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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUSS)

Code Switching and Attitudinal Perception

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The degree of Master of Arts/Science

in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language (TAFL)

By

Hossam Ebid

MA TAFL Program

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Code Switching and Attitudinal Perception

A Thesis Submitted by

Hossam Ebid

Submitted to the Department of Applied Linguistics

May 2017

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

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Dedication

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Abstract

One of the results of globalization is that individuals are now more likely using multiple codes to communicate, often switching between them. The purpose of this study is to examine the attitude toward codeswitching (CS) in Egypt as there has limited research conducted in the region, especially codeswitching between the Egyptian colloquial and English. Attitude toward CS was determined using a convenience sample of 40 participants in an Egyptian university community. Half of the participants were Egyptians who had attended international schools prior to university and the other half were international students studying Arabic. Questionnaires, verbal guise tests and follow-up interviews were conducted to assess the listener's attitude toward the speaker. Also examined was if the gender of the speaker affected the attitude of the listener. Results showed that both groups of participants viewed code-switching favorably although they both felt it compromised Arabic. The male who did not code-switch in the verbal guise test was rated the most negatively by both groups. The results did not support the expectations from previous research that code switching would be viewed more negatively. This study provides additional insights about the attitude toward code-switching and supports the suggestion that a code-switched variety of Arabic and English is becoming a widely-accepted variety which thus could be added to Dr. Badawi's (1973) model for describing the intermediate varieties between the high and low varieties of Arabic. Implications for teaching are discussed.

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1. Introduction

1.0 Overview

One of the significant impacts of globalization is that multilingualism seems to be the norm rather than the exception. This has further expanded due to development of the Internet and social media. Now, people of various cultures and languages can communicate and interact. Part of multilingualism is using more than one code (term meaning any language or language variety) in the process of communication. These codes have associations and connotations that have been determined culturally and socially. Because of this, in the process of communication, participants not only evaluate the content of the message but also its delivery and that means making judgments about the individual (Chambers, 2003). Language attitude, an individual's value assessment of language variants sufficiently established to be identified, (Garrett, 2010), are often not directly expressed, but rather formed through public discourse and affected by social, political and economic factors. Investigating attitude is a continuing concern in sociolinguistics as there have been a relatively small number of studies conducted especially in the Middle East. The nature of attitude towards language in particular is unclear in this region of the world. The attitude towards codeswitching (CS) is possibly associated with negative views due to the defense mechanism to protect one's identity, which is not a purely linguistic variable.

Egypt, with its multitude of local and foreign codes and their mixed use, is an apt setting for the examination of language attitudes. Code accessibility is disproportionate among social groups and selection of a certain code choice can be a determining factor for the establishment of one's identity within the community and position of the group within the greater society (Haeri, 1997; K. Walters, 1996, 2011).

1.1 Context of the Problem

Languages and Language Ideologies in the Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East is rich in linguistic complexity due to the various local and foreign varieties. Standard Arabic (Fus'ha) is the official language of most countries in the region, yet it is a predominantly a written language that is rarely spoken and generally only learned through formal education. Colloquial varieties are the codes used in daily communication and spoken by the population. Western languages rooted in the colonial past like French and English have increased due to the demands of globalized economies. Diglossic switching between “high” standard Arabic and “low” colloquial Arabic is common along with switching between colloquial Arabic and Western languages. However, much of the research in the region deals with the varieties in isolation.

In terms of Egypt, there have been numerous competing language ideologies throughout its history. The ideology of standardization places a greater value on formalized codes acquired through education like Fus'ha and English, while less value is given to informal varieties like Egyptian Arabic, code-switching and diglossic switching. Politically, Egypt has fluctuated between times of extreme nationalism and Pan-Arabism. During periods on intense nationalism, public figures advocated for the creation of a distinct language to represent Egypt's national character. In times of Pan-Arabism, Fus'ha was focused on as a means to unite the Middle East for the preservation of traditions and resistance to Western cultural imperialism. However, the effectiveness of English as the language of economic power may have weakened Fus'ha, the language of government and public education.

If the diglossic situation has existed in the Arab world for decades, the variation in the characteristics of the language codes is also largely increasing, making the phenomena of

switching between codes widely accepted. Therefore, when code switching occurs between two languages, especially with a universal worldwide language like English, it most probably will be accepted over the years as well. It has been observed that students may still use code switching while speaking with professors or in a professional context. In fact, it seems to be becoming a higher “code” while speaking in formal or informal situations. English has established a significant role in the Egyptian culture, through media such as advertising, TV, and music (Schaub, 2000). This has been intensified even more through the advent of the Internet and Social media. According to Schaub (2000), English use throughout the Egyptian history has been increasing vastly, promising better jobs and perhaps more money to its users. Imhoof (1977), described the initiative motivation towards English as “a kind of national hysteria” as jobs were and still are rewarding to Egyptians who are proficient in English. Also, he described the attitude of Egyptians toward English as a “necessary evil” during the colonization of the Brits but changed to become a “practical vehicle for education” (as cited in Schaub, 2000, p. 235) . The view of Egyptians is also echoed in a study by Abou-Setta (2014) in which the perception of Egyptian university students was examined in terms of the relationship between higher education and employability. These students indicated that English was necessary and in terms of the ability to obtain employment employers weight it more than technical skills. It was also found that students desired to have more preparation in English and communication skills and that was part of the university’s responsibility.

Therefore, for the most part, English has gradually become less restricted to the social context to be used only in schools and universities by its learners, but rather has expanded to using it in “interpersonal functions” with the spoken Arabic to communicate.

Accordingly, at some point in time, Modern Standard Arabic and Educated Spoken Arabic (MSA and ESA) were the highest code in Arabic language after the classic level (the level of the language used in Quran and of Islam religion) (Badawi, 1973). Yet, MSA could be the language of written texts but it is not typically used for conversational purposes and might not be as prestigious if it was used in a conversation (Ibrahim, 2009). Code switching with English was looked down onto as it was the language of a person who lacked the concept of one language or the other and did not reach the mastery level in either. The high variety (H) in this case does not refer to the one that is learned in school representing the standardized, prestigious form of Arabic but rather the variety in which Arabic is mixed with English.

As can be expected, the mixed variety of Arabic and English is no longer used among teenage or university students alone. The exposure to this variety seems to be the norm while watching TV in particular or hearing it in the street. It co-exists side by side with other Arabic varieties within the society and could be emulating the same level or higher than educated spoken Arabic in prestigious terms which also has its syntactic rules according to studies' reports (Bassiouney, 2006). Now, many Arabian countries in the Middle East might use or understand the mixed language even with their various colloquial dialects which are as diverse as the speakers themselves. This mixed language might not give a new insight but shows differences between concepts.

Expanding the Arabic circle throughout the history has created more variations in the language. In the Egyptian context, the Cairene Arabic in particular, have been proposed in the five Arabic levels listed in Badawi's (1973) work.

1.2 Rationale and Research Questions

1.2.1 Rationale

Studies have shown evidence that CS is a grammatical process governed by rules and structures. According to the literature, there are three theories which demonstrate that CS is grammatical and more likely to occur within sentences among bilinguals. These are the two constraints theory, the government principle, and the Myers-Scotton model of matrix and embedded language (as cited in, Bassiouney, 2006).

However, much uncertainty still exists about attitude (Garrett, 2010). Also, there has been limited research conducted on the attitudes toward code switching particularly in the Middle East. The nature of attitude towards language in particular is unclear. However, the previous research in the region suggest that the attitude towards CS is possibly associated with negative views due to the defense mechanism to protect one's identity, and this is not a purely linguistic variable. It seems that focusing on the perspective of two groups (Heritage Speaker (HS) group and Non-Arabic Speaker (NAS) group) who use Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and English codes within the Egyptian society will give a better understanding of the negative and positive views towards CS.

1.2.2 Research Questions

My study seeks to explore the following:

- (1) What is the perception of each group (HS group and NAS Group) toward codeswitching?
- (2) If language cannot be detached from social variables, how does the speaker's gender influence perception toward codeswitching?

1.3 Delimitations

There are many social variables that affect individual's perceptions of one another. These are referred to as language ideologies. On the whole, people perceive language deterministically. This means that when a speaker produces an utterance, the listener automatically makes a value judgement about the speaker. However, codes are spoken by many, when an individual uses one, he/she accesses a matrix known as linguistic indexes. The indexes are complex to determine because they are "associated with several other social meanings, e.g., casualness and vernacularity with masculinity" (Meyerhoff, 2006). For this reason, language attitude could be studied directly (surveys) or indirectly (Matched-guise study). As stated previously, numerous factors exist that influence one's solidarity to a group or community including ethnicity, religion, or social status. However, the focus of this investigation is to determine the attitude towards the CS among people from the selected criteria representing these communities as there are few studies in Egypt examining this aspect (Reigh, 2014). Thus, the results may not be generalized to other populations in Egypt. Yet, examining the language attitude from these two groups is considered a strength of the study as this has not been done in previous research. In addition, this study does not include frequency and situational use of codes or the language itself that is being chosen. Furthermore, the results from the questionnaire may not be representative of participants' actual language attitudes because they may instead offer opinions that they believe are appropriate or expected. However, use of various methodologies through the verbal guise test and follow-up interview will attempt to address this limitation.

1.4 Constructs and specialized terminology with abbreviations

Language Attitudes: “The study of what people think about different linguistic varieties and how those perceptions about language relate to perceptions of attitudes about different users of language” (Meyerhoff, 2006). Operational Definition: individual’s value assessment of language variants sufficiently established to be identified (Garrett, 2010).

Non-Arabic Speaker (NAS): comprised of non-Egyptian tertiary-level students who grew up in predominantly English speaking societies and came to Cairo in order to take Arabic language courses in a university setting

Codeswitching (CS): The alternation between two languages or a varieties of a language in conversation (Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 1998; Wardhaugh, 2010).

Heritage Speaker (HS): “bilinguals who usually come from immigrant and/or ethnic minority backgrounds” (Albirini, 2014). Operational definition: Heritage Speaker is an Egyptian who lives in Egypt but only received his/her education from an English-medium international institution and now is attending university.

H - High: A language variety which refers to the one that is learned in school representing the standardized form of the language (Ferguson, 1959).

L - Low: A language variety which refers to the one that is spoken frequently and not necessarily taught in school (Ferguson, 1959).

Overt Prestige – the status associated with a variant that speakers are aware of and can talk about in terms of evaluation of standardness (Meyerhoff, 2013). Operational: Overt Attitude: individual's language attitude determined through a direct research method such as a questionnaire or interview.

Covert Prestige – a status norm or target that is oriented to without the speaker being aware they are orienting to it (Meyerhoff, 2013). Operational: Covert Attitude: individual's language attitude determined through an indirect research method such as a verbal guise test.

2. Literature Review

2.0 Background/Related Literature

In broad sociolinguistics terms, *code* refers to any linguistic variety used between people for the purpose of communication (Wardhaugh, 2010). This variety could be a pidgin, creole, standard language, dialect, or stylistic variation. Accordingly, people have the choice to use one code over the other. The early studies on codeswitching shed light on Diglossia which had been mostly restricted to a high/low dichotomy view. The high variety (H) refers to the one that is learned in school which represents the standardized, prestigious form of the language. On the other hand, the low variety (L) refers to the one spoken frequently by many. An experimental demonstration of this effect was first carried out by Ferguson (1959). According to him, Diglossia “is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of

the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation” (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009, p.10). However, code switching may be applied in any linguistic variety including the formal/informal and spoken/written forms (Al Masaeed, 2013) while some might argue that the H variety only exists in a written form and not in speech (Al-Kahtany, 1997). The Ferguson view was criticized due to the fact that there is no clear distinction between the H and L varieties that shows a measurable distance between the two. Moreover, Ferguson’s study was focusing on varieties within the same language. Hence, this may have given the Diglossia a narrow perspective but has opened the door for research to explore deeper. In the literature, it is very important to consider Ferguson’s approach of pure H/L to determine variety levels in between called “Intermediate Levels” (Bassiouney, 2009) because speakers tend to shift between the two varieties. With Arabic varieties, the H/L distinction is problematic as studies have shown that many speakers have a prestige L-variety determined by geographical, political and social reasons that impacts speech. In Egypt, this is the Cairene variety (Abdel-Jawwad, 1986, p.58).

Code-switching (CS) refers to using more than one language or a variety of a language in conversation. It could be between sentences (Inter-sentential CS), or within a single one (Intra-sentential CS - sometimes called code-mixing). Code switching could be also categorized into (Situational CS) and (Metaphorical CS). Situational code switching occurs when a change takes

place in the situation while the Metaphorical code switching occurs when there is a change of topic (Llamas et al., 2007; Wardhaugh, 2010).

Although there are many factors affecting the belongingness to a group or a community, such as ethnicity, religion, or social status, this study's concern is to determine the attitude towards the linguistic aspect among people from the selected criteria representing these communities. This aspect has not been studied in Egypt very much (Reigh, 2014).

2.1 - Language Attitudes and Code Choice

Language ideologies which exist in a society affect the individual's value judgment of a specific linguistic variety. This value judgment is referred to as language attitude. When speaking in a particular code, the speaker connects to a large system of associated events, qualities and characteristics, also known as linguistic indexes (Woolard, 2004). To identify the indexes of codes is highly complex. Beliefs can vary for groups within society due social status and individuals can differ in beliefs resulting from personal life experiences although degrees of agreement can exist within a society regarding the associations with certain codes. This agreement can be utilized by speakers in terms of building their identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Researchers' desire to identify what determines a speaker's code choice and how that impacts the development of a speaker's identity formation has led to the establishment of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). CAT has been posed in sociolinguistics to help explain the linguistic and communicative resources employed by a speaker in a speech community to enhance comprehension between members of this community since the main purpose of language is to convey messages between interlocutors and be understood. This

includes the codes available to the member in terms of number and type, i.e. in how many different languages the person is proficient in as well as the awareness of local varieties and dialects of those same languages. Initially termed “Speech Accommodation Theory” from a study by Giles (1973) when it was observed interview participants would modify their accent to sound more similar to the interviewer, this theory was “devised to explain some of the motivations underlying certain shifts in people's speech styles during social encounters, and some of the social consequences arising from them” (Beebe & Giles, 1984, p. 7). In other words, “it originated in order to elucidate the cognitive and affective processes underlying speech convergence and divergence” (Beebe & Giles, 1984, p. 7). It has since been expanded from the determination that accommodation influencing only speech was too narrow of a view. Accommodation also impacts the speaker’s length of utterance, pausing and facial expressions. It was then recognized that accommodation was pervasive and central in communication (Giles, Mulac, Bradac, & Johnson, 1987). As Giles and Coupland (1991) noted, “Each one of us will have experienced ‘accommodating’ verbally and non-verbally to others, in the general sense of adjusting our communication actions relative to those of our conversation partners, and been aware of others accommodating (or failing to accommodate) to us” (p.60).

The definition of accommodation was expanded by Le Page (1997) to highlight identity formation efforts by the speaker: “We do not necessarily adapt to the style of the interlocutor, but rather to the image we have of ourselves in relation to our interlocutor”. Thus, speaking becomes also a personal act through its assistance in creation of the identity that an individual wants to be seen as expressing in a certain set of circumstances. It transcends the social dimension although the social is still an important and necessary element. In other words, identity formation for an individual is determined by the groups and reflections of the person in

terms of the level he/she wishes to be connected to these groups. This is often demonstrated by choice of code in various situations.

In recent decades, research in linguistics has become interested in the further examination of the linguistic and communicative affordances that the mono-lingual, bi-lingual and multilingual speaker access (Bahous, Nabhani, & Bacha, 2013; De Bres & Franziskus, 2014; Juma, 2013). However, first a description of the main features for this theory is necessary before reviewing how it is applied in the Arabic and other multi-lingual contexts.

The main components of CAT include convergent and divergent accommodation. Convergent accommodation is “a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on” (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991, p. 7). Since this focus highlights the linguistic and social similarities between individual, actions such as this “can lead persons to attribute to the converger the traits of friendliness, warmth, and so on” (Giles et al., 1987). In particular, Giles, et al (1987) explain that “during interaction individuals are motivated to adjust (or accommodate) their speech styles as a strategy for gaining one or more of the following goals: evoking listeners' social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities. In addition, it is the individual's perception of the other's speech that will determine his or her evaluative and communicative responses” (p.14–15). Manifestations of typical daily speech convergence is how individuals modify their speech for children and foreigners who are not considered as proficient. In the medical context, this can be seen when doctors use technical jargon that patients cannot understand and where nurses act as translators or “linguistic brokers” (Giles et al, 1987, p. 22)

because it is a necessity that these physician converge to their patient to confirm the patients understand the information and instructions to follow.

Convergence has also been deemed a “reflection (often unconscious) of a speaker's or group's need for social integration or identification with another” (Giles et al 1987p. 16), unless the speaker’s intent is to ridicule the style of speech of the listener (p. 17). An illustration of this aspect which relates to the lack of linguistic security (Labov, 1972), can be found in Bell's (1982, 1984) study which surveyed newscasters on New Zealand Broadcasting. The state-run stations have some of their newscasters read news on numerous diverse stations that appeal to listeners from a number socio-economic backgrounds. The results indicated that the newscasters modified their speech style to the particular station, demonstrating that these broadcasters unconsciously were adjusting their speech to what they imagined were the styles of the listeners. However, this can be considered stereotypical convergence. Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, (1982) research on speakers of different status showed that speakers from lower and higher status groups each exhibited the speech stereotype associated with their partner. They concluded that while these speakers diverged linguistically from each other, they may have lacked psychological convergence with their partners. In addition they might also “have been attempting to converge linguistically to what they *believed* the speech of the other to be” (Thakerar et al., 1982, p. 235). The work of Giles et al (1987) lends support to this: “In face-to-face interactions where individuals act as group members, it has been found that people communicatively accommodate to group stereotypes” (p.63). This type of convergence is portrayed in the language an able-bodied person uses with those who have physical or visual impairments (as cited in Giles et al., 1991). It may be well-intentioned, but it could be viewed as discriminatory. Also problematic is the “baby-talk” used by caregivers with the elderly patients

in nursing homes as these caretakers assume their patients' physical limitations also affect their cognitive function (Caporael, Lukaszewski, & Culbertson, 1983).

The degree of convergence that a person or group demonstrates may be also determined by power. An individual or group of lower status will tend toward the language of the higher status than vice versa. As an example, the work completed by Wolfram (1973) examined the codes used by African Americans and Puerto Rican work in New York City. It was reported that in this community Blacks hold more power and prestige than Puerto Ricans which resulted in the Puerto Ricans using the dialect of the Blacks more than the opposite. Yet, when there was conflict between these groups, the Puerto Ricans would revert back to their own code to highlight their identity by emphasizing their "in group" language patterns to distinguish themselves from the "out group" – an "us" vs. "them" situation. This is explained by the CAT as a situation that is "high in intergroup and low in interindividual terms" (Shi'ri, 2011, p. 2).

Conversely, divergent accommodation, or disaccommodation (Scotton, 1986) stresses the differences between interlocutors and their styles of speech. Speakers, to some extent consciously, make it a point to focus on both the linguistic and social differences between themselves and out group members. Disaccommodation can also include speakers retaining their own respective styles or rephrasing what the other speaker says into their own style. Divergent accommodation manifestations can be deemed both positively and negatively – positively if this encounter is viewed in intergroup terms (bringing items to the attention of the speaker to direct the speaker to moderate their speech to increase clarity of communication such as responding unnaturally slowly if the speaker speaks too fast or if the speaker excessively pauses, responding with exaggerated pausing to bring this to the speaker's attention) negatively if the it is perceived with the intent to accentuate the ingroup membership distance between the speakers (Beebe &

Giles, 1984). An illustration of the latter is with Bourhis and Giles (1977) work in which a group of Welsh students assert and maintain their Welsh identity in reaction to an Englishman who sheds doubt on the sustainability of the Welsh language through increasing their Welsh accent while speaking English, by code-switching and by switching completely in to Welsh. These actions that highlight being Welsh demonstrates to Englishman that there is less solidarity with him than with membership to the Welsh in group.

These accommodations of both convergence and divergence can move upward or downward in terms of code prestige. In other words, one can adjust one's style to a variety that is higher or lower than one's own in terms of status. In fact, accommodation may have more of an impact over status in some cases. This was discovered in a study of a discourse community in Strasbourg, France (located near the border with Germany) by Gardner-Chloros (1991) in which code-switching in between the more prestigious standard French and the less prestigious Alsatian German was an effective neutral arrangement as it served to assist communication when at times using only French was considered too pretentious and only Alsatian German was considered too provincial. This code-switching assisted in communication between members across generations of family members as well as in communication in daily shopping interactions among stores located in areas of different socio-economic status. Thus, it was determined that speakers engaged in code-switching more to adapt to their surroundings rather than merely to conform to code that is viewed as the higher one.

Thus codeswitching falls under the CAT because it is “conversation strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations” (Gal, 1988, p.247). As such, this would apply to language attitude in the sense that it directly affects how the listener assesses the speaker and the signal

that the speaker wants to convey in terms of more or less solidarity with the speaker or listener's group and general overall positive impression the interlocutor wants to receive.

Accommodation has also been found to be a reflection of the power relations and sociopolitical relations that exist in interpersonal and intergroup encounters which run across age, gender, class, and ethnicity (Coupland et al., 1991; Genesee, 1982; Giles et al., 1991; Gudykunst, 1988). Although there are a limited number of studies investigating accommodation among Arabic speakers, what has been determined is that Arabic is no different.

In terms of diaglossic code-switching in Arabic speaking discourse communities, existing research recognizes the critical role played by accommodation theory in the Middle East by Holes (1995) showing how the movement of the population from one place to another has led to “reshaping the language varieties and the relationships between them” in three countries (Bahrain, Egypt, and Jordan). The study investigated the phonological changes that appear in the Arabic variety in each country. An example of the shift in the language of Bahrain was the realization of /j/ as it became accepted to be realized as /y/. This happened as Arab and Bahārna were in contact after the movement to the country with new job opportunities in the 1970's. Holes (1995) reviewed the literature from the period and suggests that the convergence of the speakers of Arabs has led to the change in the community as it was widely used even though the /y/ variety is not from the Arabic variety that was used. Similarly, another exemplified work undertaken by Abu-Melhim, (1991) among Jordanians and Egyptians, He found that when language is technically challenging to the listener, the speaker uses “paralinguistic strategies (e.g. repetition, paraphrasing, intonation, voice tone and quality, vocal stress)” to be understood. Despite the importance of these strategies, the most common strategy was code-switching.

Instead of switching to MSA, subjects spoke in their colloquial and code-switched with English. Cairene Arabic and MSA were not the subjects' choice (Melhim, 1997).

The literature has emphasized the importance of accommodation theory to also explain the word choice people make while speaking. The word choice is not always necessarily based on one's preferences but rather to show solidarity and belongingness to a certain individual or group within or outside the community when they are in contact situation. Accommodation theory distinguishes two different types of contact explored in previous research when variation of the same language occurs.

The first type can be seen within the same group subdivided by variation differences between two nationalities as seen in Levantine Arabic speakers (e.g: Lebanese and Jordanian). The second type is among people from the same nationality as seen in Egyptian Arabic (e.g: Alexandrian and Cairene).

The system of classification of accommodation theory includes linguistic convergence and divergence. Previous research by (Lawson-Sako & Sachdev, 1996) comparing Tunisian linguistic convergence and divergence has found that they are generally converged. However, the behavior was different from each gender. Subjects were asked how to get to the post office sometimes in French and sometimes in Tunisian. The language choice differed between males and females. Males were shown to have more linguistic convergence behavior to the speakers when they spoke Tunisian Arabic or French. Females' behavior was more divergent using French and higher responses in code-switching.

(Keith Walters, 1991) suggests that the codeswitching is a variety of language that is used among people within the same group which could be used as a language on its own. According to that, codeswitching could be used on convergent or divergent levels.

Language attitudes can be tested both directly and indirectly. Inconsistencies often arise between these methods of inquiry as direct asking of language attitudes (like questionnaires) often garners responses of the socially accepted ideologies of the group, whereas indirect methods (such as matched-guise studies) can show speakers differing from these accepted beliefs. Matched-guise studies instruct participants to order speakers of certain codes on solidarity traits (e.g. trustworthy, friendly) and status traits (e.g. wealthy, intelligent). Most studies conducted in the Middle East focused on the former French colonies of North Africa, known as the Maghreb. However, these are few in number.

2.2 - Studies of Language Attitudes in the Middle East and North Africa

In Morocco and Tunisia, matched-guise research has shown participants usually ranking Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) highly for solidarity traits but French highly for status traits. French was rated low as a language of solidarity and its use not patriotic and representing colonization (Bentahila, 1983). Recent research in the same countries has demonstrated a rise in prestige in colloquial varieties in matched-guise studies, for solidarity characteristics in particular, but at times for status traits as well (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). This grading of prestige has also been found to be dependent on gender; codes of male and female speakers were ranked differently (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). In Tunisia, women were slightly higher ranked for status traits in MSA than in other codes, whereas men were ranked lowest for MSA and highest for Tunisian Arabic. Attitudinal research in Egypt is minimal, limited to one

matched-guise study (El-Dash & Tucker, 1975). The findings are similar to the studies in the Maghreb. Speakers of Classical Arabic were considered as more intelligent than Egyptian English and American English speakers, who in turn were rated more intelligent than speakers of Egyptian Arabic.

There is also limited attitudinal research on CS (Garrett, 2010). Multilingual speakers usually regard it negatively and underreport their use of the variety when asked directly about the value of code-switching as a form of communication (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). Studies in the Maghreb have regularly found negative attitudes toward CS. For example, in Morocco, a questionnaire-based study found a large majority of respondents disapproving of the practice, considering those who engage in it as having limited language competence, being confused, trying to show-off and still suffering the effects of colonization (Bentahila, 1983). A more recent study in Morocco supported these findings, with participants associating CS with disloyalty to one's own country and language (Ennaji, 2005). Finally, a matched-guise study in Tunisia ranked CS at the bottom of all codes for both status and solidarity traits (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The purpose of this study is to obtain more in-depth information and insights regarding attitudes toward code-switching. The sampling method of convenience was selected because it seemed to be the most appropriate due to the accessibility of the participants to fulfill the purpose of the study within the time period of study. While the results of the study may not be generalizable to the larger population, they will add to the knowledge based regarding this topic.

This study took a mixed method approach, using both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry. It is also explanatory-sequential in that the quantitative was collected first and analyzed and then the qualitative data was used to further explain the qualitative results (Creswell, 2014, p. 99). This was done to determine a more complete picture of language attitude toward CS.

3.2 Sample (Characteristics and Recruitment)

Perception toward CS was tested using a convenience sample of 40 participants comprised of two groups of 20 in an Egyptian university community: Heritage Speaker and Non-Arabic Speaker. The criteria for the selection of participants was based on possessing a relatively strong knowledge of both languages among university students. For the Heritage Speakers, this was determined by asking the potential participant if s/he attended international school, for what length of time and what language was spoken at home. For the Non-Arabic Speakers, most were enrolled in intermediate level Arabic classes at AUC. Heritage Speakers (HS) included Egyptians who live in Egypt but only received their education from an English-medium international institution and now are attending university. Non-Arabic Speakers (NAS) were comprised of non-Egyptian tertiary-level students raised in predominantly English speaking societies and had come to Cairo in order to take Arabic language courses in a university setting.

3.3 Instruments and procedures

Introduction

In early studies, direct methods were applied to test attitude. Participants filled out a survey with questions directly asking about attitude and data were gathered. It was realized later that using a direct method cannot really determine attitude due to the fact that it is difficult to

know what is in the participant's mind without targeting it with an experimental stimuli like recordings (K. Walters, 2007). However, more indirect approaches were reported to be more effective than the direct one. These include verbal-guise and matched-guise techniques. Many linguists have utilized these methods to test attitude as a social variable. Verbal-guise, first performed by Pear (1931), was used to measure attitude where different speakers represented variations of speech (as cited in Díaz-Campos & Killam, 2012). Later on, the matched-guise technique developed by Lambert (1960), is now a well-established approach in most recent sociolinguistics studies for testing attitude towards speakers who use a certain linguistic variety by the same speaker (as cited in Garrett, 2010). Both the direct and indirect approaches were used to discover discrepancies in responses between the different types of approaches.

Follow-up interviews are a way to obtain a deeper analysis of discrepancies found in responses from the approaches described above. Semi-structured interviews can be useful for comparison of results with the quantitative instruments. The semi-structured type of interview provides flexibility to the researcher in order to ask additional questions related to participants' initial responses (Perry, 2011).

Data collection

Instruments that were used in the study included the following and were all in English and were conducted in English: questionnaire, verbal guise test and a follow up interview with some of the participants. Based responses from the questionnaire and verbal guise test, five participants from each group were selected for the follow up interview to help to explain surprising or conflicting results from the attitude questionnaire and verbal guise test and to further expound upon their perceptions.

3.3.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire to obtain participant biographical data, educational background and attitudes toward CS was administered to each participant. The items regarding attitude toward CS were answered on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly agree (4) to strongly disagree (1). This was done after completing the verbal guise test. The items had been from the questionnaire developed by Reigh (2014) as they are targeted to measure the direct attitude toward CS in terms of its effect on language, identity/culture and communication . See Appendix A for the set of items asked.

3.3.2 Verbal-Guise Study

The verbal-guise or matched-guise technique is an indirect approach allowing deeper insight into studying attitude. As previously mentioned, the difference between matched and verbal- guise is the speakers. Verbal-guise uses different speakers while matched uses the same speaker performing different language varieties. Although there are some limitations for this type of technique in terms of saliency, perception and authenticity, it seems to be more effective than the direct method to investigate attitudes toward language but further data collection is required to determine exactly how CS affects attitude using supporting techniques (as cited in Garrett, 2010). For the convenience of the study, the verbal guise technique was used.

Samples of naturally occurring speech from four different speakers were recorded. Two of these recordings (one male and one female) included codeswitching and two (one male and one female) were solely in Egyptian Arabic. The samples were neutral in tone; the speakers selected were asked to talk about their summer plans. They were instructed to speak in Arabic or Arabic mixed with English as they preferred. The length of the samples varied between 1.5 – 3 minutes. The speakers were chosen from the AUC community, fluent in both Arabic and English

and around the same age as the participants. They spoke Arabic with a Cairene accent and English with a native or near Native American accent.

Participants were university students not experts in sociolinguistics in order to obtain an unbiased assessment of the language attitude. They were asked to listen to each recording, imagine the person speaking, and evaluate him/her on a number of opposing trait continuums using a four point scale where 4 is the most positive and 1 is the least positive. The characteristic scales fall under three major categories as determined by Zahn & Hopper (1985) in their meta-analysis of language attitude studies: status, social attractiveness and dynamism. Zahn and Hopper (1985) found that these were the most “regular dimensions of judgements attaching to language varieties and their speakers, established across many communities” (as cited in Garrett, 2010, p. 53). The four-point scale has been selected so that participants will make more immediate judgments that more accurately reflect their actual beliefs. The lack of a neutral rating is intended to ensure that the participants make a value judgment. See Appendix B for the specific trait scales.

3.3.3 Follow up interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for comparison of results with the quantitative instruments. These interviews were done with 5 participants from each of the two groups. These five participants were selected out of ten for each group because of the level of the details of their responses which provided more insights about the results. The questions included had been devised to gather lengthier explanatory statements of attitudes similar to those included quantitative study as well as give the participant an opportunity comment on surprising or conflicting results from the survey and verbal-guise study. The semi-structured type of interview was selected so that the researcher could ask other questions that may arise from participant

responses to the initial set of questions (Perry, 2011). Interviews were recorded and transcribed. See Appendix C for the set of interview questions.

3.4 Data analysis

Answering both research questions involved the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data was analyzed with a combination of descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the quantitative data from the questionnaire, including means (averages) and standard deviations for Likert-style items. For the verbal-guise study, descriptive and inferential statistics were employed. Means for the Likert-style items were calculated for each group and compared with t-tests that were conducted on the groups to interpret data.

Qualitative data was collected from the semi-structured interviews to expand upon and enrich the data from the primary study tools. Qualitative data was categorized and connected to relevant quantitative data.

4. Results and Discussion

The initial objective of the project is to answer two questions. The first question in this research, “What is the perception of each group (HS group and NAS Group) toward codeswitching?”, was about viewing the perception of each group (HS group and NAS Group) toward codeswitching. The second one, “If language cannot be detached from social variables, how does the speaker’s gender influence perception toward codeswitching?” is to test if the gender of the speaker has an impact on the listener while code switching or not.

4.1 Participant Description and Demographic Data

There were twenty participants in each of the HS and NAS groups. The participants in the study were in their early twenties and either in last year of undergraduate study or beginning graduate study. Most of the HS group considered their family upper class but the majority of NSA considered themselves middle class. All of the participants' parents obtained university degrees varying from a BA to MA. Four participants from each group said that their parents obtained PhD degree. The participants' majors varied. See Table 1 below for the average numbers of the participants.

Table 1

Participant Demographic Data

Participant Bio Data	HS	NAS	Percent All Sample
Age	18 – 22	22-25	18 – 20 → 25% 22 → 27.5%
Gender	Male: 7 Female: 13	Male: 8 Female: 12	Male → 37.5% Female → 62.5%
Nationality	Egyptian	US	Egyptian → 45.0% US → 27.5% Other → 27.5%
Country where grew up	Egypt	US	Egypt → 37.5% USA → 27.5% Other → 27.5%
University Major	Business Administration Engineering	Political science Middle Eastern Studies	Political science → 17.5% Middle Eastern Studies → 10% Business Administration → 7.5% Engineering → 12.5% Other → 52.5%
High School	EBIS (Egyptian British International School) (ISEE)	High school in USA	High school in USA → 27.5% (ISEE) → 7.5% Other international school in home country → 65.00%
Year in university studies	Senior	First year graduate student	1st year → 10% 2nd year → 12.5% 3rd Year → 12.5% 4th Year → 15% Senior → 10% Graduate Student → 22.5%
Egyptian Certificate for Secondary Education	No	N/A	---

Participant Bio Data	HS	NAS	Percent All Sample
View of Socioeconomic Status of family	Upper Class	Middle Class	Upper → 50% Middle → 47.5%
Education Level of Parents	BA	MA,Phd	BA → 50% MA → 20% Phd → 20% High school → 5%
Location where living now	Cairo	Cairo	100%

4.2 Overt Language Attitudes toward Code-Switching

Participants were asked on the questionnaire their reasons for CS. As is shown in Figure 1 below, participant responses of each group to all eight statements are indicated. The two groups agreed that CS was a natural form of communication (the NAS group being the highest: 12 participants) and that it was done to fit in a social group. HS and NAS strongly agreed that CS was done because of the person's educational background. While 55.00% of HS indicated that it was done because the Arabic equivalent was not known, 45.00% of NAS disagreed with that statement. The NAS group felt that CS was done because there was no Arabic equivalent; HS, on the other hand, disagreed. More than half of the participants in both groups disagreed that CS was done to show off. See Figure 1 below for the participant responses on each statement.

From the follow up interviews, when asked why one would CS, most of the HS group indicated that CS eased the flow of conversation, other students in this group indicated it was done for style. The HS group also indicated that they CS with their friends when the conversation was switched by the person they are talking to. Also, they would speak differently at home with their parents and in the CS form with their friends. However, NAS group indicated that they do it when they cannot find the equivalent even when they have a high proficiency level in Arabic. Despite the higher level of proficiency, they still thought they had to rely on English at some point if conversation was ambiguous because they lacked confidence in their Arabic language abilities. They also indicated that it was to show a person's educational or social background. These responses seem to support the answers from the questionnaire.

Although CS was viewed as a natural form of communication by the two groups, there were differences as to whether it is a widely accepted form of communication. Most of the NAS group agreed whereas the HS group was split. There were also differences in whether the two groups viewed CS as enhancing communication. The more of the HS group agreed while more of the NAS group disagreed. Yet, in the follow up interviews, respondents in both groups indicated that it was beneficial to CS as it helped with understanding, expression and learning. However, the interview respondents in the NAS group indicated it was better to speak one language and not mix while the HS responses were split with some indicating it would depend on the situation.

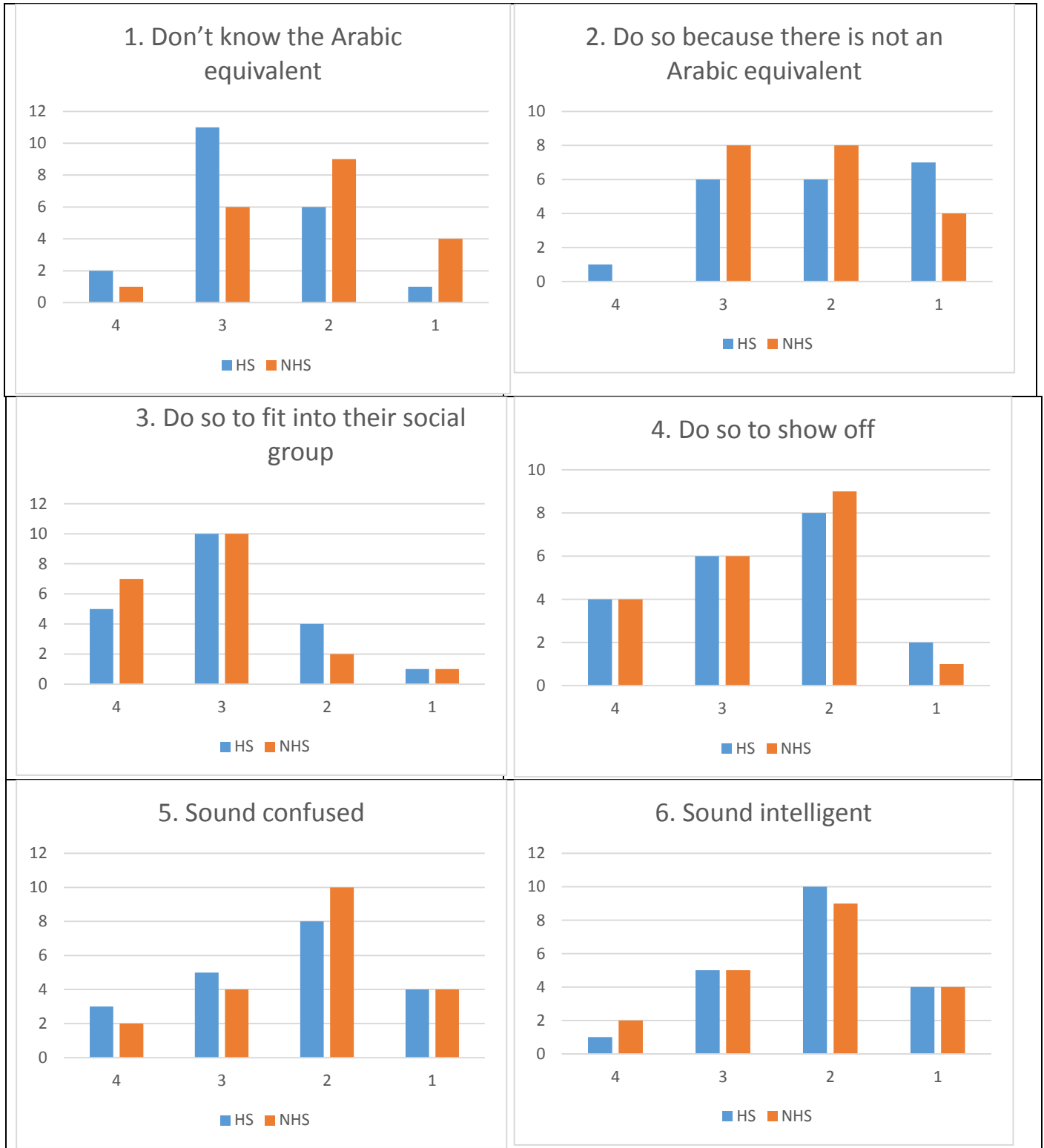
Discussion:

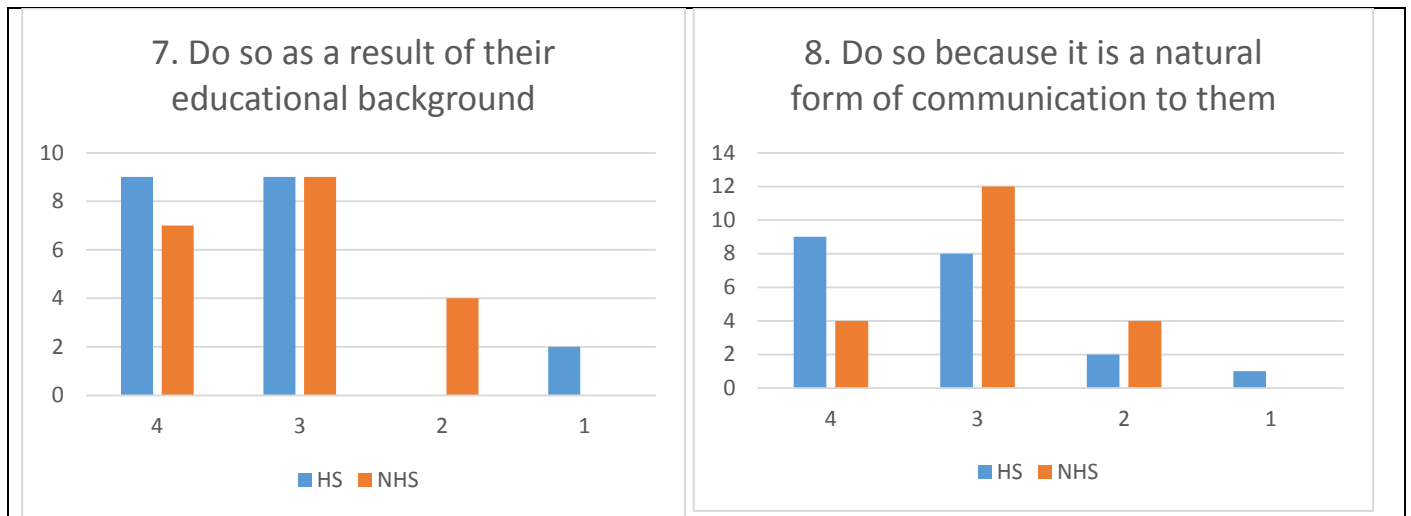
From the discussion in the literature review on code-switching and in the accommodation theory in terms of Arabic, it would make sense that HS would have such differences. The HS students have grown up in an environment where code switching is more readily acceptable in both diagglossic terms as well as with English. They attended English – medium international schools in Egypt. However, outside the classroom and in their wider community they would use Egyptian Colloquial. In the follow-up interviews, these participants indicated that if they engage in conversations with a person who they know only uses Arabic, they use Arabic with those they know do not speak Arabic they use English and with their friends who code-switch between Arabic and English, they do as well. They feel that they can relate more to someone who code-switches. It then becomes part of their identity and belonging to this “in group”. This Arabic – English code-switched variant seems to be the acceptable code for the HS group.

The researcher also has observed members from group code-switching between Arabic and English with their professors. Also, participants from this group readily codeswitched between Arabic and English throughout the follow-up interview although the researcher conducted the interview solely in English. This maybe because they know that the researcher was also part of this discourse community. NAS students, on the other hand, may not have been raised an environment where this type of codeswitching was either encouraged or accepted. The English this group uses does not contain the same type of variation and code-switching as Arabic has. It has also been suggested in research that some English speaking monolingual communities tend to have suspicion towards those who have the ability to code-switch, viewing this other language as “exotic” and this ability as “strange”. These communities consider multilingualism as creating a problem.

Figure 1 Comparison of reasons for CS by the HS and NAS groups

(4) Strongly agree – (3) Agree – (2) Disagree – (1) Strongly disagree





The questionnaire also highlighted the listener’s attitude toward CS with direct statements about whether Egyptians who code-switch sound confused or intelligent. The two groups disagreed that the CS person sounded confused. Both groups disagreed that the CS individual sounded intelligent. See Figure 1 above for the participant responses on each statement.

Participants were also asked in the questionnaire about specific attitudes toward code-switching. From the NAS group, 14 respondents (70%) agreed that CS was a widely-accepted form of communication. However, the HS group seemed to be divided with 40% of the HS group both disagreeing and agreeing. The HS group agreed that CS led to enhanced communication while most of NAS group disagreed. The HS and NAS groups agreed that CS not only compromised the Arabic language but also led to the weakening of Egyptian/Arab cultural traditions. See Figure 2, below, for the number of participants on each statement.

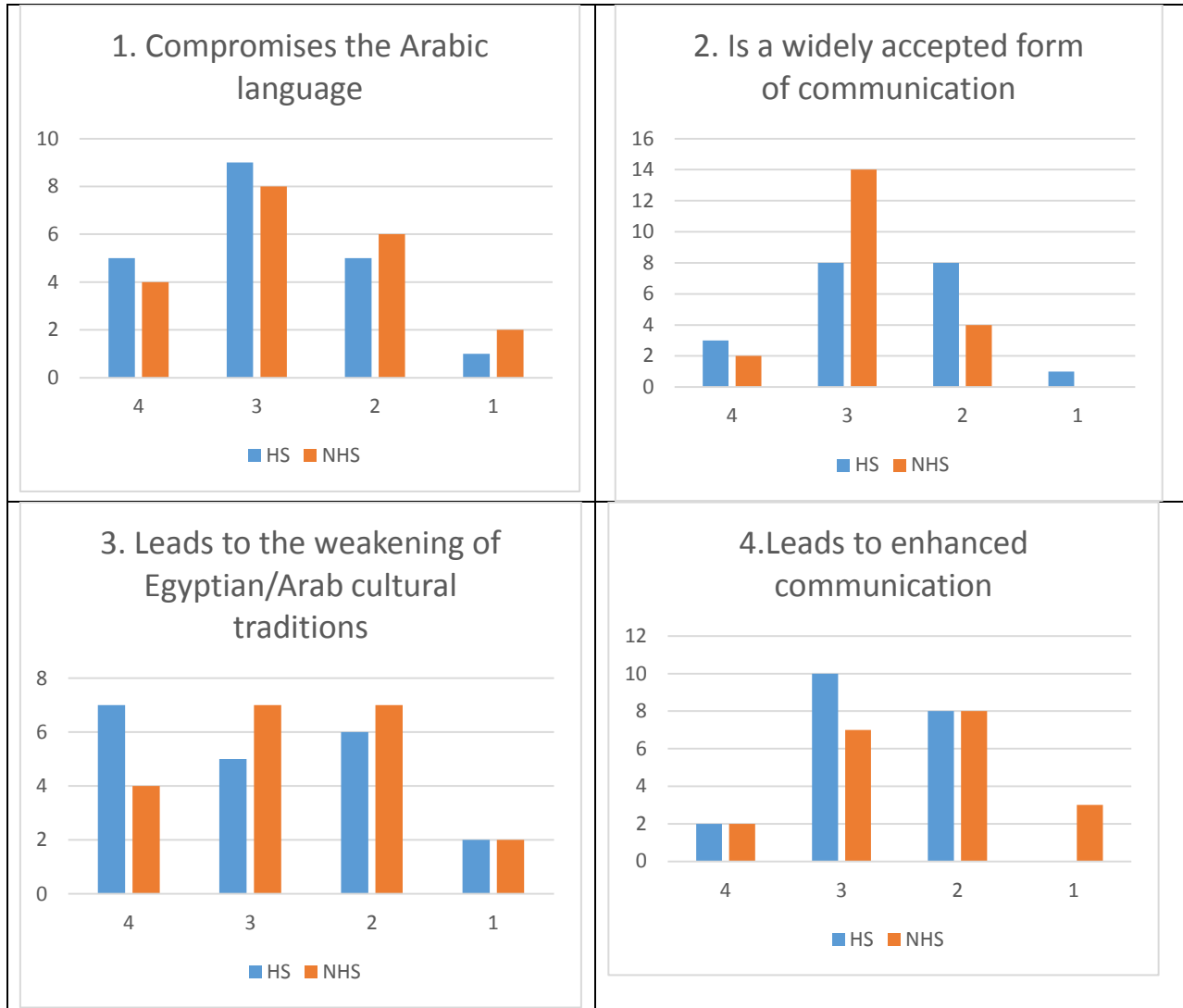
In the follow up interviews, when asked if it was better to use one language only or mix languages to communicate, many students from the NAS group commented that it was better to

speak one at a time because it compromises the language and “you don’t really get efficient in neither of them”. Many of HS indicated, however, that it was more about comfort of the speaker, and it does “actually help you learn more from both and improve both at the same time”. This could explain the higher level of agreement the HS group had to CS improving communication and why the NAS agreed that CS compromised the Arabic language.

Discussion:

In terms of language, both groups felt more strongly that CS compromises Arabic. NAS interview responses support this. One NAS participant’s response “Mixing might make the language compromised as the language loses its vocabulary”. Another indicated, “When you mix the language it’s kind of like taking you away from it”. From the HS group, “I was a bit confused growing up. I used all three though, Indian, English and Arabic.” Both groups also more felt more strongly that CS leads to a weakening of Egyptian/Arab Traditions. This seems to reflect the perception of these groups that language and culture are closely intertwined so the exposure to and use of other languages seems to then accelerate language change and then eventual language loss as these switches then become the accepted language patterns. It suggests that even though there is a positive view toward code-switching in general and it is what is even engaged in by the HS, the integrity of the first language is still viewed as important. Languages are constantly in flux, resulting in variation and loss. It depends on how the society views the each language and how it affects the identities of the members of the society.

Figure 2. Overt attitudes toward CS by HS and NAS groups



4.3 Covert Language Attitudes

Introduction

The verbal guise test examined covert attitudes of the groups (HS and NAS) toward CS. Participants ranked four different speakers on a number of opposing trait continuums using a four-point scale where 4 was the most positive and 1 was the least positive. Two of these recordings (one male and one female) included codeswitching and two (one male and one female) were solely in Arabic. To answer the first research question, “What is the perception of each group (HS group and NAS Group) toward codeswitching?” data were grouped into overall perception of the CS speakers vs the Non-CS speakers as well as the overall perception of CS Male vs. Non-CS Male speaker and CS Female vs. Non-CS female speakers in terms of status traits (education, wealth, intelligence), social attractiveness traits (honesty, socialness, confidence), and dynamism traits (energy and enthusiasm).

4.3.1 Overall findings of the perception of (CS speakers vs the Non-CS speakers)

Figure 3 below represents an overview of the average of the ratings for all traits of CS and Non-CS (nCS) speakers by the two groups HS and NAS. As can be seen in Figure 3, the two groups rated the CS speakers nearly the same on all traits (means=3.2). Regarding the rating traits of the nCS speakers, the NAS group rated these more positive (mean= 3), and less positive by HS (mean=2.7). A t-test was used to analyze the relationship between CS and nCS across the HS and NAS group as well. Table 2 below illustrates the results. No significant differences were found between the two groups listening to CS speech. However, a significant positive correlation was found between HS and NAS listening to nCS speech (.037).

Discussion

Both groups have a generally positive view of CS along specific status, social attractiveness, and dynamism traits. Although Reigh's (2014) work found relatively positive results as well, much of the previous research found mostly negative views of CS (e.g. Bentahila, 1983; Ennaji, 2005). The dynamism traits seems to support this previous research as there seems to be a more negative view by the NAS group toward the male CS but only with the dynamism trait of "energy". A possible reason for that is the change of the intonation of the speaker who code switches as each language is different in intonation. The listener then perceived the non-code switching male – which is lower in pitch- as less energetic than the others. Another reason is the order of the recording subjects listened to as the nCS male was the last and this could have affected their judgment based on what they heard before.

Generally speaking when looking at the differences between HS and NAS in terms of the status trait ratings by both male and female code-switchers, "intelligence", while still positive, is rated the lowest, but only slightly positive. Both groups ranked CS positively for the prestige traits of "educated" and "wealthy". This also seems to be contradictory to matched-guise studies in the region (Bentahila, 1983; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000) that found CS with low ratings both in status and solidarity.

Figure 3. Perception of CS vs. nCS by HS and NAS (means)

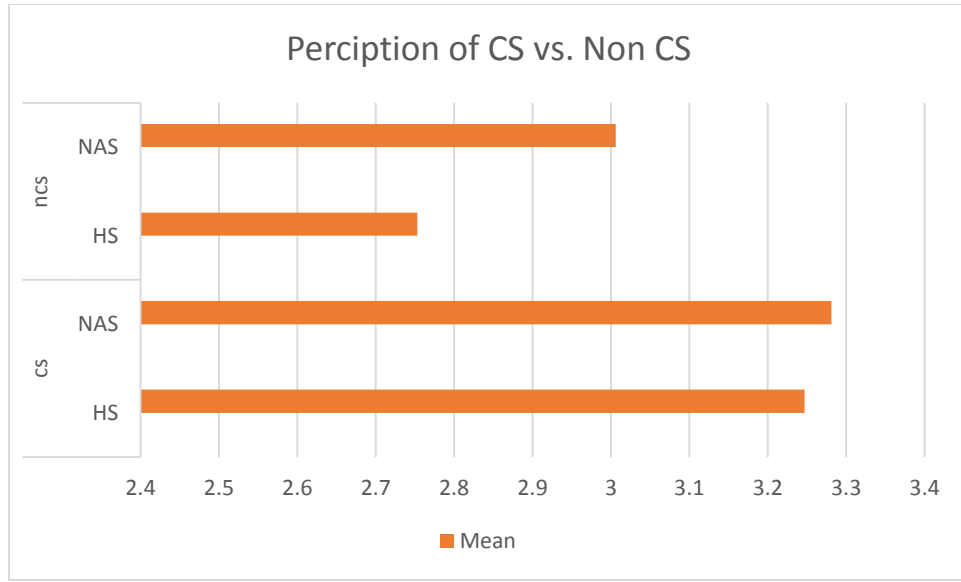


Table 2

Independent Samples Test Value of Overall Perception Towards CS

	G	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
cs	HS	20	3.2469	0.37853	.778
	NAS	20	3.2813	0.38873	.778
ncs	HS	20	2.7531	0.32092	.037 (*)
	NAS	20	3.0063	0.41254	.037

4.3.2 Overall findings of HS and NAS against each group of speaker

Table 3

Independent Samples Test Value of the HS and NAS Groups Towards Each Speaker

Group Statistics and Independent Samples Test					
	G	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
fcs	1 HS	20	3.1875	.42631	.099
	2 NAS	20	3.4125	.41577	.099
fncs	1 HS	20	3.0125	.36024	.145
	2 NAS	20	3.2250	.52660	.146
mcs	1 HS	20	3.3063	.48238	.323
	2 NAS	20	3.1500	.50426	.323
mncs	1 HS	20	2.4938	.45065	.052 (*)
	2 NAS	20	2.7875	.47486	.052

Table 3 above compares the results obtained from the ratings for HS and NAS on each speaker (fcs, fncs, mcs, and mncs) independently. The first three groups listed in Table 3 (fcs, fncs, mcs) show no significance. In contrast, the mncs on average was shown to have significance when heard by the two groups with the HS group rating this speaker lower all on the traits.

4.4 Comparison of the Perception of CS vs Non-CS speaker based on the same Gender grouped together across the whole sample

In order to assess the CS based on gender, the females (CS, NCS) and males (CS, NCS) were paired together across the whole sample to determine the significance of the results. It is apparent from this table that both (pairs) the females and males show significance at the $p = 0.05$ level across the whole sample. To compare the scores of the sample, a paired t-test was used as seen in Table 4 below. However, to distinguish between HS and NAS, the same test was used on both groups to understand the analysis in depth.

Table 4

Paired T-Test Across the Whole Sample

Paired Samples test

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	fcs	3.3000	40	.43097	.042
	fncs	3.1188	40	.45814	
Pair 2	mcs	3.2281	40	.49346	.000
	mncs	2.6406	40	.48054	

4.4.1 Comparison of the Perception of CS vs Non-CS speaker based on the same Gender grouped together (HS group)

Table 5

Paired T-Test: HS Group

Paired Samples Test (HS)					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	
Pair 1	fcs	3.1875	20	.42631	.130
	fncs	3.0125	20	.36024	
Pair 2	mcs	3.3063	20	.48238	.000
	mncs	2.4938	20	.45065	

It can be seen from the data in Table 5 that there were no significant differences between the females' speech (CS, NCS) when the HS rated them. On the contrary, there was a greater significant difference between the mcs and mncs ($p = 0.000$). Interestingly, the male who code switched in his speech received more positive ratings than the one who did not code switch. The same tests for Table 6 below were used to analyze the perception of the NAS group and the results were surprisingly the same.

Table 6

Paired P-Test: NAS Group

Paired Samples Test (NAS)					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	fcs	3.4125	20	.41577	.183
	fncs	3.2250	20	.52660	
Pair 2	mcs	3.1500	20	.50426	.005
	mncs	2.7875	20	.47486	

4.5 Comparison of the Perception of CS vs Non-CS speaker (Opposite gender grouped together) across the whole sample:

Table 7

Paired T-Test Across the Whole Sample (Opposite Gender)

Paired Samples Test and Statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1 fcs	3.3000	40	.43097	.399
mcs	3.2281	40	.49346	
Pair 2 fncs	3.1188	40	.45814	.000
mncs	2.6406	40	.48054	

The first set of analyses examined the two females' speech paired together and the same for the males. To distinguish between these two possibilities, the speech from opposite genders who CS were paired and the same was done for the non-code switchers. Table 7 compares the two groups' rating of the male and female who used code switching together and the male and female who did not code switch in their speech. Unlike the first set of analyses where both pairs gave significant results, the only significance here appears to be between the two people who did not code switch. The results are global across the whole sample; however, the same pair test was done on HS and NAS separately.

4.5.1 Comparison of the Perception of CS vs Non-CS speaker (Opposite gender grouped together) (HS Group):

Table 8

Paired T-Test (HS) (Opposite Gender)

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	
Pair 1	fcs	3.1875	20	.42631	.307
	mcs	3.3063	20	.48238	
Pair 2	fncs	3.0125	20	.36024	.000
	mncs	2.4938	20	.45065	

The results, as shown in Table 8 above, indicate that significance was recorded positive between the male and the female who did not code-switch when rated by the HS group. No significance was found between female and male code-switchers.

4.5.2 Comparison of the Perception of CS vs Non-CS speaker (Opposite gender grouped together) (NAS Group):

Table 9

Paired T-Test (NAS) (Opposite Gender)

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	fcs	3.4125	20	.41577	.030
	mcs	3.1500	20	.50426	
Pair 2	fncs	3.2250	20	.52660	.003
	mncs	2.7875	20	.47486	

As Table 9 shows, there is a significant difference between the two groups in each pair ($p = 0.03$, $p = 0.003$) by the NAS group. The female code switcher was rated more positively than the male codeswitcher. With the non-codeswitchers, the male was rated more negatively than the female.

Discussion

Significance of the speaker's gender was found when comparing female CS to female nCS, the females who code switched were viewed overall more positively than the nCS female. Also, the male CS had higher ratings than male nCS. However, when analyzed separately by HS and NAS groups, only significance was found with the male nCS. Both groups rated this speaker lower, with the HS group being slightly more negative. Overall, although female CS were rated more positively than the male CS as well as the female nCS over the male nCS, there was only significance with the nCS female speaker. When comparing HS and NAS groups, the NAS group's more favorably rating both female CS and female nCS over male counterparts was significant while significance with HS only occurred with the nCS, as females nCS were viewed more positive than the male nCS. These findings for the female nCS seem to support the previous research in the region where the colloquial dialect is perceived in a more positive light for females (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

4.6 Traits with Significance on CS in General

The following traits were analyzed in the verbal-guise test to assess covert attitude: status traits (education, wealth, intelligence), social attractiveness traits (honesty, socialness, confidence), and dynamism traits (energy and enthusiasm).

Between the HS and NAS groups there was a significant difference in the following traits as can be seen in Table 10 below:

Table 10

Significance of The Traits on CS

Speaker	Trait	Sig.	Low Group Rating
mcs	Energetic/Lazy	.040	NAS
fncs	Energetic/Lazy	.019	HS
fncs	Enthusiastic/Hesitant	.055	HS
mncs	Intelligent/Unintelligent	.013	HS
mncs	Energetic/Lazy	.016	HS
mncs	Enthusiastic/Hesitant	.032	HS

The mncs was rated more negatively by HS on the status trait of Intelligent/Unintelligent $p=.013$ and the dynamism traits of Energetic/Lazy $p=.016$ and Enthusiastic/Hesitant $p=.032$. HS also rated the fncs more negatively on the dynamism traits of Energetic/Lazy $p=.019$ and Enthusiastic/Hesitant $p=.055$. On the other hand the NAS rated the male who code-switched more negatively on the dynamism trait of Energetic/Lazy $p=.040$. For a table comparing all traits, see Appendix D.

Discussion

In terms of social attractiveness with male and female code-switchers, the HS rated “honesty” slightly less. Both groups rated the code-switchers the lowest in terms of dynamism,

the HS group rated the female lower and the NAS rating the male lower with only the “energy trait” being statistically significant. Both male and female non-codeswitchers were rated lower overall than the code-switchers. HS group’s rating was less than the NAS group’s for the female non-codeswitcher in “wealth”, “socialness”, “energy”, and “enthusiasm”. The difference in the dynamism traits was significant. For the male non-codeswitcher, the HS group’s rating on the status trait of “intelligence” was more negative and this result was significant. Also, while both groups rated the male non-codeswitcher lower in the social attractiveness traits of “socialness” and confidence”, these results were not significant while both groups’ very low ratings in “energy” and “enthusiasm”, were significant, the HS group’s was lower and thus more negative.

HS viewed the non-codeswitchers more negatively on the verb-guise test. For that reason, the same test was applied on each speaker alone, comparing HS and NAS. This may suggest that HS may treat those who do not codeswitch differently perhaps from their attending international schools for their education and being in contact with others that do not speak Arabic. Responses from the interviews with HS, indicated that they were not encouraged to use more than one language at home, but they had friends in school that were not Arabic speakers and so they became accustomed to using more than one language.

The findings of the nCS slightly more critical ratings do not occur in the prestige traits and this seems to be in line with the matched-guise studies in Morocco and Tunisia which have shown a more favorable evaluation of the colloquial dialect in terms of status (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

5. Conclusions:

This research was undertaken to evaluate the perception of code switching and whether or not the gender of the speaker has an impact on the listener. Returning to the hypothesis/question posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that both groups (Heritage Speaker and Non Arabic Speaker) view code-switching favorably. This may be due to how code-switching may have become the accepted practice especially of educated Egyptian youth living in Cairo (Allam, 2000; Peterson, 2002; Rizk, 2007) which could explain the HS group's more unfavorable ratings for non-code switchers overall. The NAS group could also have been influenced by this from their time living in Cairo or by the fact that many of them were raised interacting with more than one language/culture. Regarding the influence of the speaker's gender on the listener, the significance of the unfavorable rating of the male non-switcher by both groups is worthy to note especially in the dynamism traits and should be further investigated as to how the gender of the speaker affects the listener's perception.

5.1 Teaching implications

The findings of this thesis have implications on language teaching and the L2 classroom. While still debated, some research suggests that the use of L1 is important in the development of one's L2 (Antón & DiCamilla, 1998; Artemeva, 1995; Cook, 1999, 2001; Levine, 2003). In the L2 classroom, Belz (2003) supported Cook's (2001) position that L1 is especially helpful in the completion of task-based activities. The L1 was used in particular for clarification, negotiation of meaning, or checking understanding or language production. Belz (2003) extended it further: "L1 and/or multiple language use may provide insight into the ways in which multicompetent

language users inhabit and relate to a pluralistic, multilingual world” (p. 216) and establish “third places from which they could both play and reflect on multilinguistic identities” (p. 234).

Studies on cognition and multilingual functioning indicate that two or more languages work together in comprehending and speaking these languages (Hermans, Bongaerts, De Bot, & Schreuder, 1998; Kroll & Sunderman, 2003; Kroll & Tokowicz, 2001). With regard to particular performance in the L2 classroom, the use of L1 is beneficial in terms of metatalk (language to talk about language use) to maintain oral communication (Brooks & Donato, 1994), resolve communication problems in cooperative learning and small group work (Brooks, Donato, & McGlonem, 1997), and assist in problem solving tasks and writing tasks through the use of private speech in the L1, and thus the use of L1 should be acknowledged as significant in the process of learning (Antón & DiCamilla, 1998; Centeno- Cortés & Jiménez Jiménez, 2004). Studies on students’ view of the use of L1 indicate that students view classroom not as a simulation for the L2 target culture and therefore not as a place where the L2 should be used exclusively. They also preferred classroom speech in which both the L1 and L2 were used to achieve learning goals (Chavez, 2003). Thus, as Levine (2003) suggests, learners should participate in managing both L1 and L2 use to establish norms that are similar to the multilingual situations that they encounter outside the classroom.

There are a variety of ways to build rapport with students and address different learning styles. Sometimes communicating with foreign students in English could help to build a relationship with them as they can relate to what has been taught. A teacher could have the students analyze each other’s errors using English for example, students could become more engaged because they want to see how their own work was corrected, and could help their

classmates more effectively. Students may also receive individual feedback from the teacher on their assignments in English to be more cautious of them.

In conclusion, the results of this thesis suggests that the code-switched variety could be added to the five levels of Arabic in Dr. Badawi's model (1973). It can be argued that the code-switched Egyptian Colloquial – English is a language variety in and of itself and it viewed in a positive light. It is a variety used by Egyptian youth in the university community. For the international students learning Arabic, it is important for the students to understand this variety so that they can better navigate through and participate in this community.

5.2 Limitations of the study:

This study used a relatively small convenience sample of 40 university students, and the results cannot be generalized to the larger Egyptian population or non-Arabic speaking population. The participants were attending a particular private university in Cairo where there is an emphasis on the use of both English and Arabic. They also self-identified as middle to upper class and either attended international schools in Egypt or schools in the United States. This may also have influenced their choices coming from more of a Western influenced background. However, this study can provide some insight into a possible changing perception of code-switching with less of a negative association. It is important to compare these results with those of university students from Upper Egypt or the Delta who came to Cairo for university education as it may also represent a broader cross section of Egyptian society and give more insight to both the attitude toward CS and the influence of gender by examining if a rural vs. urban background has an impact as time and accessibility constraints prevented the inclusion of this group. Also, not factored in is the gender of the listener this may also play a role in the overall attitude toward CS. These can be areas of further study and investigation.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire Items

Part 1 - Biographic Data:

Please fill out the following:

Age:

Gender:

Nationality:

Country where you grew up:

University major:

High School Graduated From:

What year are you in your university studies?

Did you obtain the Egyptian Certificate for Secondary Education (Thanaweya Amma)?

Would you consider your family upper class, middle class or lower class?

What level of education did your parents reach?

Where do you live?

Part 2- Language Attitudes (Reigh, 2014)

Please respond to the following statements using:

(4)Strongly agree – (3) Agree – (2) Disagree – (1) Strongly disagree

* Egyptians who mix English and Egyptian Arabic:

1. Don't know the Arabic equivalent
2. Do so because there is not an Arabic equivalent
3. Do so to fit into their social group
4. Do so to show off
5. Sound confused
6. Sound intelligent
7. Do so as a result of their educational background
8. Do so because it is a natural form of communication to them

* Mixing English and Egyptian Arabic:

1. Compromises the Arabic language
2. Is a widely accepted form of communication
3. Leads to the weakening of Egyptian/Arab cultural traditions
4. Leads to enhanced communication

Appendix B: Verbal-Guise

After hearing the recorded sample, please rate the speaker on the trait continuum:

- Educated 4 3 2 1 Uneducated
- Rich 4 3 2 1 Poor
- Honest 4 3 2 1 Dishonest
- Intelligent 4 3 2 1 Unintelligent
- Socialable 4 3 2 1 Unsocialable
- Confident 4 3 2 1 Unconfident
- Energetic 4 3 2 1 Lazy
- Enthusiastic 4 3 2 1 Hesitant

Appendix C: Interview Questions

1. Growing up, did your family switch between Arabic and English to communicate? Explain.
2. Were you encouraged to speak more than one language in your home? Why/why not?
3. Do you switch between Arabic and English to communicate with your friends? Explain.
4. Are there differences between AUC students and students from other Egyptian public universities and if so what are they?
5. Do you think that it is better to speak only one language or to mix languages and why?
6. What are some reasons that you mix Arabic and English?
7. What are some advantages of mixing languages?

Appendix D: Means for all traits

	G	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
EducatedUneducated_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.60	.503	1.000
Educated/Uneducated_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.60	.681	1.000
RichPoor_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.50	.513	.537
Rich/Poor_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.60	.503	.537
HonestDishonest_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.95	.887	.101
Honest/Dishonest_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.35	.587	.102
IntelligentUnintelligent_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.85	.745	.287
Intelligent/Unintelligent_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.10	.718	.287
SocialableUnsocialable_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.55	.605	.492
Socialable/Unsocialable_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.40	.754	.492
ConfidentUnconfident_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.30	.571	.113
Confident/Unconfident_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.60	.598	.113
EnergeticLazy_fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.90	.968	.108
Energetic/Lazy_fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.35	.745	.108

EnthusiasticHesitant _fcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.85	1.089	.122
Enthusiastic/Hesitant _fcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.30	.657	.124
EducatedUneducate d_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.45	.510	.757
Educated/Uneducate d_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.40	.503	.757
RichPoor_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.80	.696	.092
Rich/Poor_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.20	.768	.092
HonestDishonest_fnc s	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.60	.681	.359
Honest/Dishonest_fn cs	2 non native speakers	20	3.40	.681	.359
IntelligentUnintelligen t_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.30	.470	.768
Intelligent/Unintellige nt_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.35	.587	.768
SocialableUnsocialab le_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.80	.768	.402
Socialable/Unsociala ble_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.00	.725	.402
ConfidentUnconfiden t_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.10	.788	.673
Confident/Unconfide nt_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.20	.696	.673
EnergeticLazy_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.45	.826	.019
Energetic/Lazy_fncs					

	2 non native speakers	20	3.10	.852	.019
EnthusiasticHesitant_fncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.60	.883	.055
Enthusiastic/Hesitant_fncs	2 non native speakers	20	3.15	.875	.055
EducatedUneducated_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.60	.598	.249
Educated/Uneducated_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.35	.745	.250
RichPoor_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.80	.410	.129
Rich/Poor_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.50	.761	.131
HonestDishonest_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.85	.933	.250
Honest/Dishonest_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.15	.671	.251
IntelligentUnintelligent_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.70	.923	.318
Intelligent/Unintelligent_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	2.95	.605	.319
SocialableUnsocialable_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.50	.827	1.000
Socialable/Unsocialable_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.50	.761	1.000
ConfidentUnconfident_mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.45	.759	.161
Confident/Unconfident_mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.10	.788	.161

EnergeticLazy_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.35	.933	.040
Energetic/Lazy_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	2.75	.851	.040
EnthusiasticHesitant_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.20	1.005	.315
Enthusiastic/Hesitant_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	2.90	.852	.315
EducatedUneducated_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.20	.768	.519
Educated/Uneducated_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.05	.686	.519
RichPoor_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.00	.562	.379
Rich/Poor_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.20	.834	.380
HonestDishonest_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	3.00	1.026	.377
Honest/Dishonest_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.25	.716	.378
IntelligentUnintelligent_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.75	.851	.013
Intelligent/Unintelligent_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	3.35	.587	.014
SocialableUnsocialable_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.40	.821	.723
Socialable/Unsocialable_ mcs	2 non native speakers	20	2.50	.946	.723
ConfidentUnconfident_ mcs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	2.40	.940	.357

Confident/Unconfident _ mncs	2 non native speakers	20	2.65	.745	.358
Energetic/Lazy_ mncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	1.55	.686	.016
	2 non native speakers	20	2.15	.813	.016
Enthusiastic/Hesitant _ mncs	1 Egyptians from international schools	20	1.65	.671	.032
	2 non native speakers	20	2.15	.745	.032

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