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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Factors Affecting Code Switching Between Arabic and English

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

by **Rana Medhat Hafez**

under the supervision of **Dr. Reem Bassiouney**

May 2015

The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences


Factors Affecting Code Switching Between Arabic and English


A Thesis Submitted by
Rana Medhat Hafez

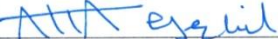
Submitted to the Department of Applied Linguistics
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The degree of Master of Arts
in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

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Abstract

Code switching in the Arab world has been discussed extensively. This study explores different factors that affect the process of code switching between English, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, and Modern Standard Arabic among a specific cohort. It examines how speakers position themselves and reflect their identities by using different associations of different codes in formal and informal settings. Data were collected through observations, a demographic questionnaire and interviews from eight board members at the Leo Club of Alexandria, Egypt, a charity and community service club. Five general and board meetings were recorded and transcribed in order to investigate the occurrence of code switching during these meetings. The eight participants filled out the demographic questionnaire. Interviews with the participants were then conducted in an attempt to examine their perceptions about code switching and why they personally use a specific code in different situations. Results reveal that social class, education, and gender appear to be the most important factors affecting participants' choice of codes. In addition, most of the participants were found to use code switching in order to position themselves in a powerful state that gives them confidence and authority.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1.Introduction

There has been a growing interest in the study of code switching practices among sociolinguists. Code switching as a linguistic phenomenon refers to the alternation of languages or language varieties by a bilingual or multilingual speaker. It has become a notable phenomenon in bilingual communities worldwide, specifically in the Arab world. Code switching is an important and widespread linguistic phenomenon in Egypt. Political and social changes that have happened recently in Egypt have affected people's code choice. They have become more open to different languages to show their stance and reveal their situation. In Egypt, a lot of people master more than one language or variety and switch between them according to the situation and their purpose. When people master more than one language or code, they often use them in different contexts and for different reasons. Sometimes people use two different languages in one conversational interaction, either intentionally or unintentionally, which has been referred to as code switching.

Code switching (CS) is used in different settings and between people from different social classes for different purposes. Thompson (2013) mentions several reasons behind people's use of code switching, one of which is in an attempt to become members of a particular discourse community. People may or may not be aware of their code switching practices; they may subconsciously act like people around them and agree with or take the stance of others.

Koronkiewicz (2014) suggests that code switching is a common process in bilingual communities. He also adds that code switching takes place when bilinguals use "both languages

intermittently, incorporating two complete grammatical systems (including phonology, morphology, syntax, etc). When speakers mix two complete “grammatical systems” (p. 38), they can utter various kinds of code switching depending on their linguistic competence. Myers-Scotton (1993) investigates code switching with regard to grammatical analysis; she presents three kinds: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag switching. Inter-sentential code switching exists in between sentence boundaries; intra-sentential code switching occurs in one sentence or phrase and can be found in the middle of them; tag switching is considered a sub category of intra-sentential code switching and occurs when speakers switch only one word or phrase from another language.

1.2. Linguistic Situation in Egypt

In Egypt, code switching has become a common language practice in some discourse communities. Bassiouney (2014) argues that as Egypt is considered a “diglossic community” (p. 41), speakers who use more than one variety or language, such as code switching between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and English, carry “higher orders of indexes in public discourse” (p. 41). Ferguson (1959) argues that diglossia means having two varieties of the same language; these varieties include high and low varieties. Myers-Scotton (1998) believes that code switching does not include only switching between languages but also includes switching between two varieties; therefore, according to this notion, diglossia is considered part of code switching.

Although Arabic is the official language in Egypt, the Egyptian community is considered diglossic, meaning one in which two related language varieties coexist. These are Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) - the low (L) variety used in speaking and everyday situations - and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is the high (H) variety used in formal, written texts and

formal situations (Al-Mamari, 2011). Nearly all Egyptians speak ECA as their native language. Some Egyptians also know one or more foreign languages, such as English, French, or German, which they study in school. Many Egyptians learn foreign languages in an attempt to improve economic, educational, and social opportunities.

The spread of English in Egypt goes back to Egypt's colonial history. Egypt was an important part of the British Empire as the British colonization of Egypt lasted from 1882 to 1952. This colonial legacy left its mark in Egypt and is likely one of the reasons English is the most commonly used foreign language in education. Unlike French colonial policy in Tunisia and Algeria, the British were not interested in forcing Egyptians to adopt their language features and also did not consider Egypt as a part of Britain. Ashley (1879) emphasizes this idea by stating Lord Palmerston's quote, which reflects the British attitude towards Egypt:

We do not want Egypt or wish it for ourselves, anymore than any rational man with an estate in the north of England and a residence in the south would have wished to possess the inns on the north road. All he could want would have been that the inns should be well-kept, always accessible, and furnishing him, when he came with muttonchops and post horses (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009, p. 237).

This quote reflects Britain's interest in Egypt's resources, whether natural or human, rather than its interest in assimilating Egyptians into British culture. During the British colonization in Egypt, English was declared an official language along with Arabic. The British did not push for the adoption of English among Egyptians and they "had no interest in the linguistic situation as such" (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 237). Despite the lack of a consistent policy promoting English,

Egyptians at many levels of society learned English to be able to interact with the colonial representatives in Egypt.

Tourism is another factor that has led to significant exposure to foreign languages in Egypt. Eraqi (2007) states that tourism in Egypt plays an important role as an essential activity in the community, which is also very beneficial in terms of economic improvement. Simion (2012) states that English is considered a de facto lingua franca in the field of tourism as it is essential to learn English in order to interact and communicate with tourists from different backgrounds in a variety of different situations. These factors, taken together, add to the level of exposure to English and the importance of the role that English plays in Egypt.

1.3. Sociolinguistic Variables

The legacy of English in Egypt today remains strong. In some speech communities in Egypt, English exists alongside Arabic as a result of colonial influence, the needs of a globalized economy, or a combination of the two (Bassiouney, 2006, p. 268). Today, the main factors supporting the continued importance of English are the economic, educational, and social opportunities to which it controls access. It is not only the job market but also entrance into elite educational institutions in Egypt and abroad as well as acceptance into certain sectors in society that require access to English.

Bassiouney (2009) suggests that sociolinguistic variables relevant to code switching may include ethnicity, religion, social class, gender, and education. However, in the present study it is discovered that some of these sociolinguistic variables, such as ethnicity and religion, do not affect participants' production of CS utterances.

Although the Egyptian government cannot provide adequate education for all people because of the increasing population and the scarcity of available resources, Arabic and English language instruction is an important part of the national Egyptian curriculum. Egypt also hosts a large number of private schools of different types. Relevant to this study is the popularity of language schools whose concentration is an English language-based curriculum. Other schools offer German or French as second foreign languages. Loveluck (2012) argues that among the middle class, there are popular private schools that emphasize teaching language using either English or French. Bassiouney (2009) argues that parents prefer to include English in their children's education so they can find prestigious jobs in the future.

Schools in Egypt are either governmental or private. Government schools in Egypt, which are also referred to as public schools, are divided into two types: Arabic schools and Experimental Language schools. In Arabic schools, all the subjects are taught in Arabic and students study English a few years after starting school. Experimental schools are different from the Arabic ones in that subjects such as Science and Mathematics are taught in English. In preparatory or preliminary years, another foreign language such as French or German is introduced.

Private schools in Egypt are considered to be divided into four kinds: Ordinary, Language, Religious and International. Ordinary private schools follow the curriculum of the governmental schools but differ with regard to materials, class sizes and facilities. Language schools teach the entire governmental curriculum in English or sometimes German or French. They also add instruction in an additional foreign language, such as German or French. Language schools are considered better than other schools as their facilities are available for both teachers and students. Religious schools in Egypt include the Azhar school system and Catholic schools. The

fourth type of private school is the international school, which follows a system of international curriculum such as the American high school diploma, the British IGCSE, the French Baccalaureate, the German Abitur, or the International Baccalaureate. These schools generally have higher quality materials and facilities and also offer extracurricular activities.

Miller (2004) asserts that the result of increasing access to education has led to an increase in Arabic speakers' access to Modern Standard Arabic, especially in written form (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009). In Egypt, the governmental education system includes a heavy focus on Modern Standard Arabic in its curriculum and also requires English from the preparatory level. Private international schools give students increased access to foreign languages, especially English, and are popular in Egypt among those who can afford them. Education is also closely tied to social class. Although education plays an important role as one of the factors that affect language variation in the Arab world, there has not been a sociolinguistic study focusing on education as a main variable (Bassiouney, 2009). The participants in the present study have gone to different types of schools and different universities that have given them greater access to linguistic resources and may have exposed them to different language ideologies. The variable of educational background may affect their code choice, the amount of code switching in utterances, and other linguistic phenomena.

Another variable is that of ethnicity, with Bassiouney (2009) arguing that ethnicity is especially important in the Arab world. According to Davies and Bentahila (2006), ethnicity is the link that connects people to define themselves as one bonded group (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009). Each group has common and shared distinct features that create this boundary. Fishman (1977) states that people can either acquire or lose that bond, but Bassiouney (2009) believes that it is hard to lose or acquire an ethnicity. In Egypt, the majority of people consider their ethnicity

to be Egyptian. The researcher does not expect to find minority ethnicities among her participants; however, other ethnic groups such as Nubians, Siwans and Bedouins do exist in Egypt.

Yet another important sociolinguistic factor in the Arab world is that of religion. The vast majority of Egypt's population adheres either to Islam or Christianity. There are no studies that have proven that religion is an important linguistic variable in Egypt. Bassiouney (2014) suggests that, in the context of Arabic, linguistic differences between Christians and Muslims in Egypt are minor and mainly confined to lexical items unlike the situations in other countries such as Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon (pp. 183-189). She attributes this to the fact that networks in Egypt are dense and multiplex due to Egypt's high population density (pp. 183-189). In the present study, it was not found to be the case that religious ideology plays a role in affecting code switching.

On the other hand, it appears that education, social class and gender do affect CS utterances by the participants of this study. Social class is an essential organizing feature of Egyptian society and an important sociolinguistic variable. Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, and Keltner (2012) state that "social class is shaped by individual's material resources as well as perceptions of rank vis-à-vis others in society" (p. 1). Bassiouney (2009) adds that flexible variables, of which social class is one, can be changed and modified (p.125). This can be related to education, money, and the place of residence. In Egypt, social class plays an important role in the organization of society.

Gender is another variable that may be an important factor affecting participants' code switching. By itself, gender plays an important role linguistically, but it also interacts with other variables. Coates (1993) defines gender as "the term used to describe socially constructed

categories based on sex” (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009, p. 128). It is also mentioned that gender refers to a series of different practices through which people create and express their identity (p. 129). Gender might be an effective variable in this study as the participants are both males and females. At this point, the researcher would like to compare each gender’s code switching utterances.

1.4. Code Switching: A Theoretical Framework

The phenomenon of code switching has been investigated extensively by various researchers within different theories and frameworks. Nilep (2006) reports the results of a survey which revealed that the term “code switching” is broadly discussed in many articles “on the subject published in virtually every branch of linguistics” (p.1). This section lists the theoretical frameworks that guide the data analysis of the present study.

1.4.1. Indexicality

In this study, code switching will be analyzed using a framework of indexicality. Philosopher Peirce (1977) laid the groundwork for the theory of indexicality; he posits a theory of sign-referent relationships that encompass three types of sign: the icon, the index, and the symbol. The theory of indexicality developed from Peirce’s index, which is based on a relationship that consists of physical, temporal or casual collocation, meaning that the relationship is one of a sign and referent that co-occur (Atkins, 2013). Silverstein (1976) applied the theory of indexicality to linguistic analysis, which involves the analysis of “the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 594).

Bassiouney (2014) argues that different linguistic resources “index social variables that in turn indicate identity” (p. 43). She further suggests that different indexical forms construct

individual's identity. Bassiouney adds that "the concept of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (2014, p. 58). She claims that "individuals use their access to linguistic resources to adopt positions that index their identity" (p. 58).

1.4.2. Stance-taking and Positioning Theory

Biber and Finegan (1989) define stance as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message" (as cited in Berman, Hrafnhildur&Strömqvist, 2002, p. 1).

Bassiouney (2014) investigates Egyptian identity by analyzing how it is produced, reinforced, and expressed through linguistic resources. One of the primary resources Bassiouney investigates is choice of code and code switching, particularly between diglossic variants of Arabic. She uses the indexes of different codes to analyze the code switching process. In this study, the researcher will use indexicality as the framework with which she analyzes code switching between Arabic and English amongst college-educated Egyptian youth.

The way in which the present study's participants use code choice to take a stance is also important. Bassiouney (2014) suggests that speakers manipulate a language to give themselves a specific stance, which gives them a specific identity and helps them to express it to others. When people take a specific stance, they engage various resources which may be linguistic, discursal, or structural. Bassiouney (2014) describes those linguistic resources as "multi-layered and include the associations and indexes of SA, ECA, and even foreign languages" (p. 44). She also argues that as stance reflects an individual's identity, it may also draw on CS as a process that reflects different indexes which allows individuals to express various identities and ideologies.

Bassiouney (2014) investigates positioning in the Egyptian context. She states that, through language, “speakers create a mental map of who is and is not Egyptian and position themselves and others on this map” (p. 43). Positioning theory is an alternative way to understanding human relationships within society – it is the study of the nature, formation and change of local systems of role as a result of interaction. Positioning is a more active feature of social role.

In any conversation, participants take certain roles, whether as speakers or listeners. It should be noted that topics of conversations and participants’ roles may change throughout the conversation. They may not keep the same role or position from the beginning until the end of the conversation. Davies & Harré (1999) define positioning as “the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines” (as cited in Yamakawa, Forman & Ansell, 2005, p. 2). Bassiouney (2014) argues that positioning one’s self depends mainly “on the assumption that the process of describing one’s identity is in itself of a discourse phenomenon” (p. 55). Bean and Johnstone (2004) suggest an individual’s identity is constructed by her/his memories and experiences and that they project themselves through these experiences and memories (as cited in Bassiouney, 2014, p. 55). Bean and Johnstone (2004) state that projecting one’s identity requires “self expression,” which will be achieved when “individuals have to resort to all of their linguistic resources to express their identity” (p. 237).

1.5. The Statement of the Problem

The process of code switching between Arabic and English in Egypt will be discussed and analyzed in an attempt to determine the various factors that lead people to code switch. The aim of the study is to analyze spoken discourse to investigate the most significant factors that affect code switching between Arabic and English among college-educated Egyptian youth, which will

lead to a better understanding of the speech practices of Egyptians. The present study aims first to examine different factors that affect code switching between English and Arabic and between ECA and MSA. Secondly, the study aims to investigate the reason behind each factor and to what extent this factor affects code switching. A number of factors are likely to affect code switching between Arabic and English (such as social class, gender, and education) and these will be investigated in order to describe the phenomenon.

1.6. Rationale of the Study

Although studies about code switching between ECA and MSA in the diglossic context of Egypt have enriched the literature, there is still little understanding of code switching between Arabic and English, which is the focus of this study. Different types of code switching utterances that are frequently encountered were noticed in the results of this study and will be discussed.

1.7. Research Questions

The study explores code switching within the context of a charity club in Egypt, attempting to answer the following research questions:

1. What factors trigger code switching between Arabic (ECA and MSA) and English within the community of young, college-educated Egyptian youth selected for analysis?
2. How do speakers position themselves and reflect their identity by using the different associations of different codes in formal and informal settings?

1.8. Definitions of Terms and Constructs

1.8.1. Theoretical Definitions of Terms and Constructs

Code switching: “Code switching (hereafter CS) is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 3).

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is the variety used by most Egyptians. It exists in diglossic variation with Modern Standard Arabic.

Modern Standard Arabic: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) “ is the language of governments, diplomats, newspapers, schools and much broadcast and satellite television programming throughout Arabic-speaking nations” (Gvozdac, 2006, p. 5).

1.8.2 Operational Constructs

Code switching: In my study, code switching will be identified when the participants insert one or more English words in their ECA utterances, when they switch between ECA and MSA and when they use purely English utterances.

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: ECA has specific phonological and syntactical features that are different from those of MSA; e.g. when speaking in ECA, Egyptians use qa’f (q) differently than using it in MSA; they pronounce the word “moon” in Arabic differently than in ECA. In ECA, they say "قمر" "Amar", but in MSA they say “Kamar”.

Modern Standard Arabic: MSA has specific phonological, syntactical and lexical items that are used exclusively in standard Arabic, for example the word car in MSA is "سيارة" "saiyara" but in ECA is "عربية" "arabiya”.

1.9. List of Abbreviations

CS: code switching

ECA: Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

LEO: Leadership, Experience, Opportunity (the name of the charity and community service club)

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

1.10. Delimitations

Although the present study analyzes code switching between Arabic and English, it focuses primarily on code switching between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic and English. No other varieties of Arabic language (e.g. Classical Arabic) are analyzed. The study examines participants' code switching in specific settings; any other settings are not included. Therefore, the study does not investigate participants' utterances beyond the formal/informal settings of the board and general meetings of the charity club. Although the charity club has about 100 members, the study focuses only on a specific group of people – the board members. As the sample size is small, it is a challenge to make the data representative of and generalizable to a larger population.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of studies that examine code switching in different contexts. The chapter starts by giving a general background about diglossia. Different definitions of CS and different code switching studies that were conducted by different scholars are extensively discussed. Brief information about borrowing is also mentioned. Then the researcher goes on to discuss the different theories related to code switching, such as indexicality, stance-taking and positioning theory.

2.2. Diglossia

The diglossic situation as discussed by Ferguson (1959) refers to speech communities such as Greek, Arabic, Haitian and Swiss German. Ferguson suggests the term and defines it as the following:

a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written formal spoken purposes but it is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 75)

Ferguson (1959) states that diglossia consists of two varieties: the high variety, which can be referred to as H, and the low variety, which can be referred to as L. Ferguson (1959) believes that the H variety is attached with “logic, beauty and a far greater ability to articulate more

complex thoughts.” On the other hand, the L variety is often considered to be the mother tongue, and is “viewed as a denigrated code, which is equated with familiarity” (as cited in Chakrani, 2010, p. 10). Schiffman (1997) argues that categorizing diglossia into H and L depends on the speech-community’s beliefs, opinions and attitudes.

Fishman (1977) defines diglossia as it “exists not only in multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind” (p. 30). Chakrani (2010) explains this notion by giving the example of the two official languages of Paraguay: Spanish, which is considered to have “H-like functions” (p.10), and Guarani, a variety which is understood to be related to low domains. Fishman (1967) believes that the idea of diglossia should encompass other external languages, “where languages from different genetic origins are distributed diglossically to different functional domains” (as cited in Chakrani, 2010, p. 10). Hudson (as cited in Bassiouney, 2014) believes that although both Ferguson’s and Fishman’s notions of diglossia may seem different; they eventually are attached to the main phenomena.

Essential to understanding the language situation of Egypt is to grasp the concept of diglossia. Ferguson (1959) argues that people may use different varieties, one or more in the same language. Ferguson (1959) says that “diglossia is a different situation from one where there are merely different dialects within a speech community” (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009, p.10). He also argues that diglossia may come from various foundations and that it occurs in divergent language situations.

Bassiouney (2009) analyzes diglossia and defines it as the occurrence of varieties of one single language. Bassiouney (2014) mentions that Egypt is a “diglossic community” (p.2) in

which people speak Standard Arabic (SA), which is the high variety, and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), which is the low variety. Different languages have different terms to refer to the high and low varieties. Myers-Scotton (1998), believes that code switching does not merely encompass switching between languages but also switching between different varieties of the same language; according to Myers-Scotton, diglossia is a kind of code switching. She states:

Varieties is a cover term for selections at all linguistic levels so that choices between varieties include, for example, choices of one language rather than another, one dialect over another, one style or register over another, and one form of a directive or refusal over another (p. 18).

2.3. Code Switching

Code switching is a linguistic phenomenon widely examined in the literature and which refers to the alternation of languages or language varieties by a bilingual or multilingual speaker. In one of the earliest descriptions of code switching, Vogt (1954) states that “code switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon but rather a psychological one and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic” (as cited in Nilep (2006), p. 5). Nilep (2006) explains that Vogt described code switching as natural and common, and emphasized its importance as a factor in language change. Blom and Gumperz (1972) emphasize the social contexts that motivate the use of one code over another, which they call “Situational Code Switching,” as well as the social function that code switching plays within an interaction in one social context or situation, which they term “Metaphorical Code Switching.” Gardner-Chloros (2009) suggests that code switching is affected by the participants’ social class, social background, age, and attitude towards different situations. Therefore, various social factors affect anyone’s code choice.

Gumperz (1982) later refines this theory and introduces the term ‘Conversational Code Switching,’ which he defines as “juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59). Myers-Scotton (1993) defines code switching in similar terms but adds an analysis of the interaction that happens between language varieties in the same conversation, defining code switching as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation” (p. 3), and also stating that code switching is a strategy to help individuals who acquire more than one language or dialect to communicate more efficiently.

Alfaifi (2013) mentions that bilinguals’ proficiency level affects that process as they use code switching for different purposes, such as showing their identity. Wardhaugh (2010) states that “solidarity, accommodation to listeners and a choice of topic motivate bilinguals to switch from one variety to another” (as cited in Alfaifi, 2013, p.1).

Graham (2011) analyzes in detail the term “code switching” separately. She states that after the Second World War, the term “code” came from the field of communication technology, but nowadays the term is used collectively for language or dialect. On the other hand, “switching” focuses on the interlocutor’s shifts and moves from one code to another.

Kharkhurin & Wei (2014) present a study to test different aspects of creativity specifically related to code switching. The participants of the study are 157 students at the American University of Sharjah in United Arab Emirates. They are multilinguals: 56 males and 101 females aged between 16 and 24. A number of 93 participants of them have English and Arabic as their first and second languages.

The procedure of the study goes through two online questionnaires. The participants have also passed through a creativity exam and another exam of “selective attention” (p. 156). It should be mentioned that English was the language of the exams and their assessments.

The outcome of the study enhances its hypothesis by resulting in having stronger “innovative capacity” (p. 153) in bilinguals who code switch a lot. As the study focuses on the relation between creativity and CS, different CS factors are examined. The CS process is influenced by a specific “emotional state” (p. 153) and by “insufficient” choice of words in the target language, which resulted in enhancing and promoting “innovative capacity”.

Dewaele (2008) mentions that bilinguals use code switching to express certain emotions such as love, anger and frustration. This can be related to this study as CS cuts the regular mood of any conversation and introduces different emotions by the other used language (as cited in Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015, p.163).

Tomoum (2013) conducts a study that investigates the factors influencing code switching in Southern Egypt between “a bilingual Arabic and Nubian community of Nubians.” She uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect her data, including observation, interviews and questionnaires. The study reveals that “domain, or content of discourse” is considered a main factor in choosing or changing the language choice. Age is also found to play an integral role in enhancing fluency in conversations.

Tomoum (2013) finds that participants with higher levels of education and those who are involved in various fields such as sports, politics and religion shift from Nubian language to Arabic and consequently CS occurs more frequently in this population.

Sailaja (2011) investigates code switching between Hindi and English, which Saijala calls “Hinglish.” Data is taken from a very well-known Hindi movie in which three languages are used (Hindi, English and Punjabi) and in which CS occurs extensively. While all the characters feel very comfortable using English, it is noticeable that the two protagonists use English more than the others but still communicate with each other using both English and Hindi. Both dress in a modern way and went to English schools – noticeable factors which influence the two protagonists’ use of language. As Tomoum (2013) believes that education affected her participants CS, Sailaja (2011) argues that the fact that the protagonists of the study went to English schools affected their CS.

Sailaja argues that in one of the scenes, the protagonists use English with each other to the exclusion of the third character, the receptionist, whose English is of a poorer quality. Situations of excluding specific speakers from conversations were not found in the current study.

Unlike Sailaja, Bocanegra (2012) analyzes CS between two other languages: Spanish and English. Bocanegra (2012) conducts a study to analyze the Spanish and English code switching at Latin Vibe, a radio station in Phoenix, Arizona, that is considered bilingual. In the study, Bocanegra uses three different models to examine the data: Gumperz’s (1982) Conversational Functions of CS, Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Markedness model and Bell’s (1984) audience design model. The data were collected during two weeks of airing of the show “Jose’ Y Tina en La Mañana” (Jose’ and Tina in the Morning).

In the study, Myers-Scotton’s Markedness theory which states that “CS serves as a linguistic resource available to bilingual speakers involved in all kind of speech acts, power relationships and speakers’ identities interactions” proves to hold true (p. 71).

2.4. Borrowing

Haugen (1950) discusses bilingualism and borrowing and analyzes both terms linguistically. Haugen relates the process of borrowing to bilingualism as the author assumes that if a speaker borrows words from another language, she/he knows that language very well and is considered a bilingual speaker.

Research by Kaulfers and Lembi (1941) supports that word-borrowing from a foreign language “if approached from the standpoint of its socio-semantic implications, can be made not only a valuable linguistic exercise from the standpoint of pronunciation and vocabulary-building, but also an interesting study of the influence which the foreign country has had upon our own life and culture” (p. 295).

Berger and Milic (1947) argue that in English, Arabic words have a very long history. Old Arabic words are mostly found in mathematics, chemistry, astronomy and navigation. Berger and Milic (1947) suggest that the American soldiers used word-borrowing in Egypt “in the search for entertainment (food, drink, women) and off-duty diversions such as sight-seeing” (p. 265).

2.5. Indexicality

Woolard (2004) discusses the concept of indexicality and the way it is used in the construction of identity, arguing that if a certain code or a form of a language is believed to be used in a “certain social context, then use of that form may create the perception of such context where it did not exist before” (p.88). This emphasizes Cappelen & Lepore’s (2002) notion that indexicals are considered different linguistic expressions with the same meanings and different references depending on utterances. The idea of identity construction is discussed extensively by

Jaffe (2009) who argues that in an indexical theory of style, the social meaning of certain linguistic forms does not depend on different social variables such as gender, age or ethnicity, but rather on “fleeting interactional moves” on which individuals take specific stances that construct their identities (as cited in Bucholtz, 2009, p. 2). He further explains that this approach “demands that sociolinguists pay close attention not only to the patterning of linguistic variants but also their distribution and function in the performance of social actions within unfolding discourse” (as cited in Bucholtz, 2009, p. 146).

Ochs (1992) emphasizes this idea and discusses the importance of indexicality and its relation to the social construction of gender. She explains the use of language in the construction of gender identity by a simple relationship of correlation but states that this relationship is a complex one.

Knowledge of how language relates to gender is not a catalogue of correlations between particular linguistic forms and the sex of speakers, referents, addressees, and the like. Rather, such knowledge entails tacit understanding of (1) how particular linguistic forms can be used to perform particular pragmatic work (such as conveying stance and social action) and (2) the norms, preferences and expectations regarding the distribution of this work vis-à-vis particular social identities of speakers, referents, and addressees. To discuss the relationship of language to gender in these terms is far more revealing than simply identifying features as directly marking men’s or women’s speech (p. 342).

Ochs (1992) suggests that the indexical relationship between language and the offered social meanings can be categorized according two levels: direct and indirect indexicality. Direct indexicality encompasses “interactional stances;” e.g., affective and epistemic stances (p. 3).

Berman et al. (2002) define affective stance as the individual's feelings or attitudes as the result of intense emotions; these emotions could be anger, frustration or love. Ochs (1992) defines epistemic stance as "a socially recognized way of knowing a proposition, such as direct (experiential) and indirect (second-hand) knowledge, degrees of certainty and specificity" (p. 2).

Bassiouney (2012) conducts a study to relate identity, stance-taking and code choice during the Egyptian revolution. In her method, she follows "social process and practice approach to language" (p. 108). Bassiouney explains her concepts in relation to the same theories used by the researcher – those of markedness and indexicality. This article stresses that language is seen as a social process and practice. Concerning indexicality, ECA has been related and attached to informality, but when the author or a poet wants to use both SA and ECA, the SA may invade and dominate the work. This is relatable to the present study in that in informal contexts, participants may prefer to mix and switch between two languages – the English language and ECA. When it comes to formal situations, they may prefer to speak using ECA.

2.6. Identity and Stance-taking

Groebner (2004) refers to identity as "an individual's own subjective sense of self, to personal classification markers that appear as important." Jenkins suggests that the identities that people build and have at an early period of their lives are stronger than the ones acquired later (as cited in Edwards, 2009, p. 20). Many scientists and theorists such as Vander, Zanda and Pace (1984) have tried to define identity according to the theory and ideas of Eric Erikson, who said that identity is "an individual's sense of placement within the world" (p. 115). "Identity can also be a goal through which people try to arrive at a conception of themselves as loving, competent, and good" (p.115). It is important to mention that Erikson presents the idea of shared identities in

which individuals share common and mutual experiences that make them feel related to each other or support that feeling of solidarity and bond which was mentioned previously.

Du Bois (2007) investigates stance as a “subjective” and “intersubjective” phenomenon (as cited in Bassiouney, 2014, p. 58). People position themselves in certain stances in order to relate to or differentiate themselves from certain groups, which can refer to their identities.

Bassiouney (2010) investigates the use of MSA and ECA in the novel *Alhubb fi al-manfa* (*Love in Exile*) by Baha Tahir. In this essay, Bassiouney discusses how Tahir uses code switching between MSA and ECA. Tahir uses CS as a “literary device” to reconstruct and reformulate the identity of the protagonist of the novel (p. 1).

Bassiouney discusses diglossia using Ferguson’s definition of the term. He argues that in “diglossic communities, there is a highly valued H (high) variety that is learned in schools and is not used for ordinary conversations. The L (low) variety is the one used in conversations” (p. 1). She shows when H and L varieties are used according to Ferguson, the H variety is used in church or mosque sermons, parliament or political speeches, personal letters, university lectures, poetry and other formal situations; the L variety is used in giving instructions to servants, waiters, informal conversations with family and friends and other informal instances. Bassiouney (2010) reveals that Ferguson’s idea about MSA and ECA is not a popular one these days in the Arab countries. Bassiouney further explains that “however, the situation in Arab countries is more complicated than Ferguson suspected. The neat distinction that he makes between MSA and ECA does not apply to real-life situations, nor does it apply to novels and other linguistic literary work” (p. 1)

In the article under the section “Identity and Code Choice”, Bassiouney (2010) argues that an individual’s identity consists of several elements. She gives an interesting example of a president who has the president’s identity at work and in formal settings related to the presidency but has another identity as a wife or husband. She adds that speakers change their identities and the way they talk depending on the people they are addressing.

Bassiouney (2010) stresses Gumperz’s idea of changing codes and roles, arguing that “According to Gumperz, people may mark a change in the role they are playing, or the aspect of their identity they are appealing to, by using a different code” (p. 3).

Bassiouney (2012) analyzes code choice and stance-taking during the Egyptian revolution. The study examines the connection between identity, stance-taking and code choice. In this article, Bassiouney (2012) discusses stance-taking and relates this concept to the idea of identity construction. She defines the process by saying “speakers use language to take a stance and by doing so give themselves a specific identity and impose on others a different one” (p. 109). She adds that the stance-taking process depends entirely on CS “as a mechanism that lays claim to different indexes and thus appeals to different ideologies and eventually different facets of identity” (p. 109). She uses Markedness model and the indexicality theories as they can be very useful in relating CS to stance-taking (Bassiouney, 2012).

Bassiouney (2012) gives an example from the Egyptian media during the revolution. She mentions a phone call in a program between the announcer and Tamer (a phone caller). They both take the same stance by differentiating themselves from the people in Tahrir Square by using CS utterances, stance adverbs and adjectives, tense, pronouns and other methods to position themselves as the “real Egyptians” (p. 115).

2.7. Conclusion

The studies show that code switching is an interesting field to be investigated, where a numerous contexts are given and the diversity of factors affecting it. It should be noted that code switching has been broadly researched in the literature. In the Arab world, studies included in this literature discuss code switching between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French and other languages.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodological approach followed in order to answer the study's research questions. The chapter begins with outlining the study's research design. Participants of the study are then introduced. Data collection, analysis procedures and framework are then sketched out.

The current study takes an exploratory approach because the researcher is not trying to support any certain hypothesis but rather is trying to explore and find sufficient information to receive accurate answers and results to the study's research questions. The study is looking to discover various factors that affect code switching within a specific group (board members of a charity club) and specific settings (formal and informal). The study was conducted using the qualitative methods of observations and recordings. Additionally, a demographic questionnaire was used to know basic information about the participants. Although the results of the interviews may not have been 100% authentic or accurate due to the fact that participants may have manipulated their answers, an informal interview was nevertheless conducted to help the researcher know more about each participant and to shed light on the data collected through observation. The total number of observations was five and they took place over a period of one month in the spring of 2015.

3.2. Participants

The community of the club is very diverse with members from different fields and interests. They have different occupations; some of them are high school and university students while others are employed young adults. The members of this club have mastered both English and

Arabic. They meet with each other in different contexts – formal and informal. Formal contexts include general and board meetings, while informal contexts refer to cafes, restaurants, social outings and the club’s trips. As a result of their mastery of English, they all code switch in their discourse.

The data in this study was collected from eight participants – four males and four females – who are the board members of the charity club. Participants, including the president and vice president of the club, hold different positions. Other positions include that of the secretary who performs several administrative tasks including taking minutes during general and board meetings and is a floating board member who takes on the role of any member who is not present. The charity director, yet another participant, is responsible for all the charity events such as following up on medical cases and supporting campaigns for orphans as well as planning any charity event. The fifth position is that of the membership director and is awarded to people who are good at using social network platforms and technology as this post requires them to advertise events and contact the club’s members online through Facebook groups and Twitter as well as by using text messages. The treasurer is another important role in the board of the club; the individuals holding this position must be careful and trustworthy as they will be responsible for the finances of the club. They are also responsible for planning the projects’ budgets and funds. Web and media head is the board member responsible for the club’s website and advertisements of the events. Finally, the interaction position plans outings and trips in the club to help members know each other and socialize.

Table 1 below offers a brief profile of the study's participants.

Table 1

Participants' Age, Gender and Position

Name	Age	Gender	Position
Adam	25	M	President
Gehad	21	M	Web & media director
Abdo	23	M	Treasurer
Amgad	22	M	Membership director
Cyrine	24	F	Interaction director
Lina	23	F	Vice president
Jana	24	F	Charity director
Ghadeer	24	F	Secretary

(Note: M= Male, F= Female)

Table 2 gives information about the participants' education (schools and universities attended). It gives an account of the languages they know and their occupations.

Table 2

Education, Occupation and Language Section

Name	School	University	Job	Other languages
Adam	◻ Tarek Ibn Ziad Secondary school	◻ Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Communication Engineer	English French (basic)

Gehad	<input type="checkbox"/> Pioneers American school	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Commerce, English department	Student	English French (basic)
Abdo	<input type="checkbox"/> El Oroba International school	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Engineer	English French (level 4)
Amgad	<input type="checkbox"/> El Nasr Boys School (E.B.S)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Student	English
Cyrine	<input type="checkbox"/> El Nasr Girls College (E.G.C)	<input type="checkbox"/> Arab Academy (AAST), Business Administrati on, Marketing, English section	HR Specialist	English
Lina	<input type="checkbox"/> Janaklees National Language school	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Software Engineer	English
Jana	<input type="checkbox"/> El Nasr Girls College (E.G.C)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Assistant Teacher (Science)	English
Ghadeer	<input type="checkbox"/> El Nasr Girls College (E.G.C)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria University, Faculty of Engineering	Math Teacher	English French (basic)

(Note: = public school/ university, = private school/ university)

All the participants' parents are well-educated with either Bachelor's or Master's degrees. Despite this level of education, their use of English is basic and generally limited to simple words and terms. The participants' parents are all Egyptians and therefore their mother tongue is Arabic. None of them speak English at home, and during the interviews all participants mentioned that when speaking English their parents sometimes use the Arabic pronunciation (e.g., pronouncing "powder" as "bawdar").

3.3. Methods of Collecting Data

The data was collected through observations, interviews and a two-page demographic questionnaire. Board meetings and interviews were audio recorded. The researcher observed the participants in different settings and attended all the board's meetings to collect data. Field notes were taken during the meetings. The participants' code switching practices were then transcribed and analyzed. Frequencies of code switching were also counted according to the topic of discussion in the meetings. Additionally, the researcher also noted the participants' CS practices in observations and interviews.

General meetings were video-taped in order to keep track of the board members' utterances and to transcribe them as accurately as possible. The demographic questionnaire was easy to answer; it took them all between three and five minutes to complete. An interview with each participant was conducted after observations were done and after each one filled the designed demographic questionnaire. In the interviews, they were asked about their language and code switching practices along with their different opinions and perceptions about code choice, which helped provide a general view about their ideas, ideologies, perceptions and ways of thinking.

3.4. Procedures

1. Participants had to sign an informed written consent agreeing to participate in the study.
2. The first board meeting was observed and audio-recorded. The meeting was held in an informal setting. The place was crowded and noisy, but they were able to manage their board meeting.
3. The researcher observed and video-taped the first general meeting which was held in a meeting hall. The setting and the discussed topics were formal. All members were serious and active.

4. The second board meeting was attended by the researcher in an informal setting – one of the well-known oriental restaurants. The meeting was audio-recorded by the researcher's mobile phone.
5. The second general meeting was observed and video-taped. It was held in a meeting hall.
6. Interviews were conducted over a period of two weeks in April 2015.
7. Utterances were analyzed through indexicality, stance-taking and positioning theories.
8. The third board meeting was observed and audio-recorded. It was held at a café. The setting was crowded, so they changed the table and chose the first floor, which was a quiet place. This resulted in having a clear audio-record for this meeting.
9. April 8th 2015: The researcher met Abdo, the treasurer of the club. Abdo was the first one the researcher met in the interview cycle. He filled out the questionnaire and was then interviewed for 11 minutes and 38 seconds. The whole meeting lasted for one hour and 15 minutes.
10. April 9th 2015: The researcher met four of the participants for the planned interviews.
11. The first one that the researcher met on April 9th was Adam, the president of the club. He filled out the demographic questionnaire, followed by an interview that lasted for 8 minutes.
12. The researcher met Lina, the vice president. She filled out the demographic questionnaire, followed by an interview that lasted for 7 minutes.
13. Jana, the charity director of the club, was the third one the researcher met on that day. She filled out the questionnaire, followed by an interview that lasted for 5 minutes.

14. Later that day, the interaction director of the club, Cyrine, was interviewed. She filled out the demographic questionnaire and was then interviewed in her car on the way home. The interview lasted for 7 minutes.
15. It was hard for the researcher to catch the other three board members as they had exams and Ghadeer, the secretary, had had ocular surgery and could not leave her house. The researcher tried to find an alternative way to have interviews and questionnaires.
16. The researcher filled out the questionnaires for these three board members over the phone. The researcher asked the questions, told these participants their options and instructed them to pick an answer for each question.
17. Interviews were then conducted through What's App, specifically through voice note messages. Questions were sent in voice notes and participants recorded their messages/ answers in voice notes and sent them back to the researcher.
18. The interview with Ghadeer, the secretary of the club, was completed over a period of hours as she took time to respond to voice messages sent by the researcher.
19. Gehad's interview was done in approximately 7 minutes.
20. Amgad interview was done in approximately 8 minutes.
21. The researcher watched the video-taped general meetings and listened to the audio-recorded board meetings to get a general idea about their utterances.
22. The researcher wrote down interesting examples said by the participants.
23. Research questions were answered from the data collected.

3.5. Procedure for Data Analysis

3.5.1. Methods of Analysis for the Audio Recordings and Video-tapes

Participants' utterances were transcribed and analyzed through the framework of indexicality, stance-taking and positioning theories. Data was categorized according to different CS patterns to answer the first research question. The researcher chose certain utterances from her data. Code switching instances were then translated into English for a better and clearer understanding of the Arabic examples included by a vast number of people.

3.5.2. Method of Analysis of Interviews and Participants' Questionnaires

The demographic questionnaire included questions about different factors such as participants' age, gender, education, occupation and languages. The questionnaire included basic questions about their background and current status. Their home addresses were also provided in order to know the area in which they were brought up. The questionnaire helped provide information about their families' use of language, education and exposure.

The structured interviews provided insights into the participants' perceptions and different opinions about CS, identity, society's opinion, social class, gender and other factors. The interviews showed how participants' perceptions are different from their practices.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study and gives a detailed analysis of the most interesting given examples. The chapter goes through different CS patterns found in the researcher's data to answer the research questions. The researcher starts by answering the first research question and analyzing results according to three factors, education, social class and gender. Then the second section of this chapter answers the second research question, which is investigated through the data found by the researcher.

Research question one: What factors trigger code switching between Arabic (ECA and/or MSA) and English?

The researcher noted several factors that affected code switching between English and Arabic and ECA and MSA in the participants' utterances. The researcher found that education, social class and gender affected code switched utterances. Regarding education in Egypt, the extensive exposure to proper English at the participants' schools resulted in enabling some of the participants to use a high frequency of English. While social class is one of the most important features of the Egyptian society, Bassiouney (2009) discusses the flexibility of this variable as the social class of someone can be changed and modified; therefore it is not a fixed factor. Yule (2006) links social class and education variables to each other when he says that "as adults, the outcome of our time in the educational system is usually reflected in our occupation and socio-economic status" (p. 207). This explains that when people receive good education, this is shown in their occupation and their status in society. Regarding gender, Bassiouney (2009) discusses

that gender refers to a series of different practices through which people construct and express their own identities.

The researcher underlined the CS examples in each utterance to make it clear for the readers to know the exact code switched words in each utterance. Significant examples of code-switched utterances were observed in Adam's speech, the president of the club, which show the role of education as an important factor affecting Adam's code choice.

Ferguson (1959), argues that people may use different varieties, one or more in the same language. There is one such instance produced by Adam, the president of the club, who was the only participant to switch between two varieties: MSA and ECA in the same sentence. This utterance reveals how education is an important factor affected Adam's use of MSA in his ECA sentence. He starts his apology by saying "يؤسفني" ("I am sorry"), an MSA form of the apology, then completes his sentence by using ECA words and ends with "إرادتنا" ("will"), which was said in MSA and with an MSA pronunciation:

(1)

"يؤسفني أقول إن دي مشكلة عندنا. تمام بس ولاهي النهاردة حصلت حاجة خارجة عن إرادتنا"

"I am sorry to say that we have this problem. What happened today I swear to God is against our will."

Here Adam wants to emphasize the gravity and seriousness of the apology by utilizing MSA, which was justifiable seeing as how he went to an Arabic school. In his Arabic school, MSA was used extensively in different contexts: inside classrooms, and in formal discussions. School announcements were also said in MSA. Students were required to read and write in MSA a lot.

He was also exposed to a great amount of Arabic literature: different great Arabic poets' and writers' distinguished works in MSA, such as Ahmed Shawky, Naguib Mahfouz and Nizar Qabani. This justifies what he said during the interview that he likes to write and read in MSA due to the extensive exposure to MSA during school. This indexes his mastery of the Arabic language, especially the MSA variety.

The second example said by Adam shows his ability to code switch between two languages: English and Arabic. This explains the idea that although he went to an Arabic school, he took English languages courses that were taught by the most experienced teachers in his school. In addition, at the Faculty of Engineering, all subjects are taught in English; therefore after five successive years of exposure to the English language at the Faculty of Engineering, he acquired different words, expressions and terms that helped him to easily communicate in his everyday situations and at work. The second example is as follows:

(2)

"محمد و التيمم إلى معاة بصراحة هما ضربولى مثل إزاي إحنا نكون ديديكاتيت و ديفوديت للحاجه إلى بنعملها"

"Honestly, Mohamed and his team could be a great example of how can we be dedicated and devoted to the work we are doing."

In this example, Adam uses three words in English in between his ECA uttered sentence: "team," "dedicated" and "devoted". The word "team" is used extensively almost by everyone in the club; it has become a technical term used by all the members in this specific community. Adam uses the words "devoted" and "dedicated" to explain the ideal standards of the volunteers' performance in charity work. It is important to note that this was the first time to use these two words in the meetings recorded. These were unexpected utterances, yet using them boosts

members' morale and enthusiasm. This indexes Adam's ability to use a variety of English words in his utterances.

Adam's ability to use a variety of code switching types, such as CS between English and Arabic and between ECA and MSA shows that he was exposed to the Arabic language extensively at school. His involvement in charity work and dealing with foreigners, as he said in his interview, has expanded the way he uses English language in different contexts and has enabled him to switch fluently using words related to their community, such as "teams," and even unexpected words, such as "dedicated" and "devoted."

This reminds us of Meyerhoff (2011) display of the Community of Practice theory. Community of practice is considered a part of a "social theory of learning" (p. 200). There are different characteristics that describe this theory," having mutual engagement, a jointly negotiated enterprise and a shared repertoire" (p. 200). Firstly, to have a mutual engagement means that the individual should have a direct contact with his/her other individuals. Individuals in the same social class, for instance, do not mean that they have common interest or they have direct communication between each other. The second characteristic, a jointly negotiated enterprise, is considered the most important feature to define and analyze the Community of Practice theory. It means that individuals who are member of a certain community should have one unified goal in order to relate and belong to this community.

Amgad also tends to use a high frequency of English in his utterances and uses different types of CS when he shifts his code; different types are as follow: "n"+ verb CS and CS between English and ECA. The following three examples show how education is considered to be an important factor in affecting Amgad's utterances. He stresses the point that he inserts English

words that are not related to their charity work field into his sentences, such as “output”, “ice-breaking” and “deviate”. These words were heard for the first time by the researcher in the five meetings she observed. This indexes that he uses a high frequency of English as a result of his education; Amgad went to an English school, El Nasr Boys’ school (E.B.S). E.B.S uses English as the official language of the school. Students study different subjects in English, such as Mathematics and Science. The school offers extra English courses that are held after the normal school day and Amgad used to be involved in a lot of them. This helped him to improve his English language. It should be noted that Amgad is a student at the Faculty of Engineering, the same college where Adam received his education. As the researcher mentioned earlier, at the Faculty of Engineering, all subjects are taught in English.

In the following instance, Amgad utters five English words in one sentence. He uses the word “deviate”, and then explains its meaning in the following sentence to emphasize the importance of what he is saying, which indexes his ability to use English and Arabic in one sentence:

(3)

"إل إيفنت دة محتاجنا كلنا و إل رولز إل أنا عملتلها بوستنج مش حتهاون فيها, مثلا إن إحنا نديفيات أو نعدى حاجه لإن بمنتهى البساطة أنا كدة بلبس إل هيدز"

“This event needs all of us. The rules that I posted earlier are unchangeable. We cannot deviate anything because simply the heads will take all the responsibility.”

Then he adds:

(4)

"أنا قلت في إل بوست إل فات إن إللى مش حيعتذر حياخد وارننج"

"I said in the previous post that who won't apologize, will receive a warning."

This next example of Amgad's speech shows the high frequency of English in his spoken discourse:

(5)

"لما إحنا رحنا إل ناس عملوا أيس بريكنج. دخلوا وسط بعض. طلعتنا أوت بوت أكثر"

"When we attended, people did ice-breaking and they were involved. We got a lot of output."

The following example shows how Cyrine, one of the female participants, uses high frequency of English in her utterances due to her extensive exposure to English at both school and college. In the fourth meeting, all the board members were asked by the president to evaluate each other's performance throughout the year. Cyrine's turn to evaluate the whole board reveals how extensively she uses CS in her sentences. In one example, she uses six English words: "comments," "evaluation," "meeting," "points," "board" and "meetings." In this example she wants to show her disappointment and frustration with the other board members:

(6)

"في نفس الوقت كنت شايقة كومتز كثير يوم إل إيفاليواشين إللى إتقالت في إل ميتنج فيها بوينتز كثير الناس كان معاها حق فيها. و من الحاجات إللى مضايقاني إن إحنا عارفين بعض عشان بورد ميتنجز و خلاص"

“At the same time, people were right on a lot of points when they said comments last meeting when we were having the board’s evaluation. And one of the things that really upsets me is that we know each other because of board meetings and that’s it.”

She uses six English words in her ECA utterance, which shows how education has affected her choice of code as she is the only one who went to a private university where exposure to the English language is very high. This can be understood in the light of Tomoum’s (2013) research which revealed that education is one of the factors affecting code switching. It should be noted that Cyrine responded to the interview questions in English except for the first question and also used a high frequency of English in the meetings, both board and general.

Jana and Ghadeer produce purely English sentences without any interference of Arabic words. At one point Jana states:

(7) “Sooner is better.”

When the president asks Ghadeer to record an important update in her notebook; she replies:

(8) “Ok! I will write it down.”

Producing purely English utterances indexes that they have mastered the English language very well and that they are professionals. Jana explained in her interview that when she is angry, she usually switches to English to express her feelings.

Both went to private English schools, where they were not allowed to speak in Arabic. It should be noted that they responded to the interview questions in English, except for their response to the first question in which they mixed both languages. They were confident and fluent when they were responding.

The participants' responses to the interview questions showed interesting results. The interview includes different questions to know participants' perceptions about their use of languages. Two questions from the interview helped the researcher to answer the first research question; the questions are "Do you think switching raises your social standard?" and "Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?" Responses showed strong opinions on the seventh question, "Do you think switching raises your social standard?" This question shows how social class can affect the participants' CS utterances as they try to position themselves in certain social standard to belong to the club's community. They did not all agree on this matter but many, such as Jana, were very confident when responding in the negative:

(9) "No, I think if people see someone switching and speaks in English out of nowhere people think that he thinks high of himself, you know, arrogant somehow. So I don't prefer switching suddenly out of nowhere."

Cyrine adds:

(10) "No, it's not about raising social standard. My opinion it's just about our education."

Lina replies quickly with confidence and says:

(11) "No, no, no."

Gehad was a bit confused but then replies:

(12) "That's not the main goal why someone might switch between languages but yes, it does I think it does."

Overall, only Gehad and Abdo express their beliefs that switching raises people's social standard, while the rest do not admit to a correlation.

The club has a certain criteria to accept people in its committee. Board members do not accept everyone, but they try to choose people who have approximately the same social class in order to create a more homogenous community.

The last question, “Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?” was answered differently by the participants. This question provides great results that answer the first research question. Six out of eight participants believe that girls switch more than guys, such as Ghadeer, who states:

- (13) ”Of course girls because girls always want to be attractive and to be show yet to impress other and I think they believe that switching between languages is a way to reach this, but boys is very rare I see. It's not common in boys no.”

Cyrine shares this opinion:

- (14) “That's yes, I think girls are better in that part, showing off.”

On the other hand, Adam and Lina believe that this is not the case. Adam thinks it depends on people and that sometimes girls switch more than guys, but other times guys switch more.

Lina believes that society and how people are raised affects the process of CS:

- (15) “I don't think that this can... We can't imagine that this switching, this thing is about being boys or girls. It's about the society and the way you raise them.”

This contradicts the results of study as the researcher found that three male participants used code switching more than the females, except for in the case of Cyrine, who was observed using a lot of English words in her ECA sentences. Ghadeer and Jana used high frequency of English,

but not as much as Cyrene. This shows that the general norm that is believed almost by everyone in the society is not necessarily right.

Research question two: How do speakers position themselves and reflect their identity by using the different associations of different codes in formal vs. informal settings?

This section attempts to answer the second research question of the study. This question seeks to understand how participants use specific codes that help them to take stances that position them differently in different situations. The following paragraphs reveal how participants position themselves through using different CS patterns: CS between English and Arabic, and CS between ECA and MSA to reflect their identities.

The use of the word “team” by the participants was observed six times. When Adam, the president of the club, starts talking about teams, he states:

(16)

"يا جماعة لازم نركز شوية إل تيمز لازم نحطها"

“Folks, we have to pay attention. We have to set the teams.”

Abdo, the treasurer, is unconsciously directed to use the same word in English when he tries to emphasize the importance of Adam’s request:

(17)

"زى ما أدم قال لازم نحط إل تيمز"

“As Adam said we have set the teams.”

In Bassiouney's (2014) discussion of stance-taking theory, she defines the process by saying "speakers use language to take a stance and by doing so give themselves a specific identity and impose on others a different one" (p. 109). Abdo was trying to make sure that other board members understood the importance of setting the required teams as soon as possible. Niculescu-Mizil, Lee, Pang, and Kleinberg (2012) discuss the effects of language and differences in power examined in various social interactions. They reveal that their main focus is on "domains in which groups engage in goal-oriented discussions – situations where people interact, not necessarily collaboratively, in order to accomplish tasks or settle on choices" (p. 1). In the above example Abdo is drawing on Adam's authority; he emphasizes this by first saying "As Adam said" and then he echoes the same code switched word used by Adam "teams". He is trying to index that he has the same language as the president.

Such is not the case with Gehad, the web and media director, who states later in the same meeting:

(18)

"الفرق سهلة تتجاب"

"We can easily get the teams."

It is interesting to note that Gehad is the only one among the eight participants to use the Arabic word instead of the English one. In the researcher's opinion, it seems that he is trying to take the stance that he is different from the others and that he has his own way of talking. He is indexing that he has the ability to say the word "teams" in Arabic.

Another example is the word “file.” It was used three times by both Adam and Jana during the third meeting. In this meeting, the members were discussing the required documents to include in a file that would be submitted to the board of Sporting Club in Alexandria. Adam states:

(19)

"ما هو تديله فايل يعد يقرأه"

“You just give him a file and he will read it.”

In the second example, Adam is saying that they have to discuss what was written in the file:

(20)

"لازم الكلام إلى إتكتبه ف إل فايل"

“It should be what was written in the file.”

Interestingly, Jana, the charity director, uses the Arabic word for “file” to announce that it was ready. She declares:

(21)

"الملف جاهز"

“The file is ready.”

However, she uses the English word “file” during the same meeting in the following sequence:

(22)

"أنا أقصد إن إحنا عندنا الفايل من قبل كدة"

"I mean that we had the file previously."

She is indexing that she knows the word in English very well. It appears that she is trying to position herself on the same level as the president in terms of power. Glenn (2012) notes that according to Foucault, power is connected to knowledge. She is trying to show through using the English word "file" that she has access to the same codes as the president and therefore has equal power to him.

The word "heads" was said five times during different meetings and contexts. Gehad exclaims:

(23)

"زى ما قالت سيرين إل هيدز لازم نديهم حقهم"

"We have to give the heads their own rights."

None of the participants said the word "heads" in Arabic. They all use this term in English and even when the president was writing notes during the meeting, he wrote the word "heads" phonetically using Arabic letters "هيدز". This provides insight into the participants' code switching practices; they are not only in spoken but also in written discourse. It appears that they all use this word as if it belongs to both the Arabic and English languages. This is also supported by some of the participants' pronunciation of the word as they pronounce it using an Arabic phonological pattern.

Another interesting instance of code switching is that speakers use the sound "ن" "n" before using some code switched English verbs, such as "exclude", "stick" and "deviate", which is mentioned in the third example above."The sound "n" is used as a prefix in ECA as a bound grammatical morpheme on present tense verbs showing first person plural agreement. Utterances that show the morphological binding using "n" as an integrated prefix morpheme in to the matrix language, which is the Arabic language were said by Adam and Amgad. Adam states:

(24)

"يا ريت نأكسكلود المسميات"

"I hope we can [n]exclude the titles."

Amgad, the membership director of the club utters:

(25)

"إللي جاى أتكلم فيه النهاردة إن إحنا لازم ن ستيك للخطة"

"I came today to tell you that we have to [n]stick to the plan."

Both examples are very interesting as they show that these speakers are creative in their code switching and provide an example of English lexical items used with bound ECA grammatical morphemes. It is important to note that adding the "ن" ("n") prefix with the English verbs "exclude" and "stick" was not observed in any other instances of code switching.

Lina uses the word "cycle" which is the first time that she includes an English word in her speech. This indexes her preference for using Arabic more than English and reveals her attempt to position herself in a completely different category from the others:

(26)

"مش بيحصل إل سيكل دي خالص"

"The cycle is not happening at all."

The first example in the first section shows that Adam is trying to position himself as a unique member in this community. This reminds us of Bassiouney's (2014) analysis of Surur's stance in his article about MSA. She claims that "this stance and the indexes of his alignments feed into his identity as an Egyptian who is more knowledgeable about SA" (p. 305). From the researcher's perspective, he switches between ECA and MSA to show that he is different from others. He tries to position himself in a different category by utilizing MSA, which is usually associated with intellectual and educated people. In addition, he wants to show seriousness and tries to be formal when apologizing to the members.

Examples (1) and (2), above, in section one illustrate Bassiouney's (2010) example of how a president can have multiple identities; he can have one identity at work and another one at home. She adds that when people speak, they may change their code depending on their interlocutors. As the president of the club, Adam demonstrates Bassiouney's (2010) idea of multiple identities in the sense that the way he speaks at the club's meetings is different from how he speaks in his everyday life. He uses a lot of English words and expressions when he talks at the club's meetings as he knows very well that his audience uses English a lot and that they understand this code very well. When someone speaks in English with him outside the meetings' context, he asks him or her to kindly switch to Arabic. To an extent, this is a contradiction as he uses English more than any other participant.

Examples (3) and (4) above, in the first section of this chapter show that Amgad positions himself on a level different from that of the others. His ability to give members warning cards and post official rules positions him as an important person who makes serious decisions in the club. This indexes the power of his post as the membership director of the club. In addition, Jana and Ghadeer (examples 7 and 8, above, in the first section of this chapter) reflect how they wanted to construct their identities and show that they are different. Additionally, examples (3), (4), (6) and (7), above, in section 1 can be understood in the light of Dewaele (2008) who states that people who master two languages use CS to express their different emotions, such as love, anger and frustration (as cited in Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015, p.163). Amgad was really disappointed by the members' performance which is why he switches to English in his sentence. Jana also explained in her interview that she switches to English when she is angry or frustrated and when she said "sooner is better," she was angry and asking them to do the work on time. In addition, Cyrine switches to English when she was disappointed from the evaluation's comments.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This conclusion section is divided into three parts: (a) a summary of the data collected, (b) research limitations and (c) further research suggestions.

5.2. Summary

The results of this study show that the participants' use of different code choices enables them to take specific stances that reflect their identities. Du Bois (2007) argues that individuals take stances by choosing certain words. He adds that taking certain stances helps people to position social actors "with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stance takers, and to intake presupposed systems of socio-cultural value" (p. 139). Du Bois (2007) continues: "I evaluate something and thereby position myself, and align or disalign with you" (p. 163). He believes that stance is considered the comprehensive description of affective and epistemic stances. Berman et al (2002) define affective stance as the individual's feelings or attitudes as the result of intense emotions; these emotions could be anger, frustration or love. Ochs (1990) defines epistemic stance as "a socially recognized way of knowing a proposition, such as direct (experiential) and indirect (second-hand) knowledge, degrees of certainty and specificity" (p. 2).

In order to understand someone's stance, people should "understand identity formation at multiple indexical levels" (p. 57). Some of the study's participants code switch to English to express their emotions about certain situations. Dewaele (2008) postulates that people use code switching to express emotions such as love, anger and frustration. Jana and Cyrine code switch to English to show their disappointment and frustration in certain situations. Jana exclaimed "Sooner is better" when she wanted to express her anger stemming from a situation at work. She

also added in her interview that when she is angry she speaks in English as she feels it is a better way to express her frustration. She said, “I don't choose to switch to English unless I'm furious. Sometimes when I get angry I speak in English out of nowhere and it's blah blahblah English completely. I have good English but when I'm furious or angry I just keep on blah.” She explained that when she is in this furious state, she just starts to speak in English even if it does not make sense.

Cyrine also used a high frequency of English in her ECA utterances during the observations. She was disappointed and sad from the annual evaluation the board members received and exposed her emotions in one of the general meetings by using the following English words: “comments,” “evaluation,” “meeting,” “points” and “board meeting.” She also expressed her disappointment when she used “إللي مضايقاني” (“really upsets me”) in her utterance. She said:

"في نفس الوقت كنت شايقة كومتز كثير يوم إل إيفاليواشين إللي إتقالت في إل ميتنج فيها بوينتز كثير الناس كان معاها حق فيها. و من الحاجات إللي مضايقاني إن إحنا عارفين بعض عشان بورد ميتنجز و خلاص"

“At the same time, people were right on a lot of points when they said comments last meeting when we were having the board’s evaluation. And one of the things that really upsets me is that we know each other because of board meetings and that’s it.”

Through the use of indexicality in analyzing the data, the researcher found that there were a number of indexes that the participants projected by using certain words. Bassiouney (2014) argues that “indexical forms can imply or construct identity” (p. 58). Individuals decide to take certain roles to play in society and they change their codes to fit into these roles; they change them depending on the people and the situation. Goffman calls this process “a change in footing” (Goffman, 1981). Bassiouney (2014) discusses this process by saying that “a change in footing is

a change in the frame of an event” (p. 63). She further explains that the “frame” Goffman suggests here refers to the way people understand others and how they recognize diverse situations. This can be understood when analyzing the utterances of Adam, the president of the club; he used a specific code in meetings that was different from the codes he used outside the meetings’ context. This can be understood in light of Bassiouney’s (2010) example of a president who can have multiple identities, one in the formal context of the work environment work another one as a wife or husband. It was noticed that Adam changed roles according to the context (either formal or informal). At meetings he used a high frequency of English, but outside of meetings he preferred to use his native language; he even asked people to switch to Arabic if they often code switched to English in their utterances while in less formal contexts.

Myers-Scotton (1998) believes that code switching includes switching between two languages and also between two varieties of one language. Adam was the only one to switch between two varieties: MSA and ECA. He was trying to take a stance that he was the only one who mixed between MSA and ECA fluently. Zaidan and Callison-Burch (2012) suggest that MSA is the variety that indexes formal and official interaction. Modern Standard Arabic has always been associated with prestigious and formal factors. Adam’s use of MSA indexes that he has knowledge about this variety.

The researcher found that different factors affected code switching, most importantly those of education and gender. They were all exposed to English during both school and college. Adam, who went to an Arabic school, was exposed to proper English at school, resulting in a high frequency of English usage. The idea that he was exposed to a lot of Arabic during school and that he reads and writes in MSA explains why he was the only one to use MSA in his utterances. In addition, Cyrine, the only participant who went to a private university, used a high frequency

of English in her utterances. This is the result of her extensive exposure to English during her schooling. This can be understood in light of Tomoum's (2013) study in which she found that education is one of the factors affecting code switching. Yule (2006) explains that people who spend a lot of time in the education system have different characteristics in their speech discourse as they are exposed to different forms of a language. This variation expands their proficiency in any language.

Although the participants of this study were four males and four females, their usage of code switching was not marked by their sex. The researcher included an interesting interview about the difference between the code switching practices of males and females in order to know the participants' perceptions on this matter. The question posed to them was "Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?" One participant thought that females did not necessarily use code switching more than males but that it depended on the situation, while the rest strongly believed that girls switched more often than guys, contradicting the results of the present study. The researcher discovered that three of the males used a high frequency of English during meetings and one of them used very little English. On the other hand, two of the females used a high frequency of English in their utterances, one of whom used a high number of code switched borrowed words and one purely English utterance and the other with very little use of the Arabic language.

5.3. Research Limitations

The predominant limitation in this research was time. Observing just five meetings provided limited instances of code switching. Additionally, analyzing code switching in more diverse settings would have provided more data and allowed for more accurate analysis of code

switching in different contexts and domains. Such settings could include events and social gatherings in addition to the formal and informal meetings.

Another limitation was the settings in which board meetings were held: these were noisy and crowded cafes and restaurants, which often resulted in having unclear and incomprehensible data. Additionally, a longer questionnaire would have helped increase the depth of data collected on the individual participants and their backgrounds. However, practical considerations are also important and the researcher tried to design a simple questionnaire that would provide essential information while not making participation overly burdensome.

5.4. Future Research Suggestions

For a better research study, enough time should be given to the researcher to be able to observe the participants in different situations and contexts and speaking on different topics. It is recommended that a future study investigate utterances in diverse contexts which would lead to an organized comparison amongst all the utterances within different contexts. Furthermore, a more informal and spontaneous interview should be conducted in order to result in spontaneous answers from the participants. The structure of the interview should follow an indirect way to help the researcher get sufficient and useful responses. After observations, interviews and questionnaires, the researcher could prepare a group discussion of the topic. Rich responses and ideas can be found in such discussions.

More research is needed to differentiate between code switching and borrowing. This can help other researchers categorize their results more easily. In addition, researchers can focus on more than one group and make comparisons between each group. For example, the Resala or Rotaract groups (other charity and community service organizations in Egypt), both of which

share the same interests and approximately the same constituency of well-educated young people, could be studied as a comparison.

A study could focus on the relationship between power and language and how these two together affect code switching; evidence could be taken from the same context. A final suggestion is that researchers could focus on only one sociolinguistic variable, such as education, religion, ethnicity, gender or social class, to investigate. By focusing on a single variable, the study would be more focused and valid.

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Appendices

Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter

CASE #2014-2015-71

 THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

To: Rana Hafez

com

1. Appendix B: Written Consent Form

Appendix B: IRB Written Consent Form



Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title:Factors Affecting Code Switching Between Arabic and English

Principal Investigator:RanaMedhat Mohamed Mohamed Hafez

ranamedhafez@aucegypt.edu

01005237223

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is [*investigate different factors that affect code switching between Arabic and English*], and the findings may be *presented in a thesis*. The expected duration of your participation is 1 month.

The procedures of the research will be as follows:

A demographic questionnaire will be given to participants to know basic information about them, e.g. Name, address, school, university, work. Recorder will be ready during board members observations. Video recorder will be available during general meetings. In informal settings, the researcher will have a voice recorder and will take notes. After, observations, an interview will be conducted with the participants individually. The interview will be conducted in an informal way.

*There *will not be* certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

*There [*will be*]benefits to you from this research.

Explanation: After the research is done, the participants will explore a different area concerning their language. They will understand more about code switching and their use of different languages.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research . (*confidential*)). I will observe and interview my participants by myself.

Rana Hafez

01005237223

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature _____

Printed Name _____

Date _____

Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire

1. Basic information:

Name:

Age:

Gender: *Female *Male

Nationality: *Egyptian *other: _____

Address:

Do you have any other citizenship: *Yes: _____ *No

2. Education:

School:

University:

Job:

3. Language:

Mother tongue:

Other languages:

4. Family:

Parents:

*Educated

* uneducated

Mother:

*High school

*BA

*MA

*PHD

*None

Her languages:

Does she speak English at home?

*yes

*No

Father:

*High school

*BA

*MA

*PHD

*None

His languages:

Does he speak English at home?

*yes

*No

Sister/ Sisters:

Brother/Brothers:

Appendix D: Interview Form

Factors affecting CS between English and Arabic

Thesis Interview

1. What is the importance of language in our lives?

2. How many languages do you know?
3. How many languages do you speak?
4. Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with friends, family or at work/ school?
5. Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?
6. When/where do you switch between languages?
7. Do you think switching raises your social standard?
8. When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?
9. What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
10. Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
11. Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
12. Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?

Appendix E: Completed Interviews

Interview 1

1) Rana	What is the importance of language in your life?
Adam	the importance of language لازم بنقعد mother language بالنسبة للعربي يستخدم في البيت أو مع الصحاب وكدا ف ده ال e-mails ، writing دائماً يبقى في الشغل mainly يعني شغل English نتكلم بيها دائماً لكن ال بحكم شغلي يعني عشان مهندس كتالوجات أي English كل حاجة بتبقى في الشغل بتبقى في ال يعني. English كل ال كل الشغل يتم بال English لازم نقرأها بال manualsحاجة مثلا
2) Rana	How many languages do you know in general

Adam	I know three يعني ممكن يكونوا English ، French عربي ،
3) Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Adam	عربي, English
4) Rana	Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family –work- or school)
Adam	اكيد العربي Friends عربي بر دو Family ممكن يكون الاتنين Work فلازم الموضوع يبقى على طول موجود كلها بالانجليش
5) Rana	Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?
Adam	كويس الانجليش I think yes بسهولة والعربي طبعا أساسي in English اي حاجة عايز أقولها Express في بأدر يعني بأدر حاجة عايز أقولها يعني بس rephrase يمكن الاجانب ساعات بس دي حالات نادرة لما اضطر أ نادرا يمكن حصلت موقف أو اثنين في خلال سنة فانت.
6) Rana	When/where do you switch between languages?
Adam	I said work يعني حصلت لو في حد Leo ما حصلتش اوي حصلت ايام كأس العالم يعني في الم يعني في ال أجنبي جه.
7) Rana	Do you think switching raises your social standard?
Adam	من الناس اللي هو لازم يبقى في Category يعني في أكيد Society لا أعتقد أن في ناس في ال Social علشان هو كده جامد اوي فاهو كده ال Expressions English كلامه بتاعه اعلى لازم بيين لي انه بيتكلم انجليش يتفصح فالموقف بيبقى سخيّف. انا ممكن Standard استخدام العربي عادي جدا.
8) Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?
Adam	بالانجليش بتاعه اه بيحصل بتضايق وممكن اعبر عن ان انا اتضايقت Flirt لو حسيت انو هو بـ ممكن أقول له وساعات بحط عليه بالكلام واقول لا ما تتكلمش معايا بالانجليش.
9) Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Adam	طالما ما فيش حاجة تجبرني انا شخصيا اني in English أظن ان الشخص اللي بيتكلم قدامي Switch فخلاص بقي مش ها Switch to English اتكلم او شغل فا في ناس بتتكلم بالعربي meeting انما لو انا مثلا بتعامل مع واحد اجنبي أو مثلا احنا في عشان الناس in English كلها قلبت conversation وفي ناس بتتكلم بالانجليش. بس فجأة ال طالما انا مش محتاج اني أغير to switch بس دي تبقى فاهمة فلازم ها English اللي بتتكلم يبقى مش حاسنخدمه English كلمي يبقى بال
10) Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
Adam	علشان اكون مع الناس. اكيد Switch لا مش حتقرق الا لو انا مثلا سافرت في حنة فمحتاج اني ا مش حسافر مثلا كان جوا مصر سافرت الغردقة قابلت ناس بيتكلموا روسي فلازم نلاقي لغة Switch انما طول ما انا مش محتاج مش ها English نتكلم Common
11) Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Adam	لا هو مش شرط ممكن ناس بتتكلم انجليش كويس بس هي بتفصل امتي نتكلم انجليش و امتي تتكلم

عربي و في ناس أصلا ما بتقدرش تتكلم انجليزي زي الناس اللاس اللي كنا بتكلم عليهم بس Switch يعني فما بيقدروش يعملوا English fluently متعلمين بس ما يقدروش يتكلموا

12) Rana
Adam

Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?

وفي بنات تانية لأ. Switch من البنات ب Category أظن اه البنات في بنات معينة برضه في في جمل بس مثلا يعني نادرا Switch اللي حوالينا دول يعني ف تلاقي مثلا مش ما بتبقاش ال معين بالانجليش expression لما يقولوا جمل كاملة بالانجليش بس لازم يبقى في خلال كلامهم ممكن ما يركزوش بيقولوه عفويا يمكن ساعات بتطلع اسهل هو تعود على فكرة اكثر منه عوجان.
انه مش بيبتعوج لتعوج لو احنا قاعدين على القهوة احنا ما حدش مجبر as long ولا عادي بس ما تتكلم العربي. ما تتكلم بالعربي يا ابني يعني. English. اللي بيتكلم بالانجليش ده بياخد على دماغه يعني.

Interview 2

1. Rana

What is the importance of language in your life?

Cyrine

عشان
ان احنا it's being different generation
switch ما بين language الاول .
مش زي الاول language قبل كده كان

دلوقتي لا . ببساطة بتكلم بأسلوب سهل , language . قبل كده كان
بتاعنا اختلف ان احنا بتكلم بأسلوب مختلف عن generation دلوقتي احنا كا
قبل كده في كلام جديد طلع الفرانكو ارا بيك طلع

كل ده اختلف . زي دلوقتي English و Arabic switching بتتكلم ما بين
ان الواحد ياخذ باله حتي من كلامه It's important
في كل حاجة expressions في career wise كل حاجة, في ال personal life ,
كله نفس الحاجة

2. Rana How many languages do you know in general?

Cyrine Three, Arabic, English and French.

3. Rana How many languages do you speak?

Cyrine Two ,English و Arabic

4. Rana Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school)?

Cyrine Friend:it's a mix between both .Family Arabic, I prefer Arabic with them.Work English because it's due to my school and work. It's an international school فا I'm forced to speak English.
School:I think it was same, mixed.

5. Rana Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?

Cyrine Yes I think so ,do you mean by accent or as an English or of course it depends on the people and the situations and I think that it depends on the accent as well it has to be clear for people it has to be spoken well فا yes ,I think it's understood by most people.

6. Rana When/where do you switch between languages?

Cyrine لا I think sometimes it's spontaneous انها بتطلعيني when you feel like that you can't translate this world into English you just bring it out like that.

7. Rana Do you think switching raises your social standard?

Cyrine No, it's not about raising social standard. My opinion it's just about our education,we've learned those languages Arabic and English and it's ..it became very common to use both languages in our conversations but it 's not about social standard for me just that it 's becoming natural . Society ,it's some people think that it's about standard and maybe like I'm being fancy about the language and sometimes people have the same opinion as mine . No, it's just about the education and it's about our social level, about community that we're surrounded with it.

8. Rana When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?

Cyrine It depends, it depends on the situation .Some situation doesn't need to be spoken in English. So why you speak in English?you know Arabic and you can speak Arabic in this situation so come on and face it.

9. Rana What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?

Cyrine Maybe I didn't face that situation that much but I would speak in Arabic if that's really provoking, I would speak in Arabic to make her speak in Arabic as well. If she didn't ok it's your choice to speak in English. No, if he doesn't understand the Arabic that's ok.

10. Rana Do you think switching helps you to socialize?

Cyrine Switching language ال no I don't think it's about switching language .It's

about your personality and how to communicate with people .It's being able to be social with people or not.

11. Rana **Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?**

Cyrine ¹ of course not they are well educated , my parents I don't speak with them English but they know English but I don't speak with them English .It's ok.

12. Rana **Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?**

Cyrine : That's..yes, I think girls are better in that part, showing off and guys are not the type of the showing off type but some guys have that part but it is not as much as the girls do. Girls are with the high percentage .Guys maybe sometimes if they lived abroad sometimes or something like that they're forced to talk in English other than that لا .

Interview 3

1. Rana **What is the importance of language in your life?**

Jana A way of communication ما بين الناس.

2. Rana **How many languages do you know in general?**

Jana Arabic, English, French and Spanish.Four.

3. Rana **How many languages do you speak?**

Jana Two Arabic and English.

4. Rana **Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school)?**

Jana Friend Arabic. Family Arabic. School Arabic.
Work English I'm assistant teacher, a science teacher.

5. Rana	Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?
Jana	depending on the environment I'm in and depending on the way I explain myself , the situation it depend if they will understand or not .
6. Rana	When/where do you switch between languages?
Jana	I don't choose to switch to English unless I'm furious .Sometimes when I get angry I speak in English out of nowhere and it's blablabla English completely. I have good English but when I'm furious or angry I just keep on baaaa.
7. Rana	Do you think switching raises your social standard?
Jana	No , I think if people see someone switching and speaks in English out of nowhere people think that he thinks high of himself ,you know, arrogant somehow . So I don't prefer switching suddenly out of nowhere.
8. Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?
Jana	No. I feel it and I hate it so much on purpose.
9. Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Jana	No, I keep on speak on Arabic and I reply on his questions if he is asking something in English and I see that he is just showing off then I reply in Arabic .
10. Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
Jana	If those new friends are English people then why not, unless that, except that I don't think I would speak in English out of nowhere.
11. Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Jana	No
12. Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?
Jana	I think girls .kind of showing off and boys have other words to express everything.

Interview 4

1-Rana	What is the importance of language in your life ?
Abdo	Well it's a way of publication, a way to understand people,just an essential tool I must use everyday that's all.
2-Rana	How many languages do you know in general?
Abdo	Arabic of course and a little bit of French .First of all I love the French language .I took some classes at school but they were notbut I got to study ,to continue my college I took courses in the French center in Nabi Daniel and I reach the niveau quatre .I think that it's muchbut u know life circumstances just make it harder everyday.
3-Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Abdo	Arabic and English
4-Rana	Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school)?
Abdo	Friends: speaking of course Arabic is my first priority but when it come to writing I think I'm more fluent in English .Yes,but I think that for those who have the mother tongue of English native speakers but for us I think writing is much easier than speaking because right now or while

we're living in Egypt we don't use the English language frequently so I think writing is more easier than speaking.Family:I never use English with my family before ,of course Arabic is easier Work:if one day I'll be working in a multinational company I think I prefer speak in English because it adds more professionalism to the work circumstances so I think, not I think, I wish I would speak in English in the coming future
ان شاء الله

5-Rana **Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?**

Abdo I think you answer this question because I'm speaking English right now .Yes I believe my language is clear have to be understood .Yes I don't think it's hard for them to understand my English because as I'm not,I know I'm not a native speaker but you know the language fluency when it slow it is much easier for others to understand it so I think my language is really slow compared to the native speakers,yes,so I think it's very easy to understand it.

6-Rana **When/where do you switch between languages?**

Abdo Where I think we're speaking, you mean when speaking or writing .Well it depends on who I'm talking with .when I use to live in Saudi Arabia I use to communicate with people who didn't understand the Arabic language so I used the, not frequently but sometimes I use the English language with them but here in Egypt I think I didn't use it before. I haven't use it before.

7-Rana **Do you think switching raises your social Standard?**

Abdo yes of course,I hate to say this and admit this but our society really applause the English language,the person who speaks English well is considered from the high class and that thing I'm not really proud of it but it's true .Of course not.Think of it if Arabic is it if people who speak Arabic are those or considered from the high class that means that our society is better than foreign societies. So it's something I'm not proud of it but I believe to be better if people erase this I could say erases from their life.

8-Rana **When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?**

Abdo I think it means that we are not close enough because if he does not switch a lot it means that he's no sincere with me and he speaks frankly with me .So I think using English terms it means that he's trying to impress me through showing that he is from high standards or from a high standard family.

9-Rana **What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?**

Abdo Well I use my Monday and everyday language so this way of speaking is not a factor of changing my way to speak.

10-Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
Abdo	Not that much .Yes it introduces variety of, it introduce opportunity to meet different people so because you know but here in Egypt it won't help that much but in other countries it's just a window if it opened you would be able to communicate with different kinds of people. According of course to the speaker in front of me because as I said earlier Arabic is much easier to use so I prefer using it every time I could but if I have to use my English language I think I'd be able to use it.
11-Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Abdo	of course not ,some people are really proud of their language and I know some people stick to use in one language all the time .I think I do really respect them.
12-Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?
Abdo	Girls switch more than guys of course because girls are pretentious and I don't wanna say it a little bit arrogant they brag a lot but I think girls like to show themselves,I'll tell you something being a boy, any boy would like to empress himself in front of girls but I think girls impress and show themselves in front of guys and girls so I think that.

Interview 5

1. Rana	Whatis the importance of language in your life?
Lina	it's the way of communicating with other people like,it's easy to communicate in their languages so when you have the language of the people you're communicating with it's easy to understand ,easy to explain and whatever .
2. Rana	How many languages do you know in general?
Lina	In general it's how..3 languages :Arabic, English,French
3. Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Lina	Two,Arabic and English. It's very difficult to pronounce everything
4. Rana	Do you prefer speaking in English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school)?

Lina	Family Arabic because it's the domain ,domain language at home ok and friends sometimes it's in between . Work as we are having an expressions in English so sometimes it's the main conversation is going to be in English and I'm not working with, our customers are not Egyptians so it's easy to communicate with them in English .High school it was in English but in University it's almost Arabic.Not with friends but during the classes and whatever yeah it was in English. In university mainly it was in Arabic even the explanation. I was studying in English but the explanation was in Arabic.
5. Rana	Do you think people understand you when you switch to another language rather than your first language?
Lina	Yeah
6. Rana	When and where do you switch between languages?
Lina	When ..somehow when I meet people who can't understand Arabic ..Yeah foreigners. In certain situations sometimes when I get nerved, I speak English.
7. Rana	Do you think switching raises your social standard in society?
Lina	No,no,no.Mainly I think people think that when you speak English you're just showing up your language,and that you can speak English well. Well you don't need to do this. It's something which is out of your hand. something you get used
8. Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time does that provoke you?
Lina	No, because I understand that some people raised up in other places and they used to speak English at home and whatever, so they got familiar with it, I mean it's easier for them to speak in it.
9. Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Lina	No, I speak like I use to speak with everyone but maybe the English comes in between more than normal people .Nope, Nope because I want to make it easier for the conversation and whatever and just to make him feeling good and the people can speak with him ,his language easily
10. Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize or friends or to make you certain or have you friends?
Lina	No, I don't think so.Yeah, yeah I was thinking that you're speaking about here in this café and whatever. Whenever you're abroad or something you're forced to speak the language that make you get used to these people just to communicate with them so socialize and whatever , so you're forced .
11. Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good or well educated?

Lina	Not, maybe they don't like to speak English maybe they can speak Arabic well whatever.
12. Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys or vice versa?
Lina	<p>I don't think that this can ..we can't imagine that this switching ,this thing is about being boys or girls . It's about the society and the way you raise them, whatever,their friends, their schools, their universities and their studies. It is the main thing that domain and make, make their language and their way of speaking.</p> <p>I know a lot of boys I think they mainly 90 percent speak in English and 10 percent Arabic and they are full Egyptians and then they just live in UK for 5 years or something but they mainly speak in English. I think they are normal they have problems in speaking Arabic they not speak it very well so they feel it's easy to speak in English instead.</p>

Interview 6

1-Rana	What is the importance of language in your life ?
Gehad	Language is very important not just for me but for everyone because it's a means of communication and for some reasons whenever I'm abroad I don't feel comfortable when someone is around speaking in a different language and I can't understand it like, I feel insecure , احسن ان

	انا حد مثلا بيتكلم عليا فاحس ان انا عاوز ابقني افهم كل اللغات علشان ابقني فاهم كل الناس بتقول ايه و اعرف علشان كده هي حاجة مهمة جدا بالنسبة لي اللغة يعني .معاهم communicate ا
2-Rana	How many languages do you know in general ?
Gehad	Three by mother tongue,Arabic and fluent English and basic French.
3-Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Gehad	Just two which are English and Arabic because I barely know people who are fluent in French so it's hard to communicate in French with Arabic,
4-Rana	Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school.)?
Gehad	Usually it's a mix of both Arabic and English at four aspects except for the family it's not with all the members of the family some members it's a mix of both and some other members it's just Arabic.
5-Rana	Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first Language?
Gehad	Yes, I believe so because some..some situations are better explained in English rather than Arabic which supports my cause or wherever I'm talking about .
6-Rana	When/where do you switch between languages?
Gehad	When there is certain situation which I cannot describe in Arabic or English I switch languages to explain more. مثلا انا معرفش leo fantasy بالعربي الاولك يعني ايه example. ممكن ساعات ميجهش المعني في دماغي فا بقلها بالانجلىش مثلا .. افكر ب
7-Rana	Do you think switching raises your social Standard? :
Gehad	That's not the main goal why someone might switch between languages but yes, it does I think it does.
8-Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?
Gehad	It differs from one person to another because that person might be that's how he speaks normally if not then yes ,it might provoke me yeah your mother tongue is Arabic and you usually speak in Arabic why now all the sudden you speak in English so yes it does sometimes.
9-Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Gehad	Actually neither .Or I don't know I'll tell you a situation which happened before .My cousin usually lives abroad ,She speaks Arabic but because she's whole abroad even when she comes to Egypt she's always talking in English. I'm not provoked because I know that's her usual way of talking. So I actually don't reply in English.I find it easier to reply back in Arabic .So I think that's the answer.
10-Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
Gehad	Maybe yes.

11-Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Gehad	:I don't think that switching between languages is thethe هو يعني معيار اني افرق الشخص ده متعلم او لا And that's what just happened now was an example of why I might switch between languages.
12-Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?
Gehad	لا تعليق I don't know it's a weird question, girls maybe I don't know. That's fine girls.

Interview 7

1. Rana	What is the importance of language in your life?
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Ghadeer	Of course يعني language are very important in our life plus هي it's first of all a knowledge ,any extra language plus for example during travelling لو عندي interview في اي مكان عامه احكي مع الناس عامه بتتعملي مع اي حد اكيد ال Language يعني بتقيد يعني
2. Rana	How many languages do you know in general?
Ghadeer	I know four languages of course Al Arabic هي mother tongue – English fluent – French basic – beginner يعنيwith somehow I know some words.
3. Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Ghadeer	Mainly two languages English and Arabic.
4. Rana	Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school.)?
Ghadeer	Work of course I talk in English because I have to. Family I talk in Arabic. School Arabic. Friend Arabic.
5. Rana	Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?
Ghadeer	Yes, of course they understand me except if I am talking to someone who doesn't know anything about English, someone I don't know and I say some words or expressions.
6. Rana	When/where do you switch between languages?
Ghadeer	When I have an interview or when I travel or at work.
7. Rana	Do you think switching raises your social standard?
Ghadeer	I don't think so. But I think mostly the Egyptians people believe in this that when they switch between languages they raise their social standard in this ways but in any other countries when you travel anywhere people they respect they respect their own language and they don't like to switch between languages except they have to.
8. Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?

Ghadeer	Of course it depends on some people they do this because this is how they learn, this is how they talk with each and everyone while other people are fake they just do this to impress other people to be showy.
9. Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Ghadeer	I talk in my own way. I don't change anyway of talking or my language, switch between languages just for anyone. I just talk in my own way and I don't mind how people talk.
10. Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize?
Ghadeer	I think it will differ my normal social life but of course if I am dealing with people from other countries it will help me to know more friends and to create a new circle of friends. Of course it will help.
11. Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Ghadeer	It's not a must may be in some cases they're not well educated. But there is a lot of people who can talk fluent English or French or any other language and they don't use it in their life. يعني I know one of my friends she was educated in the united states and but once she came here she didn't talk in English at all she didn't use any words or expressions. She talks only in Arabic. So it differs from one person to another.
12. Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?
Ghadeer	of course girls because girls always want to be attractive and to be show yet to impress other and I think they believe that switching between languages is a way to reach this, but boys is very rare I see. It's not common in boys no.

Interview 8

1. Rana	What is the importance of language in your life?
Amgad	Mainly a way of communication بس الاهم من ده شوية انك تعرفي توصلي للي انتي عاوزاه Through this way.
2. Rana	How many languages do you know in general?
Amgad	اربعة اتنين انا fluent فيهم و اتنين Basic خالص.
3. Rana	How many languages do you speak?
Amgad	بصي انا بتكلم عربي و انجليزي كويس فرنش والماني Basic خالص.
4. Rana	Do you prefer speaking English or Arabic with (friends- Family – work-or school.)?
Amgad	بصي هي مش حاجة permanent او مش حاجة Constant بتكلم عربي عادي family بس Work حسب ما يشتغل فيني يعني مثلا لو يشتغل حاجة تبع الكلية لازم اتكلم عربي لو حاجة انجيو لا بتكلم حسب اللي قدامي بتكلم حبة انجليش بس مش بقصد اتكلم Pure English ولا عربي just to communicate حسب اللي قدامي
5. Rana	Do you think people understand you when you use another language rather than your first language?
Amgad	المفروض اه لان زي ما قاتلك انه حسب اللي قدامي بتكلم المفروض
6. Rana	When/where do you switch between languages?
Amgad	language تانية كلمة ممكن تعبر اكثر من ال language لما احس ان ممكن when طيب مش عارف بصراحة where اللي بتكلم بيها
7. Rana	Do you think switching raises your social standard?
Amgad	بالنسبه له بتحس بحاجة English بصي اه في ناس طبعاً بالنسبة لها انه يتعوج بلسانه يتكلم بتكلم عربي حسيت ان اللي قدامي ها mainly زي دي بالنسبة لي انا لا مثلا معاه اكثر بالانجليش حتكلم انجليش بس مش الطريق بتاعها كدة خالص. Communicate
8. Rana	When you see someone speak in English all the time, does that provoke you?
Amgad	بصي مش شرط يعني في ناس انتي عارفة انهم يتكلموا انجليش هما عشان عاشوا فترة من ممكن نتكلمي انجليش معاهم بطريقة اسهل مريحة you totally understand حياتهم ف ليهم اكثر في ناس تانية انتي عارفة انهم مفيش خالص فلما بيتكلموا انجليش معاكي طب ليه ما تتكلم عربي عادي.

9. Rana	What is your reaction then? Do you try to switch to belong to her/him or you choose on purpose to speak in Arabic?
Amgad	يعني حقوله ما تتكلم عربي Over ممكن أرد انجليش عادي ولو فصلت و حسيت الموضوع اوي بس over ما تتكلم عربي ايه المشكلة فامش هقلب عربي غير لو الموضوع Hint او ها ممكن اقلب عربي.
10. Rana	Do you think switching helps you to socialize ?
Amgad	هو للاسف اه في مصر كده بس انا كا بعمل كده لا ما يتهياليش Person
11. Rana	Do you think people who do not switch are not good well educated?
Amgad	بيتويت بعربي بحس انه عادي Say Twitter على فكرة العكس انا بحس مثلا لو حد مثلا second language انا ما اتعلمتش ك mainly مش حاجة وحشة أو ملهاش علاقة بتعليمه خالص Multi Media – TV – Net language يعني بالنسبة لي انجليش كان تعليمها كله من work. كدة مش ان انا كان تعليمي كمدرسة كان عالي.
12. Rana	Do you think girls switch more than guys? Or vice versa?
Amgad	if I get provoked بصي هو اه يعني ده ده هي بنت دي بحس البنات بيقتصدو يتكلمو English او second language او whatever language تانيه او كاعوجة دي موجودة هو مش سوالك بس دي اجابتي.