17
ER	4	ER	0	ER	0
ERK	4	ERK	1	ERK	0
GK	2	GK	2	GK	5
GRL	2	GRL	0	GRL	1
GER	1	GER	1	GER	2
GRK	1	GRK	0	GRK	0
GERA	1	GERA	0	GERA	15
RK	1	RK	1	RK	0
A	1	A	0	A	0
GERLP	0	GERLP	2	GERLP	0
GEA	0	GEA	0	GEA	1
GRKA	0	GRKA	0	GRKA	3

NOTE: Examples of abbreviations: G=Georgian, E=English, R=Russian, K=Kurdish, L=Lithuanian, A=Armenian, P=Polish; GER=Georgian, English and Russian simultaneously

Unlike the other two age groups, participants aged 40 and over, use a lot more language combinations which they use simultaneously, such as Georgian, Russian, Kurdish and Armenian. As it is shown in the table above, use of other languages emerges in this age group, which are: Kurdish, Armenian, Polish and Lithuanian. Like the other adult age group, age group of 40 and over also uses more Georgian language with their interlocutors than any other language or language combinations. In total there were 223 entries for using Georgian with the family/relatives. 36 entries were reported for using the Russian languages with family/relatives. Only 15 entries were recorded for using GE simultaneously and 12 entries in total for using GR. 9 entries were recorded for using a combination of GER. E and combinations of ER and ERK were reported in this

age range with 4 entries for each, 2 entries for GK, and using GERA, RK, A with one entry each. 2 entries were recorded for using GRL and GER and GRK with one entry each.

Based on participants' reports, the data collected by questionnaires clearly shows that apart from using different languages, such as Georgian, English or Russian on their own, all three age groups use combinations of languages too. As to how and why participants code-switch between these languages, are reported in the interviews.

4.2.7 Discussion

The findings presented in Section 4.2.1 agree with Caulmas (2005) (Chapter 2), who states that for bilingual speakers language choices are natural, automatic and unplanned. Participants seem to speak languages that come naturally to them, such as with their family members, whether it is Georgian, or a mixture of the languages they use, or the colleagues and classmates where English, for example, is a "norm" for interaction, due to the fact that English is the state/dominant language in the country. Therefore, language choice in the environments such as the workplace or a school becomes automatic and unplanned. In other words, it is a must that the participants utilise English. Besides they would not be understood if they spoke Georgian, as hardly anyone speaks the language in Luton apart from the Georgian community members. On the other hand, it was reported that some participants speak languages other than English at work, such as Georgian and/or Russian, due to the background of the interlocutors, yet again the language that is almost instinctive within the interaction with certain interlocutors. Caulmas (2013) calls this sociology of language, where macro-sociolinguistics deals with the choice of languages and their functional allocation in society. This also brings us back to Trudgill's (1986) (Chapter 2) short-term (the particular situation with a particular conversational partner) and long-term accommodation (speakers adjusting to non-mobile interlocutors (native English speakers in this case)). In conclusion of these data, reported results related to language choice and interlocutors in different domains revealed that individuals' language choice depends not only on the interlocutor they are interacting with but also the environment.

Respondents reported using a range of languages whilst engaged in different leisure activities with their interlocutors (Section 4.2.3). Although teenagers reported fewer

activities than the adults, most of these activities were related to friends, which mainly involved phone calls, meeting up, walking in the park, using internet and sports activities. During the most of these activities they reported using English for interaction, but English was sometimes combined with Georgian. It seems that the majority of the teenagers use the English language in face-to-face interactions with friends, such as during walking in the park, meeting friends and sports activities, however, their language choice seems to favour the Georgian language, sometimes combined with English, in mediated communication, such as calling friends on the phone or interacting via internet. This language behaviour can be explained by the fact that the interlocutor friends they are interacting with via internet or the phone are also bi-, multi-linguals (in the case of the use of combination of languages), or monolingual Georgians (in case of the use of Georgian only) and located in other parts of the world, mainly in Georgia, hence macro-sociolinguistics linked with language choice (Caulmas, 2013). It must also be noted that interlocutors in face-to-face interaction may also vary in their linguistic/ethnic backgrounds. Although it may be a natural and automatic language behaviour (Caulmas, 2005), in contrast to communicating with those back in Georgia (or elsewhere) there are possible reasons for choosing English over Georgian – a weaker, minority language with friends in face-to-face interaction. This can be explained by the fact that English is the dominant language (Myers-Scotton, 2006) in the UK and speaking this language may come with some benefits, such as social acceptance and expansion of social networks, better opportunities (Ferrer and Sankoff, 2004), or even sense of prestige among peers (Managan, 2004), which may pave the way to success. It can be speculated that, in a sense, this may slightly contradict Caulmas's (2005) statement in relation to natural, automatic or unplanned language choice, as choice seems to become deliberate, however, once practised, over time this language behaviour will eventually become natural and automatic. Other leisure activities teenagers reported to be engaged in, was speaking English when going to the cinema with the family members, and using a combination of Georgian and English simultaneously when watching TV. This brings us to the “negotiation principle” (Myers-Scotton, 1998) where speakers signal their understanding of a specific situation by choosing a language with their interlocutors during the interaction. It has already been established in the above paragraphs that language choice depends on the

interlocutors and the environment, and speaking in English with the family members in the cinema, or using a combination of Georgian and English languages when watching TV with family are also good examples for this. The fact that movies in the Cinema are usually presented in the English language and in the English setting, it seems practical and convenient to discuss the movie in the same language, whereas the family setting and environment trigger the usage of both languages. Comparing adults language behaviour of both age range (20-39 and 40+) to teenagers', it is evident that Georgian is used by the majority whilst engaging in various activities, whereas teenagers use usually English in various domains other than mediated ones. However, like in the teenagers' case, Georgian is sometimes mixed with other languages. It must be noted that participants' language choices in the age group of 13-19 are limited to just Georgian and English, but adults have reported a variety of languages with their interlocutors during the activities such as: calling on the phone, hosting guests, meeting up with friends, partying, shopping, interacting via internet and many more. The reported data revealed that more languages are used by older adults in the age group of 40 and over than those in the age group of 20-39. Together with Georgian and English, languages such as Armenian, Kurdish and Polish were also reported by the older participants; therefore more combinations of languages were found in the language behaviour of older participants, than those in the age range of 20-39. When considering language mixture, the number of participants in each adult age range must be also taken into account, as there were 19 respondents in the age group of 40 and over and only 12 in the age group of 20-39, however, the fact remains obvious that adults know and use more languages than the teenagers. The reasons as to why older participants use a variety of languages are quite obvious. Most of the participants from Georgian background are the first, the second and in some cases the third Generations. The younger ones, who have been brought up and studied in the UK, mainly speak two languages: Georgian and English. However, the majority of members of the older generation, having had lived in Georgia (and other countries, in some cases) for a long time, where Georgian was a state language and Russian – the second mandatory language, they have more language choices. According to the results concerning leisure activities and language choices, it has become evident that informal settings where participants share background, linguistic intimacy and interact with their friends, family and relatives or even

neighbours, can be motivating factors for individuals' language choices, hence natural and unplanned language selection (Caulmas 2005). Each leisure activity inevitably triggers topic generation. For this reason, activity and topic can be linked as the motivating factors for the participants' language choices. These results disagree with the findings presented by Li Wei (1994). Although Li Wei states that individuals develop the sense of "script" or "schema" for when and what language they use with their interlocutors in order to achieve special communicative effects (see also Gallois & Giles, 1998; Žegarac & Pennington, 2000), he also found that speakers varied in their language choices regardless of the topic and the setting. This of course disagrees with Thomason (2001), who noted that language choice depends on topic, as well as other factors, (e.g. status and identity). It also contradicts Fishman's (1965) statement where he identifies group, situation and topic as the main controlling factors, regulators in language use and choice in multilingual settings. However, Fishman also adds that "topics usually exhibit patterns which follow those of the major spheres of activity in the society under consideration" (p.93) (Chapter 2).

When exploring various topic-related language choices (Section 4.2.6) in the current study, it was found that respondents in all three age ranges use different languages, with the majority favouring Georgian. Respondents in the age group of 13-19 reported talking about these subjects mainly in the UK, which indicates that they have less long-lasting interactions with individuals in Georgia or any other countries (as in other reports they claim having contacts abroad) than those in the adult age ranges, as large number of adults reported discussing various topics with the individuals living in Georgia or other countries, with the majority of these interlocutors residing in Georgia. There were very few common topics shared between the individuals of the youngest and the oldest generations (13-19 and 40+), than between youngest and those in the age group of 20-39. However, there were topics that respondents shared in all three age ranges. Language choices in topic-related data correspond to those reported by the participants of all age groups, earlier in this section with minor differences. For example, whilst teenagers indicated speaking in either Georgian or mainly English during leisure activities in the UK, in topic-related interactions they reported the simultaneous use of both languages with their family members in most instances, which also was the case when watching TV with the family members, discussed above. This

can be explained by the fact that while the questions about leisure activities in the questionnaire were linked to languages, the focus was inevitably directed to the selection of activities, whereas topic is/was directly linked with the language. This does not necessarily mean that the data in relation to language choice and leisure activity is inaccurate, but both data suggest a variation of language use in different situations/contexts, where speakers negotiate language choices in certain conversations, depending on the topic, with certain interlocutors, and specific situation to achieve better, mutual understanding (Myers-Scotton, 1998) and special communicative effects (Li Wei, 1994). In addition to interlocutor, activity, setting and environment, language choice was found to be governed by the topic factor, which agrees with Thomason (2001) and Fishman (1965), mentioned in previous paragraphs.

The language choice patterns analysed above also apply to choices with closest ties in three main domains: inside the household, outside the household in the UK, and outside the UK (Section 4.2.4). However, there were some aspects worth discussing. Only six individuals reported having no closest ties inside the household (e.g. living alone) and one participant said his closest ties within the household were a colleague and a friend. All the other participants' closest ties inside the household are family members and/or relatives. In general, there were much fewer languages and/or language combinations reported by the participants of all age ranges, than in the other reports. The reason is obvious as one cannot be very close to everyone within one's own network, hence less language choice patterns. While the language choices remain almost identical in the domain of household, fewer language choices were reported in the other two domains by teenagers. It appears that respondents in the age group of 13-19 hardly have any closest ties outside the household. There was only one entry for using English with the closest tie outside the household and one - Georgian outside the UK. While participants in the age group of 20-39 use Georgian, English and Russian singly or in combination during weekdays or whilst engaging in different activities with their interlocutors, it was found that they use Georgian singly in all three closest tie domains and combinations of these languages, but not Russian on its own. Participants aged 40 and over reported a wide range of languages or combination of these languages for different situations (activities). However, their report on language choices in all three closest tie domains has limited to Georgian, English and Russian, which leaves other languages such as

Armenian and Kurdish not being spoken with closest ties. Apart from those who live alone, all participants of this age group live in the family environment, and for this reason, it was almost expected they would speak in Armenian or Kurdish singly or in combination with Georgian, English and Russian, but their report states otherwise. Based on the data obtained in relation to closest ties and language choices, it can be concluded that there are relations between speakers' languages choices and their closest ties, where the key determinant for this choice is the interlocutor (Gal, 1979).

4.3 Results and discussion based on the interview

Following the results and discussion of the data gathered through the questionnaire, this section reports on the results obtained through the interview, where 14 individuals participated, as detailed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3).

The data gathered through the interview is based on the attitudinal information provided by the participating individuals. Apart from the demographic profile and other related sociolinguistic questions in the interviews, participants were asked to report on their perceptions of their language choice behaviour, such as spoken languages beginning with the most frequently spoken language. followed by less frequently spoken languages; preferred languages, beginning with the most preferred one; followed by less preferred languages for interaction, which then was compared with the most preferred languages; reasons for their preference. The results of the interview are followed by the discussion on the abovementioned matters.

4.3.1 Most spoken languages versus preferred languages

Interviewees were asked to list the languages they speak more often. Then they were asked to list their preferred languages in order, with the most preferred first. Results of the two were then compared, which are reported in detail below.

Table 4.7 shows frequently spoken languages in order. For example, REG, where R stands for Russian, E – for English and G – for Georgian, would mean that Russian comes first as the most frequently spoken language, then English followed by Georgian.

Table 4. 7 Frequently spoken languages

Age	G	E	GE	EG	GER	GR	REG
13-19	-	2 (14.3%)	-	2 (14.3%)	-	-	-
20-39	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	-	-
40+	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	-	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)
Total	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (21.4%)	3 (21.4%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)

Although this data considers most frequently spoken languages, according to some participants' reports, sometimes their language choice depends on their circumstances/environment. For instance, the above-mentioned REG used by one of the participants shares the house with other people, with whom he speaks in Russian more than in English or Georgian, hence most frequently spoken languages in order. Having said that, the majority of the respondents (52.8%) live in the family environment, although it must be considered that family/house is not the only place where they use their languages.

Two (14.3%) respondents, one in each adult age group indicated Georgian as the only (frequently) spoken language. Similarly, two (14.3%) teenagers reported English as the only frequent language and did not indicate any less spoken languages. The other ten participants listed the following languages as their most frequently spoken languages:

- GE-Georgian, followed by English
- EG-English, followed by Georgian
- GER-Georgian, followed by English, then Russian
- GR-Georgian, followed by Russian
- REG-Russian, followed by English, then Georgian

Two (14.3%), one in each adult age group said they speak Georgian often and then English. Three (21.4%) respondents - two (14.3%) in the age group of 13-19 and one (7.1%) in the age group of 20-39 reported English as their most spoken language and then Georgian. GER seems to be mostly used languages among three (21.4%)

participants - two (14.3%) from the age group of 20-39 and one (7.1%) from the age group of 40 and over. Only one (7.1%) in the age group of 40 and over reported GR as her most spoken languages and one (7.1%) participant of the same age group said his frequently spoken languages are REG with Russian as most spoken language, followed by English and then the Georgian language.

Participants were also asked to list their preferred languages in order, with the most preferred first, as displayed in Table 4.8 below:

Table 4. 8 Preferred languages

Age	G	E	GE	EG	GER	GRE	GRE A	GRELP
13-19	-	1 (7.1%)	-	3 (21.4%)	-	-	-	-
20-39	1 (7.1%)	-	2 (14.3%)	-	2 (14.3%)	-	-	-
40+	1 (7.1%)	-	-	-	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)
TOTAL	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (21.4%)	3 (21.4%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)

Two (14.3%) participants, one (7.1%) in the age group of 20-39 and one (7.1%) in the age group of 40 and over reported that their preferred language is Georgian. Only one (7.1%) teenager reported that his preferred language is English, and three (21.4%) teenagers said their preferred languages are English first and then Georgian. Two (14.3%) participants in the age group of 20-39, said they speak Georgian and English, preferring Georgian over English. Three (21.4%) respondents - two (14.3%) in the age group of 20-39 and one (7.1%) in the age group of 40 and over reported their preferred languages are Georgian, English and Russian, with the preference of Georgian over English and Russian. Only one (7.1%) participant in the age group of 40 and over reported her language preferences, in the following order: Georgian, Russian, English and Armenian. Finally, only one (7.1%) individual in the age group of 40 and over said his language preferences are: Georgian, Russian, English, Lithuanian and Polish.

From these reports, it can be deduced that teenagers prefer either English only, or English first and then Georgian whereas participants in the age group of 20-39 seem to prefer either Georgian or Georgian first and then English and Russian. As for the

respondents in the age group of 40 and over only one female reported only Georgian as the preferred language, but the others in the same age group have multiple preferences, all of which begin with Georgian, then mainly Russian, English and then other languages, such as Armenian, Lithuanian and Polish.

Table 4.9 below shows the comparison between the respondents' most spoken in comparison to the preferred languages.

Table 4. 9 Frequently Spoken Language(s) vs. Preferred Language(s)

Most spoken Languages								Preferred languages							
Age	G	E	GE	EG	GER	GR	REG	G	E	GE	EG	GER	GRE	GREA	GRELP
13-19		2		2					1		3				
20-39	1		1	1	2			1		2		2			
40+	1		1		1	1	1	1				1	1	1	1
TOTAL	2	2	2	3	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	1	1	1

The comparison of the reported above-mentioned language behaviour reveals the following:

Age group of 13-19: Two teenagers reported speaking English more often than other languages and the other two reported speaking English and Georgian. However, only one of them prefers to speak English on its own. The rest reported English and Georgian, with the preference of English over the Georgian language.

Age group of 20-39: One respondent usually speaks Georgian and English and his language preference remains the same. Likewise, one of the respondents reported that she often speaks Georgian, English and Russian and her language preferences are the same. However, most spoken languages versus preferred languages seem to be of different nature for other participants. Whilst one participant of this age group often speaks Georgian, his language preferences are Georgian, English and Russian. For another, although she speaks English and Georgian more often, she stated that her language preference is the other way round, that is, Georgian and English with the preference of Georgian. Finally, one of the respondents said she often speaks Georgian, English and Russian, but prefers to speak just Georgian instead.

Age group of 40 and over: One of the respondents stated that he speaks Georgian and English more often, however, his preferred languages are Georgian, English and Russian. Another one in the same age group said he speaks Russian, English and then Georgian, but he prefers to speak Georgian first, then Russian, English, Lithuanian and Polish. The third respondent said that he speaks Georgian only, but his language preferences, in fact, are Georgian, Russian and English. One of the respondents reported speaking in Georgian and Russian, however, with Georgian and Russian, she also prefers to speak in English and Armenian. The Georgian, English and Russian are the languages one of the participants speaks frequently, however, she prefers to speak just Georgian instead.

From the results that have been already discussed individually, the preferred languages can be grouped into first preferred language, second preferred language, third and so on. The table below shows these results, which are grouped in line with each age group.

Table 4. 10 Languages with most preferred first

Preferred languages					
Age	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
13-19	4E	3G	-	-	-
20-39	5G	4E	2R	-	-
40+	5G	3R; 1E	1R; 3E	1A; 1L	1P

All participants aged between 13 and 19 reported their first language preference is English and all the other respondents in the adult age groups 20-39 and 40 and over stated Georgian as their preferred language. Three teenagers reported Georgian as their second preferred language. Four participants in the age group of 20-39 said they prefer to speak English as their second language. Only one participant in the age group of 40 and over indicated the same, but three in the same age group said they prefer to speak Russian as their second preferred language. Two in the age group of 20-39 stated that Russian is their third language preference, as well as one of the participants in the age group of 40 and over. Three in the age group of 40 and over reported English as their third preferred language. The remaining three languages were reported by 2 participants, one of whom prefers Lithuanian as fourth and Polish as the fifth preference

and one stated Armenian as the fourth preferred language. Both were from the same age group – 40 and over.

As to why participating individuals prefer a certain language, their responses were mainly related to the environment, knowledge and time of residence in one of the countries (usually either England or Georgia). They reported their language preference is influenced by their confidence, convenience, information (TV, books, media) and education, as well as contact with the language, or the lack of all of the above, in the cases of less preferred languages.

One of the interesting findings in this research was that Georgian language shift was taking place in one of the non-indigenous teenager's speech from Georgia. This will be further discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 5).

4.3.2 Discussion

Participants were asked to list their most frequently spoken and then preferred languages (Section 4.3.1). Although the results confirm the language choice patterns reported in the questionnaire, the distinction was made between frequently spoken and preferred languages. Despite the fact that the two teenagers reported speaking in English frequently, only one of them said he prefers speaking in the English language on its own, however, English was reported as the first preferred language by all in this age group. Second language preference for the teenagers was Georgian. These results were somewhat expected, considering the amount of time teenagers spend with their English speaking friends and at school/college, their fluency and confidence in English and hence English being the most spoken language and preferred language. With choice and preference in mind, all adult respondents' reported Georgian as their preferred language. Where some choices and preferences remain the same in the age group of 20-39, some prefer to speak more languages, such as English and Russian, and some – fewer, just Georgian. Similar language preferences were reported by the respondents in the age group of 40 and over, all of whom favour Georgian, but the big majority of the participants in this age group prefer to practice more languages. Findings based on the interviews demonstrate that speakers' language choices depend on the circumstances/environment (work, family, specific situation, etc.) (as in Ledesma & Moris, 2005) in line with their language preferences, which confirms the results

obtained from the questionnaire and which also agrees with Grosjean (1982) who lists language preference as one of several influencing factors for the language choice. Other major factors influencing their language behaviour were knowledge and education. Participants seem to feel confident using the preferred languages, due to their educational or cultural background, which includes schooling, media and upbringing (“history of speakers’ linguistic interaction” Grosjean, 1982). One of the reported factors affecting language choice and preference was the time aspect - the length of residence in any country. Children seem to have integrated well linguistically and culturally for several reasons. For example, they were either born or immigrated to the UK when they were very young, have studied, made English speaking friends and have lived in the UK longer than in Georgia (or anywhere else), which almost automatically leads to their competence in English, comparing to Georgian, hence their preference for the English language. Whereas adults (mainly) had lived in Georgia much longer than in the UK, had been raised and educated there. Besides, apart from communicating with family and friends through the internet, they have also formed the Georgian community in Luton, so networking with the fellow countrymen gives them the opportunity to interact in their mother tongue on a regular basis, hence Georgian being the preferred language among the adult respondents. Varied language behaviour between those in the age group of 13-19 and those in the adult age groups (20-39 and 40+) is in an agreement with Walters’ (2005) psychological perspective, who states that language preferences are individual phenomena, which considers macro-sociological and interpersonal factors and the changes in these factors can be identified for those who have experienced emigration.

4.4 Results based on the observation and discussion

As it was explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3), participants were observed in three different settings: spontaneous, arranged situations and discussions, which were organised and agreed with the participants beforehand (including date, time, activity, etc.). The results and the explanatory insights are provided in line with the questionnaire and interview results and in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Some activities and topics for interaction will be also explored while making distinctions between the

language choice and language preference behaviours, as these differences emerged from the interview and observation data collections.

4.4.1 Activities and topics of interaction in the observations

The activities participants were involved in during the observations varied from consultations and helping out/supporting friends to parties, community gatherings and celebrations. Although children and teenagers were part of the most activities (where they were present), they tended to prefer playing together with likeminded individuals - other children (siblings, friends), whether it was just blowing and throwing balloons, assembling a jigsaw puzzle, making jewellery and birthday cards or playing with a dog. Random singing was part of their activities and sometimes these songs were just made up and on occasions, the games were noisy and full of emotions, sometimes causing laughter, fight, winging or tears. Among many other activities, children in the age group of 5-12 and 13-19 did activities together with adults, such as: discussions, for instance after they watched a cartoon/film on TV or DVD (in Georgian or English); dinner with family and friends; and drawing/colouring pictures. There were also photo sessions and advertisement filming where children and adults worked together collaboratively. Although adults of all age groups did a lot of abovementioned activities with children, there were other activities where young ones did not participate, such as: seeking/giving/receiving legal advice; cooking; watching Georgian programs/shows; offering DIY support; and many more. The majority of these activities involved discussions.

Most of the observations were undertaken in the fun, engaging environment, sometimes very busy and intense with heavy lexical terms, especially when business and technical terminology was involved. In such situations, language choice and code-switching were identified. In the settings where the children were observed, the atmosphere depended on the activities they were engaged in. For example, if they were playing games, they would become noisier, would laugh or cry, even become frustrated and if they watched TV or DVD, they would be calm and quiet. Discussion between children and adults were often educative and interesting, nonetheless, in such situations, children revealed to be tense or even confused in terms of language choice. They would code-switch among the interlocutors, i.e. often Georgian with adults and English with peers. As for

the adults, it was observed that the atmosphere depended on the topics they were discussing, for example, in the cases where they shared same/similar interests. They would also cross-talk and it would become noisier. However, the more serious the topic (politics, illnesses, exchanging knowledge on e.g.: wine production) the quieter was the atmosphere.

It was observed that the topics among children aged between 5 and 12 differed from the topics of the rest of the age groups unless discussing, where they shared their thoughts and ideas on the same subject with teenagers or adults. Participant of this age group seemed to be oriented towards technical parts of the subject of discussion, such as, I-Pad applications and games and seemed quite taken by them, whereas, some talked almost about anything, including technical aspects of their undertakings, such as assembling jigsaw puzzle and making jewellery, as well as other topics - food, animals, toys and tournaments. Children in this age group mainly talked about activity-based topics in which they were engaged at the time. As already mentioned, random singing was also part of their interaction and presumably common for the children of their age, to have or to discuss an invisible (imaginary) friend and even being told off or mocked about it by peers, which was the case in the observations. The major difference between the topics of interaction among children of the age group of 5-12 and among teenagers and adults was the duration and consistency of the topics. That is, young children seemed to deviate from one subject to another promptly, which sometimes occurred in a matter of a sentence or couple of sentences and teenagers also seemed to be getting along with this and participated in the activities in a harmonious way with children.

Although teenagers (13-19) participated in spontaneous settings, on several occasions they were observed in pre-arranged situations too, where they discussed certain topics, such as photo-shooting, filming an advertisement or drawing pictures, therefore, task-based topics were generated. This triggered discussions on technical sides of the activities. It was observed, that there are a few topics that participants share in almost all age ranges including young children and teenagers, for example, food, friends and animals, however, adult age groups revealed more common interests among themselves compared to children and teenagers.

The specific topics that were common in both adult age groups (20-39, 40+) were related to business, education, food and beverage, money/finances and social/public issues. Some adult participants are self-employed individuals having their own businesses in similar fields, therefore, they have a lot in common for discussion and sharing their knowledge. They seem to be concerned about schooling for children and studies in different educational establishments and often compare teaching methods in the UK and Georgia, which usually remains the topics for the debate. During the observations, there were almost no occasions where some food and drink was not involved, which can be considered as Georgian cultural gesture when having people around. Food and beverage were particularly discussed at dinner or when celebrating special events. Talking about abovementioned subjects often led to the discussions on the finances, such as costs, sales and bargains. Food and beverage was not the only topic when it came to money and finances. Participants also talked about utility services, suppliers and bills as well as jobs/employment and shopping. They shared their thoughts and suggested on finding jobs, or cheaper ways to shop and the ways of cutting costs on bills. One of the major subjects for discussion in the adult age groups was the social (including networking, Georgian community, friends and neighbours) and public issues (public services, residential localities, etc.). Participants in the age group of 40 and over were particularly concerned with life in general, public mentality and understanding. Topics such as the order in the country, responsibilities, development and public services were debated on many occasions.

Other topics that were discussed by the adults of these age groups were: entertainment, homeland, childhood and past experiences, nature and sports/leisure. Discussions around entertainment included celebrities, different competitions, films and music, actors, entertainers and reality shows, where Georgian TV, news channels and programs were particularly the central themes. Another major discussion point was Georgia and everything else associated with the homeland. In their conversations, it was revealed how participants are or feel being attached to Georgia. Topics around Georgia covered people (family members, relatives, neighbours and ethnic minorities), landscapes and parts of the country, agriculture, buildings, residential areas and commercial sites, productions and import/export businesses, weather and food. Nature, in general, seems to be something Georgians talk about quite often, including weather, seasons of the year

and disasters (which at the time of observations used to be in the centre of attention in media), animals and the beauty of natural landscapes. Although participants consider sports and leisure activities to be very important part of life, in their conversations it was evident that many of them are not engaged in sports. However, adults do their best to keep their children physically active. Some attend judo classes, some run or swim. Adult participants associate sports with health and benefits of it for perfect living.

Health and beauty seem to be the actual topics particularly among women in both adult age groups, but male participants in the age group of 40 and over also talk about health, policies, medicines, as well as beauty. Participants also had discussions on families, culture (own and different nationalities) and languages, highlighting the issues of the children's understanding of Georgian humour and their accents, which to some extent, they find amusing. Some participants of both adult age groups discussed religion, luxury versus needs, technology in general and its effects on health, travel, immigration and its impact on legal status. It was observed that the participants in the adult age range seem to be notably interested in politics and politicians, political history, communism, socialism, capitalism and offering their thoughts in relation to the need for refining and reforming Laws and the governing bodies.

The observation data in regards to the activities and topics agrees with the findings obtained through the questionnaires. Participating individuals in the observation are engaged in various activities on a daily basis and they have a lot to talk about among themselves, during which they make language choices.

4.4.2 Language choices among the family and the community members

All twelve participants in the observations have friends outside Georgian community with whom they interact in different languages on a daily basis, yet, as the main focus of this research is the Georgian language and the observations were taking place within the Georgian community in Luton, language behaviours with interlocutors other than within Georgian community is not discussed in this report. On occasions, when there were English, Russian, Kurdish, or other language speaking individuals either with Georgian background or outside the Georgian community during spontaneous observations, participants used mainly English and/or Russian for translating and interpreting purposes.

According to the long-term observations, the general picture is that the Georgian language is the dominant language among the adults who were observed. However, teenagers, and those in the age group of 5-12, who did not participate in the other two data collection activities - questionnaire and interview, speak mainly English among themselves. This evidence supports the data obtained in questionnaire and interview where teenagers report their preference for the English language over Georgian, usually in face-to-face interactions (no other languages were reported or observed to be used by those up to the age of 20). For example:

EXCERPT 1:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:04:00] Children (5-12) making jewellery

- 01 *G01: “OK, shall we start?”*
02 *G10: “aha”*
03 *G11: “G10 you are not making one!”*
04 *G10: “wuuuh”*
05 *G01: “take some of them... no, no, no, not some of them...”*

- - -

- 06 *G01: “G11 you can use them... ok? They are the best ones, look!”*
07 *G10: “yeah, and I’ll give you pink, red or purple?”*
08 *G11: “pink”*
09 *G01: “take them”...*

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

It is clear that language choices depend on speakers’ linguistic background (knowledge of English), but their ethnic background also plays a role when making these choices. For example, language choice of a teenager changes in the same activity as the conversation goes on:

EXCERPT 2:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:19:11] Children making jewellery

- 01 G01: “I think you already have that!”
02 G11: “*no, I don’t!*”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

The teenager decides to switch the languages from English to Georgian (excerpt 2, line 1). Taking into account that the younger ones are also ethnically Georgians, as well as bilinguals, and the teenager – G01 had witnessed them communicating in Georgian on

many occasions, she assesses her conversational partners' abilities to comprehend what is being communicated (Coupland et al., 1988; Giles, 2016), so she switches the languages. In sociolinguistic terms, while G01 uses "interpretability strategy" (Coupland et al, 1988; Giles, 2016), the younger child - G11 (age group of 5-12) chooses to maintain her language choice of English in response (excerpt 2, line 2). After making attempts to talk in Georgian, the teenager converges back to English, to accommodate her interlocutor(s) (Giles, 2016). From the dialogues in the excerpts above, as one of many examples, it can be seen that children have not quite mastered the English language yet (e.g. Excerpt 1 line 7), especially G11, who is the youngest. Although she asks a question, which is indicated in her intonation, the sentence is not formed grammatically correctly. Having said that, she demonstrated speaking in English more fluently and with more confidence, than in Georgian. These utterances were recorded in an arranged situation, where children were given jewellery making materials and tools to make jewellery. It has to be noted that such activity involves some technical terms, colours, and usually, more complex words than they would say in Georgian, which they presumably are familiar with in school – English speaking setting. Even though they did not use complex technical terms, the activity itself could have triggered thinking in such terms, so G11, in this case, maintains English to convey better understanding and for their interaction to flow. G11's language choice is as much task, so as topic-based. It seems that, the teenager's language changes to Georgian when giving opinions, suggestions, asking a question, commanding or requesting something, as she would keep converging from one language to another, while younger children are more persistent in communicating in English.

Participants in the age group of 5-12, mainly choose to speak English with their friends, but they speak in Georgian with adults in the family and the Georgian community domains, depending on their fluency and lexical resources. Comparing to others in this age range, one of the participants does not seem to mind in which language he interacts, so, on many occasions, he speaks Georgian and/or English with his adult family members no matter the setting and the topic. While the questionnaire data was in disagreement with Li Wei's (1994) statement regarding the motivating factors for language choice, according to which speakers make choices regardless of the topic and the setting (Section 4.2); the observation proved it otherwise in this particular case. This

was evident not only in the language behaviour of those in the age range of 5-12 but also in the speech of teenagers. It was discovered that one of the participants' language choice in the age group of 13-19, depends mainly on his interlocutors, rather than the setting. He chooses to speak both Georgian and English with children and the Georgian language with the family and family friends/community. Although setting does not have much impact on G02's language choice, the topic of interaction seems to be a trigger for code-switching, especially technical and study related topics. As for the other participant of the same age group, she chooses to use Georgian, English or both simultaneously with friends in the community and in Georgian with the parents regardless the setting and topic. Like younger children, this teenager also speaks English with the dog. These findings support the literature in that, speakers' perception of their own speech, may oppose their observed language behaviour (Gumperz, 1982; Woolard, 2004 in Chapter 2), so reported data may differ from the observed one.

As mentioned on several occasions in the other datasets, it was revealed in the observations that Georgian is the dominant language across both adult age groups: 20-39 and 40 and over. They choose to speak in Georgian with their families, including children, friends and other community members. It was quite rare when adults spoke in other languages unless code-switching or interacting with non-Georgian speaking individuals. Adults of both age groups speak Georgian with fluency, but there were observed language behaviour which was concerned with code-switching in all age groups, including adults and these will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A variety of languages have been reported to be spoken by the participants, with the majority speaking in Georgian with their family, friends and relatives in the UK and in Georgia (as well as other countries) in the age group of 20-39. Both reported and observed data show that they speak in Georgian, English, Russian, Kurdish or a combination of these languages depending on the interlocutors and their (ethnic) background. For example, Russian and Kurdish is spoken either among non-indigenous members of the community from the Georgian background or those whose partners are of different origins, often from a republic of the former Soviet Union. These choices were also demonstrated during the observations, when, for instance, in a group of the Georgian community members, there were individuals of several ethnic origins, Russian

or English was spoken to the monolingual guests, but Georgian was the dominant language even among the bilingual individuals of non-indigenous ethnic origin of Georgia.

Respondents in this age range speak a variety of languages, which include mainly their mother tongue, Russian and English. Knowledge of their mother tongue is not merely determined by the individuals' ethnic origin and upbringing (e.g. Georgian or Kurdish) but also education in Georgia, as this was and is the state language there. Russian used to be the second mandatory language in schools, so the majority of the adult participants speak the language and more so if they attended Russian schools. Although this research does not investigate individuals' fluency and proficiency, these assumptions are made based on their educational achievements they reported. As for the English language, the majority of the respondents acquired the knowledge of this language only after arriving in the UK, hence their language preference for Georgian and Russian, over English. Their report on their language choices was also confirmed in the observations.

It was revealed that language choices among the participants in the age group of 40 and over depend on their interlocutors and the setting/environment. It was observed that participants, who reported their ethnic origin to be Georgian, speak mainly Georgian with the family and the Georgian community, or sometimes combining Georgian with other languages depending on their interlocutors, and those of non-indigenous origins seem to be versatile in their language choices, even if they were born and brought up in Georgia.

4.4.3 Language choice versus language preference

Based on the observations, it was found that language preference factor opposes the language choice across younger age groups. As opposed to spontaneous and arranged situations, it was observed that in discussions, children use Georgian and English with friends and young siblings and more Georgian language with parents/adults from the Georgian community, nonetheless, often with some difficulties maintaining the Georgian. For instance, in her language behaviour, G11 in the age range of 5-12 demonstrated the intention of using Georgian in her discussion, but there was a clash of intention/choice and language preference. She started a conversation in English, then

switched to Georgian and then back to English, then vice versa - Georgian-English-Georgian. In other words, she kept switching between the languages when discussing the film/cartoon with her family. It was also found that children in spontaneous setting speak in Georgian mainly when initiating a dialogue/conversation, complaining, requesting or agreeing to something. These include short utterances, such as interjections and filler words: “yes”, “aha”. They speak English when making statements, or in the case of refusals. One of the interesting facts was their interaction with a dog. Whether just talking to or giving a command, they spoke to the dog in English.

Likewise, while individuals in the age group of 13-19 demonstrate their preference for English, instead, they choose Georgian for interaction with their family and Georgian community members (which was also evidenced in younger children’s language behaviour with adults):

EXCERPT 3:

LOG 20: [Rec- 00:05:27] College advertising project

G02: “...the second part is like you are on a *mission* and you

enjoyed it, besides, this half would be faster and with better *shots*”.

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

According to an example in excerpt 3, it is clear that a teenager (G02) has all the intentions to speak in Georgian with an adult community member, who happens to be a family friend while discussing his college project about advertising, where interacting in Georgian is a language choice he made. However, inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching can only be an indicator for his language preference, as he inserts English words, such as “mission”, “enjoyed”, “shots” into the Georgian sentences, which can be an evidence of his competence in English and the agreement with the interview reports by the teenagers. Such language behaviour can also be explained by the fact that these are core and complex words, which again supports the idea of him feeling competent using English, hence his preference of this language. The other factor to be taken into account is his interlocutor. Whilst the teenager gave preference to English, he decided to accommodate (Giles, 1971) (Chapter 2) his conversational

partner, who mainly speaks in Georgian with friends and Georgian community members, although she is bilingual, who understands both – the Georgian and the English languages. The most extraordinary fact is that, they both comprehend what is been communicated and none of the speakers minds their interlocutors' language choices when predominantly speaking in Georgian and this dialogue seems to flow naturally (Caulmas, 2005) regardless switching the languages (words, in this case), which may not necessarily form a grammatically correct sentence if translated word-by-word (excerpt 3).

As already shown in the excerpts 1 and 2, it was found that the majority of the children aged 5-12 prefer to speak English but choose Georgian (as teenagers do) with bilingual adults. For instance, in one of the activities G11 (age range 5-12) was mumbling to herself in English for a short while, but suddenly switched to Georgian when addressing to her parent. However, contrary to teenagers, the younger children find it more difficult to maintain long utterances in Georgian than teenagers.

As shown in the above example, children and teenagers clearly seem to favour the English language due to several reasons, such as fluency in the language, feeling natural, better understanding, which are determined by their language behaviour. Auer (1995) (Chapter 2) also makes links between language preference with confidence and fluency. Having said that, the teenagers predominantly speak in the Georgian language, usually with adults, including their closest ties.

There may be some obvious and some not so obvious reasons as to why teenagers chose Georgian over preferred language, English. The fact that all participating children aged between 5 and 12 were born in the UK and all of the teenagers have lived in the UK much longer than they have in Georgia, has to be also taken into consideration. External factors such as country of residence, where the state language is English; society; education; English language dominated domains (school, local community centres, hospital, friends, etc.); and activities undertaken with the interlocutors in these environments, certainly influence the children's language preference. However, the internal factors seem to have a distinct impact on the children's language behaviour as opposed to the external ones, such as Georgian language dominant nuclear unit - family, where children actually live and interact on a daily basis; their upbringing; regular

contact with Georgian community and Georgia; and most importantly the parents' expectations (a result in the pilot study, where a teenager reported getting told off if speaking in English at home). Although it was found during the observation that children have the freedom of the language choice in the home environment. No obvious pressure or fear factor was detected as opposed to the teenager's report in other datasets, they show their intention to speak in Georgian with parents. The other important difference between the external and internal factors seems to be the language choice advantage. When in the home environment they act as bilinguals, knowing they would be understood by their also bilingual family members and outside the home environment (except in the Georgian community) they act as monolinguals, simply because even if they spoke in Georgian, such as in school, they would not be understood.

Bilinguals use language choice to negotiate interpersonal relationships, which does not restrict choices but does limit interpretations Myers-Scotton (1993b). It seems that for the reasons of better understanding participants refer to code-switching, which sometimes mixes the languages or codes, even in one single utterance. Children in the age group of 5-12 speak in Georgian when initiating a dialogue, complaining or requesting something, including short utterances, such as interjections. They usually speak Georgian in the abovementioned situations when expecting their interlocutors, particularly parents, to react and respond to them (Schegloff & Sacks's, 1973). The longer the utterance, the more English use was found in the children's speech, as they seem to be more comfortable speaking in English and their efforts of using the Georgian language tends to disappear until the interlocutor, the topic or the setting changes. However, it was also clear that the more they were interacting in Georgian, the more the Georgian language they used, although struggling with long utterances and this is when they would refer to English. From the pragmatic point of view, it can be concluded that choices depend on the length of utterances, which could be a potential cause for pragmatic failure (Blum-Kulkaa, and Olshtain (1986, cited in Walters, 2005) (Chapter 2). It would seem that children unwittingly (as this happens naturally) suppress their language preference to also accommodate (Giles & Coupland, 1991) their parents, or adults within the Georgian community, by converging and adopting their language behaviour which according to Giles (2008) signals camaraderie and respect.

All of the language behaviours discussed above occur in bilingual situations, although participants of all age groups, including children and teenagers tend to speak mainly only in one particular language with monolingual interlocutors in the UK while doing different activities and in other countries, including Georgia (via internet or phone), where code-switching may occur and the frequency of code-switching may eventuate depending on their fluency and linguistic competence. As much as it was expected, and despite parents' report, teenagers and younger children demonstrated hardly any avoidance of interaction with the monolingual interlocutors (Georgian speakers), due to being intimidated, anxious or embarrassed for making mistakes or lack of understanding during the observations.

Language choices for most discussed topics revealed that choices were the same as their language preferences among the respondents in the age group of 20-39, where the Georgian language dominates usually. However, the variety of topics also gives the participants the opportunity to speak Russian, which was reported as one of the preferred languages in the interviews.

As it was shown in the questionnaire and interview results, unlike two other age groups (13-19, 20-39), respondents in the age group of 40 and over use more language varieties on a daily basis. In comparison to language choice, respondents in the age group of 40 and over reported their preference for English, Russian, Armenian, Lithuanian and Polish in addition to Georgian (and those other languages they usually speak). Whilst competence and fluency were the trigger factors for the language preferences in the age groups of 5-12 and 13-19, language preferences in the age group of 40 and over are based on the individuals' needs for interaction. For instance, for the employment reasons, communicating with their monolingual (and in some cases bilingual) spouses of different ethnic origin, or simply would like to improve their language competence. These reports were confirmed in the observations. It was found that most of the participants in both adult age groups had acquired a number of basic and important words to be able to interact and enhance their relationships, for example with those who are relatively new to the Georgian community and do not speak in Georgian, such as partners and friends. It was evident that they utilise a mixed language vocabulary in their speech, which is just enough to establish an understanding with their interlocutors

but seems to be insufficient for long conversations on comparatively relevant topics. Others in the same age group preferred speaking only in Georgian, or Georgian followed by other languages in the preferences order. This was due to the fact that they were either living alone or had less contact with the Georgian community and/or limited mediated interactions. So, they did not feel comfortable speaking languages such as English, hence their preference for the Georgian language.

It has to be noted that adults, particularly those in the age range of 40 and over, arrived in the UK as mature adults. Considering their age and economic hardships, the majority looked into finding employment to support their families and loved ones, rather than furthering their education in learning English. For the lack of the language knowledge, only a few got jobs, where English was spoken and others joined or established their own businesses with their friends and community members they could rely on, with whom they spoke the languages they already knew and many continue working in such environments. These facts agree with Pascasio's (1990, cited in Lanza & Svendsen, 2007) findings, where Filipino was spoken in informal situations, while English was spoken in more formal situations. Let alone participants employment and integration hardships in the current research, Pascasio's findings were based on the study in the Philippines, whereas it makes more difficult for the respondents in this research that living in a foreign country, where English is a state language and hardly anyone, other than those in the Georgian community speak Georgian. Having said that, apart from those who had acquired a good knowledge of English before or after arriving, all the participating adults in the observations had some knowledge of English and used the language as the means of necessity, rather than a choice, such as with their roommates, neighbours and colleagues. As for the formal meetings or correspondences, they often referred to the family and friends for their support.

Discussions in this chapter are based on the respondents' reported and observed language choices and preferences with their interlocutors and factors influencing their language behaviour are discussed in line with quantitative and qualitative data. This contributes to the knowledge of the mixed languages during participants' speech leading to the further investigation into code-switching, which will be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 5).

4.5 Summary

The current study investigated the attitudes to the Georgian language and how it is spoken. This chapter focussed on respondents' language choices and how languages are chosen in different communication settings and with different interlocutors. Results of the three data sets (questionnaire, interview and observation) were presented, discussed and compared in this chapter. The main findings in relation to the language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities will be listed below.

Whilst the majority of the participants consider Georgian as their mother tongue, they speak a variety of languages, particularly individuals in the adult age range. These languages are spoken singly or simultaneously with other languages when engaging in various activities with different interlocutors, including their closest ties. While some participants live alone or share the dwelling with the neighbours, the majority of the respondents live in a family environment. Whether they do some leisure activities or engage in a family event in the household, they discuss numerous topics on a daily basis. This includes the participants of all ages. Based on this research study, the main findings in relation to language choice are as follows:

- The language choice patterns varied across the young (5-12; 13-19) and adult (20-39; 40+) age groups.
- The language preferences varied across the young (5-12; 13-19) and adult (20-39; 40+) age groups.
- The language choices differed from the language preferences
- The language shift was taking place in the speech of a non-indigenous teenager (13-19) from the Georgian background

Table 4 sums up the factors related to participants' language choices.

Table 4. 11 Factors related to language choices

Interlocutor	Setting	Convenience	Own Linguistic Background	Interlocutor's demographics
Ability to comprehend	Activity	The complexity of lexical items	Confidence	Age
Ethnic	Circumstances	Length of utterance	Comfort	Ethnicity
Intimacy	Environment	Lexical resources	Competence	
Knowledge	External	Necessity	Culture	
Linguistic	Formal	Need	Education	
	Informal	Practical	Fluency	
	Internal	Topic (and its nature)	Integration	
	Task	Understanding	Knowledge	
			Length of residence	
			Migration	
			Networking	

The factors which seemed to be related to participants' language choice are grouped under five headings (Table 4.11) deducted from the reports in this chapter: interlocutor, setting, convenience, own linguistic background and interlocutor's demographics. The factors under these categories that seem to be related to language choice in Table 4.11 are listed in alphabetical order.

CHAPTER FIVE: CODE-SWITCHING (RESULTS AND DISCUSSION)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter now presents the findings of the study concerning code-switching gathered through the quantitative and qualitative research, which is discussed in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Analysis of the results will help to respond to Research Question 2 (To what extent, and in what ways do the Georgians in Luton code-switch?). The results will also be presented in accordance with the age groups, to inform Research Question 3c, which will, however, be revised in Chapter 6. Participants' perceptions and attitudes in regards the code-switching in their speech will be looked at in line with the reported data obtained through the interviews, which are then compared with the data obtained through the observations. This chapter is divided into three main sections: results based on the interview (Section 5.2); results based on the observation (Section 5.3); and discussion (Section 5.4), which compares and makes links between the interview and observation data. A short summary of this chapter is then provided in Section 5.5.

5.2 Results based on the interview

Respondents were asked about their perceptions of code-switching and whether they mix languages, sentences, phrases or words from one language to another while speaking with their interlocutors. All 14 (100.0%) said that they do. The reports on what their attitudes are towards code-switching and how it is practised are detailed in the following sections.

5.2.1 Code-switched languages

Participants were asked to report which languages they mostly switch in their speech. Table 5.1 indicates the entries for each language combination in each age category:

Table 5. 1 Most mixed languages

Age	GE	EG	GR	GER	ER	REPLG
13-19	1	3				
20-39	3	1		1		
40+	2		1	1	1	1
TOTAL	6	4	1	2	1	1

Participants' perceptions towards the most mixed/switched languages in their speech vary across the age groups, although similarities were found in mixing Georgian and English. That is, according to their reports, the most mixed languages are Georgian and English with 6 entries, where Georgian is a dominant language and the combination of English and Georgian languages, with 4 entries, where English is the dominant language and is mixed with Georgian. Two entries were recorded for mixing the Georgian, English and Russian languages, with Georgian dominating, followed by English and then Russian. There was one entry for each with the combinations of Georgian and Russian; English and Russian; and Russian, English, Polish, Lithuanian and Georgian. It was reported that the two adult groups use languages other than Georgian and English (in contrast to the teenagers) and code-switch between these languages, except some respondents in the age group of 20-39 (see Table 5.1).

5.2.2 Ways of code-switching

The majority of the participants said that when talking with their interlocutors, they mainly switch words and phrases.

Table 5. 2 Ways of code-switching

Age	Words	Phrases	Sentences	Citation	Languages
13-19	4	2	2		2
20-39	5	4		1	
40+	4	3	1		
TOTAL	13	9	3	1	2

Thirteen (92.9%) respondents out of the total of 14 said they switch words when speaking and the responses were almost equally divided between all age groups. Nine (64.3%) said they switch phrases, with the responses almost equally spread between the age groups. Three (21.3%) in total reported that they switch sentences too and only one (7.1%) respondent indicated that she inserts citations in bilingual speech. No adult

reported switching the languages completely. However, two (14.3%) respondents in the age group of 13-19 reported so.

5.2.3 Situations for code-switching

There were various responses to the question about the situations when participants normally switch/mix the Georgian language with other languages and how. These responses were: around/about TV in General; explaining/teaching or describing something; quoting; for understanding reasons; when forgetting (using the languages that come to mind first); and work-related terminology.

Table 5. 3 Situations for code-switching

Age	Around TV in General	Explain (Teach; describe)	Quote (retell)	Family affairs	Understand	Forget	Terminology
13-19	1	3	1	1			
20-39			3			1	1
40+				2	1	1	3
TOTAL	1	4	4	3	1	2	4

Table 5.3 shows what participants' perceptions are regarding the situations when their code-switching takes place. It was reported by teenage group (13-19) that they mainly code-switch between the Georgian and English languages when the discussion is about TV in general (1 entry) and when they teach, describe or explain something (4 entries). Respondents in the age group of 13-19 and 20-39 report that they code-switch when they are retelling something or quoting (4 entries in total). Family affairs also seem to be the situation when respondents from the age groups of 13-19 and 40 and over mix their languages (3 entries in total). There was one entry to indicate that one of the adults in the age group of 40 and over switches between the languages for understanding reasons: when trying to understand something or helping others to understand. Two participants from both adult age groups reported that they code-switch when they forget a word/expression in one language and use whatever language comes to mind instead (4 entries in total); Participants in both adult age groups reported switching between the languages when terminology is concerned, especially if it is work-related, when they do not know the words for either building materials or tools in Georgian, so they switch to

the English language (4 entries). One of the other situations for code-switching was a convenience, reported in the pilot study.

5.2.4 Reasons for code-switching

The main reasons for code-switching respondents reported were the following:

- lack of knowledge (does not know or remember a word or phrase, not having enough vocabulary resources);
- the lexical items from another language that comes to mind first and automatically switch them in speech (feels natural to use, it is instinctive, they are slipping out);
- impact of the time and environment (length of time spent in the UK, learnt certain terminology in the UK);
- easier to communicate when switching;
- understand better in other languages;
- sounds right or suits best in the context.

Table 5. 4 Reasons for code-switching

Age	Lack of knowledge (not know/ remember; forget; not enough resource)	Automatic (natural; habit; instinct; used to; Slipping out; whatever comes to mind)	Time and environment (time spent in the UK; terminology learnt in the UK)	Easier	Understand	Sounds right/suits best
13-19	2	1	1			
20-39	3	2	1	1		2
40+	1	2	2		1	
TOTAL	6	5	4	1	1	2

To describe the reasons for code-switching, the majority of entries were for the lack of knowledge and automatic insertion of other languages/phrases/words. Six (42.9%) out of a total of 14 interviewees said they code-switch due to lack of knowledge, this includes two (14.3%) teenagers. Five (35.7%) respondents said they insert other languages/phrases/words in speech automatically, including one teenager. Four (28.6%) participants said that time spent in the UK (school and work environments) has had an impact on their language behaviour. Two (14.3%) individuals in the age group of 20-39

reported that it sounds better when they code-switch and they feel they do switch because the words, or phrases suit best in speech or the context. Only one (7.1%) participant in the age group of 20-39 said it is easier for her to communicate when switching the languages and another (7.1%) interviewee from the age group of 40 and over reported she switches the languages for understanding reasons. Other reasons reported by the participants were in the pilot study, which included migration, integration, contact with languages other than Georgian and prestige.

5.3 Results based on the observations

This section will give the detailed insights into participants' code-switching behaviour, providing examples and the excerpts from their speech. The following sub-section is divided in accordance with the age groups and their language behaviour.

5.3.1 Code-switching situations

Based on the observations it was found that code-switching occurred in all three settings- spontaneous, arranged situations and discussions regardless participants' age. However, the manner and the way of code-switching, including the language choice for code-switching differed across the age-groups. Although individuals who were selected to participate in the observations speak other languages, it was found that they, in fact, apply only English and Russian languages in Georgian speech. As already explained in Chapter 3, orthographic versions of the excerpts are presented first, followed by phonemic transcription and then the translation (where appropriate). Where orthographic version is not used, utterances in the English language are provided in italic.

Age Group of 5-12

Code-switching for young children among the age group of 5-12 included switching between languages, inserting phrases from one language to another, or inserting just words, mainly complex nouns and verbs from English to Georgian. Intra-word code-switching (Chapter 2) was also evident in the children's speech.

In the case of a participant (G21) of the age group of 5-12, code-switching occurred in various situations. For instance, it was observed that he preferred to speak in English when reporting something, requesting, commanding, making a statement and describing, but switched between the Georgian or English languages to respond to questions, in most cases in the same language as the given question by adults or peers. The interesting fact was one of the questions he answered that was given in English by his mother, but his reply was in Georgian (short question utterance “what, what?” as a response). There were occasions when this participant would begin a conversation in Georgian, such as in discussions and then continue in English either for the entire conversation or within a sentence, as it is shown in the excerpt 4 below:

EXCERPT 4:

LOG 32: [Rec- 00:54:32] Photo-shooting session

- 03 G21: “aw granny, I will do it again *for forty days*”
04 G23: “yes, you are already playing and how are you doing *forty days?*”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

In Line 01 of Excerpt 4 above, G21 switched to an English phrase “for forty days” within a sentence which originally started in Georgian.

G21 often switched from English to Georgian when he heard others speaking in Georgian. For instance, when he hears his friend and her mother talking in Georgian, he also responds in the Georgian language to the statement which his friend made and from that moment conversation continues in Georgian. Then the situation changes when the phone rings and his friend answers in English. After phone call ends, children go back to talking in English. This was not the language behaviour in the case of the youngest member of this age group. For instance, when her sister, mother and a friend were talking in Georgian, she chose to speak in English regardless her interlocutors’ language choices.

In children’s cases (e.g.: G10, G11, G22) in the age group of 5-12, language behaviour in terms of code-switching mostly depended on the interlocutors and in some cases on the setting. Children of this age group speak in Georgian and English, often combining

the two with adults and children, whether they are family members or friends. They tend to switch between the languages or insert words and phrases from one language to another in one single sentence and this happens frequently. For example:

EXCERPT 5:

LOG 6: [Rec- 00:05:39] Making a birthday card

G11: “სად არის *pen-ო?*” /*sad aris pen-i?/*

(Where is [the] *pen?*)

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

In Excerpt 5, G11 inserted English word “pen” in a question she asked in Georgian. Considering there are no articles in Georgian grammar, she did not use an article with the noun. However, instead of “pen”, she said /*pɛn-i/*. The letter “ო” /*i/* at the end of “pen” makes it sound Georgian, as most of the Georgian nouns in the nominative form end with a vowel. This technique, i.e. using English or Russian word with an additional vowel or postpositions at the end of a word is common among Georgians in all age groups. It was revealed that, generally, international, loan-words and barbarisms are largely adopted from other languages into Georgians’ speech and the provided examples are only a few among many.

In the following excerpt, G10 inserted a Georgian word “ბებო” /*bɛbɔ/* (granny) in an English sentence while watching Ice Age (cartoon) translated into Georgian.

EXCERPT 6:

LOG 9: [Rec- 00:17:22] Watching Ice Age and discussing

G10: “*This is ბებო*”

/ðɪs ɪz bɛbɔ/

(This is granny)

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

It was found that sometimes the words and phrases inserted from another language by the participants were quoted from TV, a film or an interlocutor’s speech.

The children of this age group choose to switch to the English language when requesting, giving instructions, offering something or even being frustrated and upset, for example when it is noisy and G11 complains “I cannot hear!” with an upset tone. English is also used with the interjections: “mum!”, “yes!” (e.g.: G10, G11, G21) and nouns such as animals (cat, dog, lion, crocodile), colours (yellow, green, black) (G11).

The English language was also utilised when making statements, or commenting on something, for instance, on the cartoon that they just watched and even if the responses of their interlocutors are in Georgian, which happened on many occasions, children of this age tend to respond/continue in English without switching to Georgian.

Having said that, when responding to adults (particularly their parents), children try to speak more in Georgian. The following two excerpts show the language behaviour of one and the same child (G11) in two different situations. The first being with the interviewer (Excerpt 7) and the second excerpt is from the dialogue with her mother (Excerpt 8):

EXCERPT 7:

LOG 4: [Rec- 00:42:12] Drawing and discussion

- 01 I01: "რას აკეთებ?"
/ras aketeb?/
(What are you doing?)
- 02 G11: "ნახე! *Crocodile, dog, cat, dog, dog, err...*"
/nakhe! /*Crocodile, dog, cat, dog, dog, err...*"
(Look! *Crocodile, dog, cat, dog, dog, err...* ")
- 03 I01: "ეს რა არის?"
/es ra aris?/
(What is that?)
- 04 G11: "*that tiger, თახ lion, თახ dog*"
that tiger, /than/ lion, /than/ dog
(*that [is a] tiger, also [a] lion, also [a] dog*)
- 05 I01: "აჰ, ეს ვინაა?"
/aah, es vinaa?/
(Aah, who is this?)
- 06 G11: "*cat*"

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

As shown in Excerpt 7 above, G11 tries to speak Georgian using interjection- “look” in line 02, and linking word/(correlative) conjunction “also” in line 04, but all the nouns were said in English. The linking word “თახ” /tʰɑn/ (also) was inserted grammatically incorrectly in Georgian which made it sound lexically incorrect too. Instead, one would use either linking word (coordinative conjunction) “და” /dɑ/ (and), or noun with suffix / postposition “ც” /tʰʰ/ (morphemic preposition particle), which reads as: “კატაც” /kɑtʰɑtsʰ/ (a cat too/as well).

In Excerpt 8 below, G11 talks to her mother and sister, where she tries to speak in Georgian, but inserts short utterances in both – Georgian and English, or quotes what her mother and sister said in Georgian - “squirrel” (line 09).

EXCERPT 8:

LOG 9: [01:02:50] Watching Ice Age and discussing

- 01 G07: “who do you like most?”
 02 G11: *“what?”*
 03 G07: “I like the little elephant the most! aaa?”
 04 G10: “me, I like this one, how is it called... squirrel”
 05 G11: “me...”
 06 G07: “squirrel?”
 07 G10: “yes”
 08 G07: “how about you G11?”
 09 G11: “squirrel, squirrel”
 10 G07: “squirrel, you too?”
 11 G10: “he is the funniest one”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

The mother (G07) asks which character they like most, in Georgian. Both children respond to their mother in Georgian too. There is one utterance in line 02 where the youngest child needs her mother to confirm/repeat her question, by asking “what?” in English. After this short dialogue, the discussion goes on for about 8 minutes where they all talk mainly in Georgian.

Another example in Excerpt 9 shows the efforts one of the participants. G22 tries to speak Georgian with adults, including her mother, but when using slightly complex words, such as a noun- “alien” and a verb- “grows”, she switches to English instead:

EXCERPT 9:

LOG 31: [Rec- 00:08:06] Friend giving legal advice to friends from the Georgian community

- 01 G07: “I think they are drawing rats”
02 G06: “aw, not rats...”
03 G22: “I have them all”
04 G08: “what have you got there?”
05 G22: *“alien, belly...like grows”*
06 G08: “let me see, let me see”
07 G07: “ah, one is dead”
08 G08: “oh no”
09 I01: “ah it sticks to his hand, wherever you put, it would stick”
10 G06: “yes, and they were sticking it onto the wall, it is oily and would stain”
11 G08: “ah, yes, do you remember G21 used to have it, he used to push it up and it would stick”.
12 G22: “I was like that” (smiles)
[cross-talk- inaudible]
13 I01: “the toys can last stuck like that for days and one day they may fall and frighten you” (laughs)

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

The excerpt above has been elicited from the observation where adults are discussing legal matters, but children would also pop in to show their toys seeking the adults’ attention. Although everybody speaks in Georgian in the example above, there was an utterance by a child - G22 (line 05), where she used an English sentence.

The longer the conversation children had with other children in the age group of 5-12, the more English use was observed. It was also found that some children in this age group use less complex Georgian words- nouns: eyes, nose, legs, dress and also short

negative utterance- “no” to express refusal and short questions such as “what?” and “why?” with their interlocutors.

There were complex utterances in English when, for example, G11 was speaking with her sibling and friend, but whilst talking to them she exchanged a few utterances with her father and switched to Georgian with him, after which, children, including herself, continued speaking in English. Both, either Georgian or English languages were used by youngest participants when asking questions or initiating a dialogue/conversation. However, in most cases, their speech would end in English. Rarely but at times, they would say a word in English, for instance: orange, and then translate it into Georgian. This usually occurred when interacting with adults.

According to the observations, children in the age group of 5-12 do try to speak in Georgian, but usually with broken sentences or incorrectly pronounced words, such as the noun “პეპელა” /p’ep’ela/ (butterfly) (G11), which instead, was pronounced as “პეპელი” /p’ep’eli/ for butterfly, where at the end of the noun a vowel “ა” /a/ was replaced by another vowel “o” /i/, which to some extent may sound amusing for a bilingual listener.

It has to be noted, that children often use “aha” as their response (e.g.: Excerpts 13 (line 2) and 17 (line 2) below) but relying on this assumption that they respond in either English or Georgian, the word - “aha” can be used in both languages to express agreement, confirmation or understanding.

Age Group of 13-19

Code-switching for teenagers among the age group of 13-19 included: switching between languages only with siblings and children; inserting phrases from one language to another; or inserting just words from another language, mainly parts of speech: nouns, adjectives and verbs from English to Georgian with children, as well as the adults.

One of the participants - G02 of this age group, for example, spoke in both Georgian and English with children, where English seemed to be the dominant language but gave suggestions, guidance for games, or taught them to do English rhythmic chanting in

Georgian. He used English words and phrases when quoting, explaining college projects and using technical words with adults in the family or within the community. Most of the English words and phrases G02 used in Georgian language dominated conversations were parts of speech: nouns (trend, ideas, slogan, audio, audience, research, motivation, background, mission, etc.); adjectives (active, upbeat); adjective word combinations, such as linked with time, order or number (next week, due date, fifteen seconds, $\frac{3}{4}$ full); gradable and subjective adjectives (black and white, middle-class); and adverbs (before, after, next). Other English phrases he utilised into Georgian speech were also closely linked with the college project: “stating the obvious”, “dramatic change”, “green screen”, “single production”, “multi-production”, etc. On many occasions, these words and phrases were repeated on many occasions.

There was only one occasion when G02 switched to an English verb in the past tense- “enjoyed” and a gerund- “editing”. He also used Russian word “пиво” /pivo/ (beer) twice in the same conversation when taking part in the photo-shooting.

The following is an example of G02 using English nouns and verbs in a Georgian dialogue:

EXCERPT 3 (Chapter 4):

LOG 20: [Rec- 00:05:27] College advertising project

G02: “...the second part is like you are on a *mission* and you *enjoyed* it, besides, this half would be faster and with better *shots*”.

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

G02 inserts two nouns in one sentence: “mission” and “shots” in English. He also utilises the English verb “enjoy”, however, the way this word is used in the sentence, changes the context in Georgian. In other words, if it were translated into English word-to-word, instead of “you have enjoyed it”, it would sound “you are enjoyed”. This is because he added Georgian vowel suffix “o” /i/ at the end of “enjoyed”: “enjoyed-“o” ბადო” /m'dʒoid-i xar/ to make it phonetically sound Georgian, which also converts the verb into an adjective.

As already mentioned, most of the observations G02 was involved in was linked with either his college project or the project of one of the adult family friends, who had photo-sessions with children and teenagers. Therefore, discussions were specific to the projects and the code-switching was accordingly topic-, and task-based.

The following dialogue shows G02 code-switching words and phrases:

EXCERPT 10:

LOG 20: [Rec- 00:02:20] College advertising project

01 G02: “...would it be a good idea to do it this way: the first *15*
02 *seconds* would be *black and white* to show the *audience*
03 and then the *next 15* seconds would be a better day:
04 you write something well, you cook better...? However,
05 these must be very quick *shots*, so these *15 seconds* have
06 to be the colour one and the music must be in the
07 *background*, as if you are on a *mission* and you are already
08 *active*”

[I01 talks about the arrangements with G02]

09 G02: “I forgot to bring the *audio* [equipment], I will bring it from
10 my college tomorrow. I may as well bring someone with
11 me to help”

...

12 G02: “The first *15 seconds* is *black and white*... The second
13 half of the film would be the same but you *cook* this time”.

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

G02 uses the phrase “15 seconds” in English (line 01), then he switches to Georgian to translates it (line 03) and then continues using the same phrase in English (lines 05, 12) when he wants to make the comparison between the two parts of the film. He also inserts the following words and phrases in English in the same dialogue:

- “black and white” (lines 02, 12)
- “audience” (line 02)
- “shots” (line 05)
- “background” (line 07)

- “mission (line 07)
- “active” (line 08)
- “audio” (line 09)
- “cook” (line 13)

Unless it is topic-, and task-based dialogue (when more English use was found), it was observed that G02 code-switches, but not as frequently as it was demonstrated above. When G02 stopped talking about his project and was asked the questions about his own old camera, he almost stopped code-switching. During 40 seconds of almost non-stop conversation, he inserted only one word “flash” in English. In contrast to children in the age group of 5-12, G02’s code-switched vocabulary is more advanced in terms of complexity and he does not completely switch the languages with adults, but rather switches the words and phrases. When with children, he speaks Georgian for initiating a conversation, trying to engage children in games or giving instructions.

G01 was the youngest in the teenager group. According to the observations, she tends to code-switch phrases and sentences more, than just words, otherwise, she would completely switch between the languages, i.e. either speaks Georgian or English and then back to the circle, particularly with children. G01 code-switches when initiating a dialogue, gives warnings or commands. In her case, initiating or opening new dialogues/conversations in the Georgian language is common with children, however, she also talks in English when the younger children in the age group of 5-12 speak to her in English, although she showed more intention of using the Georgian language among all the children and the teenagers. The following examples show G01’s different types of code-switching behaviours:

EXCERPT 11:

LOG 24: [Rec- 00:44:00] Children playing and watching TV

- 01 G10: “*there*”
- 02 G01: “here, in the middle”
- 03 G10: “*I like [inaudible-could be “these”]*”
- 04 G01: “is it good?”
- 05 G10: “*aha*”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

This is one of the many dialogues G01 had with children, where she persistently uses the Georgian language as in lines 02 and 04 above, even though her interlocutors are choosing to respond in English.

As it was demonstrated in Excerpts 1 and 2 (Chapter 4) where the language choice was concerned, although G01 tries to lead the conversation in the Georgian language, she ends up switching between Georgian and English. Particular attention was paid to the utterances in the context of dialogues and conversations, where the Georgian language was used, which were mainly when:

Giving an opinion

EXCERPT 12:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:19:11] Children making jewellery

- 01 G01: "I think you already have that!"
02 G11: "*no, I don't!*"

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Asking a question

EXCERPT 13:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:30:05] Children making jewellery

- 01 G01: "Did you like [the] little *puppy?*"
02 G10: "aha"

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Commanding

EXCERPT 14:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:30:23] Children making jewellery

- 01 G01: "*Be careful, Give it to me!*"
02 G10: "*hey...!*"

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Forbidding

EXCERPT 15:

LOG 7: [Rec- 01:22:20] Children making jewellery

01 G01: “Do not take that out!”
02 G11: “*What?*”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Requesting

EXCERPT 16:
LOG 7: [Rec- 01:25:30] Children making jewellery

01 G01: “Cut this here for me!”
[silence]...

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Taking permission

EXCERPT 17:
LOG 7: [Rec- 01:29:10] Children making jewellery

01 G01: “Would you like me to make earrings for you too?”
02 G11: “aha”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

It has to be noted that although G01 initiates dialogues in Georgian on many occasions (about 9 times) in this activity, she also code-switches within the sentences and uses words and phrases, as shown in the Excerpt 13, line 01, where she uses a noun - “puppy” and Excerpt 14, line 01 - “be careful”, warning a child. In fact, this line can be considered as either two separate complete utterances with the first being a warning (in English) and the second as a command (in Georgian), or as one sentence with two clauses with no subordination, where there is a language switch between the clauses - from English to Georgian.

Age Group of 20-39

Individuals’ language behaviour of the age group of 20-39 is dissimilar to those in the younger age groups, in that, participants code-switch words and phrases, rather than switching from one language to another altogether (unless translating or interpreting to the people of other ethnic minorities in certain settings). Frequent Russian utterances were also noted in their speech. Languages used for code-switching by the participants of this age group are either English or Russian into Georgian speech, mainly inserting noun, gerund and interjection, such as affirmative and expressing command when code-

switching just the words. There were a few cases when some English or Russian verbs, adjectives and adverbs are code-switched into Georgian speech as well. Very often these words and phrases are work-related technical terms and participants are often quoting these terms.

According to the observations, it was evident that some participants code-switch fewer phrases than words from other languages. For example, while G06 rarely switched English and Russian phrases into Georgian speech, such as: “общие житъе” (communal houses) in Russian, and “power shower” in English, he often inserted both, English and Russian words in his speech, sometimes quoting. Table 5.5 presents code-switched words:

Table 5.5 Code-switched words

English	Russian	
bathroom	болельщик	(supporter)
bid / bidding	вообще	(at all)
cake	дачники	(holidaymakers in a country house)
case (matter)	кран	(tap)
grouter	кухня	(kitchen)
insurance	рогатка	(slingshot)
Invoice	ручка	(handle)
label	мороженое	(ice cream)
shape	сиденье	(car seat)
shower	тормоз	(brake)
unit	чашка	(cup)
u-shape	штраф	(fine)
worktop		
shush		

The majority of the code-switched words are nouns and work-related in both languages - English and Russian, or words linked with food or people. There was only one-time use of an adverb - вообще (at all) in Russian and there were cases of interjections, such as “shush!” as in the examples above and “OK” as below:

EXCERPT 18:

LOG 26: [Rec- 00:39:00] Friends’ gathering

G06: “Don’t eat more than one, *ok?*”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

In Excerpt 18 above G06 uses the English affirmative interjection at the end of the Georgian sentence, which is common across all age groups of Georgian in the research. Similarly to children and other adult age groups, G06 also uses Georgian endings with English or Russian words. By doing so, participants try to change phonetics to make that particular word sound like Georgian:

EXCERPT 19:

LOG 16: [Rec- 00:47:10] Birthday party

G06: “...*insurance-ებლ*” ვინც აკეთებლ
/ɪn'ʃʊərəns-ɛbs vɪnts^h aket^hɛbs/
 (...those who / whomever do insurances)

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

In the conversation about energy and gas supplies with his friend (Excerpt 19), G06 uses the noun “insurance” (as above) in the singular form in English with Georgian postposition “-ებლ” /-ɛbs/ that makes it plural in the dative case. If looked at it from the morphological point of view, it reads as:

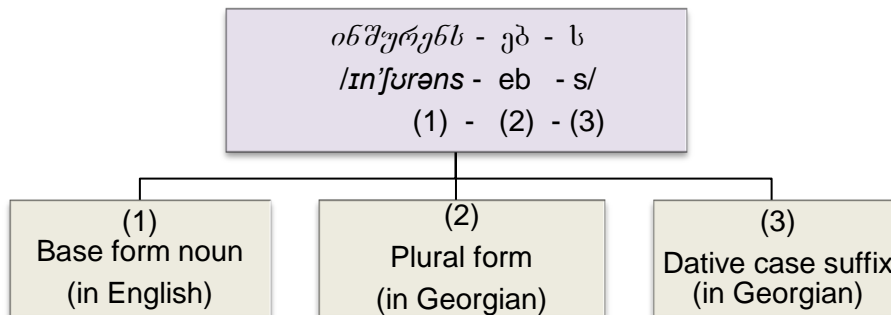


Figure 5. 1 Intra-word switching utterance

Another example where G06 code-switches an English word which occurs within a word boundary would be “[an] appointment” is provided in Excerpt 20 below.

EXCERPT 20:

LOG 31: [Rec- 00:18:31] Discussion / giving advice on legal document

01 G08: “... please call, call from the *landline*”
 02 I01: “why should he call?”
 03 G06 “*appointment-აბთვობ*”

/ə'pɔɪntmənt-ist^hvis/
(for [an] appointment)

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

First, as it was explained in Excerpt 5, there are no articles in the Georgian grammar, therefore, it is only assumed to accompany a noun when translating or transcribing these examples. In the excerpt 20, line 03, G06 uses:

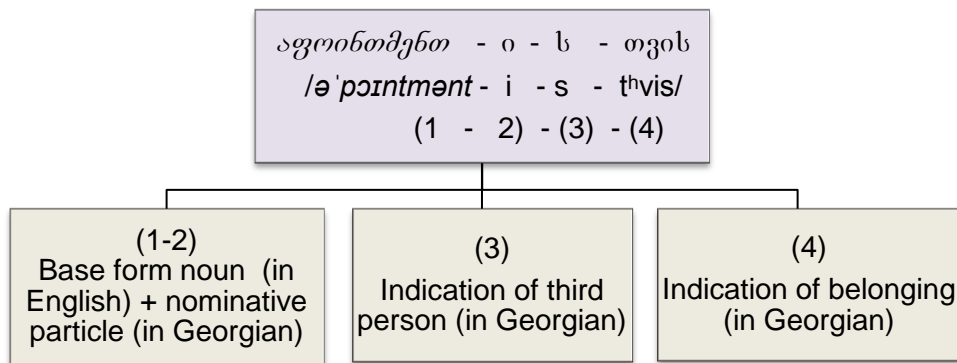


Figure 5. 2 Intra-word switching utterance

English noun “appointment” + “o” /i/ (nominative particle, which he uses as a postposition/suffix to the base noun) + “s” /s/ (indication of the noun being in the third person) + “თვის” /t^hvis/ (indication of purpose, and / or belonging), which in English would be used as a preposition and translate as: “for an appointment”. In this case, letter “t” becomes stressed in the syllable combined with Georgian “o” /i/ - /’ti:/ /ə'pɔɪntmənt’**t**ist^hvis/. Similar code-switching techniques were also found in other participants’ language behaviour.

Other examples include utterances, where a parent – G07 responds in English to their children when addressed in the English language, which is presented in Excerpts 21 and 22.

EXCERPT 21

LOG 16: [Rec- 01:00:09] Birthday party

- 01 G11 “Mum!” (showing something to her)
- 02 G07 “Yeah, I know, I know”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Their dialogue continues as the child tries to get her mother's attention:

EXCERPT 22

LOG 16: [Rec- 01:00:11] Birthday party

01 G11 "*Muum!*"

02 G07 "Bring the glass and I will pour it [juice] for you!"

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

As demonstrated above, mother responds in Georgian with longer utterance as their interaction continues. This type of code-switching occurs on several occasions in the participants' speech of this age group.

Other individuals of the same age range did not switch the whole sentences, as in the excerpt 21 (line 2), however, there were relatively more English and Russian phrases and sentences in the utterances of their speech, as well as words in comparison to other participants. In total, approximately 23.1% Russian and 76.9% English phrases/sentences (Table 5.6) and 42.9% Russian and 57.1% English words (Table 5.5) were found in their speech.

Foreign phrases/sentences (although sometimes formed grammatically incorrectly), were effectively employed in Georgian speech, in that, they made sense to the interlocutors. These utterances are listed in Table 5.6 below exactly the way participants pronounced them in their speech:

Table 5. 6 Code-switched phrases and sentences

English	Russian	
bend machine	в итоге	(ultimately)
best-selling shop	вообще то	(generally)
car park	за нашу красавицу	(to our beautiful girl)
chicken and chips	как раз	(just)
hello baby	Один Дома	(Home Alone)
he’s got very good humour	русское баня	(Russian bath)
high school		
home student		
it’s OK		
leisure centre		
listen! why are you telling me this?		
middle-aged		
parent’s evening		
part-time		
swimming pool		
to make community more stronger		
you’ve got school tomorrow		
voluntary experience		

It is evident from the above examples that participants tend to use commonly used phrases in English such as related to: employment - “voluntary experience”, “part-time”; function buildings and places - “swimming pool”, “leisure centre”, “car park”; education - “home-student”, “high school”, “parent’s meeting (evening); or food - “chicken chips” [chicken and chips], but they also ask questions in English (often children) and make statements. During the interview, G06 switched codes and used an English phrase related to his work: “I really don’t know what the *bend machine*’ is called in Georgian”. In another example, G07 inserted a short utterance in English while talking in Georgian when it was thought that one of the group members had got carried away with the topic thus attempting to dominate the conversation: “*Аww, it’s enough*”.

Participants of the age range of 20-39 make use of Russian adverbial expressions quite frequently, such as in the examples above: “вообще то” (generally), “в итоге” (ultimately), “как раз” (just). Although rarely, they use some general expressions specific to Russia, such as, “русское баня” (Russian bath) and film titles. Other

examples where Russian utterances were noted include the following: “yes, the one that welds” (G06) - *ა-ბგდგჟღბ-ს /ə-svark-eb-s/* ([is] welding) - a combination of a Russian word ‘*сварка*’ /*svarka*/, for “welding” and Georgian prefix ‘*ა*’ /*a*/ and suffix ‘*ბს*’ /*eb-s*/, where the Georgian suffix and prefix indicate an action in a third person (he/she/it). In other words, speakers tried to adjust the code-switched words to make them sound Georgian.

Participating individuals of this age range code-switch various parts of speech from English and Russian into Georgian, as illustrated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Code-switched parts of speech

English		Russian		
Adjective	best	Adverb	просто	(simply)
Gerund	cutting, skating, parking	Adjective	достойны	(decent)
Interjection	OK	Noun	сквозняк ящик гречиха связь очки площадка	(draft) (cage, container) (buckwheat) (link) (spectacles) (platform)
Noun	liquid, invitation, landline, leaflet, fish, security, junction	Verb	все	(that’s it)
Preposition	on			
Verb	cut			

In contrast to other parts of speech and apart from the examples in the list of nouns above, participants in this age group also switch a lot of nouns relating to legal and Law matters, beauty, accessories, food, physical activities, school and education, people and ethnicity, projects and technical terminology in their code-switched speech with interlocutors. Similarly to English language use, individuals of the age group of 20-39 code-switch many Russian nouns in Georgian speech, sometimes quoting or repeating them. Frequent use of the Russian verb “все” (that’s it) was also noted among the individuals in this age group, however, often in the context of interjection with uttering an exclamation.

Age group of 40 and over

Participants of the age group of 40 and over use fewer phrases, both in English, such as, “free range”, “home student” and in Russian - “лишь бы” (as long as/if only), “на всякий случай” (just in case). They code-switch fewer English words in contrast to the participants in the age group of 20-39. However, their use of Russian words exceeds those in the age group of 20-39. In total, approximately 30.3% of the code-switched words in their speech are English and 69.7% - Russian.

Foreign words that were applied in participants’ Georgian speech included the following:

Table 5. 8 Code-switched words

English	Russian	
blender	Банка	(jar)
boiler	выгодник	(advantageous)
boss	грудинка	(brisket)
carwash	заказ	(order)
recovery	короче	(in short)
unit	осетрина	(sturgeon)
valve	пакет	(pack)
worktop	передача	(delivery, parcel)
	пломб	(seal)
	повар	(cook)
	предохранитель	(fuse)
	просто	(just, simply)
	ремонт	(repairs)
	рогатка	(slingshot)
	сахар	(sugar)
	срок	(time / life)
	шофер	(driver)
	штепсель	(plug)
	тусовка	(gathering, circle)

As displayed in Table 5.8, no English parts of speech were applied in participants’ speech of this age group other than nouns, all of which were work-related. In their speech, they used a lot of nouns in Russian particularly words that were related to food and beverage and electrics. The Russian parts of speech they code-switched in Georgian (also listed in Table 5.8) are presented in the following table (Table 5.9).

Table 5. 9 Code-switched parts of speech

Russian		
Adverb	просто короче	(just, simply) (in short)
Adjective	выгодник	(advantageous)
Noun	сахар	(sugar)
	штепсель	(plug)
Verb	заказ	(order)

Participants of the age group of 40 and over would often repeat these words in one single utterance, or say a word in Georgian and immediately translate it into Russian, or vice-versa, as exemplified in Excerpt 23 below.

EXCERPT 23

LOG 15: [Rec- 00:50:12] Invitation to dinner

G05: “We would use fruit to make some drinks by adding sugar...
sugar”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

Language behaviour in terms of code-switching varied depending on the topic and the activity. For instance, at times some participants of this age group would talk for a long period of time, for instance, an hour, without or with only one insertion of a foreign utterance, whereas at times, they would constantly code-switch. In reference to one of the audio-recordings, G04 demonstrated using more literary Georgian language than other participants and use of quite a few internationally used words - barrier, chance, or English and Russian words related to work, wine production industry and generally business. However, less intra-word code-switching was found in the speech of the individuals in this age group comparing to the other groups. Very seldom, but on occasions, they would code-switch phrases from English into the Georgian responses to the children, for instance in G23’s case below.

EXCERPT 4 (Section 5.3.1):

LOG 32: [Rec- 00:54:32] Photo-shooting session

01 G21: “aw granny, I will do it again *for forty days*”
02 G23: “yes, you are already playing and how are you doing *forty days*?”

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

The child (G21) in the age group of 5-12 is in a dialogue with his grandmother (G23, 40+) conducted in Georgian, who seems to struggle to maintain the Georgian language throughout the whole sentence and switches to English - “for forty days”. G23’s response to her grandchild is in Georgian but she also switches to English, although it has to be noted that she is quoting him – “forty days?”. Most of the cases, when adults of this age group code-switch, are when they are repeating/quoting.

5.4 Discussion

Following the presentation of both, interview and observation data for code-switching, this section will discuss the ways in which code-switching is carried out in different situations and attitudes behind the code-switching behaviour. It will also look at participants’ language preferences in code-switching context. Younger children aged between 5 and 12 were selected to participate only in the observations, as described in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3). Although code-switching patterns varied across the age groups, this language behaviour was identified among the participating individuals during the observation. It has to be noted, that the researcher spoke in Georgian with the participants in the beginning, but realising that her language selection might have influenced respondents’ language behaviour, she decided to be spontaneous in her speech (code-switching) and to keep minimal, giving the individuals flexibility to be natural in their speech too without feeling any pressure or discomfort.

Age group of 5-12

It was observed that code-switching among children in the age group of 5-12 largely depends on their interlocutors, (like in the case of a government official in Brussels (Fishman 1965), who speaks three different languages, depending on where and whom he is with). However, the situation (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1998)/setting and the topics (one of the main controlling factors in language behaviour (Fishman, 1965) also impact the children’s language behaviour. Inter- and intra-sentential, as well as intra-word code-switching, was evident in the children’s language behaviour. That is, based on the observations, children in the age group of 5-12 not only insert words from one language to another (e.g. Excerpt 5: “სად არის *pen-o?*” /*sad aris pen-i?*/ (where is [the] *pen?*) while making a birthday card in a discussion setting with an adult) and phrases (e.g.

Excerpt 4: “aw granny, I will do it again *for forty days*” during a photo-shooting session in an arranged situation, also with an adult), but they also switch the languages altogether with their interlocutors, as shown in Excerpt 24 below – making jewellery in an arranged situation with a sibling G10 and a teenager G01 from the Georgian community:

EXCERPT 24:

LOG 7: [Rec- 00:04:00] Children making jewellery

- 01 *G01: “OK, shall we start?”*
02 *G10: “aha”*
03 *G11: “G11 you are not making one!”*
04 *G11: “wuuuh”*
05 *G01: “take some of them... no, no, no, not some of them...
[inaudible] let G11...”*
06 *G11: “whar [what] about these?”*
07 *G10: “no”*
08 *G11: “yes”*
09 *G01: “and there is lots of them”.*
10 *G11: “yeah”*
11 *G01: “G11 you can use them... ok? They are the best ones, look!”*
12 *G10: “yeah, and I’ll give you pink, red or purple?”*
13 *G11: “pink”*
14 *G01: “take them”*
15 *G10: “yeah, we need... [inaudible]” (cross talk)*
16 *G11: “I’m making a necklace”.*

Note: Utterances in the English language are written in italic

During the observations, it was evident that children code-switch excessively when interacting with adults, whereas with their siblings and friends, they would frequently speak English, as shown in the examples above. According to “negotiation principle” (Myers-Scotton, 1998) in a multilingual context, interlocutors signal their understanding of a specific situation by choosing one of the languages they speak. In Excerpt 24, children G10 and G11 choose to speak/respond to G01 in English. Their language choice negotiation is based on the interlocutors, topic, situation and setting, because as already mentioned, it was evident that children preferred speaking English with the participants in the young age groups. So speaking in English is more convenient for them. Besides, choosing the language in which they are more fluent, would establish a better understanding with the other two, who also share the same language preferences

and have a similar educational background. The jewellery making topic is complex enough for them to discuss in Georgian and the setting of the activity took place in a room with only abovementioned children present. All of these factors seem to be contributing to the children's language behaviour.

Potowski (2013) explains that immigration influences on the language behaviour of the second and following generations adopting the dominant language. Fluency and confidence in using the English language over Georgian were manifested when code-switching took place. For example, children give the preference to the English language in long and/or complex lexical utterances, such as when requesting, reporting, describing something, giving instruction, commenting or making statements and respond to easy questions in both - Georgian and English. So, the more complex their responses, the more English use was found in their speech, as they seemed to feel more confident/competent speaking in English, than in Georgian. This can also be explained by the fact that although these children are of the Georgian background and live in the Georgian environment, they were born, brought up and have been educated in the UK, hence their fluency in English. Their language behaviour in the situations, such as being angry or upset also indicated that English comes naturally to children (Caulmas 2005) as they often reported (reasons for being upset) or complained in English.

As discussed, for fluent communication, children in this age group would choose one language over another and usually speak in English, however, code-switching also occurred in their speech on a regular basis in spontaneous, discussions or arranged situations, particularly with adults (family or the Georgian community members). So, instances of accommodation (Giles et al., 1991) to their interlocutors were detected. For example, while watching and discussing a film (Excerpt 8), both siblings in the age range of 5-12 try to accommodate their mother who speaks/asks a question in Georgian (e.g. G10 in line 04 and G11 in line 05 of Excerpt 24). In this type of situation language is linked with the context on intergroup and interpersonal levels (Gallois & Giles, 1998), so children converge to accommodate their mother and adopt her language behaviour (speak in Georgian, repeating the words they had not known before) which is contextually appropriate in the given setting, which for Giles (2008) signals camaraderie and respect.

The children's delayed and stretched responses in the Georgian language dominated dialogues can be an indicator of their intention of speaking in Georgian. That is, when they delay their utterances due to lack of fluency in Georgian, they try to think and remember words or phrases they forgot (or don't know), otherwise, they would code-switch to make up for the unknown or forgotten word. For example in Excerpt 8, an adult parent makes a statement in Georgian that she likes the little elephant (cartoon character) in a question form (line 03) for the children to respond. Her daughter also replies in Georgian but forgets the word "squirrel" in Georgian, so she pauses and thinks, trying to recall the word, then she remembers and says the word in Georgian (line 04). Considering her fluency in English, she could have said "squirrel" in her preferred language - English, but her intention was to respond in Georgian, so even though she delays her response, she chooses not to code-switch in Georgian in order to accommodate her mother. Her younger sibling G11 also responds in Georgian - "squirrel, squirrel" (line 09), quoting her sister G10 in the same discussion, in response to the character she likes the most in the film (cartoon), also trying to accommodate her family members. It must be noted that G11 had demonstrated her lack of knowledge of nouns, such as animal names in other observations (e.g. Excerpt 7, lines 02, 04, 06), and it is highly likely that she did not know the word squirrel either in Georgian, so she converges from English (line 02) to Georgian whilst quoting, once again, to adjust her speech behaviour to her interlocutors.

According to Dragojevic et al (2015), "in interaction, we adjust and adapt to our fellow speakers. Sometimes these adjustments are conscious and deliberate (Stel, Van Baaren, & Vonk, 2008)". As already explained, interlocutors seem to have an impact on children's language behaviour, so children often converge with their adult speakers. Therefore, more intra-sentential code-switching was found in such interactions. Considering lack of fluency and language skills in Georgian, some pronunciation and grammatical inconsistencies were present during the observations (Section 5.3.1, "პეპელა" /p'ep'ela/ (butterfly) and "თან" /than/ (also)). Even with grammatical inconsistency and mistakes, the intention of using the Georgian language was still evident with their speakers. Such purposeful (deliberate) code-switching was also found in cases of divergence (accentuating verbal differences with interlocutors, appearing dissimilar (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012)), when using short utterances in Georgian whilst

responding to an English question asked by a mother. Divergence took place in the settings when the activities lasted longer and conversations had a continuous form. In such situations, children seemed to diverge spontaneously, rather than deliberately (Thomason, 2001; De Bot, 2002). In other words, they would begin a conversation in Georgian with adults and in time when more speech or vocabulary resources are required, children would deviate ending up interacting in English (e.g. Excerpt 4, where complex word combination was inserted in English while conversing with grandmother). Divergence in the speech of the children participants occurred with the teenagers too. For instance, in the Excerpts 12, 14 and 15, G10 and G11 respond in English when the teenager G01 is attempting to speak in Georgian with them.

Code alteration within a word (intra-word CS) was also discovered during the observations in the age group of 5-12. Code-switching which occurs within a word boundary also appeared, for example, in the experiment of Nguyen and Cornips (2016), who found that Twitter users do code-switch within words, combining elements from standard Dutch and minority Limburgish. As for the children in the current research, they borrow an English word, integrating Georgian endings, as in excerpts 5: “სად არის პენ-ი?” /sɑd aris pen-i?/ (Where is [the] pen?), where the definition of the word remains the same but phonetically sounds Georgian by adding the Georgian phonemic unit at the end of the English word. Code alteration within a word occurred in the participants’ speech of other age groups too, in which cases, they often know the corresponding word in Georgian, whereas in the children’s case, they either do not know the word in Georgian, know and do not remember, or feel more comfortable using the English words by altering them to suit the context.

Age group of 13-19

Data obtained through the observations agree with the perceptions of the participants’ perceptions in the age group of 13-19 on their code-switching reported in the interview. That is, they all reported being aware of code-switching when interacting with bilinguals, but the code-switching variations were identified in their speech. Two participants of the age group of 13-19 reported switching the languages (not words or phrases) with their interlocutors. Although they reported language switching between English and Georgian (with majority listing English as a preferred language (Table 5.1

above; and Chapter 4, Table 4.17)), this type of language behaviour was detected only when communicating with younger children, peers and siblings, but not on many occasions, and none with adults within the Georgian community, or their parents. One of the main communication accommodation strategies is an approximation, which considers speakers being focused on their interlocutor's language and communication, then they decide to either converge or diverge (Coupland et al, 1988; Giles, 2016). For instance, when discussing a college project, although G02 (one of the teenagers) excessively code-switched project-related terminology (English words and phrases) (Excerpt 10) due to the nature of the topic, he did not completely switch the languages and maintained the Georgian language dominated conversation throughout the discussion with an adult bilingual Georgian community member. Despite preferring English (as reported and observed) and excessive code-switching, G02 maintained Georgian, adjusting his verbal behaviour by converging to his interlocutor's (G07) language choice.

Among different reasons for code-switching (Section 5.2.4), teenagers reported lack of confidence in their own linguistic abilities and insufficient Georgian vocabulary resources. They reported code-switching being a habit and natural behaviour. Language switching behaviour may occasionally be occurring in their speech with the bilingual conversational partners, but as already discussed, it was not so much applied in their speech with adults during the observations. It is possible that interviews, which preceded some observations, made teenagers wary of the research context and either realised the importance of maintaining the Georgian language (which they also reported (Chapter 6)) and/or tried to do their best not to practice language switching with their interlocutors during the observations). Just to reiterate, language switching means altering from one language to another altogether (long utterances, e.g.: a couple of sentences and more), rather than switching only codes such as words and phrases, or even a sentence. On the other hand, teenagers reported and it was also evident during the observations that they code-switch as words (e.g. Excerpt 3: "mission"; Excerpt 13: "puppy"), so as phrases (e.g. Excerpt 10: "black and white"; Excerpt 14: "be careful"), when retelling or quoting and particularly when explaining, teaching or describing. While teenagers did not switch the languages altogether with the adult interlocutors, various ways of code-switching were observed when talking to younger children,

including switching languages. Age and generation-related code-switching, including inter- and intra-sentential switching in the current study agrees with the findings provided in literature, from Labov back in 1972 (who linked the younger generation's preference of the dominant language to their experiences and integration), Kebeya (2013) (investigating inter- and intrasentential code-switching patterns of local households in Kenya), and Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles (2015) (linking code-switching with the status of the interlocutor).

Although with an established preference for the English language due to the fluency in English (also reported in Broeder & Extra, 1999; Yagmur & Akinci, 2003), like young children, teenagers also demonstrated their intention of speaking in Georgian, even with young children in the qualitative research. It is probable that their English language preferences overwhelms their perceptions and consequently, underestimate their language abilities to communicate in the Georgian language, for instance when on many occasions G01 attempts to initiate a conversation in Georgian with children while doing different activities (e.g.: Excerpts 12-17). However, she also converges to English to accommodate her young interlocutors (e.g.: Excerpt 24). Interpretability is one of the communication accommodation strategies, as defined in Chapter 2. During interactions, speakers tend to assess their conversational partner's abilities to comprehend what is being communicated and they adjust accordingly (Coupland et al, 1988; Giles, 2016). Although G01 tries to initiate the dialogue/conversation in Georgian and on several occasions she ends up converging to English, as her conversational partner(s) continue responding in English, she accommodates to the children.

As discussed, topic related matters often trigger the teenagers' code-switching for the reasons of the lack of terminology knowledge in Georgian and this type of language behaviour – inter-sentential code-switching becomes a habit (Section 5.2.4). However, it was also observed that when discussing non-project subjects where specific terminology was not required, teenagers hardly code-switched in a long discussion (Section 5.3.1). The observation data is supportive of communication accommodation theory in that, length of utterance is considered as one of the factors affecting speakers' speech behaviour, in which case they tend to converge, which appears to be contextually appropriate in speech (Gallois & Giles, 1998). Another influencing factor

for the teenagers' language behaviour is the length of their residency in the England (as in the children's case). Although none of the participating teenagers was born in the UK, they have lived and been educated in this country for a substantial length of time - 9-10 years, more than they had lived and studied in Georgia (Chapter 4 and 6) (e.g. Broeder & Extra, 1999, Potowski, 2013).

The young children were not the only ones with grammatical and lexical inconsistencies whilst code-switching. There were such cases in intra-word code alterations (Das & Gambäck; 2014; Nguyen & Cornips, 2016) in teenagers' speech too. For example, as reported in the observation results (Section 5.3), one of the teenagers derived an English word by adding a morphemic unit, which, neither in English nor in Georgian would make any sense, because the morpheme was Georgian suffix/postposition. Having said that, from the pragmatic point of view, there was no question of misunderstanding of these types of code alteration in bilingual speech because the context contributed to the meaning and seemed to be "accepted" in their interaction with adults. It was observed that such language behaviour occurred in the topic related situations, when one was telling a story, describing, or explaining something. It was also understood that in such situations, some code-switched words and phrases were known to the teenagers in Georgian, for example when G02 says the phrase "15 seconds" twice in English but soon after reiterating it in Georgian. As the conversation went on, he continued using this phrase in English – the language he normally prefers to speak (Excerpt 10). It also depended on the context of the conversation, as this phrase was used in college project related speech. However, whether or not comfortable and fluent in English, teenagers always demonstrated the intention of using Georgian and maintained it with the adults in the family and/or the adult community. Ledesma and Moris (2005), in the study of language preference among the bilingual children in Metro Manila, conclude that childrens' preferences depended on the speakers' purpose. That is, while the majority of the children preferred English due to the schooling, media and other formal interactions, the others preferred Filipino due to the social factors and informal settings, which is the case in the teenagers' language behaviour in the current study, as the observations took place in the home environment and family/friend (Georgian community) setting, so they chose to speak in Georgian, rather than in their preferred language – English.

Teenagers tend to spontaneously accommodate to children and converge to English with them. This could be explained by the fact that both - young children and those in the age group of 13-19 prefer speaking in English than in Georgian and there is a mutual ground in language preference terms. However, It was also evident that although their conversational partners (younger children) tend to be more persistent in speaking English, teenagers still intend to speak in Georgian with them, which caused excessive code-switching in their speech (e.g. Excerpts 13-14).

There was only one case in the pilot study research, where language shift (disappearance of the Georgian language) was found in the age group of 13-19. One of the teenagers – G03 (G03 from the pilot study and G03 from the main study are not the same individuals) reported English as her mother tongue. She stated that the main language for communication with family and friends is mainly English, even in Georgia, but sometimes code-switches between the languages. She also reported that she has no confidence in Georgian at all, but she expresses herself better and it is convenient for her to speak English. Her reports were evident in the pilot study interview, for this reason, the interview was conducted in English. Language shift among the individuals of the migrated communities were identified in various studies, such as: in bilingual Austria (Gal, 1979); within the Chinese community in Tyneside (Li Wei, 1994); Spanish speakers in the USA (Zentella, 1997; Potowski, 2004); in the study of minority languages in Netherlands (Broeder and Extra (1999), Telugu speaking individuals in New Zealand (Kuncha & Bathula, 2004).

Age group of 20-39

During the interview processes, all respondents in the age group of 20-39 reported the mixed languages with the preference of Georgian, except one participant who reported English as the preferred language followed by Georgian (Section 5.2.1). Nonetheless, some of the respondents in this age group did not indicate code-switched languages with English as the preferred language in the questionnaire in most frequently discussed topics (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.6). These contradictive responses could be related to the nature of the questions, in which case these responses are reasonable and reliable, because one question investigates what languages participants mix the most, and the other question looks into the mixed languages for the most discussed topics.

Respondents in the age group of 20-39 reported switching the words (Table 5.5) and the phrases (Table 5.6) from one language to another, often into Georgian in the situations when they quote and retell, forget a word or use work-related terminology which was also evident during the observations (e.g. Excerpt 19). Participants in this age group seem to code-switch the languages only with the monolingual speakers in situations when, for example, they have to translate/interpret whilst in a group of people, or individually on one-to-one basis, as using English (or any language other than Georgian) is inevitable, leaving them with no choice, that is if they know the monolingual speakers' language. When interacting with bilingual individuals in the Georgian community, they switch words and phrases or just interjections from Russian and English into the Georgian language (e.g. Excerpt 18). Use of these words and word combinations was apparent, but some participants of this age group were noted to be code-switching more foreign utterances in their speech than others.

It was notable that participants of the age group of 20-39 often use short foreign utterances (CAT - Gasiorek & Giles, 2012) with their bilingual interlocutors. The maximum length of the utterances was short English sentences (e.g. Excerpt 21) code-switched with children unless quoting others. The reasons as to why adults use short foreign utterance in their speech may have justifications. These are their (lack of) confidence, (lack of) fluency and (in)competence in using the particular foreign language (Potowski, 2013) (in light of the Georgian language preference reported by all in this age group, as in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1) and environment where these utterances are utilised. Whilst children in the age group of 5-12 deviate from Georgian often inserting short utterances into English, which according to Blum-Kulkaa and Olshtain (1986) may be a potential cause for pragmatic failure, those in the age group of 20-39 make similar insertions only vice versa - from a foreign language into Georgian. So, if influenced by the abovementioned factors, why inserting the foreign sentences into Georgian speech at all? People, in general, tend to take pride in multiple language knowledge and regardless how much of a language they acquire, they like demonstrating this knowledge in their speech (e.g. it was reported by one of the participants - G04, in the age group of 40 and over during the interview that knowing several languages is prestigious (Section 5.3.1)) (e.g. Managan, 2004; Qawar, 2014). In such case, one switches codes (using e.g. an English sentence in the Georgian

dominated speech) and immediately continues speaking in his/her mother tongue. This way they avoid embarrassment either due to the insufficient lexical resources or appearing to be a show-off. Once repeatedly inserting foreign utterances in their speech, this language behaviour becomes automatic, natural and almost like a habit (Caulmas, 2005). Another and more feasible explanation is that participants often accommodate to their interlocutors and converge into their preferred language (Muysken, 2004; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). It was also evident that by code-switching participants are establishing a better understanding with children, as they may not be able to interpret complex Georgian words and word combinations, so an adult or a parent has no choice but to speak in English to them. However, observation revealed that this kind of language behaviour occurred not only in complex lexical situations but also in simple sentences as in Excerpt 21. Often when inserting long complex phrases and sentences, adults instantly translate them into Georgian (time allowing), which indicates their intention for children to know or maintain the Georgian language.

It was quite surprising and unexpected to find participants of this age group utilising Russian in their speech, considering that they have lived in the UK for a long period of time - 6-15 years. Besides emerging from the collapsing Soviet Union as an independent state in 1991 the Russian language was not as much in demand in Georgia, as it used to be before the dissolution of the USSR. It seems that length of time lived in the UK has had less impact on their use of Russian.

The Russian and English words and word combinations used by participating individuals have corresponding translations in the Georgian language and are used by the same participants in both languages, such as in Russian: “kitchen”, “ice cream”, “at all”, “just” and English: “invoice”, “cake”, “part-time”, “swimming pool” and so on. However, even though respondents use these words in Georgian too, they choose to code-switch these utterances from foreign languages into Georgian, so their choice is deliberate, which also corresponds to participants’ interview when they reported that it is easier to speak when switching the codes and even sounds right [to them]/suits best in the context. So, they indicate their awareness of code-switching and acknowledge that it occurs in their speech but this recognition does not prevent Georgians to borrow words or phrases from other languages. While Trudgill (1986) (in accent related language

behaviour) and Woolard (2004) object the idea of code-switching being always deliberate or conscious because speakers are not always aware of being code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1998) (in light of the "negotiation principle"), De Bot (2002) and Thomason (2007) argue that speakers are usually conscious/subconscious in their choice whilst interacting. Romaine (2011) accepts both – conscious and unconscious notion of choices that are made by bilinguals in their speech. On one hand participants' code-switching is conscious and deliberate because they know the corresponding words of these foreign lexical terms, but on the other hand, the observations revealed, that their choices can be unconscious and spontaneous too. While admitting to code-switching, participants of this age group reported that they code-switch due to lack of knowledge and work-related terminology (Section 5.2), which becomes a habit, slips out instinctively or automatically. Such language behaviour was observed on many occasions when for instance, participants exchanged their views, thoughts and ideas about work and code-switched terminology such as: "bend machine", "u-shape", "worktop", and "grouter". In contrast to Russian, these words were acquired in the UK. Most participants had worked or studied in various fields in Georgia, but do something else in the UK. Therefore they have not had the opportunity to learn the words in Georgia, such as technical terms that are related to their current jobs. So, their code-switching in such cases can be considered as spontaneous due to lack of knowledge, rather than deliberate choice, so they just make and deliver the social meaning of a particular interaction by code-switching (Auer, 1998).

Individuals in the age group of 20-39 proved to be as creative as the participants in younger age groups. Intra-word code-switching was identified in their speech regardless what language they borrow the lexical terms from, where Georgian postpositions are added to the borrowed words (e.g. Section 5.3.1 - Figures 5.1; 5.2) (Thomason, 2001; Das and Gambäck; 2014; Nguyen and Cornips, 2016). Whilst analysing translanguaging as a practical theory, Li Wei (2017) refers to Chinglish (Li Wei 2016a) – code-switching among Chinese users of English, where the emphasis is on the English utterances being re-appropriated with new meanings, such as "Chinsumer = a mesh of 'Chinese consumer', usually referring to Chinese tourists buying large quantities of luxury goods overseas" and "Smilence = smile + silence, referring to the stereotypical Chinese reaction of smiling without saying anything" (p.4). Such code-switching has

not been identified in the current study. Although Georgians tend to switch within the word boundary, where the meaning does not change, altering often involves grammatical and/or morphological switching. Taking grammatical or morphological complexities into account, even though such code-switching technique seems complicated, in fact, it was found that in speech it simplifies communication between individuals. This statement does not necessarily mean that such language behaviour is either correct or incorrect, but based on the observations it seems to be accepted by bilingual Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton, which makes their interaction flow smoothly and naturally. It can be deduced that participants use this type of code-switching to accommodate to other bilinguals, support their interlocutors' understanding and the flow of the conveyed utterances that usually are associated with a specific topic, such as legal case, or work-related terminology. It is also understood that participants generally acknowledge code-switching and unless work-related or linked to machinery terms, they deliberately code-switch even when altering codes within a word.

Age group of 40 and over

According to their perceptions regarding code-switching reported in the interviews, participants mix all the languages with Georgian except ER in the most mixed languages (Section 5.2.1) and ER, ERK, RK in topic-related language choices (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.6) with the preference of English in most cases and Russian in combination with Kurdish. So, code-switching, as well as a language choice in this age group depends on the interlocutors and the topics, such as TV-related matters, when teaching/explaining or describing something and quoting. They also reported that code-switching occurs in their speech when forgetting the words in the chosen language, discussing work-related subjects, using terminology or establishing an understanding with their interlocutors. As they report, code-switching also includes situations where family affairs are concerned.

Like adults in the age range of 20-39, participants in this age group are aware of being code-switching (mostly words (Table 5.8) and phrases and sometimes sentences too (Excerpt 4)). Respondents in this age group consider lack of knowledge, automatic (natural, habit, instinctive, etc.) use of languages, time and environment (including immigration and integration) as the contributing factors for such language behaviour,

which also was reported by the participants in the other age groups (13-19; 20-39). The understanding was one of the other reasons reported by one of the respondents in this age range that affects code-switching. Their reports on code-switching can be confirmed by the observation data. Based on the long-term observations, it was established that they definitely code-switch, mainly English nouns into the Georgian language and different parts of speech. However, unless quoting (e.g. Excerpt 4), switching long sentences in this age range was not evident during the observations and they use much fewer English words than those in the age group of 20-39. Whereas their use of Russian into the Georgian language dominated speech exceeded those of younger adults (20-39). Many of the code-switched words were linked to food and beverage and technical terminology, therefore code-switching varied depending on the topic, as well as the activity they were engaged in.

It was evident that code-switched words were repeated over and over in conversations either by each speaker or between the speakers, but depending on the code-switched utterances, it can be inferred whether they did not know the words in Georgian, or knew the word but were either accommodating their conversational partners or it was just in their habit to code-switch. For example, words such as “blender” and “worktop” in English, which were work-related technical terms, were used when individuals of the age group of 40 and over did not know in Georgian, which also corresponds to their report in the interviews. However, to some extent, this may be interpreted as accommodation by adapting to their interlocutors’ speech behaviour (Giles, 1973) which is manifested in quoting, or repeating utterances. On the other hand, “parcel”, “driver” or “cook” in Russian were code-switched into Georgian simply because they could or preferred so. So their code-switching in such cases was intentional. This can be explained by the fact that participants who used words that could be easily translated into Georgian, did not seem to accommodate their conversational partners but it was rather a habit of their own.

Although neither Russian nor English is used excessively by the participants in the age group of 40 and over, whatever they code-switch, seem to be rooted in their speech such as English terminology acquired in the UK or Russian due to the history and sociolinguistic experiences between Georgia and Russia. The Russian language seems

to be ingrained in Georgians speech of the older generation. For example, when G05 says the word “sugar” in Georgian, he reinforces it by translating the word into Russian to establish an understanding with his interlocutor (Excerpt 23, Section 5.3.1). It must be noted that his interlocutor, also of the same age range, took this language behaviour naturally, without judging. The interesting fact here is that G05 said the word “sugar” in the Georgian language in the Georgian speech and translated the word into Russian, rather than the other way round – from Russian to Georgian.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one of the participants – G04 of this age group reported that he switches the codes because it is prestigious to know other languages, which was not reported by other participants. However, it was discovered that the same individual code-switched excessively in an observation when hosting a Georgian guest from outside the Luton Georgian community. This individual, as many others in the Georgian community, seems to be very educated, but in reference to this particular observational instance, he demonstrated an excessive use of barbarisms and code-switching. On one hand, this fact may be corresponding to what he had reported in the interview that using different languages meant to be prestigious to him. His interlocutors G06 and a friend from outside Luton seemed to accommodate G04 by adopting and converging to his language behaviour, that is, shifting to a more “prestigious” speech, which according to the communication accommodation theory is an “upward” adjustment (Dragojevic, et. al., 2015). The use of the abovementioned utterances was conveyed in a way that revealed knowledgeability and intelligence and G04’s use of code-switching was deliberate rather than spontaneous in this case (Myers-Scotton, 1998; De Bot, 2002; Thomason, 2007). On the other hand, this was one of the few times when observation took place in the setting where an “outsider” was present and it is possible that this participant did not pay attention to being observed and was more spontaneous than in usual observational settings. It is assumed that code-switching in this particular situation was both - deliberate in relation to the interlocutor, and spontaneous in relation to the setting, in other words, his language behaviour was natural and unplanned (De Bot, 2002; Caulmas, 2005) The choice of the topic is another factor playing part in participants’ language behaviour in this age range. While Li Wei (1994) found that language behaviour patterns varied regardless of the topic (and the setting), others (e.g. Fishman, 1965; Thomason, 2001) relate code-switching behaviour

to the topic selection. It was observed that participants code-switched more when the topic involved barbarisms, loan and internationally used words. For instance, the import-export industry or wine production may employ a lot of international words, so G04 used a number of loan words and kept code-switching with his friend interlocutors. Using loan words, barbarisms which have been adopted from other languages (Muysken, 2004) were noticed in other adult participants' speech too, often modifying in sound form. It is assumed that such code-switching may increase over time among immigrants who presumably experience a change in their language behaviour (Milroy, 1987; Zentella, 1997; Romaine, 2011). However, to investigate such change, it would be necessary to conduct observations over the period of several years, which is not achievable to do within the PhD time-frame.

Similarly to the participants in other age groups, intra-word code alteration was observed in the speech of the participants in the age group of 40 and over (Das & Gambäck, 2014; Nguyen & Cornips, 2016). It was found that regardless their age ethnic minorities tend to adopt such language behaviour which becomes accepted, a norm within the bilingual community. They also acknowledge that such code-switching occurs in their speech.

5.5 Summary

Based on the interviews, all fourteen participants reported that they code-switch when speaking with bilingual interlocutors. Their statement agrees with the observation data. It was revealed that they all code-switch regardless their age and the setting (spontaneous, arranged situations and discussion). Intra-word, inter-, and intra-sentential code-switching were found in the utterances of the individuals in all age groups, with lesser intra-word and inter-sentential switching in the age group of 40 and over. The following summary will provide a concise account of the code-switched languages among the age groups, their ways and situations for code-switching, and the reasons as to why code-switching occurs in their speech. The account of the language behaviour is given in line with the respondents' perceived (interview) reports and the data obtained through the observations.

5.5.1 Code-switched languages

Participants' perceptions in regards the most mixed/switched languages in their speech varied across the age groups when interviewed. The observations revealed that the most switched languages in the age groups of 5-12 and 13-19 are Georgian and English, with English being preferred and a dominating language among younger age groups, but Georgian with the adults in the family or the community members. However, there were occasional instances of Russian utterances in the age group of teenagers (13-19). Participants in both adult groups (20-39; 40+) code-switch between Georgian, English and Russian, but the preferred and dominating language is usually Georgian.

5.5.2 Ways of code-switching

According to the data elicited from the interviews, the majority of participants said that when talking with their interlocutors, they mainly switch words and phrases, but some also switch sentences and citations. Only some teenagers said they switch the languages. The observations revealed the following:

Age group of 5-12

Code-switching involves altering between languages, phrases and words, which mainly includes complex nouns and verbs from English to Georgian. Intra-word code-switching also takes place in the speech of the children of this age group.

Age group of 13-19

Code-switching takes place between languages with children and with those in this age range. They also switch sentences, phrases and words from one language to another. Teenagers switch mainly nouns, verbs, adjectives (also adjective word combinations linked with time, order or number, gradable and subjective adjectives), adverbs and gerund, usually from English to Georgian speech. Intra-word code-switching also takes place in the speech of the teenagers. Some of them reported that they switch language with adults as well, however, it was evident that teenagers underestimate their abilities to maintain the Georgian language in their speech. Although with some code-switching teenagers are able to speak Georgian with almost no switching with adults, but inter-sentential code-switching also depends on the topic.

Age group of 20-39

Adults in this age group code-switch words, phrases and sentences, rather than switching from one language to another altogether. Participants in this age group use fewer foreign phrases than words, but most of the code-switched utterances are English comparing to the Russian language. They insert prepositions, nouns, verbs, gerunds, adjectives, adverbs and interjections (e.g. affirmative or expressing command) into Georgian. However, they insert more nouns than any other parts of the speech. Intra-word code-switching was also found in the speech of the individuals of this age group.

Age group of 40 and over

Observations revealed that adults in this age range code-switch words and phrases from other languages into Georgian, but there were occasions of switching sentences mainly when quoting. They use fewer phrases from English and Russian than those in other age groups, including young participants and fewer English utterances than Russian in contrast to those in the age group of 20-39. However, their use of Russian words exceeds those in another adult age group. No English code-switched parts of speech were applied in their speech other than nouns, all of which were work-related. On the other hands, they utilise various Russian parts of speech into the Georgian language, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Intra-word code-switching was also evident in the speech of the participants in the age group of 40 and over.

5.5.3 Situations for code-switching

Based on the interviews the teenagers' perception on situation-related code-switching seems to focus more on explaining, teaching and describing something, whereas adults are more concerned with quoting and terminology-related code-switching, as well as when family affairs are concerned. Participants also report that they code-switch when they talk about TV (i.e. films, programs, shows, etc.) in general, when they want to establish understanding, or forget, for example, words in Georgian. The observations revealed the following:

Age group of 5-12

Children speak English when:

- Being frustrated/upset
- Commanding
- Commenting
- Describing
- Giving instructions
- Making statements
- Offering
- Reporting
- Requesting
- Using complex or technical words

Children switch between Georgian and English when:

- Quoting
- Responding to questions (usually in Georgian with adults)

Children in this age range switch to English when using more complex words. The longer the conversation they have with other children of the same age range, the more English use was evident. On the other hand, although with difficulties and code-switching, they try to speak in Georgian with adults in the family and with the Georgian community members.

Age group of 13-19

Teenagers code-switch Georgian into the English speech usually with children when:

- Asking a question
- Commanding
- Forbidding
- Giving instructions
- Giving opinion

- Guiding (giving guidance)
- Initiating a dialogue/conversation
- Requesting
- Suggesting
- Taking permission
- Teaching
- Warning

Teenagers code-switch English words and phrases into the Georgian speech with adult bilinguals, including family and Georgian community members when:

- Explaining
- Quoting
- Using technical words

Age group of 20-39

Adults in this age group code-switch utterances from English or Russian into the Georgian speech mainly when:

- Asking a question (with children)
- Making a statement
- Quoting
- Repeating (own or others' utterances)
- Using work-related terminology / technical terms

Age group of 40 and over

Participants in this age group mainly switch English and Russian into Georgian in the situations when:

- Repeating
- Using work-related and business terminology

More literary Georgian language use was found in this age range than in any other participants' speech of other groups. Although occasionally, some participants in all age groups, including those in the age group of 40 and over would say a word in one

language and translate into another one, which in most cases were translated into the Georgian language.

5.5.4 Reasons for code-switching

Based on their perceptions (interview) and the observations, the reasons for code-switching are due to:

- Automatic (natural, instinctive) insertion of foreign utterances
- Contact with languages
- Easier communication
- Environment
- Establishing understanding
- Immigration / integration
- Lack of knowledge
- Prestige
- Sounding right/suits best (in the context)

While the observations confirm participants' perceived reasons for code-switching, it was deduced from the observations that code-switching behaviour also depends on the interlocutors with whom participants interact, a topic they discuss, a task they are engaged in and the situation in general. Competence/non-competence and (lack of) fluency was one of the major influencing factors for code-switching. It was evident that length of utterances determined participating individuals' code-switching behaviour. The utterance length factor for code-switching was more evident in the children's (5-13) language behaviour than in the speech of the participants of other age groups.

CHAPTER SIX: CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TOWARDS
THE LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR (LANGUAGE
MAINTENANCE, SOCIAL NETWORKS, AGE and IDENTITY
(ETHNICITY))
(RESULTS AND DISCUSSION)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the findings of the study concerning the contributing factors towards the language behaviour gathered through the quantitative and qualitative research, which is then discussed in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Analysis of the results will help to respond to Research Question 3:

- RQ3 - What are the factors contributing towards the language behaviour (RQ1 and RQ2)?
- d. Does attitude towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour? If so, how?
 - e. Does social network play any role in their language choice and code-switching? If so, how?
 - f. Does participants' age have any impact on their language behaviour?
 - g. Does their identity perception play any role in their language behaviour?

Participants' perceptions and attitudes in regards the abovementioned factors will be looked into in line with the self-reported data obtained through the questionnaires, interviews, and the data obtained through the observations. This chapter is divided in four main sections: attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language (Section 6.2); the role of social networks (Section 6.3); age in relation to language behaviour (Section 6.4); Perceptions and attitudes towards ethnic identity (Section 6.5); followed by a short summary (Section 6.6).

6.2 Attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language

This section will attempt to respond to the Research Question 3 (a), whether attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour and if so, how. It focuses on the attitudes, including whether or not they think it is important for them to maintain it, if it is important, how it is possible to maintain the language and whether they follow their own suggestions in order to maintain the language. Investigation in this section goes beyond their reported attitudes in regards maintaining the Georgian language by observing, analysing and making comparisons between reported and observed data.

6.2.1 Results based on the interview

This section provides an insight into the reported attitudes towards maintaining Georgian language researching whether due to the migration participants' use of the Georgian language has changed over time in the UK, moving on to their outlook in relation to Georgian language maintenance.

6.2.2 Changes to the use of the Georgian language

The participants with Georgian background who participated in this study have lived in the UK for a considerable time, as reported in the previous chapters. Therefore, it was decided to investigate whether their Georgian language use has changed over time, so they were asked about it in the interview. The results are shown in Table 6.1 where “yes” means their use of the Georgian language has changed over time and “no” means it has not changed. The results are provided in line with the age ranges.

Table 6. 1 Changes to the use of the Georgian language

Age	Yes	No
13-19	4(28.6%)	-
20-39	3 (21.4%)	2 (14.3%)
40+	3 (21.4%)	2 (14.3%)
TOTAL	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)

Four (28.6%) said their use of the Georgian language has not changed over time in the UK at all, all of whom were from the adults' age groups. In contrast, ten (71.4%)

participants from all age groups said it has changed, including all four teenage respondents. They were also asked how much it has changed, giving the options to choose from:

- Not at all
- Somewhat
- A lot

The ten participants who reported that their use of Georgian has changed expressed the degree of changes as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6. 2 Degrees of the language change

Age	Not at all	Somewhat	A lot
13-19	-	1 (7.1%)	3(21.4%)
20-39	2 (14.3%)	3(21.4%)	-
40+	2 (14.3%)	3(21.4%)	-
TOTAL	4 (28.6%)	7 (50.0%)	3 (21.4%)

Seven (50.0%) out of the total of fourteen interviewees said their use of Georgian language somewhat changed. This figure includes one (7.1%) teenager, three participants (21.4%) from the age group of 20-29, and three (21.4%) participants from the age group of 40 and over. Three (21.4%) teenagers said that their Georgian has changed a lot. As noted above, two in each adult age group, reported their Georgian language has not changed at all, totalling in 4 (28.6%).

As to how their language behaviour in Georgian changed, participants gave various examples, which mainly included:

- Switching between the languages
- Getting used to the host language – English
- Lack of contact with Georgian
- Forgetting how to structure complex sentences in Georgian
- Seeking for words and definitions during their speech.

6.2.3 Maintaining the Georgian language

Interview questions 21-25 (Appendix 1) focused on the issues of maintaining the Georgian language. When asked whether or not they thought it is important to maintain the Georgian language, all fourteen interviewees said that it is important. As to why maintaining Georgian is important, they gave various explanations, such as: relating to their identity, mother tongue, pride and communication. When categorising their responses, one of the responses was selected as the core category and other related responses were listed under the core category/heading as summarised in Table 6.3.

Table 6. 3 Reasons for maintaining the Georgian language

Age	Identity	Mother Tongue	Heritage	Language of God	Communication
13-19	2	1			3
20-39	1	1	3	2	4
40+	4	4		3	
TOTAL	7	6	3	5	7

Participants associate maintaining the Georgian language to their identity, mother tongue, heritage, the pride of having Georgian as their mother tongue and communication. Participants said it is important to maintain Georgian because language is what makes them who they are and they should always remember their roots because they were born and brought up as Georgians. According to them, if you are a Georgian, you should know your mother tongue and pass it on to generations. Some participants said that Georgian is a distinctive, beautiful and “the language of God” so one should be proud of his/her heritage. They also pointed out the need of communication in Georgian, to speak with the family in the UK and when they go to Georgia as many of them stated that they are going to eventually return to their homeland. They advised that the more languages you know the better.

Interviewees were given the opportunity to expand on their attitudes and state how it is possible to maintain the Georgian language. The majority of the participants, including those in the age group of 13-19, thought that communication and environment play the most important role. They suggested that one should listen, speak and maintain contacts/relationships with the Georgian community in Luton, as well as visit Georgia on a regular basis. They thought that children need to be taught, educated in Georgian

along with English in the UK and talked to about Georgia in general. In the adults' point of view, children have to be introduced to all sources of Georgian media and interest, inspire them to love their mother tongue.

Participants were asked if they try to maintain the Georgian language themselves. Their responses were as follows:

Table 6. 4 Do Georgians try to maintain the Georgian language?

Age	Not at all	Hardly	Sometimes	Often	Always
13-19		1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)	
20-39					5 (35.7 %)
40+					5 (35.7 %)
TOTAL	0 (0.0%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)	10 (71.4%)

None of the respondents stated that they are not trying to maintain the Georgian language and only one (7.1%) teenager said she hardly tries to do so. Two (14.3%) teenagers said “sometimes” and one (7.1%) teenager said “often”. The remaining ten (71.4%) adult participants reported that they always try to maintain the Georgian language. One of the teenage respondents in the interview also reported that she gets told off by her parents if she speaks English at home, in the family environment.

6.2.4 Results based on the observation

According to the observations, there was an indication that participants of all age groups, try to maintain the Georgian language, either by intention and choice or preference. Either way, the Georgian language seems to be the commonly utilised language among the individuals of the Georgian community in Luton.

Even though children in the age range of 5-12 demonstrate their intention of using Georgian, it seems that they feel more comfortable using English with their interlocutors, hence their preference for English. It was evident during the observations that the more adults talked with children aged between 5 and 12 in Georgian, the more the Georgian language use was applied by children. For example, when the researcher was helping G11 to draw pictures or make a birthday card for her sister, G11 would use a lot of nouns (clothing, animals, colours) in English in the beginning. As the discussion continued, she would try and quote/repeat the words in Georgian, mentioned by the

fieldworker. As it was reported in Chapter 5, although with some code-switching, which mostly occurred in short utterances, parents tried to always speak to their children in Georgian.

Participants in the age group of 13-19 used a lot of code-switching, for example, due to the nature of the topic, such as G02, who is more fluent in English, than the Georgian language. While discussing his college project, he maintained Georgian as the dominating language throughout the conversation with an adult interlocutor G07 from the Georgian community (Chapter 4, Excerpt 3; Chapter 5, Excerpt 10), regardless code-switching. In another example, in the English language dominated environment with younger children, G02 tried to teach them how to rhythmically chant in English, however, the instructions he gave were in Georgian. Teenagers demonstrated the intention of using and maintaining Georgian, as already reported above, although it was not always feasible for them. For example, in G01's case, when children she was engaged with in various activities with, tended to respond to her in English, sheG01 would return to Georgian every now and then even in the English language dominated conversations (Chapter 5, Excerpts 12-17).

Families tend to travel to Georgia almost every summer, if not twice a year and maintain contacts with their families and relatives. In parents' opinion, this helps children speak in their mother tongue (e.g.: G8, G15). They report that every time they travel there, children would return with better command of the Georgian language and maintain it for some time (usually a couple of months)

Although parents' attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language is strong and support the idea of its importance, it was observed that maintaining the language was not always feasible. Sometimes they would switch to English even in the Georgian language dominated conversations. For example, when her child does not want to go to bed and talks in Georgian with her mother, G07 tells the child: "you've got school tomorrow" in English, or when a child comes to his mother and reports what his sister had done (in English), his mother G08 responds in English, asking: "listen, why are you telling me [this]...?" Such code-switching occurred on a few occasions. On the other hand, there were far more instances when children talked to their parents in either

English or Georgian and English simultaneously and parents' responses were usually in Georgian.

The above is the account of what was observed, though participants also reported that their children prefer watching English channels on TV, but they sometimes “make” them watch Georgian movies. G07 reported that children hesitated to watch a cartoon in Georgian with their family and friend but in the end, they agreed to engage and even enjoyed it. In parents' point of view (e.g.: G7, G8) it is very good for children to watch English channels to learn English for education and integration reasons, but they also have to watch Georgian to maintain their mother tongue. One of the male participants – G04 in the age group of 40 and over said that to his mind, it is difficult for the young children to maintain the Georgian language when living in the environment (UK) where the dominant language is not their mother tongue. In his opinion, something should charge, gravitate and draw their attention and interest to watch Georgian channels and they should not be forced into it. He suggested, someone outside the children's close networks should interest them and at some point, they would understand [that it is important to maintain Georgian].

6.2.5 Discussion

According to Broeder (1999), the degree to which a language other than the state language in the country of residence is always/often spoken with the family members provides a good indication of the degree of language maintenance in the immigration context. Literature highlights the importance of individuals' attitudes (positive, negative) towards maintaining languages (e.g. Derhemi, 2002; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Potowski, 2013). Potowski (2013) points out that positive attitude is not enough to maintain a mother tongue. While this research considers participants' attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language, it also investigates factors impacting language maintenance. As language maintenance involves intergenerational transmission in minority contexts, speakers may also shift to a host language (Fishman, 1991).

The attitudes towards maintaining the Georgian language seems positive among the participants, although 71.4% of them, including teenagers, reported that their use of the

Georgian language has changed over time (in immigration). Therefore, the majority of them report that their use of Georgian language has changed “a lot” over time, whereas many adults report that it has changed “somewhat” and some report “not at all”. The time aspect of the language maintenance is analysed by various authors (e.g. Broeder & Extra, 1999; Derhemi, 2002; Coulmas, 2013). However, in the current study it would not be possible to make comparisons between participants’ language change - behaviour before and after arriving in the UK due to the time-scale, as mentioned in Chapter 5, but all the evidence indicate individuals’ varied language behaviour, including language choices they make in speech, code-switching and different types of code- alterations (intra-word, inter- and intra-sentential), hence change in Georgian speech. According to Potowski (2013), as a result of immigration, people arrive speaking their mother tongue fluently, but having children brought up in a new country with a host language, they become bilinguals and even adopting the dominant language as monolinguals. The data elicited from the observations suggests participants’ attempt to preserve their language. This includes children aged between 5 and 12. This can be evidenced by the fact that in all communication of bilingual interactions Georgian is the dominating language, with the exception of young children who choose to speak their preferred language - English with other children in the Georgian community, but with adults, they intend to choose Georgian. There is a possibility that children do not feel the need of speaking Georgian with other children who also prefer English over Georgian. With teenagers, however, they may feel the responsibility of responding in Georgian, however, often diverge from their interlocutors’ chosen language, as those in the age group of 13-19 seem to speak in Georgian with younger ones, but also accommodate children by converging into English. Having said that, when teenagers tend to initiate dialogue/conversation in Georgian with young children when engaging in different activities, the young ones often tend to maintain English even when they respond to questions asked in Georgian. This type of maintenance is one of the strategies outlined in communication accommodation theory (indicating a non-adherence to turns, but speakers would maintain their initial way of communication (Dragojevic et al., 2015) – responding in English in this case. However, in this section language maintenance is discussed in terms of preserving mother tongue in general, in a bilingual ethnic minority context.

Respondents reported different reasons as to why their use of Georgian language changed since they arrived in the UK (Section 5.2.3.2), such as becoming accustomed to English and lack of contact with Georgian, therefore, forgetting and finding hard to structure complex sentences in Georgian and often seeking the words and definitions in their minds. Potowski (2013) argues that one of the major factors in the minority language is proficiency. When an individual lacks sufficient level of proficiency of the mother tongue, it is difficult to use the language in socially significant ways. The observations revealed that due to the insufficient lexical resources and grammatical inconsistencies children and teenagers were affected more than the adults, who struggled to maintain the Georgian in long utterances, particularly those in the age range of 5-12. This was manifested in their language choices and code-switching with their interlocutors of varied age groups. According to Derhemi (2002), apart from sociolinguistic parameters, structural indicators, such as lexical or grammatical factors are important in language attrition. Derhemi further explains that structural disintegration or recovery factor has an impact on community language use and the attitude of the speakers towards their language.

Interviewees also linked the Georgian language to their identity and social networks, as all the interviewed respondents reported that they think it is important to maintain the Georgian language and that their lack of contact with Georgian (language, community, and homeland) is hindering their Georgian language speech. In the study on individuals' perceptions of the language contact situation among first and second generation Turkish immigrant community in France (Yagmur & Akinci, 2003), respondents reported that the Turkish language was important for maintaining their identity and also for cultural survival. In the current study too, participants reported that people should know own mother tongue, as the language makes them who they are. Even teenagers demonstrated their attitude towards maintaining the language, for instance, in one of the observations, when a teenager G01 told off a child (G10) that she should be equally fluent in Georgian and English but when challenged by this child, G01 also admitted that she is not equally fluent in these languages either.

As mentioned, respondents including teenagers aged between 13 and 19 indicated that communication with Georgians in Georgian and the environment/social networks play the most important role in maintaining the Georgian language, suggesting that they should read, speak, visit Georgia and have contacts with the Georgian community to be able to maintain the language. Deducting from the observations, it was understood that the longer interaction in Georgian, the more Georgian language was spoken by children. However, it was also evident that in long utterances more code-switching took place. In the interview, some teenage respondents indicated the prospects of returning to Georgia, hence the importance of maintaining the language. It is arguable whether children will return to Georgia which cannot be predicted for the time being, as it seems that apart from language and education, they have developed English mentality, adopted English lifestyle and integrated well into the British culture and society. Although teenagers reported their intention for maintaining the Georgian language, they said they “hardly” or “sometimes” try to maintain it, whereas all the adults in both age groups informed that they “always” try to maintain Georgian. The observation results somewhat contradict the teenagers’ report in the interviews. As discussed in Chapter 5, it was found that although with an established preference for the English language, teenagers always tried to maintain Georgian, even with young children. In other words, teenagers underestimate their language skills and abilities.

As the adult respondents reported, upbringing plays an important role in the children’s language maintenance. Having said that, according to the observations, children (G21 and G22) in one family spoke more English at home compared to the children (G10 and G11) in another family. This could be due to the fact that G21’s and G22’s parent was in higher education and also in the employment where speaking English is a must. So, long-term contact with the English language dominated environment seems to have impacted on both – parent’s and her children’s language behaviour, hence more English spoken in the family domain compared to the other family.

From the adult participants’ perspectives, children need to be taught, have contact with Georgian and be introduced to media in order to be inspired and motivated to utilise the Georgian language in their speech. This seems to be in the interest of those in the age group of 20-39, who have young children, whereas adults in the age group of 40 and

over seem to concentrate on their own language maintenance/development, considering the fact that many of their children are grownups living back in Georgia, excluding a few participants whose children are still young and living in the UK. As mentioned, G04 of the age group of 40 and over, who is a parent to two teenagers, reported his understanding of the difficulty in maintaining Georgian among children in an English language dominated environment, but hoped that in time and with some support, they would realise the importance of knowing/learning own language. Nevertheless, it was discovered that families in Luton keep contact with their relatives and friends in Georgia and communicate with them through the internet or the phone on a regular basis. Parents try to engage their children in various activities, they travel to Georgia at least every summer with their children and as reported by parents, children usually improve Georgian when travelling to their homeland. Parents also do their best to maintain close contacts with other families within the Georgian community in Luton and although with some code-switching, they always try to speak in Georgian with them.

Taking all into account, members of the Georgian community in Luton (who participated in the research study) are the first generation to arrive in the UK and the practice of speaking in Georgian may be a norm at the present time, but in future, this may change with the second and third generations, (Broeder, 1999), considering the factors impacting language behaviour, such as the children's language preference for the host language - English, education, environment and generally integration. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) claim that social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language. The results of this study agree with this in all participants' case but one (G03, pilot study), where ethnic origin did not relate to the language maintenance and language shift was identified (Chapter 5). The fact that she comes from a non-indigenous family of Georgia, could be one of the reasons as to why she was not able to maintain the Georgian language and the family speaks mainly in English in the home domain whilst other teenagers felt pressure and expectations from their parents to speak in Georgian at home. Giles and Byrne (1982) state that language is a marker of ethnic identity and in their ethnolinguistic theory they make links between ethnic identity and language maintenance, as well as language shift. According

to Li Wei (2013) along with attrition, code-switching is sometimes attributed to language shift and to some it is a sign of maintenance.

While for Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) social identity and ethnicity are maintained through the language and Giles and Byrne (1982) link ethnic identity and language maintenance/shift, Romaine (1994) argues that in speech community individuals do not necessarily share the same language, however, they share a set of norms and rules for the use of language, so their interaction is essentially social rather than linguistic. On one hand, results in relation to the Georgian language maintenance agree with Gumperz, Giles and Byrne in the majority of the cases, but on the other hand, in G03's case, Georgian community is a setting where she shares social and cultural rules and norms, but not necessarily the Georgian (or even Russian) language. Regardless G03's ethnic origin and Georgian background, the English language was reported as her mother tongue (Chapter 5, Section 5.4), which clearly indicates English being her preferred language and her primary language for interaction, which was also observed during the interviewing processes. For the reasons of G03's command of English, preference and acting as a monolingual, the interview with her was conducted in English. Yagmur and Akinçi (2003) found that in the view of language distribution, preference for French among Turkish migrants in France was evident in the younger generation, but older ones preferred Turkish. However, strangely, the second generation had more positive attitudes towards Turkish than the first generation, which cannot be identified in G03's case, reporting that she did not think it to be important to maintain the Georgian language. Language shift was found in various research (e.g. Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Broeder & Extra, 1999). Li Wei, for instance, found age-related language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant monolingualism within the Chinese community in Tyneside and individuals who did not speak English well (often adults) and maintained Chinese dominant language choice pattern, formed strong links with other Chinese community members. This pattern was also evident in the current study. Those who maintained the Georgian language had stronger relationships with the Georgian community members, or vice versa (those who maintained close links with Georgian community members have managed to maintain the language), and those, who made links outside the community due to various reasons, such as schooling and

education, work and friendship, have shifted towards English. However, it was only in G03's case where Georgian language shift was found.

6.3 The role of social networks

It has already been reported how participants' language behaviour changes in different situations and settings (Chapters 5-6). This section will focus on the links and web of ties, including the closest ties in the UK, in Georgia and other countries and will attempt to answer the research question 3 (b), whether social network play any role in their language choice and code-switching and if so, how, by investigating with whom participants interact regularly and impacts social networks have on their language behaviour.

6.3.1 Results based on the questionnaire

To investigate participants' networks and their language behaviour, they were asked about who their interlocutors are on any weekdays and weekends, and what languages they speak with them. Participants were also asked to state who their closest ties are in the household in the UK, outside the household in the UK and outside the UK and languages they speak with those in all three settings.

6.3.2 Interaction with interlocutors on any usual day (including weekends)

Full reports on the participants' language behaviour with their interlocutors on any usual day, including weekends, are provided in Chapter 4 so this section will mainly dwell on their networks. As already reported in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3), thirty-six Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton filled out the questionnaires. Questions 15 and 16 in the questionnaire (Appendix 2) inquired with whom and how much time participants spend on a usual day (Monday-Friday) and on weekends. The response options were:

- Alone
- Family
- Partner (girlfriend/ boyfriend; wife/ husband; spouse)
- Relative

- Friend
- Colleague/ classmate
- Neighbour
- Relatives in Georgia (via the internet, phone)
- Relatives in other countries (via the internet, phone)

Option “other” was also provided in case the respondents wanted to add other people they interact with on a regular basis who were not listed in the questionnaire.

For example, Table 6.5 demonstrates the calculation of the time spent alone on any usual day in line participants’ age ranges. Twenty-two (61.1%) out of the total of thirty-six participants said they spend time alone on a usual weekday:

Table 6. 5 Amount of time spent alone on a weekday

Age	Up to 1h	1-3h	3-6h	6-9h	More than 9h	TOTAL
13-19	1 (2.8%)	2 (5.6%)	1 (2.8%)	-	-	4 (11.1%)
20-39	1 (2.8%)	3 (8.3%)	2 (5.6%)	-	-	6 (16.7%)
40+	1 (2.8%)	6 (16.7%)	4 (11.1%)	1 (2.8%)	-	12 (33.3%)
TOTAL	3 (8.3%)	11 (30.6%)	7 (19.4%)	1 (2.8%)	0 (0.0%)	22 (61.1%)

Participants in each category (e.g. alone, with family, friends) spend a certain amount of time in terms of hours, but only the calculation of the responses provided by the majority (and second majority) of the participants will be provided here. For example, the majority - eleven (30.6%) in Table 6.5 said they spend 1-3 hours alone on a usual day, followed by seven (19.4%) spending 3-6 hours alone.

Twenty-six (72.2%) participants indicated that they spend time with their family members in the UK, with the majority - eleven (30.6%) spending 3-6 hours and seven (19.4%) 1-3 hours a day. In total, eighteen (50.0%) individuals said they spend time with their partner/girlfriend/boyfriend with the most - seven (19.4%) spending between 3-6 and four (11.1%) between 1-3 hours a day. Twelve (33.3%) participants interact with their relatives on a usual weekday with the majority – five (13.9%) 1-3 hours and three (8.3%) spending up to an hour a day with them. Thirty (83.3%) individuals out of thirty-six said they spend time with their friends on any weekday with the majority –

eleven (30.6%) spending 1-3 hours and nine (25.0) up to an hour a day. Twenty-one (58.3 %) participants said they spend time with their classmates or colleagues on a daily basis from Monday to Friday with the majority – nine (25.0) spending 6-9 hours and six (16.7%) up to an hour a day with them. Fourteen (38.9%) participants reported they regularly interact with their neighbours. Ten (27.8%) spend up to an hour, two (5.6%) - 1-3 hours and another two (5.6%) - 3-6 hours a day with them. All thirty-six (100.0%) participants said they communicate with their relatives in Georgia by phone or through the internet with the majority – 19 (52.8%) spending 1-3 hours and fifteen (41.7%) up to an hour a day. Thirty-two (88.9%) participants reported that they interact in the same way - internet and/or phone, with their relatives in the countries other than Georgia, with the majority – 18 (50.0%) spending up to an hour and thirteen (36.1%) 1-3 hour a day. Only two (5.6%) participants indicated option “other”, with both spending up to an hour with their interlocutors in the category of “other”.

A full report in terms of the hours and the interlocutors participants spend time with on a usual weekday is provided below:

Table 6. 6 Length of time spent with interlocutors on any usual weekday

	Alone	Family	Partner	Relative	Friend	Colleague/ Classmate	Neighbour	Relative in Georgia	Relative abroad	Other
Up to 1h	3 8.3%	2 5.6%	2 5.6%	3 8.3%	9 25.0%	6 16.7%	10 27.8%	15 41.7%	18 50.0%	2 5.6%
1h-3h	11 30.6%	7 19.4%	4 11.1%	5 13.9%	11 30.6%	4 11.1%	2 5.6%	19 52.8%	13 36.1%	0 0.0%
3h-6h	7 19.4%	11 30.6%	7 19.4%	2 5.6%	7 19.4%	1 2.8%	2 5.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
6h-9h	1 2.8%	2 5.6%	3 8.3%	1 2.8%	3 8.3%	9 25.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 2.8%	0 0.0%
More than 9h	0 0.0%	4 11.1%	2 5.6%	1 2.8%	0 0.0%	1 2.8%	0 0.0%	2 5.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%

The same question was asked about the weekend (i.e. with whom and how much time participants spend on weekends. In terms of the time participants interact with their interlocutors, double as many (six - 16.7%) reported they spend time alone on weekends up to 1 hour a day than on any other weekdays. Instead of eleven (30.6%) individuals only five (13.9%) spends time alone on weekend from 1 to 3 hours. It seems that eight

(22.2%) participants interact with their family members longer hours with them, which is between 6-9 hours and during the week only two (5.6%) spend as much time with their families. Comparing to the usual weekday, no (0.00%) participant interact with their colleagues or classmates between 6-9 hours on weekends, whereas during the week nine (25.0%) spend time with them as many hours. However, almost the same number of participants (as on a usual weekday) interacts considerable time with their colleagues or classmates from up to one hour to 6 hours a day on weekends. As for the languages, respondents speak with their interlocutors on any usual day including on weekends, are provided in Chapter 4 (sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), where they reported using a variety of languages.

6.3.3 Closest ties in the household and outside the household in the UK and/or outside the UK

Questions 18-28 (Appendix 2) asked participants to list closest ties inside the household and to specify who from the listed are close to one-another. Questions 29-39 (Appendix 2) asked them to list their closest ties outside the household, including those who live outside the UK and who from the listed individuals are close to those closest ties inside the household in the UK.

The majority of the participants who filled out the questionnaire have closest ties inside the household (in the UK), as well as outside the household in the UK or in any other country, who they interact with on a regular basis, however, although some ties may be their closest, the level of interaction, in terms of time (length) may be quite low.

Age group of 13-19: All teenagers live in the family environment inside the household all of whom interact with closest ties inside the household in the UK every day from 1 to 7 hours. The teenagers' closest ties inside the household are all close to one-another. Only one teenager's tie in the household is close to his closest ties outside the household in the UK and only two (5.6%) individuals' closest ties inside the household are close to participants' closest ties outside the household outside the UK. Teenagers reported that all their closest ties outside the household in the UK are friends with whom they interact from every day to twice a week from 3 to 7 hours a day. Two (5.6%) participants have single closest ties outside the UK, both of whom are relatives (cousins) with whom they communicate from every two weeks to twice a year, totalling in 2 -9 hours.

Age group of 20-39: Eight (22.2%) participants of this age group live in the family environment and two (5.6%) live with partners, one (2.8%) - alone and one (2.8%) with a colleague and friend. Eleven (30.6%) participants interact with their closest ties inside the household in the UK every day from 2 to 12 hours a day. Only seven (19.5%) individual's closest ties inside the household are close to one-another. Nine (25.0%) respondents' closest ties inside the household are close to nearly all closest ties outside the household in the UK and five (13.9%) respondents' closest ties inside the household are close to closest ties outside the UK. Three (8.3%) participants of this age group have no closest ties outside the UK. Twelve (33.4%) individuals reported that their closest ties outside the household in the UK are friends, three (8.3%) said neighbours and three (8.3%) – relatives. Six (16.6%) respondents' closest ties outside the UK are family members (or relatives), four (11.1%) said – friends and three (8.3%) of this age group have no closest ties outside the UK. All interact with their closest ties outside the household in the UK from every day to once a week from 30 minutes to 9 hours in total and six (16.6%) communicate with their closest ties outside the UK from every day to once a month from 10 minutes to 6h.

Age group of 40 and over: Seven (19.5%) participants in this age group live in the family environment, five (13.9%) live alone and one (2.8%) with friends. Nine (25.0%) respondents said they interact with their closest ties inside the household in the UK from every day to twice a week from 1 to 9 hours a day. Nine (25.0%) individuals' closest ties inside the household are close to one-another. Thirteen (36.1%) participants' closest ties inside the household are close to at least one (if not all) closest ties outside the household in the UK and Nine (25.0%) respondents' at least one closest tie inside the household is close to the closest ties outside the UK. One (2.8%) individual's closest ties inside the household are not close to any ties outside the UK and eight (22.2%) have no closest ties outside the UK (including those who live alone). Fifteen (41.6%) respondents reported that their closest ties outside the household in the UK are friends (out of whom nine (25.0%) have only friends as their closest ties in the UK), eight (22.2%) said - family/ relatives and one (2.8%) – neighbour. Nine (25.0%) participants' closest ties outside the UK are family/relatives. Seven (19.5%) said their closest ties outside the UK are friends and three (8.3%) have no closest ties outside the UK at all. All interact with their closest ties outside the household in the UK from every day to

once a month from 15 minutes to 9 hours. Eleven (30.6%) respondents communicate with their closest ties outside the UK from every day to once a month from 10 minutes to 4 hours at a time.

Table 6.7 below shows participants' (01-09) language use with their closest ties in all three settings (inside the household in the UK, outside the household in the UK and outside the UK). The results discussed in this chapter focuses on the data collected in the main study research unless specified otherwise. For the reasons of demonstrating language choice patterns on a smaller scale, the table below (Table 6.7) contains the results collected in the pilot study research, which is almost identical to the data elicited from the main study research.

Table 6. 7 Language choices in three settings

G=Georgian, E=English, R=Russian, L=Lithuanian

Part.	Age	Closest Ties Inside the Household In the UK							Closest Ties Outside the Household. In the UK				Closest Ties Outside the UK																	
		Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Wife/ Girlfriend	Husband	Sons	Daughters	Friends	Girlfriend	Relatives	Neighbours	Grandmothers	Relatives	Daughters	Sons	Friends	Father	Grandfathers	Uncles	Neighbours	Aunts	Cousins	Sisters	Mother	Brother	Nephews	Ex-wife	
01	13	GE	G	EG					E				G																	
02	17	GE	GE		GE				E	E			G						G	G		G	G							
03	15	EGR							E			E																		
04	46					GE		GE	GE	G							G							G	G					
05	51					REL	G			G					G	G											G	G		
06	36					G			GE	G		E					G							G	G					
07	27						G		GE	G		E					G						G	G	GE					
08	26	G						GE	GE	GE		G		G			G				G									
09	40	G				G		GE	G	G																G				

Table 6.7 above is arranged in accordance with the participants' number order, with the teenagers in the first three rows and their ages in the column next to the participants' numbers. The following three columns display participants' language choices with their closest ties in three different settings.

The reported results and participants' perceptions in relation to the language choices with their closest ties show that choices differed across the younger and older age groups. As illustrated in Table 6.7, teenagers reported similar language choice patterns with their closest ties in each setting: inside the household in the UK, outside the household in the UK and outside the UK - mainly in Georgia, except G03, who reported no Georgian language use with her closest ties outside the household in the UK and outside the UK. She also demonstrated scarce command of Georgian. The majority in the main study research reported similar language choice patterns with their closest ties in each setting, as in the other two cases in the pilot study (Table 6.7).

Likewise, adults reported almost identical language choice patterns across all three settings with patterns differing from those of the teenagers'. Results also showed that the majority of the adults speak in Georgian and English with their family members including children inside the household but using mainly Georgian with their closest ties within the Georgian community in Luton. Some adults reported having English-speaking neighbours as their closest ties outside the household in the UK with whom they speak only English. They reported speaking in Georgian with the interlocutors outside the UK, except one adult, who also uses English with her mother (who used to be a part of the community in Luton but left the UK some time ago).

6.3.4 Results based on the interview

To further investigate what impact participants' networks have on their language behaviour, they were also asked about their perceptions of their language behaviour in the interview.

The following findings answer the questions about individuals' language behaviour: where participants use the Georgian language, in general; with whom they speak in Georgian in the UK; and with whom they code-switch.

6.3.5 Georgian language use within the social networks

Participants were given the opportunity to choose from a list of options to indicate where they use the Georgian language, giving the flexibility to choose more than one answer and/or add any other networks in option "other" that was not included in the list:

- Home
- School/work
- Neighbourhood
- Community
- Internet/ phone
- Georgia
- Other

Table 6.8 illustrates the results to the above question.

Table 6. 8 Use of Georgian within social networks

Age	Home	School/ Work	Community	Internet / Phone	Georgia
13-19	4		4	2	4
20-39	4		5	5	5
40+	4	1	5	5	5
TOTAL	12	1	14	12	14

None of the participants indicated option 3 - neighbourhood and option 7 - other, so these options are not included in the table. Fourteen (100.0%) of the interviewees reported that they use the Georgian language in Georgia and within the Georgian community in Luton.

Twelve (85.7%) said they speak Georgian at home and the same number of people reported using Georgian with their interlocutors on the internet and/or phone. The only participant in the age group of 40 and over said he uses Georgian at work. At least one participant, if not all, from all age groups, report speaking in Georgian at home, in the community, internet/phone and Georgia.

6.3.6 Georgian language use with interlocutors in the UK

It was already established where the respondents use the Georgian language. A more detailed account of with whom they speak in Georgian in the UK is provided in Table 6.9.

Table 6. 91 Use of Georgian with interlocutors in the UK

Age	Family	Friends	Georgian Community	Relatives
13-19	4	2	4	1
20-39	4	5	4	1
40+	4	4	3	2
TOTAL	12	11	11	4

Twelve (85.7%) out of fourteen interviewees, including the representatives from all age groups, said that they speak in the Georgian language with their family members in the UK. Eleven (78.6%) reported speaking in Georgian with friends, as well as in the Georgian community and four (28.6%) said they speak in Georgian with their relatives in the UK. One (7.1%) of these four was a teenager, one (7.1%) from the age group of 20-39 and one (7.1%) from the age group of 40 and over.

6.3.7 Code-switching and social networks

In the interview, participants were asked whether they code-switch in their speech, languages they code-switch, situations for code-switching and how they code-switch. These results were provided in Chapter 5. As to with whom they switch/mix languages (words,

phrases) the most, are detailed in this section. Participants were given the following options:

- Family members
- Colleagues. Classmates
- Friends
- Neighbours
- Professionals
- Other

Respondents indicated two interlocutors in the option “other”- Georgian community and teacher, which are also included in Table 6.10 below:

Table 6. 10 Code-switching and interlocutors

Age	Family	Colleagues/ Classmates	Friends	Neighbours	Professionals	Georgian Community	Teacher
13-19	4		1		1	1	1
20-39	5		5				
40+	5	3	4	1	1		
TOTAL	14	3	10	1	2	1	1

All fourteen interviewees reported switching languages, sentences or words and phrases with their family members. Ten (71.4%) out of fourteen interviewees from different age groups said that they switch languages with their friends too. Only three (21.4%) individuals of the age group of 40 and over said that they switch languages with their colleagues. Two (14.3%) - one teenager and one respondent from the age group of 40 and over, said that they happen to switch languages with professionals. By professionals are meant, for example, doctors, legal authorities, and financial representatives. One (7.1%) teenager said this happens when speaking among the Georgian community members and

another one (7.1%) reported switching the languages with her teacher. Only one (7.1%) participant in the age group of 40 and over reported switching the languages when speaking with neighbours.

6.3.8 Results based on the observation and discussion

Gumperz (1971) refers to the speech community as a social group sharing a language and common norms but also held together by the frequency of interaction. Milroy (1987a, b) on the other hand, refers to the social network where individuals feel a sense of belonging. Two main factors are highlighted in the social network theory, one being high density with highly dense networks and resistant to linguistic change, and the other being low density, as opposed to high. The distinction is made between strong and weak ties investigating the relationship between language and social networks (Chapter 2). The results elicited from the reported and observed data show that while sharing the Georgian language as the main means for interaction, Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton have close ties with their families (those who live in the family environment) and Georgian community members outside the household. They also maintain contacts and relationships with their families, friends and relatives in other parts of the world, mainly in Georgia. Morgan (2004) suggests that in a prolonged communication individuals operate within shared belief and “value systems regarding their own culture, society, and history as well as their communication with others” (p 3). According to the questionnaire results in the current study, regardless spending some time alone on a daily bases, on average Georgian ethnic minorities spend from 1 to 9 hours a day with the family and relatives, friends, colleagues/classmates and those living outside the UK. Some even spend more than 9 hours a day with the family and relatives, colleagues, and relatives in Georgia (Section 6.3.2). Participants use a variety of languages, depending on the interlocutors within their social networks, however, Georgian remains the main language for communication in most cases. Being away from Georgia and small in numbers (Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1), Georgian ethnic

minorities formed a small community in Luton, members of which meet on a regular basis or interact by phone and/or the Internet. They have developed close relationships, formed friendships and some even became religiously related (becoming God-parents to their friend's children) and this community is all they have in this town, where they practice the language. It was observed that there is always either some sort of celebration or any other reason for the community members to come together whether by invitation or random calling in, regardless living in different locations in Luton, some people not driving for different reasons, being occupied with their jobs or any other commitments. The notion of speech community not only considers the shared language, but this language is also representing and constituting purposeful partaking in a society and culture (Morgan, 2004). According to Eckert (2000), the social life of variation lies in what and how people represent in their communities, their role or how they fit in and construct meaning in their own lives. It was observed that participants in this study often help each other out in various ways and rely on each-other under such circumstances, providing that they work in various fields and make use of each-others' skills and abilities.

Observations revealed that children in the age range of 5-12 have close relationships with each other (siblings and friends from the Georgian community), which they demonstrated in their behaviour - playing together, laugh, even shout and fight and making each other cry. They showed having respectful and loving relationships with the parents and adults in the Georgian community.

Pauwels (2005) considers family, as a social network phenomenon and a vital part for maintaining a home language. She also notes the barriers to passing the language to the younger generation and suggests that unless there is additional support, for instance, the minority language activities, all the pressure go to the families. The results of this research indicate the importance of social networks, including families and communities participants

interact with on daily basis. Li Wei (1994) found that while network interacts with other variables, it usually accounts for language choice patterns and code-switching. It was found in this research that apart from other factors, such as the setting, topic and length of utterance (chapters 4 and 5), the children's language choice largely depends on their social networks. For example, if they interact with friends and other young community members, they choose to speak in their preferred language – English, although sometimes they have to code-switch when their interlocutors decide to interact in Georgian, or for instance, the topic is too complex. However, with adults in the family and with the Georgian community members, they choose to speak in Georgian, regardless their preference for the English language. While language choice depends on social networks, code-switching in the children's speech occurs regardless their networks (family, friends from the Georgian community, other children and adults in the Georgian community), switching varies in frequency depending on other factors as mentioned above. Code-switching patterns remain similar across each age range. Holmes (2008) regards the notion of the network as a pattern of relationships of individuals on a regular basis which plays a part in mediating the speakers' speech habit. This language behaviour in the children's speech involves altering between languages, phrases and words, often due to accommodating their interlocutors (Giles, 1973; Dragojevic et al., 2015); environment; lack of fluency and lexical sources, but it was evident that individuals in the children's social networks were bilinguals too, so establishing understanding was always possible whether or not code-switching and regardless their language choices. Li Wei (1994) also found a correlation between the language use/ability and social networks. According to him, social networks affect and are affected by their members' language behaviour.

The remaining participants of all age ranges reported various factors impacting their language choices within their social networks, for instance: setting (e.g. activity, environment, task); convenience (e.g. complexity of the lexical items, length of utterance,

topic); own linguistic background (confidence, competence, culture, education, migration). However, they also stated that other main factors impacting their language choices were interlocutors, their age and ethnicity, ability to comprehend, intimacy, and knowledge (Chapter 4). Individuals' social networks categorise their social status (Dumanig, 2010) and identity, as according to Dumanig when one's language become established, he/she tends to identify himself/herself according to the group membership.

Teenagers' (ages 13-19) interlocutors in the household are usually family members and they all stated that they are their closest ties too, with whom they interact every day. Their social networks include friends outside the Georgian community in the UK and extend as far as Georgia, where their closest ties are often family/relatives. All teenagers reported speaking in Georgian with the family, the Georgian community members in the UK and in Georgia (Section 6.3.5). Two teenagers also reported having friends in the UK with whom they speak in Georgian. Although young children of the Georgian community in the UK were not stated as their closest ties, teenagers revealed caring attitudes towards them. When they were put in charge, teenagers would make sure children felt comfortable (arranging rooms, tables or floor to do some activities, such as painting or drawing, assembling jigsaw puzzle or jewellery), safe (warning about hazards and protecting from others), advise (tidy up, or how to deal with activity technicalities) help them, sometimes give instructions and commands and even tell them off when misbehaving. In terms of relationships, teenagers and adults of both age groups within the community network have established a respectful bond. However, teenagers often prefer not to join their parents in the community or friends gatherings and would rather spend time with their friends outside the Georgian community, usually with English speaking friends. This does not necessarily mean they have no desire to communicate with the Georgian community members. This is because teenagers reported (also discussed in Section 6.5) that they think it is important to preserve the Georgian language, which they think is possible by having the contact with the language

(communicate more in Georgian, visit Georgia, etc.) and link it to their identity and sense of belonging. So the teenagers' attitudes towards their socio-cultural background are positive and seem vital. Their positive attitudes towards the social networks and the Georgian language linked with them were also evident not only in relation to adult family members but also adult community members. Communication between teenagers and the adults of the Georgian community includes both, macro- and micro- sociolinguistic levels (Romaine, 2011). They communicate as face-to-face interactions, so as mediated ones (Internet, phone) on individual and group levels. This mostly occurs when they share either common interest about something and provide information and support, or work on some projects in collaboration. For example, a student teenager G02 and an adult student participant G07 of the age group of 20-39 shared their experiences and knowledge in educational fields of similar nature and even participated in each other's projects regardless their age gap. This included acting in an advert video, posing as a model for photo-sessions and giving advice and support in these processes, where they revealed genuine respect towards each other. It was observed that although teenagers speak in Georgian with their interlocutors, they tend to code-switch in their speech. Most of the teenagers reported that this language behaviour occurs with their family members and only one with each of the following interlocutors: friends, professionals, Georgian community and teacher (Section 6.3.7), indicated they code-switch.

So, in addition to other factors impacting their language behaviour (chapters 4 and 5) the teenagers' language choice and code-switching largely depend on their social networks. As reported in Chapter 5, they code-switch Georgian into the English speech usually more with children than they do with adults in the family and/or the Georgian community members (usually English into Georgian). Their positive attitudes and intent are linked with their interlocutors as they tend to accommodate them regardless interlocutors' age. Gasiorek and Giles (2012) explain that “when attributed to positive intent, perceived accommodation

increases interlocutors' satisfaction and favourable image of listeners' social group, as well as positive trait attributions of fellow interlocutors. The younger the speakers, the more English use and code-switching was found in participants' interactions, and the older their speakers, the more the Georgian language and the less code-switching was identified in their speech.

Most of the adults live in the family environment. The majority of the adults of both age ranges (20-39, 40+) reported speaking the Georgian language in their social networks in the home environment: the Georgian community in the UK; through the internet/phone; and in Georgia (section 6.3.5). They reported having friends and some relatives in the UK apart from their own families (Section 6.3.6) with whom they interact in Georgian. According to their reports, the adults' language choice patterns are almost identical among their social networks in three different domains: inside the household, outside the household and outside the UK. Georgian is the main language for interaction in all three settings followed by English (or the combination of Georgian and English). Georgian and English are mainly spoken in the home domain and some also speak outside the household. 99% of the adults of both age groups speak only Georgian outside the UK (usually in Georgia). Close ties measure speakers' closeness to their social networks, with an individual being a central part, who has interactions with other members of the network. They are often inspired by pre-existing norms that are specific to the network (Milroy, 2002). Participants' closest ties in this research include family members, but they also have closest ties outside the household and outside the UK with whom they interact on a daily basis. A considerable number of individuals, particularly those in the age group of forty and over, reported having no closest ties outside the UK and some have no close links outside the household in the UK either. All participants including those in the teenage and adult age groups indicated that there are some close-knit relationships between the members of their household, between these members and their closest ties outside the household and/or outside the UK,

where the respondents are the direct links between these networks. Orders in social network theory indicate a position of an individual within a network, where people are categorized: a) as being direct link to an individual within the network, (as in the participants' case in this research); b) group of individuals linked with the same network (such as the Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton); and c) speakers being indirectly linked to a network through other connections (Milroy, 1980), (this does not include the closest ties/links in this study, but contacts of various networks, such as work/school; neighbourhood; relatives). According to Milroy, the speakers become more powerful in their social networks when there is a close tie to the central actor of this network.

Adult participants' code-switching depends on their social networks with the majority reporting that they code-switch with family and friends and some - with colleagues, neighbours and professionals too (Section 6.3.7). According to the data elicited from the datasets, the majority of the participants switches words and phrases; sentences and languages; and make alterations within words too. However, the later was less evident in the age range of forty and over during the observations and none in any age group reported such code-switching behaviour (intra-word CS).

Wellman (1979) who pioneered the study of social network phenomenon from a support network perspectives (East York study) found that communities are a large-scale social organisation where speakers make use of their ties and networks to obtain resources, such as emotional support or financial aid. Granovetter (1973, cited in Liu et al., 2017) found that weaker ties were providers of a broader set of information sources and support than stronger ties. These kinds of support were also evident in the current research. Depending on their skills and abilities, ordinarily, adults provide each-other support, such as helping to find information and guidance on various matters, in helping with electric or plumbing issues (e.g.: fixing the boiler or central heating). They would also babysit, give legal advice,

translate/interpret, help to understand and write letters, help with building and engineering. Some community members seem to have developed faith and confidence in each-other. For instance, entrusting children to their friends (to stay over, or taking children out), having shared businesses or even lending money.

Observations also revealed that participants have close bonds with their family and friends outside the UK. For instance, when at a New Year's party, where there were many community members, the hostess called her parent in Russia to share her happiness of having so many guests from the Georgian community and set the mobile to loudspeaker so that everybody could hear what people were saying. There were other occasions too when during the observations the community members were talking to their family members in Georgia via the Internet.

The fact that the Georgian community members have more or less settled and have established lives in the UK, their sentiments seem to take over when gathered with friends from Georgia and past experiences often become the main topic of their discussion. Having said that, participants seem to have accepted new life in the UK and extended their social networks. According to Morgan (2004), the notion of the speech community, which used to highlight language systems, relationships and boundaries, now also combines social norms such as attitudes, values, beliefs, and practices. Therefore, communities operate their language as a social and cultural item. Even though participants have closest ties in Georgia and other countries with whom they maintain regular contacts, according to what they report, they are concerned about the detachment from Georgia and their social networks in Georgia. G05 in the age group of 40 and over reported how lonely sometimes he feels being away from his homeland joking in a sarcastic manner that [probably] nobody remembers his existence. His friend's (G04) response to this statement was also an ironic joke that they would remember him when they are short on money (also reported in Section

6.5). It seems that since they immigrated to the UK and have lived in a foreign country – England over a substantial length of time has weakened participants’ ties with their close links in Georgia. For example, they complained that sometimes they don’t know what to talk about when calling family and friends in Georgia. Some were particularly concerned about their children not remembering their own grandparents’ names and not willing to return to Georgia in time. Sharing sentimental feelings and thoughts was one way of demonstrating the relationships Georgian ethnic minorities have with the Georgian community in the UK, as well as in Georgia. It seems to be an accepted and a common behaviour among Georgians to look at the problems (if considered as such) humorously and joke about.

Social network seems to have an impact on participants’ language choices, code-switching and their language preferences and in return, language acts as a medium of interaction as it may provide expansion of social networks and enhance individuals’ schooling and job opportunities. For example, preference for the English in the age ranges of 5-12 and 13-19 can be an indicator of the membership of their English speaking groups, such as friends, classmates, fellow students, schools and colleges, and Georgian language choice – belonging to this ethnic group. It seems that individuals, including children, teenagers and adults who communicate and associate themselves as part of certain social networks, speak the languages of those groups and the longer and more frequently interactions take place, the more and better they speak the languages spoken within these networks. Adults in the employment, where speaking English or Russian is a must, have more language choices and can identify themselves with these networks based on the languages they speak. Besides, they develop close relationships and build solidarity among the members of these social groups.

6.4 Age in relation to language behaviour

This section will summarise participants' perceptions and data elicited from the observation in relation to language behaviour - language choice and code-switching (reported in chapters 4 and 5) and make links between these and participants' ages. It will attempt to respond to Research Question 3 (c), whether participants age has any impact on their language choices and code-switching, by comparing and establishing age-related similarities and differences in line with their language behaviour.

6.4.1 Age and language choice

Results based on questionnaire focused on: the participants and the length of interaction with their interlocutors; leisure activities and interlocutors; topic-related language choices; and language choices with closest ties. This report will focus on the facts and issues drawing particular attention to age and the language behaviour.

Based on the data obtained from the questionnaire, it has become clear that the majority of the participants from the Georgian background, who live in Luton, spend their time with the family members on a daily basis ranging from 1 to more than 9 hours a day. In comparison to the adults in both age ranges, teenagers spend much more time with friends - between 6-9 hours a day, mainly speaking in English, whereas adults only spend up to 6 hours a day with friends, mainly choosing to speak in Georgian. Whilst adults interact with the relatives on a regular basis, teenagers reported having no communication with their relatives at all.

Teenagers (e.g.: G01, G02) reported being engaged in fewer activities than adults during leisure time, and mainly interacting in English but sometimes English is combined with Georgian, whereas adults choose mainly Georgian. Teenagers seem to speak English in face-to-face interactions with friends, but they shift to the Georgian language (sometimes

combined with English) in mediated communication. They use Georgian and English simultaneously when watching TV with family members as opposed to the adults who tend to speak in Georgian in various domains in their leisure time, but sometimes similar language choice patterns were reported by teenagers and adults – mixing Georgian with other languages. Whilst teenagers limit their language choices to just Georgian and English, adults use a variety of languages with their interlocutors during some activities, but their language choices depend on their interlocutors' linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Adults' reports show that participants in the age group of 40 and over speak more languages than those in the age group of 20-39, hence more language combinations in their speech.

Reported data suggest that participants negotiate their language choices in certain topic-related interactions, where their choices are governed by situations/contexts and the topic they are discussing. Respondents in the age group of 13-19 reported discussing various subjects mainly in the UK, which indicates that they have less long-lasting interactions with individuals in Georgia or any other countries than those in the adult age ranges.

Relations between the speakers' language choices and their closest ties were identified in the reported data, where key determinant for the choice was the interlocutor. In general, fewer languages and the language combinations were reported by the participants with their closest ties in all age ranges, than in the reports on the topic and the activity-based interactions. It appears that respondents in the age group of 13-19 hardly have any closest ties outside the household, except in one case, where a teenager speaks in the Georgian language with the closest tie outside the UK. While participants in the age group of 20-39 use Georgian, English and Russian singly or in combination on any usual day or whilst engaging in various activities with their interlocutors, it was found that they use Georgian singly in all three closest tie domains and combinations of these languages, but not Russian on its own. Participants aged 40 and over reported a wide range of languages and/or combination of these languages for different situations (activities), however, their report on

language choices in all three closest tie domains have been limited to Georgian, English and Russian, which leaves other languages such as Armenian and Kurdish not being spoken with the closest ties.

Results based on the interview focussed on respondents' frequently spoken and preferred languages. English was reported as the most frequently spoken and preferred language by teenagers. With the preference in mind, all adult respondents reported Georgian as their preferred language, as opposed to the teenagers. Various factors were provided to explain participants' language preferences, such as immigration and the length of residence in the UK, having friends speaking a particular language (which in the teenagers' case is usually English speaking individuals).

Results obtained through the observations were compared to the reported data in relation to the activities and topics of interaction, language choices among the family and the Georgian community members, and language choices versus language preferences. The reported results linked with activities and topics of interaction agreed with the observed data, but it must be noted that children aged between 5-12 intend to speak in Georgian with the adults of both age groups, including their family and community members, however, they would choose to speak in English with the children of the same age group and teenagers from the Georgian community. Basically, Georgian is the dominating language across all age groups, but like younger children, teenagers tend to speak in English with younger children and the individuals from the same age group too, however, they also alternate between English and Georgian within these age groups. It was evident during the observations that language choices depend on speakers' linguistic background, but their ethnicity also played an important role in making these choices. Teenagers usually converge to accommodate their interlocutor children, while the young ones would often maintain the English language during the interactions with them. Whilst the reasons for young speakers' language choices vary from proficiency and fluency to the length of utterance and the complexity of the

lexical items, the adults' language choices (with code-switching) depended on lack of lexical resources, such as work-related terminology. Grammatical, lexical and phonological inconsistencies were noted in the speech of children, so as in the teenagers' speech. Adult participants who reported their ethnic origin to be other than Georgian, seem to be more flexible in their language choices, even if they were born and brought up in Georgia, than those whose ethnic origin is Georgian.

When taking choice and preference into account, it seems that the participating bilingual individuals use language choices to negotiate group and interpersonal relationships. Participants in the age range of 5-12 demonstrated their intention of using the Georgian discussions, but there was a clash of intention/choice and language preference (choosing Georgian for interaction, whilst their preferred language is English, e.g. due to fluency and competence). Likewise, while individuals in the age group of 13-19 demonstrate their preference for English, instead, they choose Georgian for interaction with their family and Georgian community members. Similar language choice and preference patterns were found in their speech with the Georgian community members. In relation to most discussed topics language choice patterns were the same as their language preferences among the respondents in the age group of 20-39, where the Georgian language dominates as usual. However, the variety of topics also gives the participants opportunities to speak Russian, which was reported as one of the second preferred languages in the interviews. Individuals in the age group of 40 and over, on the other hand, use a variety of languages on a daily bases, whose choices depend on the individuals' needs for interaction. For instance, for the employment reasons, or communicating with their monolingual (and in some cases bilingual) spouses of different ethnic origins. It was also discovered that the longer the utterance in the young children's speech, the more English use was found and their efforts of using the Georgian language tends to disappear until the interlocutor, the topic or the setting changes.

6.4.2 Age and code-switching

As summarised in Chapter 5, based on the interviews, all fourteen participants reported that they code-switch when speaking with bilingual interlocutors. Their statement agrees with the observational data. It was revealed that they all code-switch regardless their age and the setting (spontaneous, arranged situations and discussion). Intra-word, inter-, and intra-sentential code-switching were found in the utterances of the individuals in all age groups, with lesser intra-word and inter-sentential switching in the age group of 40 and over. The following will summarise a concise account of the code-switched languages among the age groups, their ways and situations for code-switching, and the reasons as to why code-switching occurs in their speech. The account of the language behaviour is given in line with the respondents' perceived (interview) reports and the data obtained through the observations.

Participants' perceptions in regards the most mixed/switched languages in their speech varied across the age groups when interviewed. The observations revealed that the most switched languages in the age groups of 5-12 and 13-19 are Georgian and English, with English being preferred and the dominating language among younger age groups, but Georgian with the adults in the family or the community members. However, there were occasional instances of Russian utterances in the age range of teenagers (13-19). Participants in both adult groups (20-39; 40+) code-switch between Georgian, English and Russian, but the preferred and the dominating language is usually Georgian.

6.4.2.1 Ways of code-switching

According to the data elicited from the interviews, the majority of the participants said that when talking to their interlocutors, they mainly switch words and phrases, but some also switch sentences and citations. Only some teenagers said they switch the languages. The observations revealed the following:

Code-switching in the age group of 5-12 involves altering between languages, phrases and words, which mainly includes complex nouns and verbs from English to Georgian. Intra-word code-switching takes place as in the speech of the children of this age group, so as in the speech of the participants of all other age groups. Teenagers also revealed similar code-switching patterns to those in the age group of 5-12, but inter-sentential code-switching also took place in their language behaviour and it also included other parts of speech such as adjectives (also adjective word combinations linked with time, order or number, gradable and subjective adjectives), adverbs and gerund, usually from English to Georgian speech. Some of them reported that they switch language with adults, however, observations revealed that teenagers underestimate their abilities to maintain the Georgian language in their speech. Although with some code-switching teenagers are able to speak Georgian with almost no switching with adults, and their inter-sentential code-switching also depends on the topic they discuss. Adults in the age group of 20-39 code-switch words, phrases and sentences, but in contrast to teenagers switching from one language to another does not take place in their speech. Participants in this age group use less foreign phrases than words, but most of the code-switched utterances are English comparing to the Russian language. They insert parts of speech in their speech as those in the age range of 13-19, but as opposed to teenagers, adults in the age group of 20-39 also code-switch foreign prepositions and interjections (e.g.: affirmative or expressing command) into Georgian. However, they insert more nouns than any other parts of the speech. Observations revealed that adults in the age range of 40 and over code-switch words and phrases from other languages into Georgian, like in young the children's language behaviour but there were occasions of switching sentences mainly when quoting. They use fewer phrases from English and Russian than those in other age groups, including young participants and fewer English utterances than Russian in contrast to those in the age group of 20-39. However, their use of Russian words exceeds those in another adult age group. No English parts of speech were applied in their speech other than nouns, all of which were work-related. On the other hands, they utilise

various Russian parts of speech into the Georgian language, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

6.4.2.2 Situations for code-switching

Based on the interviews the teenagers' perception on situation-related code-switching seems to focus more on explaining, teaching and describing something, whereas adults are more concerned with quoting and terminology-related code-switching, as well as when family affairs are concerned. Participants also report they code-switch when they talk about TV (i.e. films, programs, shows) in general, when they want to establish understanding, or forget, for example, words in Georgian. The observations revealed the following:

Children tended to speak English when: being frustrated/upset, commanding, commenting, describing, giving instructions, making statements, offering, reporting, requesting and using complex or technical words. Children switch between Georgian and English when quoting and responding to questions (usually in Georgian with adults). Children in the age range of 13-19 switch to English when using relatively complex words. The longer the conversation they have with other children of the same age group, the more English use was evident. On the other hand, although with difficulties and code-switching, they try to speak in Georgian with adults in the family and with the Georgian community members. Like children in the age range of 5-12, teenagers also alternate between Georgian and English depending on situations. For example, they code-switch Georgian into the English speech (usually with children) when: asking a question, commanding, forbidding, giving instructions, giving an opinion, guiding (giving guidance), initiating a dialogue/conversation, requesting, suggesting, taking permission, teaching, and warning. Teenagers code-switch English words and phrases into the Georgian speech (usually with adult bilinguals, including family and Georgian community members) when: explaining, quoting, and using technical words. Adults in the age group of 20-39 code-switch utterances from English into the Georgian

speech, but as opposed to the younger participants, they also insert Russian utterances in their speech. This switching occurs mainly when: asking a question (with children), making a statement, quoting/repeating (own or others' utterances), and using work-related terminology/technical terms. Like the participants in the other adult age range (20-39), participants in the age group of 40 and over mainly switch English and Russian into Georgian in the situations when repeating and using work-related and business terminology. More literary Georgian language use was found in this age group than in any other participants' speech of other groups. Although occasionally, some participants in all age ranges, including those in the age group of 40 and over, would say a word in one language and translate into another one, which in most cases are translated into the Georgian language.

6.4.2.3 Reasons for code-switching

Based on their perceptions (interview) and the observations, the reasons identified for code-switching are due to: automatic (natural, instinctive) insertion of foreign utterances, contact with languages, better communication, environment, establishing understanding, immigration/integration, lack of knowledge, prestige, and sounding right/suits best (in the context).

While the observations confirm participants' perceived reasons for code-switching, it was deduced from the observations that code-switching behaviour depends on the interlocutors participants interact with, a topic they discuss, a task they are engaged in and the situation in general. Competence/non-competence and (lack of) fluency was one of the major influencing factors for code-switching. It was evident that length of utterances determined participating individuals' code-switching behaviour. The utterance length factor for code-switching was more evident in the children's (5-13) language behaviour than in the speech of the participants of other age groups.

6.5 Perceptions and attitudes towards ethnic identity

To respond to the Research Question 3 (d) – whether identity perception plays any role in participants’ language behaviour, identity in this research focuses merely on the respondents’ perceptions of who they consider themselves to be by ethnicity/origin and what makes them be whoever they state they are. It also includes perceptions of their mother tongue, which can be seen as an indicator of their perceived ethnic origin. The data elicited from the observations look into the factors investigated through the questionnaire and interview and compares and analyses respondents’ reports to the observed data.

6.5.1 Results based on the questionnaire

To get deeper insights into what might contribute to the Georgian ethnic minorities’ perceptions of their ethnicity, a number of questions were asked in the questionnaire in light of their language behaviour, which included: their professions and occupations; length of residence in Georgia, the UK and other countries; frequency of using the Georgian language; and confidence in using Georgian, leading to a direct question about their perceptions of own ethnic origin.

6.5.2 Professions and occupation

Thirty-six individuals filled out the questionnaires, where they were asked about their qualifications, professions and jobs (Appendix 2 part one). Twenty-seven (75%) said they studied either in a university or a college (16 university degrees and 11 college certificates). Six (16.7%) said they finished high school and three (8.3%) have no qualifications or avoided answering the question. Out of the total of thirty-six, twenty-eight (77.8%) reported what their professions were. Three (8.3%) are pupils and two (5.6%) - students. Professions they reported varied: physics, business, marketing, law, economy, geodesy engineering, information technology, mathematics, dentistry, materials technology, teaching, book-keeping, nursing, as well as vocational professions, such as driving,

cooking, fire-fighting, electric engineering, hairdressing and security. It was found that only three (8.3%) respondents from the age group of 40 and over work by their profession in the UK, namely Luton. These were: the electric engineer, the system support engineer; and the security officer. The rest of the participants' occupations in the UK differ from their professions. For example, a businessman, a lawyer and a physicist are working as plumbers or gas engineers. A cook washes cars, a lawyer works as an interpreter, an economist - as a shop assistant and so on. Ten (28.8%) participants are retired and either housewives or unemployed.

Two teenagers attended nursery and/or school in Georgia where they were taught in the Georgian language, except one, who also studied in German primary school in Georgia. However, all teenagers have continued studying in England where they have studied all subjects in English, two of whom already moved to college, also taught in English. All adults in the age range of 20-39 reported having attended Georgian nurseries and schools, except one who was taught in Georgian and Russian in the nursery and attended Russian school, and another one, who attended a Russian nursery but continued studying in a Georgian school. Only one adult of this age group reported having studied in England, including in a school, a college and a university taught in English. Five adults also graduated in England. All adults in the age group of 40 and over studied in Georgian schools in Georgia, except two, who studied in Russian schools. Three of these adults also attended Russian nurseries, two of whom graduated from Russian universities. Three in this age group also pursued studies in England, but the rest of the adults in this age group graduated from colleges and universities in Georgia, in the Georgian language.

6.5.3 Length of residence in Georgia, the UK and other countries

Respondents were asked about the length of their residence in Georgia and any other countries including the UK. Relocations under one year were not included in the analysis, as it was assumed that their short-term residence in any county might not have had a major

linguistic impact on their language behaviour. Table 6.11 displays a general outlook of the participants' residence in the UK, Georgia and other countries, in accordance with their age ranges.

Table 6. 11 Length of residence and location

Age	In the UK	In Georgia	Elsewhere
13-19	9-10 years	4-9 years	One person – 2 years (Germany)
20-39	6-15 years	7-27 years	One person-1 year (Germany)
40+	6-14 years	27-60 years	One person - 10 years (Russia) One person -3 years (Germany) One person – 2 years (Russia)

As shown in Table 6.11, teenagers have lived in the UK for 9-10 years and only 4-9 years in Georgia (except one teenager who was born in Germany and lived there for two years from birth). This means that they have lived in the UK for longer than in Georgia or any other country. Respondents of the age of 20-39 have lived in the UK for a considerable time too, from 6 to 15 years and 7 to 27 years in Georgia. Only one of these adults – G07 lived in Germany for a year. As for the participants in the age group of 40 and over, they lived in Georgia (except one - 10 years, one - 3 and one 2 years in other countries) most of their lives and have lived in the UK between 6 to 14 years. Comparing the three age groups, teenagers have lived in the UK longest, than in other countries, and considering their age, they have lived longer in the UK in their lives than those in the adult age groups, who had spent most of their lives in Georgia.

In order to determine whether the length of living in the UK has had any impact on the participants' identity and influenced their language behaviour, they were asked about the frequency of using the Georgian language.

6.5.4 Frequency of using the Georgian language

Participants were asked in the questionnaire how often they speak in Georgian. Table 6.12 below shows the results of their responses, including frequency and length of interaction, in line with the age groups.

Table 6. 122: Frequency and length of interaction in Georgian

Participants		Frequency	Length
Age	No. of part.		
13-19	5	Every day	1-6 h
20-39	12	Every day	1-6 h
40+	19	Every day –every-week	10min- 12 h

Thirty-four (94.4%) respondents reported that they speak Georgian every day. One participant in the age group of 40 and over said that he speaks in Georgian every other day for about 30 minutes and another respondent of the same age group said he speaks in Georgian weekly for about 3 hours.

The age groups of 13-19 and 20-39 seem to speak in Georgian no less than 3 hours and up to 6 hours a day. Nine (25.0%) respondents from the age group of 40 and over speak Georgian from 10 minutes to 6 hours a day and the remaining five (13.9%) respondents - from 8 to 12 hours a day. Three participants from the adult groups did not answer or avoided this question.

6.5.5 Confidence in using the Georgian language

To further understand and have better insights into the participants' perceptions of their language behaviour, as the minorities from the Georgian background, they were asked about their confidence in speaking the Georgian language. They were given four options to choose from:

- Not at all (confident)
- Somewhat confident
- Moderately confident
- Very confident

Participants' perceptions of their confidence in the Georgian language use are displayed in Table 6.13 below:

Table 6. 13 Confidence in using Georgian

Participants		Confidence
Age	Total No. of Part.	
13-19	5	5 participants: Moderately Confident
20-39	12	4 participants: Moderately Confident 8 participants: Very Confident
40+	19	5 participants: Moderately Confident 14 participants: Very Confident

None of the respondents selected options “not at all” and “somewhat confident”. Five (13.9%) teenagers reported that they feel moderately confident when speaking in Georgian. Four (11.1%) respondents in the age group of 20-39 and five (13.9%) in the age group of 40 and over also said they feel moderately confident when speaking in Georgian. Eight (22.2%) respondents in the age group of 20-39 and fourteen (38.9%) in the age group of 40 and over reported that they feel very confident when using the Georgian language. Comparing the results, the majority of the adults feel very confident as opposed to those who feel moderately confident in using Georgian.

6.5.6 Ethnic origin

In the questionnaire filled out by thirty-six individuals, participants were asked about their ethnic origin. They reported that they are Georgian, Kurdish, Armenian or of a mixed origin. The figures are shown in Table 6.14 below:

Table 6. 14 Ethnic origin

Age	Georgian	Kurdish	Armenian	Mixed
13-19	4 (11.2%)			1 (2.8%)
20-39	6 (16.7%)	4 (11.2%)		2 (5.6%)
40+	11 (30.5%)	4 (11.2%)	1 (2.8%)	3 (8.4%)
TOTAL	21 (58.3%)	8 (22.2%)	1 (2.8%)	6 (16.7%)

The majority (twenty one (58.3%)) participants said they are Georgian by ethnicity and fifteen (41.7%) said they are either of mixed race or Kurdish or Armenian. Those who said they are of mixed race specified their origins, such as Ukrainian, Ossetian, Armenian and Jewish, but most of them reported being partly Georgian by origin.

Respondents who were interviewed were asked a similar question about their ethnicity but were also given the opportunity to expand on their perceptions, as described in the following section.

6.5.7 Results based on the interview

To further investigate and expand on the participants' perceptions, they were asked about their ethnicity and languages linked to it during the interviews.

6.5.8 Ethnicity and perceptions of own origin

As explained in the methodology chapter, fourteen individuals participated in the interview processes. They were asked to define their ethnicity and what makes them be of the origin they said they were. All fourteen respondents said they are Georgian, although one

participant in the age group of 13-19 and one in the age group of 20-39 stated in their questionnaire that they were of mixed race. As to what makes them Georgian, their responses varied. The majority (10 entries) said they are Georgians mainly because of their family, parents and ancestors. There were ten entries for being born and brought up in Georgia, love and bond to their country, which makes them who they are by origin. There were five entries for language, as participants thought that the Georgian language defines whom they are. There were four entries for Georgia, as their homeland and background, or even citizenship of this country, and another four entries were for culture, their customs and traditions. One participant in the age group of 40 and over went as far as hospitality, as part of the tradition, to be something that defines her ethnicity as Georgian. Other responses included: blood, history, religion and surname which were perceived as the factors contributing to their ethnicity.

6.5.9 Mother tongue

In the interview, participants were asked to list the languages they speak and indicate which one they consider as their mother tongue. Respondents listed Georgian, English, Russian, Armenian, Lithuanian and Polish as their spoken languages. One teenager mentioned in the interview that she speaks Spanish as well. The results in languages and language preferences have already been discussed in the previous chapters. However, this question in the interview mainly focused on what participants thought their mother tongue is and investigated its links to their identity. Thirteen (92.9%) participants thought their mother tongue is Georgian. Only one teenager, who previously reported that he is Georgian by ethnicity, said that he considers English as his mother tongue. The reason he gave for this, was the amount of time he spends speaking in the English language on a daily basis comparing to Georgian and the length he has lived in the UK, comparing to the length of time lived in Georgia.

As to why other participants consider Georgian (13 individuals) as their mother tongue, their responses resembled the responses given in description of their identity, in that, they linked their language to Georgia (5 entries - being from Georgia/born in Georgia and being of the Georgian origin) and their ancestors (5 entries – Georgian being their ancestors' language). Having said that, respondents also gave other explanations as to why they consider Georgian to be their mother tongue. There were eleven entries to indicate that participants' first language is Georgian because they were brought up in the Georgian language environment, it was the first language they learnt and have always or longest spoken Georgian. Participants related their mother tongue to education and reported that it is a state language in Georgia (6 entries). One of the respondents of the age group of 40 and over said that he even thinks and dreams in the Georgian language.

6.5.10 Results based on the observation and discussion

In the theory of communication accommodation (CAT), originally developed by Giles (1973), Gallois and Giles (1998) link identity with language and context, accounting for both – intergroup and interpersonal factors. According to the authors, it leads individuals to accommodate their interlocutors, in order to identify themselves with a certain social group. In result of assessing interactional characteristics of their interlocutors, they form and maintain a positive personal and social identity (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). Observations revealed that participants of the Georgian community in Luton relate the Georgian language and their background to their identity. This was demonstrated through various factors that they either knowingly or unwittingly expressed during the observations.

It has already been mentioned in previous chapters (Chapter 3, 4 and 5) that young children aged between 5 and 12 did not fill out a questionnaire and were not interviewed. However, they participated in the observations. Observations revealed that, although participants' intention of using the Georgian language cannot always be fulfilled due to various factors,

such as: setting, frequency of using the language, social networks and interlocutors, confidence in using the Georgian language, and as a result they often code-switch, children aged between 5 and 12 usually intend to speak in Georgian with their parents and the adults in the community (e.g.: Chapter 5, excerpts 4, 5 and 8). Attitudes cannot be directly observed (Allport, 1935), but they can be expressed through verbal statements, beliefs, opinions and emotions (Oppenheim, 1982). Behaviour such as intention to speak in Georgian could be considered as a contributing factor towards the children's subconscious sense of identity and belonging to the Georgian ethnic group/community. However what parents (age group of 20-39) report about children, must also be taken into consideration. According to them, children do not want to engage in the activities, such as watching Georgian films/cartoons and the children's excuse for not willing to do so is that they were born, brought up and have lived in the UK since they were born [so they should not be watching Georgian]. Whilst observing children watching films and discussing them, they code-switched in their speech. Such language behaviour in Gumperz's (1982) opinion is an indicator of various ethnic identities. Both of these contradictory factors (intention of using the Georgian language (including code-switching) and their resistance to watch Georgian films/cartoons) indicate their split sense of identity. On one hand, it is their choice to communicate in Georgian, which may be signalling their perception of Georgian to be their mother tongue and an indicator of their Georgian origin, as well as belonging to this social group. On the other hand, and in accordance with their report, they were born and brought up in England so they should be watching films in English. Settings and their social networks outside the family and the Georgian community environment, such as school and English speaking friends, seem to have made an impact on the children's perceptions of their identity. They spend a considerable amount of time outside their home and the frequency and the length of using English, where English is the dominating language influence their confidence and fluency in Georgian, as reported in sections four and five. Children of this age range seem to have created systems for their language behaviour in

both settings (inside and outside the Georgian environment) in order to resemble the groups they would like to be identified with (Le Page, 1968). Dabène and Moore (1995) explain that sometimes two languages can also “act as group-membership symbols and demonstrate ethnic identity” (p.24).

Similar situations can be found with the teenagers (13-19), as their language choice with parents and the adults within the Georgian community is usually Georgian, although with some, or sometimes heavy code-switching (e.g. Chapter 4, Excerpt 3; Chapter 5, Excerpt 10). Behaviour, such as using less linguistic variants in Georgian in comparison to the adults in this study, can be linked with the teenagers’ experiences linked with their identity and integration, as it was found by Labov, back in 1972. When we deal with perceptions and attitudes, we consider individuals’ journey in the process of becoming a member of a family or a particular group and what they learnt in these processes (Sherif, 1967). In the teenagers’ case, it was found that not only they demonstrate their Georgian language choice with the abovementioned interlocutors but also expecting themselves and others to speak in Georgian. Fishman (2010) argues that ethnic identity is one of the forms of identity that people may be aware and conscious of. With the consciousness raising, identity is also raising. This awareness was displayed in young (children and teenagers) participant’s cases during the observations. For instance, when making jewellery, teenager G01 and younger children briefly talked about how long their parents have lived in the UK. This led G01 to tell G10 off for her language behaviour, saying that she should write and speak properly in both (Georgian and English) languages. In return, G10 challenges G01 that G01 does not speak or write in Georgian properly either. G01 admits that it is true. This fact can be understood as younger children and teenagers identifying themselves as Georgians, however, the fact that they were speaking in English when this utterance took place, should also be taken into account. As reported earlier in this section, two teenagers attended Georgian nursery and/or school in Georgia where they were taught in Georgian. However,

they have lived and studied in England longer than in Georgia (9-10 years), and some have already entered the colleges, hence their preference for the English language. Thomason (2001) suggests that language choice depends on factors relative status and identity of a speaker, which in the children's and teenagers' case would be their educational and social experiences – English language preference due to the fluency and Georgian language choice due to their identity and belonging to the Georgian ethnic group. Tan (1993, cited in Dumanig, 2010) too found this correlation between speakers' perceived social status and their language choice. So, as in the example above, although they are eager to have a good command of the Georgian language, they, in fact, discuss this matter in English – in their preferred language. Nonetheless, the teenagers' demonstration of the intention of using the Georgian language, as in the younger children's case, can be seen as an indicator of their sense of identity as Georgians and belonging to the Georgian nuclear unit – family and the Georgian ethnic minority group in Luton. Dabène and Moore (1995) also note that the young generations from the Iberian and Algerian backgrounds were fluent in the host language than the language they learnt in early childhood, which they continued to use with their family members on daily basis, which plays an important role in group membership.

The data in relation to the teenagers obtained from the questionnaire and interview can be backed up by the evidence elicited from the observations. Teenagers do interact in Georgian on a daily basis between 1-6 hours, as they reported, and they are moderately confident in using the Georgian language, as it was seen in the reports in chapters four and five. Teenagers reported in the questionnaire and interview that they are Georgians by origin and they associated their origin with their background: place of birth, family and ancestors, love for Georgia, upbringing and most importantly, the language they speak – Georgian. These attitudes were revealed during the observations in their respectful relationships with the family and community members and the intentions of using the Georgian language with the individuals of all age groups. As to why they consider any

language as their mother tongue, the responses in the interview were of similar nature, except in one of the teenage participant's (G02) case. In the questionnaire, he reported that he is Georgian and Georgian is his mother tongue. However, in the interview, he said he perceived English to be his mother tongue too. Theories of identity distinguish between personal and social identities (Spencer-Oatey, 2017). So, while G02 perceives himself to be a part of the Georgian ethnic minority group and Georgian to be his mother tongue, he also reveals his individual attitude towards the English being his (second) mother tongue, due to his experiences, educational and social backgrounds. He explained his perceptions by stating that he has lived in England longer than in Georgia and is fluent in English as he usually uses this language for interactions. In other words, G02's perceptions depend on how he experiences his self-aspect (Simon, 2004) in personal and collective levels of self-representation/self-concept (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Hecht, 1993; 2002). Whereas all the other teenagers reported Georgian as their mother tongue because this was the first language they learnt, have been brought up in the Georgian environment, have spoken Georgian longer than any other language, and most of them were born in Georgia. It was found, that the teenagers' deliberate use of Georgian is intentional, as already discussed, but also subconscious. Questions 21-25 in the interview (Appendix 1) asked participants about the importance of maintaining the Georgian language. It seems they feel the need to maintain it, as they report it is important to preserve the Georgian language, which leads to their sense of identity. Factors such as pressure from the parents (deliberate or spontaneous), Georgian customs and traditions, links with the Georgian community in the UK, ties in Georgia and generally contact with the language seem to contribute to identifying themselves as Georgians.

While language behaviour was the major factor in identifying the younger generations' attitudes and perceptions towards their identity, the focus was shifted towards the concerns adults had in regards their own and their children's identity during the observations. Before

moving to analysing these concerns, it must be noted that the adults' reports in the questionnaire and interview in relation to the frequency and length of interactions in the Georgian language (Section 6.5.4) and confidence in using Georgian (Section 6.5.5) was also evidenced in the observations. They spoke in Georgian on a daily basis from 10 minutes to 12 hours and these varied in accordance with their interlocutors. Some adults live either alone or with non-Georgian speaking individuals, so they may only have short daily interactions in Georgian, but this also depends on their daily schedule. Most of the participants seem to have more opportunities to interact in Georgian on certain days, such as weekends either in mediated communication or with the members of the Georgian community in Luton, while others, who live in the family environment, speak much more frequently and longer on a daily basis in Georgian. Although the majority reported being very confident in using the Georgian language (22 individuals), a large number of the participants (9 individuals) stated that they are moderately confident in Georgian. One of the other factors influencing the adults' language behaviour depends on their occupations. As explained above (Section 6.5.2), only a few adults work by their professions in the UK and the majority works in other fields. Those who set up businesses together with the Georgian community members and friends have more opportunities to speak the language, but some work in English or Russian speaking environments and therefore have less opportunity to practice Georgian. According to their reports, Georgian language behaviour of those in the age range of 20-39 is particularly affected by the length of residence in the UK and work environments (4 out of 8 individuals). Their reported language behaviour in regards the confidence in using the Georgian language was also revealed in the observations, especially when work-related terminology was involved and individuals code-switched in their speech (Chapter 5). In other words, participants' language behaviour, in terms of the Georgian language use largely depends on their interlocutors' ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Literature suggests that speakers will usually accommodate when they would like to elicit or signal positive face, feeling or a common

social identity (Giles et al., 2017; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). Taking code-switching into account, on many occasions adult participants would know some lexical terms they code-switch in Georgian too but in order to accommodate (Giles, 1973) others, they would switch the codes. Their knowledge of these terms was revealed when they automatically/naturally translated these words/phrases in the same speech utterances. Gasiorek and Giles (2012) propose that when attributed to positive intent, these types of accommodation increases speakers' satisfaction and favourable image of interlocutors' social group, which in this case would relate to the Georgian ethnic minority community. It seems that participants' language behaviour is not only the means for maximizing the effectiveness of their interactions but as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) suggest, also an act of their identity.

Although almost half of the adult participants of both adult age ranges (20-39, 40+) reported being of various ethnic origins in the questionnaire (8 Kurdish, 1 Armenian, 6 mixed), they all reported Georgian to be their mother tongue, including the reports contained in the interview data set. As to what makes them be of the origins, they reported they are, responses included: language, culture, traditions and customs, family and ancestors, place of birth, homeland, history, religion, surname, upbringing, blood, as well as the love and bond they have towards Georgia and its citizenship. As already mentioned earlier, regardless their ethnic origins, all the adult participants stated that their mother tongue is Georgian, because of their upbringing, Georgia being a place of birth (all adults participants were born in Georgia), their education, social networks (friends, family, ancestors) and environment, ethnicity (who stated they were Georgians by origin), Georgian being the first language learnt and being a state language, surname, and they also reported thinking and dreaming in Georgian. It was revealed that participants, who reported their ethnic origin to be Georgian, speak mainly Georgian with the family and the Georgian community, or sometimes combining Georgian with other languages depending on their

interlocutors, and those of non-indigenous origins seem to be more flexible in their language choices, even if they were born and brought up in Georgia.

One of the main concerns adults expressed in regards their (and their children's) ethnicity was lack of contact with the Georgian language. In the observations topics such as Georgia and everything else associated with Georgia, for instance: food, Georgian economy, politics, agriculture, business, family trees, culture, contribute towards their sense of identity. Adults in both age groups often reflect on their childhood and past experiences and sometimes make comparisons between their own being, culture, societies to other nations', for example, comparing Georgian and other national dishes, or identifying differences between the national or social characteristics. Participants take pride in who they are as a nation and even acknowledging own weaknesses, whether on a personal or national level and at times stating that Georgians need to present themselves as well as possible in the UK because they represent the whole of Georgia.

Community members of Georgian background often come together and interact on a regular basis. For example, one of the non-indigenous members of the Georgian community – G12, who was born and brought up in Georgia and arrived in the UK as a young adult in the past, arranged a new year's party, inviting people from the Georgian community of mixed ethnic origins. Community members rejoiced and expressed their gratitude and appreciation to the hostess for getting so many people from the community together and even suggesting that she should be selected as the community leader, representative. Identity is often regarded as a social construction (Walters, 1990), where people identify themselves with a larger society whose members usually share common origin and culture. Regardless mixed ethnic origins in the Georgian community, when together, they always speak in Georgian, unless speaking to a non-Georgian speaking guest outside the Georgian community. So, the Georgian language seems to be the main factor uniting those from the

Georgian background regardless whether they are indigenous or non-indigenous population from Georgia and share the same cultural values.

One of the significant factors that contributed towards the individuals' identity seemed to be their culture and traditions, including hospitality, food, behaviour at the table, toasts, gifts, and much more that are specific to Georgian culture and customs. According to Yinger (1976), individuals participating in shared activities, where common origin and culture are major ingredients, signals their sense of identity. For example, code of behaviour at the table (სუფრა /sup^hra/), which to some extent is common among many nations, such as being polite, caring towards women (looking after them, offering food, drinks, etc.) but there are etiquettes specific only to Georgian, such as: having a toastmaster (თამადა /t^hamada/) at the table who proposes a toast (სადღეგრძელო /sadyegrdzele/) and others either repeat or propose the same toast in their own words. These toasts are often said in turn by ალავერდი /alaverdi/ (passing the toast to another person) and if someone would like to say any different toast at the table at some point, he/she has to take the permission from the toastmaster and so on. Regardless their ethnic origins, every adult from the Georgian community are accustomed to such behaviour, which again is very specific to Georgian customs. Community members often introduce and explain their traditions to people of other nationalities, usually without imposing. As much as they try to maintain the Georgian culture and traditions, they are also flexible to integrate into the local ones. For instance, one of the participants - G07 said that she feels embarrassed having Christmas tree and lights up until the 14th of January (as in accordance to the Christian Orthodox church, Georgian Christmas is on the 7th of January and the New Year falls on the 14th”, so to avoid judgments from the neighbours, she often disassembles their Christmas tree on the 1st of January, as the British do.

As opposed to the younger generation in this study, adult participants of both age ranges revealed their identity through the Georgian proverbs. Block (2007) links identity with language, stating that there is “the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one’s sense of self and means of communication...” (p.40). Georgian community members would normally use the proverbs in their speech that are quite specific to Georgian. Some can be translated into other languages while maintaining the same meaning, but some may have the corresponding expressions in other languages while conveyed in completely different lexical terms and word arrangements. For example, “თაგვიმა თხარა, თხარათ, კატა გადმოთხარათ” /*tʰɑgvɪmɑ tʰxɑrɑ, tʰxɑrɑθ, kʰɑtʰɑ gɑmɔtʰxɑrɑθ*/. Word-by-word this proverb would translate as: “the mouse dug [and], dug, [and/but] dug out a cat”. Georgian proverbs are often rhymed as in this example, therefore, sometimes the words are modified in accordance or some items, such as linking words are added or omitted, as above. In English, this phrase may not make sense but the corresponding meaning would be “curiosity killed the cat”. Georgian identity among the Georgian ethnic minority community was also manifested in their singing, playing (instruments, recordings) and dances. According to Putkaradze (2005), the “knowledge of the mother tongue is the inherent, immanent awareness of one’s own nationality” (p. 398) and Awareness of own ethnic roots determine individuals’ identity. Whilst proposing SPPL model, Walters (2005) suggests that speakers’ identity changes with the time and environment. On the other hand, Putkaradze (2005) found that the majority of Georgians living in Tao-Klarj under the jurisdiction of Turkey no longer have either mother tongue or historical religion. However, they tend to maintain their ethnic identity through their dance style, traditions of Georgian cuisine and other features of analogous value.

Identity, in general, seems to be a sensitive subject, as Georgian community members even say a toast to “traditions” and “identity” when they party. In the toast (a tradition itself) to

traditions and identity, one of the participants - G04 in the age group of 40 and over said that children may not know who they are at the moment, but over time, they would realise one cannot escape from own identity he or she is marked with. He said, children would return to it [own identity] in time, as they grow and establish who they are. Although adults try to maintain their identities, they seem to be concerned about their children being detached from Georgia and Georgian language conveying their concerns in a humorous manner saying that children do not even remember their own grandparent's names. Adults express their nostalgia and detachment from their homeland too. As already mentioned in the social networks section, one of the participants –G05 was even questioning himself why is he dying (figuratively) in the UK. He said it would be better to die in Georgia. So the attachment participants have to their homeland and the way they feel about themselves is closely linked to who they are. Participants report that they feel charged by love and energy when travelling to Georgia and they need recharging every now and then. Some in the adult age groups expressed their thoughts about Georgian emigrants that no matter where they are located, they have to return to their homeland at some point.

When the jokes are concerned, it seems to be the way of entertaining and part of who participants from Georgia are regardless their ethnic origin, they quite often joke even about the most sensitive subjects (to them), subjects such as homesickness and nostalgia, sentiments in relation to Georgia or about their own and the children's language behaviour. In one of the observations a mother – G15 in the age group of 20-39 joked about her son's grammar and how he constructs his sentences using both - Georgian and English, reporting that when in Georgia, sometimes people do not understand what he is saying due to code-switching. Participants tend to joke about accents too whether Georgian or English. For instance, participant G10 in the age group of 5-12 said in English: "I am playing basketball, innit, innit", emphasizing on and repeating "innit" ("isn't it"), as the confirmation to her statement. Although Georgians use jokes mainly to amuse their listeners, they occasionally

used them in a sarcastic manner. Although participants use sarcasm, in their own words (G04), it is not to mock anyone but to just have fun and amuse the listeners. Others agreed with this statement.

It was evident during the observations that participants and non-participants, who happened to be at the scene of an observation, treated each other with great respect and parents also expected children to show their appreciation or gratitude, for example, for being served dinner or being helped by others. Gratitude and appreciation were often expressed either in words or by gestures and actions. Adults also praised children for their achievements.

6.6 Summary

Four main factors impacting individuals' language behaviour - language choice and code-switching were discussed in this chapter. These were concerning the Georgian language maintenance, social networks, age, and identity factors as outlined in Research Question 3 provided in the introduction (Section 6.1) of this chapter.

According to the research findings, participants' language choice and code-switching are affected by the above-mentioned factors. In accordance with participants' attitudes and perceptions towards the Georgian language maintenance, their language use has changed over time to some degrees. They all reported the importance of maintaining the Georgian language providing various reasons as to why they need to preserve this language. Observations revealed indications of these attitudes whether by their intentions of speaking in Georgian, language choices during the interactions or language preferences, where Georgian is the commonly used language among the individuals of the Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton. Language choices often depend on various factors, such as interlocutors and their backgrounds (age, ethnicity, fluency and ability to comprehend,

language choices and preferences, etc.), speakers' abilities, competence, fluency and proficiency. Georgians maintain the language through their social networks and identity.

It was found that the stronger the networks, the more they use Georgian. Speakers spend a considerable time within their social networks in all three settings, inside the household, outside the household and outside the UK. However, the majority has close-knit relationships with family and friends, therefore spending more time with them in the UK. Participants speak Georgian in various domains. Similar language choice patterns were found in each age group with their interlocutors and closest ties, but these patterns varied across the age groups, particularly between adults (of both age ranges) and young participants (children and teenagers). Code-switching also varied depending on the age of the participants, other languages and situations. Generally, interlocutors, environment, activity individuals are engaged in, topic, length of utterance among other factors account for participants' language behaviour.

Age seems to play an important role in the individuals' language behaviour. Reported data suggest that participants in all age groups negotiate their language choices in certain topic-related interactions, where their choices are governed by situations and context. They also use language choices to negotiate group and interpersonal relationships. Code-switching instances vary across the age groups, including frequency and intensity of such language behaviour and language choices for code-switching. Although participants switch the codes in all age groups. These include intra-word, intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching. Participants also switch the languages altogether. In most cases, this language behaviour is linked with their interlocutors as participants take their preferences into account and accommodate them mainly by converging or diverging from the interlocutors' choices. Having said that, in some cases code-switching behaviour may be intentional and in some – spontaneous.

Participants reported being of various ethnic origins in the questionnaire, but all participants in the interview stated they are Georgians by ethnic origin. They reported the Georgian language to be their mother tongue. It seems that the length of residence in the UK and the majority not working by their professions, has had some influence on their language behaviour, such as practising code-switching, but they speak in Georgian on daily basis and none reported not being confident in using the Georgian in their interactions. According to their perceptions and report, participants think that identity, in general, is maintained through the language and social networks, which was also evident in the observations.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary of the study

This study sets out to explore the language behaviour and the contributing factors to it among the Georgian ethnic minorities in Luton. It focussed on language choice and code-switching as language behaviour phenomena, and social networks, age, language maintenance and identity (ethnicity) as contributing factors to the language behaviour. Taking a combination of sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches, this study adopted a mixed-methods design examining both reported and observed data, with a view to maximising the richness and reliability of the data. The data was collected through a questionnaire, a semi-structured interview and observations (over a four-month period of time). Forty-two individuals took part in the main study with thirty-six filling out a questionnaire, fourteen having been interviewed and twenty-two observed. Twelve out of the observed twenty-two were engaged in the entire period of observation, while the remaining ten were co-present with the selected twelve participants during some of the observations. These ten were those who also filled out a questionnaire and/or were interviewed.

The Research Questions this study addressed are as follows:

- RQ1 - What are the language choices among the Georgian ethnic minorities in different contexts?

RQ2 - To what extent, and in what ways do the Georgians in Luton code-switch?

RQ3 - What are the factors contributing towards the language behaviour (RQ1 and RQ2)?

- a. Does attitude towards maintaining the Georgian language play any role in their language behaviour? If so, how?
- b. Does social network play any role in their language choice and code-switching? If so, how?
- c. Does participants' age have any impact on their language behaviour?
- d. Does their identity perception play any role in their language behaviour?

A summary of the findings of this research is provided in the following section.

7.2 Summary of the findings

Based on the examined quantitative and qualitative data, the main findings include the following.

Language choice (RQ1): This study has shown that individuals in an ethnic minority group in Luton consider Georgian as their mother tongue, even those who reported being of an ethnic origin other than Georgian. However, being bi-/multilingual, they are versatile in their language choices depending on various circumstances. Language choice patterns and language preferences varied across different age groups, in particular between the younger and the older generations. In accordance with the participants' language behaviour, the distinction was made between language choices

and preferences. It was found that individuals may prefer speaking one language but choose to speak the other. This language behaviour can be explained by the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973), as speakers tend to adjust their speech to accommodate their interlocutors. This phenomenon was found evident in all age groups, depending on the factors that impact the language choices. A number of factors influencing their language choice the setting and the environment; macro- and micro-sociolinguistic levels of interactions; linguistic, social, demographic, educational backgrounds; competence; individual experiences of speakers; and contact with other languages.

Code-switching (RQ2): Findings of participants' code-switching behaviour were drawn from both the reported data – participants' perceptions of their own language behaviour – and the observed data of participants' code-switching behaviour. All participants code-switch in their speech and various types of code-switching occur in their speech. These include switching the language altogether, inter- and intra-sentential code-switching, and intra-word code-switching. In the case of one of the teenagers of a non-indigenous Georgian background, Georgian language shift is also taking place. While the younger generation usually code-switches between Georgian and English, adults (20-40+) mostly switch between Georgian, English and Russian, who also speak other languages, especially those in the age range of 40 and over.

Code-switching is sometimes deliberate and conscious and sometimes spontaneous, depending on various factors. Participants reported being aware of switching codes in their speech, but the observations revealed that they often code-switch subconsciously, spontaneously and this comes naturally to them. Despite the fact that all participants code-switch, the dominating language in the families and among the Georgian community members is Georgian, with the exception of children in the age range of 5-12, who speak English among themselves. Moreover, in contrast to participants in the

other age groups, these children often insert Georgian utterances in a speech that is predominantly in English, rather than vice versa – English utterances into Georgian speech.

It was also found that speakers tend to accommodate each other in their speech by converging to the interlocutors' speech style, for instance, youngest children accommodating to their parents by speaking Georgian with them. Nonetheless, instances of divergence were also observed in the children's speech with teenagers. The longer the Georgian utterance in the children's speech, the more Georgian they speak, but also the more they code-switch. This type of language behaviour was not evident in the speech of participants from other age groups. Having said that, teenagers (13-19) switched codes more, comparing to those in the adult age ranges, but less, comparing to the young children. While children in the age group of 5-12 switch more or less complex English nouns and verbs when speaking in Georgian, participants in other age groups insert varied parts of speech.

There was patterned language behaviour in the two adult age groups, but with some differing factors between these two age groups. For example, most of the code-switched utterances in the speech of adults in the age group of 20-39 are English and less Russian. However, the use of Russian words in the speech of the individuals within the age range of 40 and over exceeds these in the 20-39 adult age group. Besides in contrast to the participants in the other age groups (5-12, 13-19, 20-39), no English parts of speech other than nouns were applied in the code-switched utterances of these 40 and over participants, all instances of which were work-related.

Code-switching in participants' speech occurs in various situations, such as when commanding, describing, giving instructions, making statements, reporting, requesting, explaining, quoting, using work-related terminology, and so on. Notably, however, in

comparison to children, participants from other age groups switched codes less, although teenagers code-switch almost as much in their interaction with younger children. As to what triggers code-switching in participants' speech, several factors were identified. Apart from accommodating, other factors such as contact with the languages, better communication, establishing understanding, migration, lack of knowledge, prestige were also reported as the reasons for code-switching. Observations also revealed that participants' code-switching depended on their interlocutors, their ethnicity, social networks, speakers' age, topic, language fluency, activity/task, as well as the length of utterances.

Contributing factors (RQ3): Social networks, language maintenance, age and identity (ethnicity) have been the factors contributing to the language behaviour focused on in this study. The results of this study indeed suggest that the abovementioned factors influence participants' language behaviour. In terms of social networks, the stronger the links and the more frequent their interactions with the members of the Georgian community, the more the Georgian language is used by the participants. Their social networks and close-knit relationships inside the household, outside of the household and outside of the UK influence their language choices as well as code-switching behaviour.

Similar language choice patterns were identified in the individuals' speech in each age group, but their language behaviour varied across these age groups. For instance, the younger the participants, the more English they speak with participants of the same age group but speak Georgian with older participants. On the other hand, the older the participants, the more Georgian language use were found in their speech with their interlocutors, including the children. Thus, social networks, ethnicity and the age of both the speaker and the interlocutor are inter-linked.

Participants reported Georgian as their mother tongue and the importance of maintaining the Georgian language. This suggests that the participants link Georgian with their ethnic origin, and this also is an indication of their sense of belonging to the Georgian ethnic minority community in Luton. Another example would be participants' language choices with their social networks. They use language choices to negotiate group and interpersonal relationships. For example, adults predominantly speak in Georgian, with occasional code-switching. As for the children and the teenagers, despite their preference for the English language and their struggle to sustain the long Georgian utterances, they choose to speak Georgian with the members of the Georgian community, including their family members. It was reported by the participants and also evidenced in the observations that Georgians maintain their language through the social networks and their sense of identity and vice versa, i.e. they maintain their social networks and identity through their language.

Individuals from Georgia, the younger generation in particular, who are of different ethnic origins and speak a variety of languages (or mainly English) in the family environment, may be vulnerable to Georgian language shift, despite the fact that the families they belong to are the first generations arriving and settling in the UK. Such language shift was identified in a teenager's speech during the interview. Friendship and support networks in the Georgian community in Luton appear to be of importance and play a vital role, not only for maintaining their mother tongue and sense of identity, but also strengthening Georgians' settlement in the country by helping each other out in various ways, such as dealing with language, social, cultural, economic or business issues. The relation between the language behaviour and social networks/closest ties were consistent across the age groups. Although there was the patterned behaviour of language choice and code-switching in each age range, the contributing factors impact

each individual's speech in different ways, and these links cannot be claimed only based on the participants' age but also on an individual himself/herself (background, experience, preferences, etc.).

7.3 Implications of the study

The findings of this study are of both practical and theoretical interest. On the one hand, the study will pave the way for further research on the linguistic communication among members of other ethnic groups in the Luton area. It provides a small piece for the big jigsaw puzzle or a linguistic map of Luton. By identifying the ways in which a number of factors affect the language behaviour of the Georgian ethnic minority group in Luton, this research contributes to a better understanding of their experiences living in this town, with implications also for other ethnic minority immigrants in the town. Many agencies and policymakers would benefit from the findings of this study in terms of accessing a range of relevant data including the language behaviour and contributing factors to the language behaviour in this ethnic minority context, and demographics, bringing about policy changes, implementing support mechanisms within the communities (e.g.: in considering small number of the Georgian community members in Luton and language shift taking place) and enhancing the lives of minority ethnic groups as well as of the native population. On the other hand, by exploring the nature of relations between various factors and the group members' language behaviour, the present study provides relevant explanatory insights which can be verified, broadened and deepened by further studies in Georgia, the UK and worldwide in sociolinguistics, ethnography, as well as in other disciplines.

The contributions of this thesis to knowledge are of practical, theoretical and methodological relevance:

- a. This research agrees with the theory of CAT (Communication Accommodation Theory, Giles, 1973) in that the study exemplifies how CAT can offer explanatory insights about language choice or code-switching behaviour.
- b. Patton's (2003) guidelines on fieldwork and evaluation provided a framework for conducting fieldwork, addressing issues such as the observer's degree of participation during the data collection, and other ethical issues that could be encountered during fieldwork. Patton's framework was found very useful in this study and can be recommended for other researchers conducting similar research.
- c. An updated approach to fieldworker's participation during the observations was developed from Spradley's (1980) Fieldworkers' Types of Participation (see Chapter 3), which can be confirmed as being very useful in this study. However, one of the issues has to be pointed out. A notion of "indwelling" was taken into account and put into practice (Patton, 2003; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994), which considers emic and etic perspectives of the observer being both an insider as a community member and an outsider as a fieldworker. Nevertheless, it was found that given the social and interactional circumstances characterising the fieldwork, it was not always feasible to adhere to some fieldworker activities outlined in the Fieldworker's Participation table for practicality reasons. The time for taking field notes, in particular, was an issue. Due to the fieldworker participating as a member of the researched community, it was felt that she was expected to be engaged in the activities with the participants during the observations. For the participants to act naturally, the fieldworker made a decision not to continue note-taking in order to blend in and be spontaneous without presenting herself as a fieldworker. Moreover, note-taking would have taken the fieldworker's attention away from behaviours that were considered more important. It would be recommended that researchers in future studies fully engage in the activities with the participants during the

observations and take notes after the observation ends if necessary. This would allow participants be more spontaneous and less conscious of being observed, therefore, the gathered data would be more natural.

- d. This study of the language behaviour of a Georgian ethnic minority group, with a mixed-methods design (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dörnyei, 2007), makes an important contribution to the sociolinguistic and ethnographic field. There is, to date, very little (if any) empirical research on the language behaviour of Georgian ethnic minorities in different parts of the world. The methodology, theoretical approaches and the findings of this study as described in this thesis would be a good start to examine Georgians' language behaviour and the contributing factors to their language behaviour in other countries and contexts.
- e. Given insights into how Georgians network with one another, and how they maintain their language and identity, this research informs policymakers some of the ways in which they could bring changes in regards to minority ethnic groups, who seem to be overlooked due to the size (number of members of the minority ethnic community). It was found that the only place where Georgians interact is this ethnic minority community, where they have developed close links and interact on a regular basis. There is no organised Georgian diaspora in Luton, a Georgian community centre or an Orthodox church, where Sunday school for children, social or religious affairs could be regulated. This in result reduces the opportunity for Georgians to practice their language in different settings, hence the issue that could be addressed by the policymakers.

7.4 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This section reflects on some of the limitations of this study and outlines some suggestions for similar research in the future.

The duration - over 4 month's period of time in this study may be considered a limitation of this study. It is advised that the PhD time scale is taken into account, as an ethnographic research usually is a longitudinal study investigating subjects of interest over the course of a longer period of time, at least 6 months. For example Gal (1979) conducted her observations in Austria over the 12 month period of time; in East and West Belfast study Brewer, Lanza and Svendsen (2007) conducted their observations for 8 months; in his study of language behaviour in Tyneside- the north-east of England (1994) Li Wei observed three generations of Chinese families over the period of 18 months.

The questionnaire for this study was provided in three languages: Georgian, English and Russian all in one document to meet all participants' needs. However, this made the questionnaire look longer and possibly deterring due to its length. No complaints have been reported for the length of the questionnaire, but it is something to consider when developing the research tools. It would be advisable to write a questionnaire in different languages on separate sheets. It would look shorter, the questions easier to follow, and participants would be given a choice of language for filling out the questionnaire.

It was only after piloting and testing the research tools (questionnaire and interview) when it became clear that it was important to conduct the observations in order to obtain richer

data (e.g.: observing individuals' speech in real life situations). Triangulating the three datasets made it possible to make comparisons and identify similarities and differences between reported and observed data. It would be advisable that when considering taking up either a sociolinguistic or an ethnographic study, observations are also piloted.

This research was a small-scale study that explored the participants' language behaviour and contributing factors to it. The sample size did not allow the researcher to perform inferential statistics to examine correlations between the language use and contributing factors, and therefore all analyses were carried out descriptively.

In a future study to follow up this research, it is important to confirm the findings of this research by using appropriate statistical methods. For instance, multiple regressions can be used to examine the extent to which each of the influencing factors (e.g. age, social network) makes a unique contribution to the language behaviour.

It is hoped that this study would provide the basis for other research either on a larger scale or in a similar context in other parts of the UK (or world).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

Date: _____ Participant No.: _____ Time: _____

F. Language Behaviour and Social Network

1. How would you define your ethnicity, what is your race; what makes you to be of this race?

2. Languages you speak:

Language 1(mother tongue): _____
Language 2: _____
Language 3: _____
Language 4: _____
Other: _____

3. Why do you consider Language 1 (question 2) as your mother tongue?

4. Which languages do you speak more often? (Please begin with the languages you use most)

5. Which language(s) would you normally prefer to speak? (please start with the one you would prefer to speak the most)

6. Why, and why in the order you provided (if any) in question 5?

7. Where do you use the Georgian language? Please tick all that apply:

- Home
- School/ work
- Neighbourhood
- Community
- Internet/ phone
- Georgia

Other: (please specify) _____

8. With whom do you speak in the Georgian language in the UK?

9. With whom do you speak in the Georgian language in Georgia?

10. If you read or watch something in English on TV, in which language would you retell your friends/relatives who speak both- the English and the Georgian languages?

11. Why in the language(s) you specified (in question 10)?

12. When speaking, do you sometimes switch/mix languages, words or phrases from one language to another?

Yes No

13. If yes, which languages do you switch/mix the most? (please, start with the most used language in mixed speech)

14. If yes (Q. 12), with whom do you switch/mix the languages (words, phrases) most?

- Family members
- Colleagues/ classmates
- Friends
- Neighbours
- Professionals

Other: (please specify) _____

15. If yes (Q. 12) in what situations do you normally switch/mix Georgian with other languages?

16. If yes (Q. 12), how do you switch/mix Georgian with other languages, words, phrases in speech? Do you switch words, phrases, sentences, languages or a mix of these?

17. Why do you switch/mix the languages (words, phrases) in speech?

18. Has your use of the Georgian language changed over time?

Yes No

19. If yes, how much has it changed?

	Not at all	Somewhat	A lot
How much your use of the Georgian language changed?			

20. If yes (Q.18), how?

21. Do you think it is important to maintain the Georgian language?

Yes No

22. Why do you think it is (not) important to maintain the Georgian language?

23. If yes (Q.21), how is it possible to maintain the Georgian language?

24. Do you try to maintain the Georgian language?

	Not at all	Hardly	Sometimes	Often	Always
Do you try to maintain Georgian Language?					

25. If hardly, sometimes, often or always, how?

Thank you very much for participating!

Appendix 2: Questionnaire (Part 1 and Part 2)

PART 1

Date: _____

თარიღი:

Дата:

пустым)

Participant No.: (Please leave this blank) _____

მონაწილე №: (გთხოვთ დატოვეთ ცარიელი)

№ Участника: (Пожалуйста, оставьте это поле

Contact number: _____

საკონტაქტო ნომერი:

Контактный номер телефона:

Contact email: _____

ელექტრონული ფოსტა

Адрес электронной почты:

A. Personal Details/ პირადი მონაცემები/ Личные данные

1. Name: _____

სახელი:

Имя

2. Sex:

Male

Female

სქესი:

მამრი

მდედრი

Пол:

жен.

муж.

3. Age: _____

ასაკი

Возраст

4. Profession: _____

პროფესია

Профессия

5. Occupation: _____

საქმიანობა

Занятие

6. Place of Birth: _____
 დაბადების ადგილი
 место рождения

7. Ethnic Origin (race) (e.g.: Georgian; Kurdish; Osetian): _____
 ეთნიკური წარმომავლობა (რასა) (მაგ.: ქართველი; ქურთი; ოსი)
 Этническое происхождение (нация) (например Грузин; Курд; Осетин)

8. Immediate family members, e.g. mother, brother... (please list):
 უშუალო ოჯახის წევრები, მაგ. დედა, ძმა... (გთხოვთ ჩამოთვალეთ)
 Ближайшие члены семьи, например мать, брат (пожалуйста, перечислите)

Family Member live? ოჯახის წევრი ცხოვრობს? Члены семьи	Gender სქესი пол	Age ასაკი возраст	In which country does he/she live? რომელ ქვეყანაში В какой стране проживает?
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Comments (if any): _____
 განმარტება (თუ გაქვთ რაიმე) _____
 Комментарии (если есть)

B. Geographical Location/ გეოგრაფიული ადგილ-მდებარეობა/ Географическое расположение

9. Which part of Luton do you live in? _____
 ლუტონის რომელ ნაწილში ცხოვრობთ?
 В какой части Лутона Вы живете?

10. Length of the time you have lived in:
 დროის ხანგრძლივობა რაც გიცხოვრიათ:
 Сколько по времени проживаете:

England	_____	Years	_____	Months
ინგლისში		წელი		თვე
Англии		годы		месяцы

Georgia	_____	Years	_____	Months
საქართველოში		წელი		თვე
Грузии		годы		месяцы

Others: Where else have you lived (for more than 6 months)?
 სხვა: კიდევ სად გიცხოვრიათ (6 თვეზე მეტი)?
 Другие: Где еще Вы жили (более 6 месяцев)?

Where: _____	_____	Years	_____	Months
სად		წელი		თვე
Где		годы		месяцы

Where: _____	_____	Years	_____	Months
სად		წელი		თვე
Где		годы		месяцы

Where: _____	_____	Years	_____	Months
სად		წელი		თვე
Где		годы		месяцы

C. Frequency of using Georgian/ ქართული ენის ხმარების სიხშირე/ Частота использования грузинского языка

11. How often do you speak Georgian?/ რამდენად ხშირად საუბრობთ ქართულად?/ Как часто Вы говорите по-грузински?

	Everyday ყოველდღე Каждый день	Every other day ყოველ მეორე ღღეს Через день	Weekly კვირეულად Каждую неделю	Fortnightly ორ- კვირეულად Каждые две недели	Once a month თვეში ერთხელ Один раз в месяц	Other (please specify) სხვა (გთხოვთ დაასახელოთ) Другое (пожалуйста, укажите)
<p>Please give examples for how long: E.g. 6 hours. გთხოვთ მოიყვანეთ მაგალითი რამდენი ხნით: მაგ. 6 საათი. Пожалуйста укажите, сколько по времени, например: 6 часов.</p>						

Table 1- Frequency of using Georgian/ ცხრილი 1- ქართული ენის გამოყენების სიხშირე/
Табл. 1 – Частота использования грузинского языка

D. Level of Education/ განათლების დონე/ Уровень образования

12. Please select the highest educational level you have completed:

გთხოვთ აირჩიეთ განათლების ის უმაღლესი დონე რომელსაც მიაღწიეთ:

Пожалуйста, выберите самый высокий уровень образования, которым вы обладаете:

- Primary school
დაწყებითი სკოლა
Начальная школа
- Secondary school
სავალდებულო სკოლა
Средняя школа

- High school
საშუალო სკოლა
Старшая школа
- College, university foundation stage
კოლეჯი, უნივერსიტეტის მოსამზადებელი
Колледж, подготовительный курс университета
- University- undergraduate, postgraduate
უნივერსიტეტის ბაკალავრიატი, მაგისტრატურა, დოქტორანტურა
Университет – бакалавриат, магистратура, докторантура

13. What is the highest award/ achievement you have achieved in education?
(e.g: GCSE, Certificate, Diploma, BA/BSc, MA/MSc, PhD)

რომელ უმაღლეს ჯილდოს მიაღწიეთ განათლების სფეროში? (მაგ. საშუალო სკოლის, კოლეჯის სერთიფიკატის, ბაკალავრიატის, მაგისტრატურის, სადოქტოროს)

Что было вашим высшим достижением в образовании? (например, аттестат, диплом бакалавра, специалиста, магистра, доктора/кандидата наук)

Award
ჯილდო
Награда

Course
კურსი
Направление обучения

14. In which language are/were you taught:

რომელ ენაზე გასწავლიან/გასწავლეს:

На каком языке вы проходили обучение?

- In **nursery?** Language:

საბავშვო ბაღში? ენა:
В детском саду? Язык:

- For how long did you study there? _____ Years _____ Months
რამდენ ხანს ისწავლეთ იქ? წელი თვე
Сколько вы там учились? годы месяцы

- In **school**? Language:

სკოლაში? ენა:
В школе? Язык:

- For how long did you study there? _____ Years _____ Months
რამდენ ხანს ისწავლეთ იქ? წელი თვე
Сколько вы там учились? годы месяцы

- In **college**? Language:

კოლეჯში? ენა:
В колледже? Язык:

- For how long did you study there? _____ Years _____ Months
რამდენ ხანს ისწავლეთ იქ? წელი თვე
Сколько вы там учились? годы месяцы

- In the **university**? Language:

უნივერსიტეტში? ენა:
В университете? Язык:

- For how long did you study there? _____ Years _____ Months
რამდენ ხანს ისწავლეთ იქ? წელი თვე
Сколько вы там учились? годы месяцы

Any comments?

განმარტება (თუ გაქვთ რაიმე)/ Комментарии (если есть)

PART 2

Participant/ მონაწილე/ Участник: _____

Date/ თარიღი/ Дата: _____

E. Social Network/ სოციალური ქსელი /Социальные сети

15. With whom and how much time do you spend on a usual day (Monday-Friday)? (Please tick all that apply)
 ვისთან და რამდენ ხანს ატარებთ ჩვეულებრივ დღეს (ორშაბათი-პარასკევი)? (გთხოვთ აღნიშნეთ ყველა რომლებიც გეხებათ)

С кем и сколько по времени вы обычно проводите день? (Понедельник - Пятница)? (Пожалуйста, отметьте галочкой все, что относится к вам)

	None არავითარი Никогда	Up to 1h 1 საათამდე До 1 часа	1h-3h 1სთ-3სთ 1 – 3 часа	3h-6h 3სთ-6სთ 3-6 часов	6h-9h 6სთ-9სთ 6-9 часов	More than 9h 9სთ-ზე მეტი Больше 9 часов	What language(s) do you speak with him/her? რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ მასთან? На каком языке Вы говорите с ним/ней?
Alone მარტო Один/Одна							
With (immediate) family members უშუალო ოჯახის წევრებთან С ближайшими членами семьи							
With partner/girlfriend/boyfriend პარტნიორთან/შეყვარებულთან С партнером/ невестой/женихом							
With relatives other than immediate family members ნათესავებთან (უშუალო ოჯახის წევრების გარდა) С другими родственниками							

With friends მეგობრებთან С друзьями							
With colleagues/ classmates თანამშრომლებთან/ კლასელებთან/ ჯგუფელებთან С коллегами/ одноклассниками/ однокурсниками							
With neighbours მეზობლებთან С соседями							
With relatives and friends in Georgia using internet/ phone ნათესავებთან და მეგობრებთან საქართველოში ინტერნეტის/ ტელეფონის საშუალებით С родственниками и друзьями в Грузии использую Интернет/телефон							
With relatives and friends in another country using internet/ phone to speak ნათესავებთან და მეგობრებთან სხვა ქვეყანაში ინტერნეტის/ ტელეფონის საშუალებით С родственниками и друзьями в другой стране использую Интернет/ разговоры по телефону							

Other: (please specify with whom) სხვა: (გთხოვთ განმარტეთ ვისთან) Другое (пожалуйста, укажите, с кем)							
---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 2- Usual Day Interaction/ ცხრილი 2- ურთიერთობა ჩვეულებრივ დღეს/ Ежедневное времяпровождение

16. With whom and how much time do you spend on weekends and holidays? (Please tick all that apply)
 ვისთან და რამდენ ხანს ატარებთ შაბათ-კვირას და დასვენების დღეებს? (გთხოვთ აღნიშნეთ ყველა რომლებიც გეხებათ)
 С кем и сколько по времени вы проводите выходные или праздники? (Пожалуйста, отметьте галочкой все, что относится к вам)

	None არავითარი Никогда	Up to 1h 1 საათამდე От 1 часа	1h-3h 1სთ-3სთ 1 – 3 часа	3h-6h 3სთ-6სთ 3-6 часов	6h-9h 6სთ-9სთ 6-9 часов	more than 9h 9სთ-ზე მეტი Больше 9 часов	What language(s) do you speak with him/her? რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ მასთან? На каком языке вы говорите с ним/ней?
Alone მარტო Один/Одна							
With (immediate) family members უშუალო ოჯახის წევრებთან С ближайшими членами семьи							

With partner/ girlfriend/boyfriend პარტნიორთან/შეყვარებულთან С партнером/ невестой/женихом							
With relatives other than immediate family members ნათესავებთან (უშუალო ოჯახის წევრების გარდა) С другими родственниками							
With friends მეგობრებთან С друзьями							
With colleagues/ classmates თანამშრომლებთან/ კლასელებთან/ ჯგუფელებთან С коллегами/ одноклассниками/ однокурсниками							
With neighbours მეზობლებთან С соседями							
With relatives and friends in Georgia using internet/ phone ნათესავებთან და მეგობრებთან საქართველოში ინტერნეტის/ ტელეფონის საშუალებით С родственниками и друзьями в Грузии использую Интернет/телефон							

<p>With relatives and friends in another country using internet/ phone to speak ნათესავებთან და მეგობრებთან სხვა ქვეყანაში ინტერნეტის/ ტელეფონის საშუალებით</p> <p>С родственниками и друзьями в другой стране использую Интернет/ разговоры по телефону</p>							
<p>Other: (please specify with whom) სხვა: (გთხოვთ განმარტეთ ვისთან)</p> <p>Другое (пожалуйста, укажите, с кем)</p>							

Table 3- Weekends and Holidays Interaction/ ცხრილი 3- ურთიერთობა შაბათ-კვირას და არდადეგებზე/ Времяпровождение в выходные и праздники

17. What do you normally do in your leisure time and with whom?

რას საქმიანობთ საერთოდ თავისუფალ დროს, ვისთან ერთად და რა ენაზე (ენებზე) ესაუბრებით მათ?

Чем вы обычно занимаетесь в свободное время и с кем?

Activity საქმიანობა Занятие	With whom? ვისთან ერთად? С кем?	What language (s) do you speak with this person? რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ ამ ადამიანთან? На каком языке общаетесь с этим человеком?
Example: <i>Shopping</i> მაგალითად: <i>საყიდვლებზე წასვლა</i> Например: <i>Поход по магазинам</i>	✓ Example: <i>Mother</i> მაგალითად: <i>დედა</i> Например: <i>Мама</i>	Example: <i>Georgian (and English)</i> მაგალითად: <i>ქართულად (და ინგლისურად)</i> Например: <i>Грузинский (и английский)</i>
Baking (bread, cakes, etc.) ცხობა (პურის, ნამცხვრის, და ა.შ.) Кулинария (хлеб, пирожные и т.д.)		
Bowling ბოულინგი Боулинг		
Calling friends on the phone მეგობრებთან ვრეკავ ტელეფონზე დარეკვა Звоню друзьям по телефону		
Charity activities (specify) ქველმოქმედება (დაასახელო) Благотворительность (укажите, какая)		
Church ეკლესია Церковь		
Cinema კინოთეატრი Кинотеатр		
Clubbing		

სადამოს კლუბში წასვლა Клубы			
DIY ხელმარჯვეობა Искусность			
Gardening მებაღეობა Садоводство			
Gym/ sports ტანვარჯიში/ სპორტი Гимнастика/ Спорт			
Hosting guests მასპინძლობა Принимаю гостей			
Jogging სირბილი (ძუნძული) Бег			
Meeting friends მეგობრებთან შეხვედრა встречаю с друзьями			
Park პარკი Парк			
Partying ქეიფი Вечеринка			
Photo shooting სურათების გადაღება Фотографирую			
Playing out გარეთ (ეზოში) თამაში Играю на улице			
Reading კითხვა Читаю			
Riding ველოსიპედით სიარული (კატაობა) Катаюсь на велосипеде			
Shopping საყიდლებზე წასვლა Хожу по магазинам			

Sightseeing ღირსშესანიშნავი ადგილების დათვალიერება Осматриваю достопримечательности			
Sleeping ძილი Начую			
Sleepover წვეულება გამის თვეით Ночую в гостях			
Swimming ცურვა Хожу в бассейн			
Tennis ჩოგბურთი Играю в теннис			
Using internet/ computer ინტერნეტის/ კომპიუტერის გამოყენება Использую интернет/ компьютер			
Visiting სტუმრად წასვლა Хожу в гости			
Watching TV ტელევიზორის ყურება Смотрю Телевизор			
Woodcraft ხეზე მუშაობა Поделки по дереву			
Any other activities? (please list) სხვა საქმიანობა? (გთხოვთ ჩამოთვალოთ) Другие занятия? (пожалуйста, перечислите)			

Table 4- Leisure Activities and Interaction/ ცხრილი 4- თავისუფალი დრო და ურთიერთობა/ Времяпровождение во время отдыха

18-28. Please list the names or initials of the members of your household starting with the closest person to you and fill out the rest given in the table 5A; then fill out table 5B (examples are provided in the table):

გთხოვთ ჩამოთვალეთ სახელები ან ინიციალები თქვენი სახლის მაცხოვრებლებისა და დაიწყოთ მათგან ვისთანაც ყველაზე ახლო ურთიერთობა გაქვთ. შემდეგ შეავსეთ დანარჩენი ცხრილში- 5ა. შემდეგ კი შეავსეთ ცხრილი 5ბ (მაგალითები მოყვანილია ცხრილში).

Пожалуйста, напишите имена или инициалы жители вашего дома, начиная с самого близкого вам человека и заполните таблица 5А; затем заполните таблицу 5В (примеры в таблице приведены):

		A/ა/А						B/ბ/Б	
	P=person/ პ=პირი/ენება П = человек								
Имя	სახელი	18 Name							
Возраст	ასაკი	19 Age							
Пол	სქესი	20 Sex							
Какого Ваше родство?	რა კავშირი გაქვთ?	21 How are you related?							
Как долго знакомы с этим человеком?	რამდენი ხანია იცნობთ მას?	22 How long have you known this person?							
Как часто вы общаетесь? (например, лично, по телефону, интернету)	რამდენად ხშირად გაქვთ ურთიერთობა? (მაგ. პირის-პირ, ტელეფონით/ ინტერნეტით)	23 How often do you communicate? (e.g. in person, by phone, internet)							
Сколько общаетесь в сутки?	რა ხანგრძლივობით გაქვთ დაახლოებით ურთიერთობა 24 სა- ის განმავლობაში დღეში?	24 For how long do you communicate approximately per 24h day?							
Где он/она живет?	სად ცხოვრობს იგი?	25 Where does he/she live?							
Какие языки используете в общении?	რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ მასთან?	26 Which language(s) do you use when speaking with him/her?							
Какие из перечисленных людей, состоят между собой в родстве?	ჩამოთვლილიდან რომელი პირვნებები არიან ერთმანეთთან ახლოს?	27 Which of the listed persons are close to one-another?							
Какие языки вы используете в группе людей, указанных в списке Q 27	რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ ამ ხალხის გარემოცვაში ერთად? (რომლებიც 27-ე კითხვაშია ჩამოთვლილი)	28 Which language(s) do you use in a group of people listed in Q 27?							

E.g. P7 პ7 Напр: П7	S.B./ ს.ბ.ს. ბ.	46	M/ მამაკაცი/ Муж.	Husband/ ქმარი/ Муж	20 years/20 წელი/ 20 лет	Everyday/ ყოველდღიურ/ Каждый день	21 hours /21 საათი/ 21 час	Luton/ ლუტონი/ Лутон	Georgian/ ქართველი/ Грузинский	P2, P4, P6/ პ2, პ4, პ6/ П2, П4, П6	Georgian/ ქართველი/ Грузинский/
P1/ პ1/ П1											
P2/ პ2/ П2											
P3/ პ3/ П3											
P4/ პ4/ П4											
P5/ პ5/ П5											
P6/ პ6/ П6											

P6											
P7/ პ7/ П7											
P8/ პ8/ П8											
P9/ პ9/ П9											
P10 პ10/ П10											

Table 5- Closest Ties (household)/ ცხრილი 5- უახლოესი კავშირები (სახლის მაცხოვრებლებისა)/ Ближайшие родственники (жители дома)

*** Please add more individuals if necessary on a separate sheet or overleaf/ თუ საჭიროა გთხოვთ დაამატეთ სხვა პიროვნებები ცალკე ფურცელზე ან ამ ფურცლის მეორე მხარეს. Пожалуйста, добавьте дополнительных жителей дома, если потребуется, на отдельном листе бумаги.**

29-39. Please list the names or initials of the people **outside your household** that **you feel closest to**. These could be friends, neighbours, relatives, etc. Start with the one you feel closest to and fill out the rest given **in the table 6A**; **then fill out table 6B** (examples are provided in both tables).

გთხოვთ ჩამოთვალოთ სახელები ან ინიციალები **თქვენს საცხოვრებელ სახლს გარეთ** ადამიანებისა **ვისთანაც ყველაზე ახლო ურთიერთობა გაქვთ**. ეს შეიძლება იყვნენ მეგობრები, მეზობლები, ნათესავები, და ა.შ. შემდეგ შეავსეთ დანარჩენი **ცხრილში- ნა. შემდეგ კი შეავსეთ ცხრილი 6ბ** (მაგალითები მოყვანილია ცხრილში).

Пожалуйста, напишите имена или инициалы люди **за пределами вашего дома**, начиная **с самого близкого вам человека**. Это могут быть друзья, соседи, родственники и т.д. и **заполните таблица 6A**; **затем заполните таблицу 6B** (примеры в таблице приведены):

	A/ა/ А							B/ბ/ Б			
P=person/ პ=პიროვნება/	29 Name	30 Age	31 Sex	32 How are you related?	33 How long have you known this person?	34 How often do you communicate? (e.g. by phone, internet, in person)	35 For how long do you communicate approximately per 24h day?	36 Where does he/she live?	37 Which language(s) do you use when speaking with him/her?	38 Which of the people in table 5A (table above) are close to this person?	39 Which language (s) do you use in a group of people listed in Q38?

P3/ 33/						სახელი	
P1/ 31/ П1						Имя	
P2/ 32/ П2						Возраст	ასაკი
						Пол	სქესი
						Какого ваше родство?	რა კავშირი გაქვთ?
						Как долго знакомы с этим человеком?	რამდენი ხანია იცნობთ მას?
						Как часто вы общаетесь? (например, лично, по телефону, интернету)	რამდენად ხშირად გაქვთ ურთიერთობა? (მაგ. პირის-პირ, ტელეფონით/ინტერნეტით)
						Сколько общаетесь в сутки?	რა ხანგრძლივობით გაქვთ დაახლოებით ურთიერთობა 24 სთ-ის განმავლობაში დღეში?
						Где он/она живет?	სად ცხოვრობს იგი?
						Какие языки используете в общении?	რა ენაზე (ებზე) საუბრობთ მასთან?
						Какие люди в таблице 5А (см. таблицу выше) близки к этому человеку?	რომელი პიროვნებებია მე-5ა ცხრილში (ზემოთ) ჩამონათვალიდან ახლოს ამ პიროვნებასთან?
						Какие языки вы используете в группе людей, указанных в списке Q38?	რა ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ ამ ხალხის გარემოცვაში ერთად? (რომლებიც 33-ე კითხვაშია ჩამოთვლილი)

П3											
Р4/ З4/ П4											
Р5/ З5/ П5											
Р6/ З6/ П6											
Р7/ З7/ П7											
Р8/ З8/ П8											
Р9/ З9/ П9											
Р10/ З10/ П10											

Table 6- Closest Ties (outside household)/ ცხრილი 6- უახლოესი კავშირები სახლს გარეთ/ Близкие отношения (вне дома)

*** Please add more individuals if necessary on a separate sheet or overleaf/ თუ საჭიროა გთხოვთ დაამატეთ სხვა პიროვნებები ცალკე ფურცელზე ან ამ ფურცლის მეორე მხარეს/ Пожалуйста, добавьте дополнительных участников, если потребуется, на отдельном листе бумаги.**

40. How often do you go to Georgia? Please tick one.
 რამდენად ხშირად დადისხართ საქართველოში? გთხოვთ აღნიშნეთ ერთი.
 Как часто ездите в Грузию? Пожалуйста, отметьте галочкой.

- Have not travelled to Georgia since I arrived in the UK
 არ ვყოფილვარ საქართველოში მას შემდეგ რაც დიდ ბრიტანეთში ჩამოვედი
 Не был в Грузии с момента моего приезда в Великобританию
- Every month
 ყოველ თვე
 Каждый месяц
- Every six months
 ყოველ ექვს თვეში
 Раз в шесть месяцев
- Every year
 ყოველ წელს
 Раз в год
- Every two years
 ყოველ ორ წელიწადში
 Раз в два года
- Every three years
 ყოველ სამ წელიწადში
 Раз в три года
- Other: (please specify) _____
 სხვა: (გთხოვთ განმარტეთ)
 Другое (пожалуйста, укажите)

41. For how long do you normally stay there when you go to Georgia?
 დამდენ ხანს რჩებით ხოლმე საქართველოში როდესაც იქ მიდისხართ?
 Как надолго вы остаетесь в Грузии, когда едите туда?

Years	Months	Weeks	Days
წლები	თვეები	კვირები	დღეები
Годы	Месяцы	Недели	Дни

42. When you are in Georgia, which language(s) do you normally speak? (Please specify)

როდესაც საქართველოში ხართ, რომელ ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ? (გთხოვთ მიუთითოთ)

Когда вы в Грузии, на каком языке обычно говорите? (пожалуйста, укажите)

43. Do you speak about the following subjects? Please tick **Yes** or **No**. If **Yes**, with whom, in what language and where do they live?

საუბრობთ თუ არა შემდეგ თემებზე? გთხოვთ აღნიშნეთ **დიახ** ან **არა**. თუ დიახ, ვისთან საუბრობთ, სად ცხოვრობენ ისინი და რა ენაზე (-ებზე) საუბრობთ მათთან?

Вы говорите на следующие темы? Пожалуйста, ответьте, Да или Нет, с кем, на каком языке и где они живут?

Yes	No	Subject	With whom?	Where do they live (country)?	Which language(s) do you speak with them?
იახ	რა	თემა	ვისთან?	სად ცხოვრობენ?	რომელ ენაზე (ენებზე) საუბრობთ მათთან?
Да	Нет	Тема	С кем?	Где они живут (страна)	На каком языке вы говорите с ними?
✓		Example: მაგალითი: Например: cars	Example: მაგალითი: Например: Friends, father	Example: მაგალითი: Например: UK, Georgia, USA	Example: მაგალითი: Например: Georgian, English
✓		მანქანები	მეგობრები, მამა	დიდი ბრიტანეთი, საქართველო, აშშ	ქართული, ინგლისური
✓		машины	друзья, отец	Великобритания, Грузия, США	Грузинский, английский
		Animals ცხოველები животные			
		Appearance			

		გარეგნობა/ შესახედაობა внешность			
		Appointments/meeting შესხვედრები встречи			
		Art ხელოვნება искусство			
		Books წიგნები книги			
		Business ბიზნესი бизнес			
		Cars მანქანები машины			
		Celebrities ცნობილი ადამიანები знаменитости			
		Children ბავშვები дети			
		Computers კომპიუტერები компьютеры			
		Correspondences გზავნილები/ მიწერ- მოწერილობა переписка			
		Diet დიეტა/ სწორი კვება диета			
		Education განათლება образование			
		Emergencies საგანგებო შემთხვევები экстренные ситуации			

		Emotions/Feelings ემოციები/ გრძობები ЭМОЦИИ/ЧУВСТВА			
		Entertainment სანახაობა/ ღონისძიებები развлечение			
		Family affairs საოჯახო საქმეები семейные дела			
		Fashion მოდა мода			
		Finances/Money ფინანსები/ ფული Финансы/деньги			
		Food საკვები еда			
		Friends მეგობრები друзья			
		Future მომავალი будущее			
		Habits ჩვევები привычки			
		Hair style თმის ვარცხნილობა прическа			
		Health ჯანმრთელობა здоровье			
		Hobbies ჰობი увлечения			
		Homeland სამშობლო родина			
		House/ flat			

		სახლი/ ბინა дом/квартира			
		Legal matters კანონის/ იურიდიული საკითხები юридические дела			
		Life ცხოვრება жизнь			
		Love სიყვარული любовь			
		Men/ boys მამაკაცები/ ბიჭები мужчины/юноши			
		Marriage ცოლ-ქმრობა брак			
		Movies ფილმები Фильмы			
		Music მუსიკა музыка			
		News (paper, TV, etc) ახალი ამბები (გაზეთი, ტელევიზია, და ა.შ.) новости (газета, ТВ итюд.)			
		Parents მშობლები родители			
		Politics პოლიტიკა политика			
		Relationships ურთიერთობები отношения			
		Religion რელიგია			

		რელიგია			
		School/ Work/ Job სკოლა/ სამსახური/ საქმე школа/работа			
		Sex სექსი секс			
		Shopping საყიდვები покупки			
		Sport სპორტი спорт			
		Technology ტექნოლოგია технологии			
		Traditions ტრადიციები традиции			
		Transport ტრანსპორტი транспорт			
		Travelling მოგზაურობა путешествия			
		TV programs სატელევიზიო გადაცემები ТВ программы			
		Women/ girls ქალები/ გოგონები женщины/девушки			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ) другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ)			

		другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ) другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ) другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ) другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			
		Other: (please specify) სხვა: (გთხოვთ დაასახელეთ) другое (пожалуйста, укажите)			

Table 7- Subjects of interaction (who, where, what language)/თემები ურთიერთობისას (ვინ, სად, რა ენა) /Виды времяпровождения (кто, где, какой язык)

44. When using the Georgian language, how confident do you feel? (Please tick (✓) the most appropriate box).

რამდენად თავდაჯერებულად გრძნობთ თავს ქართული ენის გამოყენებისას? (გთხოვთ აღნიშნეთ (✓) ყველაზე შესაფერისი უჯრა).

Когда вы говорите на грузинском языке, насколько уверенно вы себя чувствуете? (пожалуйста, отметьте галочкой самый подходящий пункт)

	Very confident/ ძალიან თავდაჯერებულად Очень уверенно	Moderately confident/ საშუალოდ თავდაჯერებულად Средняя уверенность	Somewhat confident/ ცოტათი თავდაჯერებულად немного уверен	Not at all confident/ თავდაუჯერებლად Совсем не уверен
How confident do you feel when using Georgian Language?/ რამდენად თავდაჯერებულად გრძნობთ თავს				

<p>ქართული ენის გამოყენებისას? Насколько уверенно вы себя чувствуете, когда говорите на грузинском языке?</p>				
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Table 8- Confidence in using Georgian/ თავდაჯერებულობა ქართული ენის გამოყენებისას/ Уверенность в использовании грузинского языка.

Thank you very much for participating!
მადლობას გიხდით მონაწილეობისათვის!
Спасибо большое за ваше участие!

Appendix 3: Journal Log 7

Journal Log 7	
Date: 16.01.2013	
Time of the day: Evening	
Recording No: 7	Hours: 01:35:39
Participants: (3) G01, G10, G11	
Non-participants: N/A	
Activity: Children Making Jewelry	
Setting: Arranged	

Description of the Setting and the Event:

I01 gave children- G01, G10 and G11 beads and different threads to make jewelry (as a present for G10). They were very happy and rushed upstairs in the children's (G10 and G11) bedroom to make Jewellery. The bedroom is quite big with two beds, and pretty large playing area, so children had everything they needed: peace and peace, plenty of space and something and someone (G11) to play with. G01 was in charge of the recorder.



Beads and threads children used for making Jewelry

Conversation between children starts in English, arranging the space to work. G01 says that they have so much stuff [beads].

Comments
Conversation starts
In the English

<p>They talk about some wax and G10 explains that they are for covering jars. G10 says she likes stickers.</p> <p><i>G10: leave those stickers on that side.</i> <i>G01: aha</i> <i>G10: and what are these?</i> <i>G01: you should probably make it with this one [inaudible segment of G11 in the background]</i> <i>G10: which one? (G01 repeats it). Aha. [inaudible, can be: should I put them there, I don't need them]</i> <i>G01: OK [inaudible, can be: what's that I carry as well]</i> <i>G10: yeah, I've got... I've got earrings.</i> <i>G01: G10 why don't you actually use this one, so you know it. (cross talk).</i> <i>G11: if you'd wear pretty clothes than it will suit you.</i> <i>G01: uhu</i> <i>G11: ohh, that looks nice!</i> <i>G01: see?</i> <i>G10: eyyyy</i> <i>G01: G10! Look at me!</i> <i>G11: I could put it here for my necklace.</i> <i>G10: see? You just said it doesn't.</i> <i>G01: no, I said it does [inaudible segment]</i> <i>G11: uhu, look at this one.</i> <i>G10: aha, cause that [that's] all mine.</i> <i>G11: mine!</i></p> <p>Children talk a little bit about the beads.</p> <p><i>G01: OK, shall we start?</i> <i>G10: aha</i> <i>G11: G11 you are not making one!</i> <i>G11: wuuuh</i> <i>G01: take some of them... no, no, no, not some of them... [inaudible] let G11...</i> <i>G11: whar [what] about these?</i> <i>G10: no</i> <i>G11: yes</i> <i>G01: and there is lots of them.</i> <i>G11: yeah</i> <i>G01: G11 you can use them... ok? They are the best ones,</i></p>	<p>language.</p> <p>Conversation continues in English</p>
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<p><i>look!</i> G10: <i>yeah, and I'll give you pink, red or purple?</i> G11: <i>pink</i> G01: <i>take them.</i> G10: <i>yeah, we need [inaudible] (cross talk)</i> G11: <i>I'm making a necklace. (cross talk) (she repeats it).[inaudible for 10 seconds]</i></p> <p>G10 says that she would give the stickers for the jars to her mother. G01 is asking why and G10's response is that she would not need them.</p> <p>Children are exploring bits and bobs (possibly from different packs) and are discussing what they are for. G10 reckons that some of those are for earrings. Others agree too. They are examining something commenting that they are exactly the same (possibly the thread holders on the ends).</p> <p>I01 and G07 call children to the dinner. They leave the room, but the recorder is still on and left in the room [inaudible for 11 minutes].</p> <p>Children return to the room to continue making jewelry. G11 says she wants to start and asks G01 for permission to open it [possibly a pack of the beads].</p>	<p>00.02.41</p> <p>Conversation continues in English</p>
<p><i>"I think you already have that type"- says G01 in Georgian "or not? I don't know".</i> <i>"no, I don't"- G11.</i></p> <p>Children continue speaking in English. G10 was out for couple of minutes and returned to the room. G01 suggests seeing who will make the best necklace, but G10 says she is going to make a bracelet. G01 agrees and says she is going to make a bracelet as well and she praises G10 by saying that this is a good idea. G10 says she thinks she is finished. G01 is surprised: <i>"what?!"</i>- it appears that G10 is joking because she laughs.</p> <p>G01 offers G11 some help with cutting and warns her to be careful. She asks G11 where she wants it to be cut, she</p>	<p>00:18:24</p> <p>G01 uses G sentences 00:19:11. (Convergence?)</p>

<p>confirms it with G11. G11 thanks her (meaning that G01 has already cut something for her).</p>	
<p>G01 gives children some tips, such as to leave threads longer to make knots at the end.</p>	<p>G01 caring G11 polite</p>
<p>G01 and G10 have a small argument about something (possibly making knots). G01 suggests doing 3 but G10 says 2. They both say that they have done it before. G01 says that she is older (meaning she should believe her). G10 asks her age, as G01 replies 13, G10 then says that she is only 3 years older than her, but G01 replies that is why she is 3 years more experienced than G10.</p>	
<p>G10 says her mother has been here (in the UK) for 12 years and herself for 10 (G10 was born in the UK). G01 says that she should write and speak properly in both languages (English and Georgian). G10 challenges G01 that she does not do either [speak or write properly], G01 admits that is true.</p>	<p>Conversations continues in English</p>
<p>G10 says she has been to a gold tournament, G01 replies so has she and she won. G10 says all the other teams lost. After this they have discussion about the scores.</p>	<p>Identity</p>
<p>G10 decides to make earrings. G10 asks G01 to make a knot for her, but G01 says in sarcastic manner (joking) that G10 has more experience and she is pretty sure she can do it.</p>	
<p><i>“Oh, these earrings are bad” says G11.</i> <i>“How are you supposed to put beads in there?” ... “How do you open the stupid hook?”</i> asks G10. G01 offers help.</p>	<p>00:24:00</p>
<p>Children are trying to figure out what things are provided in beads set and are deciding what to make out of them. Conversation goes on in English. G10 appears to like what they are making, saying that she is going to sell them on [inaudible]-one of the online selling websites. They giggle.</p>	
<p>G01 asks children in Georgian whether they liked the little <i>“puppy”</i>. <i>“aha”</i> answers G10. Then G10 continues in English “they give me rush” [the necklace or the bracelet].</p>	<p>CS- G01 opens in G and then inserts EW ‘puppy’ (within a sentence) 00:30:05</p>

<p>"rush?"- G01 "aha"- G10. Conversation continues in English.</p> <p>G11 is wondering why the scissors do not work.</p> <p>G01: G11! G11: What? G01: Be careful, 'give it to me' (says in Georgian) G10: ... Hey... (cross talk- could be "easy!" by G10).</p> <p>Conversation continues in English, it is inaudible and not clear who starts it in English, but it could be G11 from what is audible.</p> <p>-I01 calls G01 to remind her to turn "it" [recorder] on. G01 replies that it is on already.</p> <p>G10 says that she has done hers [jewelry] so quickly... (being proud). G01 praises her "well done".</p> <p>Children laugh about copying each-other when making jewelry and whistling. G01 whistles and G10 tells her not to do it as it is a bad luck. G01 asks what a bad luck is. G10 explains that whistling in the house is a bad luck. G01 and G11 say no, it is not. G01 asks who told her [G10] so and G10 replies that everyone says that.</p> <p>"Jingle bell, Jingle bell..." G11 started singing. G01 carried on: "G10 smells..." they giggle.</p> <p>G01 asks whether they are nearly done. They answer they are nearly or halfway done. Children talk about how to make different types of jewelry and how they look (all in English).</p> <p>G01 asks G10 [inaudible segment] in Georgian. The response is in English.</p> <p>G11 says she needs a perfect size for her mum (she is making a necklace). And she says she is going to make a bracelet now. G11 has left the room for a short while and came rushing back. As soon as she comes in, she starts singing "jingle bell, jingle</p>	<p>G10 E...continues in E.</p> <p>00:30:23</p> <p>CS- G01 from E to G conversation cont. in E.</p> <p>Aware of recorder</p> <p>Superstition (G10 believes, G01 and G11 do not)</p> <p>G01 Jokes</p> <p>CS- G01 asks in G, but the responses are in E. 00:42:15</p>
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<p><i>bell...</i>” she sings the whole verse. She talks and sings every now and then.</p>	
<p>Suddenly all three of them become loud. They start laughing about something, G01 copies G11 and therefore she laughs more... they do not stop for a long time. G10 says she is tired. G01 teases both G10 and G11 by coping whatever they say, or make sound of.</p>	<p>G01 teasing others</p>
<p>G11 says she is going to go downstairs. G11 says that’s perfect. As she goes out, she calls her mother to help her with the toilet. Meanwhile G01 and G10 start talking quietly in English. G10 is trying to lie to G01 that she was fostered. G01 does not believe. Children find difficult to fix something. G10 tells G01 that she was saying it was easy, but it’s not. G11 returns with a salute <i>“hello!”</i>. <i>“shut up”</i> says G10. G11 talks about her invisible friend. G10 tries to confirm the name. At some point G10 asks: <i>“who are you talking to you dummy?”</i> <i>“basically you’re talking to the wall”</i>. G11 says <i>“no!”</i>.</p>	<p>Conversation continues in English</p> <p>01:00:00</p>
<p>G10 is worried about something in her hair, she repeats it several times but others do not pay attention. They become loud again for a short time.</p>	
<p>G11 says she is going to make a necklace. Children quarrel here and there (this could be because they got tired as they have been making the jewelry for more than an hour). G11 says she is going to make a necklace for I01 now. She gives I01 nicknames derived from her name and giggles.</p>	
<p>G10 says she will be back soon as she wants to go show her earrings (possibly to her mother G07 and I01). G11 and G01 are quiet for a while and the only thing that makes sound is the beads. G01 starts dialog in English. G10 returns in about 2-3 minutes.</p>	
<p>At some point G10 says: <i>“I am playing basketball, innit, innit?”</i>. Then she laughs (about the slang, emphasizing on <i>“innit”</i> and repeats it for the second time).</p>	<p>G10 jokes about her accent and dialect</p> <p>01:13:40</p>
<p>G01 is suggesting [inaudible-] that when she is in their (G10 and G11) house, she will borrow and when they are at her house</p>	

<p>they can borrow. They like the idea and agree with G01. G11 asks G01 whether she can borrow her dog. G01 says no, she cannot.</p> <p>G01 suggests that they put everything where they belong [jewelry, bits and bobs] and tidy up. G11 that's what she is doing now. G10 calls G11 dummy several times. G01 asks her not to call her dummy. But she repeats it several times to tease her. G01 shouts out her name G10! in a low voice. G10 soon stopped calling G11 a dummy. Children are admiring what they have made and check things they made out. G11 leaves as she wants to give the necklace to I01. G10 continues saying that she is going to sell them online.</p> <p>G01 sings out suddenly <i>"hey, sexy lady. Op, op, op, opa gangnam style"</i>.</p> <p>G11 returns saying that she has to make a necklace for herself and prepares. G01 suddenly tells G11 in Georgian <i>'not to take that out'</i>. G11 asks in English <i>"what?"</i> G01 continues in English.</p> <p>G10 has gone out for a while and comes back singing <i>"my phone is fully charged"</i> (3x) making it sound as a birthday song.</p> <p>G11 tries the necklace on her but it is too short she says.</p> <p>G06 called G10 from downstairs asking why she left the door open, in Georgian. G10 replies in Georgian that she forgot to shut it.</p> <p>Children are still thinking about what to make [jewelry].</p> <p>G01: G11, <i>'cut this here for me'</i> (asks in Georgian),</p> <p>Then there is silence (possibly G11 cutting something for G01) and G10 starts talking in English about a goody bag.</p> <p>G11 made something saying that it is perfect she does not even need to cut it. Then she sings happy birthday song without words. G11 says she will be back (possibly is going to show her masterpiece to her mother and I01).</p>	<p>G01 CS- starts in G, G11 responds in E 01:22:20</p> <p>G10 replies in G to her father when asked a Q in G. 00:23:48</p> <p>CS- G01 uses G sentence 01:25:30</p>
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<p>G01: 'G10 would you like me to make earrings for you too?' asks in Georgian. "aha" replies G10 (this usually can apply in G and in E). Then G01 continues talking about the colours and the length of earrings confirming with G10 in English. G11 has left the room. G10 says she has just entered the "secret chamber" and there is a sound of a game music. She is [probably] playing a game. G11 returns very soon and offers help G01. G01 asks her to just make some drawings.</p>	<p>CS- G01 uses G sentence, then continues in E 01:29:10</p>
<p>G01 says at some point 'look at me' in Georgian twice. The response is "wow" from children in English. G01 suggest that they quickly tidy up. G11 agrees. G10 sounds like she is still playing a game (possibly on the computer) but G01 makes no comment. G11 is helping G01. As G10 finishes playing a computer game, she joins children to help them tidy it all up. G01 emphasises that G10 has to help them too. G01 asks G10 to show her things [that she made] in Georgian.</p>	<p>CS-G01 01:32:32 CS-G01 uses G sentence 01:35:34</p>

Appendix 4: Journal Log 9

Journal Log 9	
Date: 10.02.13	
Time of the day: Afternoon	
Recording No: 9	Hours: 01:21:10
Participants: (4) G06, G07,G10, G11	
Non-participants: Designated Volunteer G07	
Activity: Children watch cartoon and discuss it	
Setting: Discussion	

Description of the Setting and the Event:

G07 (28f) was given a task to sit her children G10 (10f) and G11 (5f) down and let them watch any cartoon in Georgian and talk about it, As it was later reported, children did not want to watch a film in Georgian, but after some hesitation, they agreed to it.

This was Ice Age (4): Continental Drift (in the Georgian language) and the story was as follows:



The image is borrowed from Google Images

Scrat's nutty pursuit of the cursed acorn, which he's been after since the dawn of time, has world-changing consequences- a continental cataclysm that triggers the greatest adventure of all, for Many, Diego and Sid. In the wake of these upheavals, Sid reunites with his cantankerous Granny, and the herd encounters a ragtag menagerie of seafaring pirates determined to stop them from returning home. (Storyline from the internet)

	Comments
<p>G11 asks her father G06 in Georgian whether he is going to watch it (the film) with them. G06 says he is.</p>	<p>G11 Opens dialogue with GL</p>
<p>The film has started. G11: <i>"Is it up there?"</i> (asks about something in English).</p>	<p>G11 Switches languages into E</p>
<p>G07 asks in Georgian if she can see it well (the screen). G11 replies <i>"aha"</i>- agrees.</p>	<p>G07 uses GL</p>
<p>G11: <i>'mamiko'</i> [for Dad in G], <i>"can you see it?"</i></p>	<p>CS- G11 'mamiko'+ ES</p>
<p>G06: <i>"aha"</i></p>	
<p>This is the opening scene in the film when Scrat runs with a nut. G07 says in Georgian how sweet it is. G11 says that is a squirrel (in English). She looks at the screen and laughs loudly. G07 asks her how it is in Georgian. G11 takes time:</p>	<p>CS- G07-G- G11-E. Divergence?</p>
<p>G11: <i>"ummm...."</i> G10: <i>'ciyvi debilo'</i> [squirrel, stupid]. [inaudible segment-G11 speaking in English]. G11: <i>"that's where it is going"...</i> she laughs and makes some comments. Then asks G10 if that is on. G10 answers in English too.</p>	<p>G10 knows W in G G11-G G10, G11-E</p>
<p>G07 Speaks in Georgian with children every now and then. She asks what different animals are. G10 gets some of them in Georgian. G11 is quiet, listening.</p>	<p>(G06 and G07 have made an impression that they have to use Georgian)</p>
<p>G10 says it is very long (about a film, or something else). G10 says this is <i>'bebo'</i> [granny].</p>	<p>G10 uses GW</p>
<p>G06 explains in Georgian how the words grandmother and grandfather are in Georgian.</p>	

<p>Suddenly the film stops (could be the DVD problem). G07 is wondering what is wrong with it and is trying to fix it.</p>	
<p>G10 is worried whether they have to watch it from the beginning and what if it gets stuck again. She tries to help her mother, saying that it is not due to the internet [connection]. G07 says they will turn it on. G11 asks <i>'again?'</i> G07 confirms.</p>	<p>G10 uses G G11 uses G 'again'</p>
<p>Scrat must have appeared in the film again, as G11 says <i>"that's the squirrel"</i>. Oh did you see it?- asks G07 in Georgian.</p>	<p>G11 uses E, G07 responds in G. 00:21:14</p>
<p>G11: <i>"aww, that is so cute"</i> [squirrel]. G11 talks in English interpreting the scene on the film, G07 and G10 comment in Georgian. This happens several times during watching the cartoon.</p>	<p>G11-E G11-E, G07 & G10 comment in G. Divergence? 00:22:00</p>
<p>G07: <i>'G11, what was that?'</i> (G) G11: <i>'what?'</i> (G). (she does not reply what that (an animal) is).</p>	<p>G07 uses GQ, G11 responds in G.</p>
<p>G11 started making some noises and G07 shouts from the kitchen to be quiet. G10 adds that this (recorder) records everything. G11 became quiet.</p>	
<p>At some point G11 calls G07 by name saying something about Skype (possibly that she received a message on the Skype) with broken Georgian that sounds more like: G07, Skype, your hmm had.</p>	<p>G11 opens in broken G.</p>
<p>Children sound like they are fighting over a place (possibly to sit with their mother). G07 suggests that she would sit in between them. G11 starts crying. G07 confronts G10 for not behaving and that that way they cannot see anything on the screen. This conversation between G07 and G10 is in Georgian. However, G11 says <i>"I want that"</i> in English. G11: <i>'G10, look'</i>- says in Georgian.</p>	<p>G07 & G10 speak in G, G11 enters the conversation in E. G10 uses GP</p>
<p>As they all watch the cartoon, G07 asks children if they (cartoon characters) have escaped and have not been caught by their enemies. G11 replies in Georgian that they could not catch them. G07 asks another question in Georgian whether they</p>	<p>G07 GQ & G11 GA G07 GQ & G11 GA</p>


<p>found... [inaudible] G11 replies in Georgian. G10 says how they are to find it [or them] also in Georgian.</p> <p>G11 tells [inaudible] her mother G07 something, in English.</p> <p>G07: <i>"is this Diego?"</i> (G) G11: <i>"yes, that's the one"</i> (G).</p> <p>G07 asks questions about the film at some point twice in Georgian and G10's response is also in Georgian.</p> <p>While watching G11 shouts out: <i>"aah, nut is a fish!"</i> (E). G10: <i>'he will like it so much now'</i> (G) and laughs. G11: <i>"ah, apple fish, apple"</i> (E).</p> <p>In the film: <i>'don't be angry child'</i> G11: <i>'there is no child there'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'umm, who did you like?'</i> (G) G11: <i>"hehe, fish!"</i> (E)</p> <p>G10 whispers <i>'ooh, look'</i> (G).</p> <p>G07: <i>'who do you like most?'</i> (G) G11: <i>"what?"</i> (E) G07: <i>"I like the little elephant the most!"</i> (G) <i>aaa?</i> G10: <i>'me, I like this one, how is it called, squirrel'</i> (G) G11: <i>'me...'</i> (G) G07: <i>'squirrel?'</i> (G) <i>(background noise from the TV).</i> G10: <i>'yes'</i> (G) <i>(cross talk) [inaudible]</i> G07: <i>'how about you G11?'</i> (G) G11: <i>'squirrel, squirrel'</i> (G) G07: <i>'squirrel, you too?'</i> (G) G10: <i>'he is the funniest one'</i> (G)</p> <p>Children now watch the film in silence.</p> <p>G10: <i>'what is this? It is a wing and [...inaudible]'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07 sounds like is moving something from the table.</p>	<p>00:57:18. G10 G (comments)</p> <p>G11 Starts in E. 00:57:39 G07 GA.</p> <p>G10 G G11 E 01:01:26 2x (both)</p> <p>G11 G (opens) 01:01:57.</p> <p>CS-G11 (GA) 01:02:05.</p> <p>G10- G. 01:02:38</p> <p>CS- 01:02:50</p> <p>01:03:20</p>
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<p>G10: <i>'this has to be there'</i> (G) G07: <i>'do not put it in your mouth mum'</i> (G) G10: <i>'you...if it bursts, there are those inside...'</i> (G) [inaudible]</p>	01:04:19
<p>G07: <i>'G11, I cannot see, come out of it'</i> (G) G11: <i>"I cannot hear"</i> (E)</p>	CS 01:04:37
<p>G07: <i>'oh, he (or she) found it (her/ him)'</i> (G) [inaudible]</p> <p>Silence....</p>	
<p>G07: <i>'G11, stop it please'</i> (G)</p>	
<p>G11: <i>"...mm banana"</i> (E).... <i>'uugh, I want my banana'</i> (G) G07: <i>'she will bring it for you, wait a minute!'</i> (G)</p>	CS- G11 E+G (when complaining) 01:06:33
<p>G07: <i>'hehe'</i> (laughs about something in the film). G11: <i>'that is not a child'</i> (G) (giggles) [G07 inaudible]</p>	01:07:31.
<p>G07: <i>'mother....'</i> (G) [inaudible]. G10: <i>'that is not the mother'</i> (G) G07: <i>'then who?'</i> (G) G10: <i>'this is a child'</i> [G07 inaudible] (G) G11: <i>'mum... she is the mother... wait... she is the mother'</i> (G) [inaudible- could be 'with her child'].</p>	01:09:53
<p>[G06 makes sounds in the background]</p>	
<p>G10: <i>'jump, jump'</i> (comments on the film) (G) G11: <i>"he cannot"</i> (E)</p>	01:11:00
<p>G07 asks something in Georgian from the background and G10's response is in Georgian too.</p>	
<p>G11: <i>"that's the fish here..., that's the fish!"</i> (E) G07 says something in Georgian, G10 cannot hear and asks for confirmation. G07 repeats. G10 says that it is because the grandma gave him (fish) some food (in Georgian).</p>	G07 and G10 in G 01:11:53
<p>G11: <i>"mum, look, look!"</i> (E)</p>	

<p>G07: <i>'grandma has no teeth anymore'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'look how many squirrels came!'</i> (G)</p> <p>G10: <i>'those are not squirrels'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'what are they then?'</i> (G)</p> <p>G10: <i>'I don't know but they are not squirrels'</i> (G)</p> <p>G11 also says something about squirrels in Georgian.</p> <p>G07 and G10 continue a short talk about this in Georgian.</p> <p>Everybody laughs about something in the film, G07 mentions teeth in Georgian. G11 continues: "teeth-chopper" in English.</p> <p>G06 is talking on the phone in the background in English.</p> <p>G07 asks about the character in the film what he/she saw (in Georgian) and G11 answers in English and makes more comments, also in English.</p> <p>G07 and G10 discuss things in Georgian with G10 using long sentences.</p> <p>G11 says in English: "That is a big [inaudible- could be mouth], that is a really big mouth". G11 makes more comments in English and G10 makes some Georgian comments. The film ends and G07 asks children if they liked it, they both say "yes" in Georgian, they like it. She asks what they liked:</p> <p>G11: <i>'aam, squirrel'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'oh you liked the aquirrel?'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'how about the whale, did not you like it?... G11?'</i></p> <p>G11: <i>'what?'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'did you like the whale?'</i></p> <p>G11 asks what <i>'whale'</i> is (G)</p> <p>G07: <i>'you don't know what the whale is?'</i> (G)</p> <p>G11: <i>'no'</i> (G) (sounds slightly frustrated) [G10 laughs]</p> <p>G07: <i>'what is a whale G10?'</i> (G)</p> <p>G10: <i>'this ...(mumbles) with the big head, body'</i> (G)</p>	<p>CS- divergence? 01:13:23.</p> <p>Everybody uses G</p> <p>CS 01:15:46 G07 G+ G11 E.</p> <p>CS- G07 asks in G, G11 answers in E</p> <p>G11- GW 01:18:37</p>
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<p>G07: <i>'did not you like it?'</i> G10: <i>'no'</i> (G) G07: <i>'how about that he helped everyone?'</i> (G) G10: <i>'so what?'</i> (G) G07: <i>'it was a kind whale'</i> (G)</p> <p>G07 mumbles something else in Georgian and G10 also asks something else in English, but both are inaudible.</p> <p>G07 asks the children to tell more about what they said in the film and what happened in the film when she (G07) was out of the room for a while. G11 wants to start talking in English, but she sounds to be occupied with something (it could be pencil and paper sound). Then G07 turns to G10 and asks what happened when she left the room and how did they (cartoon characters) find the new ship. G10 answers in Georgian too that the bad ones made it (the ship).</p> <p>G06 comes in the room and talks to G07 in Georgian for a few seconds.</p>	<p>G10-G</p> <p>Adults speaking in G among themselves.</p>
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Appendix 5: Journal Log 12

Journal Log 12	
Date: 18.02.13	
Time of the day: Afternoon	
Recording No: 12	Hours: 01:36:15
Participants: (4) G07,G10, G11, G21	
Non-participants: N/A	
Activity: Children watch a cartoon in English and discuss with G07	
Setting: Discussion	
Description of the Setting and the Event:	
<p>G21 stayed over at the family of G06. G07 sits children- G10, G11 and G21 (m, 10) to watch a film (How to Train Your Dragon) in English and discuss it. Children sit in the sitting room at the TV and watch the film. During the film they also play different games. It seems that some of the children had already watched the film before but although they are playing at the same time, their attention is still drawn towards the film. At times children become very noisy, at times they watch the film in silence and sometimes the room becomes very noisy with children playing with the film on in the background. G07 comes and goes from the room to the kitchen where she is preparing some food for the children to eat afterwards and in the end asks children whether they liked the film or not and why they liked it (after children say they do).</p>	
	
<p>G10's Drawing during (after) watching the film</p>	
G07 tells children that she is going to ask them questions afterwards and that they have to watch the film first.	Comments G07 opens in G

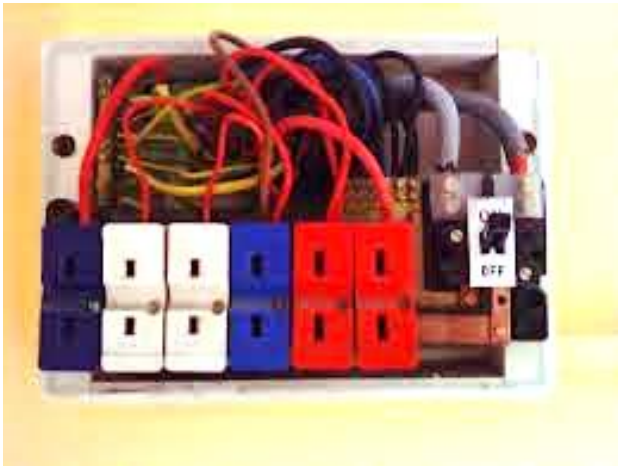
<p>There is a sound of some plates and glasses, children are eating (something) at the same time. G10 says she has seen this film. The film had started already before the recording.</p>	G10-G
<p>G10 tells G21 to swap (she does not mention what she is talking about). G21 asks “<i>what?</i>”</p>	G10-G, G21-E.
<p>G10 asks what’s its colour (in Georgian). G11 answers in English that it is “<i>black obviously</i>”. G21 says it is blue.</p>	G10-G, G11-E, G21-G. 00:01:17.
<p>G21 tells G11 that he is going to make a movie star (E).</p>	G21-E
<p>There is a noise of drawing. It is quite noisy in the room as the TV is on and the children talk quietly. G21 makes some comments in English. Such as “these are warriors, that girl is a commander”, etc. in English.</p>	
<p>It sounds like G21 touched the recorder saying that this is off.</p>	G21-E
<p><i>G10: ‘mum’ (calls her mother) (G)</i> <i>G07 ‘what?’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘this is still turned off’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘it is turned on mum, leave it’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘but the light is not on’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘it is “on”, see, it is “on”, see it, right?’ (G)</i></p>	G10 & G07-G G07 converges Recorder-awareness
<p><i>G10: “yeah, it’s on “on” (E) (whispers). “it’s on” (E)</i></p>	CS-G07 inserts EW-“on” (preposition) CS- G10-ER 00:08:53.
<p><i>G07: ‘it does not need the light any more mum’ . (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘aaah’</i> <i>(G07 comes in and brings something)</i></p>	G07-G
<p><i>G10: ‘those are mine!’ (G)</i> <i>G21: ‘but it is small for you now’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘look how it suits you!’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘is it good?’ [inaudible segment] (G)</i> <i>G21: ‘it’s big’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘it’s a little big, but it will suit in summer’ (G) (G07 must have given G21 a gift)</i></p>	G21-G (first time) G07-G
<p><i>G10: ‘no, it’s too big’ (she is painting at the same time) (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘oh, go away, please’ (whispers something). (G)</i></p>	G10-G

<p>(noise from TV)</p> <p>Phone rings and G10 shouts it's the phone [ringing]. G07 answers the phone and speaks in English. Meanwhile children start speaking in English briefly about what they are doing.</p> <p>G21 is wondering why he's got hiccups. "<i>Let me guess</i>" says G10... [cross talk of the three children-inaudible segment].</p> <p><i>G11: "do you know [how to] draw a zombie?" (E)</i> <i>G21: "what?" (E)</i> <i>G11- repeats.</i> <i>G21: "I know" (E) [inaudible] "This is how they go..yrr.....they are begging for your brain" (E)</i> <i>G10: "yeah" (E)</i> <i>G11: "and flash" (E)</i> <i>G21: "in my [inaudible- can be "game"] they go like... khhh (G10 laughs), when they come..."</i></p> <p>Now what shall I draw? - says G11... children carry on talking in English with some pauses here and there when paying attention to the film or drawing.</p> <p>At some point G21 says this is a ninja style and G11 says that did not hurt (G21 must have done some trick to her or threw something at her), G10 complains that it is not fair as he did it actual hard (G21 must have tried his trick on her now) (all in English). Children are playing some game now while the TV is still on and the film continues. They throw something at each-other and ask not to move and stay still. Some game devise plays a music at the same time and G10 asks why it does so (play the music-presumably).</p> <p>Now G21 complains that it hurts and it left a scar on him. G10 says in an ironic tone how a paper can leave a scar on him.</p> <p>G11 plays with the toy game. G21 asks not to press the button but the music starts playing again, she must have pressed the button.</p> <p>G07 calls G10 to help her for a minute (G), G10 responds in Georgian.</p> <p>G07 calls G21 now, also in Georgian and G21 also responds in Georgian.</p> <p>As children return they continue talking in English. They make some long comments on the film and laugh. The film becomes noisier at some point and</p>	<p>G10, G11 & G21- E 00:14:00.</p> <p>G10, G11 & G21- E They continue so.</p> <p>Still in E 00:21:20.</p> <p>Still in E</p> <p>G07 & G10-G 00:36:47</p> <p>G07 & G21-G</p>
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<p>it is not easy to hear what the children are saying, but they are definitely more into the film since they returned back to the room and are no more playing any games as before.</p>	<p>G21 Converges G10, G11 & G21- E</p>
<p>G07 comes in the room. G11 tells her about lotion that it is from the box (E). G07 asks her to give it to her in Georgian. G07 says she would wash it (it sounds like G11 spilt the lotion on something). G07 shouts tiny bit and sounds upset. She asks G11 to wash her hands. At some point she says she would put some liquid on her. G11 talks in English with her mother.</p>	
<p>G07 says that she is preparing some beans for the children to eat. They are happy, but then G10 says that she does not eat beans. G07, G10 and G21 interact in Georgian, while G11 makes some English comments about it.</p>	<p>CS-G11-E &G07-G (Divergence) 01:06:05</p>
<p>Then they refuse to eat beans, except G11. G10 suggests she should make some chips and fish-fingers. G11 says she wants beans. G07 does not sound happy.</p>	<p>G07 inserts EW “liquid” G07, G10, G21- G but G11- E Diverges 01:08:22</p>
<p>Children continue talking in English. Very much noise in the background. The film ends. G07 asks if the film finished (G). G21 says it was a very good film (G). Then he tells G10 in English: “it suits you!”</p>	<p>CS- G10 inserts EW-chips and EP “fish fingers”</p>
<p>G07 comes in and asks again:</p>	<p>CS- G11 inserts GW ‘beans’ in E sentence.</p>
<p><i>G07: ‘did you like the film, was it a good film?’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘yes it was a good film’ (G).</i> <i>G07: ‘why was it a good film?’ (G)</i> <i>G21: ‘I don’t know, it was “intere...” there was this cool boy, he killed this big “dragon”’ (G).</i> <i>G07: ‘wow, that is so cool. Was it a bad dragon?’ (G).</i></p>	<p>Children- E G07-GQ, G21-GA 01:34:29 G21-G accommodation 01:34:38</p>
<p><i>G21: ‘the one he killed was bad, the mother was the evil dragon and when he caught then she was evil but then she was kind’ (G21 uses simple, non-complex Georgian sentences) (G).</i> <i>G07: ‘aha’. ‘is this your drawing about that film?’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘it’s mine, mine’ (G).</i> <i>G07: ‘did you draw it?’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘yes’ (G).</i> <i>G07: ‘write down on it what you have drawn’ (G)</i> <i>G10: ‘no!’ (G)</i> <i>G07: ‘write on it which film it was’ (G)</i></p>	<p>G dom. conversation CS-G21 inserts EWs “intere...” “dragon” CS- G07 inserts EW “dragon”</p>

<p>G10: "how to train your dragon" (E) G07: 'yes, go write on it'. Put G21's DVD in its case' (G) G10: "no" (E) G07: 'why?' (G) G10: 'I don't know mum!' (G). G07: 'OK, fine' (G)</p> <p>G07 asks children if they are ready to have lunch. They agree.</p>	<p>Title in E</p> <p>G10- interjection-"no" in E.</p>
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Appendix 6: Journal Log 24

Journal Log 25	
Date: 21.03.13	
Time of the day: Evening	
Recording No: 25	Hours: 00:17:36
Participants: (2) G04, G05	
Non-participants: Fieldworker-I01	
Activity: Repairing a fuse box (consumer unit)	
Setting: Spontaneous	
<p>Description of the Setting and the Event:</p> <p>G05 called G04 saying that he wants to return his money he borrowed a day ago. G04 arrives. As he arrives, G05 complains about the electricity, saying that something is wrong with the fuse. G04 immediately checks the electricity and finds as the reasons, so as the solutions for the consumer unit and repairs it for G05.</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>Consumer Unit, borrowed image from the internet, similar to what G04 repaired</p>	
<p>G05 opens the door and G04 enters the house. As soon as G04 comes into the room, G05 complains about the “fuse”. G04 looks at it. G05 says that he removed the cover but... G04 says this must be something else and that removing the cover should not do much. G04 leaves to bring his tools from the van. G05 says he’s got some things (tools). G04 says he has to turn the lights off (meaning he would need his torch too).</p>	<p>Comments In Georgian CS: G05 CS-RW “предохранитель” for “fuse”. 8x</p>

<p>G04 returns and G05 asks what could be the reason (for the light not to work properly). G04 explains that there must be bad contact somewhere.</p> <p>G04 says he has to remove the “seal”</p> <p>G05 says that in some places it is... G04 wants to confirm what he means by this. G05 explains that the electricity comes into some “plugs”. G04 asks him to confirm that some plugs are working and some are not in the house, G05 confirms so. G04 says then this must be the “fuse”.</p> <p>G05 shows some “fuses” that he’s got at home and asks G04 whether he could use any. G04 asks G05 to lend him his eyeglasses. G04 asks whether the “boiler” is working. G05 replies it is working. Then G04 asks him to turn it off completely (so that it does not get damaged because G04 is going to turn the lights off from the consumer unit). G04 helped G05 to turn the boiler off, then he warned G05 that he is going to turn all the lights off.</p> <p>I01 asks how it all happened. G05 explains that the electricity is not coming through every plug.</p> <p>G05 shows the fuses to G04 again, saying he brought them from the old house and hoping that he might be able to use some. G04 picks one saying that this will do. The fuse fits and G05 seems happy. He praises himself for saving them (fuses) just in case. He tells G04 that he will keep the rest “just in case”. He laughs. G04 tries to screw things together for the fuse to be intact and have good contact.</p> <p>G05 asks both to stay for a while and cook Georgian ‘khinkali’ together. I01 says that she needs to go, it is late and G04 also says that he is tired and should go soon. He repaired the consumer unit and everything is working now.</p> <p>G04 shows the fuses and tells G05 which ones are worth keeping for the future. G05 wants to keep the fuse that is gone</p>	<p>CS: G04-RW “пломб” for “seal” 00:03:20. CS: G05-RW “штепсель” for “plug” 3x.</p> <p>CS:G04-RW “предохранитель” for “fuse”. 3x</p> <p>CS: G04 EW “boiler” 3x 00:05:11.</p> <p>CS: G05-RP “на всяки случай” for “just in case” 00:09:30.</p>
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<p>and G04 exchanged, just in case he wants to show in a shop [assistant] what he is looking for.</p> <p>G05 gives G04 his money and asks him to count.</p> <p>G04 says it does not need counting and jokes that even if it was less, he would not tell him. G05 adds that ‘the money likes to be counted’ –Georgian saying, in other words the money has to be counted. They laugh.</p> <p>G04 asks whether G05 turned the boiler back on. G05 says it is already on now.</p> <p>G05 starts talking about why he borrowed money. [inaudible].</p> <p>G05 asks G04 about his old van. G05 says he has spoken to someone who does the “recovery” driving and he said it would cost him 120 pounds. He says he wants to send the van to his son back home to use for his work for trading. He says he has some plans and this van would do for it. [inaudible].</p> <p>In his speech above, G05 mentions “черт ее знает”, meaning hell knows.</p>	<p>Trust (money</p> <p>G04 jokes about money.</p> <p>Georgian saying about money.</p> <p>CS: G05-EW “recovery”</p> <p>G05-RP “черт ее знает” for “hell knows” 00:17:22.</p>
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Appendix 7: Journal Log 31

Journal Log 31	
Date: 25.03.13	
Time of the day: Evening	
Recording No: 31	Hours: 01:25:39 (first half)
Participants: (8) G06, G07, G08, G10, G11, G21,G22, G23,	
Non-participants: Fieldworker-I01	
Activity: 1. Legal document discussion	
Setting: Discussion	
Description of the Setting and the Event:	
<p>G06 arrives with his family to G08’s family house with a legal document, who would like to discuss it with G08 and ask for her advice as G08 is a Law student and has some knowledge of it. G08 explains the letter content and what he is required to do. G08 also offers her support in case G06 would like to take it to the court, if it comes to that.</p>	
<p>Georgian Language</p> <p>I01 asks G23 to sign the consent form which had been explained to her earlier, she asks G23 to read the form first and then sign it. G08 to her mother, “yes G23, look through, you never know what you are signing” (smiles).</p> <p>G08 says that there was a strike in Luton town centre: ‘they were protesting the buss “cuttings” for schools, “cut down”’.</p> <p><i>I01: ‘there are only a few [busses] running anyway’</i> <i>G08: ‘and they provide this service if the “mile” is far, not [provided] for everyone and why are they cutting it [service] down?’</i> <i>I01: ‘yes, and they were protesting against it’</i> <i>G23: ‘oh, are they cutting down?’</i> <i>G08 ‘yes’</i></p> <p>[inaudible segment about 1 minute]</p> <p>G22 asks if G07 and G10 are communing. G08 replies that they are. (G07 and family are coming to G08’s). After few minutes G07 comes in with the family. Everybody is greeting and kissing</p>	<p>Comments</p> <p>G08 Joke about signing the consent form.</p> <p>G08 CS EW, WP “cuttings”, “cut down” 00:01:57</p> <p>G08 CS EW “mile” 00:02:23</p>

<p>each other. G21 talks in English in the background “see <i>what colour it is</i>”. After greetings G06 asks G08 to let him sit, G08 offers him a sit.</p>	<p>G21 E 00:07:15</p>
<p>Children begin to play in the background and talk in English G07: <i>‘what are they doing? [children]</i> G08: <i>‘how would I know woman, sometimes this, sometimes that...’</i> G07: <i>‘I think they are drawing rats’</i> G06: <i>‘aw, not rats...’</i> G22: <i>‘I have them all’</i> G08: <i>‘what have you got there?’</i> G22: <i>“alien, belly...like grows”</i> G08: <i>‘let me see, let me see’</i> G07: <i>‘ah, one is dead’</i> G08: <i>‘oh no’</i> I01: <i>‘ah it sticks to his hand, wherever you put it would stick’</i> G06: <i>‘yes and they were sticking it onto the wall, it is oily and would stain’</i> G08: <i>‘ah, yes, do you remember G22 used to have it, he used to push it up and it would stick.</i> G22: <i>‘I was like that...’</i> (smiles) (cross-talk- inaudible) I01 says that these toys can last stuck like that for days and one day they may fall and frighten you (laughs)</p>	<p>Children E</p> <p>G22 GS (with adults) 00: 08:02 G22 ES 00:08:06</p> <p>G22 GS (with adults)</p>
<p>G07 changes the subject, she begins complaining about her studies that every week she has a new project at college and she just cannot deal with it any more. G06 jokes about it saying that she would finish studying when it is time for pension, and she would escape the work. G07 says that it would really happen to I01, because she is always studying (laughs).</p>	<p>G06 jokes about long-term studying G07 jokes about it too 00:10:25</p>
<p>Children talk in English in the background (G10, G11, G21, G22). G22 asks her mother that she wants it [toy] in Georgian. G06: <i>‘what do you want girl?’</i> G22 continues playing with children and speaking in English. G06 and G08 are discussing some document that G06 brought. G08 reads some phrases written in English to G06 and explains what it requires G06 to do.</p>	<p>G22 GS (request)(with adult) 00:10:55</p> <p>G22 back to E with children</p>

<p>On the other side of the room G07 and G23 talk about the diet. G23 asks G07 what diet she is on. G07 say yogurt and “<i>buckwheat</i>”. G07 explains how she observes this diet.</p>	G07 RW “Гречка” 2x for buckwheat 00:13:10
<p>G06 and G08 are still discussing the document and G23 joins with G07.</p>	
<p>Children are screaming in the background.</p>	
<p>G08 continues with G06 saying that they would contact him to make an “<i>appointment</i>” and they would contact that man too. No matter what kind of case it is, you should always appear when they call you in the court, whether it is a “<i>divorce</i>” case or business or other...</p>	G08 EW 00:15:18 G08 EW 00:16:00
<p>G08: <i>‘in case he does not pay, then it will be taken out off the “list”... the court will be dismissed.</i></p>	G08 EW 00:16:34
<p>G06: <i>‘so will I win automatically?’</i></p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘no, that case will be canceled, “that’s it”...’</i></p>	G08 RW “все” 2x for that’s all 00:16:41
<p>...</p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘it will be canceled, “that’s it”, no one will make any “decision”. There will be no decision about you and... there will be no “case” any more.</i></p>	G08 EW 00:16:48 G08 EW 00:16:54
<p>...</p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘that man is a complainant and you are a “defendant”.</i></p>	G08 EW 00:18:10
<p>Children continue playing and speaking in English.</p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘please call, call from the “landline”</i></p>	G08 EW 00:18:30
<p>I01: <i>‘why should he call?’</i></p>	
<p>G06 <i>‘for “appointment”</i></p>	G06 EW 00:18:33
<p>G08 <i>“appointment”, in other words, you can make an “appointment by phone or by email.</i></p>	G08 EW 2x 00:18:34
<p>G06: <i>‘by fax as well’</i></p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘you have enough time till June’.</i></p>	
<p>G06: <i>‘by June you won’t take it [certificate/degree], would you?’</i></p>	
<p>G08: <i>‘by the time I take the certificate, by the time [inaudible], by the time I will get “voluntary experience”.... a donkey will climb the tree and back again [Georgian expression to mean that something will take a very long time]’.</i></p>	G08 EP 00:18:67

<p>G06 and G08 continue talking about the case. G08 offers her help if G06 needs it.</p>	
<p>G07 asks I01 whether all these talks help her or whether they are spoiling everything.</p>	<p>G07 Jokes about the observation.</p>

Appendix 8: List of observations

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event/ Activity	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
1	04.01.13	5	00:40:51	Friends' Meeting	Arranged Situation	1. Full participation	G04	46	M
							G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	9	F
							G11	5	F
2	05.01.13	12	04:09:17	New Year's Party	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	46	M
							G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	9	F
							G11	5	F
							G12	30	F
							G13	43	F
							G14	56	M
							G15	37	F
							G17	50	M
							G19	34	M
G20	53	M							
3	14.01.13	6	00:42:00	G10's Birthday Preparation	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G01	13	F
							G04	46	M
							G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	10	F

							G11	5	F
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Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
4	14.01.13	1	00:15:44	Drawing and Discussion	Discussion	1. Full participation	G11	5	F
5	14.01.13	4	00:43:44	G10's Birthday Dinner/ New Year's Dinner (duck)	Arranged situation	1. Full participation	G04	46	M
							G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	5	F
6	14.01.13	1	00:28:23	G11 Making G10's Birthday Card	Discussion	1. Full participation	G11	5	F
7	16.01.13	3	01:24:39	Children Making Jewelry	Arranged situation	4. Non-participation 2	G01	13	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
8	16.01.13	3	00:45:55	Friends' meeting	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	46	M
							G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
9	10.02.13	2	01:21:10	Children watch cartoon in Georgian and discuss	Discussion	4. Non-participation 2	G06	36	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
10	11.02.13	3	00:14:41	Children playing with an English speaking friend of G01	Spontaneous	5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
11	11.02.13	3	00:07:10	Children drawing pictures	Arranged situation	5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
12	18.02.13	4	01:36:15	Children watch cartoon in English and discuss	Discussion	4. Non-participation 2	G07	28	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
							G21	10	M
13	26.02.13	4	00:22:20	Friends invited over for duck and rice	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	5	F

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
14	26.02.13	3	01:08:04	Children making a jigsaw puzzle	Arranged situation	5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	5	F
15	01:03:13	2	01:07:00	G05 Baked bread, invited G06	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G05	52	M
16	05.03.13	9	01:04:45	G11's Birthday	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G01	14	F
							G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G08	27	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
							G21	10	M
							G22	7	F
17	05.03.13	5	00:10:18	G11's Birthday (children only)	Spontaneous	5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
							G21	10	M
							G22	7	F

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
18	12.03.13	2	01:02:30	G05 invites G04 for dinner	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G05	52	M
19	17.03.13	4	00:40:09	G06+ invite G04+ and his guest for dinner	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	6	F
20	18.03.13	1	00:09:16	G02 explains his College advertising project	Discussion	1. Full participation	G02	18	M
21	19.03.13	5	00:15:27	G02's Advert shooting	Arranged situation	1. Full participation	G02	18	M
							G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	6	F
22	19.03.13	6	00:53:15	G07's Photo-shooting session	Arranged situation	1. Full participation 5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G02	18	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
23	20.03.13	5	00:22:40	Celebrating Spring	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G01	14	F
							G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	6	F
24	20.03.13	4	01:33:00	Children playing and watching TV	Spontaneous	5. Non-participation 3	G01	14	F
							G02	18	M
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
25	21.03.13	2	00:17:36	Repairing a fuse box (consumer unit)	Spontaneous	2. Partly participation	G04	47	M
							G05	52	M
26	23.03.13	5	00:44:18	Friends' feast on smoked fish	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
27	23.03.13	3	00:11:51	Children watching TV	Spontaneous	5. Non-participation 3	G04	47	M
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
28	23.03.13	4	00:44:12	Friends gathering	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G11	6	F

Ob No	Date	No of P	Hours	Event/ Activity	Setting	Fieldworker Participation	Part No	Age	Sex
29	24.03.13	6	01:15:47	Family Evening at home	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G08	27	F
							G21	10	M
							G22	7	F
							G23	54	F
							G24	37	F
							G40	9	M
30	24.03.13	2	01:16:03	Invitation to a traditional dish	Spontaneous	1. Full participation	G04	47	M
							G05	52	M
31	25.03.13	8	00:25:00	Legal document discussion	Discussion	1. Partly participation	G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G08	27	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
							G21	10	M
							G22	7	F
							G23	54	F
32	25.03.13	8	01:00:39	Photo shooting session	Arranged	1. Partly participation	G06	37	M
							G07	28	F
							G08	27	F
							G10	10	F
							G11	6	F
							G21	10	M
							G22	7	F
							G23	54	F

Appendix 9a: Transcribed observational data

Transcribed Observation					
Abbreviations:					
E=English EP=English phrase ES=English sentence EW=English word G=Georgian RP=Russian phrase RW=Russian word	CS=Code-switching LC=Language choice SN=Social Networks Id=Identity	Accom.=Accommodation Con.=Convergence Div.=Divergence	Age groups: 5-12 13-19 20-39 40+		
Recording: 17.03.13 (JL 19)			Georgian language dominated		
00:00:00-00:12:04 of 00:40:09 Part: G04 (40+), G06 (20-39), G07 (20-39), G11 (5-12) GT (20-39) (non-targeted participant)		CODES + Participant	TIME	UTTERANCES	COMMENTS
1	G06 is explaining to GT that in France wine bottles have a map of the region where that wine was produced. He says they have twenty-something maps, that means twenty-something places where they grow wine. He says these regions massively provide the whole of Europe.	SN	00:00:28- 00:01:05		Georgians networking: GT Georgian, but from London. G04 & G06- close-knit links.
2	G06 shows the box of wine, and says that he was advised to get this wine at the supermarket there. He says that this box of wine costs 7 Euros in a supermarket but he was told if he bought it straight	Id	00:00:29- 00:01:50	'our people' (Georgians)	Identify as Georgians Keeping track of the

	from the supplier, it would cost him 3-4 Euros only. Then he laughs saying that 'our people' (Georgians) think that they would export wine and Georgia will be saved. GT says that regardless, there is always a debate who would handle so much grapes and lately they say they have 'thrown away so much' [grapes] (very cheap).... GT says it is like that every year.					information about Georgian and (world) economy
3	G04 and G06 pity the farmers. G06 says that our country (Georgia) would never be able to live on farming. G04 responds that there is no enough water either [to water the plants] GT says it is possible to feed the 5 million population with own products (of Georgia). G06 replies that what he means is contribution to the budget. They continue talking about import/export with G04 saying that people are not given the chance to export their products, G06 agrees. GT says that in Russia has large population and there are still those old people who remember things [from the past], but the Europe really does not want any of your products (Georgian). Conversation continues on export/import in Russia and China, praising China for hard work and producing a variety of products.	Id	G06	00:02:00-00:04:00	'Our country would never be able to live on farming'.	Concerns about Georgia and Georgian economy Comparing the economy of Georgia to other countries.
4	They talk about alcohol consumption. GT says that Asians do not really drink much alcohol. G04 adds that there may be exceptions, but traditionally Russians don't drink much alcohol either.		G04	00:04:01-00:04:43	'alcohol'	Borrowing (used in literary Georgian)
5	GT starts talking about leaving Luton from the train station and says the times when the trains leave. G04 says that he once met a bus "driver", who said he would go to London by train every day. G04 is	CS	G04	00:04:44-00:08:07 00:06:50	'шофер' (driver)	RW

	wondering what his salary was so that he could afford travelling by train every day, because it is not cheap. They talk more about the prices and travelling, in a very low volume, almost whispering.					
6	G04 and G05 say that when they used to work in London, it was difficult to find parking, so sometimes they would get a “fine”. They discuss timing and how much they charge for parking. G04 says that when he used to go to college, there was this man who said whatever job they did, they would charge them at least 700-800 pounds, so even though they knew they would get a ticket (fine), they’d still park wherever there was a place (so, it was still worth it for them). So, there is no “chance” you can park anywhere.	CS	G06	00:08:07-00:09:13 00:08:19	‘штраф’ (fine/ticket)	RW
		CS	G04	00:09:06	‘штраф’ (fine/ticket)	RW
			G04	00:09:13	‘chance’	Borrowing (not used in literary Georgian)
7	They start talking about business now with GT saying that it is difficult to start a business in Georgia. GT brings one example of an American with an idea, who went to a bank and the bank said they would think about financing him. After a while they started this business (stole the American’s idea). For one man to start a business is a challenge, says G04 mentioning corruption in the country (Georgia). As you go up, he says, there are more barriers, which are not made artificially, it is just the way system works, the way it is saturated. They discuss business opportunities and business work. GT says that a person must work really hard to earn something from		GT	00:09:14-00:12:04 00:09:57	‘idea’	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian)
		CS	GT	00:09:58	‘finance’ /damapinanseto/	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian) Intra-word CS
			G04	00:10:36 [inaudible 10 secs.]	‘corruption’	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian)
			G04	00:10:58	‘barrier’	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian)

	his /her profession. TG and G04 say that you cannot be static, you should move around and do various things [to achieve something].		G04	00:11:03	'system'	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian)
		CS	GT	00:11:09	'officially' /opitsialurad/	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian) Intra-word CS
			GT	00:11:39	'profession'	Borrowing (used in Literary Georgian)
	Transcription continues					