

The Structure of Bilingual Family Discourse Iraqi-Kurdish families as a sample*

Abeer Khalaf Hussein

Asst., Lect., Al-Hadba' University College, Mosul

Abstract

This study investigates some systemic features of language use, which are related to bilingual family discourse. Discourse analysis is used as a method for studying the discourses in question. The model adopted is that of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, 1992).

The aim of this analysis is to recognize the discourse patterns and strategies that are used by the members of the selected families during conversations.

It is hypothesized that bilingual family discourse is structured and is highly organized despite the constant and random topics shifting, changing of the participant's roles, and sometimes violation of some grammatical rules.

Data analysis shows that family discourse is of five ranks, namely interaction, transaction, exchange, move, and act. Interaction consists of transaction which is composed of a number of exchanges. An exchange in turn comprises a number of moves which can be divided into different types of acts. The research has come up with a conclusion that validates the set hypothesis.

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تطبيق نموذج سنكلير وكولتهارد على حوار العوائل ثنائية اللغة العوائل العراقية الكردية أنموذجاً

عبيد خلف حسين

مدرس مساعد، كلية الحداثة الجامعة، الموصل

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المستخلص

تتحرى الدراسة الحالية بعض الخصائص التنظيمية للغة والمرتبطة ببنية حوار العوائل ثنائية اللغة من خلال تطبيق نموذج سنكلير وكولتهارد (١٩٧٥، ١٩٩٢).

إن الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو تمييز الأنماط والاستراتيجيات التي يستخدمها أفراد العائلات المختارة أثناء حواراتهم.

وتستند الدراسة إلى فرضية مفادها أن حوار العوائل ثنائية اللغة يكون ذا تركيب وعلى درجة عالية من الترتيب على الرغم مما يتضمنه من تنقل عشوائي ومستمر في المواضيع المتداولة ومن تغير في ادوار المتحاورين ومن خرق في بعض الأحيان لبعض القواعد النحوية.

وقد أظهرت عملية التحليل بأن حوار العوائل المذكورة يتألف من خمسة مستويات، أعلاها الحوار الذي يتألف من عدة مواضيع ناتجة عن مجموعة من التبادلات ويتألف التبادل بدوره من مجموعة ادوار تنتج عن مجموعة من الأفعال. وقد توصل البحث إلى استنتاج يؤكد الفرضية الموضوعية.

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1) Introduction:

In everyday life, man needs to communicate. This communication is represented by many ways and one of them is language. The one who has one language is called "*Monolingual*". Monolinguals, then, is the ability to talk by using only one language. On the other hand, if the person has two languages, he is said to be a *bilingual*. Bilingualism is the ability to talk two languages. The word "Bilingual" in everyday use usually refers to the person who speaks, reads, or understands two languages equally well. However, Cindy (2012, 1) claims that it is not necessarily, for a person to be bilingual, to speak the two languages he has with equal fluency because all bilinguals have a dominant language, i.e. a bilingual master's one of the two languages better than the other. Accordingly, bilingualism falls into three levels: social, personal and interactional. As for the first one, it refers to countries which are officially bilinguals, i.e. have two languages as formal languages such as India, Belgium, and Canada. Meanwhile, bilingualism at personal level refers to any person who has two languages. Finally, bilingualism at interactional level or (sometimes called situational level) refers to the negotiations that take place whenever two people meet. When they want to show solidarity and sympathy, they prefer to seek common features in their behavior. But, if they want to show distance towards the one(s) they are speaking to, differences are sought.

A bilingual may code switch as s/he speaks. Blum-kulka (1997, 236) states that code switching is "*a change from one language to another involving clauses and larger -than-clause units*". Every now and then, in their speech, bilinguals switch from one language into another and this switching can involve various levels of language (e.g. phonology, morphology, grammatical structures or lexical items). And it usually takes

place without any change of the topic (Nastaranand Shabaz, 1999, 57-58). For bilinguals (or multi-linguals), code switching is an interesting thing that they are more prone to do back and forth between the languages they have. They do that easily, with flexibility and unconsciously, as well as consciously. It takes place without any noticeable degree of self-awareness (Lyons, 1970, 295).

However, Richards *et.al.* (1992, 208-209) claim that the use of the first language pattern or rule in the second language causes an error or inappropriate form in the second one. This is referred to as transfer, particularly *Negative transfer*. It is also known as "*interference*". For example, a French/English person may say: "*I am here since Monday*" just like the pattern of his native language, French: "*Je suis ici depuis lundi*" instead of saying: "*I have been here since Monday*"

But, if the transfer from one language into another helps any bilingual to make the second one easier to be understood, the transfer will be positive (It is called *Facilitation* (Brown, 1980, 85)) because both, the native language and the second one, might have the same form and consequently it will be easier to be understood. For example, for a French/English bilingual the word "table" exists in both languages and has the same meaning in both.

2. The Aim of the Study

The study aims at recognizing the discourse patterns and strategies that are used by participants of bilingual families while interacting.

3. The Hypothesis

Bilingual family discourse is structured and highly constructed.

4. Data Collection and Analytical Procedures:

The data to be analyzed are tape-recorded conversations gathered by home conversation of two bilingual families. However, the data were collected by a member from each family without any interference on the part of the researcher. The recorded materials were transcribed and analyzed within the framework of discourse analysis to provide an overall picture of bilingual families' speech at home.

5. The Model adopted

The model upon which the analysis is based is that of Sinclair and Coulthard. This model was devised in 1975. It, like Holliday's model, is also a rank scale model and consists of five ranks. These are "lesson", "transaction", "exchange", "move" and "act". These ranks are hierarchal in nature and related to one another in a "consist of" relationship. The lesson is the largest unit and act is the smallest. Sinclair and Coulthard identify different classes of act, which combine to moves. These moves combine to make exchanges. A number of these exchanges combine to make transactions, which, in turn, combine to make the lesson (Willis, 1992, 112). Since the current paper deals with family discourse, not classroom discourse, the researcher suggests using the expression "interaction" instead of "lesson".

The following is a diagrammatic representation of Sinclair and Coulthard's model:

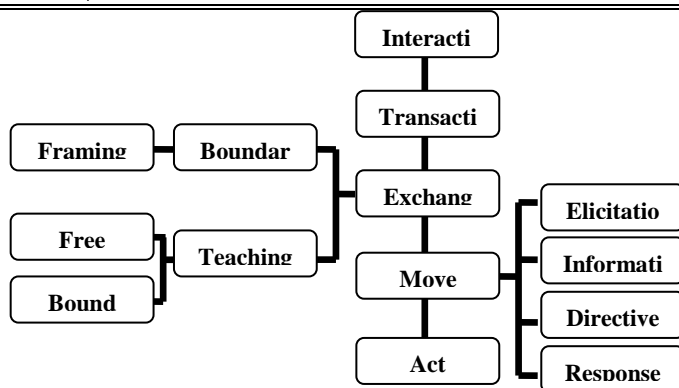


Diagram (1)
Sinclair and Coulthard's model (1975)

5.1 Acts:

Acts are the units at the lowest rank of the discoursed level of language patterning, and are realized at the level of grammar and lexis (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, 23). The table below summarizes the notations, realizations and functions of the different classes of acts:

Table (1)
Classes of Acts

Types of act	Notation	Realization	Function
Marker	m	A closed class of items, such as "well", "Ok", "good"	To mark boundaries in the discourse.
Silent stress	^	A pause following a marker	To highlight a marker.
Starter	s	A statement, question or command	To provide information about or direct attention to an area.
Elicitation	el	A question	To request a linguistic response
Directive	d	An imperative	To request a non-linguistic response

Types of act	Notation	Realization	Function
Informative	I	A statement	To provide information and the response to it is mere acknowledgement of attention and understanding.
Acknowledge	ack	“Yes”, “Ok”, “mm”, and certain non-verbal gestures.	To show that an initiation has been understood.
Reply	rep	A statement, a question, moodless and non-verbal surrogates such as nods.	To provide a non-linguistic response appropriate to a previous elicitation.
React	rea	A non-linguistic action	To provide a non-linguistic response to a previous directive.
Comment	com	A statement and a tag question	To provide additional information relating to a pervious informative
Evaluate	e	A statement and a tag question including words and phrases as “good”, “interesting”.	To positively or negatively evaluate a previous reply.

5.2 Moves:

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, 23) define a move as “the smallest free unit although it has a structure in terms of acts”. The analysis revealed four types of moves, namely framing, opening, answering and follow-up moves. The first realizes boundary exchange, while the last three realize teaching exchange.

According to Sinclair and Coulthard (ibid, 45-48), a framing move consists of a closed set of words, such as “well”, “Ok”, which signify that a new part of conversation is about to begin. Meanwhile, an opening move causes others to participate in an exchange by different ways, i.e. passing information, directing an activity, or eliciting a fact. However, each opening move is followed by an answering move which is an appropriate response to the opening move. The answering move can take the form of acknowledgement, reply or react. As for a follow-up

move, it is a subsequent to answering move. It represents an evaluation of what has been said. There are two kinds of evaluation: positive, where the listener shows his approval, and negative, which reflects the listener's disapproval.

5.3 Exchanges

An exchange refers to the transfer of the speaker's role from one participant to another. Coulthard and Montgomery (1981, 99) define an exchange as "the unit concerned with negotiating the transmission of information". Grenoble (2000, 9) thinks that an exchange is the basic unit of interaction. It is basic because it consists minimally of contributions by two participants which combine to form the largest unit of interaction, viz. the transaction. There are two types of exchange: Boundary and Teaching. Boundary exchange is said to be achieved when the speaker is in charge of the event. This kind of exchange is framing exchange. As for Teaching exchange, it is divided into: Free, which is sub-divided into: informative, elicit, and directive, and Bound exchange, which is so called because it is bound to a preceding exchange.

5.4 Transaction and Interaction

Transactions have a structure expressed in terms of exchanges. That is, exchanges are combined to form transactions. There are two types of transaction, namely informing, and eliciting. Transactions combine to form the highest unit on the rank, scale of discourse, viz. "interaction". So, "interaction" may be described as an unordered series of transactions.

6. Data Analysis:

The following is the analysis of data:

6.1 Moves:

6.1.1 Framing Move:

It is realized by a marker followed by a silent stress. This is clearly seen in the following excerpt in which the speaker is asking another person whether he has gone to university or not:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	hæ:	M	h
	^	Silent stress	q
	ʔilaʔit ʔadzamiʔa (?)/	el	
	Have you gone to university?		

The structure of the framing move with its elements and classes of acts is shown in the following diagram:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Acts
head qualifier	Hq	h: marker q: silent stress

Diagram (2)
The Structure of Framing Move

The first column in the diagram shows that framing move has two elements of structure: 'head' and 'qualifier'. The next column functions as a statement of the possible structure of this move, i.e. 'hq', so this formula reads:

"There should be a head and a qualifier in the framing move" As for the third column, it presents the elements of structure of the framing move that are associated with classes of the rank next below, i.e. act, because each element is realized by a class of acts. Thus, the element "h" is chosen from the class of acts called "marker" whereas the element "q" from "silent stress".

6.1.2 Opening Move:

6.1.2.1 Informative move:

The informative move has a core element of this, the head, which is called informative. These elements realized in the form of statement by the speaker to pass on or provide a certain piece of information to the listener(s). This can be seen in the following extract where the speaker informs his sister of a match which will be displayed on TV later on that night:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	baʕad saʕa tibdiilmubæramælfiraq wʕumæn	i	h
	An hour is left to Iraq Vs. Oman match to start.		

Sometimes (informative) may be preceded by a starter. This can be seen in the following extract where the speaker is talking about what happened with him that day:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	læ:waʕla ʔahlaʕi:	s	Pre-h
	ʔljɔ:m ʔustæð(.....) hitʕ ʔalamu:dluy ʔa ʔa miʕlæwi (.) jaʔnilahdzamiʕlæwiwbydædi (.) gælbydædli ʔjgu:n milʕaqawhæðadzamaʕa muʕul ʔjgu:lu:n maʕlaqa (....) /	i	h
	Let me tell you something interesting. Today Mr. (....) has talked about Mosuli and Baghdadi dialects. He said that in Baghdadi dialect the word “spoon” is uttered in a way different from that in Mosuli....)		

The following diagram presents the informative move structure together with the elements of structure and the classes of acts involved:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Acts
pre-head head	(pre-h) h	pre-h: starter h: informative

Diagram3
The Structure of Informative Opening

It states that there are two elements of structure, "pre-head" and "head". The next column shows the possible structure of this move, i.e. (pre-h) h. So the formula reads:

- a. There must be a head in each informative opening move.
- b. There may or may not be a pre-head.

In the third column, the elements of the structure of informative opening move are associated with classes of the rank next below, namely act. Thus, "pre-head" is selected from the class of act called "starter"; while the element "h" is realized by "informative".

6.1.2.2 Directive Move:

This type is shown in the following diagram where the speaker orders the listener to get ten in the examination and not nine.

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	læzim ^ə afra (,) mə tis ^ə a/	d	h
	You should have the full mark (ten) and not nine.		

The structure of the directive move with its elements and classes of acts are clearly presented in following diagram:

Elements of structure	structure	Classes of Acts
Head	h	h: directive

Diagram4
The Structure of the Directive Opening Move

6.1.2.3 Elicitation Move:

This type of move is clearly shown in the following excerpt where the speaker is asking another person about his achievements on that day:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	hæ:	m	S
	^		
	ʔilaʔit ʔadʔdʔamiʔa (?)/	el	h
	Have you gone to university?		

The structure of the elicitation move with its elements and classes of acts is presented in the following diagram:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Acts
Signal Head	(s)h	s : marker h: elicitation

Diagram 5
The Structure of Elicitation Opening Move

The diagram indicates that there are two elements of structure, which are called "marker" and "elicitation". The next column shows a statement of the structure. Thus the formula reads as follows:

“There must be a "head" but there may or may not be a "signal" in the elicitation move.”

In the third column, the elements of structure are associated with the classes of the rank next below. So the element "s" is chosen from "marker" and "h" from "elicitation".

6.1.3 Answering Move:

6.1.3.1 Acknowledge:

Acknowledgment is manipulated by expressions like mm-hmm, O.K., yeah, etc. Sometimes, the listener may complete the speaker's sentence. This kind of acknowledgement is called sentence completion and it is clearly seen in the following excerpt where the listener completes the speaker's sentence:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	(...) ?e: ?aw ?igu:lu:nʔaʕe:t bilbaydædli-/		
B:/	?inte:t /	Ack	h
	I gave (in another way of pronunciation)		

6.1.3.2 Reply:

Reply is the reaction of the listener to the speaker's elicitation. Let us look at the following example where the addressee presents an immediate reply for the speaker's question whether he has gone to university or not:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	?i: rihtʕadʒdʒamiʕa/	rep	h
	Yes, I have gone to university.		

Sometimes, the addressee may present with his reply a comment clarifying a certain point or topic more clearly. This is presented in the following extract where the speaker is asked whether he can watch a match or not:

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	wallaæni gilt ?aruʔ ?anæm (,)	rep	h
	batʃirʕndidawæm/	com	post-h
	I have decided to go to bed. Tomorrow, I have lectures.		

6.1.3.3 React:

A react can be linguistic or non-linguistic action. This is presented in the following diagram as the speaker directs the addressee to get a full mark in the exam.

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	læzim ^ə afra (,) mæ tis ^ə a/		
	You have to get ten not nine.		
B:/	ʔe: / (OK.)	rea	h

The structure of the answering move and its elements together with the classes of acts are clearly presented in the following diagram:

Elements' of Structure	Structure	Classes of Acts
head post-head	h (post-h)	h: choice from acknowledge, reply and react. post-h: comment

Diagram 6
The Structure of the Answering Move

The diagram shows that there are two elements of structure: "head" and "post-head". The next column gives a statement of the possible structure of this move. So, the formula reads:

- a. There must be a "head" in each answering move.
- b. There may or may not be a "post-head"

In the third column, the elements of structure are associated with the classes of the rank next below, i.e. act. Thus, the element "h" is chosen from "acknowledge", "reply" or "react" and "post-h" from "comment".

6.1.4 Follow-up Move:

The following extract is an example of the follow-up move. The listener makes a negative evaluation of what the speaker has said, namely when the speaker told him that he had not attended the examination.

		Classes of Acts	Elements of Structure
A:/	ʔælhilu	e	h
	Good		

The structure of the follow-up move with its elements and classes of acts can be presented in the following diagram:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Acts
head	h	h: evaluate

Diagram7
The Structure of the Follow-up Move

6.2 Exchanges

6.2.1 Informing Exchange:

This type of exchange is shown in the following extract where the speaker is informing another person of a match which will be displayed later on that night.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	baʕad saʕa tibdiilmubæramæɫʕiraq wʕumæn	i	informative	I
	An hour is left to the Iraq Vs. Oman match			
B:/	ʔi: / (Yes)	ack	Answering	R
A:/	jaʕnitigdari:nittabʕi:ha (?)/	el	Elicit	I
	Are you going to watch it?			
B:/	waɭɭaæni gilt ʔaruħ ʔanæm (,)	rep	Answering	R
	batʕirʕndidawæm/	com		
	Actually, I decided to go to bed. Tomorrow I have lectures.			

On the other hand, the speaker may present a starter before the informative. This is seen in the following excerpt where the speaker is telling another person something which he, the speaker, regards interesting.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	læ:waʃla ?ahlaʃi:	s		
	?ljɔ:m ?ustæð (.....) hitʃ ?alamu:dluy ?a ?a miʃlæwi (.) ja?nilahdzamiʃlæwiwbydædi (.) gælbydædli ?jgu:n milʔaqawhæðadzamaʔa muʃul ?jgu:lu:n maʔlaqaʔe: ?aw ?igu:lu:nʔaʔe:t bilbaydædli-/	i	informative	I
	Oh , Today our teacher Mr. X talked about Mosuli and Baghdadli dialects. He stated that in Mosul dialect the word "spoon" is uttered in away different from that in Baghdadli or the word "give"			
B:/	?inte:t / (give/in another way of pronunciation"	ack	answering	R

The structure of informative exchange and its elements together with the classes of move are presented in the following diagram:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Moves
Initiation Response	1 (R)	I: Opening: informative R: Answering

Diagram 8
The Structure of Informative Exchange

The diagram shows that there are two elements of structure, namely "initiation" and "response". The next column gives a statement of the possible structure. Thus, this formula reads:

- a. There should be an initiation in each informative exchange.
- b. There may or may not be a response in this type of exchange.

The third column shows the elements of structure that are associated with the rank next below; i.e. move. Thus, the element "initiation" is chosen from an "opening move" (namely 'informative') and "response" from "answering".

6.2.2 Eliciting Exchange:

This type of exchange is clearly presented in the following excerpt where the speaker is asking her brother if he has gone to university.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	hæ: (Well)	m	elicit	I
	^			
	ʔilaʔit ʔadʒdʒamiʔa (?)/	el		
	(Tell me what have you done today?)			
B:/	ʔi: rihtʔadʒdʒamiʔa/ (Yes. I have gone.)	rep	answering	R

Sometimes, there may be a feedback after the response. This can be seen in the following extract where the speaker asks her brother what he has done at university.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	ze:nɪfsawwe:twɪfmæswwe:tdihtʃi:lija - /	el	elicit	I
	Ok. Tell me what have you done today?			
B:/	bætʃɪrʔdnaimtiha:ne:nwænibaʔad lihdilænkulʃimæmhɔdɹ - /	rep com	answering	R
	Tomorrow I have to exams. Yet, I studied nothing.			
A:/	ʔælhɪlu (Great!)	e		F

The following diagram is a presentation of the elicit exchange together with its elements and classes of move:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Moves
Initiation Response feedback	I R (F)	I: Opening : elicitation R: Answering F: Follow-up

Diagram 9
The Structure of the Eliciting Exchange

The diagram shows that there are three elements of structure: "initiation", "response" and "feedback". The next column gives a statement of the possible structure. Thus, this formula reads:

- a. There should be an initiation followed by a response in each elicit, exchange.
- b. There may or may not be feedback in this type of exchange.

As for the third column, it demonstrates the elements of structure that are associated with the classes of the rank next below, i.e. move. So the element "initiation" is chosen from the "opening" move (in particular 'elicitation'), 'response' from 'answering', and 'feedback' from 'follow-up'.

6.2.3 Directing Exchange:

This type of exchange appears in the following extract where the speaker commends the listener to get a full mark.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	læzim ^ə afra (.) mæ tis ^ə a/	D	directive	I
	You have to have full mark, i.e. ten not nine.			
B:/	?e: / (OK.)	Rea	answering	R

Sometimes, there may be a feedback after the response. This is clearly shown in the following excerpt where the speaker orders the addressee to tell him what he has done:

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Elements of Structure
A:/	dihtʃi:lijæ - / (Common, tell me)	d	directive	I
B:/	bætʃiɹˈdnaimtiħane:n(...)	rep	answering	R
	Tomorrow, I have two exams.			
A:/	ʔælhilu (Great)	e		F

The following diagram implies the structure of directing exchange with its elements and classes of moves:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Moves
Initiation Response Feedback	I R (F)	I: Opening : directive R: Answering F: Follow-up

Diagram10
The Structure of the Directing Exchange

The diagram shows that there are three elements of structure: "initiation", "response" and "feedback". The next column gives a statement of the possible structure. Thus, this formula reads:

- a. There should be an initiation followed by a response in each direct exchange.
- b. There may or may not be feedback in this type of exchange.

As for the third column, it demonstrates the elements of structure that are associated with the classes of the rank next below. Hence, the element "initiation" is chosen from the

"opening" move (i.e. 'directive'), 'response' from 'answering', and 'feedback' from 'follow-up'.

6.3 Transaction

The analysis shows that a transaction has a medial exchange which may or may not be preceded or followed by terminal exchange. Two types of transactions have appeared throughout the analysis, namely informing and eliciting.

The informing transaction exists in the following exchange extract where the speaker is informing another person of what he has done on that day.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Classes of Exchanges	Elements of Structure
A:/	ʔe: (Yes)				
B:/	iljɔ:mimtahanuwtraænima: : tʃintmawju:d/	i	informat ive	informing	M
	Today, we had an exam, but I didn't have it.				
A:/	Imtahanʃahrijaʕni (?)/	el	elicit	elicit	M
	Do you mean monthly exam?				
B:/	faʃli ʔi: faʃli (monthly exam)	rep	answeri ng	response	
A:/	ze:nimtaħannuʃsannaifwa kit (?)/				
	Ok. When will you have mid-year exam?				
B:/	faʃliillitʃæ:nʕdnailjɔ:m/	com	answeri ng	response	
	Today we had a monthly exam.				
A:/	mæ: ʕdkumnuʃsanna (?)/				
	Don't you have mid-year exam?				
B:/	gæ:lulæ: tʔdʒdʒalt(,)faʃliʕdna/				
	We are told that mid-year exams are postponed.				
A:/	gæ:lu maʕdkumnuʃsanna ʃudugiljɔ:mraʔi:silqsimhm hitʃ(,) –	com	answeri ng	response	
	You have no mid-year exams!! Oh yes! Today the head of the department told us the same.				
B:/	ʔintuhmme:n (?)/ (You too?)	el	elicit	elicit	M

As for the eliciting transaction, it is present in the following extract where the speaker is asking the addressee if he has examined as well as asking him about his answer.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Classes of Exchanges	Elements of Structure
A:/	?imtaħantuijɔ:m (?)/	el	elicit	elicit	M
	Did you have exam today?				
B:/	?e: / (Yes)	rep	answering	response	M
A:/	ʃlɔndzawabit (?)/ (How was your answer?)				
B:/	ilħamdulilla/ (good)				
A:/	ja?niʃgdtaxuð (?)/ (what do you think your mark will be?)				
B:/	tisʔa ʔaʃra (,) hitʃi/ (nine or ten)				
A:/	læzimʔaʃra (,) mæ tisʔa/ (it must be ten)	d	directive	direct	

Sometimes eliciting exchange may be preceded by a boundary exchange. This boundary exchange is realized by a 'framing' move (realized, in turn, by a 'marker'). This is present in the following extract where the speaker is asking the listener whether he has examined in any other subjects or not.

		Classes of Acts	Classes of Moves	Classes of Exchanges	Elements of Structure
A:/	ze:n (Well)	m	framing	Boundary:f rame	T
	^				
	mæ:ʔadaalingliziʃimtaħantu (?)/	el	elicit	elicit	M
	I addition to English, what exams have you had?				
B:/	kulʃimæ: imtaħanit/ (nothing)				

The structure of the two types of transaction that appeared in our analysis and its elements of structure as well as the classes of exchanges are shown in the following diagram:

Elements of structure	Structure	Classes of Exchanges
Medial Terminal	M (T)	M: Teaching T: Boundary

Diagram11

The Structure of the Different Types of Transaction

The diagram shows that there are two elements of structure, called "Terminal" and "Medial". The next column is a statement of the structure of transactions, so the formula reads:

- a. There must be one or more medial exchanges in each transaction.
- b. There may or may not be terminal exchanges that may precede or follow the medial exchanges.

The third column shows how the elements of structure are associated with the classes of the rank next below, i.e. exchange. Thus, the element "Terminal" is chosen from "boundary", while "Medial" is chosen from "teaching exchange".

7. Conclusion:

This study has investigated some systematic features of language use, which are related to the structure of bilingual families' discourse. The researcher has used discourse analysis as a method for studying bilingual families' discourse. Having adopted Sinclair and Coulthard's model (1975), the researcher has analyzed the structure of bilingual conversations with the aim of recognizing the discourse patterns and strategies that are used by the members of the bilingual families, under research, during conversation. The analysis results support the hypothesis

and it assures that bilingual family discourse is structured and is highly constructed.

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