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The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Code-Switching in Relation to Gender and Social Class: The case of an Egyptian TV Series**

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts

By

Ayatallah Mohamed Amin

Under the supervision of Dr. Reem Bassiouney

Dr. Atta Gebril

Dr. Amira Agameya

May 2018

The American University in Cairo

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**Code-Switching in Relation to Gender and Social Class: The case of an Egyptian TV Series**

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
The degree of Master of Arts  
in Applied linguistics

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzed stylized performance of Arabic-English code-switching (CS) and its interaction with gender, social class, and social networks in the context of the Egyptian comedy TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*. The theories of indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1976), stance (Du Bois, 2007), and social networks (Milroy, J. & Milroy, L., 1985) were used to answer the research questions: 1) What is the social motivation for Arabic-English CS in relation to social class and gender specifically in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*? 2) How do social networks as a variable affect Arabic-English CS of the main character in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?

It was found that there is no common stance taken through CS that is typical of the high or the low social class or of a particular gender. Characters who belong to the low social class in Egypt are not portrayed in the TV series as constantly aggressive towards the high social class. They try to disassociate themselves from “localness” and align with the high social class using CS. However, they change their initial stance of alignment only when a salient aggressive disalignment by the high social class takes place. It was found that metalinguistic discourse about or containing CS instances between low and high social classes is always accompanied by a negative disalignment stance. Regarding gender in the TV series, it was concluded that, besides females, the Egyptian low social class males code-switch in an attempt to speak in a more prestigious way to resemble the higher social class and gain their approval.

Regarding the frequency of CS in relation to change in social networks, it decreased when the main female character decides to affiliate with her ‘low social class’ side of the family. Finally, the thesis identified a relationship between social networks, social class and stance. Change in social networks results in a change in stance where the direction of the change in the stance depends on the social class that constitutes the new social network.

**Key words:** Code-switching, stylized performance, TV series, stance, indexicality, social networks, English, Arabic, Egypt.

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## List of symbols used

The present study uses the IPA system used in (Bassiouney, 2009)

Arabic letter	IPA symbol
ا	a/a:
ء	ʔ
ح	ħ
خ	x
ش	ʃ
ص	ʂ
ض	ɖ
ط	ʈ
ع	ʕ
ع	ʕ
غ	ɣ
ق	q
و	w/u/u:/ɔ:/ɔ:
ي	y/i/i:/e/e:
ة	-a

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Code-switching (CS) is the phenomenon of shifting between languages “in an unchanged setting” and “within the same utterance”; it can vary from a one-word switch to whole sentences (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p.2). CS’s communicative importance is manifested in the subconscious semantic information it transmits through verbal interaction (Gumperz, 1982). Speakers use CS with the discourse function of communicating “metaphoric information” based on knowledge of the interlocutors’ social norms and rules (Gumperz, 1982). Thus, the sociolinguistic approach to studying CS investigates its communicative social motivation and context which is crucial to understanding the culture and social norms of a particular group of people (Bullock & Toribio, 2009).

On the other hand, studying stylized performance of CS, as represented by media producers and writers, as opposed to natural recordings of conversations, reveals a different perspective of the phenomenon. It allows us to understand how it is represented in the media, which has its additional importance. The significance of examining CS as portrayed in TV series is that the characters’ development and presentation are displayed according to the set narrative determined for them (Piazza, Bednarek, & Rossi, 2011). This set narrative is the mirror of the culture at its time of production or the future prediction of how the culture is going to be like as a result of the influence the series will have on its audience. Additionally, comedy as a dramatic form of humor is utilized as an effective tool for persuading audience of certain ideas through putting them in a “mental experience” of solidarity and a tension relieving state of mind (Apte, 1992). Moreover, humor could be used for criticizing certain concepts or behaviors (Apte, 1992). The above mentioned influence of TV in general, and comedy TV series in particular, increases with the popularity of the TV series. This influence makes it important to study the

sociolinguistic features within the TV series. Accordingly, this thesis will investigate CS instances in the popular Egyptian comedy TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*.

### **Literature review**

To analyze CS sociolinguistically and understand its social motivation, there are various themes that will be discussed in the literature review namely: CS motivation, network theory, indexicality, stance, stylized performance of CS on TV, and variables interacting with CS namely gender, social class, and social networks.

Bassiouney (2009) summarizes the possible motivations for CS mentioned in (Gumperz, 1982; Romaine, 1995), namely: Quotations, to specify the addressee as the recipient of the message, reiterations and interjections, to qualify a message, to differentiate between what is personal and what is general, as sentence fillers, to clarify or emphasize a point, to shift to a new topic, to mark the type of discourse, or to specify a social arena. However, more functions that are not included in this list can arise according to the context and the interlocutors. This list cannot be generalizable since it is extremely descriptive (Bassiouney, 2009). Therefore, more abstract theories came to place to understand CS as a universal phenomenon without resorting to function lists that will inevitably be outdated and incomplete. The early theories were the accommodation theory by Giles, Dillon, and Thakerar (1980), the social arena theory by Scotton and Ury (1977), and the markedness theory by Myers-Scotton (1998). These theories were then modified by the network theory, which came along the second wave of language variation (the social network approach) by Milroy (1985), as well as, later, by indexicality theory by Silverstein (1976, 1985, 2003) and Ochs (1992) as well as the stance theory by Du Bois (2007). Accordingly, this thesis will use the indexicality, stance, and social network theory as the

theoretical framework to explain the CS instances in the TV series. This theoretical framework was chosen since these theories are the most valid ones in the researcher's opinion.

Network theory is one of the theoretical frameworks which will be used to investigate the motivation for CS. CS is affected by an individual's social network. The social network is defined as "the web-like pattern of relationships among individuals" that includes members of one's family, work, and community (Daming, Xiaomei, & Wei, 2009). Social networks of a person are not static; they change over time and accordingly knowledge construction and language choices of that person change as well (Daming et al., 2009). To collect data, ethnography is one of the main methods used in the networks theory since the focus of the studies is on "locally relevant groupings and naturally occurring speech" (Preece, 2016, p.52). It is worth mentioning that social networks are viewed in this thesis as both a theoretical framework and a variable.

Another theory describing the motivation for CS is indexicality which is defined as the semiotic connection created between linguistic features and social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1985). It is "a relation of associations through which utterances are understood" (Bassiouney, 2010). Thus using a code that is associated with the authority of courtrooms in a context outside a courtroom will index authority (Bassiouney 2010). Bhatt (2008) studied the rationale behind the use of Hindi in English newspapers in India by analyzing 1,627 CS instances in two Indian English newspapers over a period of 5 years. Results showed that CS was used to reflect a new social ideology which mixes "global identity with the local practices" given the indexes of English and Hindi in the Indian culture (Bhatt, 2008).

The third theory that explains CS motivation is the stance theory. Identity is created and reinforced through stance taking which takes place when an individual positions himself/herself

or other people into certain categories shaping his/her identity as well as others (Bassiouney, 2010). Du Bois's triangle framework describes the three dimensions to stance taking namely: evaluation, positioning, and alignment (Du Bois, 2007). According to Du Bois (2007), evaluation takes place as a speaker tries to find a certain value for an object like an utterance for example. After evaluation, positioning occurs when the speaker decides on a value for the object and chooses to take a stance that would align or disalign him/her from that object.

Another important theme in the literature of CS is stylized performance. Bauman and Briggs (1990) referred to performance as a "verbal art" with symbolic social meaning that reflexively studies linguistic styles, ideologies, and contextual meanings. Language is utilized as a tool for communication between the performers and the audience with the goal of shaping social constructs (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). Thus, studying stylized performance of CS is important given its role in "social construction of reality and reflexivity" (Bauman and Briggs, 1990).

In this study, stylistic performance of CS will be analyzed using indexicality, stance, and social networks. Arabic-English CS has different indexes, thus it is used as a tool that characters use differently to position themselves and take specific stances. Therefore, the focus will be on identifying the different indexes and stances taken utilizing CS as a linguistic resource.

Moreover, the research aims at investigating how the density and multiplexity of the characters' social networks impact the stances they take.

An example of a study analyzing CS on TV in an Arabic context is Abu Mathkour (2004), who studied the Arabic-English CS function and frequency among different genders in recorded speech in a variety of Jordanian TV talk shows. However, the data in the research on TV talk shows is considered natural recording which is different from stylistic use of CS in TV series.

Reviewing the literature shows that studies of stylized performance of CS in general, and in Arabic/Egyptian TV series in particular, are very few (if not non-existent) since sociolinguistically studying data that comes from performed speech, not natural conversations, is a relatively new field. One of the few studies is Lee (2014), who gathered humorous English instances from popular Korean Television programs of high ratings like dramas, reality shows, talk shows, and quiz shows (Lee, 2014). He concluded that using English on Korean TV programs reflects the problems and mixed feelings Koreans have when using English. Mastery of English is highly in demand, which in turn creates a feeling of fear towards the language. He added that Korean TV programs associate English competency with the sophisticated Koreans and the lack of fluency with the underprivileged (Lee, 2014). This context is relevant to the Egyptian one, where English is portrayed as the language used by people of the upper social class or by people of lower status that are trying to cope with English as a means to thrive in their community. However, Lee's study never mentioned the word "code-switching", rather he referred to English usage and hybridization. Moreover, the study did not focus on one TV series, rather he looked for humorous instances in a wide variety of mass-mediated genres on TV.

One of the variables that interact with CS is social class. Societies are divided into a hierarchy of social classes. Social classes are defined by differences in economic, education, and familial prestige (Salzmann, Stanlaw, & Adachi, 2015). The interaction between CS and social class was scrutinized by Al-Khatib (2003), who found that bilingual Arabs utilize Arabic-English CS to defy the macro-social unmarked norms in order to challenge existing power-relations, disrupt prevailing interpersonal positions, and create new micro-situations.

Another important variable that interacts with CS is gender which is the "socially constructed categories based on sex" (Coates, 2015). One of the studies that included gender as a

variable in CS in the Arab world context is Ismail (2015), who compared the frequency and type of Arabic-English CS in Saudi males versus Saudi females in mixed versus single-sex contexts. Results showed that overall females code-switched more than males in both single and mixed-sex contexts utilizing the prestige index of English in Saudi Arabia. A review of the literature has found that gender and Arabic-English CS in the Arab world is an area that has not been thoroughly investigated because of various gender and cultural related issues that could hinder researchers from accessing participants.

### **The research gap**

Based on the above literature, there are few studies that investigated CS in TV series in general and Arabic-English CS in particular. Moreover, as stated above, gender and Arabic-English CS in the Arab world is an area that needs further research. Accordingly, to the best knowledge of the researcher, this will be the first paper to investigate stylized performance Arabic-English CS and its interaction with gender, social class, and social networks in the context of an Egyptian comedy TV series.

Accordingly, the aim of the study is to analyze how the stylized performance of Arabic-English code-switching among different social classes and genders is portrayed in the Egyptian TV series. The purpose is to identify the social motivation of CS among the different genders and social class categories in the TV series. The different indexes and stance taking associated with the CS instances of the characters will be investigated to better detect the CS social motivation among the genders and social classes. Furthermore, the paper will investigate the effect of the change in social network on CS by comparing it at the beginning and at the end of the TV series utilizing the social networks theory, indexicality, and stance.

Studying CS from the script of TV series can provide insight into how the phenomenon is represented in the media. Although “Televisual discourse” is not real, it is a deliberately chosen fictional discourse considered as a re-creation of reality that is in line with socio-cultural conventions and media logic of the society within the particular time it is being produced (Piazza et al., 2011). Which highlights the importance of investigating TV series as a mirror of the culture at its time of production. The author deliberately chooses every code-switching instance for a definite purpose. Moreover, TV series not only have a role in representing “established beliefs, norms, and value systems”, but also are potential tools to redefine reality (Bassiouney, 2010; Piazza et al., 2011). Thus, understanding CS through an Egyptian TV series is pivotal in knowing the culture and motivation of the current phenomenon in the Egyptian society or its future because of how it will influence the viewers. The influence TV series have on viewers is significant since characters have strong connections with the viewers as a result of the “persistence and regularity of the broadcast” and characters’ (Piazza et al., 2011). Furthermore, there is a direct relationship between the popularity of the character and the connection it has with the viewers. Since “Nelly and Sherihan” is a popular TV series with approximately 9 million views on the YouTube channel, it is an important source for linguistic investigation with its wide effect on millions of viewers in Egypt and across the Arab world.

### **Research Questions**

- 1- What is the social motivation for Arabic-English CS in relation to social class and gender specifically in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?
- 2- How do social networks as a variable affect Arabic-English CS of the main character in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?



## **Delimitations**

There are three approaches to analyzing code-switching, namely: structural, psycholinguistic (cognitive aspect of CS), and sociolinguistic (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Since the study aims to identify the social motivation for CS in the TV series, the focus of this thesis will be on the sociolinguistic analysis of CS. Thus, the other two approaches are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Moreover, the study will not cover the perception of the Egyptian viewers regarding the CS instances, nor is it concerned with naturally occurring conversations between Egyptians. Since every CS instance is deliberately chosen by the author of the TV series for a definite purpose, the focus is on stylized performance of CS as a method of analyzing how Arabic-English CS is depicted on TV.

## **Definitions of Constructs**

### **First: Theoretical constructs**

- Code-switching: Shifting between languages “in an unchanged setting” and “within the same utterance” varying from a one-word switch to whole sentences (Bullock & Toribio, 2009)
- Social class: differences in economic, education, and familial prestige (Salzmann et al., 2015). Labov (1966) mentioned three criteria for socioeconomic classification that are based on attributes people gained at different times in their lives namely occupation of the breadwinner (earliest stage), education of the individual (later on in life), and family income adjusted for family size (present status)” (p.189, 191).

## **Second: Operational constructs**

- CS: The intentional, preplanned, stylized “staged” performance of English utterances that take place in the middle of an Arabic conversation not the one involved in “everyday” conversations. English switching can vary from one word to whole sentences.
- Gender: Coates (2015) describes gender as the term indicating “socially constructed categories based on sex” (male or female).
- Social class: social class division (high versus low) will depend on differences in economic status and educational and familial prestige explicitly mentioned or indexed through profession, school, neighborhood, command of English Language, access to other foreign languages, wearing designer clothes, lifestyle choices, home furnishing features, club’s membership, and economic status of family and friends.

## **List of Abbreviations**

- CS: Code-switching

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will include a review of the literature covering all aspects pertinent to the study. The literature review will cover the definition of CS, sociolinguistic aspects of CS, stylized performance of CS on TV, and the different theoretical frameworks used to explain social motivations of CS including the ones that will be used in the study (social networks, indexicality, and stance). Moreover, the chapter will include previous literature on the relationship between CS and social class and gender.

### Definition of code-switching

CS is the phenomena of bilinguals shifting between languages “in an unchanged setting” and “within the same utterance” varying from a one-word switch to whole sentences (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). There are three approaches to analyzing code-switching, namely structural, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). The structural approach to CS analyzes the phonological, semantic, syntactic, morphological, and lexical structures of the language (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). As for the psycholinguistic approach, it focuses on studying “the cognitive mechanisms” behind CS (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Regarding the third approach to studying code-switching, the sociolinguistic approach, it investigates the social motivation and context of the CS phenomena (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). The focus of this thesis will be on the sociolinguistic analysis of CS since the study aims to analyze the social motivations of the stylized performance of CS in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*.

### Sociolinguistic aspect of code-switching

Gumperz (1982) was the first scholar to draw attention to the role of the individual choice and agency as a trigger for the CS phenomena. Prior research had been concerned with the different linguistic structures and grammatical descriptions of CS (Gumperz, 1982). John Gumperz examined CS sociolinguistically by analyzing the communicative aspect of CS and the

subconscious semantic information it transmits through verbal interaction. Gumperz differentiated between the situational and conversational CS. Situational CS is switching of varieties according to different settings, activities, and group of people like the case of diglossia. He states that “each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire” creating a simple relationship between the use of language and the social context (Gumperz, 1982, p.61). Regarding conversational CS, Gumperz states that the speaker uses CS unconsciously with the discourse function of communicating metaphoric information based on knowledge of the interlocutors’ social norms and rules. Gumperz (1982) describes conversational CS, the focus of this thesis, as “juxtaposition of cultural standards” (p.65). Gumperz (1982) and Romaine (1995) displayed a list of possible functions for code-switching that arise in conversations namely: to quote, to address a certain message to a specific recipient, to interject as sentence fillers, to reiterate, to qualify a message, to distinguish between personal and general statements, to emphasize a point, to shift between different topics, to signify a certain discourse type, or to specify a social arena. However, more functions that are not included in this list can arise according to the context and the interlocutors.

Moreover, CS on the individual level is closely tied to and cannot be separated from community patterns, norms, and ethnic situation that in turn results in varying purpose and use from one bilingual community to the other (Poplack, 1988). Shana Poplack (1988) states that, to describe CS, various factors need to be taken into consideration, namely the community patterns, bilingual ability of the individual, and whether or not the context allows for alternative solutions to CS mode. Poplack had a study comparing CS among Puerto Ricans in New York (Spanish/English Contact) and five neighborhoods in Ottawa-Hull, Canada (French English contact) (Poplack, 1988). The study shows that while the same phenomenon, CS, exists in both

communities, its status could be different. Regarding the Puerto Ricans, they use CS, in a manner that minimizes the saliency of the switch, as a discourse strategy that reflects their dual identity with no conversational function. On the other hand, in Canada, CS is used saliently for a specific function either for finding the best expression for a word, as a metalinguistic commentary, or for explanation.

### **Stylized performance of Code-switching on TV**

The CS of interest in this research is stylized performed CS not the naturally occurring CS during speech. Data from performance differs from that of daily conversation in that it is linguistically stylized. Bauman and Briggs (1990) referred to performance as a “verbal art” with symbolic social meaning that reflexively studies linguistic styles, ideologies, and contextual meanings. Language is utilized as a tool for communication between the performers and the audience with the goal of shaping social constructs (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). They thus urged linguistic anthropologists to study stylized performance given its role in “social construction of reality and reflexivity” (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). Bauman and Briggs (1990) refer to the three processes that performance undertakes namely entextualization, decontextualization, and recontextualization. Entextualization is the process of transforming a stretch of discourse in a social setting into text that can be used in different social contexts, but still holding on to some features of its history (Bauman and Briggs, 1990, p.16). Bauman and Briggs described entextualised text as “discourse rendered decontextualizable”. Thus, performance changes oral speech into an object of display and encourages the audience to examine it (entextualization), apply it in different contexts (decontextualization, and recontextualization), and compare between real life social practices and the performed ones (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). Johnstone and Bean (1997) confirmed that performance uses stylized linguistic choices that are more

informative than that of the vernacular choices in terms of how sociolinguistic resources are established. Georgakopoulou (2008) stated that language produced in real life conversations by British 14-15-year-old students in a school are affected by the language performed in the media as well as in communication technologies. Moreover, Carlyon and Morrow (2014), in their book “Changing Times: New Zealand since 1945”, which describes the evolution of the country in various aspects, emphasize the important influence of American performance in Hollywood movies and on TV –which was the number one source of entertainment for families in the country– on New Zealanders in all aspects of life including even fashion. Bill Pearson reacted to a Hollywood movie review in 1953 by stating that “Hollywood is “the most effective propaganda for the American way of life” by being “a Voice of America indoctrinating millions of foreigners by means of sensation.” (Carlyon & Morrow, 2014).

As stated above, performance is “a specific discursive format which packages up stylistic and socio-semantic complexes and makes them transportable” (Coupland, 2007, p. 155).

Coupland (2001) defined stylization as “the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context”. Coupland (2007) highlights the characteristics of stylization. Stylized performance involves creative metaphoric projections of well-known stereotypical personas reflecting values and ideologies of groups of people at a specific point in time (Coupland, 2007). Projections are “stylistic echoes of very familiar media characters who have quite regularly been targets of vocal impersonation by others” (Coupland, 2007, p.154). Therefore, stylized performance is intentional, metacommunicative, and radically communicates its own meaning (Coupland, 2007). Thus, stylization emphasizes stereotypes of specific discourse communities (Coupland, 2001). Audience of stylized performance, an important part in stylized performance,

are able to understand and reflect on the symbolic meaning behind the projected characters and current practices through comparing between the recipients' values and identities with the performers' (Coupland, 2007). Stylization allows the audience to re-evaluate prevailing cultural values and norms by taking real life situations and adding to them novel and unconventional identities and social values (Coupland, 2007). To create this dissonant effect, stylized performances are "emphatic and hyperbolic realizations of their targeted styles" (Coupland, 2007, p.154). Coupland (2007) describes stylization as "strategic inauthenticity, with complex implications for personal and cultural authenticity". However, as with all creative art, some stylized works are effective and influence the audience more than others (Coupland, 2007). Coupland counteracted the idea that performance is fake and unrelated to real life. He emphasized that the importance of performance is in the gap between "what we think of as a real social practice and performed social practice, and because of the critical reflexivity it encourages" (Coupland, 2007, p. 155). Moreover, stylized performance reveals what people know about the stereotypes attached to their linguistic patterns, unlike spontaneous speech that is usually not intentional (Johnstone & Bean, 1997). In this thesis, the focus will be on groups that can be stylized with relative ease since they have socio-cultural associations that have to do with gender and social class (Braber, 2017). The research aims to analyze CS stereotypical associations within a "multiple models" framework; associations different from one group to another as well as from one person to another within the same group (Jaffe, 2000; Johnstone & Bean, 1997).

Bell and Gibson (2011), who identified two types of performance namely, the previously mentioned, "staged" performance and the "everyday conversational" performance, explained the similarities and differences between both types. Regarding the similarities, both have specific

roles for the performer and audience; accidental and temporary for the “everyday” performance while intentional and of some duration for the “staged” performance. However, the “conversational” performance is different from that of the “staged” performance in that the later has preplanning, physical setup, venue, framing and social expectations (Bell and Gibson, 2011).

In the present study, the CS instances in the TV series “*Nelly and Sherihan*” have intentional preplanned roles for the performers, specific venues in which CS takes place, as well as social expectations. Therefore, the focus of this study is on “staged” performance. Accordingly, for the rest of the paper, the word “stylized performance” will refer to the abovementioned “staged” performance.

An example of a study on performance is Coupland (2001) which analyzed dialect stylization in a series of extracts from a morning light entertainment show called “*The Roy Noble Show*” on BBC radio Wales. The show uses dialect stylization as a creative means to entextualize Welshness and project shifting social personas and stances (Coupland, 2001). In an attempt to counteract the practices of the “traditional Welsh culture” guardians, who are viewed as repressors of social change, the show uses humor performance of dialect stylization to laugh with (not laugh at) speakers of Welsh English (Coupland, 2001). The show displays symbolic traditional Welsh forms and invites the audience to scrutinize and reflect on them (Coupland, 2001). Coupland concludes that mass-mediated stylization allows for the inevitable cultural self-reflexive process that leads to the reproduction of culture. Coupland (2001) emphasizes that in modern days, cultural understanding is no longer done through traditional direct ways. Thus, not being so focused on the traditional practices and not being “in the culture” is not considered “impure” or not authentic, rather it is considered a path to authenticity and deeper cultural understanding (Coupland, 2001). Accordingly, entextualization, which allows for performance of



culture in a creative way, helps in capturing the essence of culture and in its continuity (Coupland, 2001).

Another study examining the relationship between stylized performance in TV series and real life conversational language production is Gibson and Bell (2010). The TV series studied was an animated comedy TV series called *bro 'Town* which depicts various English varieties of first and second generations of Polynesian immigrants. Gibson and Bell (2010) analyzed a number of linguistic variables and their indexes. The study found that DH-stopping, TH-fronting, and unaspirated initial /p/s features indexed the identity of the older generation who are influenced by their first language (Gibson and Bell, 2010). On the other hand, Linking-/r/ feature was associated with the younger second generation (Gibson and Bell, 2010). Gibson and Bell (2010) concluded that, unlike some claims that disapprove of the ability of TV to mirror real life practices, this comedy TV series is evidence of the capability of the mass-mediated performance to reflect the real identities and linguistic features of language produced by groups within a community. Although Gibson and Bell (2010) focus on linguistic features unlike this paper which studies performance sociolinguistically, it is a very important study since it adds to the equation the factor of age. Accordingly, this research will investigate the difference (if any) in CS of characters belonging to different age groups. In *Nelly and Sherihan*, the four young main characters code-switch as well as their parents and older relatives. Scrutinizing CS in its context along with adding in the variable of age leads to deeper understanding of its usage in the TV series.

Below is a review of the literature regarding studies that mention performance and code switching in chronological order:

A study advocating the effect of mass mediated stylized speech on conversational daily code-switching is Rampton (1991). Rampton analyzed the phenomena of English-Punjabi codeswitching among British teenagers. He examined the spontaneous speech of 62 (40 males and 22 females) British-born participants of Afro-Caribbean, Anglo, Anglo/Afro-Caribbean, Bangladeshi, Indian, Indian/Anglo, and Pakistani origin. Rampton used observation, interviewing, and audiotape recording with microphones. To avoid the observer's paradox, Rampton recorded over four consecutive days to give the participants a chance to get comfortable and natural when talking with the microphones. Rampton (1991) concluded that CS took place in two contexts mainly; school playgrounds and youth clubs. The study proclaimed that code switching to Punjabi was used by black and white males in the school playground as an agonistic tool to show dominance during competitive games. Moreover, Rampton emphasized the effect of the Punjabi musical form "bhangra" on the CS of white girls in the youth clubs' contexts. Bhangra was played in youth clubs that were meeting hubs of white girls looking for, or already with, Punjabi boyfriends. This asserts the influence that stylized performance in the various verbal art forms, music in this case, has on the emergence of linguistic patterns including CS.

The study by Woolard (1995) analyzed mass-mediated codeswitching humorist Pere Bernal in a Spanish radio show. Woolard (1995) described CS as a "window on consciousness" in contexts related to politics and economy reflecting particular symbolic dominations and linguistic policies. He added that mass-mediated CS, particularly instances which are part of humorous performance, have social significance since the way of talking is tailored towards the audience's preferences or else no one would follow them. Moreover, using CS in jokes is a means to show the contradictions in the social structure and legitimacy of institutions (Woolard,

1995). Woolard explained that the language used on the radio is “the product of a collaboration among speakers, management, commercial sponsors, and the many people who constitute the audience” (Woolard, 1995, p.226). He analyzed the linguistic form, frequency, discourse function, and symbolic value of CS using Gumperz’s metaphorical code-switching and Goffman’s “changes in footing” (Woolard, 1995). Woolard concluded that the usage of Catalan in a predominantly Castilian-language station was a statement to show that Catalan was starting to infiltrate the dominating Castilian speakers. Although Catalan was portrayed in a humorous way (in the form of a parody), it is not making fun of Catalan or at Catalonia, rather, it is a way to showcase the Catalans sense of humor as opposed to Castilians (Woolard, 1995). Woolard described the bilingualism happening on the show as a battlefield between two languages, two peoples, and two political powers with a winner that cannot be predicted (Woolard, 1995).

Woolard (1995) has the same focus as this study which is the discourse function, and symbolic value of stylistic performance of CS. However, the present study is concerned with CS in a TV show, while Woolard’s focus was on CS on a radio show. Another difference is that, unlike the theoretical framework used by Woolard (Gumperz’s metaphorical code-switching and Goffman’s “changes in footing), this study examines CS using more relevant up to date theories namely indexicality, stance and social networks.

Abdullah & Buriro (2011) examined educated class public opinion regarding Urdu-English CS in TV talk shows of Urdu TV channels and its impact on communication. The qualitative study collected data from 25 questionnaires with respondents above 25 years, master level students of Hamdard University in Karachi (Abdullah & Buriro, 2011). The research showed that the participants believed that CS in the TV talk shows was used to enhance communication, convey a message easily, fill a shortage of vocabulary in one language, and

show that a person is educated (Abdullah & Buriro, 2011). However, there was no consensus on whether TV talk shows should have Urdu-English CS or only have Urdu (Abdullah & Buriro, 2011).

A study that is closely related to this thesis is Lee (2014), who investigated bilingualism on TV. Lee examined the sociolinguistic implications of English usage as a humorous tool on Korean TV. He gathered humorous English instances from popular Korean Television programs of high ratings like dramas, reality shows, talk shows, and quiz shows (Lee, 2014). He concluded that using English on Korean TV programs reflects the problems Koreans have when using English. Lee (2014) stated that Koreans have mixed feelings towards English. Mastery of English is highly in demand, which in turn creates a feeling of fear towards the language since it is hard to achieve high oral proficiency in it. This attitudinal duality regarding English made using it in the shows challenging to both the users and the viewers (Lee, 2014). Moreover, the ambivalence resulted in a hybridization and creative humorous usage of English (Lee, 2014). However, Lee (2014) described the hybridization as a polarizing factor that excluded those who are not proficient in English who cannot understand and be part of the display. He added that Korean TV programs associate English competency with the sophisticated Koreans and the lack of fluency with the underprivileged (Lee, 2014). Therefore, Lee concluded that using English in Korean humor alleviates the bilinguals' anxiety when using the language, but further increases the stress of those who are struggling with the language as well as widen the gap between the two groups (Lee, 2014). However, Lee (2014) never mentioned the word code-switching, rather they referred to English usage and hybridization. Moreover, the paper did not focus on one TV drama and put it under scrutiny, rather it included a wide range of genres focusing specifically on humorous instances only. Furthermore, the basis on which Lee (2014) defined what a humorous

usage is was not clear. In talk shows, the criteria might be the audience laughter, however, in the case of dramas, it is harder to decide whether the English used is meant for a humorous purpose or not. To avoid the ambiguity, therefore, this thesis will focus in general on Arabic to English Code-switching in one TV series without a focus on just CS humorous instances. However, it is worth mentioning that the genre of the TV series *Nelly and Sherihan* is comedy which entails the existence of a majority of intended humorous instances including CS instances.

The context of Lee's study is relevant to the Egyptian one, where English is portrayed as language used by people of high social class or, humorously, by people of lower status that are trying to cope with English as an obligation to thrive in their community. This is consistent with Labov's upward social mobility. Labov (1966) introduced social mobility, change of one's socioeconomic group, as a variable to determine linguistic behavior. Labov studied New York English sociolinguistic structure based on the socioeconomic status of individuals (Labov, 1966). He found that, contrary to predictions, groups with a history of upward mobility tend to have linguistic behaviors that belong to members of their immediate higher social class rather than having the features of the socioeconomic group that is immediately lower than theirs (Labov, 1966). In other words, groups who tend to undergo social mobility are always looking up and trying to mimic behaviors of the upper social class rather than holding on to past traces of linguistic behavior of the social class they previously belonged to. That is why, people of lower classes in Egypt view English as a linguistic feature that should be used in the process of upward social mobility.

Another study that examines the use of code-switching in a non-spontaneous performance context is Christoffersen & Shin (2017). Identity is not something that a person possesses, but it is something that is done. Consequently, identity is performed (Christoffersen &

Shin, 2017). Since an important characteristics of identity performance is the existence of an audience that interprets the linguistic features performed, Christoffersen & Shin (2017) considers interviews as a medium in which performance of identity takes place. Identity is performed through the co-construction of meaning between the interviewer and the interviewee who utilize certain linguistic features and code choices (Christoffersen & Shin, 2017). They add that studying the contexts in which narratives (stories) are embedded in interviews would lead to the conclusion that interviews are performed rather than spontaneous speech. If these narratives were not included in the analysis, interviews would then be spontaneous speech. Christoffersen & Shin (2017) used tap recorded controlled and free interviews of 350 speakers to analyze identity performance through code switching in New Mexican Spanish narratives. Out of this corpus, 10 interviews were scrutinized for qualitative analysis of identity performance using CS in narratives. They emphasized the importance of code switching as a performance tool to accept or reject certain ethnic identities. The theoretical framework used to analyze interviews was positioning. Christoffersen & Shin (2017) analyzed how interviewees position themselves in regards to interlocutors in their narratives as well as how they position themselves in the rest of the interview (master narrative). As an example, they found that a participant switched from Spanish to English during his narrative about his English teacher. Referring to his teacher, in English, the interviewee said: “You live in the United States, you speak English”. Christoffersen & Shin (2017) concluded that when talking about the oppressor, participants code-switched to the oppressor’s language to position themselves away from them and their language ideologies that are different from that of the interviewees. Christoffersen & Shin added that associating English with the teachers and aligning oneself to their native language emphasize the concept of “one nation, one people, one language”.

A review of the literature shows that stylized performance of Arabic-English Code-switching in TV series is a fertile field for further research. One of the very few studies done regarding Arabic to English CS on TV is Abu Mathkour (2004). Abu Mathkour (2004) investigates the conversational performance of Arabic-English CS function and frequency among different genders in 6 hours of recorded speech of 33 Jordanians, 82 CS instances, in a variety of Jordanian TV talk shows. The study showed that the functions of CS were quotation, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personification versus objectification (Abu Mathkour, 2004). Moreover, the results showed that interjection was more common among females while message qualification was more common among males (Abu Mathkour, 2004). The data in the research on TV talk shows is considered natural recording that is different from the scope of this thesis that focuses on stylized performance of CS in TV series. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill in the gap and investigate Arabic-English CS in an Egyptian TV series. This study aims for better understanding and giving insights of how Arabic-English code switching among different social classes and genders is generally portrayed in Egyptian TV serials.

### **Theoretical frameworks used to explain social motivations of CS**

As previously mentioned, Gumperz's work on CS cannot be generalizable as it is descriptive in nature and since CS cannot be studied away from the context and the social norms (Bassiouney, 2009). As a result, there were early abstract theories to understand CS as a universal phenomenon without resorting to lists of functions that will inevitably be outdated and incomplete and that take into account context and social aspects. The early theories are the Accommodation theory by Giles et al. (1980), the Social Arena theory by Scotton and Ury (1977), and the Markedness theory by Myers-Scotton (1998). These theories were then modified

by network theory that came along the second wave of language variation (the Social Network approach) by Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. (1985), as well as, later, by Indexicality theory by Silverstein (1976, 1985, 2003) and Ochs (1992) and Stance theory by Du Bois (2007).

As for Accommodation theory, it states that a person monitors and modifies his/her speech style, consciously or unconsciously, according to impressions and judgements s/he made about the interlocutor (Giles et al., 1980). The adjustment takes place as a means for declaring certain values and group alliances using the “social maps” at their disposal that determines the meaning of speaking in a particular way (Giles et al., 1980). Shifting the speech style to communicate social approval and group associations occurs in one of two ways, namely convergence (shifting the speech style towards others) and divergence (is moving away from the other speech style to indicate dissociation from the interlocutor) (Giles et al., 1980). People use divergence or convergence according to whether or not they want to align or distance themselves away from a certain group or the interlocutor.

Regarding Social Arena theory, early model in Scotten and Ury in 1977 described the motivation of CS as changing an interaction from one social arena (identity, power, transactional) to the other (Scotten & Ury, 1977). Carol Myers-Scotton (1986) analyzed CS between a girl and her brother in western Kenya. In her brother’s shop, the girl code-switched to their native language to emphasis her identity as his sister (Myers, 1986). However, refusing the social arena chosen by his sister, the brother replied in Swahili to emphasis another social arena, his identity as a shopkeeper, which gives him power over his sister (Scotten & Ury, 1977).



Thirdly, Markedness theory evolved after modification in Myers-Scotton (1995) early model where she describes CS as a method of establishing and negotiating rights and obligations sets (RO sets) between participants in any interaction type. Myers (1998) states that bilinguals have a “competency” to code choice and the ability to use such competency depends on being exposed to different kinds of interactions. This code choice can be defined as either unmarked or marked. When the choice is predicted within the context, it is unmarked and thus establishes this particular context’s unmarked RO sets (Myers, 1998). On the other hand, the choice is marked when it is a tool to establish RO sets that does not match “the community expectations” within a particular context (Myers, 1998). To assess whether or not a code choice is cognitively conscious, one should have an idea of what is the context’s social expectations (Myers, 1998). People are not always rational, thus, the theory cannot predict when a person will make a marked or unmarked choice (Myers, 1998). However, the theory cannot predict how choices are interpreted and explain why a choice in a specific context would have a lower frequency as opposed to another choice (Myers, 1998).

Li Wei (2005) built on Myers Rational Choice analysis by proposing a “dual-level approach” by adding Conversational Analysis (CA) approach to CS. Myers-Scotton model focuses on interpreting CS according to “external knowledge of community structure and relations”, whereas CA analysis turn-by-turn of CS in conversation (Wei, 2005). Li Wei (2005) did not get rid of Myer’s Rational Choice, rather, the dual level approach explains CS in its “talk-in-interaction” as well as how appropriate it is according to the norms of the external community. The study examined conversational CS by Chinese–English bilinguals, one of which was a dual level analysis of a conversation between a girl born in China but has been living in England since she was two with her mom who is fluent in both Chinese and English (Wei, 2005).

Rational choice analysis showed that the girl's marked choice of English, against the RO sets, when asking for money to go to the cinema was for politeness reasons and giving power to her mom (Wei, 2005). However, the evidence for that is only shown through CA where the timing of the request for money came after a "pre-sequence of indirect requests and silence (Wei, 2005). Moreover, CA shows that the girl responded in Chinese to her mother indirect refusal of the request that was in English (Wei, 2005).

### **Theoretical frameworks used in the present study**

#### **First: Social Network Theory**

The first important theory for this thesis is the social network theory, which is sometimes considered the main method that explains language variation (Bassiouny, 2009). This theory is part of second wave in sociolinguistic research. While the first wave quantitatively explained the use of specific linguistic variables and language use as a mere reflection of micro-sociological labels such as speaker sex, social class, age and ethnicity, the second wave qualitatively studies linguistic patterns and focuses on social agency in the use of language (Preece, 2016).

Ethnography is the main method used in the social network theory (Preece, 2016). Milroy pioneered studying language variation from a social network perspective. Milroy (1975) studied the speech of working class in Belfast's three communities namely Ballymacarrett, Hammer and Clonard. To gather more natural data, she conducted her interviews with the locals as a "friend of a friend" instead of interviews done with complete strangers (Milroy, 1975). She conducted interviews and recorded participants to be able to capture the social networks within the individuals in the community as well as the natural way they talked (Milroy, 1975). Milroy and Gordon defined a person's social network as "the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking

many individuals, sometimes remotely” (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.118). According to them, whether or not community norms are emphasized depends on the “norm enforcement mechanisms” of the social network namely, density and multiplexity (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.50). A large group of people who spend a lot of time because of having kinship connections, sharing the same workplace or neighborhood, or being part of a voluntary group constitutes a dense network. As to multiplex networks, they are dense networks that overlap for the same individual (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). A workplace that has individuals who are all neighbors is an example of a multiplex network. Members of the same social network are exposed to particular social locales and events, which in turn influence the way they construct knowledge (Daming et al., 2009). Social networks of a person are not static; they change over time and accordingly the person’s way of constructing knowledge (Daming et al., 2009). Moreover, social networks interact with sociolinguistic variables such as gender and social class (Aitchison, 2001). Aitchison (2001) mentioned how working class men move away from prestige forms to show toughness and be able to connect with their social network. On the other hand, Aitchison stated that women of the same social class use prestige forms as an attempt to move away from their social network and climb up the social ladder.

As for the methods used in this theory, the “friend of a friend” method of Milroy (1975) laid the foundation for the methods used for the social network theory. Data gathered are naturally occurring speech collected through ethnographic work of observations and interviews (Preece, 2016). CS is one of the elements that are affected by an individual’s social network (Daming et al., 2009). Daming et al., (2009) mention a quantitative study of four Chinese children who grow up in Britain that used parental checklist, weekly family recording, parental diary, monthly home observation with recording, and interviews with parents to measure the

change in language input and how it effects linguistic aspects such as CS. The study found that there was an interlocutor (caregiver) effect on CS; children code-switched only with their bilingual parents and the first language of the caregiver was the children's dominant language (Daming et al., 2009). Moreover, when the children started going to a nursery with English as the dominant language, their CS decreased (Daming et al., 2009).

The network theory is important in this study since it aims to investigate the difference, if any, in CS by the end of the TV series as the main characters' networks change drastically from their network at the beginning of the series. Thus, in this research social networks will be considered as a theoretical framework as well as a variable in addition to the other two variables (social class and gender) that will be examined in the present study and will be discussed later in the literature review. However, this study focuses on stylistic performance of CS not natural conversational CS; therefore, the analysis will concentrate only on the relevant aspects of the social networks theory which are mainly locality, the density and multiplexity of relations between the characters.

## **Second: Indexicality theory**

Indexicality is the semiotic connection created between linguistic features and social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1985). An index is a linguistic form like the first person pronoun (Silverstein, 1976). If one opts to understand the meaning of an index, one needs to know the context in which this linguistic choice took place (Silverstein, 1976). For example, when the words Daddy is heard by a child every time he sees his father, he associates these words with the arrival of his father (Johnstone 2010). In order to understand how linguistic forms relate to social meanings, indexical orders are used. Indexical order is crucial to understanding the relationship between the micro-social and

the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon (Silverstein, 2003). The indexical order are ordinal degrees (first order indexicality, second order, etc.) in which every nth order presupposes that the context in which it is normally used has a specific schematization that dictates the appropriateness of its usage in that particular context (Silverstein, 2003). An example would be identifying real Texans with a schematization that associate them with rural practices like being ranchers or cowboys (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). The first order indexical is a linguistic form that can be interpreted by referring to a socio-demographic identity or a semantic space (Silverstein, 2003). As for the second order indexical, it is a “creative” and “entailing” linguistic feature that has been assigned a native ideological meaning, which associates the form with a style of speech and a specific context (Silverstein, 2003). Regarding the third order indexical, it is a meta linguistic discourse interpretation of the second order index (Silverstein, 2003). Third order indexes take place when a subset of a second order linguistic feature becomes meaningful because of another schematization (Silverstein, 2003). Usage of the third order indexical features presupposes the context created by the second order and creates new contexts (Silverstein, 2003).

Auer (2005) studied CS as it indexes identity. He states that CS is used to indicate membership in a certain group in semiotic constellations such as local versus regional versus national, urban versus rural, indigenous versus colonial, and minority versus majority languages (Auer, 2005). Alternating between an “ethnically rich language” and another “neutralized language” spoken by a majority in a social field (Auer, 2005). The article mentions immigrants in Europe and the Americas as an example where the majority language is neutral while the minority language is a symbolic index of social identity, for example, Spanish-English CS could be done to establish an identity of a facilitator for Anglo-Latino groups (Auer, 2005). Finally,

Peter Auer (2005) mentions the situation of immigrants in Europe as a perfect example of a conflict in national identity where they code-switch instead of either creating a “language island” through being monolingual or completely losing their identity.

As previously mentioned, using index forms implies and constructs identity depending on the interactional context (Bassiouney, 2014). For example, a study examining diglossia in educated Egyptian men and women in talk shows reveals that women code-switched from Egyptian colloquial to MSA in certain contexts to index assertiveness (Bassiouney, 2009). Therefore, speakers have at their disposal a structured template of well-known associations between linguistic style and social meaning, which can be used to index meaning and reflect stance taking (Bassiouney, 2014).

To gain a better understanding of the social motivation of CS instances in *Nelly and Sherihan* TV series, the focus of this thesis, the study will identify the indexes of English and Arabic as related to class and gender in the Egyptian context.

### **Third: Stance theory**

Stance is the path that leads to creating a social identity through linguistic forms (Bassiouney, 2010). Stance is positioning yourself or other people into categories that form the identity of you as well as the other (Bassiouney, 2010). Du bois triangle framework describes the three dimensions to stance taking namely: evaluation, positioning, and alignment (Du Bois, 2007). A speaker evaluates an object, like an utterance, to be of a certain value then positioning happens when the speaker becomes certain of a specific stance-taking choice that would align or disalign the speaker forms the object that was evaluated (Du Bois, 2007). Stance is creating a link between the animator and the propositions of their talk and the interlocutors (Goffman, 1981). Kiesling (2017) explained that stance is the relationship between the speaker and a stance

object (human or inanimate). He explained that the stance object is a discursive figure that can be an interlocutor, a person represented in discourse, the animator, or it could be ideas represented in the discourse or in a previous discourse (Kiesling, 2017). An animator can create a relationship to something represented in the discourse (affect), to the discourse itself (investment), or to the interlocutors (alignment).

Stance in performed language of humorous TV series always has an implicit investment stance (Kiesling, 2017). Investment is low in performed language since audience knows that the conversations are not a representation of actual people, but an exaggerated or a critical version of these talks (Kiesling, 2017). Therefore, in performance, sometimes stance could be looked at as manipulated rather than a result of the situation (Kiesling, 2017). Consequently, analysis of performed language focuses on the signaling of performance (Kiesling, 2017).

A study that examined how performed dialects related to class and gender using stance as a theoretical framework is (Kiesling, 2017). He analyzed YouTube videos of a comedy series called *Greg and Donny*, which aims to parody the working class culture of the people who lived in Pittsburgh. The analysis focused on the perceived “Pittsburghese” and the interactional patterns the characters use. He used linguistic resources as well as paralinguistic resources like gestures (ex: smiles), body language of characters, as well as the context. The research found that the most common stance taken is disalignment even when the characters try to create solidarity. Kiesling concludes that oppositional stance in the series is typical of the working class interactions which is local disalignment with overall interactional alignment since they are talking to each other. He adds that the series aims at enregistering and re-enregistering the different Pittsburghese working class personas to circulate them. Characters are making fun of everyday problems, without rage, but with recognition and nostalgia at times.

This study will examine CS in relation to social class and gender by also shedding light on the stance of speakers in the series and how their stance differs according to their social class and gender. Code choice is viewed as a tool used by speakers to express stance. CS has indexes associated with social class and gender that all in turn reflect the stance taken by different characters in the series.

### **Code-switching, social class and gender**

In addition to social networks, there are other two sociolinguistic variables that will be used in this research namely social class and gender.

#### **First: Code-switching and social class**

Social class as a variable was studied differently according to the three waves of sociolinguistics. The first wave considered speakers as tokens and viewed the macro social variables like social class as the reason behind the usage of certain linguistic variables (Eckert, 2012). It did not account for individual's agency, different contexts, or differences among communities. It used the quantitative method and collected data through conducting interviews (Eckert, 2012). A seminal study of this wave is Labov (1966) who examines how social class division affected the usage of linguistic features in East side New York. He concluded that the linguistic feature of (th)-stopping is highly frequent among lower class New Yorkers, then working class, with the least frequency among Middle class (Labov 1966). A more recent example of a first wave study that focuses on the sociolinguistic variables such social class, age, education, and gender and their effect on CS is Sebonde (2012) who investigated the effect of social stratification on Chasu-Swahili and Chasu-English CS in a rural Chasu community in Tanzania. The study used interviews (for the study of CS) and questionnaires (to elicit information about age, gender, educational level, occupation). The results showed that CS to



Swahili and English is most frequent in the young, highly educated middle-class individuals as opposed to the lower class of pastoralists and peasants (Sebonde, 2012).

This thesis will be using the second and third wave in analyzing the interaction between CS and the social class variable. Regarding the second wave, as mentioned above, it views the usage of linguistic features as a choice made as a result of choice to express affiliation to a specific social identity (Eckert, 2012). Instead of quantitatively studying tokens, sociolinguistics started giving social agency to the use of language (Eckert, 2012). One of the classical studies associated with the second wave is the ethnographic study of Eckert that involved social class as a variable (1989). In her study, Eckert examined high school teenagers from a suburban part of Detroit. She described the social hierarchy of schools which allowed for two categories namely the jocks and the burnouts (Eckert, 1989). The jocks represented the middle class while the burnouts belonged to the working class. The jocks' social lives (networks) were strongly connected with their school friends, administrators and teachers. On the other hand, the burnouts did not mingle with the school community and chose networks from their neighborhoods. Eckert (1989) noticed that as schools' location got further away from the suburban parts, jocks' exhibited use of urban linguistic features while burnouts still used the suburban linguistic features like the nonstandard negation. The fact that their linguistic choices were different than that of their parents emphasizes the idea of a social identity that is not fully developed in childhood but is constantly changing with social networks changes (Eckert, 1989). Ultimately, social class stratifications were not "the fallout of education, occupation, and income, but rather reflect local dynamics rooted in practices and ideologies that shape, and are in turn shaped by, class" (Eckert, 1989, p.92).

As for the third wave, instead of focusing on social agency, it emphasized individual agency and social indexes of linguistic features (Eckert, 1989). Individuals' choice of linguistic variables is constantly changing as a result of the "mutability" of the social meanings (indexes) of these variables (Eckert, 1989, p.94). Consequently, individuals chose to use variables of certain indexes for a variety of reasons like attempting to belong to, disalign from, or mock a group of people (Eckert, 1989). One of the studies that investigated CS and social class from the third wave perspective is Al-Khatib (2003) who qualitatively examined whether macro-social factors constrain bilingual performance through 6 months of natural recording of 3 Arab youth who grow up in London which resulted in collecting 112 CS instances (Al-Khatib, 2003). The study showed that the 3 bilingual participants utilize CS to defy the macro-social unmarked norms in order to challenge existing power-relations, disrupt prevailing interpersonal positions, and create new micro-situations (Al-Khatib, 2003).

## **Second: Code-switching and Gender**

The first wave assumes direct connection between variables like gender and linguistic choices of people. Wolfram (1969) examined gender in the first wave by looking into African Americans vernacular speech in Detroit and concluded that women's speech was more standard than men's speech regardless of their social class. On the other hand, Labov (2001) found that only middle class women have choose the standard speech as opposed to men from the middle class, while working class women has less standard speech than men from the same social class. A recent study that investigates gender and CS is Poplack (1980). She introduced the concept of high linguistic competence as a prerequisite for types of advanced codeswitching like the switching within a single sentence referred to as intra-sentential (Poplack, 1980). The paper studied 1,835 CS instances of 20 Puerto Ricans, with varying levels of bilingual abilities, from

New York City, using quantitative analysis of recorded speech in both interview and natural settings (Poplack, 1980). The study included sex as one of the factors affecting CS choice (Poplack, 1980). Results showed that women, as “vanguard of linguistic change” as, code-switched more than 50% of the CS instances in the advanced intra-sentential type while men code-switched third of their CS instances using that type (Poplack, 1980).

Like social class, this research will be using both the second and third wave approaches to studying CS and its interaction with the gender as a variable.

As for the second wave, females and males’ linguistic variants were correlated with the social networks’ that they are closely connected to. In a study by Edwards (1992), women were found to use the nonstandard vernacular Black English more than males. This contradicted conclusions from the first wave that females choose more standard speech than males (Edwards, 1992). Edwards (1992) explained this contradiction using the social network theory. He stated that males of the neighborhood in which the study took place had jobs outside their residential area, while women stayed at home to take care of the family. As a result, women’s close ties with their local social networks affected their usage of vernacular linguistic features as opposed to men who had social networks away from their neighborhood (Edwards, 1992).

Gender in the third wave of sociolinguistic research is viewed as “people's active engagement in the reproduction of or resistance to gender arrangements in their communities” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 466). Rather than focus on community or networks, Individuals’ social practices that arise in everyday situations are key to understanding the interaction between gender and linguistic practices (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999). Sociolinguists emphasize the role of power relations in shaping the relationships between individuals of different genders (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

Gender differences and dominance relationships are not static and differ across time and from one situation to the other (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). For example, a woman's linguistic practices are different when she is viewed as an African American, or when she is a mother, a sister, a neighbor, or a middle class woman (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). A study that follows the third wave approach in analyzing CS and gender in an Arabic context is Bassiouney (2009). The study investigates code-switching in talk shows between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) focusing on women and CS relation to their identity (Bassiouney, 2009). In this study, Bassiouney (2009) mentions that a binary approach to gender categorizes men and women as two separate groups as a result of the differences in the way they are "brought up and treated" within their community. Thus, men and women project a different identity which is reflected in their "linguistic performance and choices including CS (Bassiouney, 2009).

However, to the knowledge of the present researcher, the field of gender and Arabic-English CS in the Arab world is an area that needs further research. One of the studies that explored this field is Ismail, 2015. Manal Ismail (2015) compared the frequency and type of Arabic-English CS in males versus females as well as in mixed versus single-sex contexts. The quantitative study analyzed 89 minutes of natural recording of six Saudi couples in two dinner gatherings (Ismail, 2015). Results showed that overall females code-switched more than males in both single and mixed-sex contexts as they used an "elevated style of speech" utilizing the prestige index of English in Saudi (Ismail, 2015). However, the study showed that during mixed-sex interaction, females CS decreased which is abiding by the norms entailing interaction between the sexes to be formal. This study shows that the relationship between CS and gender is a dynamic one that changes with various factors. Such study is important for this thesis since part

of the research aims at answering the question of whether or not there are differences in the frequencies and the function of CS between different genders in the TV series.

As shown in the above literature, there are few studies that investigated CS in TV series in general and Arabic-English CS in particular. Accordingly, to the best knowledge of the researcher, this will be the first paper in the Arab world to investigate stylized performance Arabic-English CS and its interaction with gender, social class, and social networks in the context of an Egyptian comedy TV series.

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

As indicated in the above literature review, CS was previously studied in natural recording; however, very few studies, covered CS in performed, prepared and rehearsed scripts, especially those of TV series. Moreover, the interaction of CS, gender, social class, and social networks is an area that is not heavily researched on especially in the context of stylized performance of CS in an Egyptian TV series, which is a gap this thesis aims to fill. Therefore, this study fills the gap in the literature through investigating stylistic performance of CS in an Egyptian TV series with Arabic as a matrix language and English as the embedded language. The focus will be on the script's stylized performance of CS by characters of different genders and social classes in the TV series.

This is a sociolinguistics case study utilizing mixed methods to answer the research questions. Arabic-English CS instances elicited from the TV series will be analyzed qualitatively utilizing stance, indexicality and social networks as a theoretical framework. Quantitatively, the frequency of Arabic-English CS instances of the main character (female high social class) will be counted. The purpose is to identify whether or not there are differences in the social motivation among the different genders and social class categories in the TV series. Furthermore, the thesis will investigate the effect of the change in social network on CS of the female high social class by comparing the social motivations and frequency of CS at the beginning and at the end of the TV series.

To the best knowledge of the researcher, this will be the first paper in the Arab World to utilize indexicality, stance, and social networks approach to study stylized performance of CS from the perspective of understanding the interaction of CS with gender, social class and social

network as variables. The aim is to understand the perception of producers and how media portrays the phenomena within the Egyptian society. It is worth mentioning that this TV series is a popular one with an average of 9 million views across all episodes on YouTube channel which makes it an important source for linguistic investigation since it has a wide effect on millions of viewers from not only Egypt, but also across the Arab world.

### **Source of data**

The data is collected from the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*. The series was first broadcast on TV in June 2016. It is a comedy TV series about a very rich spoiled young lady whose father went broke and found herself with no option but to cooperate with her very poor cousin, whom she hates, to find the treasure their grandfather had hidden a long time ago. The two ladies and their fiancées get into a lot of adversities and funny situations on the journey to find the treasure and they become best of friends by the end. There is an interesting change in the dynamics between the characters towards the end of the series as they get closer and get to know each other better; change in their social network. The TV series consists of 30 episodes with Arabic as the matrix language and English as the embedded language. The episodes available have no translation, subtitles, or transcription provided.

Although there are a lot of TV series that have Arabic-English CS nowadays, in addition to its popularity, this particular TV series was chosen because of its characterization and storyline. As for the characters, the four protagonists represent different combinations of gender and social class namely; high class female, low class female, high class male, and low class male. In addition to the main characters, when the two worlds meet, the rich girl's world and the poor girl's world, interesting characters from both classes, males and females, come side to side and their CS further enhances the analysis. Examples of these characters are: the rich girl's

father, the poor girl's aunt, the rich girl's friends, and the poor girl's neighbors. Regarding the storyline, the TV series portrays a relationship of intense conflict and differences between the girls who are from different social classes. Therefore, the linguistic choices, including CS instances, of the TV shows script writers are geared towards highlighting the conflict and differences between social classes in the society. Therefore, the research will aim to investigate the different stance taking and indexes associated with the CS instances of the characters to better understand the CS social motivation among different genders and social classes. Furthermore, the TV series depicts the relationship between the two female main characters after the conflicts between them were resolved and they became best friends. Thus, the paper attempts to study whether this kind of change in one's social network could potentially impose a change in the frequency and social motivation of CS in performed speech that could have implications for natural data.

### **Procedure for data collection**

Access to the series is available on YouTube channel. Per episode, Arabic-English CS instances were counted and analyzed. The researcher used an online tool called *Vialogues*. *Vialogues* is a platform that allows users to make time-stamped comments on videos from YouTube and other sources (Vialogues, 2017). This tool helped keep track of CS frequency as well as the instances' contexts within the episode.

The theoretical frameworks of stance, indexicality and social network, were used to investigate CS and how it interacts with gender, social class, and social networks. In addition to the qualitative analysis, quantitatively, the frequency of CS instances of the rich female protagonist was counted for all episodes in the TV series.



There is no transcription or translation for this TV series. Hence, CS instances of interest were transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Transcription was not an idealized one; it was recorded as heard by the transcriber and could sometimes be inconsistent. Transcribing followed the rules of transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004; Sung, 2013). Finally, those CS instances were translated to English for a non-Arabic speaker to be able to understand.

### **Data analysis**

The goal of the analysis is to identify the social motivation of CS among different genders and social class within the TV series, whether in the beginning or by the end.

Accordingly, the data was analyzed and arranged as follows:

After all the 30 episodes have been analyzed, selective examples that are significant and representative were chosen for qualitative analysis. When choosing the sample, since the focus is to identify the social motivation of CS instances within the different genders and social classes, special focus was rendered to instances that include interactions between different genders and social classes. Dividing the data into categories according to different gender and social class combinations would result in redundancy in motivation and excerpts provided as examples. Therefore, data was divided into categories of the different motivations of CS as they appear during the analysis.

To identify the social motivations of CS, indexicality and stance were utilized as theoretical frameworks. Indexicality and stance theories are closely connected when analyzing the function and motivation of CS and as a result have been used closely together in previous research (Bassiouney, 2012, 2013). To understand the motivation and function of CS in a certain context,

one needs to understand the index of the certain code and as a result analyze the stance and position using this code, of a certain index, entails. Speakers have at their disposal a structured template of well-known associations between linguistic style and social meaning which can be used to index meaning and reflect stance taking to align or disalign with a certain group, idea, or subject (Bassiouney, 2012, 2014). To take a stance, a person uses CS as a “mechanism that lays claims to different indexes” which in turn positions him/her with or against a specific ideology or community (Bassiouney, 2012). In this thesis, the focus was on indexes of English. English has various indexes and every index can be utilized differently by different characters of different genders and social class to take specific stances according to the context. For example, CS to English could be used as a method of stance taking of disalignment with the interlocutor or to show professionalism. The motivation and function of CS could be interpreted according to the index of English in that particular context.

However, indexicality and stance as approaches to study CS have a methodological problem since they could allow for subjectivity during the analysis which leads to circular arguments. Hence, this research supplemented the investigation with other linguistic and paralinguistic resources.

As for the linguistic resources, structural resources like lexical content (content of the speaker’s language produced), lexical choices (word choice), pronouns, and terms of address were used (Bassiouney, 2014).

Another linguistic resource, in addition to the structural resources, is the metalinguistic discourse of the different characters in the series. Metalinguistic discourse is organizing, classifying, interpreting, evaluating, and reacting to a discourse (Vande Kopple, 1985). Accordingly, metadiscourse is “discourse about discourse or communication about

communication” (Kopple, 1985, p.83). Thus, the analysis focused on instances when characters talk about language which includes talking about their own or others language abilities, how they use language, grammar rules of language, or what constitutes an appropriate context for using English. Finally, YouTube comments made by viewers were also used to support the interpretations.

Regarding the paralinguistic resources, CS was studied in its context within the different situations in the series. Moreover, the analysis included the way characters’ dress code, their different gestures, and the setting (location, decorations, furnishing). Finally, patterns of characters were put in consideration when analyzing. Thus, this research made use of these linguistic and paralinguistic resources to provide a support for the interpretations of social motivations of the different genders and social classes using stance taking and indexicality.

There is an independent variable of concern in this research which is the social networks variable that changes from the beginning of the series. In order to understand the effect of social network on CS, the rich protagonist’s CS instances were divided into four groups, namely: frequency before episode 22, frequency after episode 22, motivation before episode 22, and motivation after episode 22. The rationale behind this division is that in episode 22 the rich girl admits that she feels she is part of the poor girl’s family and officially makes amends with the poor girl. This signifies the change of the rich protagonist social network and community. In addition to indexicality and stance, the social networks theory was utilized to examine whether or not there are differences in frequency and motivation of CS at the beginning of the TV series and by the end after her social networks change. The analysis focused on understanding the effect of social networks change on stance taking and indexicality of the rich protagonist.

Similarly, other linguistic and paralinguistic resources were used to avoid any subjectivity and

circular arguments. Regarding the frequency count, there was no syntactic analysis that entails looking into content morphemes and function morphemes. Accordingly, the frequency count was per morpheme both content and function without making a distinction.

Finally, since it could get confusing, remembering the different characters' names, instead of referring to their names in the analysis chapter, they were referred to by what the category they represent. For example, *Nelly* was referred to as “the rich girl” and *Sherihan* as “the poor girl”.

## CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

The analysis was concerned with performed stylized CS of the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan* in relation to gender, social class, and social networks. Utilizing the stance, index, and social networks theories, the analysis aimed at answering the following research questions:

- 1- What is the social motivation for Arabic-English CS in relation to social class and gender specifically in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?
- 2- How do social networks as a variable affect Arabic-English CS of the main character in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?

In order to avoid subjective interpretation, the analysis of English indexes, stances taken, and social networks effects in the different CS instances were based on the following linguistic resources: lexical content, lexical choices, pronouns, terms of address, metalinguistic discourse of characters, and YouTube comments. Moreover, the CS instances analysis was supported by paralinguistic resources like dress code and setting. Furthermore, the analysis was supported by certain salient patterns of the characters. Lastly, to understand the social networks effects on CS, density, multiplexity, and locality of the different excerpts were analyzed.

It is also important to note that this thesis is concerned with stylized performance of CS. Stylization allows the audience to re-evaluate prevailing cultural values and norms by taking real life situations and adding to them novel and unconventional identities and social values (Coupland, 2007). However, to be effective and create this dissonant effect, stylized performances are “emphatic and hyperbolic realizations of their targeted styles” (Coupland, 2007, p.154). Therefore, it is crucial to note that the different interpretations in the upcoming

analysis using the linguistic and paralinguistic resources are based on performed scripts that are exaggerated by nature.

Before displaying the answers to the research questions, there is a description that will support the analysis based on social class differences.

### **The social class difference as stated in the TV series**

In the beginning of the first episode, the two main characters are introduced in a way that highlights the social class difference between the two girls.

Excerpt (1), the first scene, starts with the screen divided into two halves, on the right Sherihan is sleeping and on the left Nelly is sleeping. A narrator then starts talking about both girls and introduces them as follows:

#### **Excerpt (1)**

1 Narrator

*do:l nilli w firiha:n*

‘These are Nilly and Sherihan’

*binti:n mawlu:di:n fi nafs il-sana wi-nafs if-fahr*

‘Two girls born on the same day in the same month’

*bas il-itni:n hayathum muxtalifa xa:lis lan baʿd*

‘But both girls’ lives are completely different from each other’

*il-far? be:n nilli wi-firihan zay il-far? be:n burg il-qa:hira wi*

*burg il-ʔamal illi: fi il-ʔalbeyya fi feʕal*

‘The difference between Nilly and Sherihan is like the difference between Cairo Tower and Al-Amal tower in Talbiyya, Faisal’

*(Referring to a landmark of Cairo versus a building in a very local area in*

*Cairo: Talbiyya, Faisal)*

*nilli bitnam fi siri:r kibi:r*

‘Nelly sleeps in a big bed’

*fi ʔa:ða ʔkbar*

‘In a bigger room’

*fi vill-a ʔkbar*

‘In an even bigger villa’

*firiha:n baʔa ʕayf-a fi ʔa:r-a ʕuḡayyar-a*

‘On the other hand, Sherihan lives in a narrow alley

*fi ʔa:ða ʔaʕʕḡar*

‘In a smaller room’

*fi siri:r ʔaʕʕḡar*

‘In an even smaller bed’

*nilli tiʔdar tiʔu:l ʕale:ha min kiri:mit il mugtamaʕ bint mirta:ḡ-a*

‘Nilly is what you can call creme de la creme of society; a very rich girl’

*bita:xud waʔt ʔawi:l ʕafa:n tiʔu:m mil siri:r wi waʔt aʔwal ʕafa:n tifu:ʔ*

‘She takes a long time to get out of bed and a longer time to get up and going’

*lakin firiha:n baʔ-a maʕandeha:f waʔt yadu:b tiʔu:m melnɔ:m*

*tifrab kubbayit il fay w tifʕar w ʕiʕʕbiḡ w lazim tiku:n barr-a*

*bitha il sa:f-a sabf-a wi nɔʕ ʕafa:n tilḡaʔ il mikrɔ:ba:ʕ w tiru:ḡ*

*fuḡlah-a*

‘Sherihan, on the other hand, does not have time, she wakes up, and quickly drinks a cup of tea and has breakfast since she has to be out of her house at seven thirty so that she can catch the microbus to work’

*nilli bita:xud wa?t tawi:l fafa:n tixta:r hatilbis e:h il-nahard-a mil  
biranda:t illi sandah-a/ w firiha:n bardu*

‘Nelly takes a long time to choose what she is going to wear from the many brands she has/ and Sherihan as well’

*(The rich girl’s scene showed her dressing room with arrows pointing to clothes items reading CHANEL, PRADA, GUCCI, ALAIA, YVES SAINT LAURENT, Dior, BURBERRY, etc. While at the poor’s girl small closet, there were arrows coming out that read Alaa Fashion, Tawheed wel nour, and kareena, all local very cheap brands)*

This description confirms that the two girls belong to two different social classes (high and low) and it was the basis for the classification and analysis in the rest of the study. The narrator explicitly states that *nilli ti?dar ti?u:l fale:ha min kiri:mit il mugtama? bint mirta:h-a* (Nilly is what you can call creme de la crème of society; a very rich girl). To emphasize this difference in their social class, locality and neighborhood as well as income are used as follows:

Social networks of the two girls, specifically locality, are heavily referred to as part of distinguishing between their social classes. First, the narrator uses a metaphor that has to do with two local towers, to summarize the difference between the two girls. He says *il-far? be:n nilli wi-firiha:n zay il-far? be:n burg il-qa:hira wi-burg il-?amal illi: fi il-?albeyya fi fe?al* (the difference between Nilly and Sherihan is like the difference between Cairo Tower and Al-Amal tower in



Talbiyya, Faisal). Cairo Tower is located in El-gizeera, a very rich neighborhood, and is considered one of the important touristic attraction locations in Cairo. On the other hand, Al-Amal tower is an unknown building located in a local poor neighborhood in Cairo (Talbiyya, Faisal). Therefore, the narrator makes use of the symbols that the location of two towers (one in a rich neighborhood, and another in a local one) carries to pinpoint the differences in the social classes of the two girls. In addition to the metaphor, the narrator describes in details the locality of each girl. The narrator states that Nilly, the rich girl, lives in a big villa and her room is very big with a big bed. While the poor girl, Sherihan, lives in a narrow alley, her room is very small, and sleeps in a small bed.

In addition to the social networks (locality) theory, the above description focuses on one of the categories that Labov used to classify social class; the family income of both girls (Labov, 1966). The rich girl's family house is big. She has a lot of time to spare since she does not work (she does not need to) and she wears brand names. On the other hand, the poor girl, from the low social class, lives in an alley in a small house. She does not have time in the morning and she rushes through breakfast to catch the microbus, a cheap public means of transportation, to work. She also does not wear cheap local brands.

### **First research question:**

**What is the social motivation for Arabic-English CS in relation to social class and gender specifically in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?**

There are various themes related to the social motivation of CS in the TV series as follows:

**First: Alignment or disalignment with an interlocutor based on criteria other than money like being classy or cool**

Code-switching is used to align and/or disalign the speaker with an interlocutor of the same high social class or different social classes and with all the different genders in the TV series. Within the same high social class, CS is used to display classiness or coolness. This function of CS does not focus on money, but on disaligning oneself or others from being 'local'. In this interaction, the person who is presumably 'local' or not 'cool' attempts to align with the classy interlocutor.

One of the examples is excerpt (2) which takes place between the rich girl and her father. They are both of the same high social class. In fact, the rich father is the source of wealth of the rich girl. However, in this example, the male high social class aligns with the female high social class. On the other hand, the female high social class disaligns with the male high social class interlocutor whom she sees as "local". The support for this conclusion is explained below using different examples.

Excerpt (2) takes place in the office of the rich girl's father. He has just arrived from a business trip and his daughter is paying him a visit at his office.

**Excerpt (2)**

- 1 Rich girl's father: *ʔana mabsu:t giddan innaharda / lildaraga:di ʔana waḥaftik*  
'I am so happy today...you miss me that much ?'
- 2 Rich girl *laʔ xa:lis ya papi ʔana xalast il- limit bitaʕ il-credit beta:ʕi: w*  
*lazim aʕtiri: il-chanel backpack il-gidi:d-a*

‘No not at all dad, it is just that I have reached my credit card limit and I have to buy the new Chanel backpack’

3 Rich girl's father: *bas kida?*

‘That’s all?’

(He says in disappointment)

(...)

4 Rich girl *Papi mumkin ?a?ullak ḥa:g-a*

‘Daddy, can I tell you something?’

5 Rich girl's father *?ah ?itfaḏḏali*

‘yes sure go ahead’

6 Rich girl *?ana bigad miḥ ṣarf-a ?izzay mami ?allah yirḥamh-a / il-sit il-classy il-chic/ she was a queen/ miḥ ṣarf-a ?izzay ka:nit mundamig-a maṣa:k/ inta kul ḥa:g-a biḥibbaha baladi*

(...)

*kɔl ḥaga baladi/ kala:mak/ ?aṣḥabak/ ilsikirtira:t illi: biyiḥtaḡalu ṣandak hina kulluhum baladi*

‘I really don’t know how mum, the classy chic women, she was a queen, I don’t know how she got along with you?’

Everything you like is local, everything is local, the way you talk, your friends, the secretaries that work for you here are all locals’

7 Rich girl's father *ma?ultili:f ṣayz-a kam fulu:s*

You did not tell me how much money you needed?

8 Rich girl *Ḥayza xamastala:f dollar/ I love you by the way*  
I want 5000 dollars; I love you by the way

*(She says this as she is looking at her phone)*

9 Rich girl's father *I love you too*

The analysis will focus on the rich girl's CS in line 6 and the rich father's CS in line 9.

Regarding line 6, the rich girl is the stance subject and she is evaluating two stance objects in this dialogue namely the rich girl's father and the rich girl's mother. The rich girl code-switches to align herself with her deceased classy mother who was a chic queen. She also code-switches to disalign herself from her father who is the opposite, a local person whose way of speaking, friends, and even secretaries whom he hires are all local as well. She cannot believe that her mother bonded with her father.

In line 9, the father is the stance subject and he is aligning himself with his daughter. The father is looking for her approval and acceptance. He tries to deviate the conversation and goes back to what he can offer to her (money). When he expresses his willingness to give her the money, she says in line 8 'I love you'. The father aligns himself with her in line 9 and replies with *I love you too*; an interactional salient dialogic resonance (*I love you*) and adding the intersubjective alignment marker(too) as an index for the intersubjectivity alignment of the father's resonating stance to his daughter's prior utterance.

CS as a function for alignment of the stance subject, the rich girl, with her mother and disalignment with her father as well as the alignment of her father, another stance subject, with the rich girl all on the basis of classiness can be supported by the following linguistic and paralinguistic resources as follows:

*First: Linguistic resources:*

*Lexical content:*

In line 6, the rich girl's reference to her mother when she said: *mif ġarf-a ʔizzay ka:nit mundamig-a maħa:k* (I don't know how she got along with you?) is an indirect way of stating the fact that, as classy as her deceased mother, the rich girl herself is the one who cannot bond with her father who is, according to her, so local and not as chic as her. She is only in his office to ask him for money, however, she does not treat him with respect in order to get the money she wants. This is repeated all along the series. She is always fighting and insulting her father's side of the family in front of him and never listens to what he says.

The father is always trying to please her and the power relationship is in favor of the daughter. This is clear in the conversation lines 1-3. The father had just arrived from a business trip and he thought that his daughter misses him and that is why she was visiting him in the office. However, the daughter replies with *laʔ xalis ya papi ʔana xalast il- limit bitaʕ il-credit beta:ʕi: w lazim aʕtiri: il-chanel backpack il-gidid-a* (No not at all dad, it is just that I have reached my credit card limit and I have to buy the new Chanel backpack). This is not a considerate answer to one's father. She came for the money and she is not even trying to hide it. She does not feel she has to sugarcoat it or treat him nicely so that he agrees to give her the money.

Moreover, in Line 8 and 9, When the father expresses his willingness to give her the money, she goes from describing her father as a local who was not worthy of her mom to saying in English, but while looking at her phone, in line 8 'I love you by the way'. It is worth noting that *by the way* are not typical words to be said when you say I love you to someone. It is a very casual way of expressing her love to her father. Nevertheless, the father captures the opportunity to align himself with her and replies with the same language, English, with *I love you too*.

### *Lexical choices:*

Her alignment with her mother appears in the rich girl's lexical choices like the usage in line 6 of *bigad* (really), an emphatic word, in *ʔana bigad mif ʕarf-a* (I really do not know) which is used to emphasize her disbelief of how her classy mother bonded with her local father. Moreover, in line 6, the rich girl uses *ʔallah yirḥamh-a* (may God rest her soul) which shows her prayers of mercy for her mother. Moreover, the words that she chose to describe her mother with are words she would describe herself. In line 6, describes her mother in English with words like *classy*, *chic*, and *she was a queen*. Also, she repeated *mif ʕarf-a ʔzzay* (I do not know how) twice to confirm her surprise of his mother and father relation and her disapproval of his father.

On the other hand, her disalignment with her father appears in the rich girl's lexical choices as well. The girl's choice of the word *baladi* (local) is not a word to describe one's father. It is highly inappropriate to call her father *baladi*, however, this word with negative connotations is repeated 3 times in line 6 by the rich girl to describe her father and everything about him.

### *Pronouns and terms of address used:*

In line 6, the rich girl addresses her father using the suffixed singular pronoun *maʕa:k* (with you), *kala:mak* (your way of speaking), *ʔaṣḥabak* (your friends), *ʕandak* (with you) instead of their polite counterparts *maʕaḥadritak*, *kalamḥadritak*, *ʔaṣḥabḥadritak*, *ʕandḥadritak*.

Moreover, she addresses him using the singular pronoun *intt-a* (you) instead of the formal polite term of address *ḥadritak*.

### *Second: paralinguistic resources:*

As mentioned above, CS to align or disalign based on whether or not an interlocutor is classy and chic does not only occur between high and low social classes. Hence, in this excerpt, the two interlocutors are of the same high social class. This is evident in the setting and dress code of the scene. Regarding the setting, the excerpt takes place in the rich father's office inside his company. It is a spacious room with luxurious furnishing. "Mekkawy Group For Freight 1961" is seen written on the wall behind the desk of the rich girl's father Mr Mekkawy (the owner of the company). The rich dad is sitting at his office and his daughter is sitting on the opposite side in the chair on the right side. This seating arrangement suggests that they are not only on the same level, but that the rich dad is superior since it is his company and his office.

However, as discussed above, it is not a matter of financial or job status, rather, it is a matter of being classy and chic or not. Thus, we see the rich dad aligning with his chic daughter while she is disaligning with her father who is rich but not chic and classy.

In terms of the dress code, both interlocutors are wearing fancy clothes. The rich father is wearing an elegant suit. At the same time, the rich girl is wearing fancy brands clothes with her nails painted. In her conversation with her dad, she refers to the backpack she is wearing during the scene and says that she has been going around with this *Stella McCartney* backpack for three weeks now and that she needs the new *Chanel* backpack because she cannot live her whole life (three weeks) with the *Stella McCartney* one. Moreover, she is holding an iPhone 6 (the newest iPhone that was there during the time the TV series was first broadcast and one of the most expensive phones to buy in Egypt).

Besides CS on the basis of classiness, coolness is another factor for either taking the stance of alignment or disalignment using CS. What 'cool' entails will be explained in the

examples below. An example of CS based on coolness and not social class is one that involves interlocutors of the same high social class. Excerpt (3) shows a CS instance that occurs in a conversation between the rich girl and a famous TV host. She was meeting the TV host for the first time and he was asking her what her name was. She replies as follows:

**Excerpt (3)**

- 1 Rich girl: *ʔana nilli: mikka:wi:*  
‘I am Nilly Mikkawy’
  - 2 TV show host: *ʔahlan bi:ki: nilli: mikka:wi:*  
‘Hello Nilly Mikkawy’
  - 3 Rich girl: *ʔah kəl il-nas bitʔəli: Queen N / bas ʔint-a law ʕa:yiz ʔiʔlaʕ cool*  
*ʔədam il-nas məmkin tiʔəlli:nili:*  
‘Yes, everyone calls me Queen N, but if you want to look cool in front of the audience you can call me Nelly’
- (She says her name with an English pronunciation; with no gemination of the letter “l”)
- 4 TV show host: *boʕʕi: hiyy-a il-marħal-a il-gayy-a ʔana ʕayz ʔabʔ-a cool ʔədam*  
*il-nas ʔawi:/ nili: ʔ/ xatf-a kida ?*  
‘Look, my goal for the coming phase is to look cool in front of the audience, Nelly? should I rush through it like this?’
  - 5 Rich girl: *nili:*

The rich girl explicitly says to the TV host that if you want to look *cool* in front of your audience you can call me *Nili:* instead of *Nilli:*. The absence of gemination creates the English nuance to the name. To her just rushing through the name and uttering it in a way that an English speaker would will make the TV host look cool. The rich girl perceives CS as the key to coolness. In



excerpt (3), the TV host (stance subject) aligns with the rich girl's advice (stance object) using accommodation through converging to her language and code-switching to English in line 4. He states that *cool* is what he is aiming for and checks again for the correct way of pronouncing her name by asking *nili:/ xatf-a kida ?* (Nelly? should I rush through it like this?)

As stated before, disaligning oneself from being *local* is a common function among the two social classes that makes use of the indexes of English as the language of modernity. In the TV series, we find people from a low social class code-switching to be perceived as cool and not local. Excerpt (4) is an example of a low social class code-switching to be perceived as 'not local'. In the example, the poor girl is rehearsing what she will say when she meets her new boss *Falayet* at work for the first time. She is talking to herself and says the following:

#### Excerpt (4)

1 Poor girl: *ʔizzayyak ya ʔuzta:z fala:yit/ laʔ/ʔuzta:z' bi:ʔ-a/ mm/ Hello  
mistar fala:yit/ laʔ over/ ʔizzayyak ya mistar fala:yit/hilwa  
di:/rasy-a kida*  
*'Hello uztaz Falayet/ no 'uztaz' is local/ mm/ Hello Mr.  
Falayet/ no this is overdoing it/ Hello Mr Falayet/ this one is  
good/ cool'*

There are two different stances taken by the stance subject (the poor girl) in this excerpt. The poor girl has an alignment stance towards her boss, but she doesn't know how to show it. In other words, she has an uncertain stance towards the term of address she wants to align with. She evaluates and takes different stances towards three ways of addressing her boss. Note that all three have the English translation of Hello Mr. Falayet. The poor girl evaluates the first all-

Arabic way of addressing her boss *ʔizzayyak ya ʔuzta:z fala:yit* as *bi:ʔ-a* (local) and thus disaligns with it. The second all-English *Hello mistar fala:yit* is evaluated as being *over*, thus again the poor girl disaligns with it. Finally, she aligns with code-switching by saying the greeting word in Arabic and the term of address in English *ʔizzayyak ya mistar fala:yit*. To her CS is the optimum level of coolness, or *rasy-a* (cool) as she calls it. The poor girl chooses the term of address, and not the greeting, to be uttered in English since in the Egyptian culture, terms of addresses are very important and reflect your background, education, and upbringing. That is why, to her, what is *bi:ʔ-a* (local) in *ʔizzayyak ya ʔuzta:z fala:yit* is the term of address *ʔuzta:z* since she clearly stated *laʔ/ʔuzta:z' bi:ʔ-a* (no 'uztaz' is local).

The different stances taken can be confirmed by various linguistic resources namely lexical content, lexical choice, and paralinguistic resources namely context and dress code.

#### *Linguistic resources:*

The alignment with her boss can be detected from the lexical content of her words. The poor girl is obviously showing interest in the first few words she will say to her boss. She is rehearsing how to address him and is trying to find the best way to do it before her meeting with him.

On the other hand, the poor girl's uncertain stance towards the way of addressing him is clear from her lexical choices. We find that she does not use more than one greeting, instead she tries one in Arabic and one in English *ʔizzayyak* and *Hello*. Moreover, she tries more than one term of address, one in Arabic and one in English *ʔuzta:z* and *mistar*. It is clear that she is undecided on which code to use English or Arabic.

#### *Paralinguistic tools:*

The poor girl's undecided stance is highlighted in the contradiction between the setting of the scene and her dress code. The excerpt takes place in the rich father's company. The girl is in her

office space that is in a huge hall that consists of semi open work cubicles with luxurious professional furnishing. As for her dress code, instead of wearing a formal suit like the rest of her female colleagues at work, she is wearing a high neck shirt with floral patterns and pink sunglasses. She does not fit in the place, hence her uncertainty in choosing the right lexical choices to address her boss.

### **Second: Disalignment with an interlocutor of a different social class as part of a struggle for power and domination in the conversation**

In the TV series, with two different social classes, one high and one low, the conversation is geared towards power establishment. The conversation is considered a fight over power between the interlocutors. This function is used in the TV series by characters of both genders and both social classes. First example is excerpt (5) that takes place at the police station. The rich girl ran over the poor girl by her car and they both went to the police station. The poor girl was in the police officer's office when the rich girl enters the room then the following conversation takes place:

#### **Excerpt (5)**

- 1 Rich girl: *wassafi: kida*  
'Step out of the way'
- 2 Poor girl: *eih wassafi: di ?ana wa?f-a fi bitku*  
'You cannot tell me this, I am not standing in the hall at your house'

(Rich girl sits down while the poor girl is standing up)

3 Police officer: *e:h dah xe:r ?*  
'What is this? What do you want?'

4 Rich girl: *xe:r e:h / haḍritak illi ṣayzni:*  
'What do I want what? You are the one who asked for me'

5 Police officer: *ʔu:mi ʔɔ:ʔafi:*  
'Stand up'

(He says this shouting)

6 Rich girl: *How dare you?*

7 Police officer: *I'm fine thank you/ ʔu:mi ʔɔ:ʔafi: / haḍritak kalimi:na bilṣarabi:*  
*inti: gayya hina muttahaḥ-a miṣ gayy-a kors*  
'I am fine thank you, stand up, you talk to me in Arabic, you are here as a suspect, you are not in a class'

(The police officer shouts while saying these words)

8 Poor girl: *rabina yikrimak ya ba:f-a wi yiṣalli: maratbak*  
'May God bless you sir'

(The rich girl stands up)

9 Rich girl: *ṣala fikra ʔana wiʔift bas ṣaf:an baḥtirim baladi w baḥtirim*  
*il-qanu:n*  
'Just so that you know, I stood up just because I respect my country and the law'

10 Police officer: *ʔḥkilna e:h illi ḥaṣal*  
'Tell us what happened'

There are two CS instances in the above excerpt (The rich girl's CS in line 6 and the police officer's CS in line 7). Both CS instances have the function of disaligning from the interlocutor in order to maintain their power in the conversation as follows:

As for the rich girl's CS, it was a form of a negative stance towards the whole situation and the police officer. The rich girl enters the room and directly sits down without being told to do so. The police officer was writing something down and when he raised his head and saw her sitting on the chair in front of him, he shouts and tells her to stand up. The rich girl's response was CS to English saying *how dare you*. The rich girl is basically saying 'how dare you order me to stand up'. Thus, she is disaligning herself with the stance object (the police officer's order for her to stand up). She chooses to disalign by CS and saying *how dare you* to state that he cannot talk to her that way and that she is not that type of person to be ordered to stand up. The rich girl feels that her power and upper hand was being taken away from her so she wants to hold on to her power and pride.

As a response to the rich girl's CS, the police officer code-switches but not as a sort of convergence, rather, his CS was to disalign himself with the stance object (rich girl's code choice and behavior represented in sitting down without permission). He evaluates her CS to English and her behavior, positions her as having less power, then disaligns with the way she behaves and speaks.

The disalignment stances as part of an attempt to regain power over the interlocutor in the two CS instances are supported linguistically and paralinguistically as follows:

*First: Linguistically:*

*Lexical content:*

The content of the rich girl's CS instance *how dare you* in line 6 confirms the disalignment motivation the rich girl had. 'How dare you' has a clear confrontational threatening nuance to it. The rich girl is saliently denouncing and disapproving to be ordered to stand up. As for the police officer, in line 7, he chooses to respond to *how dare you* with "I am fine thank you" but with a phonologically incorrect 's' instead of 'th' in thank. "I am fine thank you" is not an answer to "how dare you" which signifies that he either did not understand what the rich girl said or he does not know the right answer to it. Any of the two scenarios mean that he is not proficient in English, which in turn means that he is of a lower social class than that of the girl. However, he tries to gain power over the conversation and code-switches to English as a response of the CS of the rich girl. It is a response to the language used not the content of the language itself. The police officer considers English as a threat to his power. Despite the fact that he does not fully understand what the rich girl's words entail because of his low English proficiency, he feels that his power was being threatened and that it is a sign of disrespect instead of considering the possibility that the rich girl code-switched involuntarily and that it is not intentional. This is largely because of the rich girl's overall demeanor like sitting down without permission and saying in line 4 *xe:r e:h ḥaḍritak illi ṣayzni*: (What do I want what? You are the one who asked for me). Therefore, he wants to have the upper hand and although he does not know how to speak English, he decides he should respond in English to prove that he does not have a proficiency issue with the English language. After *I'm fine sank you*, he says: *ʔu:mi ʔɔ:ʔafi:, ḥaḍritik kalimi:na bilʕarabi*: (stand up, you talk to me in Arabic). Thus, after he code-switches, he responds to the two things he disaligns with, namely sitting down and speaking in English. Accordingly, he tells her to stand up and speak in Arabic. After he code-switches, to make a statement that he knows how to speak English, he makes sure that such situation will not

recur in the conversation. He does so by laying down the rules of the game and stating that they should speak in Arabic. He gives an explanation to the “all Arabic” rule by stating that English is not the appropriate language to use if you are in the police station and you are a *muttahaam-a* (suspect). To him you only speak English if you are in a course.

Another indication that the police officer’s CS was an attempt to regain his power is the lexical content of both the poor girl and the rich girl as a response to his words in line 7. As for the poor girl, she considered the police officer’s response in line 7 as a victory and she realized he was on her side. She said in line 8 *rabina yikrimak ya ba:f-a wi yiŕalli: maratbak* (May God bless you sir). Regarding the rich girl, for her it was clear that the power was not with her but with the police. She stood up and in Arabic, without CS, stated in line 9 *ŕala fikra ŕana wiŕift bas ŕaf:an baħtirim baladi w baħtirim il-qanu:n* (Just so that you know, I stood up just because I respect my country and the law). Clearly she is scared and she knows who is in control. She was forced to stand up but, just to save face, said that she did not stand up because she is scared of him, but out of respect for her country and the law.

#### *Lexical choice:*

The police officer’s lexical choice in line 7 in describing the rich girl as a *muttahaam-a* (suspect) was used to set the roles; he is the police officer and she is the suspect. He appeals to the context to position her as having less power since she is a *muttahaam-a*. The police officer is reminding her with her position which should give her a hint of who is in control and of how she should behave.

#### *Pronouns used:*

The police officer’s attempts to regain his power and disalign with the rich girl can be confirmed by the suffix plural pronoun in line 7 in *kalimi:na* (talk to us) instead of the singular pronoun

*kalimi:ni:* and in line 10 *ʔħkilna* (tell us) instead of *ʔħkili:*. In Arabic, the use of the suffixed plural pronoun to refer to one self aims at glorification and magnification of the speaker. This pronoun usage is always used with kings and presidents.

*Metalinguistic discourse:*

The police officer says *ħadritik kalimi:na bilʕarabi:, inti: gayya hina muttaham-a mif gayy-a kors* (you talk in Arabic, you are here as a suspect, you are not in a class). This could indicate that his previous experience with English is only at a course not in real life situations. It could be the case that he tries to improve his English language by taking courses, or it could be that he associates English with education since it is one of the language indexes in Egypt. However, he might not necessarily believe that a course is the only place to speak in English, but he wanted to confirm that the reason they should not speak in English is not because he does not know how to speak in English, but because it is a poor judgement and inappropriate code-choice from the rich girl's side. He is talking about the appropriate contexts to speak in English. He is stating that it is a language spoken in a course by a student, but not at the police station by a suspect.

*Second: Paralinguistically:*

The rich girl is used to having the power over her conversations with the interlocutors, however, the low social class police officer eventually managed to have the upper hand in this scene because the setting was at his office with him wearing his uniform. Moreover, the rich girl was coming to his office as a suspect. By the end of the scene, the power domination is clear as the police officer is seen sitting at his desk with the two girls standing up as they are telling their side of the story in an attempt to convince him that the other is guilty. Therefore, it can be stated that the power domination would have changed if the situation was reversed and the police officer was at her house without his uniform.



Another example that illustrates how CS is used to display power and domination in the TV series is excerpt (6) that takes place in the rich father's company. After the poor girl got a new job at the company of the rich girl's father, the poor girl's aunt comes to visit her niece at her new office. When the poor girl's direct boss, Munir, saw her aunt, he started fighting with the girl and her aunt. The rich girl's father, who likes the aunt, tells his employee, the poor girl's boss, to go back to his work and stop yelling. The rich dad favors the aunt over the employee and directs his orders, in English, to him in front of her with the purpose of impressing and showing her that he is the owner of the company. He code-switches while giving orders to the employee as follows:

#### Excerpt (6)

- 1 Rich girl's dad: *muni:r fi: e:h?*  
'Munir, what is going on?'
- 2 Poor girl's direct boss: *ilḥaʔni: mistar ʕabdallah*  
'Help me Mr AbdAllah'
- 3 Rich girl's dad: *sit saba:h/ ʔahlan wasahlan*  
'Mrs Sabah / Welcome'

(The rich dad says this when he notices that Sabah, the aunt, is there)

- 4 Poor girl's aunt: *ʔizzayak ya si: ʕabdu*  
'How are you doing Mr Abdu'
- 5 Rich girl's dad: *ʔana kuwayyis il-ḥamdulah/ xi:r ya fandim fi: e:h*  
'I am fine thank God / what is going on ma'am?'
- 6 Poor girl's aunt: *taʕala ya:xoy-a fu:f mu:wazzafi:nak/ ʕammal yifxut fiyya*  
*min saʕit magi:t wana ʔaʕd-a ʔaʕayat ʔaʕayat/ ithant*

*walla:hi:*

‘Come my brother see you employees / He has been yelling  
at me ever since I came here and I am cry / I have been  
humiliated’

7 Rich girl's dad: *ithanti:*

‘Humiliated’

*(with a rising intonation)*

8 Poor girl's direct boss: *mistar ʕabdAllah ʔana illi-ʔithant*

‘Mr AbdAllah I am the one who has been  
humiliated’

9 Rich girl's dad: *mmmuni:r*

mmmunir

10 Poor girl's direct boss: *ʔargu:k mistar ʕabdAllah*

Please Mr AbdAllah

11 Rich girl's dad: *please*

12 Poor girl's direct boss: *ʔargu:k*

‘please’

13 Rich girl's dad: *muni:r*

‘munir’

14 Poor girl's direct boss: *ʔaʔ*

*(Trying to speak, but the rich dad would not let him)*

15 Rich girl's dad: *itharrak/ move it*

‘Move / move it’

*(The poor girl's direct boss stops talking and leaves)*

In the above excerpt, the rich girl's dad code-switches when directing assertive orders to his employee by saying in line 11 and 15 *please* and *move it*. He is using the index of English as a professional language that is related to the workplace to assert his identity as the boss. Here he is disaligning himself with his interlocutor Munir (the stance object) to align with aunt Sabah (the other stance object). Instead of CS to English to disalign with the low social class, the rich dad code-switches to align with the aunt of the lower social class and disalign with his employee who, although not as rich as the rich father, is of a higher social class.

Terms of address and lexical content as linguistic tools are utilized to emphasize the alignment with the aunt from the lower social class and the disalignment with the employee of a higher social class are as follows:

As for the terms of address, in line 5, the rich dad addresses the aunt as *fandim* (ma'am) while he addresses Munir, the employee, with just his name without a term of address in lines 1,9, and 13. As previously mentioned, terms of address are important for showing respect to an interlocutor. Moreover, to order the employee to stop it and get going, the rich father does not use an imperative verb. Instead, he just says *mmmuni:r* (Munir) his name in an assertive way with the explicit meaning of a command to stop it.

Moreover, the rich father's stance can be detected from the lexical content. The rich father only listens to the aunt's side of the story to make a judgment and immediately takes her side after line 6. Thus, in line 7, the rich dad convergence with the aunt appears in his resonance of her last words *ithanti:* (got humiliated) in a rising intonation showing his disapproval of her humiliation. After the resonance, the rich dad directs his attention to the employee and starts ordering him to

stop the fight and leave while completely ignoring his side of the story in line 8 when Munir says *mistar ʕabdAllah ʔana illi-ʔithant* (Mr AbdAllah I am the one who has been humiliated).

**Third: Associating or disassociating oneself with the interlocutor (whether same or different social class) in order to achieve a specific goal within the interaction**

This function for CS is used by all the different genders and social classes in the TV series.

Throughout the episodes, this function is utilized in three different contexts. First context is when CS is used by a speaker of a high social class to disassociate from an interlocutor of a low social class as an act of arrogance, disalignment with localness, and showing off one's status (similar to the social motivation of CS used by the rich girl in Excerpt 2). Second context for this function of CS is when a speaker of a high social class associated with an interlocutor with the same high social class in order to appeal to them and convince them of a particular point. Last context is a different kind of alignment that takes place when CS is used by a speaker of a low social class to associate with an interlocutor of a high social class to prove their worthiness and to gain back their dignity.

An example that has all three motivations is excerpt (7) that takes place at the police station. Nelly, the rich girl, and Sherihan, the poor girl, are parental cousins. However, due to family conflict, they never met each other and neither one of them knows about the fact that she has a cousin. The two worlds meet when the rich girl runs over the poor girl by her car and they both go to the police station (excerpt (5)). When the rich girl's father and the poor girl's aunt arrive to the station, they realize that the two cousins are involved in the car accident. The poor girl then settles and does not file a case against the rich girl. The excerpt below has four interlocutors; rich girl, poor girl, rich girl's father, and poor girl's aunt. It starts with rich girl's father trying to

explain to his daughter that the poor girl is her cousin. The rich girl of course refuses to admit that this low class girl is her cousin.

### Excerpt (7)

1 Rich girl's father: *nilli:/w baʕde:n/?illi: niba:t fi: nisbaḥ fi: , ?alla?*

‘Nelly, how long will we keep talking about this?’

2 Rich girl: *No way out of the blue kidah yitlaʕli: bint ʕam w ?ismaha: ʕiriha:n*

*w kama:n titlaʕ burtuʔan-a*

‘No way out of the blue I have a cousin just like that, and her name is Sherihan, and she is an orange’

*(She is referring to the orange costume the poor girl is wearing)*

3 Rich girl's father: *?ana: bagdib masalan/ saddaʔi:ni: ya binti:/ di: bint ʕamik*

‘You think I would lie to you? Believe me my daughter she is your cousin.’

4 Rich girl: *No way bint ʕami: ?ana: tibʔ-a il-garbu:ʕ-a di:*

‘No way is my cousin this maggot’

*(Pointing at the poor girl)*

5 Poor girl: *mathasbi: ʕala: kala:mik baʔa ya: ḥabibti:/?ana sakta:lik min il-*

*ʕabḥ*

‘Watch your language girl, I have been trying to keep myself from telling you off’

6 Poor girl's aunt: *?istaninti: / gara e:h ya: ustaz ʕbdallah, yaʕni: da gazatna ya:*

*xu:ya ?n ?ḥna ?tnazilna?*

*(Turning to the rich girl's father)*

‘Hold on, what is going on Mr AbdAllah? Is this our reward, my brother, after we settled?’

7 Rich girl's father: *hiyya matəʔsudf*

‘She does not mean it’

8 Rich girl: *ʕala fikra, ʔana ʔaʔsud, wi ʔaʔsud ʔawi:/ w mi:n ʔʕlan il sit il bi:ʔ-a di?*

‘For your information, I mean it, I really mean it, and who is this local woman?’

9 Poor girl's aunt: *ʔlalalalah / gara e:h baʔa/ w baʕdi:n ya ustaz ʕabdallah/ matiʕmil control fiwayy-a ya xu:y-a*

‘Oh no no no no no, what’s up with that Mr AbdAllah? Have some control over this brother, will you?’

10 Rich girl's father: *ħadir/ ħaʕmil control/nilli:/di il-sit ʕabah/tibʔah xa:lit firiha:n w uxt fadya mira:t ʕabd il-ħali:m*

‘Sure, I will have control [turning to the rich girl] Nelly, this is Mrs Sabah, she is Sherihan’s aunt, Shadya’s (Abelhalim’s wife) sister’

*(There are reference to two famous Egyptian actors of old movies called Shadya and Abelhalim)*

11 Rich girl: *rutana klasik ʔwi: ʔil ʔinta bitʔulu da*

‘What you are saying is so like Rotana Classic’

*(The girl refers to the name of the TV channel which always shows old movies)*

12 Rich girl's father: *ya: binti: ʕabd il-ħali:m dah yibʔah ʔaxuy-a / ʕammik / ʔinti: ʔizzay mif ʕarfa / how?*

‘My daughter, Abdelhalim is my brother, your uncle, how come you don’t know, how?’

The CS of the rich girl, the rich girl’s father, and the poor girl’s aunt reflect the three contexts in which the function of association and dissociation with the social class of the interlocutor takes place.

As for the rich girl, she uses CS in line 2 and line 4 responding to what her dad was telling her in line 1 and line 3 (that the poor girl is her cousin). Through CS to English, she chooses to disalign herself from the stance object which is the fact that she has the poor girl as a cousin. The rich girl evaluates what is being said by her father, positions herself in a category that is different from that of the poor girl’s, then decides to align to the category that seems to fit her perceived identity (having no relationship with the poor girl). She does this through CS to English that indexes high social class and prestige as opposed to the low social class of her cousin. Thus, CS was used by the rich girl as a language form to disalign herself from the preceding statements said by the father who was talking in Arabic. She is dissociating herself from her father’s relative who are of a low social class along with everything related to them including the Arabic language.

The linguistic forms that further supplement the rich girl’s disalignment as a CS function for disassociating herself from the low social class interlocutors are as follows:

*lexical choice and content:*

The lexical choice used by the rich girl emphasizes her disalignment stance with the low social class interlocutors. The choice of “no way” twice in English in lines 2 and 4 further confirms her absolute disapproval of the fact that the poor girl is her cousin. Moreover, the usage of words like *garbu:ʕ-a* (maggot) to describe the poor girl in line 4 and *il sit il bi:ʔ-a* (local woman) to

describe the poor girl's aunt in line 8 further accentuates the disalignment and refusal to accept having any sort of relationship with them. Furthermore, when analyzing the rich girl's lexical content, it is found that when her father tells the aunt that the rich girl does not mean any insult, she responds to him in line 8 by clearly stating *ʔana ʔaʔsʔud, wi ʔaʔsʔud ʔawi*: (I mean it, I really meant it). This refers to the fact that her stance taking is intentional and she is not trying to conceal it from the group she is disassociating herself from.

#### *Terms of address*

In line 8, the rich girl addresses the poor aunt by *il sit il bi:ʔ-a* (local women). She does not address her with a name, but with *il sit* (the women). In Arabic, this is considered the lowest level of respect when addressing a person which is in line with the disalignment and disrespectful stance the rich girl chooses to have towards her lower class relatives in this excerpt.

#### *Pronouns used*

Pronouns are another linguistic tools used in this excerpt to confirm the rich girl's disalignment. The choice of an extra separate pronoun is another linguistic tool used to further establish the disalignment interpretation. In line 4, the rich girl uses *no way bint ʕami: ʔana: tibʔa: ʔl garbu:ʕ-a: di:* (no way is my cousin, I, this maggot). The addition of the extra separate pronoun *ʔana:* (I) after the attached pronoun in *ʕami:* (my cousin) is to emphasize her disbelief and disalignment. Moreover, the additional 'I' reflects the narcissist view of the world that the rich girl has. It is a "me against them" mentality that shows throughout the first half of the TV series.

#### *Pattern of the rich girl's character supported by YouTube comments*

In addition to the linguistic forms the rich girl utilizes, YouTube comments can be utilized to extract a specific pattern for the rich girl's character and support the disalignment stance of the rich girl towards the lower social class. In general, in the first half of the TV series, Nelly (the



rich girl) is portrayed as the arrogant spoiled rich girl who has a narcissist view of the world. She saliently disaligns herself from people of a lower social class even though they are her relatives. This description of the rich protagonist is reinforced by YouTube comments about her. Examples of comments are:

- Nil'li: mutakabira gidan fi: ilmusalsal dah  
'Nelly is very arrogant in this series'
- Nil'li: maḡru:ra bas ḡilwa:  
'Nelly is arrogant but she is pretty'
- Nil'li: ga:bit du:r mid'dalaḡa miya  
'Nelly performed the role of a spoiled girl perfectly'

Accordingly, it can be stated that the stylistic CS instances that were written for the rich girl's character had the motivation of salient disalignment from the lower social class as a result of arrogance.

The second CS instances of focus in excerpt (7) is that of the rich girl's father. The rich father code-switches in line 12 as he was trying to tell the rich girl that the poor girl is his brother's daughter. He decides that to convince his daughter of the situation he has to be on her side. He uses CS to position himself in alignment with the stance object in this situation which is his daughter.

Terms of address as a linguistic form is used by the father to support the alignment with his daughter stance. The rich father addresses his daughter in lines 1 and 10 with her name *nilli*.

However, he addresses her with *ya: binti:* (my daughter) in line 12 (the same line where the CS

instance takes place). The father was trying to align himself with his daughter through using her language, thus the CS instance, as well as calling her 'my daughter'.

*Pattern of the rich dad's character:*

The rich dad, although very rich and the rich girl's provider, is not proficient in English. His low proficiency can be detected from a different instance in the TV series when he was in a business meeting with foreigners. They were waiting for a certain file and he had to talk to them to kill the time. The rich dad told his assistant *matfuflina yabni: il-malaf / ?ana ?arrabt ?axallaş il-ingili:zi: illi-itşalimtu kullu* (check out this file, I am running out of the English I learnt). This shows that English does not come naturally to him and that CS in excerpt (7) has a specific function for it (in this case, alignment with his daughter)

Third and last CS instance analyzed in excerpt (7) has a different kind of alignment. In line 9, the poor girl's aunt uses the English word *control* when asking the rich protagonist's father to have control over the situation and stop his daughter from humiliating her and the poor girl. She chooses a code that is perceived as not belonging to her in an attempt to fight back the demeaning acts of the rich girl. Therefore, the aunt code-switches to English to gain back her dignity and prove that she is as worthy as the rich girl through demonstrating that she can speak in English as well. In this case, she is trying to align herself with a higher social class than the one she actually belongs to.

The term of address used by the aunt when talking to the rich father reflects her alignment stance. The aunt says *ya: xu:ya*(my brother) twice in lines 6 and 9 when talking to the rich girl's father supports the solidarity she is trying to create. Moreover, she addresses the father, in other instances, as *ustaz şabdallah* (Mr. AbdAllah) which is again a sign of respect.

### *Patterns of the aunt's character*

In general, the aunt's character is portrayed as someone who wants to marry into wealth and indeed she will end up marrying the rich girl's father. This confirms the alignment stance of the low social class aunt who tries to associate with the upper social class interlocutor.

Additionally, excerpt (8) is another example that shows the association of a high social class with an interlocutor of the same social class for the purpose of persuasion. In the excerpt, the male friend of high social class tries to convince the rich girl of a particular point. He is using convergence to persuade her to carry on solving the riddle to find the money.

#### **Excerpt (8)**

- 1 Rich girl's male friend: *ya: nilli: / mahu mumkin tiku:n il-magall-a*  
*di: luġz gidi:d yiwaddi:na lilfulu:s*  
'Nelly, this magazine could be a new riddle that  
would lead us to the money'
- 2 Poor girl: *luġz gidi:d ʔizzay baʔah yaʕni: muf fahm-a*  
'A new riddle how exactly I don't get it'
- 3 Rich girl's male friend: *zay il-ʔafla:m il-ʔagnabi: bilzabt/ ʕarf-a il-baʔal*  
*il-ʔagnabi: fil-film lamma beyfi:l il-kinz bita:ʕh fi-maka:n*  
'Exactly like in the foreign movies, when the  
foreign hero hides his treasure in a place'
- 4 Rich girl: *matʔɔlf kinz*  
'Don't say treasure'

*(The rich girl says interrupting him)*

- 5 Rich girl's male friend: *il-fulu:s / il-dahab/ wadever wadever / yaʕni:*

*il-baṭal bitaṣna: / mafi:/ lamma biyfi:l il-fulu:s bitaṣtuh fi-  
maka:n biysi:b dali:l / ṣiḥna nemfi: wara il-dali:l / il-dali:l  
yaxḍna li-dali:l yaxḍna li-dali:l yaxḍna li-dali:l / liḥad  
maniṣraf tari:ʔ il-k/ il-fulu:s*

‘The money the gold, whatever whatever, when the hero hides his money in a place he leaves a clue, we follow the clue, the clue leads us to another clue and another one and another one until we find the whereabouts of the tr...the money’

*(He says this with his whole body directed towards the rich girl only and his back to the poor girl and her fiancée)*

In line 5, the rich girl’s male friend code-switches by saying *whadever* (whatever). He is trying to align with the rich girl to convince her of his point of view. Although there are four interlocutors in the conversation and, in line 3, the rich male friend is answering a question posed by the poor girl, the rich friend takes a position of choosing to convince the rich girl over the other interlocutors and thus aligns with her. The stance subject is the rich friend and the stance object is just the rich girl, not all three interlocutors.

There are various linguistic forms used by the rich male friend that shows his alignment with the rich girl as follows:

*Lexical content:*

The rich male friend chooses to use the analogy of *il-ṭafla:m il-ṭagnabi:* (foreign movies) so that the rich girl can relate and is convinced. Foreign movies are not something that the poor girl and

her fiancée can relate to, however, the rich friend chooses this example since he is aligning with the girl and wants to convince her in particular.

*Lexical choice:*

The rich male friend code-switches using *whatever* which is not just an English word, but a word that the rich girl heavily uses. ‘Whatever’ could be considered her catchphrase (she has 20 instances of *whatever* across the TV series). Moreover, his convergence is confirmed in the end when he says *il-ki...* (for *il-kinz*), then he switches and chooses to say *il-fulu:s* (the money) instead of *il-kinz* (the treasure) exactly as he was ‘instructed’ by the rich girl in line 4 when she said *matʔulf kinz* (don’t say treasure).

Besides the linguistic forms, the rich friend’s body language in the excerpt is evidence of his alignment with the rich girl. As he is saying line 5, he faces the rich girl and turns his back to the rest of the interlocutors (the poor girl and her fiancée).

In addition to the linguistic forms and body language in excerpt (8), the rich male friend’s pattern throughout the TV series in general illustrates his alignment with the rich girl. His character loves the rich girl and will end up marrying her in the end of the series. Throughout the episodes, he chooses to leave his work and go help the rich girl on her journey to find her grandfather’s money. YouTube comments can support the rich male friend’s, Seif, love and alignment with the rich girl:

- se:f biyħib nilli gidan  
‘Seif really loves Nelly’

**Fourth: CS by a speaker of low social class to align with what the high social interlocutor has to offer while disaligning with them personally**

An example of this function is one CS instance of the low social class girl in excerpt (9) that takes place at the rich girl's house after a fight between the two girls. Before the fight, the rich girl's father has offered Sherihan, the poor girl, a job in his company. After the fight, the poor girl wanted to make sure that it did not cost her the job and that the offer was still there. In the excerpt she is aligning with what the rich dad job offers to her while not necessarily aligning with him on the personal level.

### Excerpt (9)

- 1 Poor Girl: *ʕammu, ʕabʕan il-xila:f illi ʕaʕal bi:ni: w bi:n bintak ʕali:lit  
il-riba:y-a dah malu:f ʕay ʕila:k-a bimawdu:ʔ il-fuǧl illi binna /  
yaʕni: ʕafa:n ʕasbit liʕadritak ʕad e:h ʕana professional fil fuǧl/  
baʕd ʕzn ʕadritak*
- ‘Uncle, of course the fight that happened between me and your rude daughter has nothing to do with the work between us, just so that you know how professional I am at work, I shall leave now sir’
- 2 Rich girl's father: *ʔtfadali: ʕabibt:*
- ‘Go ahead dear’

In this excerpt, the poor girl code-switches to align with the rich father's job offer. She code-switches making use of English indexing professionalism and anything work related. Egyptians closely associate English with the work place and having a good career since English proficiency is mandatory to get a highly paid prestigious job in most fields. In this excerpt, the stance object is the rich father's job offer and the stance subject (the poor girl) chooses to align herself with it through CS. However, the poor girl is disaligning with the rich father and his daughter.

Therefore, in line 1 of the poor girl's words, she is disaligning with the interlocutor in the first two lines and aligning with the job offer in the last two lines. At first she confirmed her disalignment with the rich girl and her father, who could not raise her up properly, yet in the end she aligned herself with rich girl's father company and the job that she so desperately needed. This need for the high social class forced the poor girl to get over the insults and the fight and end the conversation with a mention of professionalism that would allow her and the rich girl's father to separate between the personal conflicts and the professional matters related to work. Linguistically, there are various tools that highlight the poor girl's two stances in the excerpt; alignment with the rich dad's offer and disalignment with him and his daughter as follows:

#### *Lexical content*

The poor girl's disalignment and alignment stances appear in her lexical content. Her disalignment appears when she describes the rich girl as a girl who hasn't been brought up well. This is not only expressing disalignment with the rich girl, but also with the father who is the person who raised her. However, the poor girl chooses to align with the rich father's job offer to her and wants to confirm that the fight has nothing to do with the offer. She is not aligning with the interlocutor, but with a job that the interlocutor offers her.

#### *Lexical choices*

The poor girl's disalignment is clear as she says to the rich father *bintak ?ali:lit il-riba:y-a* (your rude daughter). By insulting his daughter, she is disaligning with both the rich girl and her father. On the other hand, for alignment, she chooses to code-switches to English when saying the word *brofessional* (professional) to confirm that she belongs in the rich girl's father company. She needs the job that the father is offering her and thus she wanted to convince him that she is professional at work. She chooses the word professional, although she pronounced it

phonologically incorrectly as ‘bprofessional’, to utilize the index of the English language in Egypt as the language of profession and work place. Besides CS, to prove her professionalism and keenness on the job offer, the poor girl makes some lexical choices like *baʕd ʔzn ʔadritak* (I shall leave now sir), which is a very formal way of saying goodbye.

#### *Pronouns used and terms of address*

To align with the stance of being professional, the poor girl addresses the rich father with the formal polite pronouns *ʔadritak*, in the first two lines, when saying *ʔasbit liʔadritak* (prove to you) and *baʕd ʔzn ʔadritak* (I shall leave now sir) instead of the informal less professional suffixed singular pronoun *ʔasbit li:k* and *baʕd ʔznak*. On the other hand, when disaligning (in the first two lines), she addresses him with the informal less respectful suffixed singular possessive pronoun *bintak* (your daughter).

#### **Fifth: CS by low social class speaker to disalign with the high social class interlocutor after a failed attempt for alignment**

In addition to association of low social class speakers with high social class interlocutors to prove their worthiness as a motivation of CS, there is a different pattern of motivations related to low social class CS that occurs in the TV series. The pattern is a trial for alignment with the high social class followed by a failure to do so as a result of the disalignment of the low social class that results in a disalignment of the low social class with the high social class interlocutor. An example of a low class failed attempt to align with a high social class interlocutor which is then followed by a disalignment is excerpt (10). It takes place just before the wedding of the rich girl’s father and the poor girl’s aunt. The rich girl does not approve of this marriage and is angry with everyone invited by the aunt. The poor girl’s fiancée has volunteered to be the wedding



planner and was setting up some decorations when the rich girl and her friend comes in and the following conversation takes place:

### Excerpt (10)

- 1 Poor girl's fiancée: *masa? ?il ful ya fandim / maḥsubik hani:/*  
*mabru:k lil ḥag*  
‘Good evening ma’am/ I am Hany/ Congratulations to your father’
- 2 Rich girl: *?inta mi:n ya: ḥayawa:n ?inta*  
‘who are you animal?’
- 3 Poor girl's fiancée: *?ana / le:h yaʕni: il-ḡalat dah ḥadritik yaʕni: ?ana hani: /*  
*hani: il-dabdu:b*  
‘I am..why are you insulting me ma’am...I am Hany / Hany the bear’
- (Hany the bear refers to his nickname)
- 4 Rich girl: *dabdu:b / yaʕni: ḥayawa:n ?ahu*  
‘Bear / you are an animal then; I was right’
- 5 Poor girl's fiancée: *ʕasal ʕasal wallahi: ya fandim*  
‘So sweet so sweet indeed ma’am’
- 6 Rich girl: *?inta bitiʕmil e:h hina*  
‘What are you doing here?’
- 7 Poor girl's fiancée: *?ana ḥadritik ?ana il-masʔu:l ?an il-taghi:za:t bitaʕit il-*  
*farah / yaʕni: tiʔdari: tiʔu:li: ʕalayy-a kida ?ana il-wedding*  
*blinarz*

‘I am responsible of the wedding preparation; you can say I am the wedding planner’

8 Rich girl: *simiʕti: ʔa:l e:h?*

‘Did you hear what he just said?’

*(Addressing her rich girl friend)*

9 Rich girl friend: *blinarz?*

Planners?

*(Addressing the poor girl's fiancée)*

10 Poor girl's fiancée: *ʔah / lamuʔaxz-a ʔihn-a ʔasfi:n law konna: ʔazʕagnakom*

*bas lazim niʕmil sound tfiks ʕafa:n tibʔ-a kəl ʔa:g-a gahz-a*

‘Yes, I am sorry if we disturbed you but we have to test the speakers just so that everything is ready’

11 Rich girl: *le:h le:h biʔəʔəʔəh s fi: kul ʔa:g-a? / blinnars wi*

*tfiks / le:h ? howa ant-a kiti:r ? mif ʔinta wa:ʔid ?*

‘Why? why do you add ‘s’ for every word?’

Planners and checks, why? Are you more than one person? Aren’t you just one?’

12 Poor girl's fiancée: *laʔ ʔinti: fihimti: ʕalat ya ʔabl-a / il-s dih mif bitaʕit il-bu:r*

*laʔ di: s bitaʕit il-apostrofs yaʕni: il-s ʕayd-a ʕal zakar illi-howa ʔana*

‘No, you misunderstood me ma’am, the s is not for bur, it is the apostrophe s, the s refers to the masculine which is me’

*(by bur he is referring to plural)*

- 13 Rich girl: *ʔinta muʔzakar/ ʔinta ʔayawa:n*  
 ‘You are not a man; you are an animal’
- 14 Poor girl's fiancé: *wi ʔinti: ʔasals ʔasals*  
 ‘And you are so sweets sweets’

In this excerpt, there are two opposite motivations for CS of the poor fiancée namely alignment and disalignment. The CS instance made to align with the interlocutor are the ones in line 7 *wedding blinarz* (wedding planner) and in line 10 *sound tfiks* (sound checks). The poor male wants to align himself with the rich girl and uses CS to explain to her the reason he is in the wedding. The stance subject is the poor fiancée and he takes the position of respecting the stance object (the rich girl) and tries to seek her approval of him being in the wedding. He thus aligns with her using convergence through code-switching. However, this alignment is faced by disalignment on the rich girl's side.

Linguistically, the poor fiancée's intention in aligning himself with the rich girl versus her disalignment with him can be detected from his lexical content, lexical choices, and terms of address as follows:

*Lexical content:*

The fact that the poor fiancée is willing to give an explanation as to why he is in the wedding and what he is doing, especially after the rich girl interrogates him by asking in line 2 *ʔinta mi:n ya: ʔayawa:n ʔinta* (who are you animal) and in line 6 *ʔinta bitiʕmil e:h hina* (what are you doing here), shows he is aligning with her and seeks her approval so far in the conversation. He is not obliged to give an explanation to her as to why he is in the wedding or what he is doing, however, he replies by saying to line 2 by *ʔana hani:* (I am Hany) and responds to line 6 by *ʔana ʔadritik ʔana il-masʔu:l ʔan il-taghi:za:t bitaʕit il-farah / yaʕni: tiʔdari: tiʔu:li: ʕalayy-a kida*

*ʔana il-wedding blinarz* (I am responsible of the wedding preparation, you can say I am the wedding planner). Moreover, we see that the rich girl insults the poor fiancée twice in lines 2 and 4 *ʔinta mi:n ya: ʔayawa:n ʔinta* (who are you animal) and *yaʕni: ʔayawa:n ʔahu* (you are an animal then, I was right). The poor fiancée responds to these insults in a calm way and he does not get offended. He responds to line 2 by answering the question and saying his name *ʔana hani:* (I am Hany) and he responds to line 4 by Complimenting him by saying *ʕasal ʕasal wallahi: ya fandim* (so sweet, so sweet indeed ma'am).

#### *Lexical choices:*

The lexical choices of the rich girl show her disalignment with the poor girl's fiancée. The rich girl calls him *ʔayawa:n* (animal) twice in line 2 and 4. On the other hand, the alignment of the poor fiancée is clear in his lexical choices like his description of the rich girl as *ʕasal* (so sweet) after she has just insulted him.

#### *Terms of address:*

Unlike the rich girl who was addressing the poor fiancée in lines 3 and 7 with *ʔinta* (the informal you), he used the polite formal form of 'you' for the singular feminine second person *ʔadritik* instead of *ʔinti:* and he uses *fandim* (ma'am) in lines 1 and 5.

The poor fiancée's stance, however, changes in the middle of the conversation starting line 12. In line 14, he code-switches twice by adding the function morpheme /s/ to an Arabic word *ʔasals ʔasals* where *ʔasal* is sweet. However, his CS is for disalignment with the rich girl at this point in the conversation. His stance changes after he realizes that his attempt in aligning with the rich girl has failed. That is when in line 11 the rich girl starts commenting on his language in a string of metalinguistic discourse.

#### *Metalinguistic discourse:*

The metalinguistic discourse that occurs in the conversation in lines 11 and 12 is what made the poor fiancée disalign with the rich girl. In line 11 she starts saliently commenting on his English and asking him *le:h le:h biḥəṭəḥ ʔfi: kul ḥa:g-a?* (why do you put an s for everything?). The rich girl here uses the second person plural pronoun in *biḥəṭəḥ* (put) instead of the singular pronoun *biḥut* (put) to refer to his whole social class. She is not just commenting on his way of speaking, but she classifies him as belonging to a specific group of people who speak similarly. The poor fiancée then starts talking about English grammar rules to justify his usage of the morpheme /s/. He gives an incorrect grammar rule as a justification for his usage of the /s/ and as a result gets insulted again by the rich girl in line 13 *ʔinta muʔzakar / ʔinta ḥayawa:n* (you are not a man, you are an animal). The rich girl was complaining about his overuse of /s/, however, we see that instead of aligning with her and converging his language towards what she wants, he uses /s/ in *ʔinti: ʔasals* (you are so sweets) twice. He is being provocative and intentionally says the opposite of what she wants to hear.

Besides the metalinguistic content of the discourse, an evidence of the disalignment of the poor fiancée with the rich girl is his terms of address as follows:

#### *Terms of address*

The poor girl's fiancée changes the way he addresses her from the polite form of 'you' *ḥadritik* to the informal form *ʔinti:* (you) in line 12 and 14 as well as changing from *fandim* (ma'am) to *ʔabl-a* (a local way of addressing a women) in line 12.

## Second research question:

### How do social networks as a variable affect Arabic-English CS of the main character in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*?

Social network is signified by the usage of linguistic features as a result of the individual's agency to express affiliation to a specific social identity (Eckert, 2012). Accordingly, the change in the social networks of the girl is marked by episode 22 when the rich girl makes the choice to express affiliation with the poor girl and her family. She clearly states that she loves her poor cousin and that from now on she will change.

#### Excerpt (11)

1 Rich girl: *I love you so much ya firiha:n*  
'I love you so much Sherihan'

2 Poor girl: *me too my sister*  
'Me too my sister'

(...)

3 Rich girl: *I promise ya gamaʕah ʔennu men il nahard-a ʔentu*  
*ḥatfufu: nilli: tany-a xales*  
'I promise you males that starting from today you will see a totally different Nelly'

To be able to understand the effects of the change in the social networks of the rich girl, the CS instances per morpheme (both content and function) were counted per episode. Moreover, the social motivations of the CS instances were qualitatively analyzed. Both the frequencies and the social motivation of CS instances of the rich girl before and after episode 22 were compared and contrasted.

#### First: Frequency of CS instances before and after episode 22

Table 1 Frequency of the rich girl's CS before and after episode 22:

<b>Episodes before episode 22</b>	<b>Frequency of CS instances</b>	<b>Episodes after episode 22</b>	<b>Frequency of CS instances</b>
Episode 1	102	Episode 22	55
Episode 2	52	Episode 23	19
Episode 3	55	Episode 24	3
Episode 4	82	Episode 25	11
Episode 5	65	Episode 26	10
Episode 6	36	Episode 27	11
Episode 7	47	Episode 28	4
Episode 8	45	Episode 29	29
Episode 9	67	Episode 30	24
Episode 10	36		
Episode 11	50		
Episode 12	56		
Episode 13	32		
Episode 14	46		

Episode 15	19		
Episode 16	38		
Episode 17	27		
Episode 18	31		
Episode 19	36		
Episode 20	64		
Episode 21	66		
<b>Total CS frequency before episode 22</b>	<b>1052</b>	<b>Total CS frequency after episode 22</b>	<b>166</b>

As shown in table 1, the total CS frequency before episode 22 is 1052 while the total CS starting episode 22 is 166. Even though the number of episodes before episode 22 is more than that after it, the frequency per episode after episode 22, except for episode 22, is less than the average number of CS before this episode. The average of CS instances before episode 22 is 50 instances, while the average after is 18 instances. Moreover, when comparing the first 9 episodes with the last 9 episodes (the ones starting episode 22). It is found that the first episodes have 551 CS instances while the last episodes have 166 instances. Therefore, compared to the last 9 episodes (starting episode 22), it is clear that the frequency of CS decreased after the girl decided to affiliate with her 'low social class' side of the family.

The rich girl's affiliation decision was a result of the drastic changes in her social networks in terms of density, multiplexity, and locality that happens across the TV series. Firstly, the rich girl's locality completely changes starting episode 9 when she leaves her house, after her father



goes bankrupt and goes to prison, and, with nowhere else to go, goes to live with her cousin, the poor girl, and her step mother, the poor girl's aunt at their house in a local alley. Afterwards, starting episode 10, she starts searching for her grandfather's hidden money with the poor cousin along with the rich girl's male friend and the poor girl's fiancée. From episode 10 till the end of the series, all 4 characters or the rich and the poor girl are seen together in the majority of the scenes as they embark on the journey to find the money. The four characters thus form a dense network that spend a lot of time together having a common interest and goal (the money) as well as going through the same events and going to the same places. Thus, we find all 4 characters together going to different cities across Egypt, going to museums, going to very poor alleys where thugs live, making deals with burglars, and even going to prison. Besides density, the rich girl's network is a multiplex one since there are overlapping. The poor girl is the rich girl's roommate, cousin (kinship relationship), and companion on the journey to find the money.

### **Social motivation of CS instances after episode 22**

The rich girl has an ambivalent stance right after she decides to change at the beginning of episode 22. She tries not to be rude, but keeps forgetting that she has changed. She says offensive words or comments on the language of the poor girl or her fiancée then backs down. She is even sometimes not sure how to align with her interlocutors. Therefore, episode 22 has the most CS instances out of all the episodes that follow since she is not accustomed with the change. The rich girl makes 55 CS instances in this episode, with the rest having less number of instances with a maximum of 29 instances in episode 29. An example of the early instances after the change is excerpt (12) where she first code-switches in disalignment to correct the English

pronunciation of the poor girl's fiancée, then remembers and changes her stance to alignment as follows:

### Excerpt (12)

- 1 Rich girl: *yimkin yiku:n biywaşşı: ʕale:na*  
'Maybe he is telling him to take care of us'
- 2 Poor girl's fiancée: *ʔah ʔaki:d biywaşşı:h yinazzellena ɥa:g-a*  
*kombeli:zɔ:n kida*  
'Yes surely he is asking him to bring us a *kombelizon*'
- 3 Rich girl: *ʔismaha complement ya mutaxallif / sorry*  
*sorry ʔana ɥaʔulhalak beʔari:ʔ-a ʔaḥsan min kida / ʔana*  
*ʔaşdi: yaʕni: ʕaʕa:n tebʔah ʔaʕid maʕa il-na:s teʔulha saḥ*  
*/ ʔismaha complement*  
'It's 'complement' you idiot / sorry sorry I will tell you this in a better way / I mean just for you to know the word if you want to use it when you are around people'
- 4 Poor girl's fiancée: *whadevar / we baʕdi:n kombeli:zɔ:n ʔaḥlah*  
'Whatever / and *kombelizon* is better'
- 5 Rich girl: *ok zay mathib*  
'Ok whichever you like'

In the above excerpt, there is divergence immediately followed by convergence in the language of the rich girl. As a form of reflexivity, the rich girl at first corrects the poor girl's fiancée in line 3 by CS and saying *ʔismaha complement ya mutaxallif* (It's complement you idiot). Here the

stance subject (the rich girl) evaluates the previous utterance of ‘complement’ as *kombeli:zɔ:n* by the poor fiancée and in turns evaluates him as being an idiot. Her evaluation indicates disalignment from the stance object (the poor fiancée). Immediately after that, the rich girl changes her evaluation of the stance object (the poor fiancée) and instead aligns with him. In that same line (3), she apologizes by CS and saying *sorry*, then provides an explanation as to why she is correcting him *ʕaʕa:n tebʔah ʔaʕid maʕa il-na:s teʔulha saħ* (just so that you know the word if you want to use it when you are around people). At this point in the conversation she did not completely align with the poor fiancée since she still corrected him by repeating at the end of line 3 *ʔismaha kamplement*. However, complete alignment with the poor fiancée occurs in line 5 where she says *ok zay mathib* (ok whichever you like) as a response to the poor fiancée refusal to change his word because he thinks *kombeli:zɔ:n ʔaħlah* (Kombelizon is better). At this point she converged to his utterance by stopping the correction and accepting his choice. Therefore, she went from disaligning herself from him completely and calling him an idiot, to correcting him but in a less aggressive way, to accepting his utterance, then ceases to judge him.

It is also worth noting here that the poor girl’s fiancée is no longer keen on aligning with her. The power relation has now changed and is in favor of the poor fiancée. An evidence that shows that the power relation has shifted is that the poor fiancée code-switches and uses the same *whatever* that the girl used to say all the time whenever anyone corrects her Arabic. Instead of trying to change his utterance or giving an explanation, the poor fiancée bluntly says in line 4 that *kombeli:zɔ:n ʔaħlah* (kombelizon is better).

There are various linguistic resources used to by the rich girl to emphasize her divergence /convergence as follows:

### *Lexical choice*

In the first part of line 3, the rich girl uses *mutaxallif* (you idiot) which shows her disalignment with the fiancée. On the other hand, in that same line (3), she apologizes by saying *sorry* twice in English to show her alignment.

### *Terms of address*

The rich girl addresses the fiancée with *ya mutaxallif* (you idiot) which is a confirmation of her disalignment.

### *Metalinguistic discourse*

The rich girl's metalinguistic discourse in the first part in line 3 *ʔismaha complement ya mutaxallif* is a negative stance towards the poor fiancée since she is correcting his pronunciation of a word. However, she changes this negative stance by providing an explanation as to why the pronunciation could be important; so that when he says it in front of other people. She is trying to tell him that she is on his side and that it is fine if he pronounces the word incorrectly in front of her, however, it is important to pronounce it correctly in front of others. The rich girl, then, further aligns with the fiancée in line 5 by saying *zay mathib* (as you like) when he refuses to change his pronunciation and stating that *kombeli:zɔ:n* is better than *complement*. At this point in the conversation, the rich girl's metalinguistic discourse changed completely. She now does not think it is important for him to pronounce the word correctly in front of other people and that he has the freedom to choose whatever he likes without this causing him to look like *mutaxallif* (idiot) as in line 3.

However, by episode 25, the rich girl no longer corrects the English utterance of her poor side of the family. Excerpt (13) illustrates the tolerance of the rich girl towards the incorrect pronunciation of the poor girl.

**Excerpt (13)**

- 1 Poor girl: *howa il-bufeh hena oben walla felab*  
'Is the buffet here open or boxes'
- 2 Rich girl: *felab yaʕni: e:h?*  
'What do you mean by boxes?'
- 3 Poor girl: *pokses pokses*  
'Boxes boxes'
- 4 Rich girl: *ʔana ʔitgʕayyart ʔana ʔitgʕayyart*  
'I changed I changed'

(she sighs and takes a deep breath as she says this)

In episodes before 22, the normal reaction to the rich girl would be disalignment and critically correcting the pronunciation of the low social class interlocutor. Her metalinguistic discourse is no longer a negative one. She does not talk about language with the poor girl and she does not correct her pronunciation. For her, changing into a better person entails omitting her metalinguistic discourse with low social class interlocutors.

As mentioned above, although her CS frequency decreases compared to before episode 22, the rich girl carries on CS. However, the motivation for CS before episode 22 differs from that of the episodes after. Before episode 22, the rich girl is portrayed a spoiled arrogant girl whose CS instances is used to saliently disalign with anyone who is in a lower social class like in excerpt (5) and (7) or is rich but no classy and chic like in her conversation with her father in excerpt (2).

However, the CS after episode 22 is used to align with the low class interlocutor with language that is converging and positive. In fact, one of the CS's social motivations of the rich girl starting episode 22 is praising interlocutors of a lower social class. Below are two excerpts, one before and one after episode 22, of the rich girl talking with the poor girl's aunt. In both excerpts the rich girl is describing the aunt. However, in excerpt (14) the rich girl is disaligning with her, while in excerpt (15) the rich girl is aligning and complimenting her.

In excerpt (14), the poor aunt gives a good idea, then the rich girl says the following:

**Excerpt (14)**

- 1 Rich girl: *maʕa ʔinik sit bi:ʔ-a wi weird gidan bilnisbali: wi-bakrahik bas good idea*  
 ‘Although you are a local women and very weird for me and I hate you, but good idea’

In excerpt (15) the rich girl is talking with the poor girl's aunt *Sabah* and as she is giving her a compliment and code-switches as follows:

**Excerpt (15)**

- 1 Rich girl: *ʕaba:h / I'm a big fan*  
 ‘Sabah I'm a big fan’
- 2 Poor girl's aunt: *e:h di: baʔah ?/ ʕa:g-a wiʕf-a walla ʕa:g-a ʕilw-a?*  
 ‘What is this? Is it a bad thing or a good thing?’
- 3 Rich girl: *laʔ di: ʕa:g-a ʕilw-a / yaʕni: ʔin ʔana muʕgab-a bi:ki: giddan wi i'm in love with tari:ʔit kala:mik*  
 ‘No it is a good thing / I mean I really admire you and I'm in love with the way you talk’

In excerpt (14), the rich girl code-switches by saying *weird and good idea*. There are two stance subjects in this excerpt namely the poor aunt and her idea. The stance subject is the rich girl in both cases. The rich girl evaluates the aunt (first stance subject) and positions her as a person who is local, weird, and whom she hates. Thus, she disaligns with the aunt by using a diverging language and code-switching to English as she describes her as *weird*. On the other hand, the rich girl evaluates the idea that the aunt gives (second stance object) and positions herself in alignment with this idea by stating through CS that it is a *good idea*. It is important to note that she chooses to code switch as she is aligning with the idea in order to emphasize her disalignment with the aunt herself. The linguistic resources used by the rich girl represented in her lexical choices and pronouns confirms her disalignment with the aunt as a stance subject.

#### *Lexical choices*

The rich girl describes the aunt using diverging language like *sit bi:ʔ-a* (local women) and *weird gidan* (very weird). She also uses the word *bakrahik* (hate you). Moreover, the rich girl uses *maʕa ʔinik.... bas...* (although.... but...) to highlight the contradiction between her opinion regarding the aunt and her idea.

#### *Pronouns used*

The rich girl uses the informal less polite second person suffixed singular pronoun instead of the formal polite pronouns *ḥaḍritik* when addressing the aunt as a sign of disalignment and lack of disrespect. She says *ʔinik* and *bakrahik* instead of *ʔin ḥaḍritik* and *bakrah ḥaḍritik*. Moreover, the rich girl emphasizes that the aunt is weird for her by adding the first person singular pronoun in *bilnisbali:* (for me). The rich girl wants to confirm her disaligning stance and she is not trying to conceal it.

On the contrary, the opposite stance can be found in excerpt (15). The rich girl code-switches twice in line 1 and line 3. In these two utterances *i'm a big fan* and *i'm in love with tari:ʔit kala:mik* the stance subject is the rich girl and the stance object is the poor aunt and her way of speaking respectively. The rich girl positions herself as a big fan and in love with the way the aunt speaks. Thus, she is aligning with the poor aunt. The fact that the aunt says in line 2 *e:h di: baʔah ?/ ʔa:g-a wiʔf-a walla ʔa:g-a ʔilw-a* (What is this? Is it a bad thing or a good thing?). The aunt is not sure what *I'm a big fan* said by the rich girl in line 1 means. The aunt wants to know whether it is a bad thing or a good thing. Although the rich girl has made a promise to change, the aunt still considers the possibility that the rich girl words might be insulting and not complimenting. This is a further proof of the change that the rich girl experienced in terms of the way she addresses and describes the poor girl and her aunt.

Her convergent alignment with the aunt is clear in her lexical content and lexical choices.

#### *Lexical choices:*

In line 1, the rich girl uses *big fan* when talking about the poor aunt. In line 3, she uses *in love with* when referring to the poor aunt's way of speaking. She does not use the affective verb *like*, rather she chooses *in love with* which is an upgrade of her level of alignment with the poor aunt. Hence, there is a clear difference in the lexical choices that the rich girl uses to describe the same aunt before episode 22 (for example *weird* and *sit bi:ʔ-a* (local women) in excerpt (14) as discussed above).

#### *Lexical content:*

When the aunt asks in line 2 whether that is a good or a bad thing, the rich girl responds in line 3 by saying *di: ʔa:g-a ʔilw-a* (that is a good thing). She is willing to explain to the poor aunt and translates *yaʔni: ʔin ʔana muʔgab-a bi:ki: giddan* (I mean I really admire you).



Another motivation for CS of the rich girl after episode 22 is for convergent alignment with people of high social class. In excerpt (16) below, the rich girl is talking to a celebrity and she code-switches as follows:

**Excerpt (16)**

- 1 Rich girl: *ʔaḥmad fahmi:*  
'Ahmed Fahmy'
- 2 The actor: *ʔizzayyik?*  
'How are you doing?'
- 3 Rich girl: *ʕa:mel e:h?*  
'How are you doing?'
- 4 The actor: *ʔilḥamdilah*  
'Thank God'
- 5 The rich girl: *mumkin naxud men waʔtak bas five minutes?*  
'Can we take just five minutes of your time?'
- (...)
- 6 The rich girl: *ʔaywa ṭabʕan / ʔinta ʕandak fa:ns kiti:r giddan / ʔiḥna  
ʕamlinlak pa:j ʕala fa:cbuk fi:ha ʔana wi bint xalti: wi like  
talatah Kaman aṣḥabn-a*  
'Yes of course / you have a lot of fans / we created a  
Facebook page for you that has me, my cousin, and like  
three more of our friends'

A final result of the change in the rich girl's social networks is that after episode 22, when receiving a comment on her Arabic, the rich girl no longer says her catchphrase *whatever* (she has 20 instances of *whatever* across the TV series). In excerpt (17), the rich girl does not say *whatever* but uses a hand gesture instead as follows:

**Excerpt (17)**

- 1 Rich girl: *mahu mayibʔa:f ʕam bunduʔ law rayyaḥna / lazem yiḥuṭilna il-ʕuʔd-a fil muzma:r*  
‘This is typical of uncle Bondo / he has to put the knit in the flute’

*(This is the wrong version of an expression meaning he over complicates matters)*

- 2 Poor girl: *munfa:r*  
‘saw

*(She corrects the rich girl and says it is munfa:r (saw) instead of muzma:r (flute))*

*(Rich girl just waves her hand but does not say anything)*

Before episode 22, in instances like the above, the rich girl would code-switch saying *whatever* in order to undermine the feedback that is given to her about her Arabic. For her, it would not be important to speak correctly in Arabic. An example of one of the 20 ‘*whatever*’ instances said by the rich girl is excerpt (18):

**Excerpt (18)**

- 1 Rich girl: *sany-a waḥd-a / ʔihna ḥanru:h kəllina / ʔana baʕd kida kəl xaṭw-a ḥatibʔah rigli: ʕala: kitfik*  
‘Wait a minute / we are all going / from now on every step you make my foot will be on your shoulder’

(“my foot will be on your shoulder” is the wrong version of an expression that means “I will come with you”)

2 Poor girl: *ʔismaha rigli: ʕala: riglik ʔw ʔi:di: ʕala: kitfik / ʔinnama: di: mɔf rakb-a*  
‘It’s my foot on your foot or my hand on your shoulder / but this doesn’t sound right’

Rich girl: *whatever*  
‘Whatever’

By episode 18, the rich girl starts to say the Arabic counterpart *mef fa:riʔ* as in excerpt (19) below:

#### Excerpt (19)

1 Rich girl: *wi di: ʔaneʕrafh-a ʔizzay baʔ-a ya falʔu:ʕ-a*  
‘How will we know this, smart pants’

(*falʔu:ʕ-a (smarty pants) is incorrect*)

2 Poor girl: *falʔu:ʕ-a*  
‘Smarty pants’

(*correcting the rich girl by saying falʔu:ʕ-a instead of falʔu:ʕ-a*)

3 Rich girl: *mef fa:riʔ*  
‘Doesn’t matter’

However, after episode 22, as in excerpt (17), the rich girl does not say her usual ‘*whatever*’ (excerpt (18)) or even an Arabic counterpart like *mef fa:riʔ* (excerpt (19)).

## CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Stylized performance reveals what people know about the stereotypes attached to their linguistic patterns, unlike spontaneous speech that is usually not intentional (Johnstone & Bean, 1997). This study demonstrated various motivations for Arabic to English CS in the Egyptian TV series *Nelly and Sherihan* depending on who is doing the CS and in which context. However, it is worth mentioning that these motivations were based on stylized performance that is “emphatic and hyperbolic” in nature (Coupland, 2007, p.154).

The analysis showed that it is not gender alone or social class alone that determines the motivation of CS. It was found that in some instances two characters of the same social class have different motivations for CS depending on the context and whom they were addressing. Thus, the study focused on the effect of the CS interaction between the gender, social class, and social networks as variables along with the context in which the utterance is made. This is in compliance with previous research that concluded that labeling speaker as men or women only, or as high class or low class only is a small part of a bigger story to understand the interaction between language, gender, and social class which can only be identified through looking “locally, closely observing linguistic practices in the context of a particular community’s social practices” (Eckert & Ginet, 1992).

The different motivations for CS for the different genders and social classes that appeared in the TV series are as follows:

The first motivation for CS in the study is alignment or disalignment with an interlocutor based on criteria other than money like being classy or cool. This social motivation for CS does not depend on money, rather it depends on how classy or cool someone is. The interlocutor who is classy or cool disaligns with the other interlocutor who lacks classiness or coolness through CS.

As a reaction to this disalignment, the less classy or cool interlocutor attempts to align with the classy cool speaker through CS as well. This function of CS is not related to a particular social class or a particular gender. Hence, this is a motivation for CS instances used by the rich girl (high social class female), poor girl (low social class female), as well as the rich girl's father (high social class male). An example is in excerpt (2), although the rich girl's father is the source of the rich girl's money, she disaligns with him since he is not as classy as her and her deceased mother. On the other hand, the rich father has an alignment stance with her and converges to the language of his classy daughter. Another example is in excerpt (4) when the poor girl code-switches when addressing her new boss as part of her stance to align with him and appear 'cool'. The second motivation for CS in the study is disalignment with an interlocutor of a different social class as part of a struggle for power and domination in the conversation. This motivation is not done solely by the high social class characters in the TV series, rather, it is done by characters of low social class as well. Moreover, it is used by both females and males in the series. Excerpt (5) shows the struggle of power between the low social class male police officer and the high social class female suspect (the rich girl). Both characters code-switch as a stance of disalignment from each other and power maintenance in the conversation. Additionally, in excerpt (6) the rich dad disaligns with his employee and code-switches as he direct orders to him in order to show him that he has the upper hand and that he has control over the employee. The third CS motivation in the series is to associate or disassociate oneself with the interlocutor (whether same or different social class) in order to achieve a specific goal within the interaction. Similar to the above two motivations, this function is done by all the different genders and social classes in the TV series. The attempt for association happens between interlocutors of the same high social class or by the low social class speakers to associate with the high social class

interlocutors. However, the disalignment happens by the high social class interlocutor to dissociate with the low social class. One of the examples of this motivation for CS is in excerpt (7). The rich girl disaligns, out of arrogance, with her low social class side of the family through CS in order to show off her status. At the same time, the poor aunt aligns, using CS, with the high social class father, out of pride, in order to gain back her dignity. Finally, the rich father is aligning with his rich daughter in order to convince her of a specific point (that the poor girl and her aunt are part of the rich girl's family).

The fourth social motivation for CS in the TV series is one that is associated with the low social class characters in the TV series who code-switch to align with what the high social interlocutor has to offer while disaligning with them on the personal level. This motivation occurs after the high social class speakers show clear disalignment with their low social class interlocutors. As a result, the low social class individuals show no alignment with the rich characters despite showing alignment with the high social class belongings and offers of help to them. In excerpt (9), after a fight with the rich girl, the poor girl disaligns with the rich daughter and the father who did not raise her well. Nevertheless, she aligns with the job offer the father has offered her before the fight. To do that, the poor girl code-switches making use of the index of English as a language associated with professionalism and the workplace.

The fifth social motivation for CS is another one used by the low social class characters in the TV series who disalign with the high social class interlocutors after a failed attempt for alignment. Characters from a low social class try to align with the interlocutor of high social class, using CS, but when the latter responds with disalignment, the former changes their stance and responds with CS again but with disalignment. In this case, CS as a disalignment stance by a lower social class speaker is done for the purpose of being provocative to the high social class

interlocutors. An example is in excerpt (10) when the poor girl's fiancée tries to align with the rich girl by CS, however, his CS is received by disalignment from the rich girl's side, which leads to the poor fiancée being provocative and disaligning with her using CS as well.

The analysis above shows that there is no common stance taken through CS that is typical of the high or the low social class or of a particular gender. Both social classes and genders take alignment and disalignment stances in different contexts in the TV series. Thus, it cannot be stated that the low social class constantly take a disalignment stance towards the high social class or that the high social class takes a disalignment stance towards the low social class. In fact, there are instances when the high social class disalign with individuals of the same high social class. What is portrayed in the series is a combination of stances taken according to the context and the interlocutors. This is different from the results reached by a similar study (Kiesling, 2017) which analyzed a YouTube parody of the working class culture of people who lived in Pittsburgh. Kiesling found that the most common stance taken is disalignment even when the characters try to create solidarity which is typical of the working class local disalignment interactions.

Low social class characters in the series are not always disaligning with the high social class. On the contrary, Egyptian low social class is portrayed trying to align with the high social class at various instances. Characters who belong to the low social class in Egypt are not portrayed in the TV series as constantly bitter and aggressive towards the high social class without a reason. Low social class characters try to align with the high social class through CS to English using the index of the language in Egypt as one of prestige that is closely related to people of the high social class. Low social class characters try to benefit from the wealth of the high social class as portrayed in the poor girl who wants to get a job at the rich girl's father

company (Excerpt (9)) and the poor aunt who wants to marry into wealth and indeed ends up marrying the rich father. Moreover, the TV series producers portray 'localness' as something that is frowned upon by the different social classes in Egypt. It is found that not just the high social class regards being local as negative, but low social class as well. Characters of the low social class in the series try to disassociate themselves from anything that could potentially impose a localness impression on them. This is clear in the poor girl's dialogue with herself in excerpt (4) when she is trying to pick the best way to welcome her new boss and eliminates *ʔizzayyak ya ʔuzta:z* (Hello uztaz) since, in her words, *ʔuzta:z bi:ʔ-a* (uztaz-the term of address- is local). She finally settles on the 'cool' way which is CS by calling him *mistar* (Mister). This alignment with the high social class and fear from being perceived as local is in line with a study by Lee (2014) who confirms that Koreans associate English competency with the sophisticated Koreans and the lack of fluency with the underprivileged, thus mastery of English becomes highly in demand which in turn creates a feeling of fear towards the language. This thesis highlights the same fear, as portrayed in the Egyptian TV series, which results in an alignment stance and a desire to be associated with the high social class through CS to English (the language of sophisticated prestigious Egyptians). Throughout the TV series, the first interaction between high and low social class often starts with the later trying to align with the former using CS (as shown with the poor girl's fiancée in excerpt (10)). Even after a disalignment by the high social class, the low social does not always have a disalignment response (as discussed in the analysis of excerpt (10)). Only when a salient aggressive disalignment by the high social class takes place in the series would the individuals of the low social class change their initial stance of alignment. In the TV series, salient disrespect and arrogance are portrayed as the only reasons that cause low social class to drop their aligning stance with the high social class individuals.



When disalignment and arrogance of the high social class occur, Egyptian low social class characters in the TV series respond to in three different ways that all involve CS to English to gain back their dignity and prove that they are worthy, in control, and deserve respect. First response is disalignment with the high social class. Low social class code-switch to English to disalign using the same index mentioned above as they align. The CS by the low social class interlocutors occurs after instances of high social class interlocutors code-switching to English that are accompanied by a disaligning disrespectful demeanor to their low social class counterpart. Thus we see that the low social police officer in excerpt (5) code-switches to English as a result of the girl's disrespectful behavior of sitting without permission and CS to English with *how dare you* when he orders her to stand up. As a result, he code-switches to regain his power and show that he knows English as well and is thus worthy of respect. The above mentioned fear of the English Language drives the police officer to code-switch in order not to look as in proficient and lose his authority. Second response by the low social class characters displayed in the series happens when the interaction has high social class interlocutors with different stances (some aligning and some disaligning with the low social class interlocutors). In such cases low social class individuals align with the high social class who is showing them alignment in an attempt to request their help and support against the disrespect of the other disaligning high social class interlocutor. This appears in the alignment of the poor girl's aunt with the rich girl's father in excerpt (7) as she asks him to control his offensive daughter. The aunt code switches by saying *matifmil contirɔl fiwayy-a ya xu:y-a* (Have some control over this brother). Third response to the disalignment is being provocative to the offensive high social class individual. This is clear in the CS of the poor girl's fiancée in excerpt (10). The fiancée of the poor social class deliberately produces an incorrect utterance in a CS

instance in order to go against the rich girl and provoke her. The rich girl explicitly showed that she is angry at him because he adds an unnecessary 's' to 'planner' and 'check' in *wedding blinarz* (wedding planner) and *sound tfiks* (sound check). Consequently, as a result of her offensive demeanor and negative criticism, the poor fiancée adds and 's' to an Arabic word on purpose and says twice *ʔasals ʔasals* (sweets sweets) [*ʔasal* (sweet) here is an adjective]. In the TV series, this example is one that shows that the low social class in Egypt can become provocative to the high social class and deliberately produce incorrect utterances only to go against the offensive disaligning high social class interlocutor. As a response to the disalignment showed by the high social class, the low social class choose to be in control and display that they are the ones who do not want to belong to the other social class. It is not a matter of proficiency; it is a matter of choice. The low social class choose to disobey the high social class and their rules altogether. The above mentioned fear of the low social class to be perceived as local, not cool or to appear ignorant and lose control due to the lack of proficiency in English as in Excerpt (3), (4), and (5) dissipates when the high social class saliently undermine them. Low class individuals then are willing to openly show that they lack English proficiency without being afraid of the judgement. They consider this their only way of restoring their dignity after the disrespectful comments by the high social class interlocutor. Relating this to the previously mentioned study Lee (2014). Lee (2014) stated that Koreans have fear towards the English language since it is associated with the high sophisticated social class and thus is highly demanded. However, the Egyptian TV series studied in this thesis portrays this fear as not always there; it disappears when excessive lack of respect from the high social class takes place.

Regarding a finding in the TV series that is related to gender. The analysis shows that not only women of low social class code-switch because they want to speak in a more prestigious

way that resembles the higher social class. It is found that Egyptian males of low social class use CS in an attempt to align with high social class. An example of a male low social class CS to align with the prestigious code of the higher social class is observed in excerpt (10). The poor girl's fiancée tries to align with the rich girl by CS *ʔana il-wedding blinarz* (I am the wedding planner) and *lazim niʕmil sound tfiks* (we have to do sound check) in order to make his job sound important. This finding adds to Manal Ismail (2015) study which showed that her Saudi female participants code-switched using an “elevated style of speech” utilizing the prestige index of English in Saudi. In this thesis, the Egyptian low social class males in the TV series attempt to use the “elevated style of speech” to sound prestigious and thus align with the high social class individuals and gain their approval and respect.

Besides the different themes for the CS social motivation among different social classes and genders in the TV series, the study focuses on the change in the social networks of the rich girl across the TV series and how it affected her CS. All three “norm enforcement mechanisms” that ensure that the community norms, in this case low social class, are emphasized (density, multiplexity, and locality) exist in the new social network of the rich girl in the TV series (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p.50). The rich girl lives with the poor girl at her house in a local alley. Moreover, she spends all her time with the poor girl, the poor girl's fiancée, and her male friend trying to find the money of her grandfather. Thus, the rich girl forms a dense network with the rest three characters spending a lot of time together and having a common interest. This dense network overlaps with the rich girl since the poor girl is the rich girl's roommate, cousin (kinship relationship), and companion on the journey to find the money. Since Social networks of a person are not static; they change over time and accordingly the person's way of constructing knowledge (Daming et al., 2009), the change in the social network is marked by episode 22

when the rich girl's way of constructing knowledge changes and she makes the choice to express affiliation to the poor girl and her family. She clearly states that she loves her poor cousin and that from now on she will change. As a result of this change, the study shows that the total CS frequency of the rich girl before episode 22 is 1052 while the total CS starting episode 22 is 166. Moreover, when comparing the first 9 episodes with the last 9 episodes (the ones starting episode 22), it is found that the first episodes have 551 CS instances while the last episodes have 166 instances. Therefore, compared to the last 9 episodes (starting episode 22), it is clear that the frequency of CS decreased after the girl decided to affiliate with her 'low social class' side of the family.

These findings are in line with a study conducted by Daming, Xiaomei, & Wei (2009) that found that the caregivers affect the children's CS. Daming et al. (2009) found that when the caregivers are their bilingual parents, the children code-switched with the parents with the first language of the caregiver was the children's dominant language. However, when the children started going to a nursery with English as the dominant language, their CS decreased (Daming et al., 2009).

Additionally, the study analyzes the effects of the change in social networks on the rich girl's CS. It is found that her CS goes through different phases throughout her change starting episode 22. Firstly, regarding her metalinguistic discourse with the low social class interlocutors, at the early phases of her change, she has an ambivalent stance. She would CS to correct the pronunciation of a low social class interlocutor with a disalignment stance, then backs down and changes her stance to alignment as in excerpt (12). Later on, she stops correcting the CS instances of her low class interlocutors as in excerpt (13) when she says in pure Arabic, without CS, *ʔana ʔitǧayyart ʔana ʔitǧayyart* (I changed, I changed). Secondly, as regards to a comparison

between the motivation of the rich girl's CS instance before and after episode 22, they are summarized in table 2 below:

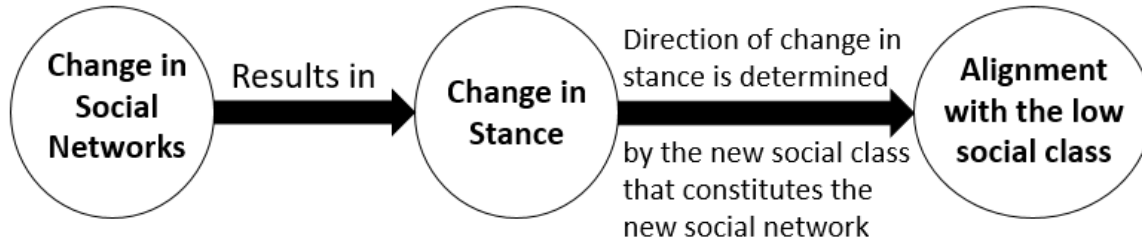
Table 2 Motivation of the rich girl's CS before and after episode 22:

<b>Rich girl's motivation before episode 22</b>	<b>Example Excerpts</b>	<b>Rich girl's motivation after episode 22</b>	<b>Example Excerpts</b>
Disassociation with the interlocutors of the low social class as a result of arrogance	Excerpts (5), (7), and (14)	Alignment with low class interlocutors to praise and compliment them	Excerpts (15)
Disalignment with the high social class because they are not classy or chic	Excerpt (2)	Alignment with the high social class	Excerpt (16)
Code-switches using her catchphrase <i>whatever</i> to undermine the feedback that is given to her about her Arabic	Excerpt (18)	Drops her catchphrase <i>whatever</i>	Excerpt (17)

This thesis highlights an important relationship between social networks, social class, and stance. From the changes of the rich girl's CS displayed above as a result of the change in her social networks, it can be found that social networks affect the stance taken by an individual. Moreover, stances taken by the rich girl differed when she decided to associate with her low social class relatives. Thus, the social class of the people within one's social networks directs the change that occurs. Accordingly, the change in the stance will change towards an alignment with the social class that constitutes the new social network. In the TV series, the social class that constitutes the new social network is that of the low social class, therefore, the change that occurred was a shift from disalignment with the low social class towards an alignment with that same class. This is in line with Edwards (1992) who stated that women who stayed at home and

had close ties with their local social networks, used vernacular linguistic features as opposed to men who had social networks at their jobs away from their neighborhood. The effect of social networks and social class on stance as portrayed in the TV series is summarized in the diagram below.

Diagram 1 Effect of social networks and social class on stance:



Finally, the analysis shows some patterns regarding the linguistic and structural strategies used along with CS by the different characters specifically lexical choices and terms of address, pronouns, and metalinguistic discourse.

The lexical choices of *baladi* and *bi:ʔ-a* (local) as a term of address to a person are always associated with a CS instance of negative stance by characters of both low and high social class. As discussed above, the TV series portrays localness as a state that has negative connotations in all the different social classes in Egypt. The disalignment associated with *baladi* and *bi:ʔ-a* is clear in excerpts (2), (4), (7), and (14). These two lexical items are used as a term of address or to describe a term of address. In excerpt (4), the term of address *uztaz* was described by the low social class individual as *bi:ʔ-a*.

Regarding pronouns, using the singular second person pronoun *intt-a* (you masculine) or *inti*: (you feminine) instead of the formal polite *ħadritak* or *ħadritik* signals a CS with a disalignment stance and vice versa. Additionally, second person plural pronoun surrounding a CS instances is used as a tool for stereotyping when used to address one person of a lower social

class. For example, in excerpt (10), the rich girl says *le:h biḥəʔəʔəh ʔfi: kul ḥa:g-a?* (why do you add an ‘s’ for every word). Although it is only the poor fiancée who added the ‘s’, she is generalizing and referring to all people who belong to the low social class. Such stereotyping instances are accompanied by a negative stance by the speaker.

Finally, as for the metalinguistic discourses, between high and low social class interlocutors, around CS instances in the TV series, they are associated with disalignment. As a result of the above mentioned fear of the English language, any talk about language that entails telling the interlocutor that they are using English out of context or criticizing someone’s pronunciation is regarded offensive and creates tension between interlocutors, of different social classes, that results in disalignment. Egyptians of low social class in the TV series are portrayed as particularly sensitive towards any CS utterance that is accompanied by a disrespectful demeanor from a high social class person. They are very sensitive and disalign with the high social class interlocutors. Low social class individuals could become aggressive and even provocative at certain instances as mentioned before in excerpt (10). In this excerpt, the rich girl comments on the CS instance of the poor girl’s fiancée in a demeaning way (pointing out his grammatical mistakes and pronunciation) that leads the poor fiancée to provoke her by intentionally making the same mistakes she was pointing out. A different metalinguistic discourse is what could be considered a defense mechanism against a potential criticism from the high social class. Such discourse is observed in excerpt (5) when the police officer wanted to gain control over the rich girl after an inappropriate behavior coupled with a CS instance. He tells her that it is inappropriate to speak English since she is a suspect at the police station and not a student in a class. Through his metalinguistic discourse, the police officer wants to make sure that English is not used for the rest of the conversation since this could expose his lack of

proficiency and thus results in him losing the respect of the rich girl who could potentially judge and criticize him for his weak language abilities. An evidence that metalinguistic discourse, represented in talking about rules regarding the context or usage of language, is not regarded as taking a positive stance in the Egyptian TV series is the fact that when the rich girl decides to align with her low social class family, she ceases to talk about language or make comments on pronunciation or grammar errors. At the beginning of her change, the rich girl in excerpt (12) tries to give a friendly explanation as to why she is making a comment on the poor fiancée's pronunciation, but her metalinguistic discourse is not accepted by the low social class interlocutor who disapproves to change his pronunciation after her comment. The rich girl then realizes that the only way of alignment is to accept any form of language production by the low class interlocutors without making any comment. Therefore, by the end of the series, in excerpt (13), the poor girl says *pokses* instead of *boxes*, and instead of the usual reaction of the rich girl, she says in Arabic *?ana ?itg'ayyart ?ana ?itg'ayyart* (I changed, I changed) in order to calm down and stop herself from commenting on the incorrect pronunciation of the poor girl.



## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This study investigated stylized performance and Arabic-English CS and its interaction with gender, social class, and social networks in the context of the Egyptian comedy TV series *Nelly and Sherihan*. It aimed to identify the social motivation of Arabic-English CS in relation to gender and social class specifically in the TV series. Moreover, the research focused on understanding how social networks as a variable affects Arabic-English CS of the rich female protagonist in the series.

Five different social motivations of CS are used by the different social classes and genders in the TV series. Three of the motivations are utilized by interlocutors of different social classes while the others are specific to low social class individuals. Regarding the ones used across all social classes, they are: alignment or disalignment with an interlocutor based on criteria other than money like being classy or cool; disalignment with an interlocutor of a different social class as part of a struggle for power and domination in the conversation; and association or dissociation of oneself with the interlocutor (whether same or different social class) in order to achieve a specific goal within the interaction. Regarding the two remaining motivations that are associated with the low social class, they are: alignment with what the high social interlocutor has to offer while disaligning with them on the personal level; and disalignment with the high social class interlocutors after a failed attempt for alignment.

It can be concluded that there is no common stance taken through CS that is typical of the high or the low social class or of a particular gender. Alignment or disalignment stances are taken according to the context and the interlocutors. Accordingly, low social class characters use CS at times to align and at other instances to disalign with high social class interlocutors and vice versa. Characters who belongs to the low social class in Egypt are not portrayed in the TV series

as constantly aggressive towards the high social class. On the contrary, Egyptian low social class are portrayed trying to align with the high social class at various instances through CS to English using the index of the language in Egypt as one of prestige that is closely related to people of the high social class. Low social class characters try to benefit from the wealth of the high social class and try to disassociate themselves from localness. The individuals of the low social class change their initial stance of alignment only when a salient aggressive disalignment by the high social class takes place. In such cases, the low social class disalign with the high social class interlocutors, provoke them, and align with any other high class individual who are not being disrespectful.

Regarding gender in the TV series, in addition to women of low social class, the Egyptian low social class males code-switch in an attempt to speak in a more prestigious way that resembles the higher social class and gain their approval and respect.

The study identified various effects of the change in social networks on the CS of the rich protagonist in the TV series. The frequency of CS decreased after episode 22 when the girl decides to affiliate with her 'low social class' side of the family. The total CS frequency of the rich girl before episode 22 is 1052 while the total CS starting episode 22 is 166. Moreover, the average of CS instances before episode 22 is 50 instances, while the average after is 18 instances. Although her CS instances decrease, the rich girl still code-switches but for different motivations than that before episode 22. Instead of disassociation with the interlocutors of the low social class as a result of arrogance, the rich girl code-switches to alignment with low class interlocutors to praise and compliment them. Additionally, she aligns with the high social class instead of disaligning with the high social class because they are not classy or chic. Furthermore, she drops her catchphrase *whatever* which she used to say whenever someone gives her feedback

and comments on her Arabic. Finally, her metalinguistic discourse changes. Instead of correcting the English utterances of her low social class interlocutors, the rich girl accepts it and does not comment on their language.

Furthermore, the thesis highlighted a relationship between social networks, social class and stance. Change in social networks results in a change in stance. The direction of the change in the stance depends on the social class that constitutes the new social network. In the TV series, the social class that constitutes the new social network of the rich girl is that of the low social class, therefore, the change that occurred was a shift from disalignment with the low social class towards an alignment with that same class.

Finally, it was found that lexical choices and terms of address, pronouns, and metalinguistic discourse used as linguistic resources in the TV series can predict the CS patterns. The lexical choices of *baladi* and *bi:ʔ-a* (local) as terms of address are associated with CS instances of a negative disalignment stance. Moreover, the usage of the informal singular second person personal pronoun as opposed to its formal polite counterpart signifies a CS with a disalignment stance. Additionally, addressing a singular person with the second person plural pronoun signals stereotyping and generalization that is associated with a negative stance. Finally, metalinguistic discourse about or containing CS instances between low and high social classes is always accompanied by a negative disalignment stance. Egyptians of low social class in the TV series are portrayed as particularly sensitive towards any CS utterance that is accompanied by a disrespectful demeanor from a high social class person.

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