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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Language Attitudes in an Egyptian Discourse Community

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

By

Emily V. Reigh

The American University in Cairo

Language Attitudes in an Egyptian Discourse Community

A Thesis Submitted by

Emily V. Reigh

To the Department of Applied Linguistics,
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

May 2014

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement
For the Degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates language attitudes in an elite university in Egypt, addressing all codes spoken in the community: Fus'ha (Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic), Egyptian Arabic, English and Egyptian Arabic-English code-switching. Some attitudinal research in the region has been conducted (e.g. Bentahila, 1983; Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000), though most neglects to position the discourse community in larger society and uses limited methodological approaches. In this study, attitudes are interpreted with attention to prevailing language ideologies, including the notion of a standard language, tension between modernity and tradition and language as symbolic capital. Overt and covert attitudes in terms of both status and solidarity were discerned through a questionnaire, a matched-guise study and group interviews. The discourse community was found to be close-knit, with members viewing themselves as distinct from the rest of Egyptian society. Participants all had a strong command of English, though they varied in Fus'ha proficiency. Mixed attitudes toward Fus'ha emerged, in terms of both prestige and importance for maintaining Egyptian/Arab identity. Egyptian Arabic ranked low for status traits, though the variety was ascribed covert prestige in terms of solidarity for males. English was viewed positively as a language of both status and solidarity. Though overt attitudes toward code-switching were ambivalent, covert attitudes toward code-switching were generally positive, a novel finding. This study offers a paradigm for detailed analysis of the language attitudes of a community. Further, it demonstrates the growing favor of English as a language of economic power and explores code-switching as a prestigious in-group language that allows negotiation of modern and traditional identities amongst the privileged classes in Egypt.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Overview

When a speaker produces an utterance, the interlocutor automatically judges the individual based not only the content of the message but also the style of delivery. In multilingual communities, codes (a neutral term for a spoken variant) have culturally constructed associations and may carry vastly different social connotations. Language attitudes, defined as evaluative orientations to language variants that are stable enough to be identified (Garrett, 2010), are often not articulated. However, they are shaped by public discourse and influenced by social, political and economic factors.

With a wide range of local and foreign codes in overlapping use, Egypt provides a rich context for examining language attitudes. Access to codes is asymmetric between social groups and code choice can be a significant factor in establishing community identity and positioning the group within larger society (e.g. Haeri, 1997; Walters, 1996; Walters, 2011). In this study, the attitudes toward English, different varieties of Arabic and mixed varieties will be researched in an elite university community. This study will attempt to contextualize the results in terms of competing language ideologies, such as standardization and the conflict between modernity and tradition, and will also explore the role the dominant classes have in controlling language as symbolic capital.

1.2 - Context of the Problem

1.2.1 - Language Ideologies

The link between linguistic features and cultural processes is foundational to the individual and the social group, as well as social institutions such as religious rituals, gender

relations, the nation-state and educational systems (Woolard, 1998). Language ideologies can be defined as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1989, p. 255). Asymmetries within societies arise as a result of uneven access to codes as well as the symbolic, practical and economic value ascribed to varieties by different social groups. Whether these values are articulated or not, a group’s beliefs about language are typically at the center of their sense of group identity (Kroskrity, 2004). Hence, in exploring ideologies we are able to understand the constitutive role language plays in establishing the identity of social groups.

1.2.2 - Languages and Language Ideologies in the Middle East and North Africa

Characterized by a wide range of indigenous and foreign varieties, the linguistic complexity of the Middle East renders it a rich context for sociolinguistic exploration that often challenges existing paradigms in the field. Although Standard Arabic (Fus’ha) has been established as the official language of most countries in the region, it is a written language that is never spoken natively and is only learned through formal education. For the purposes of this study, the term Fus’ha will be employed to describe both Classical Arabic, the language of the Quran, and Modern Standard Arabic, the modernized version of Classical Arabic used in education, media and other contemporary domains. The colloquial varieties are the codes spoken by all and employed in daily communication. Western languages such as French and English are rooted in the colonial past and continue to increase in use to meet the demands of globalizing economies. Diglossic switching between “high” standard Arabic and “low” colloquial Arabic is common, as well as switching between colloquial Arabic and Western languages. Although much research in the region deals with the varieties in isolation, this study

will examine how the varieties relate to one another, thus providing a fuller understanding of the attitudes in this affluent university community.

Many competing language ideologies have played out in Egypt's history. The ideology of standardization privileges formalized codes that are learned through education, like Fus'ha and English, and gives less value to informal varieties like Egyptian Arabic, code-switching and diglossic switching. In political discourse, Egypt has alternated between periods of intense nationalism, when public figures argued for the creation of a distinct language to represent Egypt's unique national character, and waves of Pan-Arabism, when Fus'ha was forwarded as a means for integrating the Middle East, preserving traditions and resisting Western cultural imperialism. However, the utility of English as a language of economic power has resulted in the undermining of Fus'ha, the language of government and public education. For the elite in particular, English is emerging as the predominant formal language, serving their economic interests and functioning as an in-group language and class marker.

1.2.3 - Language Attitudes and Code Choice

Language ideologies present in a society influence the individual's value judgment of a specific linguistic variety. The individual's evaluative orientation to a variety will be referred to as a language attitude for purposes of this study. Code will be employed as a neutral term for a linguistic variety, as opposed to dialect or language, which are often politically laden (Meyerhoff, 2013). When speaking in a certain code, the speaker evokes a large matrix of associated events, qualities and characteristics, also known as linguistic indexes (Woolard, 2004). Determining the indexes of codes is extremely complex; though there are degrees of agreement within a society about the associations with certain codes, beliefs can differ for groups

within a society depending on their social standing and can even show great individual variation as a result of personal life experiences, context and discursive aims. These mutually understood associations can be employed by speakers in the process of constructing or performing various aspects of their identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Language attitudes can be tested by both direct and indirect methods. Discrepancies often arise, as direct exploration of language attitudes (like questionnaires) often results in restatement of the socially accepted ideologies of the group, while indirect methods (such as matched-guise studies) can show speakers challenging these accepted beliefs. Matched-guise studies ask participants to rank speakers of certain codes on solidarity traits (e.g. trustworthy, friendly) and status traits (e.g. wealthy, intelligent). A limited amount of research of this kind has been conducted in the Middle East, with most focused on the Maghreb, the former French colonies of North Africa.

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

In matched-guise research in Morocco and Tunisia, participants have traditionally ranked Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) highly for solidarity traits and French highly for status traits. French ranked poorly as a language of solidarity, with participants labeling its use as unpatriotic and a symbol of colonization (Belzai, 1991; Bentahila, 1983). Despite the general preference shown for standard languages, recent research in the same countries has shown colloquial varieties being ascribed increasing prestige in matched-guise studies, especially for solidarity characteristics, but sometimes for status traits as well (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). The hierarchy of prestige has been found to be gender dependent; codes are ranked differently for male and female speakers (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). In Tunisia, women were

rated slightly higher for status traits in MSA than in other codes, whereas men were rated lowest for MSA and highest for Tunisian Arabic. Attitudinal research in Egypt is limited to one matched-guise study (El-Dash & Tucker, 1975), with results similar to those in contemporaneous studies in the Maghreb. Classical Arabic speakers were seen as more intelligent than Egyptian English and American English speakers, who in turn were deemed more intelligent than speakers of Egyptian Arabic.

Some attitudinal research on code-switching exists, though it is limited (Garrett, 2010). When asked directly about the value of code-switching as a form of communication, multilingual speakers usually rate it negatively and underreport their use of the variety (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1977, Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). Research in the Maghreb has consistently shown negative attitudes toward code-switching. In a questionnaire-based study in Morocco, a large majority of respondents have disapproved of the practice, deeming those who code-switch as linguistically incompetent, confused, show-offs and victims of colonization (Bentahila, 1983). A more recent study in Morocco confirmed these findings, with participants associating code-switching with being disloyal to one's own country and language (Ennaji, 2005). In a matched-guise study in Tunisia, it was ranked the lowest of all codes for both status and solidarity traits (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

1.3 - Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

1.3.1 - Statement of the Problem

This study will explore the attitudes toward the multiple language varieties in use in Egypt within a specific community, with emphasis on characterizing the group and positioning its members within Egyptian society. The language attitudes discerned will be interpreted

though the lens of the competing language ideologies present in the country today. Studying an elite group of university students from the economically dominant classes will shed light on perceptions of language as a source of power in this society and the role language plays in establishing solidarity and identity in this community. The study will also add to the limited amount of attitudinal research on code-switching. Further, the study will explore differences between overt and covert language attitudes, explaining discrepancies in terms of language ideology, group identity and contextual factors.

1.3.2 - Context of the Study

Language attitudes will be investigated in a unique community, undergraduates at The American University in Cairo (AUC). AUC is a private, English-language university that attracts Egypt's elite, most of whom attended foreign language high schools. Most students are native speakers of Egyptian Arabic and all have high English proficiency, though they vary in their proficiency in Fus'ha. Both Egyptian Arabic and English are spoken frequently on campus and the two codes are readily mixed by essentially all students. The AUC administration encourages faculty to interact with students only in English. In course evaluations, students are asked to what extent English is used in the classroom. Despite the official mandate to conduct classes in English, limited use of Arabic is present in the classroom in certain disciplines and some professors interact with students in Arabic outside of the classroom.

A discourse community is a group of people who engage in common activities, share a set of common goals and perhaps common values and beliefs (Paltridge, 2006). The extent to which AUC undergraduates represents a cohesive discourse community will be explored. The university primarily attracts the small fraction of Egyptian students who have attended costly

international schools with most or all instruction in a foreign language. This prolonged exposure to globalized cultural forces undoubtedly influences their belief systems, particularly linguistic preferences. The university seeks to differentiate itself from its competitors by marketing a Westernized liberal arts experience, as articulated in its mission statement and exemplified in the core curriculum program, which each student undertakes. The university is located on the edge of the city and students spend a substantial amount of their time in this isolated environment, studying and participating in the vast array of extra-curricular activities the university offers.

1.3.3 - Research Questions

1. What are the overt attitudes toward Fus'ha, ECA, English and CS in the AUC community?
2. What are the covert attitudes toward ECA, English and CS in the AUC community in terms of status and solidarity traits?
3. Does the gender of the speaker affect language attitudes, and if so, how?

1.3.4 - Rationale for Research Questions

In order to interpret the results of the study, it is essential to examine whether or not AUCians regard themselves as a unified group and whether they view themselves as having different attitudes than other Egyptians. Significant social divisions could produce divergent language attitudes, which would need to be explored in analysis of results. Both overt and covert attitudes will be tested, as previous research suggests that there may be discrepancies between the two. Overt attitudes will be tested by a questionnaire and covert attitudes will be tested by a matched-guise study. Interviews will be used to discuss any discrepancies that arise. Code-

switching will be included in the study, as it is a primary form of informal and even formal communication in this community. Both male and female speakers will be examined in the matched-guise study, as previous research in the region suggests that the hierarchy of prestige of codes depends on the gender of the speaker.

1.3.5 - Construct Definitions of Relevance to the Proposed Study

1. **Language Ideology** - the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests (Irvine, 1989).
2. **Language Attitudes** – individual evaluative orientations to language variants that are stable enough to be identified (Garrett, 2010)
3. **Discourse Community** - a group of people who engage in common activities, share a set of common goals and perhaps common values and beliefs (Paltridge, 2006).
4. **Standard Language** – the “high” form of a language, which is afforded authority by its speakers and spread through educational systems (Milroy, 2001)
5. **Linguistic Indexes** - sets of associations that are linked to a certain linguistic form or variety (Woolard, 2004)
6. **Code-Switching (CS)** - alteration of linguistic varieties within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1998).
7. **Overt Prestige** – the prestige associated with a variant that speakers are aware of and can talk about in terms of standardness or aesthetic and moral evaluations (Meyerhoff, 2013).
8. **Covert Prestige** – a norm or target that is oriented to without the speaker being aware they are orienting to it (Meyerhoff, 2013).

1.3.6 - Operational Definitions of Relevance to the Proposed Study

1. **Overt Attitude** – an individual attitude expressed through a direct method of inquiry, such as a questionnaire or interview, likely to be tied to ideology
2. **Covert Attitude** – an individual attitude expressed through an indirect method of inquiry, such as a matched-guise study, especially if it contradicts findings through direct methods of inquiry

1.3.7 - Delimitations of Research

The study will investigate attitudes in this particular discourse community and may not be generalized to other populations in Egypt. This focused analysis is considered to be a strength of the study. Further, this study will not address the actual linguistic behavior of its participants, such as frequency and situational use of codes. The questionnaire results will not necessarily be representative of participants' actual attitudes toward language; they may give opinions that they believe are appropriate or expected. However, use of various methodologies as well as contextualization of results will attempt to address this limitation. Fus'ha will only be examined through direct methods, as it is not a naturally spoken language for Egyptians and would thus render any speaker's guise in this variety artificial.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

2.1 - Organizational Rationale

In order for the language attitudes of the individuals of a particular community to be understood, they must be explored in terms of the language ideologies present in the community. To this end, a discussion of language ideologies within Egyptian society will be presented thematically, with emphasis on the asymmetric access to varieties for different groups and the varying interpretations and importance ascribed to these ideologies. This will be followed by a review of attitudinal research in the region with methodologies similar to that of this study, with particular attention to similarities and differences with the Egyptian context. Finally, code-switching will be addressed in multiple geographic contexts, as it is particularly prevalent in the community examined in this study and studies on attitudes toward code-switching in the region are limited.

2.2 - Language Ideologies

2.2.1 - Ideology of Standardization

Attitudes toward languages are influenced by the prevailing ideological notion of a standard language, or high form, which is afforded authority by its users, codified through public institutions and spread through educational systems (Milroy, 2001). There are arguably two “standard” forms of Arabic: Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). CA is a language with a rich literary heritage and is the language of the Quran. Codified as early as the 9th century (Van Mol, 2003), it is still commonly used in religious contexts. According to Haeri (2003), it is a language that moves its listeners due to its aesthetic qualities, socializes people into

Islam and connects them to God. CA continues to be regulated by the powerful Azhar institution in Egypt (Haeri, 2003).

Whereas CA has remained largely unchanged for more than a millennium, MSA reflects stylistic influence from European languages. It has developed the vocabulary necessary to address contemporary topics and is often used in the media. CA and MSA can be viewed on a continuum, but are often perceived by native Arabic speakers as a single entity, Fus'ha (Walters, 2011). Although MSA is viewed as a standardized language, there is actually no consensus as to the way it deviates from CA (Van Mol, 2003). Despite the lack of agreement on the rules of MSA, it is viewed as prescriptive and users often express a fear of making mistakes when using this variety (Haeri, 1996). Since most native Arabic speakers do not distinguish between CA and MSA, they will be considered together under the term Fus'ha for the purposes of this study.

Access to Fus'ha is only granted through formal education; the native languages in the Middle East are the local colloquial varieties, which are commonly referred to as dialects. The non-standard colloquial varieties are untaught, not codified through institutional means and have no official status. Further, the colloquial varieties can be associated with illiteracy (Ennaji, 2005). Despite the lack of formal status, studies in Egypt have shown positive evaluations of the colloquial variety among participants (e.g. Royal, 1985) who view it as expressive and humorous (Haeri, 1996). However, figures in the public sphere have often expressed scorn for the colloquial varieties. The acclaimed Egyptian writer Naguib Mahfouz wrote in his novel *Cachia*: “the colloquial is one of the diseases from which the people are suffering, and of which they are bound to rid themselves as they progress” (Suleiman, 2003).

The two existing levels of Arabic require speech communities in the region to be characterized as diglossic. As defined by Ferguson (1959, 1974), diglossia is a stable language

situation in which there is a highly codified variety of a language that is the vehicle of a respected body of written literature, learned by formal education, and used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary communication (in Bassiouney, 2003). Ferguson's characterization of diglossia requires the varieties to be in complimentary distribution in terms of function: the high code in settings like religious institutions, formal media and universities and the low code in conversations, entertainment and folk literature.

Viewing Fus'ha and the colloquial varieties as a dichotomy, however, does not account for the linguistic reality in the modern Middle East and North Africa. The two cannot be easily separated, as almost all modern language contains elements of both. To reconcile this fact, scholars have proposed various levels between the high and low codes. For example, Mitchell (1986) forwarded the notion of "Educated Spoken Arabic," rooted in the colloquial with lexical introductions from Fus'ha. Further, the exclusive functional domains that Ferguson proposed are blended in practice. In Egypt today, one of the most famous televised religious figures, Sheikh Sharaawi, gives his speeches in colloquial and Mickey Mouse cartoons can be found in Fus'ha (Haeri, 2003). Literature in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) is becoming more common and literary criticism has also been published in this variety (Haeri, 2003).

Haeri (1996) goes so far as to argue that Fus'ha may not be the "standard" variety in Egypt, when interpreted in terms of non-diglossic communities. She supports this proposition with a study on two phonetic variables. Sociolinguistic theory proposes that women paradoxically produce standard forms more frequently than men, yet women are the source of many types of linguistic innovation. Haeri found that women showed a higher frequency of palatalization (an innovation) than men, supporting this theory. However, women produced the

“qaf,” the voiceless uvular stop associated with standard Arabic, less frequently than men. As a result, Haeri concludes that the Cairene dialect may arguably be closer to the local “standard” than Fus’ha.

While identification of a standard language in the Egyptian context may be debatable, colloquial varieties clearly carry considerable covert prestige. Non-standard varieties are often awarded standing as an in-group language, particularly for males. In Trudgill’s seminal 1974 study, male participants showed a preference for standard forms when queried directly, perhaps reflecting social desirability bias, though indirect measures found that considerable value can be ascribed to non-standard varieties. Research in Tunisia has shown that participants rate Tunisian Arabic more favorably than MSA for men when tested through indirect measures, though the opposite was true for women (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). For males, the colloquial varieties thus carry covert prestige.

2.2.2 - Ideologies of Tradition, Modernity and Westernization

Throughout Egypt’s modern history, language has played a prominent role in political discourse. Fus’ha undeniably occupies a privileged position due to its official status, literary and religious traditions and power to link Egypt with other countries in the region. However, many prominent Egyptian figures have argued for Egyptian exceptionalism, rooted in Egypt’s Pharaonic past with modernizing impulses drawn from genealogical and historical links to Europe (Suleiman, 1996). Ahmed Lutfi El Sayyid, the father of Egyptian nationalism, argued that religion is not an appropriate basis for forming a sustainable national identity and that the Arabic language is an important means for establishing a national consciousness. He argued that this should be accomplished by a rapprochement of Fus’ha and ECA (Suleiman, 1996).

Successive Egyptian thinkers in the early 20th century continued the call for establishment of a uniquely Egyptian language. Salama Musa, a Christian intellectual, argued against Egypt's alignment with the rest of the Middle East. He supported the development of an elevated colloquial, capable of responding to the challenges of modernization, which would serve materially and symbolically as evidence of Egypt's European identity. The famed writer Taha Hussein also argued for a distinct Egyptian language, but envisioned it closer to the Fus'ha than the colloquial, which he viewed as corrupt. He identified the greatest obstacle to reform as the Azhar religious institute, which has appointed itself the guardian of the Arabic language (Suleiman, 1996).

After the overthrow of the British supported monarchy in 1952, the socialist Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power. He pushed for unity of the Arab nations, rejecting the British colonial policy of promoting foreign languages and the colloquial dialect to isolate Egypt from the rest of the Arab world. Nasser established free state-sponsored education through the university level with Fus'ha at the core of the system. The colloquial variety lost status as Fus'ha was promoted as the language of educated people (Bassiouny, 2009). This period of Pan-Arab unity was short-lived. After Nasser's death, Sadat's peace treaty with Israel resulted in Egypt's ostracization by other Arab nations. In stark contrast with Nasser's nationalist policies, Sadat's open-door economic agenda encouraged Egyptian integration in the global market, which renewed interest in foreign languages as a critical economic resource.

2.2.3 - Ideology of Globalization and Linguistic Capital

English is rapidly becoming the universal second language in Egypt. English is a mandatory subject in Egyptian public schools, beginning in the preparatory level and continuing

through the secondary level (Zaher, 1995). Private secondary schools, which give part or all of their instruction in foreign languages (primarily English), are increasing in number (Schaub, 2000). In fields such as medicine, sciences, tourism and higher education, English has become the standard language of communication between Egyptians (Schaub, 2000). Significantly, foreign languages are considered necessary for securing good jobs in the Egyptian market (Schaub, 2000); the Fus'ha taught in state schools is not sufficient.

It is commonly believed that the official language represents the language of the dominant classes and is controlled by the state (Bourdieu, 1977). In Egypt, however, it can be argued that the state does not succeed at controlling linguistic symbolic capital (Haeri, 2003). The major market for Arabic-speaking graduates are public schools and the state's heaving bureaucracy. Proficiency in foreign languages offers the highest rewards – lucrative jobs in the private sector that confer greater economic advantage than work in the public sector. The public educational system has little control over linguistic value.

Since competence in a foreign language is critical to economic advancement, members of the upper classes may not be particularly proficient in Fus'ha (Haeri, 1996). Although references are made in literature to the elite using Fus'ha, Haeri (2003) has found many examples of high-ranking government officials, from censors to diplomats, who evaluate their written Arabic as weak due to their background in international schools (Haeri, 2003). The relationship between the labor market and the educational system and is not the same for all classes, and English arguably holds greater prestige for the dominant classes than Arabic.

2.3 - Language Attitudes and Linguistic Associations in the Middle East and North Africa

2.3.1 - Methodological Approaches

The complex interplay of language ideologies shapes the way language is perceived on the individual and community levels. Language indexes are sets of associations that are linked to a certain linguistic form or variety, and they are influenced by the prevailing language ideologies in society. When choosing a code, the speaker evokes a large matrix of associated events, qualities and characteristics (Woolard, 2004). Determining the associations with various codes is complex; national language ideologies may play a dominant role, but beliefs can differ for groups within a society depending on their social standing and can even show great individual variation as a result of education, family, life experiences and goals.

Indexicality is the key semiotic process in identity formation. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) discuss, identity emerges as speakers use speech to position themselves in interactions. Speakers draw upon the associations with a particular code in a certain community to “perform” acts of identity. Thus, identity is co-constructed through interlocutors and their understanding of the complex cultural associations with the speaker’s words and actions. Identity is dynamic, consistently in the process of being formed or expressed. Studying the indexes of varieties can shed light on the process of identity performance.

There are two fundamental methodological approaches to determining language attitudes of individuals in a community: direct and indirect testing. Direct testing involves asking questions about the prestige, appropriate contexts and qualities associated with certain varieties. However, this method is limited, as participants often report prevailing language ideologies of the community or show social desirability bias. Such studies may not actually reflect the speaker’s deeper associations with the codes, which are more effectively explored through

indirect methods. Much research shows significant discrepancies between overt attitudes discerned through direct methods and covert attitudes explored through indirect methods (e.g. Bentahila, 1983, Lawon & Sachdev, 2000).

One indirect method is the matched-guise test. In this type of investigation, the same speaker reads a passage in different codes and participants are asked to ascribe characteristics to the speaker. Since the content and speaker are the same, the method attempts to discern the characteristics the interlocutor ascribes to the code itself. These characteristics can be organized in two groups: status traits (e.g. modern, intelligent, wealthy) and solidarity traits (e.g. friendly, open-minded, trustworthy). Since the indexes to codes in the Middle East derive from particular cultural, historical, political and religious traditions, the focus of the review of past studies will be on the Middle East. A significant number of matched-guise studies have been conducted in the Maghreb. Few such studies have been conducted in the former British colonies of the region.

2.3.2 - Attitudes toward Single Varieties

In matched-guise research in Morocco and Tunisia, participants have generally ranked MSA highly for solidarity traits and French highly for status traits. French ranked poorly as a language of solidarity, with participants labeling its use as unpatriotic and a symbol of colonization (Bentahila, 1983; Belzai, 1991). This can be explained in terms of the linguistic policies of the French colonizers. Under their rule, French was imposed as the language of government and education and Arabic was given a secondary role. After independence, nationalist movements used the Arabic language as a symbol of liberation and traditional national identity (Bassiouney, 2009). However, the economic power of the French language continues to make the language desirable for the superior financial opportunities it offers.

Despite the general preference shown for standard languages, recent research in the Maghreb has shown that colloquial varieties are now being ascribed increasing covert prestige in matched-guise studies, primarily for solidarity characteristics but occasionally for status traits as well (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Marley, 2004). In the Moroccan context, Chakrani (2011) argues that this does not actually confirm increasing prestige of the vernacular, but instead represents an undermining of the standard form. The same study found that French is gaining ground as a language of solidarity, further indicating significant shifts in language attitudes.

The hierarchy of prestige has been found to be gender dependent; codes are ranked differently for male and female speakers (e.g. Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). In Tunisia, women were rated slightly higher for status traits in MSA than the other codes, whereas men were rated lowest for MSA and highest for Tunisian Arabic (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). This aligns with Trudgill's finding that non-standard varieties may be ascribed covert prestige, especially for men (1972). For solidarity traits in the same study, women were again rated highest for MSA, whereas men were rated significantly higher for TA than for other codes.

The linguistic context in Egypt is markedly different from that in the Maghreb. During the British occupation, English gained some ground in the educational system, though Arabic remained the primary language of instruction. Further, use of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) was actually encouraged by the British colonial government, arguably to discourage Pan-Arabism (Bassiouney, 2009). In recent years, however, instrumental motivation has given rise to the expansion of the English language in Egypt and private English language high schools are flourishing (Schaub, 2000). Although English has roots in colonial powers, the increase in use of

the language has primarily been internally motivated to respond to economic globalization, as opposed to being imposed by a ruling power.

Attitudinal research in Egypt is limited to one matched-guise study (El-Dash & Tucker, 1975), with results similar to those found in studies in the Maghreb from the same time period. Classical Arabic speakers were seen as more intelligent than Egyptian English and American English speakers, who in turn were deemed more intelligent than speakers of ECA. Similar results were seen for leadership qualities. However, there is significant reason to believe that linguistic attitudes may have shifted since this study was conducted. Other studies in the region have found increased prestige for the colloquial dialects. In particular, the dominant classes may challenge the status of Fus'ha and instead afford prestige to English as a language of economic power or to non-standard forms such as ECA or code-switching as languages of solidarity.

2.3.3 - Attitudes toward Code-Switching

In the AUC community, English and ECA are mixed in a variety of contexts: in classrooms, in social conversation and in informal written communication. Thus, evaluating attitudes toward code-switching (CS) will be of central importance to this study. Myers-Scotton (1998) defines code-switching as alteration of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. Despite popular perceptions, code-switching has been established by linguists to be grammatical. In fact, the more proficient users are in both languages results the more likely they are to attempt switches at various points in the utterance (e.g. Poplack, 1980). Thus, the frequency and complexity of switching can actually indicate high proficiency in the codes. Although CS is an omnipresent feature of communication amongst bilinguals and multilinguals, little attitudinal research on these varieties has been conducted (Garrett, 2010). Code choice can be viewed as a

valuable linguistic resource that a speaker can draw upon to evoke the belief system associated with the variety employed. However, many studies have found that the mixing of codes is often viewed negatively as a sign of confusion, linguistic incompetence or the loss of cultural tradition. The limited attitudinal research on CS in the Middle East will be presented, along with relevant studies from other contexts.

When asked directly about the value of CS as a form of communication, multilingual speakers usually rate it negatively and underreport their use of the variety (e.g. Blom & Gumperz, 1972, Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). In a study of Indian immigrants in the UK, Romaine (1995) found conflict between the prestige associated with using English words when speaking Punjabi and the condemnation of the practice as a destruction of linguistic purity. In a study in Hong Kong, Gibbons (1983) found that CS between Cantonese and English was perceived to be arrogant, despite its prevalence in the university community. However, the study also found that CS had moderate support as a marker of status and strong support as a culturally neutral choice. A study of elementary students in Singapore found positive attitudes toward English-mother tongue CS as promoting cohesiveness among members of their ethnic groups and as an indicator of social prestige (Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon, 2009).

Research in the Maghreb has consistently shown negative attitudes toward CS. In a questionnaire-based study in Morocco, a large majority of participants disapproved of the practice, deeming those who code-switch as incompetent in both languages, confused, show-offs and victims of colonization (Bentahila, 1983). A more recent study in Morocco also found negative associations, with participants associating CS with being disloyal to one's own country and language (Ennaji, 2005). In a fairly recent matched-guise study in Tunisia, it was ranked the lowest of all codes for both status and solidarity traits (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

Studies in other parts of the Middle East have also found negative attitudes toward CS. Lebanon is known for ubiquitous switching between French, English and Lebanese Arabic, as shown in the common expression “Hi, keefak, ça va?” Despite the prevalence of CS, a majority of participants reported that those who code-switch are trying to show off, losing their native culture and Westernized. A majority disagreed with the statements “mixing is reflective of education and prestige” and “mixing is a way to show modernity,” again showing overwhelmingly negative overt attitudes toward the practice (Esseili, 2001). In a study in Jordan, Bader (2013) found that university students viewed CS as harmful to the purity of Arabic speech, national pride and social identity. Despite the common denigration of this form, many scholars propose that CS may offer multilinguals a strategy for bridging the modernity-tradition divide (Bhatt, 2008; Chakrani, 2011; Gill, 1999).

2.3.4 - Community Characterization

The context of this study, The American University in Cairo, represents a unique community that may be characterized in a number of ways. A discourse community is a group of people who engage in common activities, share a set of common goals and perhaps common values and beliefs (Paltridge, 2006). The goals and values of a discourse community may be formally agreed upon or may be tacit. Discourse communities have particular means of communication, with specialized terminology and vocabulary. Expertise in the genres of discourse used in the community is required for someone to be considered a member. Discourse communities may be close-knit or tight-knit. An individual can be a member of more than one discourse community and discourse communities can be subdivided. Discourse communities interact with broader speech communities.

Speech communities refer to groups of people who use the same language, repertoire or varieties of a language and have the opportunity to interact with one another (Paltridge, 2006). Whereas members of a speech community may not have access to all varieties present, members of a discourse community do. Another means of classifying groups of language users is the concept of a community of practice, which was introduced to linguistics from other social science disciplines. A community of practice is characterized by mutual engagement, a jointly negotiated enterprise, and a shared repertoire (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

A number of factors may serve to unite AUC students around a certain set of values and goals. The university primarily attracts the small fraction of Egyptian students who have attended costly international schools with most or all instruction in a foreign language. The prohibitive tuition fees render the university inaccessible to all but the wealthiest of Egyptians, save a few full scholarship students. Prolonged exposure to globalized cultural forces undoubtedly influences students' belief systems, particularly linguistic preferences. The university seeks to differentiate itself from its competitors by marketing a Westernized liberal arts experience, as articulated in its mission statement and exemplified in the core curriculum program, which all undergraduate students undertake. Further, the university is physically separated from the rest of the city. The high security gated campus is situated on the edge of the desert, with most students spending anywhere from one to three hours per day commuting on the university bus system or in their private cars. Lastly, the wide range of clubs, research opportunities, lectures, concerts and even school-sponsored trips ensures that students spend extensive time in university sanctioned pursuits. Within this community, mixing between English and Arabic is prevalent in communication between students. In the classroom, instructors are expected to speak English, though many introduce some Arabic.

2.4 - Research Gap Addressed by Study

Though language attitudes have been explored to some depth in the literature, this study will fill significant research gaps. The little attitudinal research on single codes conducted in Egypt is dated (El-Dash & Tucker, 1975), and recent shifts in language attitudes in the region give reason to believe that attitudes in Egypt have evolved as well. The aforementioned study used only one methodological approach and provided little background information on participants. Further, the few studies of attitudes toward code-switching in the literature are limited in scope and show conflicting attitudes on the part of the speaker.

Since most attitudinal research shows inconsistencies between overt and covert beliefs, this study will use multiple methods to highlight and explore these discrepancies. Further, this study will attempt to carefully characterize the discourse community and contextualize individual attitudes discerned in terms of competing language ideologies in society. Attention will be paid to the effect of colonization and globalization on language attitudes and the role the dominant classes have in controlling language as symbolic capital. Using a variety of methods and contextualizing the community of speakers will afford better understanding of the relationship between prevalent ideologies in society, individual attitudes and linguistic practice than previous studies have provided.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 - Method Description

This mixed methods study considers both qualitative and quantitative data. The study is primarily descriptive in nature, as it aims to give a detailed account of attitudes toward the codes employed in this specific discourse community, using pre-determined status and solidarity dimensions. Although the study does not attempt to determine the reasons for the attitudes expressed, analysis of the social, historical and political context will offer working explanations for the results. Further, follow-up interviews encouraged participants to reflect on their attitudes and allowed them explain their views in greater depth.

3.2 – Sample Characteristics and Recruitment

A convenience sample comprised of the students from the core curriculum courses “Languages of the World” and “Research Methods” at The American University in Cairo (AUC) was selected. These courses draw students from variety of majors who range from freshman to seniors, with most being first year students. The majority attended foreign language high schools and have high English proficiency. Only Egyptian students who spent substantial time in Egypt were considered. All are native speakers of Egyptian Arabic.

3.3 - Instruments and Procedures

3.3.1 - Questionnaire.

A questionnaire in English was administered to obtain biographical data, information on educational background, personal beliefs, perceived characteristics of the AUC community and overtly expressed attitudes toward Fus’ha, ECA, English and CS. Questionnaire items were

piloted. The final instrument included statements regarding codes that were evaluated on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from *strongly agree (1)* to *strongly disagree (4)* and some open-ended items. (See Appendix A)

3.3.2 - Matched-Guise Study.

A sample of natural code-switched speech from a member of the AUC community was recorded, transcribed and modified for the study. The sample was a short narration (approximately twenty seconds) that is neutral in tone and recounts everyday events relevant to the AUC context, though not localized to the AUC campus. The transcript was translated into ECA and English. (See Appendix B) Five members of the AUC community reviewed the sample to confirm that the language sounds authentic. Two speakers, one male and one female, who are fluent in both languages and code-switch in their natural speech were selected. The speakers have Cairene Arabic accents and speak English with a native or near-native American accent. Each speaker was recorded reading the passage in the three language varieties. Participants could potentially realize that multiple guises are presented by the same speaker, since each spoke in English and ECA twice due to the inclusion of CS. To obscure this fact, two other speakers presenting only one guise were included as well, though evaluation of these speakers was not analyzed in the study. Thus, a total of eight total guises were presented.

Participants were instructed to listen to the recordings, imagine the person and evaluate him or her for a number of status and solidarity characteristics using a four-point Likert scale: *not at all (1)* to *very (4)*. A four-point scale was chosen to encourage quick judgments, aligning more closely to deeply held beliefs. The lack of a median or neutral rating was intended to force the participants to make a value judgment. (See Appendix C)

3.3.3 - Follow-Up Interviews.

Seven volunteers were solicited for follow-up interviews that took place in groups of two or three. Questions were designed to collect extended statements of attitudes similar to those elicited in the quantitative study, as well as to ask students to comment on unexpected or inconsistent results from the survey and matched-guise study. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Selected segments from the interviews were selected to enhance the quantitative data presented. (See Appendices E and F)

3.4 - Data Analysis

Quantitative and qualitative data served as the basis for answering the research questions. Quantitative data were analyzed with a combination of descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. Qualitative data were coded and linked to related quantitative data.

Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the quantitative data from the questionnaire, including means (averages) and standard deviations for Likert-style items. Responses to the open-ended items from the questionnaire were classified according to the patterns that arose. For the matched-guise study, descriptive and inferential statistics were employed. Means for the Likert-style items were calculated and T-test analysis was used to confirm statistical differences between the guises for each speaker.

Qualitative data were collected from the semi-structured interviews to enhance the data from the primary study tools. Categories were determined after the data were collected. A peer reviewer from the AUC context was solicited to independently confirm categories. Once categories were finalized, the peer reviewer confirmed classification of utterances.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

4.1 - Description of Participants

The study involved 55 participants, 29 of whom were female and 26 of whom were male (see Table 1, below). This distribution models the demographics of the larger undergraduate community, which in June 2011 was reported to be 46.4% male and 53.6% female.

Table 1

Gender Characteristics of Sample

Gender	Number (N = 55)	Percent
Male	26	47.3%
Female	29	52.7%

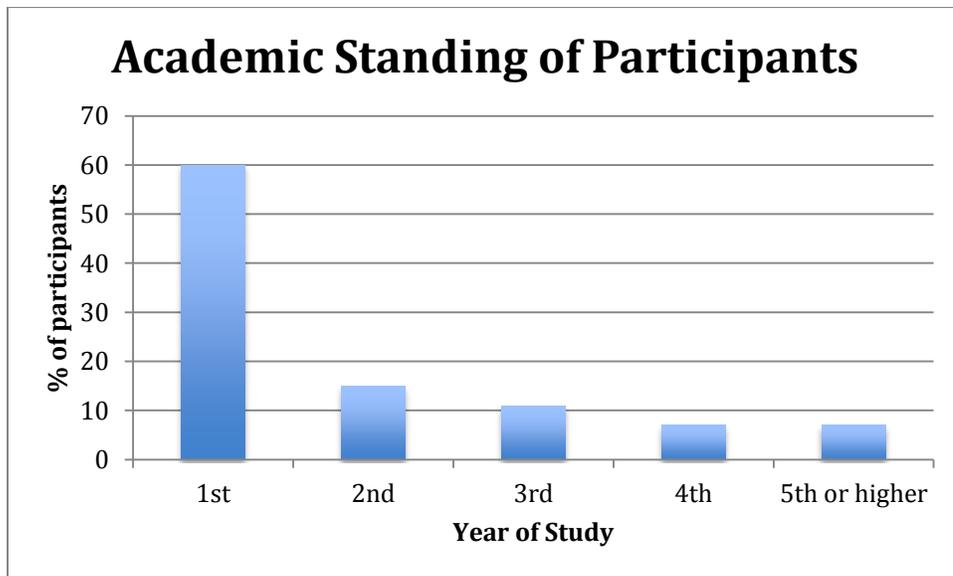


Figure 1: Academic Standing of Participants

Just over half of the participants were first year students, with the remainder distributed almost equally between second, third, fourth and fifth years of study (see Figure 1, above). All participants were Egyptian nationals who spent substantial time living in Egypt. Almost all students graduated from Egyptian foreign language or international high schools, with the exception of a few students who graduated from Arabic language public high schools or schools outside of Egypt. Of the participants, 85% took some or all subjects of the “Thanaweya Amma,” the high school exit examination administered by the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Not sitting for this exam is indicative of a completely international high school curriculum conducted in a foreign language. However, the exam is administered in multiple languages and is not necessarily a gauge of Arabic ability.

A small minority of students (22%) were “very comfortable” writing in Arabic and “not very comfortable” writing in English, indicative of an Arabic language dominant education. The remainder (78%) were “very comfortable” in English with varying degrees of comfort in written Arabic, though most self-reported as “somewhat comfortable” (see Figures 2 and 3, below).



Figure 2: Self-Reported Writing Ability in English

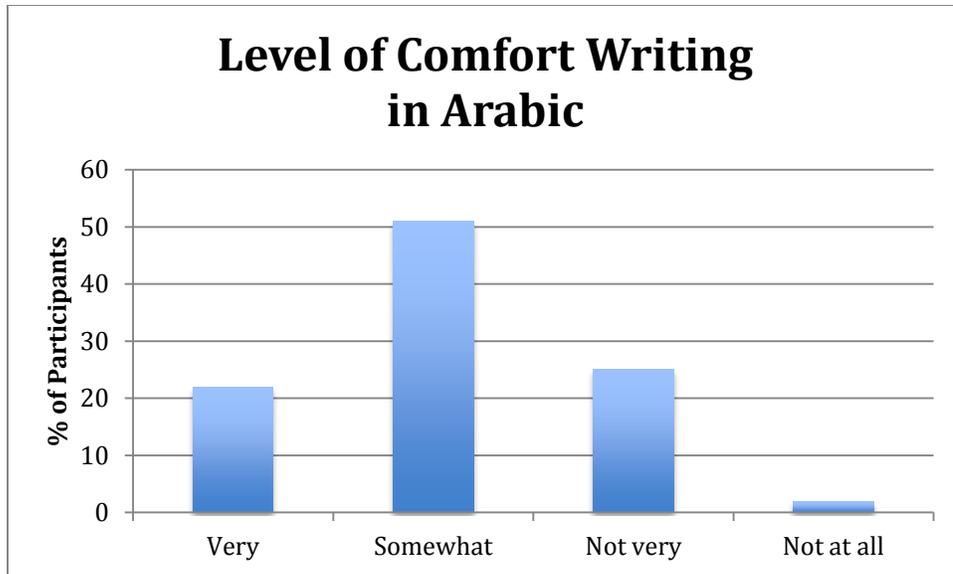


Figure 3: Self-Reported Writing Ability in Arabic

4.2 - The AUC Community

4.2.1 - Time Spent with Other AUCians

Participants indicated that they spend a substantial amount of time with other AUC students (see Figure 4, below). Almost half of participants indicated that they spend between 20-29 hours on campus each week and most others spend 30 or more hours on campus. Considering that most students undergo a lengthy, often shared commute to the desert campus, the time is effectively increased, indicating a large amount of time on campus or in transit to campus. The majority of participants said that “most” of their friends are other AUCians, while most of the remainder indicated that “some” of their friends are other AUCians. Almost half of participants indicated that they spend “all” or “most” of their time off campus with other AUCians. Most others indicated that they spend “some” of their time off campus with other AUCians. Only 5% of participants reported that they spend no time off campus with other members of the university.

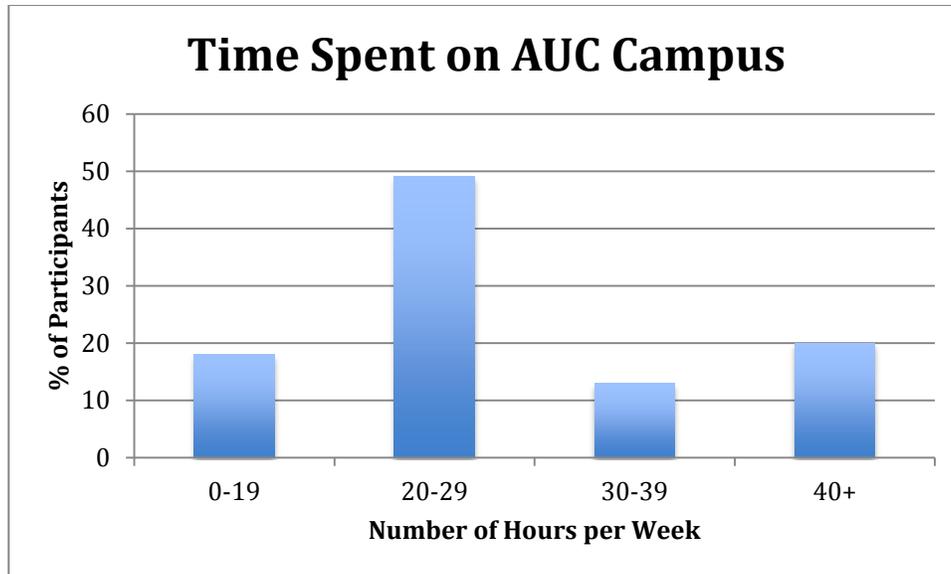


Figure 4: Time Spent on AUC Campus

4.2.2 - Comparing the AUC Context to Other Universities in Egypt

Participants were in strong agreement (78%) that the AUC community has different attitudes and values than other university communities in Egypt. Students identified distinguishing characteristics in the questionnaire (see Table 2, below). Westernized arose as the most common descriptor AUCians ascribed to themselves. The vast majority of the participants in this study (76%) viewed the term Westernized as a neutral term, whereas 20% interpreted it negatively and only 2% interpreted it positively. AUCians’ self-perceptions were dominated by access to an outside (Western) culture and diversity within the community.

In a related questionnaire item, students were asked how non-AUCians viewed AUC students (See Table 3, below). Although some common themes arose, there was a great deal of discrepancy between the two sets of responses. The most common responses for outsiders’ view of AUCians were “spoiled” and “wealthy” or “upper class.”

Table 2

Self-Reported Characteristics that Distinguish the AUC Community

Characteristic	Number of Mentions
Westernized	9
Diverse	8
Unique environment/isolated	6
Open-minded	6
Sense of superiority	5
Better educated	5
Risk-takers	1
Wealthy	1

Table 3

Non-AUCians view of AUCians

Characteristic	Number of mentions
Spoiled	22
Rich/Wealthy/Upper Class	20
Happy/Have taken the easy route	8
Open-minded	5
Arrogant	5
Westernized	4
Isolated	4

Other characteristics that arose one or two times included careless, irresponsible, fake, gullible, lazy, lucky, well-educated, unique, selfish, liberal, secular, rebellious and like to party. In general, AUC students view themselves as being Westernized and diverse, whereas they are marked by Egyptians outside their community by their wealth, class and privilege.

AUC uses the core curriculum program as a conduit for instilling desired values in its students as well as a means to distinguish itself from other Egyptian private universities. The core curriculum program represents an experience common to all AUC students. The vast majority of participants (85%) agreed that it does indeed differentiate AUC from other universities in Egypt. In the survey, students viewed the program as a way to “learn outside your major,” “encourage critical thinking,” “explore new fields” and “get outside of your comfort zone.” An interview participant, Mina, spoke about the core curriculum rhetoric and scientific thinking courses, saying, “You wonder about things, you do self-analysis...and what I’ve noticed here is that when they get a topic about minorities for example, they always put us in the same mind frame as the minorities.” Whereas most students found the core curriculum program to be a stimulating intellectual experience, a small minority did not find the core curriculum program particularly noteworthy or valuable.

4.2.3 - Values Encouraged in the AUC Community

When probed about the values that AUC articulates in its mission statement, such as independent thinking, freedom of expression and diversity of opinion, students were in strong agreement that AUC actively works to instill these values in students (see Table 4, below).

Although many showed great appreciation of these values in interviews, when probed about their

individual beliefs, a significant proportion of students showed different priorities than those emphasized in university rhetoric. This will be explored in greater depth in the next section.

Table 4

Values Encouraged by AUC

Statement	Agreement
AUC encourages independent thinking.	93%
AUC encourages freedom of expression.	80%
AUC encourages diversity of opinion.	80%

When students were asked which values AUC encourages in its students in interviews, freedom of expression was the first value to arise and the one that provoked the most conversation. Ahmed said, “At AUC, you are less afraid to be yourself so there’s less of this whole thing where I have to hide who I am.” Another participant, Mohamed, mentioned that diverse opinions are accepted in the AUC community. He commented, “That’s what I enjoy in this university is that you start respecting everyone. I may disagree with what you are saying, how you look, everything, but I still have to respect how you are.” Ali spoke about freedom of dress: “I used to wear some stuff here [like red pants] that I couldn’t wear outside, because of what people would say or what the community would say.” All interview participants agreed that AUC encouraged freedom of expression and viewed this as an integral and formative part of their university experience.

Another fundamental freedom mentioned in the interviews was open political affiliation and expression. Ali pointed out that expressing dissent toward the ruling regime of the military general Abdel Fatah El Sisi is accepted on AUC campus. He commented, "Until now we are the only university that has riots, just like a small example, the thing that took place yesterday or the day before when some of the Muslim Brotherhood supporters burned the Sisi picture. We have some freedom here that we can't express outside our university."

This event is noteworthy since the majority of members of the AUC community were likely in support of the removal of the Muslim Brotherhood president Morsi from power, yet the minority view is visible on campus. However, this participant shows limited understanding of the political climate at other universities in Egypt, where frequent anti-government demonstrations have high student participation and often end in violent clashes with security forces.

Participants in the survey characterized the AUC community as diverse, a notion which arose again in the follow-up interviews. In the interviews, students characterized the diversity at AUC in terms of social class and nationality. Socioeconomic diversity was mentioned. Ali commented, "Here some people are with full scholarship like Thanaweyya Amma people and some people are average and some people are very high, you know, so we have the three. The majority is average." AUC is one of the few private universities in the country that offers full scholarships to public school students. However, given that annual tuition is more than three times the country's average GDP, it is misleading to characterize the student population as "average" or middle class. Furthermore, the representation of other Arab countries was perceived as a type of diversity. Mounira

observed, “We have people from different countries too...mostly from other Arab countries, like Yemen... From Europe and US it used to be, but now that Egypt is not safe, so, since the revolution, Americans and Europeans don’t come to AUC.”

Participants also mentioned diversity in political opinion, religious affiliation, sexual orientation and lifestyle choices. Doaa said, “I’ve been told that there are certain groups who represent the Muslim Brotherhood... and I also heard that there is a group of atheists.” The presence of an openly atheist community is noteworthy in the Egyptian setting. Ali commented, “We have different political groups, different religions that you won’t see and even we have sexuality, we have homo and heterosexuals which you will never find in any other university in Egypt.” Although students at AUC may be able to express their identity more publically than students at other universities, he perhaps underestimates the diversity present in other settings. Diversity in lifestyle was also mentioned. Mina stated, “If I wanted to do drugs a lot, and so on, I would find so many people who would encourage me. But if I wanted to go to clubs and be a leader, I would also find so many people to encourage me. It’s a very fertile land, anything you put in it, it will flourish right away.”

This participant believed that diversity is encouraged in the AUC setting in a way it might not be in other universities. In general, participants were in agreement that AUC represents a diverse range of positions, associations and mentalities, many of which might not be so openly expressed in other contexts.

4.2.4 - Personal Values of AUC Students

When investigating the degree of concordance of values within the AUC community, it was revealed that students' personal attitudes were not always aligned with the values that they agreed were encouraged at the university. When asked which they personally valued more, social unity or freedom of expression, a majority answered freedom of expression. However, a significant number placed a higher value on social unity (see Figure 5, below), despite the strong agreement that AUC promotes freedom of expression and the universal regard for this value expressed in the focus group interviews. This could indicate discordance between the values deemed appropriate in the AUC community and those valued in larger Egyptian society.

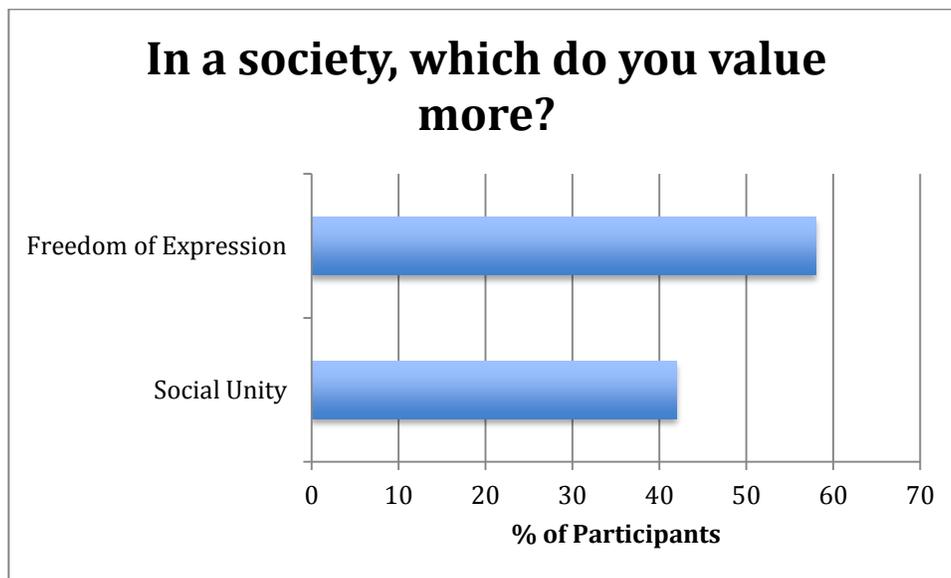


Figure 5: Personal Values of Participants Regarding Collectivism and Individualism

Likewise, when asked which is more important in selecting friends, education or social class, a small majority selected education (see Figure 6, below). Although the students recognized and appreciated the socioeconomic diversity on campus, albeit limited, many still use

social class as the basis for selecting friends. Although the majority of students indicated personal values that align with AUC's mission statement, a significant number diverged. It is possible that the divergence is even higher, given that students may feel that the socially desirable answer to a survey administered in English in the AUC context is the one that aligns with the mission statement, even if their personal behaviors may not actually reflect these values.

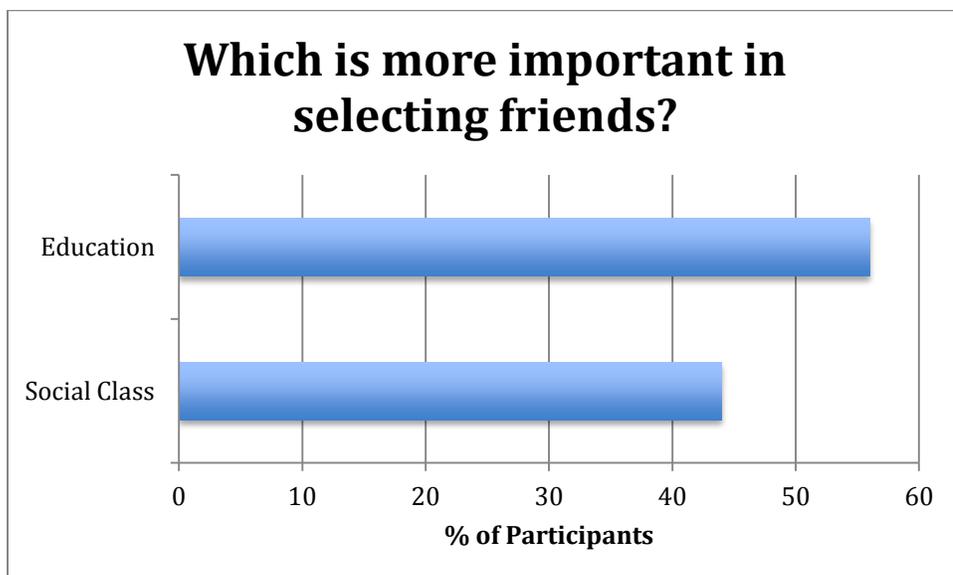


Figure 6: Personal Values of Participants in Friend Selection

4.2.5 - Language Practices at AUC

To an outside observer, code-switching appears to be the predominant in-group language in the AUC community. Very few utterances from undergraduates heard on campus are purely in Arabic or purely in English. When directly questioned about their preferences, most AUCians (65%) stated that they prefer to speak with each other in a mixture of Arabic or English. Very few participants (11%) only speak in Arabic, while a significant number (23%) prefer to speak

only in Arabic or only in English depending on the situation (see Figure 7, below). Given the prevalence of language mixing on the AUC campus, it is somewhat surprising that about a third of students found it preferable to speak a single language.

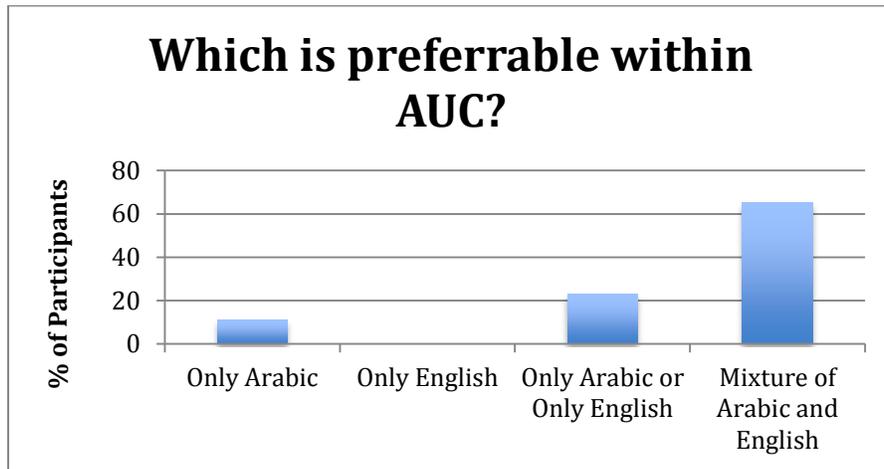


Figure 7: Language Preferences within the AUC Community

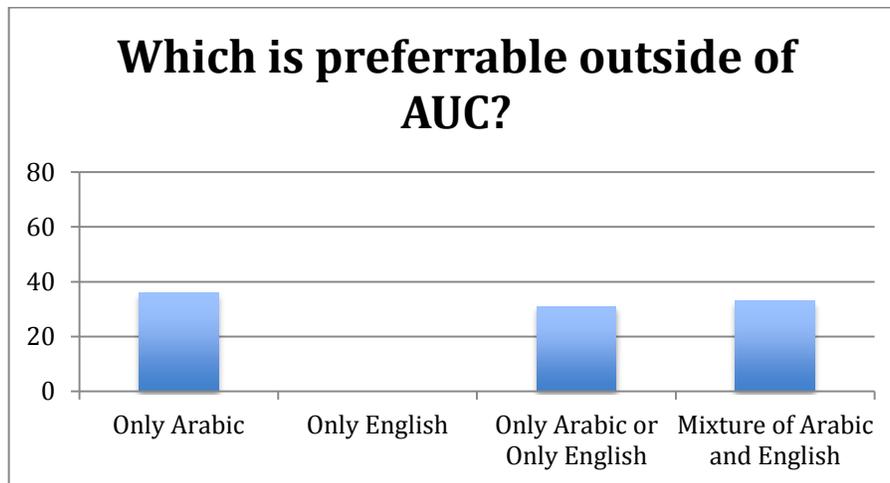


Figure 8: Language Preferences outside of AUC Community

AUCians saw sharp distinctions between the language styles preferred within the AUC context and styles of speaking with other Egyptians. When speaking with people outside the

AUC community, only 33% of participants believed it appropriate to mix English and Arabic. More (36%) believed that only Arabic should be spoken, and a smaller but significant number (31%) believed that only Arabic or only English should be spoken depending on the situation (see Figure 8, above). The majority supported speaking a single language outside of AUC, even if it is English, though there was a stronger preference for mixing within the university community.

4.3 - Overt Language Attitudes

4.3.1 - Overt Language Attitudes Toward Single Varieties

Egyptian Arabic is a native language of all participants in this study and almost all have a working knowledge of Fus'ha. Most have been primarily educated in English, however, and feel more comfortable writing in English than in Arabic. Attitudes about all three single varieties, English, Fus'ha and Egyptian Arabic were elicited in survey questions. Participants ranked statements on a four-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree (1)* to *strongly agree (4)*. Higher mean scores indicate a higher degree of agreement with the statement. The standard deviation is related to the spread of data. A smaller standard deviation indicates a higher degree of agreement amongst participants, whereas a larger standard deviation indicates greater divergence in results.

Regarding status traits, English was ranked quite highly while Fus'ha was ranked lower (see Table 5, below). There was clear agreement (mean = 3.54) that English is necessary for getting a good job in Egypt, with 67% of participants strongly agreeing with this statement. There was general disagreement that Fus'ha is necessary for getting a good job (mean = 1.87), with 54% of participants disagreeing with the statement and 30% of participants strongly

disagreeing with the statement. English was linked to education, with 76% of participants agreeing or strongly agreeing that well-educated Egyptians speak English. Although English was perceived as necessary for economic advancement (mean = 3.54) and a sign of education (mean = 3.00), the slight difference between the two values indicates that some participants believed that Egyptians can be well educated without achieving English proficiency, though this would be to their detriment in the job market. Although Fus'ha was not afforded specific economic status, the majority of participants believed it to be a prestigious language, with 30% agreeing with the statement and 31% strongly agreeing with the statement.

Table 5

Status Traits of Single Varieties

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
Fus'ha is a prestigious language.	2.76	1.00
Knowledge of Fus'ha is necessary for getting a good job in Egypt.	1.87	0.75
Knowledge of English is necessary for getting a good job in Egypt.	3.54	0.74
Well-educated Egyptians speak English.	3.00	0.88

Egyptian Arabic was afforded very high solidarity rankings, with most participants strongly agreeing that access to the variety is necessary for maintaining Egyptian/Arab identity (see Table 6, below). The link between Fus'ha and identity was contested. While 44% of participants agreed and 9% of participants strongly agreed that knowledge of Fus'ha is necessary for maintaining Egyptian/Arab identity, 30% of participants disagreed with the statement and 17% strongly disagreed with the statement. Egyptian Arabic was also viewed as more

expressive than Fus’ha, but the gap was narrower than in the identity items. Negative attitudes toward English arose in one item, with the majority of students agreeing that English is a language of Western imperialism. While participants interpreted the term “Westernized” as neutral, “imperialism” clearly has a negative connotation, indicating spread by force.

Table 6

Solidarity Traits of Single Varieties

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
Egyptian Arabic is necessary for maintaining your Egyptian/Arab identity.	3.25	0.82
Fus’ha is necessary for maintaining your Egyptian/Arab identity.	2.41	0.87
Egyptian Arabic is an expressive language.	3.20	0.70
Fus’ha is an expressive language.	2.78	1.03
English is a language of Western imperialism.	2.72	0.87

Fus’ha was sometimes rated more highly for status traits than solidarity traits (see Table 6, above). Most participants agreed that Fus’ha is “prestigious” (mean = 2.76), whereas agreement that Fus’ha is fundamental to Egyptian/Arab identity was lower (mean = 2.41). The “expressiveness” and “prestige” of Fus’ha were ranked roughly evenly (means = 2.76 and 2.78 respectively). Although Fus’ha was generally ranked lower in prestige than English, the fact that it is not a code used in everyday interactions rendered it low in solidarity ratings as well.

Despite these findings, participants in follow-up interviews ascribed importance to knowledge of Fus’ha as a useful job skill. Mina commented,

I think it's very prestigious, but not within the community that we live in. If you're a journalist or judge or lawyer or anything like that, you need to know how to talk in Fus'ha. Everyone uses it for official government things, that's why it's prestigious.

And I think it's a good skill to acquire.

Doaa echoed the importance. She mentioned, "A friend told me that it's really important to be able to write good Arabic for getting a job." Despite the fact that Fus'ha may be useful in many economic sectors in Egypt, most AUC students will not work in the public sector and will likely work in an international workplace where English is the primary mode of written communication.

In terms of solidarity, some participants identified Fus'ha as their "native" language, despite the fact that it is a taught language that the majority of them have not mastered. Ali distinguished Fus'ha, his "native" language, from Egyptian Arabic, which he considered to be "slang." He stated,

Of course [Fus'ha is] important, but the problem is that we as Egyptians don't view it as important. Fus'ha is the opposite of slang, and whenever slang is growing in a society, you know that the society has declined. Whenever the Fus'ha rises in a society, the society is on the rise. Now we are speaking slang, and this shows what we are in right now.

According to this participant, the reduced use of Fus'ha is related to economic and cultural decline.

Another student also emphasized the link between Fus'ha and cultural heritage. Abdullah commented, "Fus'ha is our heritage, it is our culture. We are a nomadic people, we don't set down roots or build edifices. All we have to hold us together is our language.

If we lose it, we lose our culture.” Mina linked Fus’ha to Pan-Arabism, talking about the success of a Fus’ha language poet on the regional television program “Arabs Got Talent.” He stated, “There was a poet who wrote in Fus’ha and he won like Arabs Got Talent... He was talking in Fus’ha and everyone was respecting him and loving him and like wow.” The link between Fus’ha and religion did not arise in any focus group interview.

Participants recounted personal anecdotes about their experiences with Fus’ha. Some indicted that uttering words in Fus’ha can be grounds for teasing or that the formality of Fus’ha can be used for comical purposes. Mohamed stated, “You will rarely find someone talking in Fus’ha and when somebody says a word in Fus’ha we usually make fun out of him.” Mounira echoed the same sentiment, stating, “I used to speak it as a running joke between our friends, like I would make up words in it to be funny and so I don’t think, I’ve never for thirteen years now ... heard anyone speak it.”

Many participants expressed regret for their limited capacity in the language. Ahmed commented,

I say words, not sentences, I can’t have a conversation in Fus’ha. Some of the words I say, the letters just sound really bad, I feel like I’m committing an offense to the language, so I just think that I will stay back and not try to speak Fus’ha.

Mohamed expressed regret that he is not stronger in Fus’ha, stating, “You will find that people nowadays learn English and cannot write Arabic. I could not write Arabic, I’m not a good Arabic writer. From my perspective, I’m disappointed from myself that I reached this point, but what could I do?” Overall, participants saw Fus’ha as reasonably important in terms of both status and solidarity.

4.3.2 - Overt Language Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

In the survey, participants were asked about reasons they code-switch (see Table 7, below). Participants agreed most strongly with statements indicating that CS is natural (mean = 3.24) and a result of their educational background (mean = 3.14). A very large majority (84%) either agreed or strongly agreed that CS is simply a natural form of communication.

Paradoxically, there was also strong agreement for statements indicating that CS is an active social strategy, like fitting into a social group (mean = 2.84) or showing off (mean = 2.63).

Although the agreement was lower than for other statements, the majority of participants (59%) still either agreed or strongly agreed that AUCians code-switch to show off. These data show ambivalent views toward CS, with participants believing that it is both natural and an active social strategy. Participants showed moderate agreement with the statement that CS shows a lack of knowledge of Arabic equivalents for certain terms (mean = 2.63), but there was less agreement with the idea that there are no exact Arabic equivalents (mean = 2.44).

Table 7

Reasons for Code-Switching

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
Because it is natural	3.24	0.69
Because of educational background	3.15	0.78
To fit into a social group	2.84	0.74
To show off	2.63	0.85
No knowledge of Arabic equivalent	2.71	0.79
Because there is no Arabic equivalent	2.44	0.94

In interviews, participants generally felt that their code-switching was unconscious. Ahmed mentioned that it was simply something that he had “acquired” due to his exposure to both languages. He stated, “I do it unconsciously because the mixture is kind of stuck in my head, so I usually just spew out words.” Doaa expressed her feeling that the two languages are naturally complementary, commenting, “Arabic is a very expressive language so when you speak it, and at the same time there are English terms in the middle, so I think like for me, when I speak to my friends, they go hand in hand.”

Code-switching was considered an informal code to the participants. Ahmed stated, “You kind of lose the formality from the conversation if you mix languages unless there is a word that has no equivalent in the other language, otherwise if you mix it just sounds really weird.” Abdullah thought that CS indicated causal, spontaneous speech. He observed, “If I’m mixing up languages, you are going to think this guy is not so serious, is not so formal, whatever.” This could be related to the fact that speaking only English is encouraged by the university in status-stressing environments like the classroom.

When prompted to find benefits of CS, some participants mentioned that it facilitates communication. Abdullah stated, “Sometimes we find it easier to express one idea in one language and another idea in another language.” He said that that CS makes communication more “concise,” since it offers the speaker the opportunity to pick the variety that offers the shortest or most direct route to expressing the desired concept. He believed that exact equivalents do not exist, commenting “There are certain concepts that exist in one language that don’t exist in the other language. That same idea doesn't come across as well in another language.”

Despite the fact that most interview participants felt that they were mostly unaware of switching languages, each interview group mentioned that language mixing was also a way to show off. Mounira mentioned, “A lot of it is for showing off and for making people understand that they are educated and different.” Ali recounted the example of a Saudi friend who felt the need to defend her switching into English. He stated,

I have a friend that came from Saudi, she is here in the AUC and she speaks English all the time. But she’s always telling me that she’s not doing this in order to show off. That’s her, that’s the way they live in Saudi. But that shows that most of the people that speak here English or any other language, it’s for showing off.

The participant implied that whereas code-switching is natural for the Saudi speaker, it is forced by many Egyptian speakers.

Mohamed related showing off to being “inauthentic,” saying, “The problem comes when you are trying to force something that is... not in you. You are trying to look good, you are trying to speak English because you are in AUC.” Mina echoed the same sentiment, stating,

You know, sometimes, sometimes we need to just put one or two words, just to give an idea. It’s like bee’a [vulgar] you know? Some people do it, they want to talk in English so they can show off or show the other person that they speak English very well.

Interview participants seemed to hold contradictory views of CS, viewing it as simultaneously natural and affected.

Participants were also asked in the questionnaire about specific attitudes toward code-switching (see Table 8, below). CS was viewed as a threat to Egyptian/Arab identity and to the

Arabic language (mean = 2.75). A majority of students (66%) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that CS weakens Egyptian/Arab traditions. A slightly smaller majority (57%) agreed that CS compromises the Arabic language. Despite the fact that many advantages of CS like facility and concision arose in interviews, a majority of participants (54%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that CS enhanced communication, again showing conflicting attitudes toward the practice.

Table 8

Attitudes Toward Code-Switching

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
CS weakens Egyptian/Arab traditions	2.75	0.95
CS compromises the Arabic language	2.65	0.80
CS is widely accepted	2.81	0.72
CS leads to enhanced communication	2.55	0.78

Although students mentioned many advantages to CS in the interviews when prompted, they also identified many perceived disadvantages of mixing. One of the issues that arose in interviews regarding CS was the potential problem that could result when speaking with a monolingual interlocutor. Doaa stated,

It might make a problem like when you are abroad and you talk to people from different languages, the universal language is basically English, but I know that lots of Arabs put like 'tab' and 'yaani' and all these words that have no meaning in English, so they could serve as a problem.

Ahmed viewed switching as “problematic,” stating, “If I was to face someone whose native tongue is Arabic or native tongue is English, I will always accidentally mix a word in between and that can mess up the whole balance of the conversation.” CS was mentioned as being a “handicap” and being “unprofessional.”

CS was also viewed as a threat to Arabic language proficiency and Arab cultural heritage. Ali stated,

When I integrate the languages, my language will decline. That’s what’s happening. Everything about the Arabian countries used to be really good, now because of us, because of this generation, the trend that’s going among us, it’s declining. So I think we should speak only Arabic.”

On the other hand, Mounira stated, “[here at AUC] it is preferable to mix languages because we don’t want to throw away our native language.” She viewed mixing as a way to retain ties to Arabic but address academic matters in English, as well as to facilitate communication between people with varying abilities in the two languages.

Interestingly, interview participants seemed to search for precedents for CS in other contexts. Doaa mentioned that CS is prevalent in other societies, stating, “For example, like in Canada in Montreal, you have French and you have English, so they mix them both.”

However, Ali believed that CS was characteristic of a developing country:

There is no modern country that, even the top seven countries in the world, within their country they speak don’t speak the native language...If I go to the US, Germany, France, everything, it’s my duty to learn their language, they don’t speak Arabic to me.”

He explained further that the prevalence of English in Egypt and the tendency to mix English into Arabic is a sign of the weakness of the country.

4.4 - Covert Language Attitudes

4.4.1 - Introduction

The matched-guise study examined covert attitudes toward the three spoken varieties present in the AUC community: Egyptian Arabic, English and CS. Data are grouped into status traits (intelligent, wealthy, educated, modern) and solidarity traits (friendly, open-minded, trustworthy). Participants ranked the speakers on a four-point Likert scale with the categories *not at all (1)*, *somewhat (2)*, *fairly (3)* and *very (4)*. Overall averages are given for the status and solidarity clusters as well as individual traits. For full T-test results see Appendix D.

4.4.2 - Status Traits

Figure 9 (below) represents the average ratings for all status traits (intelligent, wealthy, educated, modern) in the three language varieties for the male and female speakers. For both speakers, Arabic was ranked the lowest overall in terms of status. For the male, English and CS were ranked equally high. For the female, however, a slightly higher status was ascribed to English than to CS, though the difference was not statistically significant.

Analyzing the status traits individually reveals further interesting findings. For intelligence, the Arabic guises were ranked the lowest and the English the highest for both male and female speakers (see Figure 10, below). CS was ranked in the middle, though differences between CS and English were not statistically significant. In follow-up interviews, participants associated the mixed variety with an inability to distinguish languages. Ahmed stated, “I think

she sounds less intelligent because she doesn't know how to differentiate between the two languages." With further probing, several interview participants indicated that they perceive a lack of differentiation of languages as diminished cognitive ability.

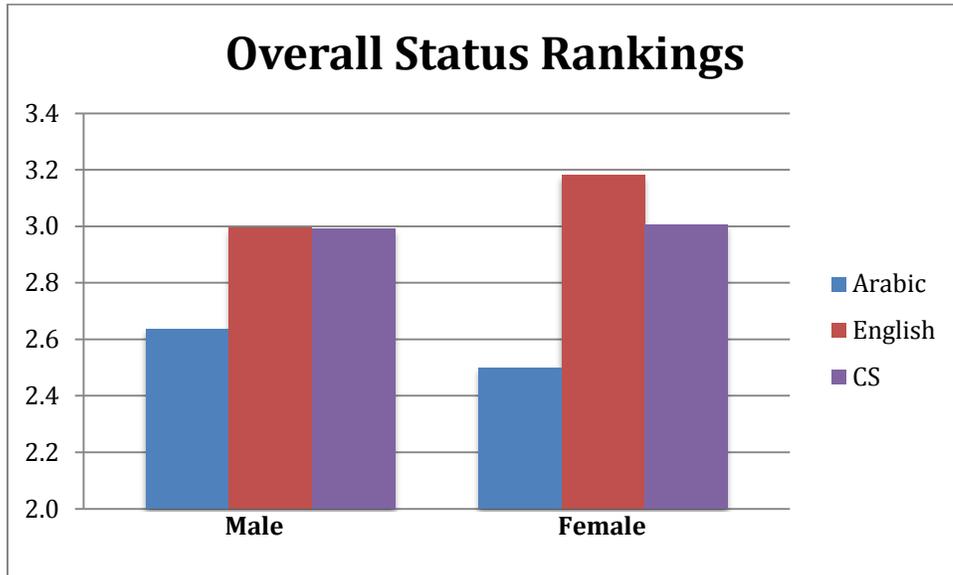


Figure 9: Overall Status Rankings

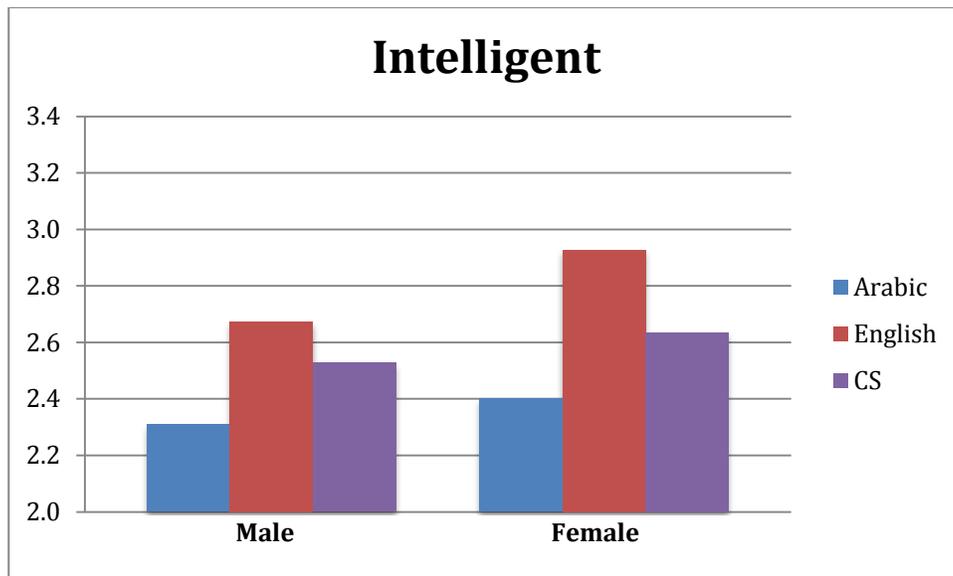


Figure 10: Intelligence Rankings

For wealth, slightly different results were seen for the male and the female (see Figure 11, below). Again, Arabic was ranked the lowest, but for the male, CS was ranked slightly higher than English, whereas for the female, English was ranked slightly higher than CS. This is one of several instances where CS is ranked more highly for the male speaker than the female speaker. Though the differences between English and CS in this study were not statistically significant, this could be a potential point of further exploration.

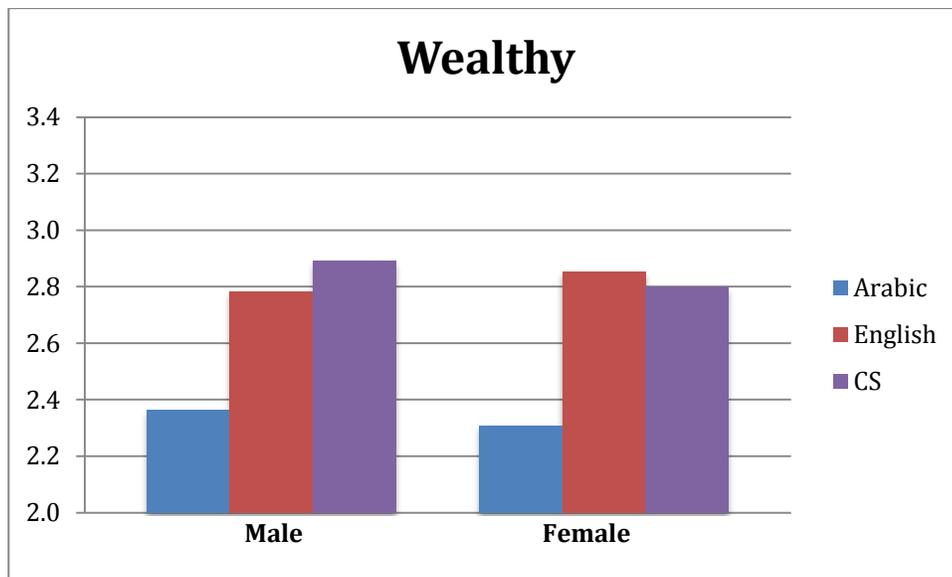


Figure 11: Wealth Rankings

For education, the same general results were seen for the male and the female (See Figure 12, below). Arabic was ranked the lowest, English the highest and CS in the middle. Ali felt that CS is inauthentic and is a sign of a lack of education. He stated,

You are fake, so if someone is fake with you they are just trying to show off.

Educated people don't try to show off. Only uneducated people are the ones who try to show off. So as for me, the people who spoke only Arabic and only English were

highly educated. The one in the middle [who code-switches] was just fake and trying to show off so he is uneducated for me.

Stronger attitudes arose for the female, with the differentials between the guises being more pronounced than for the male.

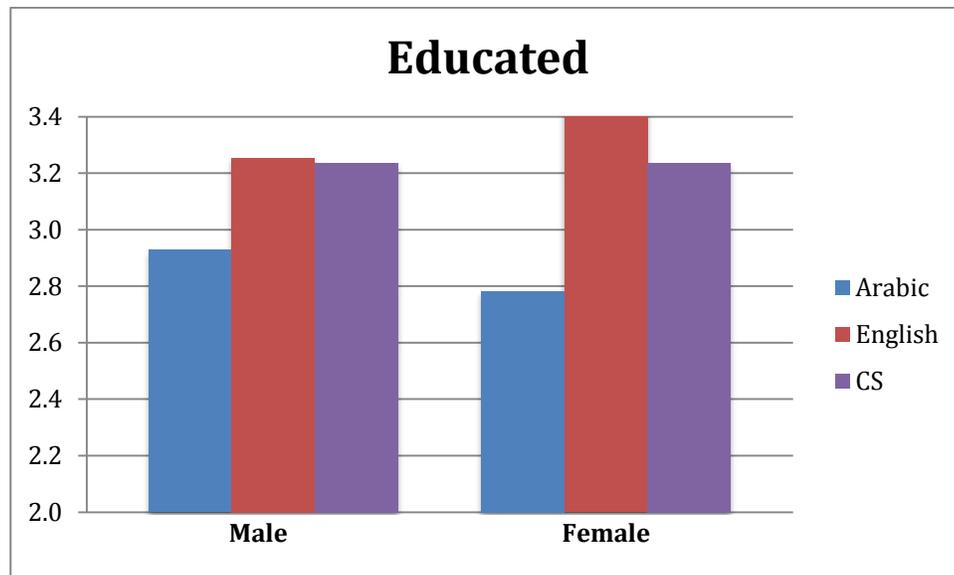


Figure 12: Education Rankings

For modernity, Arabic was ranked the lowest for both speakers (see Figure 13, below). CS was ranked highest for the male and English was ranked highest for the female, though the differentials were small. This is a further example of a tentative preference for CS for males in terms of status traits (as seen with wealth), though the difference was not statistically significant. The female ranked particularly low for modernity in her Arabic guise, suggesting that women are viewed as traditional and conservative when they speak this variety. Although comparisons across speakers are not strictly valid, the significant differences between the male and female speaker rankings for the Arabic guise suggest covert prestige for Arabic for males.

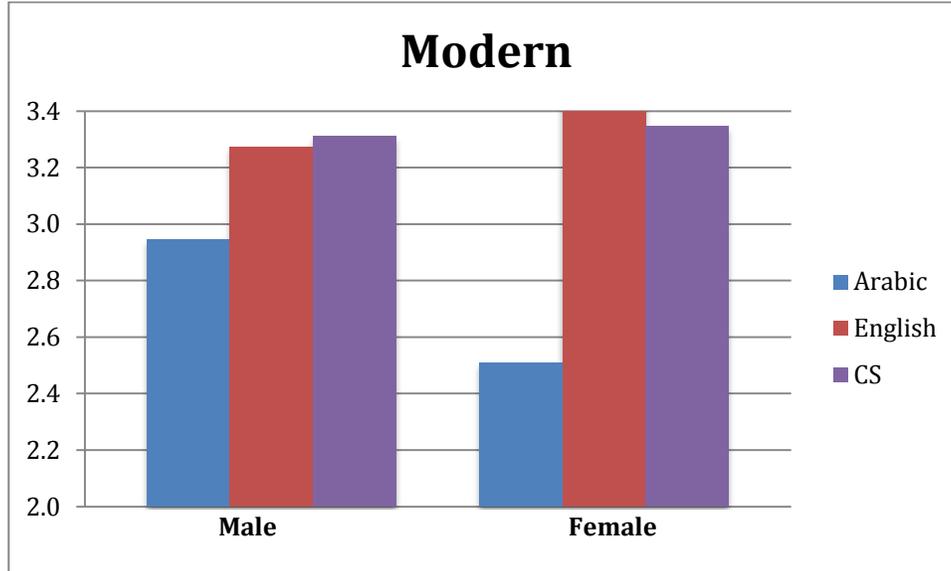


Figure 13: Modernity Rankings

4.4.3 - Solidarity Traits

The solidarity traits examined in this study include friendliness, open-mindedness and trustworthiness. On average, less distinction between the guises was seen for the solidarity traits than for status traits, indicating that all of the varieties are potentially appropriate as in-group languages (see Figure 14, below). The average solidarity rankings are the same for the male and female speaker, with Arabic ranked the lowest and English ranked highest, though no difference is statistically significant. Breaking the category into individual characteristics, however, reveals differences based on variety and gender.

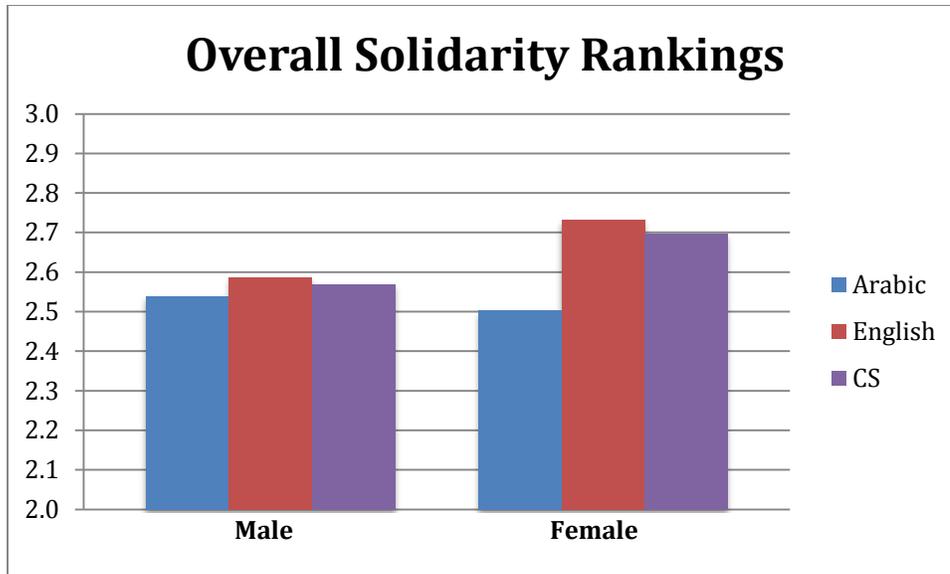


Figure 14: Overall Solidarity Rankings

For the male speaker, there was a strong belief that speaking Arabic signified friendliness, indicating that this variety carries considerable covert prestige in terms of solidarity for males (see Figure 15, below). Ahmed explained the preference for Arabic for males by employing a cultural archetype:

Take cab drivers for example, they speak Arabic, they are friendly, open and excited with their language, then you think of an Arabic woman speaker, you think of an Arabic teacher, that's the idea I get. And Arabic teachers were always very strict, making you concentrate, don't put your pens down, so it puts this concept of authority to me so it's not very friendly. So you have the Arabic teacher concept versus the cab driver concept, the cool guy or whatever.

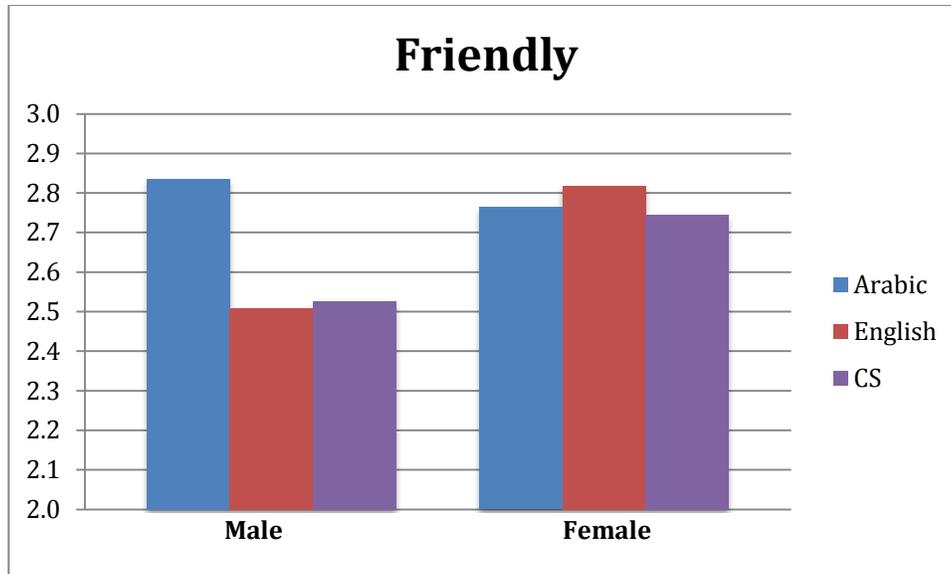


Figure 15: Friendliness Rankings

Other participants also linked Arabic with masculinity and English with femininity.

Ali said,

We have the trend that when men speak Arabic, they are manly and stuff like that.

But when they mix it with English, they sound, excuse my expression 'gay,' that's how they sound. I'm sorry, but that's how we see it. But when a woman, when she speaks in English, we find her cute and Westernized.

Another echoed that men take pride in speaking Arabic whereas women have the tendency to code-switch. Mounira stated,

Men here talk Arabic more and they are proud of talking it, and women, like almost all girls here mix, that's a fact, almost all of them. Very few people stick to just English or just Arabic and we think of it as a good thing. That's what we are used to dealing with so it seems more friendly. Men, we are used to them just speaking

Arabic and that's a good thing. It's more manly and more friendly than people who mix.

Again, Arabic was indexed as masculine, whereas code-switching was indexed as feminine.

For the characteristic of open-mindedness, results were the same for the male speaker and the female speaker (see Figure 16, below). Arabic was ranked as the least open-minded and CS as the most, with CS having a slight though not statistically significant advantage over English. Interview participants were in agreement that employing two varieties implies an ability to access two cultural reference frames. Mounira stated, "You can't really learn the language without adopting part of the culture as well." Ali reinforced this view, stating, "You fuse two cultures and you created your own."

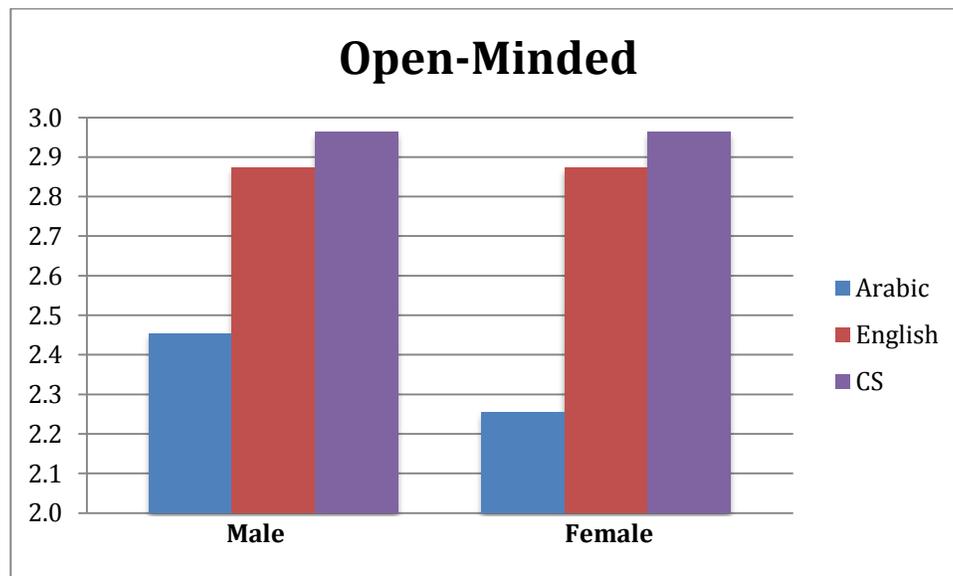


Figure 16: Open-Mindedness Rankings

Although cross-speaker comparisons are not strictly statistically valid, there was a slight advantage in terms of open-mindedness for the Arabic guise for men. Doaa reinforced this view:

[People who code-switch] are exposed to two different cultures, so two different ways of thinking. So naturally they are more open-minded, their way of thinking is different. If you speak one language all the time, you are prone to think in one way, in the way that certain culture thinks. The girl especially, if she speaks Arabic, it's like she's not outgoing, she's not open-minded. I mean I don't believe this, but I'm telling you why people would have said that.

Again, Arabic was indexed as being overly traditional for women.

One of the most interesting findings of the study is that CS was viewed as the most untrustworthy variety for both the male speaker and the female speaker, though the differences were not quite statistically significant (see Figure 17, below). However, participants elaborated on this perception in follow-up interviews. Ahmed explained the tentative finding:

Mixing languages, I don't know, it's kind of sneaky. I'll tell you why I think it's sneaky, it's because you are not clarifying the lines. So you speak to me in this language to get your point across somehow, but you got your point across, so you've got yourself covered. Then you bring it back from another way from the other language point of view. So when I hear it, I don't fully understand what you're saying, so there's always like a sense of blurred lines in the whole conversation. Trustworthiness is kind of lost in that because you get confused.

Mina took a slightly different view, linking CS to a lack of speaker confidence. He stated,

I think that if you speak only in English, or only in Arabic, it gives an impression of self-confidence. So people think they should have more confidence in you because you have more confidence in yourself. They say that if you stutter while talking it shows a lack of self-confidence or a lack of knowing the language.... I'm comparing stuttering to mixing languages. I think that you are more prone to trust self-confident people. If you go in straight Arabic or English, that means you are very confident about what you are saying." Again, participants felt that CS indicates a lack of focus on what you are saying, which relates to a perceived lack of confidence in the speaker and a resulting lack of credibility.

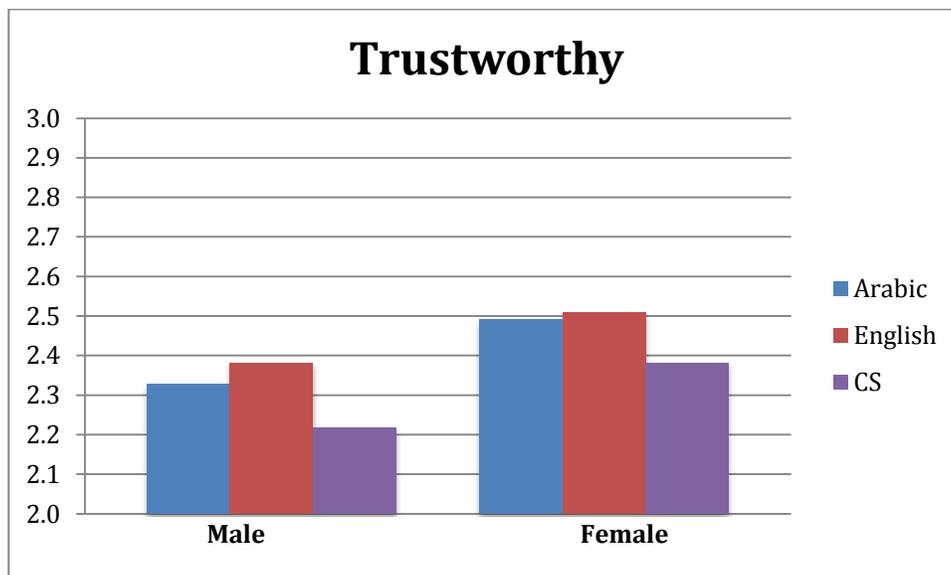


Figure 17: Trustworthiness Rankings

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 - Introduction

The detailed description of the discourse community and the use of multiple methods of data collection distinguish this study from previous research on language attitudes in the Middle East and North Africa. Few studies have integrated direct and indirect methods of data collection. Many neglect to consider all varieties present in the discourse community, focusing either on single codes or on code-switching. Most importantly, few studies offer detailed contextual information about the community studied, which is necessary for insightful discussion of results. This chapter will characterize the AUC discourse community and discuss the individual language attitudes discerned from the study, linking beliefs to language ideologies present in the greater speech community and comparing the results to other studies in the region where possible.

5.2 - The AUC Discourse Community

AUC students represent a fairly close-knit discourse community. Students spend substantial time together on the isolated campus and many of their off campus interactions are with other AUCians. The liberal arts curriculum at AUC ensures that students engage in a number of shared experiences, such as the core curriculum program, unlike other universities where students may have a tendency to be isolated in their academic departments.

AUC students perceive themselves as distinct, even from students at other private universities. They characterize themselves primarily as “Westernized,” a term that they view as neutral. Further, they view their university community as more diverse than other university communities in Egypt, in terms of socioeconomic background, religious beliefs, sexual

orientation and lifestyles represented in the student body. However, they believe to be overwhelmingly identified by Egyptians outside the AUC community by their wealth and privilege. Despite the insistence of participants that AUC has socioeconomic diversity in the student body, the number of full scholarship students is relatively low and the tuition costs ensure that the vast majority of the student body is from the economically dominant classes.

Participants in the study clearly felt that AUC supports key values such as freedom of expression, encouragement of diversity and critical thinking. In particular, they felt that freedom of expression is one aspect that distinguishes AUC from other Egyptian university settings. However, when probed about their individual value systems, many showed preferences for traditional Egyptian values like social cohesion and the importance of class in selecting friends. This discrepancy between the socially sanctioned attitudes in the university setting and internal beliefs practiced in other contexts indicates that competing value systems are at play in this community and likely within individuals as well.

Regarding language varieties spoken in the community, members converge in terms of their English language proficiency but diverge in terms of access to formal Arabic, with a significant number having limited proficiency in the written register, as mentioned in previous studies in Egypt (e.g. Haeri, 2003). Although the majority of participants believe that a mixture of English and Egyptian Arabic is preferable when speaking with AUC students, a significant number felt that using one or the other was more appropriate and were opposed to mixing. Participants felt that mixing was even less appropriate outside of the AUC community and that single languages, even a foreign language such as English, were preferable. Participants marked the AUC community as having greater acceptance of code-switching than other groups, thus

members must negotiate different language values when they are outside of the university setting.

5.3 - Attitudes toward Single Varieties

This study quantitatively substantiated the claim by Haeri (1997, 2003) that the economically dominant classes often do not have Fus'ha in their linguistic repertoire. It should be noted, however, that AUC may represent an extreme case, since the cost and Westernized ideology of the university may result in an extremely high concentration of students who attended schools that did not include significant Arabic language education. Participants generally agreed with Haeri's assertion that Fus'ha is not necessary for economic advancement, though some mentioned that it is a useful, though perhaps not critical, job skill.

Haeri (1997) seemed to suggest that the dominant classes take pride in their lack of access to Fus'ha as a sign of their modernity. However, participants in this study indicated great regret regarding their lack of proficiency in Fus'ha, deeming it important to maintaining cultural traditions and to some extent fundamental to identity. It was also recognized for its importance in Pan-Arab unity. Some went so far as to call Fus'ha their "native language," despite their limited proficiency. This may be related to the ideology of standardization, since the colloquial is deemed by some to be an ungrammatical variant of Fus'ha.

Egyptian Arabic was ranked negatively in terms of status and rankings were mixed in terms of solidarity. In terms of overt attitudes, the colloquial variety was viewed as central to identity and to maintaining Egyptian/Arab cultural traditions. However, in the matched guise study which tests covert attitudes, Egyptian Arabic ranked similarly to English and code-switching, except for the female, for whom it was ranked lower. Although Egyptian Arabic was

viewed as fundamental to Egyptian and Arab identity, in terms of solidarity within the AUC community, all codes were accepted almost equally.

Egyptian Arabic was indexed as unfriendly and overly traditional for females, in contrast with other studies in the region that have found that the colloquial dialect and MSA are viewed favorably for females (e.g. Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). As seen in previous studies (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Trudgill, 1972), covert prestige was ascribed to the colloquial variety for males. This was particularly prevalent in this study for the characteristic of friendliness. However, Egyptian Arabic ranked low in open-mindedness for both genders, adversely affecting the overall solidarity ranking. Though matched-guise studies in Morocco and Tunisia have shown positive evaluation of the colloquial dialect in terms of status (Chakrani, 2011; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000), such results were not found in this study.

For English, overt and covert attitudes aligned. In terms of status, English was viewed as critical to economic success and a marker of education. In terms of solidarity, English was on average statistically similar to Egyptian Arabic or code-switching, indicating great flexibility in in-group language use in the AUC community. English did not show signs of being “gendered,” or indexed as feminine, as French has in the Maghreb (e.g. Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). Despite the acceptance of English as an in-group language, it was also viewed as a “language of Western imperialism.” Though it was established that the term “Westernized” is a neutral term in this community, the term “imperialism” is presumably negative, as it implies forced implementation.

5.4 - Attitudes Toward Code-switching

Much previous research has found predominately negative assessments of code-switching. Often, researchers use extreme language to characterize the practice, asking

participants if those who code-switch sound “mixed up,” “still colonized,” or “disloyal” (e.g. Bentahila, 1983; Ennaji, 2005; Esseili, 2011). In this study, it was found that the statements that garnered the greatest amount of agreement were those that were more neutral in tone, such as code-switching is “a natural form of communication,” “widely accepted” and “a result of educational background.” Participants felt that code-switching is natural and automatic.

Despite the preference for neutral assessments of the variety, attitudes toward code-switching proved to be ambivalent and contradictory. Although participants believed code-switching to be natural, they also agreed that code-switching is often used to “show off,” or project power, as has been found in many other studies (e.g. Bentahila, 1983; Esseili, 2011). Participants showed strong overt agreement that code-switching is a result of educational background, though in the matched-guise study, code-switching was not rated particularly high for “educated.” Although code-switching may be the result of educational experiences, some participants indicated that an educated individual (educated in the sense of polite or cultured) would not need to “show off” knowledge of two languages.

In the survey, the majority of participants disagreed with the notion that code-switching enhances communication. However, when probed more deeply in follow-up interviews, they identified many advantages to the variety including facilitating speech, since the speaker can choose the variety in which they can express an idea more easily and concisely. Many expressed the fear, however, that they will not be able to separate varieties when speaking with a monolingual interlocutor and felt that code-switching was unprofessional, a belief surely reinforced by AUC’s English only policy in the classroom.

In the matched-guise study, code-switching was rated highly for open-mindedness. Participants explained this in terms of the cultural nature of language, believing that access to

two languages indicates access to two cultural paradigms. However, it was ranked lowly for trustworthiness. Participants believed that code-switching indicates a lack of attention to speech, a lack of confidence and the shifting of cultural paradigms within a single utterance, resulting in devaluation of the speaker's message.

Although conflicting attitudes toward code-switching arose, in general it was ranked similarly to Egyptian Arabic and English in terms of solidarity. Further, the variety was ascribed prestige, ranked similarly to English and higher than Arabic in terms of status. Although studies outside the region have established that code-switching may have some prestige (e.g. Gibbons, 1983), most matched-guise studies in the region (e.g. Bentahila, 1983, Lawson & Sachdev, 2001) show code-switching to be ranked very low in terms of both status and solidarity. The relatively positive evaluation of code-switching in this study is a significant finding.

AUCians found code-switching to be an appropriate way to access two cultures. As globalization creates tension between local and international systems, mixing languages is a means for drawing upon the Western languages favored in global commerce and popular culture while retaining ties to one's own heritage. While the two languages can be perceived as complementary, the expansion of English into domains that used to be negotiated in Arabic is perceived as a threat to the Arabic language and Egyptian/Arab culture.

Another issue that arose was the ideology of authenticity. Participants seemed to believe that code-switching, while natural, was inauthentic. Arabic (and perhaps English in some cases) is appropriate in the domain of family and friends, whereas English is appropriate in the academic setting. Thus, the interlocutors and context dictate the appropriateness of a particular code. Code-switching therefore represents a mixing of functional domains. Another interpretation could be that mixing indexes associations that can be interpreted as contradictory

(modern versus traditional, masculine versus feminine), leaving the interlocutor unsure of the speaker's stance.

5.5 - Implications

This study provides a paradigm for detailed investigation of the language attitudes of a discourse community, in contrast with other studies that have provided little information on the community and have used limited data collection methods. Carefully positioning the discourse community in terms of the larger speech community allows for more meaningful analysis and deeper social insight.

The relatively positive assessment of code-switching in both terms of status and solidarity is a significant addition to existing attitudinal research, which has generally shown more negative views towards the variety. Further, the presentation and discussion of multiple indexes for the varieties examined in the study as well as the detailed discussion of ambivalent views toward code-switching can inform other studies on the topic.

This study has shown that the economically dominant classes in Egypt are indeed distancing themselves from Fus'ha as a language of status and solidarity, though ties to the language remain. The adoption of code-switching by these communities serves as a means of negotiating local and global identities and creates an in-group language that encourages social reproduction of inequality, since full access to this variety is limited to Egyptians exposed to particularly privileged environments.

5.6 - Limitations

Several limitations regarding the sample, questionnaire items and study methodology must be mentioned. The majority of participants were first year students, whereas the ideal sample would have been comprised of a representative distribution of academic year groups or even a sample of older students more deeply rooted in the AUC context. Upon review, two questionnaire items stood out as ambiguous. First, students evaluated the “prestige” of Fus’ha, though this term could have been interpreted in any number of ways, not all of which would correlate to status. Second, asking whether Fus’ha and ECA are necessary for maintaining Egyptian/Arab cultural traditions may have been vague. Egyptians often see themselves as distinct from the rest of the Arab world, and identify themselves as Egyptian more readily than Arab. If maintaining Arab heritage was interpreted through the lens of Pan-Arabism, this would have given an artificially high response for Fus’ha, as this is the unifying language in the region. If the question were clearly localized to the Egyptian context, responses may have been different.

Regarding the matched-guise study, a very short sample of speech was presented due to time constraints for survey administration. On one hand, this quick judgment could reduce social desirability bias since participants have less time to reflect on their answers. However, most studies use much longer speech samples, which may result in more valid results. Further, the differences between guises were often not statistically significant. A larger number of participants may have resulted in statistically significant differences for more characteristics. Some respondents recognized that the same speaker was presenting different guises. Having the flexibility to conduct a longer survey in which guises from the

same speaker could be obscured by introducing more intervening speakers might result in greater variation in responses.

5.7 - Directions for Further Research

Several tentative findings regarding gender differences and code-switching could be explored further. Participants expressed a belief that women code-switch more than men, a claim that could be tested. Despite this perception, very slight preferences for code-switching for men emerged for status characteristics in this study. A larger sample, more questionnaire items and inclusion of more status characteristics in the matched-guise study may allow for deeper investigation of this finding. Further, with a larger sample, responses could be analyzed in terms of gender of the respondent. Though this analysis could be conducted on the collected data from this study, dividing the already small sample by gender would result in conclusions that lack statistical significance.

Other independent variables that could be investigated would be Arabic proficiency and social class. The AUC community may well be unique in the variability of proficiency in formal Arabic. Other communities that have high proficiency in English and Arabic exist in other university settings, such as the English language faculties at Cairo University, and would likely show different results. Alternatively, the study could control for Arabic proficiency within the AUC campus, comparing samples of students with low and high Arabic proficiency. Arabic proficiency would likely be related to social class, another variable whose exploration would render useful results.

A natural extension of this study would be to investigate how intraspeaker variation is employed in identity construction. This study determined general attitudes in the

discourse community as well as indexes of the linguistic varieties employed. Further research could investigate the ways in which a single speaker employs varieties to negotiate local/global culture, modernity/tradition and masculinity/femininity in a variety of interactions. Investigating identity construction and positioning in political discourse could be particularly revealing in Egypt's constantly shifting political climate.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire Items

Biographical Data

1. What is your student ID number
2. What is your sex?
3. What is your age?
4. What is your nationality?
5. Did you primarily grow up in Egypt?
6. From which high school did you graduate?
7. What year of university study are you currently completing?
8. What is your major?
9. Did you obtain the Egyptian Certificate for Secondary Education (Thanaweya Amma)?
10. How comfortable are you writing in Arabic?
11. How comfortable are you writing in English?

Personal Beliefs

1. In a society, which do you deem more important, social stability or freedom of expression?
2. When selecting friends, which is more important, social class or education?
3. Do you interpret the term Westernized to be positive, negative or neutral?

AUC Community

1. What are some characteristics of AUC students?*
2. How do non-AUCians view AUCians?*
3. About how many hours a week do you spend on the AUC campus?
4. How many of your other friends are AUCians?
5. How much of your time off campus do you spend with other AUCians?
6. Do AUCians speak differently from other young Egyptians? Why or why not?*
7. What language is preferable when speaking with other AUCians?
8. What language is preferable when speaking with other Egyptians?

9. In general, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
- AUCians have different attitudes than other young university students.
 - The core curriculum program makes the education at AUC different than the education at other Egyptian universities.
10. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
- AUC encourages independent thinking
 - AUC encourages free expression
 - AUC encourages diversity of opinion

Language Attitudes Part 1

- Knowledge of English is essential for getting a good job in Egypt.
- Knowledge of Fus'ha is essential for getting a good job in Egypt.
- Egyptian Arabic is an expressive language.
- Fus'ha is an expressive language.
- Fus'ha is prestigious language.
- It is necessary to speak Egyptian Arabic to maintain your Egyptian/Arab identity.
- It is necessary to know Fus'ha to maintain your Egyptian/Arab identity.
- Well-educated Egyptians speak English.
- English is a language of Western imperialism.

Language Attitudes Part 2

Egyptians who mix English and Egyptian Arabic:

- Don't know the Arabic equivalent
- Do so because there is not an Arabic equivalent
- Do so to fit into their social group
- Do so to show off
- Sound confused
- Sound intelligent
- Do so as a result of their educational background
- Do so because it is a natural form of communication to them

Mixing English and Egyptian Arabic:

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

Appendix B: Matched-guise Transcript

English:

I graduated in December so I started by job search during the break. I found a really good job at Vodafone, but the application deadline was January first. I heard that Vodafone jobs are really competitive, so I don't know what my chances would have been.

Arabic:

Itkharragt fi December fa ibtadit adawwar 3ala shougl fel agaza. Laa2it shughlana kowayessa fe Vodafone bas ma3id el ta2deem kan wahid yanayir. Samaat in fe nas keteera bit2addim 3ala shughl fe Vodafone, fa mesh 3arif fih fursa walla la2.

Code-switching:

Itkharragt fi December fa ibtadit el job search during the break. Laa2it a really good job fe Vodafone, bas el deadline kan January first. Samaat in Vodafone jobs are really competitive, so I don't know what my chances would have been.

Appendix C: Matched-guise Study

Instructions:

You will hear a series of speakers give a short narrative. Try to imagine the speaker and then rate them for the following characteristics.

1. Intelligent
2. Friendly
3. Westernized
4. Open-Minded
5. Wealthy
6. Patriotic
7. Trustworthy
8. Educated
9. Modern

Appendix D: T-Test Values and Statistical Significance

Alpha Value : 0.05 Tails: 2

Male Speaker

	Arabic v English	Arabic v CS	English v CS
Overall Status Traits	-2.450 Yes	-2.379 Yes	0.029 No
Intelligent	-2.322 Yes	-1.457 No	0.853 No
Wealthy	-2.774 Yes	-3.402 Yes	-0.784 No
Educated	-2.334 Yes	-2.121 Yes	0.158 No
Modern	-2.337 Yes	-2.515 Yes	-0.306 No
Overall Solidarity Traits	-0.313 No	-0.206 No	0.116 No
Friendly	2.300 Yes	2.356 Yes	-0.139 No
Open-minded	-2.604 Yes	-3.048 Yes	-0.518 No
Trustworthy	-0.363 No	0.647 No	1.222 No

Female Speaker

	Arabic v English	Arabic v CS	English v CS
Overall Status Traits	-5.140 Yes	-3.679 Yes	1.281 No
Intelligent	-3.587 Yes	-1.553 No	1.855 No
Wealthy	-3.930 yes	-3.566 Yes	0.350 No
Educated	-5.946 Yes	-3.594 Yes	2.357 Yes
Overall Solidarity Traits	-1.529 No	-1.327 No	0.201 No
Modern	-7.230 Yes	-6.334 Yes	0.655 No
Friendly	-0.404 No	0.063 No	0.462 No
Open-minded	-4.265 Yes	-5.060 Yes	-0.593 No
Trustworthy	-0.125 No	0.694 No	0.868 No

Appendix E: Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. Are there differences between AUC students and students from other Egyptian private universities and if so what are they?
2. Do you think that AUC encourage specific values in its students and if so what?
3. Do you view the AUC community as diverse? Is the AUC community more heterogeneous or homogeneous and why?
4. Do you think that it is better to speak only one language or to mix languages and why?
5. What are some reasons that you mix Arabic and English?
6. What are some advantages of mixing languages?
7. Is it important for Egyptians to know Fus'ha? Why?
8. Why would Arabic be viewed as a friendly language for males but not for females?
9. Why would code-switching be viewed as untrustworthy?
10. Why would code-switching be viewed as open-minded?
11. Why would code-switching be viewed as unintelligent?

Appendix F: Transcripts from Semi-Structured Interviews
(names have been changed)

Focus Group 1

- 1 INVESTIGATOR: The first question I want to ask is if you see differences between AUC
2 students and students from other universities, and if so, what are
3 they?
- 4 AHMED: On campus or outside of campus?
- 5 INVESTIGATOR: If there is a difference, you could explain that.
- 6 AHMED: I think that the attitudes here in AUC on campus are very different
7 from the attitudes of people on other university campuses, they might
8 be more conserved on their own campus if we are talking about other
9 universities in Egypt. At AUC it's kind of like a melting pot, it follows
10 the melting pot concept of the USA where everyone is blending in and
11 you are less afraid to be yourself so there's less of this whole thing
12 where I have to hide where I am. It's still there, but not completely,
13 you get to be more free about your self and self-expression and all of
14 that.
- 15 INVESTIGATOR: Would you agree with that? You are welcome to agree or disagree or
16 give a slightly different angle, whatever you think.
- 17 MOHAMED: I think the difference between being in AUC and being in other
18 universities in Egypt is that I don't feel that people are original at AUC,
19 when they come to AUC they start changing their perspective a lot,
20 they are acting, how they speak, how they talk, and what interested
21 me is your topic. People are, I don't know why, but they change when
22 they come to AUC.
- 23 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think it's for the better or for the worse?
- 24 MOHAMED: They are not original. Yaani, when you know someone before, then
25 when he comes to AUC, you could see the difference, you could see
26 how he changed.
- 27 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think people become more open-minded? Or do you think
28 they become more similar to the people around them?
- 29 MOHAMED: I think it's what Ahmed said, is that they are trying to blend in, they
30 are trying to fit in with the community.
- 31 ABDULLAH: I agree in certain instances with what they are saying but in other
32 ways I don't. It's only natural that a person's persona or psyche will
33 change because that is part of growing up, and being in a different
34 environment will actually shape the way that people grow up. Now is
35 it something where is it a melting pot? I would have to disagree. We
36 are still an Arab society, specifically an Egyptian society, where
37 spirituality is deep rooted and anchored in some, and a lot of ideas we
38 will always speak of no matter how much we try to block them out
39 and that is very much reflected on campus, whether its interaction
40 between each person or the way each person thinks. There is change,

41 there is growth, it is different than other universities in the way
42 people act, but there is still a common denominator with everyone.
43 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC encourages any specific values in its students?
44 MOHAMED: Freedom. And that's what I enjoy in this university is that you start
45 respecting everyone. I may disagree with what you are saying, how
46 you look, everything, but I still have to respect how you are.
47 INVESTIGATOR: Do you all agree that freedom of expression is important?
48 AHMED: Yes.
49 ABDULLAH: Yes.
50 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC is a diverse community? Do you think that it is
51 more heterogeneous or homogeneous?
52 ABDULLAH: As much as we try to give the impression that it is heterogeneous, it is
53 not. I mean with all that is going on in the country, the number of
54 people coming from abroad has lessened. It's only normal, I don't
55 expect anything else. There is some diversity but it's very very small.
56 AHMED: Yeah, I agree with that.
57 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC students speak differently than other young
58 university students?
59 AHMED: Oh yeah, of course.
60 INVESTIGATOR: So obviously there would be big differences between AUC and public
61 universities, but what about other private universities?
62 AHMED: I had a friend of mine in another private university, this is just an
63 example, he was telling me that on campus you are frowned upon if
64 you speak any other language except for Arabic. So that's just
65 something that we have here, you can speak in whatever language you
66 want and no one will really fuss at you for it, but in other universities,
67 you just have to stick to the norm, which is Arabic. Even they will
68 make fun of you if mix.
69 INVESTIGATOR: So they will make fun of you if you speak English?
70 AHMED: Yeah.
71 ABDULLAH: I would disagree with that, maybe if it's an Arabic language university
72 that would happen, but we also have the French university here which
73 is also a private university where it is normal to speak French and mix
74 it with Arabic, like us with English here.
75 INVESTIGATOR: What do you think, Mohamed?
76 MOHAMED: I agree with his point, that there are other universities here, not public
77 universities, where you speak English like here, but the problem
78 comes when you are trying to force something that is, like I said in the
79 beginning, that it is not in you. You are trying to look good, you are
80 trying to speak English because you are in AUC. Just be original.
81 INVESTIGATOR: So you think that it is forced sometimes, that it is not so natural.
82 MOHAMED: Yes.
83 INVESTIGATOR: Just to build off of that, do you think that it is preferable to speak in
84 only one language or to mix languages as you see fit.
85 ABDULLAH: In what conditions?

86 INVESTIGATOR: You can specify. In what conditions is it preferable to speak one, in
87 what conditions is it preferable to mix?
88 ABDULLAH: If the person only speaks one language you have to speak one
89 language.
90 INVESTIGATOR: So if we specify that you are speaking to someone who understands
91 both, what is preferable?
92 ABDULLAH: I don't think it is a matter of preference, it's just the way we express
93 ourselves. Sometimes we find it easier to express one idea in one
94 language and another idea in another language. There are certain
95 concepts that exist in one language that don't exist in the other
96 language. That same idea doesn't come across as well in another
97 language.
98 INVESTIGATOR: So you can express yourself better in one language than another and
99 picking the one that you express yourself more easily in is preferable.
100 AHMED: I agree with his point, but I think that the mixture is kind of
101 problematic. If I was to face someone whose native tongue is Arabic
102 or native tongue is English, I will always accidentally mix a word in
103 between and that can mess up the whole balance of the conversation,
104 so I think it's problematic.
105 (one minute of conversation was lost here due to a technical problem)
106 INVESTIGATOR: You were saying that there were some things that you would
107 obviously talk about in English, like the names of places or saying the
108 word "midterm," but there are times that you could say something in
109 either language. Are you aware of how you make those choices, or
110 does it happen unconsciously?
111 ABDULLAH: I make that choice consciously, because I know that I might have
112 issues, for example, expressing myself in Arabic or maybe I'm trying
113 to avoid making a mistake in Arabic.
114 AHMED: I do it unconsciously. I really don't know what I'm doing. I could be
115 speaking a specific language and I wouldn't even notice and I do this
116 all the time, even my parents notice this, like that word doesn't fit
117 there, it doesn't fit in this language, but I say it anyway. I do it
118 unconsciously because the mixture is kind of stuck in my head, so I
119 usually just spew out words.
120 INVESTIGATOR: And your parents think this is a bad thing?
121 AHMED: It is a bad thing, I think it's a bad thing!
122 MOHAMED: I think it's a mixture of what Ahmed and Abdullah said. Sometimes
123 you are confident, you choose the word, you choose what language
124 you want to say it in, and sometimes it happens unconsciously, you
125 just say it because you are used to it.
126 INVESTIGATOR: One of the questions asked in the survey is "do people mix languages
127 to show off," and there was a fair amount of agreement with that
128 statement. Do you agree?
129 ABDULLAH: Sometimes there will be certain instances where people will use a
130 word in English that could very easily be said in Arabic, the same

131 word exists in Arabic, and they will deliberately use another language
132 just to show off.

133 AHMED: I do think it's true but...if you view it from a struggling class point of
134 view, where like I worked really hard to get my education, I don't
135 mean to sound biased, but they talk this way so we like know, yes, he
136 has excellent language skills, he speaks so many languages so well.
137 Maybe at the beginning its done on purpose but then it just becomes
138 kind of normal in the end. So yeah, I would have to agree that some
139 people do it to show off.

140 MOHAMED: And this was my first point when I started to talk.

141 ABDULLAH: Language is a wealth nowadays. Being able to speak more than one
142 language is very, very good like in interviews. Speaking more than
143 three languages is rare these days and a lot of employers look for that.

144 INVESTIGATOR: So what do you see as the position of Fus'ha in this community? Is it
145 important economically? Is it important for identity? Is it a
146 prestigious language?

147 MOHAMED: What do you mean by Fus'ha?

148 AHMED: El Araby el Asal.

149 MOHAMED: Ah, El Araby el Asal, I think it's not used yaani. You will rarely find
150 someone talking in Fus'ha and when somebody says a word in Fus'ha
151 we usually make fun out of him.

152 INVESTIGATOR: Of course it's not common to speak Fus'ha except in religious contexts
153 or very high political contexts, but what about writing for example?

154 ABDULLAH: That's the problem in Egypt, in other countries literature is in Fus'ha,
155 newspapers are in Fus'ha, the news is spoken in Fus'ha, and in Egypt
156 it's not. Literature and books are in 3ammy Arabic. I think it
157 undermines.

158 AHMED: I say words, not sentences, I can't have a conversation in Fus'ha. Some
159 of the words I say, the letters just sound really bad, I feel like I'm
160 committing an offense to the language, so I just think that I will stay
161 back and not try to speak Fus'ha.

162 INVESTIGATOR: So do you think that it's important for Egyptians to learn this language
163 and do you think it carries prestige?

164 MOHAMED: It's not but it should be. You will find that people nowadays learn
165 English and cannot write Arabic. I could not write Arabic, I'm not a
166 good Arabic writer. From my perspective, I'm disappointed from
167 myself that I reached this point, but what could I do?

168 ABDULLAH: Fus'ha is our heritage, it is our culture. We are a nomadic people, we
169 don't set down roots or build edifices. All we have to hold us together
170 is our language. If we lose it, we lose our culture.

171 AHMED: I agree.

172 INVESTIGATOR: Okay, very interesting. Do you remember in the survey when you
173 listened to some voices and you were asked to give them adjectives?
174 What you actually heard were the same people saying the same things
175 but in different languages. You might not have realized that you were
176 hearing the same person. This is an interesting way of digging more

177 deeply to see what are your perhaps hidden attitudes toward these
178 languages. So I wanted to ask you about the results and see why you
179 or other people might have responded that way. Most people thought
180 that the mixed version of languages sounded less intelligent than
181 English. Why might that be?

182 MOHAMED: The mixed language seemed less intelligent?

183 INVESTIGATOR: Yes, so when the girl spoke in English, participants thought she
184 sounded more intelligent than when she gave the same message with
185 a mixture of Arabic and English.

186 MOHAMED: I disagree. If she's not trying to show off like the previous points we
187 said and she's speaking out of her nature, then no, she's not less
188 intelligent.

189 AHMED: I think she sounds less intelligent because she doesn't know how to
190 differentiate between the two languages.

191 INVESTIGATOR: So it's some kind of a sign of mental ability to speak purely in one
192 language or purely in another?

193 AHMED: Yeah, I think it does. You kind of lose the formality from the
194 conversation if you mix languages unless there is a word that has no
195 equivalent in the other language, otherwise if you mix it just sounds
196 really weird.

197 INVESTIGATOR: Another interesting part is that people ranked the speakers who
198 mixed languages as not trustworthy. English was the most
199 trustworthy, then Arabic, then the mixed languages. Why might that
200 be?

201 ABDULLAH: English is the language of authority here.

202 MOHAMED: I did the survey, but I didn't understand the adjectives. Why would
203 someone who speaks in English be rated as more trustworthy? I
204 didn't get it.

205 INVESTIGATOR: There is a methodological problem in researching attitudes, because
206 people will say that they believe one thing, but their actions will say
207 something else. Take racism for example. If you ask someone if they
208 are racist, they will probably say no, black and white people should be
209 treated the same. But if you analyze their behavior, you may find that
210 they treat white people with greater preference, and they might not
211 even know that they are doing it. It's the same example here. In
212 theory you say that you should judge someone based on the message,
213 not the language they deliver it in. But in practice, it's human nature
214 to make judgments of these kinds, even if you don't realize you are
215 doing so. So the idea is to get deeper, past what you just say on the
216 surface.

217 MOHAMED: Indirect.

218 INVESTIGATOR: Yes, it's an indirect method of finding out attitudes toward language.

219 MOHAMED: And how did you analyze the answers?

220 INVESTIGATOR: Numerically. If you heard someone speak in English and said very
221 intelligent, that's a score of 4, somewhat, 3, and so on, so I calculated
222 an average score for intelligence. Then it would be repeated in the

223 mixed languages and the numbers would be compared. Like when
 224 Nada said this sentence in English, her trustworthiness was scored
 225 3.5, but when she said the same sentence in a mixture of Arabic and
 226 English, her trustworthiness was 2.5. So by speaking Arabic, she
 227 became less trustworthy. So it's a way of digging deeper to see what
 228 people really think about certain languages, about their attitudes
 229 toward languages.

230 AHMED: Mixing languages, I don't know, it's kind of sneaky. I'll tell you why I
 231 think it's sneaky, it's because you are not clarifying the lines. So you
 232 speak to me in this language to get your point across somehow, but
 233 you got your point across, so you got yourself covered. Then you
 234 bring it back from another way from the other language point of view.
 235 So when I hear it, I don't fully understand what you're saying, so
 236 there's always like a sense of blurred lines in the whole conversation.
 237 Trustworthiness is kind of lost in that because you get confused.

238 INVESTIGATOR: Another interesting thing that arose is that the male speaker was
 239 ranked as being very friendly when he spoke Arabic, more than if he
 240 spoke English or mixed the languages, but the female speaker was
 241 ranked the least friendly of all when she spoke Arabic. It was the least
 242 friendly language for her. Why might that be?

243 AHMED: It's a stereotype, if you asked me I'd tell you.... Okay, take cab drivers
 244 for example, they speak Arabic, they are friendly, open and excited
 245 with their language, then you think of an Arabic woman speaker, you
 246 think of an Arabic teacher, that's the idea I get. And Arabic teachers
 247 were always very strict, making you concentrate, don't put your pens
 248 down, so it puts this concept of authority to me so it's not very
 249 friendly. So you have the Arabic teacher concept versus the cab driver
 250 concept, the cool guy or whatever.

251 INVESTIGATOR: Any other ideas?

252 MOHAMED: I don't understand how these answers came yaani.

253 INVESTIGATOR: Maybe we can talk about it more in the session that I give for your
 254 class. Okay... one last question. When people mix languages, there
 255 were some good qualities and bad qualities given. One of the bad
 256 qualities was that they are not trustworthy, but one of the good
 257 qualities is that they seemed open-minded. Can you explain that to
 258 me? How would mixing English and Arabic make someone seem
 259 more open-minded than if they just spoke one?

260 ABDULLAH: It shouldn't be the way they say it, it should be what they say, like if
 261 they show two points of view that means they are open-minded.
 262 Speaking in two languages doesn't mean anything, it just shows me
 263 that you can speak in two languages. Like Ahmed said, when you mix
 264 two languages it makes the dialogue much less formal, maybe that's
 265 the reason it's less intelligent and less trustworthy. but when you
 266 speak in one language like we are doing here, it means that it is more
 267 formal.

268 MOHAMED: But how does this relates to trustworthy and untrustworthy?

269 ABDULLAH: That's the idea, when I'm saying something only in English, that
270 means I'm trying hard to make a complete point and am concentrated
271 on what I am saying. If I'm mixing up languages, you are going to
272 think this guy is not so serious, is not so formal, whatever.

273 INVESTIGATOR: So you mean that it takes focus to speak purely in one language or
274 another, but if you mix maybe it means that you aren't paying as much
275 attention to what you are saying?

276 ABDULLAH: Yeah.

277 MOHAMED: I disagree with this point. It's not important how you deliver your
278 point. If the person in front of you understands what you are saying
279 perfectly and is convinced, then you have delivered your message. It's
280 not a matter of trustworthy or not trustworthy.

281 INVESTIGATOR: So just to wrap it up, what are the advantages of mixing? You talked a
282 lot about mixing being easier, so does that mean that mixing helps you
283 to communicate better?

284 ABDULLAH: Concise. It makes communication concise. Assuming that the other
285 person speaks the two languages. If I am saying something in one of
286 the languages then I am trying to make my point concise. I'm not
287 going to go around saying a lot of stuff just to get back to one notion.

288 INVESTIGATOR: So you will pick the shorter, easier way to say something, whether it's
289 Arabic or English?

290 ABDULLAH: Yes. And I've noticed about myself that if I'm trying hard to say
291 something important to someone, whether it is a friend or a professor
292 or another student, I will always stick to one language.

293 MOHAMED: I would agree with that. I would say just what makes me comfortable,
294 so if it's a blend I might do it to ease it for me.

Focus group 2

- 1 INVESTIGATOR: I'd like to start by asking a little bit about the AUC community. Do you
2 see differences between the AUC community and students from other
3 universities?
- 4 MOUNIRA: I think even other students from other universities view us as
5 different, like different type of people from different social class and
6 we are more Westernized than they are. We speak English more and
7 they tend to speak Arabic more with each other.
- 8 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that's true compared with other private universities?
- 9 ALI: AUC is like a culture within a culture. We have AUC and then the rest
10 of Egypt. I have friends at other universities like MIU or Ain Shams or
11 whatever and yaani they feel like we look down to them. Like we are
12 better than them. The problem is that some people actually do this
13 here in the AUC.
- 14 INVESTIGATOR: So AUC students see themselves as different.
- 15 ALI: They see themselves as superior to everyone else. Some of them.
- 16 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that is because of social class or are there other reasons?
- 17 ALI: I don't think social class is the main thing because there are even
18 better social classes in other universities. It's just something in
19 themselves that they think that because they are at AUC and it's
20 supposed to be the best university in Egypt that...
- 21 MOUNIRA: (interrupts) it's more of an American community, we are treated like
22 Americans are treated and they think that it's slightly better than
23 being treated like an Egyptian.
- 24 INVESTIGATOR: So how are Americans treated or how are students in this university
25 treated differently?
- 26 MOUNIRA: They are more...
- 27 ALI: (interrupts) Freedom, like until now we are the only university that
28 has riots, just like a small example, the thing that took place yesterday
29 or the day before when some of the Muslim brotherhood supporters
30 burned the Sisi picture. We have some freedom here that we can't
31 express outside our university.
- 32 INVESTIGATOR: So you agree that AUC is characterized by freedom of expression and
33 diversity of ideas?
- 34 MOUNIRA: (Nods in agreement)
- 35 ALI: And the way the clothing here, the way we, sometimes I used to wear
36 some stuff here that I couldn't wear outside, because of what people
37 would say or what the community would say.
- 38 INVESTIGATOR: Like what?
- 39 ALI: Like red pants. I can wear it here. But outside this community I can't,
40 I know that everyone will make fun of me.
- 41 INVESTIGATOR: So you talked about freedom of expression, you gave a very
42 interesting example. Overall, do you think that the students at AUC
43 represent many diverse opinions, are they more homogeneous or
44 heterogeneous?

45 ALI: I think we are more heterogeneous.

46 INVESTIGATOR: Why?

47 ALI: There are a lot of communities, like what I said, here in AUC we have
48 different social groups, we have different political groups, different
49 religions that you won't see and even we have sexuality, we have
50 homo and heterosexuals which you will never find in any other
51 university in Egypt.

52 MOUNIRA: Most universities would frown upon this but here it's okay, we have
53 diversity and everyone is cool with it.

54 INVESTIGATOR: So you mentioned political diversity, sexual orientation, what other
55 kinds of diversity do you see?

56 ALI: Social.

57 INVESTIGATOR: What kind of social diversity do you see?

58 ALI: Here some people are with full scholarship like Thanaweyya Amma
59 people and some people are average and some people are very high,
60 you know, so we have the three. The majority is average.

61 MOUNIRA: We have people from different countries too.

62 INVESTIGATOR: Like where?

63 MOUNIRA: I'm not sure, they are mostly from other Arab countries, like Yemen.
64 ALI: Like Libya, I have friends here from Libya. But from Europe and US it
65 used to be, but now that Egypt is not safe, so, since the revolution,
66 Americans and Europeans don't come to AUC.

67 MOUNIRA: Also from Africa.

68 INVESTIGATOR: Okay, so, then continuing along that line, do you think that AUC
69 students speak differently than other university students, like
70 compared to students from other private universities?

71 MOUNIRA: I think so. When it comes to language we tend to mix English with our
72 native language more, a lot of people here just speak English, they
73 don't like the Arabic language so they speak strictly English. Other
74 students in other universities they just tend to speak Arabic like all
75 citizens here.

76 INVESTIGATOR: What do you think, Ali?

77 ALI: I think some AUC students want to show off by speaking English.

78 MOUNIRA: Yeah.

79 ALI: And that's not right. When you travel everywhere, when you travel
80 everywhere you see that people speak the native language of the
81 country. The reason why the Arabic language has declined is because
82 of us, because of the Arabians, we have this trend now that if you
83 speak English a lot you are just cool, when you speak English you are
84 superior to everyone else.

85 MOUNIRA: Well-educated.

86 ALI: I think that most of them speak English in order to show off, some of
87 them because of their schools they speak English all the time.

88 INVESTIGATOR: Do you agree, do you think a lot of it is for showing off?

89 MOUNIRA: Yeah, a lot of it is for showing off and for making people understand
90 that they are educated and different. And some from upbringing

91 because we are used to going to international schools and we are used
92 to speaking English a lot.

93 INVESTIGATOR: So it's a sign of education and social class and family upbringing?
94 ALI: I have a friend that came from Saudi, she is here in the AUC and she
95 speaks English all the time. But she's always telling me that she's not
96 doing this in order to show off. That's her, that's the way they live in
97 Saudi. But that shows that most of the people that speak here English
98 or any other language, it's for showing off.

99 INVESTIGATOR: So she feels like she has to explain that she's not trying to show off.
100 ALI: She says exactly "I'm not blonde."

101 INVESTIGATOR: So do you think that it is preferable to speak in only one language or
102 that it is preferable to mix languages and why?
103 MOUNIRA: I think that it depends, here it is preferable to mix languages because
104 we don't want to throw away our native language, but at the same
105 time, it's not even about us as Egyptians, we have other cultures and
106 other friends mixed in that don't speak Arabic, so it's better to mix the
107 languages, that's what I do. Due to my upbringing I'm speaking
108 English and Arabic at the same time, but in other places it will come
109 up that you are trying to show off or seem better than them, so in that
110 case it's better to speak Arabic.

111 INVESTIGATOR: So if you are speaking with someone who speaks English and Arabic
112 equally well as you, in that case is it preferable to speak one or the
113 other or is it preferable to mix?
114 MOUNIRA: Speaking both languages you are practicing both languages.

115 INVESTIGATOR: What do you think, Ali?
116 ALI: I definitely think you should speak Arabic only. Because there is no
117 modern country that, even the top seven countries in the world,
118 within their country they speak the native language. If someone
119 comes to my country, if I go to the US, Germany, France, everything,
120 it's my duty to learn their language, they don't speak Arabic to me. It's
121 the foreigner's duty to learn the language. When I integrate the
122 languages, my language will decline. That's what's happening.
123 Everything about the Arabian countries used to be really good, now
124 because of us, because of this generation, the trend that's going among
125 us, it's declining. So I think we should speak only Arabic.

126 INVESTIGATOR: So do you think that there are any benefits that come from mixing the
127 two languages?
128 ALI: Up until now I can see none.

129 INVESTIGATOR: No benefits.
130 ALI: None. I can still speak English perfectly, in my classes, I can read in
131 English and stuff like that. But I don't have to integrate it with Arabic.

132 INVESTIGATOR: So when you speak with your friends you don't mix languages?
133 ALI: Only Arabic.

134 MOUNIRA: I don't see any benefits.
135 INVESTIGATOR: So you don't see any benefits, but you said that you do switch
136 languages. Are you aware of any reasons that you switch? There are

137 some things that are obvious, like if you were going to say midterm,
138 you have to say it in English, that's what it's called here, that's what's
139 written on the paper. But other things that don't necessarily go one
140 way or another. Do you have any awareness of why you choose one
141 language or the other?
142 MOUNIRA: One thing is that sometimes I forget the Arabic equivalent of the word,
143 so I just say it in English. Also I have a lot of friends, like I have one
144 friend from Yemen who speaks Arabic but her accent is different than
145 Egyptians so she feels that most people won't understand her, that's
146 why she prefers English. I have to mix with her because she tells me
147 that she wants to learn the Arabic accent, so that's why I mix with her
148 so she will understand.
149 INVESTIGATOR: So that's helping her to learn Egyptian Arabic but still you're making
150 sure that she understands.
151 MOUNIRA: Exactly. It's up to...I was brought up speaking a lot of languages,
152 French, English, Arabic, so it's normal to integrate.
153 INVESTIGATOR: So with your family as well, you integrate the languages?
154 MOUNIRA: No, actually in my home I don't really speak English.
155 INVESTIGATOR: And you find that you rarely speak Arabic with your friends?
156 MOUNIRA: Depends, with some friends I speak Arabic almost all the time and
157 with some friends I rarely speak Arabic.
158 INVESTIGATOR: It's mainly due to their comprehension of English or Arabic?
159 MOUNIRA: Yeah.
160 INVESTIGATOR: So what about Fus'ha, or standard or classical Arabic? Is it important
161 to you or do you think it is important in Egyptian society?
162 ALI: Of course it's important, but the problem is that we as Egyptians don't
163 view it as important. Fus'ha is the opposite of slang, and whenever
164 slang is growing in a society, you know that the society has declined.
165 Whenever the Fus'ha rises in a society, the society is on the rise. Now
166 we are speaking slang, and this shows what we are in right now. It's a
167 third world country. Yaani, it's about the way we speak, the way we
168 talk.
169 INVESTIGATOR: It's true, there is a distinction between formal and informal language.
170 So you want to classify Ammia as an informal language. But what if
171 Fus'ha is replaced by English, so replacing one formal language with
172 another. Would that also be a symbol of decline?
173 ALI: No, we should learn English because we are a third world country, so
174 we are meant or obliged to speak it to communicate with other
175 countries. But I think that both of them should go together. I should
176 learn this and I should learn that. Actually, I had a British teacher who
177 knew Fus'ha. So he told us that the best way to learn English
178 literature is to know Fus'ha. Like he was teaching us Shakespeare in
179 the same way that he was teaching us Taha Hussein.
180 MOUNIRA: But we don't speak it. I think it's important to learn it and to be able
181 to speak it, like if you are writing important papers for business or if
182 you are speaking in a formal manner, we have to have some very

183 established ways, but at the same time, I used to speak it as a running
184 joke between our friends, like I would make up words in it to be funny
185 and so I don't think, I've never for thirteen years now, I've never heard
186 anyone speak it.

187 INVESTIGATOR: Yes, it's not a spoken language, but it's important for writing.
188 ALI: It used to be, it used to be spoken.
189 INVESTIGATOR: So it's important to be able to write Fus'ha.
190 MOUNIRA: Yes, extremely important.
191 ALI: It's our native language.
192 INVESTIGATOR: But it's complicated here because the way you speak is not the same
193 way that you write.
194 MOUNIRA: But it's the same in English, the way you speak is not the way you
195 write.
196 INVESTIGATOR: It's true, but the difference is bigger.
197 ALI: I mean, you speak English and you write in English.
198 INVESTIGATOR: Of course there are different registers or styles in English, but the
199 difference isn't as big.
200 ALI: The way you talk with your friends is not the same way that you are
201 going to write.
202 MOUNIRA: I have friends that when they write their papers in English, they write
203 like they talk, like in slang.
204 INVESTIGATOR: So regarding the survey you took, I would like to ask you about some
205 of the results...(summary of the concept of matched-guise study)
206 ALI: Yeah, like sometimes I knew it was the same person, like speaking
207 English, but then when they mix, it's not trustworthy yaani.
208 INVESTIGATOR: So why is it not trustworthy?
209 ALI: Because I think that she's trying to show off so I shouldn't listen to
210 what she's saying, I shouldn't care about it.
211 INVESTIGATOR: Yes, that was interesting, mixing languages was seen as not
212 trustworthy.
213 ALI: It's fake.
214 MOUNIRA: I actually thought all of them were, like, not untrustworthy, but I
215 wouldn't trust them because I don't really just trust voices. When it
216 comes to education and social class, I think it varies based on how we
217 view a person, first impressions as well.
218 INVESTIGATOR: So why would someone who mixes languages be seen as not
219 trustworthy?
220 MOUNIRA: I think most people would think that they are trying to show off or like
221 they don't have a specific set of principles, like when you are talking
222 about Arabic you believe in stuff and it's related to that.
223 INVESTIGATOR: Okay, on the other hand, people thought that mixing languages made
224 the people open-minded. Why would that be?
225 MOUNIRA: Because, since, like they have been Westernized, Western people are
226 more open-minded than us. Since they have both cultures, they aren't
227 completely one or the other.

228 INVESTIGATOR: So speaking the two languages means that they are able to access the
229 two different cultural ways of thinking?
230 MOUNIRA: Yeah.
231 INVESTIGATOR: What do you think, Ali?
232 ALI: Can I represent with colors? There is like the black and the white and
233 they are just the grey. So that's why I thought they are open-minded.
234 Black is closed-minded. White is open-minded. Grey means you
235 mixed them both. You fuse two cultures and you created your own.
236 MOUNIRA: You can't really learn the language without adopting part of the
237 culture as well.
238 INVESTIGATOR: People who mix the language were seen as less intelligent than people
239 who just spoke English for example.
240 ALI: Or when they spoke Arabic.
241 INVESTIGATOR: Actually, English was seen as the most intelligent, then mixing, and
242 Arabic was the lowest. Why would English be seem as more
243 intelligent than mixing?
244 ALI: I think that if you speak only English, that's the way you are, that's the
245 way you were raised. Like I told you this friend from Saudi, she won't
246 speak Egyptian. But when you integrate both cultures you are in the
247 grey zone. You know, so I don't feel that you... you are fake, so if
248 someone is fake with you they are just trying to show off. Educated
249 people don't try to show off. Only uneducated people are the ones
250 who try to show off. So as for me, the people who spoke only Arabic
251 and only English were highly educated. The one in the middle was
252 just fake and trying to show off so he is uneducated for me.
253 INVESTIGATOR: As if he is trying to hide something?
254 ALI: I don't understand what you mean.
255 INVESTIGATOR: Say what you said again.
256 ALI: Just he's trying to show off so he's not educated.
257 INVESTIGATOR: So someone who is mixing is trying to show off, so they must not be
258 educated.
259 ALI: For me the mixing is just showing off.
260 MOUNIRA: But only speaking English when you are Egyptian is showing off as
261 well. You don't have to speak English all the time, you're Egyptian you
262 can speak your own language, you don't have to speak English just to
263 be showing off.
264 INVESTIGATOR: So who's showing off more the Egyptian who speaks only English or
265 the Egyptian who mixes?
266 ALI: The one who mixes, because the one who speaks only English, I mean
267 we are Egyptian, Arabic is our native language, some Arabic words
268 will come to you. But if you speak perfectly English, I believe that it's
269 what is natural to you, it's not showing off.
270 MOUNIRA: But then again, it was only two sentences.
271 INVESTIGATOR: Yeah, it was very short. That was kind of the point, to get an
272 immediate response without overthinking it. Last question, the man

273 was seen as the most friendly of all in Arabic and the woman was seen
274 as the least friendly of all in Arabic. Why would that be?
275 ALI: Because we have the trend that when men speak Arabic, they are
276 manly and stuff like that. But when they mix it with English, they
277 sound, excuse my expression "gay," that's how they sound when they
278 try to speak in English. I'm sorry, but that's how we see it. But when a
279 woman, when she speaks in English, we find her cute and
280 Westernized.
281 INVESTIGATOR: But this was specifically for friendly.
282 MOUNIRA: I think it's also because that's how it is, men here talk Arabic more and
283 they are proud of talking it, and women, like almost all girls here mix,
284 that's a fact, almost all of them. Very few people stick to just English
285 or just Arabic and we think of it as a good thing. That's what we are
286 used to dealing with so it seems more friendly. Men, we are used to
287 them just speaking Arabic and that's a good thing. It's more manly
288 and more friendly than people who mix.

Focus Group 3

- 1 INVESTIGATOR: Do you see differences between AUC students and students from
2 other universities? If so, what are the differences?
- 3 DOAA: Yeah, definitely. For example the way they talk, we use more English
4 and Arabic together and in other universities they are more likely to
5 talk....to speak only in Arabic. They don't use English a lot.
- 6 INVESTIGATOR: Do you also think that's the case in other private universities that are
7 English language universities?
- 8 DOAA: Here in Egypt, I think the only private university is AUC. Most
9 universities in Egypt are after the government, but we here at AUC are
10 after the American embassy. I think that makes us here at AUC more
11 prone to speak in English rather than all other public and private
12 universities.
- 13 INVESTIGATOR: Mina, what do you think?
- 14 MINA: Yeah, I think there is a difference between AUC and other universities,
15 but it's not regarding the language, it's regarding the environment.
16 It's my first semester here, I mean I came here it's like mind-blowing
17 the campus, all of that, it gives opportunities for anyone who wants to
18 nourish any kind of talent or hobby or a skill, to be able to nourish it
19 more or in a better way, because of all the clubs, you can create your
20 own club and do this and that and that and that so I think the
21 difference comes with this idea, that you can create anything you
22 want. For example, if I came here in this university and I wanted to do
23 drugs a lot, and so on, I would find so many people who would
24 encourage me. But if I wanted to join clubs and be a leader, I would
25 also find so many people to encourage me. It's a very fertile land,
26 anything you put in it, it will flourish right away.
- 27 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC encourages any specific values in its students?
- 28 DOAA: What do you mean by values?
- 29 INVESTIGATOR: Like way of being or ways of thinking.
- 30 DOAA: No. Like, in my opinion, no. I've been here, this is my second
31 semester, and I don't feel like I've changed in a way, like, I feel like in
32 university you are supposed to get to know yourself more and that
33 you're supposed to know more about yourself, and I feel like, I didn't
34 feel that I was changed in my way of thinking, I feel that my way of
35 thinking is the same.
- 36 MINA: Maybe your way of thinking was the way that they want you to think
37 here.
- 38 DOAA: Yeah, probably, I was just going to say that I was in a really tough
39 school, I was in Choueifat, so I think I was always taught to think in a
40 very straight forward and specific way, so maybe that's why like I
41 didn't really feel a difference.
- 42 MINA: I feel the same thing she feels, but I know that it encourages people to
43 think differently.
- 44 INVESTIGATOR: What do you mean, specifically?

45 MINA: English courses and scientific thinking for example, you wonder about
46 things, you do self-analysis, you do things like that and what I've
47 noticed here is that when they get a topic about minorities for
48 example, they always put us in the same mind frame as the minorities.

49 INVESTIGATOR: So you are encouraged to put yourself in the position of other people
50 or look at multiple perspectives on a problem or issue.

51 DOAA: For example, one of the questions in your survey had to do with the
52 core curriculum. I don't really feel like the core curriculum is really
53 doing anything, because nowadays people are always going for the
54 easy "A." I feel like there are so many interesting courses in the core
55 curriculum, but I think that the professors that teaching them aren't
56 making them interesting. For example, I have a scientific thinking
57 professor and everyone told me that it's an interesting course and all.
58 I hated it, I thought that the professor didn't know how to teach it. So
59 I feel like the environment around you has a lot to contribute to the
60 way you are thinking and that includes the professors around you.

61 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC encourages freedom of expression amongst its
62 students?

63 DOAA: In a way, yes, like we always see a lot of protests and awareness
64 raising, I think that's something.

65 MINA: Yes, I think so.

66 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that AUC students represent a lot of diverse opinions?
67 Meaning are they more of a heterogeneous group or more of a
68 homogeneous group?

69 DOAA: I think from afar you would say heterogeneous. But I think when you
70 look deep down, that many people really think the same way. Maybe
71 it's because I'm only friends with people like me, so maybe that's why
72 I'm saying that. I feel like...no...I think it's heterogeneous.

73 MINA: Me too. There's a lot of people who think in different ways, it's just
74 that when you only hang out with your friends, they obviously think
75 the same way that you do. But if you hang out with other people,
76 those other people, you don't know what they think

77 INVESTIGATOR: Can you give examples of types of diversity on the AUC campus?

78 DOAA: I've been told that there are certain groups who represent the Muslim
79 Brotherhood, so I'm pretty sure that they think in a completely
80 different way than I think. And I also heard that there is a group of
81 atheists, so I'm pretty sure that they think in a completely different
82 way than those people think and that I think. So, you know there are
83 arts people and science people, the subjects make them think in
84 different ways.

85 INVESTIGATOR: Mina, can you think of any other types of diversity?

86 MINA: Yeah, like within the staff at AUC. Professors are Egyptian, American,
87 British and also within the workers, some of them, or most of the
88 workers that deal with technical things like computers, I think that
89 they are Salafists because they have beards and no moustaches.

90 DOAA: Yeah, I noticed that!

91 MINA: I think it has to do with something very deep in politics that I don't
92 want to go into.

93 INVESTIGATOR: So that's showing that you have everything from atheists to Muslim
94 Brotherhood to Salafists. So moving on to your language attitudes,
95 which is mostly what my study addressed, I would like to talk about
96 the idea of mixing languages. Do you think that it is preferable to
97 speak in only one language or do you think that it is preferable to mix
98 the languages?

99 MINA: Only one language. Because you're trying to be something you're not,
100 you know. If you talk English all the time and just mix in some Arabic
101 words, I don't think it's professional enough. And the other way
102 around is worse even. If you are Egyptian and you talk with another
103 Egyptian in Arabic and put in English it's bad. Either you start and
104 end a conversation in Arabic either you start and end a conversation
105 in English. And you know, sometimes, sometimes we need to just put
106 one or two words, just to give an idea. It's like bee'a you know? Some
107 people do it, they want to talk in English so they can show off or show
108 the other person that they speak English very well.

109 INVESTIGATOR: So you think that mixing languages is often people trying to show off.

110 MINA: Yeah.

111 INVESTIGATOR: Mina, do you agree?

112 DOAA: No, I disagree. I think it's a matter of, like when you speak in general,
113 unless you're really good, you speak this language and you speak this
114 language, they both just go together. For example, like in Canada, in
115 Montreal, you have French and you have English, so they mix them
116 both. It's the same thing here for people in French schools, they speak
117 French, like I met a girl who speaks French, she was in an all girls
118 French school. And when she comes to talk to me, she speaks Arabic
119 and French together. I feel it's just the way, you weren't taught that,
120 but you...

121 MINA: (interrupts) Acquire it.

122 DOAA: Yeah, exactly, you acquired it. So I feel like, no, well, maybe it might
123 make a problem like when you are abroad and you talk to people from
124 different languages, the universal language is basically English, but I
125 know that lots of Arabs put like "tab" and "yaani" and all these words
126 that have no meaning in English, so they could serve as a problem.

127 INVESTIGATOR: Anything to add?

128 MINA: Yeah, sometimes it gets confusing because I was in a French school
129 too, so when you speak three languages or even a fourth because we
130 learned Spanish, it gets really confusing sometimes. You need a word
131 and you are speaking in French, but you can only find it in English.
132 But still, I think it's not professional. If you're abroad, if you are in the
133 States, you are going to speak English. You can't put in Arabic, they
134 won't understand.

135 INVESTIGATOR: Let's isolate it to people who speak both languages. I speak English
136 and Arabic, you speak English and Arabic, so both are understood. Is
137 it preferable to mix or preferable to speak in only one language?
138 DOAA: I don't think it's a problem if you mix.
139 MINA: It's still a problem, but less so.
140 INVESTIGATOR: So what are some of the advantages then of mixing the two? Or
141 maybe, what are some of the reasons that you mix the two, if you are
142 aware of the reasons?
143 DOAA: I don't know the reasons, but I think like he said, it's just acquired.
144 You're in an Arab country, but you're in an English school. It's not that
145 you know how to differentiate, but you can't because it just comes out
146 like that.
147 INVESTIGATOR: So it's just natural.
148 DOAA: Yeah, it's natural.
149 INVESTIGATOR: And it would seem forced to try to stick to one or the other?
150 DOAA: Yeah, exactly. It would be forced.
151 MINA: No, I don't think it would be forced. Except for some words that you
152 have to say in one or the other.
153 INVESTIGATOR: Yes, there are some words, like "midterm" that you are going to say in
154 English, never in Arabic.
155 MINA: Yeah
156 DOAA: Exactly.
157 INVESTIGATOR: So do you see advantages to mixing?
158 DOAA: No, well, I never thought about it, like if there were advantages.
159 INVESTIGATOR: So do you think that it improves communication? Does it make
160 communication better or worse and why?
161 DOAA: No, like sometimes it improves communication because there are
162 things you can't say in English. And Arabic is a very expressive
163 language so when you speak it, and at the same time there are English
164 terms in the middle, so I think like for me, when I speak to my friends,
165 they go hand in hand.
166 INVESTIGATOR: So you think you express yourself better, because some things are said
167 more clearly in English and some things more clearly in Arabic.
168 DOAA: Yeah, exactly.
169 INVESTIGATOR: Doaa, what do you think?
170 MINA: What she said is right, it's improved in the community that I know.
171 But if I'm out there all alone in a community that doesn't know me or I
172 don't know them, I think that it's a handicap in some way. We need to
173 look at the bigger picture, we live in Egypt, not AUC. When we get a
174 job, it will be in Egypt, not AUC.
175 DOAA: But I think it's different, you could never go into the streets in Egypt
176 and mix it. You could never talk to a worker or someone selling
177 something and say can I have orange juice instead of bortuan. You
178 know what I mean, I think it depends, it comes out when you know
179 who you are talking to.

180 INVESTIGATOR: Moving past this issue, do you think that Fus'ha, or Classical Arabic, is
181 necessary for Egyptians? Obviously we are shifting a bit because
182 Fus'ha is a written, not a spoken language. Is it important for
183 Egyptian to know Fus'ha and why?

184 DOAA: I was just having a conversation with a friend and she was telling me
185 how it is really important for you to know how to write and read in
186 Arabic for when you work, so I think it's important for work and I also
187 think it's important in terms of your identity. You're supposed to
188 know it, it's not fair that you know English, I know that people call
189 English their first language, but their mother tongue is Arabic, so I
190 think it's very wrong if you know how to speak how to speak French
191 and English but you don't know Arabic properly.

192 MINA: Yeah, I think the same. We live in Egypt, the language is Arabic and
193 you should understand a newspaper when you read.

194 INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that Fus'ha carries prestige in Egypt?

195 DOAA: Not really, if you see someone speaking Fus'ha, you are just going to
196 see them and laugh.

197 INVESTIGATOR: But what about writing Fus'ha, is that prestigious.

198 MINA: Yeah, it is.

199 DOAA: Yeah, like calligraphy?

200 INVESTIGATOR: But more than that, like being able to write a persuasive essay in
201 Fus'ha.

202 DOAA: I don't know in my opinion it's a great talent, like yeah, wow, that's
203 good, but like I wouldn't be that impressed.

204 MINA: I think it's very prestigious, but not within the community that we live
205 in. If you're a journalist or judge or lawyer or anything like that, you
206 need to know how to talk in Fus'ha. Everyone uses it for official
207 government things, that's why it's prestigious. And I think it's a good
208 skill to acquire.

209 INVESTIGATOR: So you think it has economic importance and that especially outside of
210 this community it carries prestige?

211 MINA: Yeah, and even here, there was a poet who wrote in Fus'ha and he
212 won like Arabs got talent or something like that. He was talking in
213 Fus'ha and everyone was respecting him and loving him and like wow.

214 INVESTIGATOR: To move on and talk to you about the study of the speech samples.
215 Men were seen as extremely friendly when they spoke Arabic. Arabic
216 was the most friendly language. For women, however, it was seen as
217 the least friendly. English was judged as the most friendly language
218 for women. Why do you think that might be?

219 MINA: Wow, that's very deep. I think that because men, I don't know....

220 DOAA: I don't know, I'm very surprised that this is the result of your survey.

221 MINA: No, I'm not surprised, but in this culture, men usually tend to take care
222 of women, if he talks in Arabic, he resembles more to the past and the
223 past resembles more to the way that the man is loving and caring for
224 his family, but the girl, if she speaks Arabic, it's like she's not outgoing,

225 she's not open-minded. I mean I don't believe this, but I'm telling you
226 why people would have said that.

227 INVESTIGATOR: So in a woman it's a sign of being conservative and closed off?

228 MINA: Yeah.

229 DOAA: I honestly don't know I'm thinking about it, but it doesn't make sense
230 to me.

231 INVESTIGATOR: Okay, so some other interesting results about the mixing of languages.
232 So comparing the man speaking the three languages and the woman
233 speaking the three languages, for both of them, the mixed variety
234 made them be seen as the least trustworthy. As in, by mixing
235 languages, they became less trustworthy. Why do you think this
236 might be?

237 MINA: First of all, the tone of the speaker affects a lot. Second, I think that if
238 you speak only in English, or only in Arabic, it gives a more impression
239 of self-confidence. So people think they should have more confidence
240 in you because you have more confidence in yourself. They say that if
241 you stutter while talking it shows a lack of self-confidence or a lack of
242 knowing the language. So, instead of stuttering, I'm comparing
243 stuttering to mixing languages. It's the same. It's either you don't
244 know English well or don't know Arabic well, or you have low self-
245 confidence, so you need more tools to express yourself.

246 INVESTIGATOR: So how does self-confidence relate to trustworthiness?

247 MINA: In actual life it doesn't relate, I can have huge self-confidence and not
248 be trustworthy. But people usually will trust a self-confident person
249 more than a person who is not self-confident. Like how we talk about
250 body language in our courses, that it's important to show self-
251 confidence to be believed and trusted.

252 DOAA: I agree, I think that you are more prone to trust self-confident people.

253 INVESTIGATOR: So mixing sounds like you are less sure of what you are saying.

254 DOAA: It's true, when you aren't sure what you are saying here you always
255 say "tab" "yaani" and all of that, so you aren't really sure what you're
256 saying, so maybe that relates to you not being very trustworthy, but if
257 you go in straight Arabic or English, that means you are very confident
258 about what you are saying.

259 INVESTIGATOR: One of the positive things was that people who mix languages were
260 seen as open-minded. Why would that be?

261 DOAA: It has to do with culture. They are exposed to two different cultures,
262 so two different ways of thinking. So naturally they are more open-
263 minded, their way of thinking is different. If you speak one language
264 all the time, you are prone to think in one way, in the way that certain
265 culture thinks.

266 INVESTIGATOR: So two languages means two cultures or two different perspectives on
267 an issue, which means open-minded. Would you agree with that?

268 MINA: More or less.

269 INVESTIGATOR: Anything to add?

270 MINA: What she said is probably true for some people, but personally, when I
271 speak Arabic I try to stick in Arabic. I try not to mix. But it's hard, as
272 she mentioned earlier, sometimes words come in. But I can speak
273 Arabic with someone I met for an hour or two hours and I don't think
274 they would think of me as closed-minded.