Investigating The Code Switching Phenomenon In Private Medical Workplaces: A Case Study Of Some Private Hospitals In Saudi Arabia

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Abstract:

This study investigates the use of code switching by the employees of Saudi private Hospitals from a socio-cultural perspective. The aim is to explore the motivations behind code switching practices in this multilingual medical workplace and the functions of code switching in spoken interactions taking place in those hospitals. The study sample includes25 participants; doctors and nurses from different Arabic and Asian countries. The researcher uses the qualitative method to analyze the study data which is collected through observations and individual semi-structured interviews. The findings revealed that the workers in the multilingual private hospitals in Saudi Arabia tend to code-switch for personal reasons, institutional reasons, linguistic practices, socio-biographical reasons, or emotional necessity. Moreover, this study revealed that the most important functions of code switching in private Saudi hospitals are to facilitate communication among participants, to provide emphasis about something, to repeat in order to clarify, to fill lexical gaps, or deliver the message fast when they use switching.

Keywords: Code switching, multilingualism, multilingual environment, private medical workplace, Saudi Arabia.

1. Introduction:

The linguistic phenomenon which is known as a mixture of varieties is widely observed in multilingual workplaces (Alhamami, 2019). One may speak different varieties of one language and this is due to language changes (Hamed, 2020). A variety of language, or as it is linguistically termed as a code, denotes a language, a dialect or an accent. In a sense, a code or a variety is a set of linguistic items which share similar social distribution.

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This definition is provided by Hudson (1996) who rightly associates codes with their social settings, and states that a variety can be a language, a dialect, and a register. Therefore, when a speaker in a multilingual workplace switches between languages, dialects, and registers, the result is a mixture of varieties or codes. That is, the process that the speaker alters or switches between two codes or varieties is known as code switching (Hudson 1996).

The process of code switching, sometimes referred to as code mixing, is a common type of the mixture of varieties. Some scholars usually tend to create distinctions between code switching and code mixing as they view code switching as an intentional alteration between codes while code mixing is an unintentional alteration between codes. Yet the two terms can ultimately be used to describe the same phenomenon as both terms denote hybridisation of linguistic unitsor even two or more languages.

The phenomenon of alteration between codes is the direct outcome of many factors and has different consequences. Much importantly, this phenomenon is not an arbitrary one but a systematic process that can be investigated as a reflection of the speaker's cognitive mechanisms and social constructs (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Significantly, the phenomenon of code switching has long been investigated within the scope of educational context or for educational purposes. It has rarely been investigated in the workplace, especially in healthcare environments. Therefore, it is urging to study this phenomenon in the healthcare environment and highlight its motives, emotional and attitudinal effects with the aim to improve the communication process in the healthcare settings. The point is that any attempt to understand the causes and consequences of the alteration of codes will ultimately help in bringing about effective interventions. Moreover, it will hopefully improve the quality of communication in healthcare workplaces.

This study is motivated by many factors including that most of the studies of code switching have been limited to the educational environments. Moreover, such studies seem to be inadequate when looking at their samples and methods. An evident to this is that there are few published studies on code switching and, much significantly, the alteration of codes is not their primary objective. Besides, the alteration of code switching in healthcare environment has received a very limited attention from researchers. In a similar context, the Western studies that deal with the idea of code switching have focused on multilingual immigrants and students, and none of them, as far as the researcher is concerned, has investigated the phenomenon in a healthcare workplace.

The healthcare workplace is a nice research environment where workers and physicians from different parts of the world meet and work in a multilingual setting. This multilingual setting is a nice environment for code switching. Therefore, this study is a real and valuable addition to the existing knowledge on alteration of codes in general and code switching in healthcare environments in particular. Besides, this phenomenon has not been investigated in Saudi private hospitals. The task of this study is to fill the research gap by investigating the phenomenon of code switching in Saudi private hospitals. It presents the motivations and functions behind the code switching in Private Saudi hospitals.

2. Problem Statement:

Saudi Arabia is a country where people of different nationalities stay. It is a favourable destination for many people who seek work or refreshment. This has created a multilingual environment where people who speak different languages meet and interact. At times, those who speak more than one language prefer to switch from one language to another. There are many reasons for doing so, and such reasons

Many doctors and nurses from different countries work in Saudi private hospitals. These doctors and nurses often speak more than one language. In a similar context, Saudi doctors and nurses speak more than one language other than their mother tongue. They often tend to switch from one language to another during their conversations at their workplaces. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the motivations for the code switching in Private Saudi hospitals and the functions of code switching in their spoken interactions.

3. Research Questions:

This study is an attempt to answer the following:

1.   What are the motivations behind the phenomenon of code switching taking place in Saudi Private hospitals?

2.   What are the functions of code switching in spoken interactions in Saudi Private hospitals?

4. Research Objectives:

This research is an endeavour to achieve the following objectives:

1. To know the motivations behind the phenomenon of code switching taking place in Saudi Private hospitals.

2. To investigate the functions of code switching in spoken interactions in Saudi Private hospitals.

5. Research Significance:

Healthcare workplaces are multilingual settings where doctors and nurses from different nations meet and interact. They often tend to switch between two or more languages during their conversations. This phenomenon, and the motivations behind it, has not been investigated. Moreover, there have been a limited number of researches on the phenomenon of code switching. These researches have been limited to investigating the problem within the boundaries of education. In this respect, the phenomenon of code switching is rarely investigated in healthcare environments.

6. Methodology

This study follows the descriptive approach which investigates, describes and analyses the most possible causes of the phenomenon. This qualitative nature of the study allows for a detailed explanation of the problem being studied. The researcher purposively selects a sample that includes 25 participants (10 doctors and 15 nurses) working in 5 Saudi private hospitals. The data is collected through observation which is followed by interviews. Moreover, the findings related to each question are separately presented and discussed.

7. Literature review:

The alternation of codes, or in a better sense, the use of code switching in workplaces, is an important area of study. This is due to the fact that studies on this phenomenon investigate people's use of languages in real-world situations (Weber and Horner 2017). The existing knowledge of this phenomenon has presented different terms like 'mixture of language varieties', 'codeswitching', 'mixture of varieties', 'codemixing',

'language alternation', and 'language mixing'. These terms are applied to denote the alteration of language varieties that include languages, accents, dialects, and styles) within a particular context. Thus, these terms will be used in the present research since they describe linguistics switching processes in conversations (Hudson 1996).

Historically, the notion of code switching dates back to the 1950s. During those years Weinreich theorized about language contact by saying that "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation …, but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (Woolard, 2004). However, Weinreich's definition of code switching ignores the switches inside sentences. Around thirty years later, Grosjean (1982) provided a broader definition of code switching as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation". Other scholars like Muysken (2000), Auer (1984), Myers-Scotton (1993), Woolard (2004), and Gardner-Chloros (2009) have also followed Grosjean's definition of code switching. They have respectively defined it as the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event, the alternating use of more than one language, the use of two or more languages in the same conversation.

A more clear and advanced definition of code switching was provided by Gumperz (1982) who stated that code switching is the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. This definition paved the way for many other scholars, like Bailey (2007), Gafaranga (2007), Cantone (2007), and Holmes & Stubbe (2004), who used it, and at times, referred to itwith little modification. Such scholars preferred to use the term 'language' instead of Gumperz's 'grammatical system'. Other scholars like Woolard (2004) used the term 'language varieties' to describe the phenomenon of code switching. According to her, code switching denotesan individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange. But the term code switching can also indicate the activity of moving back and forth between two languages, registers or dialects of the same language(Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

It is urging to mention that code switching has two types as it is shown in Figure (1) below.

Figure (1): Types of code switching
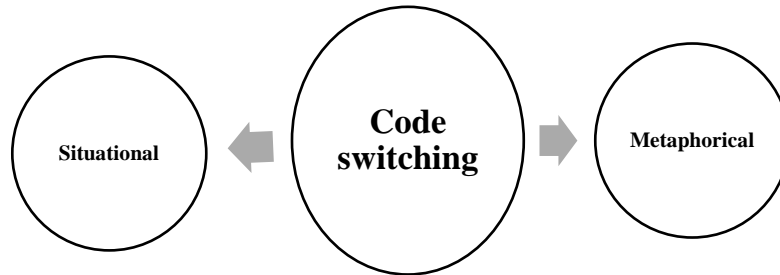
*Designed by the researcher.

The situational code switching according to Blom&Gumperz (1972) refers to the existence of a direct relationship between language and the social situation. On the other hand, the metaphorical code switching denotes a relationship between speakers and it effectively enriches a situation, thus enabling the speaker to create allusion to more than one social relationship within the same situation (Ibid). In this respect, the situational code switching is used to invoke something which is directly mentioned in the interaction, while the metaphorical code switching is quite the opposite (Weber & Horner, 2012).

Despite the fact that different definitions have been presented for the phenomenon of code switching, the use of the above mentioned terms will help readers to develop an overall understanding of the phenomenon. The researcher basically uses the term code switching as it better describes the process of codes alteration in multilingual workplaces.

Scholars have used various theoretical models to describe the phenomenon of the mixture of codes, the most important of which are those adopted by (Myers-Scotton1993),(Brown and Stephen 1987), (Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973), and (Gumperz 1982).These studies are closely relevant to the subject of the current study in the sense that they investigate the phenomenon of codeswitching. That is, Myers-Scotton (1993) investigates social motivations for codeswitching which is an important part of our present study, Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis (1973) focuses on speech accommodation between bilinguals, while Gumperz (1982) focuses on the inferential and interpretive processes in bilingual communication. However, there is a point of difference represented in the fact that our current study focuses on more motivations for codeswitching than those dealt with in Myers-Scotton (1993). It investigates personal, socio-biographical, linguistic, institutional and emotional motivations. Overall, scholars used the markedness model, politeness theory, communication accommodation theory, and interactional sociolinguistics respectively. Moreover,

researches on code switching have relied on different tools for data collection. These tools include audio and video recordings, observations, interviews, questionnaires, etc.

Bager-Charleson et al. (2017) conducted a study on language switching, and he used interview and survey methods for data collection. The study reflected that language switching is more significant in interviews. It should be noted that the bulk of researches on code switching reflects the researchers' preference of the qualitative method. This is due to the fact that this method provides a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Moreover, it allows researchers to present the perspectives of the sample members with more details than quantitative analyses. In the same context, it helps researchers to better understand the mixture of language varieties, taking into account that code switching is both a conscious and unconscious process which makes the qualitative method the best choice. Communicators may or may not be aware that they have switched between languages, accents, or dialects in a conversation (Wardaugh, 2006).

It is noteworthy to indicate that the phenomenon of code switching is the outcome of different motives. In this respect, Bullock and Toribio (2009) mentioned filling linguistic gaps and achieving conversational aims as nice examples. Other scholars like (Gumperz, 1982) and (Kachru, 1978) respectively listed using quotations and targeting specific individuals in groups, and showing identity as motives behind the alteration of codes. An important study in this regard was conducted by Dewaele (2013) who examined the language preferences for emotions in multilingual workplaces. The sample included 1569 multilingual speakers. Significantly, Dewaele's study showed that the phenomenon of code switching occurred more frequently in case participants tended to talk about personal or emotional topics. This indicates that speakers undoubtedly prefer to code-switch when they tend to express their emotions quickly. Therefore, the alteration of varieties becomes acceptable in case the speaker finds it more effective to express his emotions in another code which has stronger pragmatic effects.

Some scholars believe that code switching sometimes occurs for religious reasons. In this context, a study was conducted by Harmaini (2014) to find out the motives behind the use of Arabic words by Muslim native English speakers. It significantly showed that the most important motive behind Muslim native English speaker's use of Arabic words is attributed to their tendency to show their religious identity. Apart from this, many speakers tend to code-switch because of their lack of vocabulary. This was proved by Bouzemmi (2005) who did a research to find out the reasons behind the Tunisians' tendency to switch between Arabic and French when talking about specific topics. The results showed that the reason behind the Tunisians' code switching between Arabic and French when talking about certain topics is attributed to their lack of vocabulary. The point is that Tunisians tend to use French words when talking in Arabic because they lack knowledge of Arabic vocabulary. In this way, the Tunisian speakers feel that French words are easier to recall and more appropriate than Arabic when talking about particular subjects.

The switching of varieties is preferred by many speakers worldwide. The findings of many studies have shown positive attitudes towards this socio-linguistic phenomenon. An example to this is a study conducted by Dewaele and Wei (2014). It is a large-scale study that targeted 2070 multilingual speakers. The researchers used an online questionnaire, and the findings reflected the speakers' positive attitude toward the switching of codes. Besides, the speakers' code switching is associated with certain factors including their personalities, their current linguistic practices and their learning history. But these cannot be the only factors behind the phenomenon. There are other factors, as reported by Dewaele and Wei (2014), which are related to the speakers' social life. It was proved that the participants' code switching is partially

linked to their social interaction with family, friends, and colleagues. The point is that the speakers who lived and worked in a multilingual environment frequently use codeswitching in their daily life conversations. This ultimately reflects that one's multilingual history is a real cause of code switching.

Other studies have suggested that one's emotional necessity can be a cause of codeswitching. An example to this is Dewaele and Costa (2013) which targeted a sample of 182 multilingual speakers from different countries. The researchers designed an online questionnaire and sent it to the participants who underwent therapeutic settings. The findings significantly reflected that the participants tend to use more mixture of varieties than their therapists. Moreover, the frequency of this phenomenon is strongly linked with the speakers' raising of emotional tone. Significantly, the speakers made it clear that code switching enables them to fully express themselves to their therapists. The researchers justified this point by saying that multilingual speakers can greatly benefit from a therapeutic environment where multilingualism is appreciated.

The phenomenon of code switching can be beneficial in certain contexts. It can greatly and effectively help in delivering the message to the receivers, particularly those who lack knowledge of the code in which the message is originally spoken. The point is that code switching, at times, helps in simplifying complex messages and making them understandable. In this context, Thakkar et al. (2016) attempted to simplify messages about coronary heart diseases and making them understandable. They used the code switching method to convert an English text message into Hindi–English hybrid which they call as Hinglish. The results reflected the effectiveness of using this method in developing an understandable mode of communication.

The need for multilingualism has increased over the past few years. This is due to the fact that multilingualism helps in situations where one code may not be sufficient to deliver the message or when a particular code seems to be more effective in making the message easy and understandable. In this regard, Bager-Charleson et al. (2017) emphasized the need for conducting multilingualism training as it greatly helps in understanding multilingual speakers' narratives, particularly those studying psychotherapy courses. Therefore, including personal as well as professional development components in training sessions about multilingualism will ultimately enable learners to realize the effectiveness of multilingualism in their work environment. In this context, some scholars tend to further examine whether training about multilingualism is effective or not. Ortega (2018), for instance, acknowledges the importance of this type of training, thus he strongly supports research that examines whether conducting awareness-raising training about multilingualism may positively affect monolinguals who work in multilingual places. The researcher goes to the extent of saying that one's exposure to many languages may ultimately bring about more democratic values, human empathy, and critical global citizenship.

It can rightly be stated that the phenomenon of code switching appears in a multilingual context. In this respect, it substantially appears in healthcare workplaces where multilingual doctors and nurses work. Unfortunately, this phenomenon has not been given importance in medical research. The point is that it has been exclusively discussed in social science research despite its implications for health workers (Wood, 2018). Some scholars have suggested the collaboration of professional practitioners, social science researchers and applied linguists in investigating healthcare communication in multilingual contexts (Candlin&Candlin, 2003). This type of studies rarely exists because the applied linguist finds difficulty to access to the healthcare environment and conduct such studies. In this list is a study conducted by

Almathkuri (2016) in Saudi Arabia. The researcher examined the phenomenon of code switching as it is practiced by King Abdul Aziz Specialist Hospital's employees. The aim was to explore, from a socio-cultural perspective, the employees' motivation behind their tendency to code switch. The findings reflect that the employees tend to switch between languages as a result of certain cultural norms and beliefs as well as conditions arising from the institutional setting.

As it has been mentioned earlier, numerous linguistic perspectives have extensively investigated the reasons behind the occurrence of code switching. These linguistic perspectives, as per the length of the present research, cannot be applied at the same time. Therefore, the researcher follows one linguistic perspective to examine the functions of code switching performed by the study sample. The selected linguistic perspective is based on Appel and Muysken functional model of code switching (2006). Besides, Hoffman's model of code switching is also adopted. Hoffman (1991) proposed a model which implies ten functions of code switching. This is represented in Figure (2) below.

Figure (2): Functions of Code Switching (Hoffman, 1991)
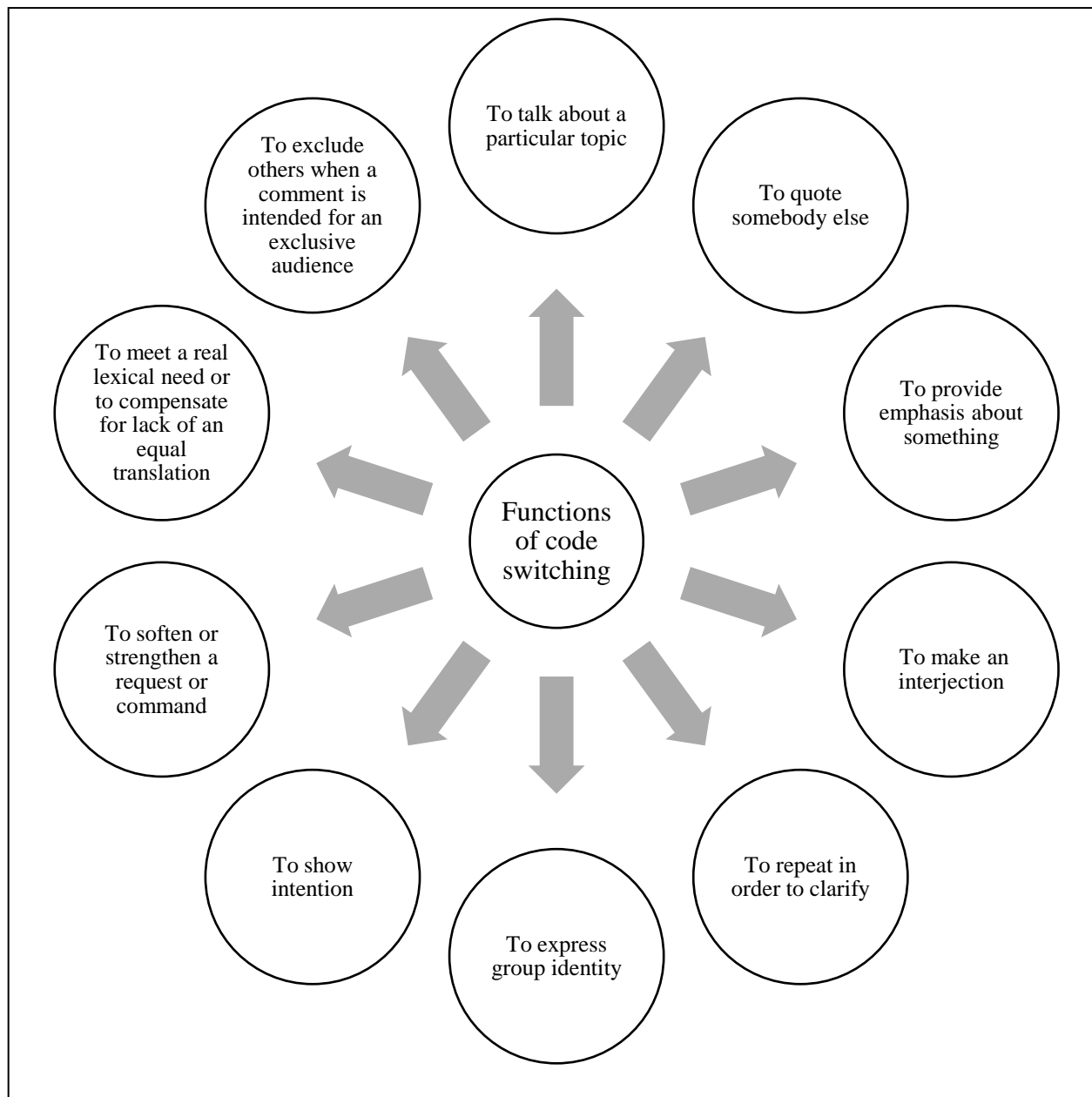
*Designed by the researcher.

The above figure shows Hoffman's model of code switching functions. It implies that people usually tend to code switch when they want to talk about a particular topic, express group identity, quote somebody else, repeat in order to clarify, provide emphasis about something, make an interjection, exclude others when a comment is intended for an exclusive audience, show intention, find a proper vocabulary or compensate for lack of an equal translation, and to soften or strengthen a request or command.

Therefore, there are justified reasons why people in certain situations tend to code-switch. They have obvious and justified purposes, and these purposes differ as per the requirements of each situation as well as the type of interlocutors involved in conversations. This study argues that multilingual doctors and nurses who work at private hospitals in Saudi Arabia often tend to code-switch from one language to another during their work hours. In this respect, this study is an endeavor to examine the motivations behind the code switching and the functions doctors and nurses at Saudi private hospitals seek to achieve when they tend to code-switch from one language to another in formal settings.

8. Findings and Discussion:

8.1. Findings related to the first question of the study "What are the motivations behind the phenomenon of code switching taking place in Saudi Private hospitals?

The findings related to the first question reveal that the motivations for the code switching in Private Saudi hospitals can be categorized into five main categories, namely, personal reasons, institutional reasons, linguistic practices, socio-biographical reasons, or emotional necessity.

8.1.1.   Personal reasons:

This type of code switching occurs when a speaker prefers to use a particular language. In this case, the speaker shifts from one code to another. From the analysis, the switching of codes that occurs as a result of personal reasons has been noticed in two situations. A number of 13 participants were observed shifting from one language to another when talking about personal topics. The participants made it clear that they feel much comfortable when using their mother tongue to speak about personal topics. This result is consistent with Dewaele (2013) that examined the language preferences for emotions in multilingual workplaces. It is applied on a sample of 1569 multilingual speakers. Significantly, Dewaele's study proved that the phenomenon of code switching occurred more frequently in case participants tended to talk about personal or emotional topics. Moreover, a number of 5 participants said that they switch to English language during their conversation because their previous study (undergraduate programmes) was carried out in English language. This result agrees with Dewaele and Wei (2014); a large-scale study that targeted 2070 multilingual speakers. The researchers used an online questionnaire, and the findings reflected the speakers' positive attitude toward the switching of codes. Besides, the speakers' code switching is associated with certain factors including their personalities, their current linguistic practices and their learning history.

8.1.2.   Institutional reasons:

This type of code switching occurs for reasons related to the hospital's regulations. From the analysis, this type of switching of codes has been noticed in two situations; the speaker shifts from English to Arabic

because it is the official language of the hospital, or in case he\she wants to preserve the confidentiality of the patient's information. This is due to the hospital's regulations that insist on confidentiality. Examples to these cases are given from the observations. It has been observed that the participant (P2) code-switches from English into Arabic when realizing that Arabic is the official language of the hospital. The second case has been observed when the participant (P4) switches from Arabic to English when talking with his colleague about one patient. His motive is to preserve the confidentiality of the patient's information since people there do not know English. This result is consistent with Almathkuri (2016) which was conducted in Saudi Arabia, and investigated the phenomenon of code switching as it is practiced by King Abdul Aziz Specialist Hospital's employees. The findings reflected that the employees' motivation behind their tendency to code switch is a result of certain cultural norms and beliefs as well as conditions arising from the institutional setting.

8.1.3. Linguistic Practices:

This type of code switching occurs when a speaker tends to practice a particular language. In this case, the speaker shifts from one code to another in order to practice his or her newly acquired language. From the analysis, the switching of codes that occurs as a result of tendency to practice language has been noticed in five situations. The researcher interprets this point as that the participants have the desire to practice new language (Arabic or English) to improve their proficiency. Moreover, non-Arabic-speaking participants mentioned that sometime they want to use Arabic to practice a second language. In this respect, both Arabic and Non Arabic-speaking participants said Arabic hospital employees sometimes speak in English because the employee would like to improve his English language proficiency. This result is similar, to a great extent, to that found by Dewaele and Wei (2014), which is a large-scale study applied on a sample of 2070 multilingual speakers. One of the most important results of Dewaele and Wei (2014) is that multilingual speakers tend to code switch when they want to practice their newly acquired language.

Apart from this, many speakers tend to code-switch because of their lack of vocabulary. This point was also proved by Bouzemmi (2005) who did a research to find out the reasons behind the Tunisians' tendency to switch between Arabic and French when talking about specific topics. Bouzemmi (2005) found that one motive behind codeswitching is related to the speakers' tendency to practice French, which they feel as easier to recall and more appropriate than Arabic when talking about particular subjects.

In a similar context, the results of the present study shows that Arab doctors use English terms with Arab colleagues because some English medical terms have more than one equivalent term in the Arabic language. They also make it clear that they use English medical terms in their conversation because they do not know the term in Arabic. Besides, some participants said that they use English or Arabic in their conversation because they want to convey the message in the right way due to the low level of proficiency of the listener. A number of 13 participants were observed shifting from one language to another for linguistic purposes.

8.1.4. Socio-biographical reasons:

This type of code switching occurs when a speaker cares about the psychology of patients. In this case, the speaker shifts from the code that is understood by the patient to another code in order not to make the patient know the critical condition of his health. From the analysis, the switching of codes that occurs as a result of socio-biographical reasons has been noticed in three situations. The researcher explains this point as that

the participants tend to switch from Arabic, which is the mother tongue of the patient's, to English in order not to make the patient know the critical condition of his health.   Moreover, Arabic doctors said that when they speak in Arabic and some of non- Arabic colleagues join the speech or conversation, they switch to English because they see it impolite to continue in Arabic A number of 7 participants were observed shifting from one language to another when trying not to make the patient know the critical condition of his health. The participants made it clear that they care about the psychology of the patients.

This result is consistent with Hudson (1996) who rightly associates codes with their social settings, Bullock & Toribio (2009) who views codeswitching as not an arbitrary one but a systematic process that can be investigated as a reflection of the speaker's cognitive mechanisms and social constructs, Blom & Gumperz (1972) who refers to the existence of a direct relationship between language and the social situation, Myers-Scotton (1993) who proves that codeswitching occurs as a result of certain motivations including the social motivation, as well as Dewaele and Wei (2014) who emphasize that codeswitching is closely are related to the speakers' social life.

4.1.5. Emotional reasons:

This type of code switching occurs when a speaker discusses emotional topics. In this case, the speaker prefers to use a mixture of codes, feeling that it would verbalize emotions very quickly. From the analysis, the switching of codes that occurs as a result of emotional reasons has been noticed in one situation. The researcher interprets this result as that the participants tend to switch from English to Hindi, their mother tongue, when talking about homesickness. A number of 6 participants were observed shifting from one language to another when talking about homesickness. The participants made it clear that they feel much emotional when using their mother tongue.

This result agrees with some previous studies like by Dewaele (2013) who examined the language preferences for emotions in multilingual workplaces. Dewaele's study was applied to a sample of 1569 multilingual speakers. One of its significant findings attributes codeswitching to the speakers' tendency to express their emotions. Similarly, Dewaele and Costa (2013) who conducted a study on a sample of 182 multilingual speakers from different countries found that the frequency of codeswitching is strongly linked with the speakers' raising of emotional tone.

Significantly, the participants included in this study are from different countries and they speak different varieties. Table1 and Table 2 below provides information about the participants' nationalities and varieties they speak

Table 1: Participants' nationalities and varieties they speak

Participant	Mother Tongue	Varieties
P1	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P2	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Palestine, English
P3	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Egypt, English
P4	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P5	Nepali	Nepali, Nepglish, English
P6	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish,English, Yemen
P7	Hindi	Hindi, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu

P8	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Sudan, English
P9	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P10	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Jordan, English
P11	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Yemen, English
P12	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P13	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P14	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P15	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Saudi Arabia, English
P16	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Saudi Arabia, English
P17	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P18	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Saudi Arabia, English
P19	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P20	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish, Saudi Arabia, English
P21	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P22	Hindi	Hindi, English, Hinglish, Arabglish, Urdu
P23	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish,English, Saudi Arabia
P24	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish,English, Saudi Arabia
P25	Arabic	Arabic, Arabglish,English, Yemen

Table 2: Types of varieties in the selected Saudi private hospitals

Varieties	Notes
Arabic Language	Modern standard Arabic Arabic dialects based on countries: Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen.
Accents of English	English in South Asian countries: India and Nepal English in Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Egypt, Palestine, Yemen and Jordan.
Hybrid Englishes	Hinglish: a mixture of Hindi and English Nepglish: a mixture of Nepali and English Arabglish: a mixture of Arabic and English

Based on the analysis of the observations and the interviews conducted by the researcher, the motivations for the code switching in Private Saudi hospitals can fall under five categories as it is represented in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The motivations for the code switching in Private Saudi hospitals
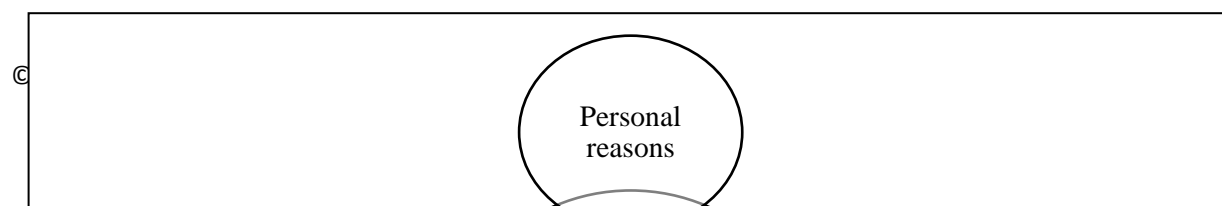
8.2. Findings related to the second question of the study "What are the functions of code switching in spoken interactions in Private Saudi hospitals?"

This question, which focuses on the functions of code switching in spoken interactions in Private Saudi hospitals, was investigated through the analysis of the observations and interviews used by the researcher. The analysis revealed that participants resorted to code switching mainly to facilitate communication among participants, provide emphasis about something, repeat in order to clarify, fill lexical gaps, or deliver the message fast. In a number of cases, code switching was situational when participants switched either to Arabic or to English to abandon the topic being discussed since some listeners cannot understand the code. Moreover, the analysis of data reflected that these participants used Arabic, English, or Arabglish to meet the linguistic abilities of the addressee. A kind of support might come from the interviews I conducted with some participants. For instance, in the interview with P1, an Indian doctor, the reason for code switching from English to Arabic is made clear. P1clarified: "I prefer to speak English all the time since it is my second language, but sometimes I feel obliged to use my poor Arabic so I can communicate with the patients" (Interview with P1). Moreover, in the interview with P9, who is also an Indian doctor, he made it clear that the reasons he switched to Arabic when speaking English with colleagues or nurses is because of a lack of Arabic vocabulary. He stated: "I feel comfortable when speaking in English, but sometimes I need to use Arabic, though I am not good at it, in order to communicate with Arab staff and patients" (Interview with P9). In the above two quotes from the interviews with the two Indian doctors the common functions for the code switching is to facilitate the communication among participants. This result agrees with Hoffman's model that views facilitation of communication among participants as one function of codeswitching. Another function of codeswitching, as it is found by this study, is related to providing emphasis about something. Both Arabic and Non Arabic-speaking participants said Arabic hospital employees sometimes speak in English because the employee would like to improve his English language

proficiency. They also said that they codeswitch when they want to make emphasis. This point is closely related to Hoffman's idea of linguistic emphasis.

Another function of codeswitching, as the present study shows, is repetition in order to clarify. That is, the participants tend to codeswitch in order to clarify certain points. This result is significantly similar to that provided by Hoffman's model, according to which speakers tend to codeswitch when they feel that it is effective for clarifying certain points. Filling lexical gaps is another function in this regard. Arab doctors feel that codeswitching is effective in case they speak about some English medical terms which have more than one equivalent term in the Arabic language. Thus, they use English medical terms in their conversation because they do not know the term in Arabic. This point is similar to that proved by Bullock and Toribio (2009) who mentioned filling linguistic gaps and achieving conversational as functions of codeswitching.

Apart from this, codeswitching functions as a means of delivering the message fast. The participants said that they use English or Arabic in their conversation because they want to convey the message in the right way due to the low level of proficiency of the listener. Hoffman earlier suggested this point in his model which highlights the significant role of codeswitching in delivering the message in a fast and effective way. Figure 2 and Table 3 below provide illustrations of functions of code switching in Saudi private hospitals.

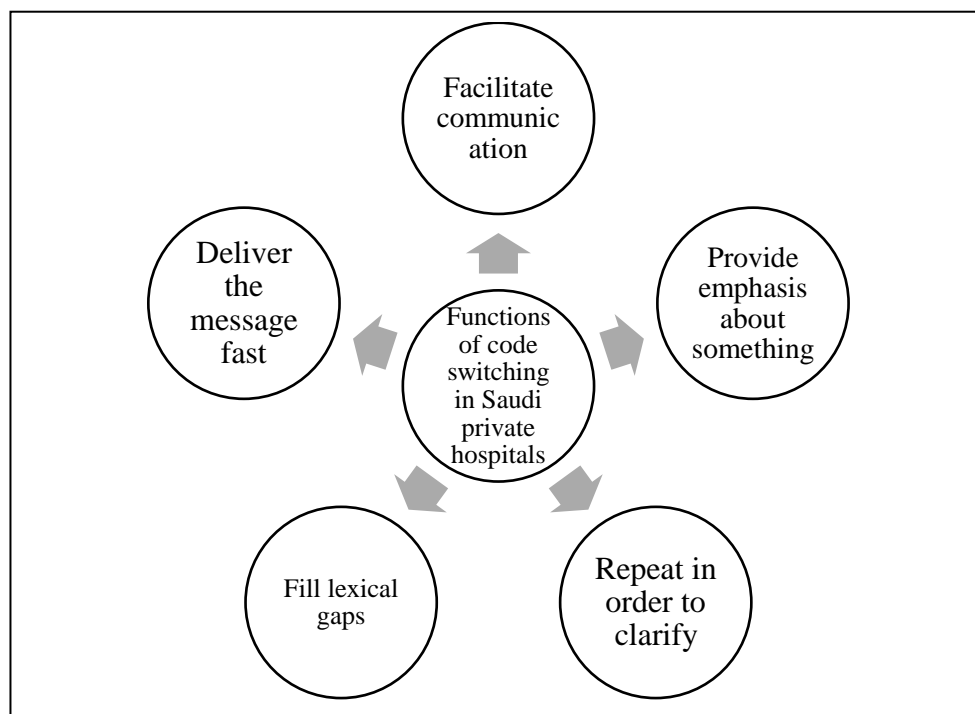**Figure 2: Functions of code switching in private Saudi hospitals**

Table 3: Functions of code switching in Saudiprivate hospitals

Participant	Mother Tongue	Code switching function
P1	Hindi	Facilitate communication
P2	Arabic	Provide emphasis about something
P3	Arabic	Repeat in order to clarify
P4	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P5	Nepali	Fill lexical gaps
P6	Arabic	Facilitate communication
P7	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P8	Arabic	Provide emphasis about something
P9	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P10	Arabic	Fill lexical gaps
P11	Arabic	Repeat in order to clarify
P12	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P13	Hindi	Deliver the message fast
P14	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P15	Arabic	Facilitate communication
P16	Arabic	Repeat in order to clarify
P17	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P18	Arabic	Repeat in order to clarify
P19	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P20	Arabic	Fill lexical gaps
P21	Hindi	Fill lexical gaps
P22	Hindi	Deliver the message fast
P23	Arabic	Fill lexical gaps
P24	Arabic	Deliver the message fast
P25	Arabic	Repeat in order to clarify

Based on the data shown in Figure 2 and table 3 above as well as Hoffman (1991), who proposed a model which implies ten functions of code switching, the most important functions of code switching in private Saudi hospitals are listed below:

1- To facilitate communication among participants.
2- To provide emphasis about something.
3- To repeat in order to clarify.
4- To fill lexical gaps.
5- To deliver the message fast when they use switching.

9. Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal that code switching is a phenomenon that characterizes communication in the multilingual private hospitals in Saudi Arabia. That is, workers in the multilingual private hospitals in Saudi Arabia tend to code-switch for personal reasons, institutional reasons, linguistic practices, socio-biographical reasons, or emotional necessity. Besides, this study revealed that the most important functions

of code switching in private Saudi hospitals are to facilitate communication among participants, to provide emphasis about something, to repeat in order to clarify, to fill lexical gaps, or deliver the message fast when they use switching.

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