

increased social distance abroad that allowed for emotional reaction upon return home. This was particularly true for participants who had gotten used to language and cultural barriers rather than overcome them. For example, Pat recalled a happy epiphany during his first time eating at Burger King after leaving Japan: "I thought to myself, 'I can ask for ketchup!'" The issue of physically "blending in" or "sticking out" also startled some. Linda, as a blue-eyed, fair-skinned woman in Tanzania, described it as "feel(ing) like, you're a rock star" while abroad.

Example M

"You feel like you're a rock star. You get used to being stared at. After getting used to being the center of attention all the time, so when you go home it's hard to get used to NOT being stared at."

Similarly, Susan was made very aware of social class distinction abroad, and had positive, subtle emotional responses upon re-entry to realizing these were no longer concerns that needed to severely affect whom she felt allowed to interact with.

III. Perceptive Lingerings

Many returnees, from both developed and developing countries, described feeling "overwhelmed" back home in certain environments. Pat labeled himself as feeling "ADD" (i.e. as if he had Attention Deficit Disorder.) His experience in Japan was in a large, bustling city, but being back in an English speaking environment where he could once again understand everything from signs and piped-in music to nearby discussions had an unexpected effect on him. He described what happened one day upon meeting a friend for coffee at Starbucks, and mused:

Example N

"I couldn't concentrate on a conversation in a public place because I kept listening to everything around me. It was sensory overload."

Jordan also admitted to now being "easily distracted," describing the feeling as being

Example O

"...like 4th of July every day with fireworks and things to see."

Linda and Jordan each had spent several years living in New York City and Washington, DC., among other places, and had been very used to city life. Yet now crowds, traffic jams and crowded spaces like shopping malls were all causes for feelings of discomfort, where they previously would not have been noticed, been regarded as common nuisances, or

otherwise would have been considered pleasant stimuli, prior to having lived abroad.

Returnees from lesser developed countries commonly discussed the recognition of abundance here in the US, particularly distinguishing new understandings of necessity versus waste, which Father James described as "unbelievable." People had become "creative with what (they) had" and "environmentally conscious" while abroad. They described a new, conscious awareness of not having to turn off generators at night, and being able to use the telephone, watch television or buy products at any time of the day or year. Linda commented:

Example P

"The use of the telephone is amazing. You can call anyone, anywhere, at any time."

They marveled at the number and variety of glasses in their own kitchen cabinets and questioned other people's shopping habits. Linda also remarked:

Example Q

"My mom asked me before Christmas if I was going to buy a new winter coat this year. I just thought, why should I? My old coat still fit and was in perfectly good shape."

Most importantly, they acknowledged that these feelings probably would have been different had they not gone abroad.

Discussion

The lexical lingerings in these discussions seem to merit their own discourse category. They are related to inter- and (less so) intra-sentential code-switching but are missing many of the conditions often associated with code switching. In all cases cited, the participant was talking with an interlocutor who clearly neither spoke the language of the lingering or had any significant experience with the represented culture. In only one example, (D), was there an indicated connection to a change in role, or situational switch (Valdés 1982), when Susan described an episode ordering drinks in the "wrong" language at a restaurant. None of these switches was a deliberate choice, and only (D) was an instance that connoted social identity (c.f. Blom & Gumperz, 1972) or other attempts to emphasize a point. Linda's urge to call "Hodi!" as in (E) or Fr. James' use of "Abunamagio" (F) as a term of endearment could be viewed as an instance of "borrowing" (e.g. Sridhar & Sridhar 1980) because there is no pragmatic equivalent in English. However, most of the other utterances

reported did not have social or lexical meaning outside the semantic field of English.

One pattern visible in the lexical lingerings reported is that all were independent turns, thus examples of inter-sentential code switching (e.g. Nishimura 1997, Martin-Jones 1995), except for the intensifiers, as in (C). As happened in the Blom and Gumperz (1972) study in Norway, all code switching was subconscious and unintentional. However, unlike the Norway study, my participants noticed the lingerings, whereas the Norwegian students yet did not notice when it happened, denied that they would ever do such a thing, and were shocked to hear the recording of their conversation later. Another possibly important difference is that most of the reentrants in my study had not learned these languages until well into adulthood, after moving to the host country, whereas the Norwegian students had essentially been raised bilingual.

Four recurrent themes emerged regarding possible causes for these lingerings: emotional state, the level of acculturation achieved abroad, appreciation for the host country and culture, and sequencing of experiences. Whereas other studies emphasize the importance of the identity of the interlocutor and/or the identity the speaker wishes to project of himself (e.g. Martin-Jones 1995), this did not seem to play a role for my participants, and if anything would seem counterintuitive, as they were trying to blend back into American lifestyles, and their interlocutors would not understand their lingerings.

Emotional responses to a situation seemed to trigger the most lexical and paralinguistic lingerings. Bob regularly identified his experiences with this as occurring when the topic became more "intense" or "interesting," which caused him to "rush ahead" and become "less careful about choosing words." Many of Susan's uses were linked to "positive" feelings, while Linda offered some negative stimuli such as driving in traffic (as in (H)), that caused lingerings to occur "when I'm mad at someone." Many of my own seem to occur at times of confusion or surprise, e.g. "Are?" Fr. James described many occurrences that were emotional reactions, from disagreement to Papua New Guinean style laughter, or "signs of affection." He speculated that

Example R

"they're just cultural expressions that...go right to the heart. They're emotional responses that are given to some sort of (linguistic or paralinguistic) communication."

Another strong factor influencing different lingerings seemed to be the level of acculturation achieved in the host country, that is the degree to which they started to get used to the new culture and lifestyle there (whether or not they actually liked it). Certain behaviors were described

as ultimately feeling "so natural" by many informants. The new ways "got comfortable" and made re-entrants feel that "you should do that" (e.g. as Susan commented regarding elaborate greetings). Pat explained that some behavioral "decisions aren't based on logic; it's just what feels right." This acculturation can result from many factors, from the need to fill communicative gaps to simply the length of time abroad. Regarding time and effort, after one year abroad, Jordan expressed frustration that he "was finally starting to understand how people think; then I had to pick up and leave." Fr. James expanded on this, discussing his motivation and efforts, having "spent so much time trying to be accepted in another culture," and resulting feelings of "isolation from your own culture." He said,

Example S

"Four years creates a certain momentum...I became accustomed to communicating (in their way and had) to an extent appropriated (it) to my own way of being."

One issue that seemed to affect the level of acculturation was the degree to which the participants seemed to appreciate various aspects of their experience, professionally, linguistically or culturally and desired to become a part of the local culture while there (for more than simply convenience.) Many SLA researchers have looked at affective factors such as motivation, which ties into this aspect (e.g. Crookes & Schmidt 1991; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991). The majority of the participants in this study claim to "miss hearing or speaking" the languages, lament having to "resist" certain physical responses, or long to be back in a situation where they "felt like (they were) making a difference," as Jordan did.

Participants seemed in general agreement that they didn't just learn how to go through the motions of the other language and culture, but actually came to like the underlying principles represented. For example, lengthy greeting rituals, which were perceived as tedious by some at first, were considered by multiple respondents to be "so interesting," "so distinct," and "so important." The "affection and love for the people," as Fr. James pointed out, is still credited with affecting thoughts and behaviors, and speaking in the learned language now serves as

Example T

"a way of retouching base with my lovely experience... (and) sort of a mental and psychological consolation in the transition process."

This is somewhat akin to what Lester called "a personal sense of loss and changed sense of self needing to be mourned" upon repatriation

(2001: abstract). The regret at having to leave a part of themselves behind upon repatriation, and subsequently feeling like one doesn't fit in back home anymore is also related to the condition Navarrete Vivaro and Jenkins (1999) called "cultural homelessness."

The final factor that seemed to play a part in lexical lingerings in particular was related to chronological juxtaposition. This was particularly evident in anecdotes of people who moved between several languages and cultures before returning to an English speaking environment in the US. Bob was the quintessential example of this:

Example U

"I've switched from country to country... I always tend to use my last language on the next country. So when I was in Ivory Coast I went on vacation to Spain and people would speak Spanish to me and I'd speak Dioula, the language of northwestern Ivory Coast where I was. Then when I went to...Somalia, people would speak to me in Somali or Italian and I would answer them in French. Then I went to Egypt and people would say something to me in Arabic and I'd answer them with the little few words in Italian I'd picked up in Somalia... I just went on a marketing trip to Thailand and it happened very frequently that somebody would speak to me in Thai and I would answer in Arabic."

Susan observed as well that after relocating from the UAE to Mexico, she occasionally inserted an Arabic word into her speech, then upon returning to the US she noticed Spanish lingerings in her English. Linda recounted an experience the same week as our interview when she had tried to speak in French with a Haitian-American friend with whom she often spoke in French, but the Swahili phrase "*sijui*," or "I don't know," came out. I, somewhat like Bill, (but in less of an immersion situation) have gone back and forth between Spanish-language environments and Japanese environments over the past 15 years or so. I spent many years studying Spanish, then Japanese (including a year at a Japanese university,) at which point Spanish words or word order would occasionally slide into my Japanese speech. Then, while teaching in a bilingual Spanish/English elementary school, Japanese words or endings found their way into my Spanish. Going from that Los Angeles school to Nagoya was another switch that facilitated Spanish lingerings in my Japanese. Now Japanese lingerings – but not Spanish – appear in my English.

I commented once to a friend many years ago, semi-facetiously, that I would accidentally mix up Spanish and Japanese because "my brain was split in two halves: the English half and the everything-else-half." If I needed English, it was not usually a problem, but the rest was all thrown

in to the other side, so you never knew what would come out, but at best it would be what had entered most recently because it was still "on top." Interestingly, many participants' speculations regarding their own idiosyncratic and unintentional language patterns were very similar. There appeared to be a theme of "playing catch-up." Bob speculated,

Example V

"My stupid brain says something like 'this is a foreign language you know a little bit of' so the most recent one pops out instead of the appropriate one..." (Whereas French was clearly his strongest non-English language,) "...I think I was used to speaking the previous language, and even if I wasn't very good at it, I was certainly better at it than the one I'd only been hearing for the last week or the last month."

Linda seemed to agree, observing,

Example W

"My brain was switching into speaking another language and Swahili was the last one I'd spoken in a while."

Summary

This exploration has provided significant evidence that adult, professional expatriates do have difficulty readjusting to life in the US after reentry. These difficulties are cultural, emotional, behavioral and linguistic. There are many situations in which a lingering feature of the host culture's behavioral norms or language will manifest itself subconsciously and unintentionally in the behavior of the repatriot. Question 3 asked if there were any patterns to be deciphered in these behaviors. There were many patterns noted, as I will outline below:

Regarding Question 1: (Upon repatriation, do re-entrants catch themselves unintentionally displaying "foreign" communicative behaviors, either verbal or non-verbal? If so, what are they?)

The data clearly showed many different examples of unintentional verbal and nonverbal lingerings. Linguistic lingerings are evident in lexical insertions, including intensifiers, set phrases, emotional expressions and backchanneling. Paralinguistic features such as body language and intonation were also evident. Many lexical lingerings occurred because they were "handy," some of which also carried connotations that could not be found in English.

Regarding Question 2: (Do these re-entrants ever consider other people's displays of "home culture" communication style to be strange?)

Re-entrants also expressed surprise and uncertainty about how to interact with other Americans upon returning home. Newly accepted (foreign) norms of behavior yielded new expectations for interpersonal interactions. In addition, many returnees expressed emotional responses to changed perceptions of different features of American life, particularly a sense of being overwhelmed and easily distracted.

Regarding Question 3: (If such altered behaviors and perceptions do manifest themselves upon repatriation, what are the re-entrants' beliefs about why this seems to happen?)

According to the participants, these changes appear to be related to the level of acculturation attained while abroad, and many could have a correlation to how much the sojourner enjoyed his time abroad and appreciated the host culture(s) and language(s). The linguistic lingerings often seemed to be displayed in interactions in which there were heightened emotions, such as tension or excitement, and there was a visible pattern discerning which languages lingered at which times, primarily "one step behind," in the chain of international moves made by a person, as Bob noted.

The participants did not indicate a feeling of being unable to identify former (i.e. pre-original move) behavior norms as a cause for readjustment difficulties. On the contrary, many expressed disbelief at the way they used to think and behave, as if to indicate that it was the values, not simply rote behaviors, that had been "replaced" while overseas. The "automaticity" of many behaviors was regularly cited as cause for why they still lingered.

Limitations

Naturally, this is an exploratory study and has many limitations. First, there were only seven participants, of similar cultural and professional backgrounds (although they all went to very culturally divergent countries), so a larger and more varied sample group may yield considerably different—or confirming—results.

Methodologically, although I asked each participant similarly phrased questions in the beginning of the interview, many interpreted them differently, giving me completely different kinds of input that I hadn't previously considered. Some of this was insightful, and it may have proven informative to have a second formal follow-up interview with each person to present these new angles to them and see how they responded. On the other hand, it also added some confusion to the conversation on occasion. For example, as was seen in (I), Fr. James had originally dismissed backchanneling as irrelevant to my study because he had considered it to be "non-verbal," and later corrected me, commenting "well, that's not linguistic," at which point I realized he had thought I was only looking for dictionary-type lexical items.

Similarly, in an attempt to not restrict answers, I deliberately did not offer any of my own experiences as examples to help facilitate recall. This inadvertently allowed for off-topic stories and tangents requiring regular conversational repair, and lessened the number of directly applicable data due to time constraints, etc. (again, as in (I).) Later in most interviews I decided to share some of my own experiences, which were inevitably met with, "Oh! Well if you want to talk about that stuff..." (as Father James remarked), and similar responses. This indicated to me that the objectives of my initial questions were not as immediately obvious as I had thought. In future studies, the approach should be modified to account for—and ideally avoid—such discrepancies.

Of course the methodological question of the validity of self-report must also be revisited. To compensate for potential inaccuracies due most likely to the amount of time lapsed between the actual experience and the interviews, it might be helpful to contact new participants right before their repatriation or very soon thereafter, asking them to keep a journal of their readjustment experiences for several months. This would help close the possible gap between what participants think they do versus what they actually experience. The question would remain whether or not to tell them the specific kinds of details the study would be looking for, so as not to influence their behavior through the power of suggestion and create self-fulfilling prophecies, so to speak.

Future studies also might delve further into the relationship between these lingerings and communicative competence, exploring the effects of L2 on L1 knowledge. This could be approached from the angle of the contexts in which these lingerings happen, analyzing what speech acts and events are most commonly affected and why, since it does not appear that the identity of the hearer has much bearing on whether or not they occur. A comparative study could also look for potential similarities in the communicative lingerings of a group of sojourners returning from the same country (e.g. Japan) and the interlanguage development patterns of Japanese-L1 learners of English.

Conclusion

Some possible implications for foreign/second language instruction can be taken from this. As Fr. James explained:

Example X

"...because speaking in a language is a reflection of a world view, it also affected my thinking patterns."

This is akin to the principle of linguistic relativity (Whorf 1956), particularly by the use of the word "reflection." While there are many people

who have criticized the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in its stronger forms, most would likely agree that a language is a representative symbol of culture, while simultaneously being reinforced by it (Kramsch 1998).

As language teachers, we need to recognize the immeasurable influence that a natural context has on socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic development. Studying how to use a language grammatically is moot if a learner cannot perceive the "world view" that the language reflects. The fact that these "lingerings" occur so automatically in certain patterns and contexts lends credence to the notion that a language must be "felt" to be truly learned. While it would be impossible to instruct students directly on how to respond in every possible scenario, there must be a way to incorporate as much natural, pragmatic stimulus and feedback as possible during instruction. This will be necessary to avoid continued frustration through mere memorization and futile attempts to mechanically apply rules, ideally enabling learners to more naturally acquire cross-cultural communicative competence in their new language.

Laura Sicola is a second-year Ph.D. student in educational linguistics. She is also currently designing curricula and teaching English as a Foreign Language to international students at the University of Pennsylvania's English Language Programs. Her professional and academic interest in SLA led her to spend several years teaching in a bilingual elementary school in Los Angeles as well as several years teaching English and studying in Japan. Research interests in SLA include motivation, teacher education, pronunciation and phonology, the use of multimedia in education, second language pedagogy and authentic assessment.

E-mail: sicola@dolphin.upenn.edu

References

- Adler, N. (1981). Re-entry: managing cross-cultural transitions. *Group and Organization Studies*, 6 (3) 341-356.
- Beebe, L. M., Takahashi, T. & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. Scarcella & S. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence in a second language*.
- Billmyer, K. (1990). "I really like your lifestyle": ESL learners learning how to compliment. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*.
- Blom, J. & Gumperz, J.J. (1972). Social meanings in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In J.J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson.
- Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness. Some universals of language usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, R. (1993). Responding to compliments: A contrastive study of politeness

between American English and Chinese speakers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 20, 49-75.

- Chick, K. (1996) Intercultural communication. In S.L. McKay & N.H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* (329-348). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crookes, G. & Schmidt, R.W. (1991). Motivation: Reopening the research agenda. *Language Learning*, 41(4), 469-512.
- de Bot, K. (1996). Review Article: The Psycholinguistics of the Output Hypothesis. *Language Learning*, 46:3, 529-555.
- de Bot, K. & Stoessel, S. (2000). In search of yesterday's words: Reactivating a long-forgotten language. *Applied Linguistics*, 21(3), 333-353.
- Freeman, R. (2000). Contextual challenges to dual-language education: a case study of a developing middle school program. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 31(2), 202-229.
- Gaw, K.F. (1995). Reverse culture shock in students returning from overseas. Paper presented at the 103rd APA Annual Meeting, New York, NY. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service Number ED394082)
- Hogan, C. (1996). What is the extent of responsibilities of universities to prepare overseas students to return to their home countries? In Abbott, J. and Willcoxson, L. (Eds.), *Teaching and Learning Within and Across Disciplines*, (83-91). *Proceedings of the 5th Annual Teaching Learning Forum, Murdoch University, February 1996*. Perth: Murdoch University. <http://cea.curtin.edu.au/tlf/tlf1996/hoganch.html>.
- Hornberger, N. (1988). *Bilingual education and language maintenance*. Providence, R.I.: Foris Publications.
- Hornberger, N. (1991). Extending enrichment bilingual education: Revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O. Garcia (Ed.), *Bilingual education* (215-234, 311-339). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. & Long, M.H. (1991). *An introduction to second language acquisition research*. New York: Longman.
- Lester, J.C. (2001). *Strangers in their own land: Culture loss, disenfranchised grief and reentry adjustment* [Abstract]. (Doctoral dissertation, Antioch University, New England Graduate School).
- Martin, D. & Anthony, J.J. (2002). *The repatriation and retention phenomenon: Factors leading to a successful program*. Unpublished manuscript, The American University.
- Martin-Jones, M. (1995). Code-switching in the classroom: Two decades of research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages* (pp. 90-111). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matsuda, A. (2000). The use of English among Japanese returnees. *English Today*, 64(4), 49-55.
- Navarrete Vivero, V. & Jenkins, S.R. (1999). Existential hazards of the multicultural individual: defining and understanding "Cultural Homelessness." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 5(1), 6-26.
- Nishimura, M. (1997). *Japanese/English code switching: Syntax and pragmatics*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
- Pollock, D. (2002). *Interaction International website, research bibliography*: <http://www.tckinteract.net/Research.html>.

- Poulisse, N. & Bongaerts, T. (1994). First language use in second language production. *Applied Linguistics*, 15(1), 36-57.
- Pfaff, C. (1979). Constraints on language mixing. *Language*, 55, 291-318.
- Schegloff, E.A. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of 'uh huh' and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing discourse: Text and talk*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Sridhar, S.N., & Sridhar, K.K. (1980). The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code mixing. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 34(4), 409-416.
- Swain, M. (1998). Focus on form through conscious reflection. In C. Doughty and Williams, J. (Eds.), *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Cambridge.
- Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 4 (2), 91-112.
- Valdés, G. (1982). Social interaction and code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish/English alternation. In J. Amastae & L.Elias-Olivares (Eds.) *Spanish in the United States* (pp. 209-229). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Whorf, B.L. (1956). *Thought and reality: selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Edited by J.B. Carroll. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Wolfson, N. (1983). An Empirically Based Analysis of Complimenting Behavior in American English. In Wolfson, N. and E. Judd's (Eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Yoon, K.K. (1992). New perspective in intrasentential code-switching: a study of Korean-English switching. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 13, 433-449.

Appendix A: Participant* Profiles

1. Laura:

Countries lived in: Japan
 Language/proficiency: Japanese/comfortably proficient;
 Spanish/fluent
 Time frame: August, 1999 - July 2001 (2 years)
 Occupation: English teacher

2. Susan:

Countries lived in: United Arab Emirates (2 years), Mexico (4 years)
 Language/proficiency: Arabic/none; Spanish/conversationally functional
 Time frame: 1996 - 2001 (6 years)
 Occupation: English teacher

3. Pat:

Countries lived in: Japan
 Language/proficiency: Japanese/minimally functional;
 French/conversant
 Time frame: October, 2000 - November, 2001 (1 year)
 Occupation: English teacher

4. Bob:

Countries lived in: Ivory Coast, Ecuador, Somalia, Egypt, Thailand, and the UAE.
 Language/proficiency: Standard French and West African Pidgin French/fluent;
 Spanish/comfortable; Arabic/conversationally functional;
 Thai/minimally functional
 Time frame: 1970 - 2001 (30 years)
 Occupation: English teacher

5. Linda:

Countries lived in: Tanzania
 Language/proficiency: Swahili/conversationally proficient;
 French/fluent
 Time frame: June, 2000 - May, 2001 (1 year)
 Occupation: English teacher, Catholic services volunteer

6. Father James:

Countries lived in: Papua New Guinea
 Language/proficiency: Kewa/conversant; Pidgin/fluent
 Time frame: January, 1998 - August, 2001 (3_ years)
 Occupation: Catholic priest/missionary

7. Jordan:

Countries lived in: Zimbabwe, Egypt
 Language/proficiency: Shona/minimally functional;
 Arabic/minimally functional
 Time frame: January, 2001 - December 2001 (1 year)
 Occupation: Administrative worker for group providing assistance to victims of torture

* All names have been changed except for the author's.

Appendix B: Lexical Lingerings

| Category | Utterance ^a | Language | US English Meaning ^b | Literal Translation ^c | Examples |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|
| 1. Intensifier | Kabisa Atrai Lazim | Swahili Arabic Arabic | | really/very very must | "Safi Kabisa." (Very cool. "That was really stupid atrai." |
| 2. Set Phrases (a) With English Equivalent | Blungwunum Una cereza Si No Queue Mm Un-n Usiku muvena Sijui | Kewa Spanish Spanish Spanish British English Japanese Japanese Swahili Swahili | | why a beer yes no line yes no good morning I don't know | "Blungwunum?" "Una cereza." "Si." "No." "Queue up." "Mm. Right." "Un-n, no..." "Usiku muvena." "Sijui." |
| (b) With no fitting lexical equivalent | Hodi Inshala Abunungio Karibu Sinikiza | Swahili Arabic Kewa Swahili Swahili | I'm here/I'm coming God willing (term of endearment) ? Accompany someone out | ? my little son welcome escort | "Hodi! Hodi!" "Inshala, Teacher, inshala." "Ah, abunungio" "Karibu (chair)" - "Have a seat." "Karibu (food)" - "Help yourself." "T'll sinikiza you to the car." |
| 3. Emotional Expressions | Hijole Aram Humditila Safi Dwana Are | Spanish Arabic Arabic Swahili Swahili Japanese | son of a gun, holy cow God forbid; awful Thank god! cool (colloquial!) oh man! Huh? Wait a minute... | | "Hijole, what is he..." "Haram" "Humditila." "Safi Kabisa!" "Dwana" (at another driver) "Are? Where's the ...?" (self talk) |
| 4. Backchanneling | Tayib Yahreit Is it? HeeeEEh? UhhOOOhhh Mmm, mm Ah | Arabic Arabic British English Japanese Kewa Japanese (various) | okay, very good oh (light surprise) Really? Really? disagreement, disapproval uh-huh, yeah oh | a little bit | |

^a As pronounced by participant. ^b As described by participant when translation is not clear. ^c As told by participant.