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Codeswitching in the Egyptian Arabic Movies: How do social variables trigger codeswitching?

Randa Hassan
randahassan@aucegypt.edu

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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Codeswitching in the Egyptian Arabic Movies:

How do social variables trigger codeswitching?

A thesis submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts in

Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

By Randa Hassan Taha

Under the supervision of

Dr. Zeinab Taha

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Abstract

This is a qualitative study designed to examine the growing linguistic practice of codeswitching in a sociolinguistic context. For this purpose, 7 Egyptian Arabic films were purposefully selected to investigate what social variables and contexts can be associated with codeswitching. Data was sampled in 43 experts from the 7 films. The data was analyzed in terms of the social variables of education, social class, identity, stance, and age, within the theoretical framework of the critical discourse analysis, the accommodation theory, and the social arena theory. Although the study started with these social variables in mind, data analysis revealed two additional variables that may trigger codeswitching: jobs and intense emotions. Moreover, the study concludes that codeswitching is not merely a product of linguistic factors but also because of sociological reasons. In addition, it poses a few questions that highlight more aspects of codeswitching that may interest future research.

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I would also like to sincerely thank my life partner and dedicate this success to him, in acknowledgement of the fact that: he let me dream and never curbed that. Thank you, Mohamed

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I remember having whispered the dream of a Master's Degree to some of my colleagues as an undergraduate, 20 years ago. Here I am, fulfilling the dream, and result it important to document that memory too.

I am profoundly grateful to every human who helped me evolve and who did not let me give up, even when I struggled not to! It is about time to celebrate this success with me.

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IPA	Arabic letter	Letter name
a[a]	ـَ	فَتْحَة (*fatḥah*)
		أَلِف (ʾ*alif*)
a:[b]	ـَا	الف مقصورة (ʾ*alif maqṣūrah*)
aj[c]	ـَيْ	يَاء (*yāʾ*)
aw[d]	ـَوْ	وَاو (*wāw*)
b	ب	بَاء (*bāʾ*)
d	د	دَال (*dāl*)

dˤ[e]	ض	ضَاد (*ḍād*)
dʒ	ج[f]	جِيم (*jīm*)
ð	ذ	ذَال (*dhāl*)
ðˤ	ظ	ظَاء (*ẓāʾ*)
f	ف	فَاء (*fāʾ*)
h	ه	هَاء (*hāʾ*)
ħ	ح	حَاء (*ḥāʾ*)
i[h]	◌ِ	كَسْرَة (*kasrah*)
i:[i]	ـِي	يَاء (*yāʾ*)
j	ي	يَاء (*yāʾ*)
k	ك	كَاف (kāf)
l	ل	لَام (*lām*)
m	م	مِيم (*mīm*)

n	ن	نُون (*nūn*)
q	ق	قَاف (*qāf*)
r	ر	رَاء (*rāʾ*)
s	س	سِين (*sīn*)
sˤ	ص	صَاد (*ṣād*)
ʃ	ش	شِين (*shīn*)
t	ت **or** ة	تَاء (*tāʾ*) تاء مربوطة (*tāʾ marbūṭah*)
tˤ	ط	طَاء (*ṭāʾ*)
θ	ث	ثَاء (*thāʾ*)
u	◌ُ	ضَمَّة (*ḍammah*)
uː	ـُو	وَاو (*wāw*)

w	و	**وَاو** (*wāw*)
x	خ	(*khāʾ*) **خَاء**
ɣ	غ	**غَيْن** (*ghayn*)
z	ز	**زَاي** (*zāy*)
ʔ	ء	**هَمْزة** (*hamzah*)
ʕ	ع	**عَيْن** (*ʕayn*)

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background and statement of the problem

In the recent years, the Egyptian media discourse has been abundantly employing one remarkable linguistic practice - namely "codeswitching", or the act of combining both, Arabic and English utterances, across multiple online and offline channels and means of communication. Codeswitching (CS) is, as per Bullock and Toribio (2009), a linguistic phenomenon in which a speaker alters between languages or codes within the same utterance, and it varies from codeswitching on a word level to a whole sentence level (Deterding, 2011). This thesis aims at tracing codeswitching in the spoken language of performed media, represented in 7 select modern Egyptian Arabic films that extensively employ codeswitched conversations. It is an attempt to examine such a phenomenon in a sociolinguistic context, by examining how particular social variables can trigger codeswitching: education, social class, stance-taking, identity, and age; and, therefore, it adopts a qualitative research approach to explore such linguistic behavior.

There is a lack in the available research on Arabic-English codeswitching in the Arabic film language, and this study will try to fill such a research gap, by examining how this linguistic practice is portrayed in the media by collecting and analyzing the codeswitching instances in the conversations of 7 Egyptian movies chosen for this study. Media discourse is a very significant resource for sociolinguistic studies, because the language of films and TV series, remains reflective

of the real sociolinguistic situation, and is also representative of how a particular linguistic phenomenon is perceived by the community and tackled in the media.

There are mixed attitudes towards codeswitching in the Arab world, although this linguistic practice has been increasingly adopted by Arabs from different countries, particularly Egypt. The Egyptian discourse has been growingly abundant in employing codeswitching across a whole array of communication channels: signboards in the streets, social media, drama, films and cinema, schools and universities, hospitals, etc. Therefore, this study is interested in exploring and questioning such a widespread linguistic practice and is founded on 2 research questions highlighted in the below section.

1.2 Research questions:

In the light of the sociolinguistic situation set forth above, this thesis attempts to answer the following research questions:

1) *Why do Egyptians tend to codeswitch from Arabic to English and vice versa? What social variables may trigger codeswitching?*

2) *How does the Egyptian community view codeswitching and the individuals who codeswitch between Arabic and English?*

1.3 Theoretical Framework

To answer the above research questions, the collected data on codeswitching, which came out in 43 excerpts – in total - extracted from the 7 movies mentioned, is analyzed within the framework of 3 theories: *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), the *Accommodation theory*, and the *Social Arena theory*. CDA views language as a type of social practice that is concerned with systematic investigation of hidden power relations as well as ideologies behind in discourse. Additionally, **while** Rogers (2004) views CDA as both a theory and a method, Fairclough (1995), sees critical discourse analysis more as a multidimensional method that views language use as "socially-constituted"; in other words, Fairclough is of the view that language influences society and society influences language in turn (Rogers, 2011).

Another theory that is employed to answer the research questions of this study on codeswitching is the *Accommodation theory (see Chapter 2)* of Howard Giles et al. (1987) which investigates the potential social motivations that lead to switching codes. It postulates that individuals, in their interaction with others, try to obtain the social approval of their audience. The third theory employed is the "**social arena**" theory for Scotton and Ury *(see Chapter 2)*. It defines 3 "*universal*" social arenas that affect code choice: *"identity, power, and transaction"* (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

1.4   Definitions of Constructs

1.4.1   Operational Definitions

1.4.1.1   **Code:** A language variety, namely English and colloquial Egyptian Arabic, constitutes a code in this study.

1.4.1.2   **Codeswitching:** For the purposes of this study, the term "codeswitching" refers to combining both codes, Egyptian colloquial Arabic and English utterances within the same conversation in the sample of Egyptian movies selected for collecting and analyzing data for this study.

1.4.2   Theoretical Definitions

1.4.2.1   **Code:** Any sign system, such as the human language, is considered a code. In the context of sociolinguistics, a code means a language or language variety. Sociolinguistics sees it more as a linguistic system rather than an abstract code. Such a code consists of language elements that bear meanings interpreted differently according to different styles/ registers or according to different social groups (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.2   **Codeswitching:**   As per Hymes (1974), codeswitching is a linguistic term describing the alternating use of two or more linguistic varieties, codes, or styles (Gumperz, 1977). In the same framework, Bokamba (1989) sees CS as an act of combining utterances or words from two distinct systems of grammar across sentence boundaries within the same speech situation. Similarly, Hoffman defines codeswitching as a situation in which 2 languages are employed within one utterance (Hoffmann, 2014).

Additionally, Myers-Scotton (1993) views CS as the process that involves alterations in the use of language varieties during the same speech event (Edwards & Myers-Scotton, 1995).

1.4.2.3   **Bilingual:** A bilingual is a speaker or a speech community that uses 2 languages or more (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.4   **Social Variables**: They are the speaker's social identity aspects, such as age, gender, social class, or ethnicity, that correlate to a particular language behavior in sociolinguistic research (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.5   **Media Discourse:** The term refers to spoken or written interactions taking place via a broadcast platform, in which discourse addresses a reader, listener, or viewer who is not present (O'Keeffe, 2011).

1.4.2.6   **Social Network:** A social network is comprised of individuals who regularly interact with one another (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.7   **Social Class:** According to Marxist sociology, the classical Marxist analysis classifies society into only two classes: the bourgeoisie "owner class", and the proletariat " the exploited non-owner class". However, the neo-Marxist approaches further identify two more classes: the intermediate and an ambiguous class, the middle class, that is both an "exploiter" and "exploited". On a sociolinguistic level, the concept of a social class has been used to shed light on how far the language use can further bisect along even clearly defined class lines. Worth mentioning is that in societies where there is a sharp stratification amongst social groups, well-defined class dialects exist (Swann, 2004).

Sociolinguistics takes into account socio-economic factors that entail information about certain social and economic aspects such as education, income, occupation, and housing, to determine the "social standing". These socio-economic factors or indices think of social differentiation more as a gradual – non-dichotomous - classification. Therefore, a larger number of partially overlapping social groups can be identified and differentiated based on such factors and indices. (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.8   **Identity:** *"A term used to refer to an individual's or group's sense of who they are, as defined by them and/or others. Identity can be expressed in a number of ways, for example in terms of nationality, geographical location, ethnicity, gender, social class, occupation etc. The relationship between language and identity has been studied in numerous ways in different sociolinguistic traditions. In quantitative approaches to the study of language variation, aspects of identity have been treated as social variables to be mapped against linguistic variables: for example studies have identified relationships between age, gender, and social class and the frequency of use of certain linguistic features. Studies of codeswitching have often seen this as indexing different aspects of bilingual speakers' identities. In New Literacy Studies the identity of communities has sometimes been categorised in terms of social class and ethnicity"* (Swann, 2004).

1.4.2.9   **Stance:** Stance theory is one social motivation for codeswitching. Identity is constructed through stance-taking, while people categorize themselves or others, forming their own identity and that of others (Mohamed Amin, 2018).

1.4.2.10   **Audience**: Refers to any person, or any group, who is listening to a speaker conveying a message. Delivery of the message may take different forms; yet, the act is the same—the speaker creates and delivers a message to a recipient(s) (*Introduction to What Is Audience Analysis? | Public Speaking*, n.d.).

1.4.2.11   **Speaker:** A person who addresses another person or a group of people (*Speaker - Dictionary Definition*, 2019).

1.5   Abbreviations:

1.5.2   **CS:** Codeswitching

1.5.3   **TAFL:** Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

1.5.4   **AFL:** Arabic as a Foreign Language

1.5.5   **AUC:** The American University in Cairo

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Traditional research on codeswitching

The term codeswitching was first introduced by the sociolinguist, Einar Haugen, in 1954, although the practice itself emerged in the early twenties (Benson, 2001)**.** Codeswitching is a common aspect of bilingual speech, yet, it has gained growing interest in the linguistic research field in the last two to three decades. Traditional research on codeswitching was mainly focused on 3 areas: "the **grammatical regularities** within codeswitched speech, represented in the research work of: "(*Myers Scotton 1993; Muysken 2000; Pop lack 2000; MacSwan 2014*)", "**the pragmatic motivations** behind switches, and that includes the studies of *"(Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998; Li Wei 2005)*", and finally "**the underlying psycholinguistic factors**, that are often examined through experimental methods instead of analyzing spontaneous natural data (Sciriha, 2016).

2.2   More recent research on codeswitching

In contrast with the traditional interests of research on codeswitching, more recent studies on the topic started to look into CS more as a component of a dynamic process rather than a static set of rules or patterns. That research trend has moved from "fixed discrete constructs" towards more examination of the "dialectic processes and interactions" that create meaning and establish such constructs (Sciriha, 2016). In other words, recent research on codeswitching has become more concerned with examining concepts and notions like how bilingual speakers can manipulate their linguistic repertoires with the aim of power-exercising in discourse; how they use their language

ideologies and practices to project or construct their perceived identities through utilizing an exceptional personal combination between and within the codes or language varieties they can speak (Sciriha, 2016).

1.3 "Third Wave" of language variation studies and the active role of a speaker

In the same context, as per what Eckert (2012) named the "***Third Wave***" in variation studies, research on codeswitching has become more interested in examining the active role of a speaker who is not passively following the existing language varieties available to them and is taking a more active role in coming up with their own varieties (Sciriha, 2016). Codeswitching is the best example and proof of such an active involvement. In other words, the emphasis on examining stylistic practices and personal language attitudes that characterize the "***Third Wave***" of research on language variation does not assign the speaker an inactive role as a mere stable carrier of dialect; on the contrary, it extends in its view to regard the speaker more as a "*stylistic agent*" capable of skillfully "*tailoring linguistic styles in ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation.*" (Sciriha, 2016). In that sense, language variation patterns become an integral part of the dynamic stylistic production process of the speaker's social differentiation (Sciriha, 2016).

1.4 Mixed Attitudes Towards Codeswitching in the Arab World

Speaking about the Arab world, there have been mixed attitudes towards codeswitching over the years. For example, In his research on codeswitching, Hleihil (2001) examined the motivations for CS as well as the attitudes towards this linguistic practice among Jordanian employees and customers in an American fast-food restaurant. His study revealed that the participants held different attitudes towards codeswitching, according to certain social variables such as gender, age, education, occupation, and region (S. Yaseen et al., 2021).

In this context, in her book, "***Arabic Sociolinguistics***", Bassiouney reviewed the most significant studies on codeswitching in the Arab world and monitored such differences in how codeswitching is perceived in the Arab region. She explained that most of the previous research in this field – such as that of Bentahila (1983) and Albirini (2016) - conducted on language attitudes in Arab countries revealed a strong negative attitude to CS between Arabic and English/French, represented in not applauding it as a linguistic practice (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022).

In contrast, more recent research in the same domain showed an obvious change in attitudes towards CS, since it started to gain more acceptance, especially amongst multilinguals, bilinguals, and the more socio-economically privileged individuals, who have more chances for exposure to Western cultures because of their education, lifestyle, or ability to travel. In addition, Bassiouney pointed out that language attitudes change in line with changes in ideologies and the ever-changing political and social conditions. Therefore, the altered attitudes towards codeswitching in the Arab region are not surprising, as they are a reflection of the changes in the political and socioeconomic

changes the Arab region has witnessed in the last 2 decades. There has been, consequently, a growing widespread of the codeswitching practice in Arab countries, even in the media discourse, online communication, in addition to boards and signs in public spaces, in recent years (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022). Such a prevalence of the codeswitching practice in the Arab world is evident in the sample Egyptian films selected for data collection for this study, as they reflect how the socio-economic and political changes affect code choice.

In a writing on the recent dominance of the English language over the Lebanese discourse that Lebanon has witnessed, Esseili (2017) clarifies that the Lebanese people have been innovatively blending Arabic with English on everyday items, such as mugs, T-shirts, billboards, greeting cards, and posters, in an attempt to "break the established conventions" about language practices. He also explained that such mixing of the two codes, (English and Arabic), is a direct reflection of the contemporary communication approaches and methods in the Arab region. In that sense, the evident expansion in the codeswitching practice marks a positive attitude to CS, even if this is only applicable to some social classes or groups more than others (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022).

Attitudes towards codeswitching in the Arab world are still relatively mixed. This is because, while many recent studies suggest that codeswitching is widespread and approved in some social circles, it is still a practice negatively looked at in others (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022). One study by Reigh (2014) on the language attitudes of students of the American University in Cairo, revealed that some students negatively looked at codeswitching and

considered it a means of "showing off". On the contrary, some others regarded it as a crucial means of fitting into particular social groups, and in the case of the said study, the more socio-economically prestigious and elite groups.

In the same context, the results Shalaby (2018) reached in a study conducted on the language attitudes of Egyptian bilingual students from two universities, one is international and another is national, indicate that in spite of the mixed views on Arabic-English CS, attitudes towards it are more positive than previously reported (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022). Yet, some key factors were found to be crucial variables for determining these attitudes: the type of high school education and the type of university education - private versus public; international versus national (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022). The study reported that students of a prestigious international university receiving all their instruction in English and who had formerly received international high school education certificates were found to have a significantly more positive attitude towards codeswitching compared to those enrolled in a national university English department who formerly received national high school education (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022).

Moreover, students of the international university were reported to have significantly higher rates of codeswitching on social media as compared to the national university participants. However, interviews with both groups showed that the majority of students in both groups had a tolerant attitude toward the linguistic practice of CS among bilinguals and did not consider it as an indicator of a lack of proficiency in either language. The national university group had negative attitudes towards practicing codeswitching in public (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022).

1.5 **Types of codeswitching:** *situational* **and** *metaphorical*

Gumperz introduced 2 types of codeswitching, focusing on its social aspect and usage. They are *situational codeswitching* and *metaphorical codeswitching*. For him, *situational CS* occurs due to factors other than the participants, such as the topic, setting, and type of change in the social situation. Conversely, *metaphorical codeswitching* is motivated by the individual interacting with other external factors such as the social context or the topic (Bassiouney, 2006).

In line with the classification of Gumperz, Wardhaugh (2006) defines situational and metaphorical codeswitching as follows: situational CS happens when speakers switch between the languages according to the situation in which the speech event takes place, while metaphorical CS is when a bilingual speaker change, according to the topic, the code or language they use (S. Yaseen et al., 2021).

Like Gumperz and Wardhaugh, Van Dulm (2007) also classifies CS into the same 2 types: metaphorical and situational. However, her definitions of the two terms are relatively different, since she defines metaphorical codeswitching as the process in which a bilingual speaker uses linguistic codes alternately on the accounts of change in the speech subject. Contrary to metaphorical CS, situational codeswitching – as per her definition – is when a bilingual speaker frequently switches from one code to another, according to the person spoken to (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012). Therefore, Van Dulm's definition of situational codeswitching is in line with Bell's views on the role of the audience in discourse.

1.6 Towards a more connected classification of the types of codeswitching

Such classification of CS into two distinct types – situational and metaphorical – poses challenges when applied since it proposes that there are disconnected motivations lead to each type of codeswitching, separately. Within the same frame of reference, Myers Scotton (1993) "*questions the viability of this division, and claims that there are a lot of similarities between both situational and metaphorical codeswitching…*" that need to be accounted for in a theoretical framework (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

In line with Myers Scotton's views on the classification of the types of codeswitching, Auer & Di Luzio (1984) see that codeswitching should be seen more as a continuum rather than a sharp distinction of 2 types. Even Gumperz evolved this distinction in 1982 as he stresses the role of metaphorical CS over situational CS (Reem Bassiouney, 2017); this is reflected in his choice of "***Conversational Codeswitching***" - rather than situational or conversational CS – to be a title of a chapter on codeswitching in his book, "***Discourse Strategies***". Thus, in such a revolutionary manner, Gumperz has emphasized the active role of the individual in CS. He even went on to think of codeswitching as a creative process for the individual who plays the major role in it (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

1.7 Functions of CS:

In her book, "***Functions of Code Switching in Egypt***", Bassiouney hypothesizes that codeswitching, as a linguistic phenomenon related to discourse, has sociolinguistic motivations that cannot be comprehended by solely examining syntax and structure. In this context, before

Blom and Gumperz published their article in 1972 on codeswitching, CS was initially perceived negatively, as a sign of a lack of linguistic competence and imperfect bilingualism of the person who cannot complete a conversation in one language (Reem Bassiouney, 2017). On the other hand, Weinreich (1953), before Gumperz, claimed that codeswitching occurs because of the environment around speakers or because of the nature of the speech event.

According to Gumperz (1982), people tend to codeswitch for many **purposes**: for *quotations*, to specify the addressee as a recipient of the message, to mark reiterations as well as interjections, to qualify a message, and to differentiate between personal and general tones (Gumperz, 1977). In addition to this list, Romaine makes a summary of Gumperz's given functions of CS, clarifying that codeswitching further achieves the below additional purposes:

"6. As sentence fillers

7. To clarify or emphasize a point

8. To shift to a new topic

9. To mark the type of discourse

10. To specify a social arena" (Reem Bassiouney, 2017)"

Goffman (1981), in addition, sums up the functions of CS in his fundamental view of the individual as a speaker who plays multiple roles using a language or a code to mark each new role played by them. Goffman calls this view, " a change in footing", which means changing the frame of the event. Frame here refers to changing how speakers perceive one another as well as the situation (Goffman, 1981). Romaine refers to the same idea Goffman discussed, considering codeswitching as the simple act of "*changing of hats*" when speakers engage in a conversation, as

they naturally manipulate their linguistic repertoire to work on fulfilling their own needs, altering their attitude and style, all at once (Romaine, 2009).

1.8 Theoretical Framework Explaining the Functions of Codeswitching

Bassiouney (2017) finds the distinctions and analyses of Gumperz as well as his successors too descriptive to enable making generalizations; therefore, she explored theoretical frameworks that may better construe the discourse functions of codeswitching in the case of both, monolingual and bilingual speech communities. Therefore, she examined **3 theories** on codeswitching (Reem Bassiouney, 2017). The researcher, for the purposes of this thesis, is employing these theories as relevant to the subject of this research. These 2 theories highlighted are: the *Accommodation Theory* of Howard Giles (1987), and the *Social Arena Theory*) of Scotton and Ury (1977), and the Critical Discourse Analysis theory.

1.8.1 The Accommodation Theory

The *accommodation theory* was formulated by Howard Giles et al. (1987) to examine the social motivations that trigger bilingual speakers to switch codes. It hypothesizes that speakers while interacting with others aim at gaining the audience's social approval (Giles, 2016). This urges them to make adjustments in speech to align themselves with the audience's code by adopting similar linguistic styles, to express solidarity, reduce social distance, or gaining approval (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012). This linguistic practice is termed, "*convergence*" and also "*accommodation*". On the other hand, if the speaker wants to distance or differentiate themselves from their audience, they mark the difference between them, at the one hand, and the audience, at

the other, through choosing a different code; this is known as "*speech divergence*" (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

1.8.2 The Social Arena Theory

For Scotton and Ury (1977), the term "**social arena**" was used to refer to 3 "*universal*" social arenas that influence the choice of code are identity, power, and transaction (Myers-Scotton, 1993). They hypothesize that a bilingual speaker alters codes either to define an interaction according to a particular social arena or they refrain from defining it altogether. Identity comes as the first social arena; a speaker switches codes based on the addressee's identity as well as that of the speaker. Power comes second in social arenas. The power arena postulates that CS occurs according to the power a speaker has over the audience, or the power the audience has over the speaker. Thirdly, transaction denotes that codeswitching happens based on the speech act or the situation.

In this context, Bassiouney concludes:

"*Within this framework, speakers as individuals make choices from their linguistic repertoire to achieve certain goals that are of significance to them. They act rationally because they have a set of choices and they presumably make the best choice. By 'the best choice', I mean the choice that will benefit the speaker most given his audience and the circumstances surrounding the speech event, and which involves the least effort on his part. That is to say, a speaker must calculate the costs and rewards of one choice over another ... 'Costs' refer to the quantity of words he uses, and 'rewards' refer to the intentional as well as referential meaning he conveys to his listeners ...The speaker makes choice that minimizes costs and maximizes rewards. Thus, speakers*

choose one code over another because of the rewards they expect from that choice, relative to its costs. So the role of the speaker is emphasized" (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

The role of the speaker in discourse and codeswitching

Johnstone and Bean (1997) stressed the active role of the individual in discourse and believed that "self-expression" plays a vital role in linguistic variation. In their article, "***Self-expression** **and linguistic variation***", they conduct a discourse analysis of the speech of 2 women from Texas in a public context, and they conclude that speakers use language fundamentally to express their individuality, not merely to identify themselves with or alienate themselves from a particular social group. Besides, they accentuate the active participation of the speaker in selecting and re-constructing the linguistic resources made available to them.

In line with that, Gal (1978) confirms such an active role of the speaker in language choice: "*A speaker's choice of code in a particular situation is part of that speaker's linguistic presentation of self. The speaker makes the choice as part of a verbal strategy to identify herself or himself with the social categories and activities the code symbolizes.*" (Reem Bassiouney, 2017)

The role of the audience in discourse and codeswitching

The significant role of the audience in influencing how people speak has been emphasized in Bell's article, "***Language style as audience design***" published in 1984. In it, he postulates that an individual's speech style is merely a response to their audience (Bell, 1984). Thus, he tends to think less of what role the situation or topic may play and emphasizes the role of the audience.

Yet, he claims that speakers still use their own unique style to "*redefine an existing situation*" (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

Although Bell may have tended to exaggerate in claiming that the audience has a more dominant role in the speech event much more than the speaker, Bassiouney (2017) believes that his views on the interrelatedness of the roles that the speaker and the audience play in any given interaction are valid (Reem Bassiouney, 2017).

Moreover, several studies on language variation and codeswitching, especially these studies exploring CS in the language of films and TV series, consider codeswitching a communication strategy usually employed to perform some sociolinguistic functions, including identity marking, stance-taking, linguistic avoidance, and humor.

1.8.3   Identity Marking, Social Class, and Stance

As per Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), a person codeswitches when they want to align themselves with a given social group or distance themselves from it. Codeswitching is an identity marker since it stimulates a sense of unity based on evoking mutual feelings of identity (Le Page, 1986). According to Mahootian (2005), CS is employed as a means of direct, evident, and undeniable emphasis of bilingual identity (Mahootian, 2005).

Moreover, according to Fishman (1972), CS can be an expression of social class, since bilingual speakers may use a particular language that is associated with a certain social class, on given occasions or when discussing certain topics (Fishman, 1972). Similarly, Myers Scotton believes that bilingual speakers opt to negotiate multiple identities all the time; therefore, she

considers this a fundamental factor in CS, as she believes that a significant motivation for variation in linguistic choices within the one community creates possibilities for social identity negotiations." (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Bassiouney investigates how the Egyptian identity is created, emphasized, and expressed through linguistic resources, such as code choice and code switching, especially taking into account the diglossic nature of the Arabic language. Speakers manipulate the language to take a particular stance, give themselves a certain identity and portray it to others (Reem Bassiouney, 2015).

Linguistic Avoidance:

According to some research on codeswitching, this linguistic practice can sometimes be employed for linguistic avoidance purposes. Linguistic avoidance refers to the strategic avoidance of directly referring to concepts, words, and utterances that are deemed taboo in a certain culture (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012). Thus, codeswitching can emerge out of "intra-group identity" as a technique for communication aimed at either aligning oneself to a particular social group or alienating oneself from them, as the situation may dictate. Moreover, CS is in some cases employed for expressing concepts that are felt to be identifiable only through a particular language and to bring about humor in "different speech situations" (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012).

1.8.4   Humor Factor in Media Discourse:

Within the context of using codeswitching in media discourse, particularly films or TV series, a study reveals that codeswitching from one code or variety to another is employed as a factor that brings about humor (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012). In that study, CS from formal

English to slang was used to ease the intensity of a sensitive topic (taboo) that tackles intense issues of illness and death (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012). The humor factor is also strongly present in the 7 select Egyptian films comprising data for this study.

Thus, CS serves multiple communication purposes that can be summed up as: "*Code-switching occurs so as to effectively refer to and explain concepts that are difficult to talk about using the formal code, to create humor, to accommodate or exclude individuals or groups and to compensate for language deficiency in speech.*" (Mukenge & Chimbarange, 2012)**.**

Chapter 3 - Methodology and Data Collection

3.1   Research Design

This study aims to investigate the social variables that influence the codeswitching practice in the Egyptian film language. To achieve this goal, 7 Egyptian Arabic films were specified to monitor the codeswitching phenomenon across different social contexts. Therefore, this study employs an exploratory qualitative research design approach, taking into account the nature of the data and the research questions. It is exploratory since it attempts to answer "***Why***" and "***What***", by trying to find out the reasons accounting for a particular linguistic phenomenon, without striving to provide final answers. Unlike quantitative studies that analyze large data amounts, this thesis is qualitative in the sense that it relies on purposeful sampling of data collected from a few Egyptian Arabic films to trace a certain linguistic feature in relation to particular social variables: education, identity, stance, and age. Therefore, the results of this study are merely indicative and shall not be generalized, not just because the research design is qualitative, but also because of the nature of the data analyzed, which is performed media discourse or film language that is hyperbolic and exaggerated, not natural speech.

3.2   Instruments

3.2.1   Annex:

An <u>annex</u> inclusive of a link to each film, followed by some excerpts containing codeswitching instances is enclosed with this study. Forty-three excerpts were collected in the form of tables showing conversations of varying lengths. Each

excerpt has its timespan mentioned on top of its containing table. The social background of the main characters engaged in codeswitching throughout the plots is clarified in the Results chapter (Chapter 4).

3.2.2 A Brief Background of the Main Characters Who Codeswitched

Characters:

- *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha*

Naguiba:

Naguiba was a top achiever at high school, a public school, Thanawya Amma. She was the only child her parents had; therefore, they, especially her father, paid great attention to raising her well and encouraging her to pursue her education. He was very proud of her success and happy for it, and he even urged her to join the Faculty of Archaeology. Naguiba came from a humble socio-economic class. Her father was a worker at Nabil's father's factory but later was fired (laid out). Out of her sense of responsibility, Naguiba, to help her father overcome the financial crisis that resulted from losing his job she looked for job opportunities for herself, until the principal of her former school gave her a job at the same school Naguiba was once a student at. Initially, and until Naguiba went to college, she used to speak only in Arabic, colloquial of the cultured, since she used to study and learn by heart. Only when Naguiba was admitted to the university and was around certain social networks such as that of Nabil that she started to make speech adjustments and codeswitch to English, even with her parents at home and ironically when she was arrested by the police.

Nabil:

A rich young man, an undergraduate student at the Faculty of Archeology struggled to graduate because of one course he could not pass, and that course was attended by Naguiba in her first year at the university. As Nabil came from a rich family, he used to go to the university in extravagant cars that impressed Naguiba, and he used to codeswitch into English in most of his conversations. Nabil was advised by his friends to befriend Naguiba or to pretend he cares for Naguiba so that he can use her to pass his exams. Naguiba and Nabil swapped their answer sheets at the final exam of that course so that Naguiba could help Nabil with his answer sheet. Ironically, Naguiba had not written her name on the paper she answered; as soon as Nabil realized that, he wrote his name on her paper as the invigilator asked him why he did not write his name on the answer sheet that was in his hand. As a result, Nabil succeeded, while Naguiba failed at that final exam, which marks her failure for the first time in her entire life. Once Nabil passed the final exams, he engaged another girl, deserted Naguiba without a word, and no longer replied to her phone calls.

Nabil's Fiancée:

No detailed representation of the social and psychological backgrounds of the character of the fiancée could be traced. Even her name was not clarified. She was presented as a junior student. She attracted Nabil's attention at first sight, and she seemed to come from the same – or a similar – socio-economic background of Nabil. When she spoke to Naguiba, her tone, and her code choices revealed arrogance and affiliation with an upper social class.

- *Assal Eswed*

Masri:

Masri was an Egyptian living in the United States with his parents. He spent part of his childhood in the United States, while he still had childhood memories in Egypt. He left America and decided to come back to Egypt. However, his childhood impressions of Egypt were different from how he found the country. Masri imagined that if he reinforced his Egyptian identity during his stay in Egypt, he would be treated better by his fellow Egyptians. Yet, to his surprise, every time he dealt with Egyptians, and they realized that he was Egyptian and not a Native American, their attitude towards him was changed or they made things more difficult for him. In his stay in Egypt, he was faced with many hardships and challenges although his past neighbors supported him at many levels.

Radi:

Radi worked as a driver around the airport, giving errands to travelers and foreigners who just arrived in the country. In his first scene, he kept calling on arriving travelers outside the airport and by chance, Masri heard him and waved to him to drive him home. Radi was portrayed with an affiliation to a low social class, with a relatively poor code of ethics. He tended to manipulate Masri, namely in terms of finances. Once, he helped Masri, being a legal warrant for him at the police station, to free Masri when he was once arrested.

- *Morgan Ahmad Morgan*

Morgan:

Morgan was a very successful businessman and a millionaire who had not been privileged enough to receive a proper education. He lived with his son and daughter, who were studying at an international university; Morgan's children always felt disheartened by the fact that their father was not well-educated. Therefore, he was urged to join the same university where his children, Aliaa and Ouday, studied. Morgan took that step after he met his son's professor, Doctor Gehan, at a tennis game between his son and professor Gehan. Morgan made donations to the university and was admitted to study there. In multiple scenes, he happened to be studying in the same classes of his children, an old man, joining undergraduate students in class, changing his dress code from formal to casual whenever he was living his student life.

Gihan:

Gihan was a professor at an international university. She represented the role model to Morgan's children and she always cared about and supported Aliaa, Morgan's daughter. Professor Gehan was the only character who was not impressed by Morgan's wealth, although he repeatedly tried to impress her throughout the film, until she accepted his marriage proposal.

Ouday:

Ouday was Morgan's son; he was a well-behaved young man, enrolled at an international university. He took his studies seriously and encouraged his father's decision to pursue an academic degree.

- *Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda*

Ramzy:

Razmy was the son of the minister of education and an international high school student. He was portrayed as a spoiled and relatively disrespectful teenager. His father once punished him by transferring him from his international school to a public school in the village where the minister himself received his education. Thus, Ramzy came from a powerful family, both at the social and economic levels. This can be seen in the luxurious car Ramsey drove from Cairo to the village where the new school was located, as he caused Ramadan, an Arabic teacher, to have an accident on the road.

- *Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah*

Syada:

Syada was a student at the American University in Cairo in her first year and she was granted a partial scholarship to study at the university. She came from a middle social class, while her friends were affiliated with different social classes, mostly the more prestigious ones. Abla, whose father

was a very powerful man, was Syada's friend and they used to study together at school. Syada was always seen in a practical casual dress code, wearing eyeglasses and a backpack.

Hashim:

Hashim was a student at the American University in Cairo; he came from a very rich family, and he used to live alone from time to time, as his parents used to travel frequently. He was friendly to his colleagues, even to Khalaf, although they did not share the same socio-economic background. He was characterized as an outgoing young man who liked to party and sometimes even take drugs.

Serag:

Serag was an assistant professor at the American University in Cairo. He taught a course on Political Science and seemed to have some bias towards the upper social classes. He wanted to reinforce his relationship with Abla and engage her, seemingly to have connections with her powerful father. On the other hand, in more than one situation he seemed to have a negative attitude towards Khalaf and his colleagues who were sometimes political activists. The first time Serag introduced himself to the class, he expressed his willingness to be considered their friend and classmate.

Abla:

Abla was a student at AUC. Her father was a man of politics and power. She was a very delicate and decent young lady, attracted to Serag, an assistant professor at her university. Khalaf had an affection for Abla, but she was attracted to Serag.

Khalaf:

Khalaf was a top achiever at high school, Thanawya Ammah, and therefore was granted a scholarship at the American University in Cairo. As a result, he moved from his village to Cairo. He shared an apartment with two of his friends who lived in Cairo. Khalaf was a hard-working student who wanted to dedicate all his efforts to studying. He started to be friends with his colleagues and peers who came from upper social classes. However, he remained true to his roots; even at the very beginning of the movie, he went to the university wearing formal attire, a suit, until his friends helped him change his dress code. Khalf first had a crush 4 Abla, but eventually, he found himself attracted to Syada on accounts of her unconditional support for him.

- *H. Dabour:*

Haitham Dabour:

Haitham Dabour came from a rich family, as his father was a successful businessman. He was a very spoiled young man who irresponsibly urged his driver to always be dressed in different costumes in his working hours. For example, once ordered his driver to be dressed in an Irish skirt, and another time in Superman's suit. Haitham was faced with adversity as his father unjustly was

arrested and all their properties were confiscated. At that difficult time, his past driver hosted him and made him stay at his home.

Serianosy:

Haitham Dabour's driver was a poor old man from a humble socio-economic class. He was the only person who did not forsake his past employer, Haitham Dabour, when the latter was faced with adversity and his family's assets were confiscated. Serianosy tried to help Haitham Dabour at his tough time; he tried to find him work and helped him in his journey to prove his father's innocence.

- *Teer Enta*

H. Dabour

Since this movie traces multiple storylines with different characters, there are no in-depth details about the life of H. Dabour. The storyline in which he was presented is confined to only one long scene at a nightclub or a disco place, a dance floor, and then a dining table where he spent the rest of the night talking with a young lady who danced with him. Through their dress code, as they both decided to be dressed in the 70s style, as well as their conversation, few aspects about their characters are revealed. For example, their conversation revealed that they buy drugs from the same dealer and that they have similar habits and stances. The conversation also revealed their recklessness, as they decided to marry, although they just met.

Misho:

Misho was a bodybuilding trainer and model. He had a peculiar way of speaking, tone of voice, and dress code. He used to go to the hairdresser's to do his nails, and for that very reason, he once refrained from helping a young lady change her car tire on the high way. Additionally, Misho was conceptualized as very "open-minded" to an extreme, lacking chivalry and a healthy level of jealousy; once a young lady was with him and burglars stopped them on the road, and he did not try to stop them or protect her. He used to pay great attention to his appearance, due to his career in modeling.

3.3   Procedure

The films selected to collect the data for this study have been previously watched by the researcher for leisure; they came involuntarily to the researcher's mind, as well-known films that are rich in codeswitching of their times. The era in which these 7 films were produced and released fall between 1998 and 2010. To sample data for this study, the researcher re-watched the 7 films in full, to manually transcribe the scenes and collect conversations/excerpts that have codeswitched utterances and also to manually mark their timings on the <u>annex</u> sheet that contains the 43 extracted excerpts. The study covered the majority of conversations containing codeswitching instances, excluding only conversations that involve expressions that are not convenient to be part of the study and those that have only on one word in English. The data collection and sampling process took approximately one month to complete.

The data analysis was initially structured to analyze the results per each film separately. Then, it was found more logical to classify those initial results (codeswitching instances) of each film per the social variable they are associated with or triggered by. These processes finally yielded 2 tables. The first table estimated the codeswitching instances each film contained, as per the collected excerpts which covered the vast majority of the CS utterances in each film. On the other hand, table two listed the frequency of the CS instances triggered by each social variable, as per the collected data.

While the Annex contains the full record of excerpts extracted and their exact time slots, in the results section, the researcher sufficed with including only 2 – 3 examples per each result for in-depth explanation and analysis.

3.4   Data Analysis

As a following step, given the social background of the main characters engaged in the codeswitching practice by studying the plot events of each source film, the researcher could detect the social variables that may have triggered the speech act of codeswitching or which sociolinguistic function/s it may serve. This is achieved by estimating the frequency of codeswitching instances corresponding to or triggered by each social variable: education, social class, identity, and stance. In addition to the initial social variables the study set out to explore, the data analysis revealed 2 additional variables that account for codeswitching: jobs and intense emotions/reactions (See Chapter 4, Tables 1 and 2).

In the context of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, the Accommodation theory, and the Social Arena theory (See Chapter 2), the sampled data of 43 excerpts is analyzed, with a special focus on the social variables of education, identity, social class, stance-taking, and age. Critical Discourse Analysis is a modern branch of linguistic research that aims at exploring the interrelations between language, ideology, and power. CDA framework seeks to demonstrate how ideology can affect discourse and vice versa, and to show how both, discourse and ideology can stem from - and also serve - social structure as well as power relations.

On a different note, two common factors can be traced across the 7 select films to be associated with the codeswitching practice; namely: humor and young age. These 2 factors are also investigated to explore how the media representation of codeswitching reflects the community's perceptions of this phenomenon. However, the results are merely indicative and cannot be generalized, taking into account that the study is exploratory and qualitative, and the data is performed language.

3.5   Rationale for the Choice of Data

The 7 select Egyptian films were purposefully chosen because of the nature of their discourse: Egyptian colloquial Arabic with rich instances of codeswitching into English. The films cover the period starting from the year 1998 and after, and they are namely:

1) *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha*

2) *Assal Eswed*

3) *Morgan Ahmad Morgan*

4) *Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda*

5) *Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah*

6) *Teer Enta*

7) *H. Dabour*

The collected data (comprised of written excerpts with CS utterances) depicts verbal communication by individuals who frequently codeswitch due to their level of education and age, in addition to other social variables such as stance-taking and identity construction. This study, through its choice of data, aims to shed light on how education can be indicative of being associated with a higher social class or a certain identity, and how education, age, identity, or stance can trigger codeswitching in different social contexts, within the framework of the critical discourse analysis theory, accommodation theory, and social arena theory.

The exploratory qualitative research method was adopted for the purposes of this study, because of the relative lack of research on codeswitching in the language of Arabic films and TV series. Therefore, this study aims at exploring the research questions mentioned above, without intending to provide final conclusive answers. Hence, the results of this study cannot be generalized nor be considered conclusive, since it is exploratory and qualitative in nature; yet, it may inspire future research with more conclusive results on the subject (Dudovskiy, 2012).

3.6   Film Language for Research

Monika Bednarek accounts for the importance of studying TV and film language as she believes that: *"Films and TV series are popular cultural products with massive global audiences. They construct and reflect social realities, invite audience engagement and create other discourses such as fan reactions, critics' comments or 'water cooler conversations'. They are also increasingly sophisticated narratives, with complex characters and plots. The language used in TV/film texts is consumed by billions of viewers world-wide. These are only some of the reasons why such texts are worthy of discourse analysis.* At the same time, such narratives integrate multiple meaning-making resources…" (Baker & Mcenery, 2015)

Moreover, as per Mestre de Caro (2013), films can be an effective means of studying the linguistic forms describing a given speech community (Ismail, 2015). This is because films are considered one of the sources of authentic language input, that is defined by Gilmore as the language produced by a speaker or a writer "for a real audience" with the aim of conveying a "real message" (Ismail, 2015). In addition, over the past 2 decades, the language of films and TV series has acquired the increasing interest of linguistics researchers, such as: *"Tagliamonte and Roberts, 2005; Mandala, 2007; Richardson, 2010; Piazza et al., 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2012b*" (Baker & Mcenery, 2015). This has covered corpus-based studies in sub-fields of linguistics like discourse and register, translation, and second language acquisition (Baker & Mcenery, 2015).

3.7   Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations:

Like any research work, this study has some limitations that need to be taken into account. Firstly, the data collection process was confined to only seven Egyptian Arabic films, which may not be necessarily enough to fully reflect the codeswitching practices in the Egyptian society. Although the films were selected purposefully and are known to be rich in codeswitching, there is a chance that other films or contexts in which codeswitching occurs that were not introduced in this study. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be generalized to a wider scale.

Secondly, the study relied on a qualitative exploratory research design, which was appropriate for the research questions addressed. However, while the approach allows for an in-depth understanding of the social variables that may influence codeswitching, it may not be enough for statistical generalization of the results, especially because some codeswitching instances may be associated with more than one social variable at the same time. Therefore, a conclusive estimation of the frequency of CS instances per each social variable was challenging. Therefore, the results of this study should be interpreted as indicative rather than conclusive.

Thirdly, the data analyzed in this study was collected from film language, which, despite its great significance, may not accurately represent the natural speech patterns. Therefore, proceeding with comparing the results of this study to natural speech patterns should be exercised

with caution. Finally, the data analysis and frequency rates were based on the researcher's interpretation of the data and the application of the theoretical framework mentioned above (See Chapter Four). While the researcher observed objectivity to the best of her knowledge, other researchers may interpret the data differently or may employ a different theoretical framework to explain codeswitching, and may consequently reach different results and/or conclusions.

Nevertheless, in spite of the aforesaid limitations, this study may provide insights on the potential social variables triggering or influencing codeswitching practices in Egyptian society, which may inspire further future research in this area.

Delimitations:

Selection of films for data collection only covered the era from 1998 to 2010. Perhaps the linguistic situation or the community stances towards codeswitching differed, at one level or another, from 2010 to this very date. The 7 movies selected were the most reminiscent of codeswitching at their times, to the best knowledge of the researcher. On another note, the choice of scenes and conversations sampled was not based on targeting the most popular comic scenes, but instead looked for the ones that are most representative of the sociolinguistic phenomenon. The researcher tried to cover the vast majority of scenes containing codeswitching in each movie, and at the early stages of the research was aiming for covering all the codeswitching instances. However, when re-watching the works with the aim of manual data extraction and transcription, the researcher then decided to exclude the conversations that contain CS but either have expressions that are not convenient to be part of the study, or that rely only on one English word codemixed in a conversation.

Chapter 4 – Results

This study is designed to examine the social motivations that may trigger codeswitching from Arabic into English in Egyptian Arabic films; namely, education, social class, identity, stance, and age. For this purpose, data was collected from 7 modern Egyptian films, in a total of 43 excerpts (See Annex) extracted for analysis, to look for answers to the following research questions:

1. **Why do Egyptians tend to codeswitch from Arabic to English and vice versa? What social variables may trigger codeswitching?**

2. **How does the Egyptian community view codeswitching and the individuals who codeswitch between Arabic and English?**

The collected excerpts were analyzed in the light of 3 theories: the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory, the Accommodation theory, and the Social Arena theory. Therefore, the analysis focused on particular social variables, which are education, identity, social class, stance-taking, and age, in relation to codeswitching in the sampled data.

4.1 Structure of the Chapter

The chapter will present the results and observations derived from examining the sampled data. It is structured to begin with two tables showcasing the frequencies of codeswitching traced per film and per social variable. The subsequent section will document the results that address each of the 2 research questions, followed by 2-3 representative examples supporting each result; the full examples of codeswitching instances extracted can be checked in the annex. The first research question will provide results on the social variables of education, social class, identity, stance, and age, beside two additional variables the data analysis revealed: jobs and intense emotions as triggering factors for codeswitching. Moreover, the second research question will be explored through the results on the different community views presented by the media about the individuals who codeswitch, their lifestyle, and personal characteristics, represented in the stances and identities of characters that engage in codeswitching and those of their interlocutors.

4.2 Tables of estimated codeswitching instances

Table 1: Codeswitching Frequency per Film

Name of the Film	The Number of Codeswitching Instances Contained (as per the data samples)
Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha	59 times
Assal Eswed	72 times

Morgan Ahmad Morgan	17 times
Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda	24 times
Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah	50 times
Teer Enta	79 times
H. Dabour	19 times

Table 2: Codeswitching Frequency per Each Variable

	Variable	The number of CS instances
1.	**Social Class, identity, and stance**	224 times
2.	**Jobs**	52 times
3.	**Intense emotions/reactions**	35 times
4.	**Education**	32 times
5.	**Age**	303 times
6.	**Humour**	301 times

4.3 Results related to the first research question

Why do Egyptians tend to codeswitch from Arabic to English and vice versa? What social variables may trigger codeswitching?

A thorough analysis of 43 excerpts and an examination of the codeswitching instances they contained revealed a few significant observations and results discussed in the below section. As portrayed in the Egyptian media, according to the data, Egyptians may codeswitch for a variety of reasons, under different social contexts and emotional statuses, and to achieve distinct goals. The data indicated that Egyptian citizens coming from different social classes and backgrounds may codeswitch, to achieve different goals. The data also proposed that exposure to or - interaction with - certain social networks can result in making speech adjustments to associate oneself with the more powerful social networks. Moreover, it also suggested that codeswitching is more likely to be practiced by the younger ages (university and high school students), as well as young men and women performing their job duties. Besides, it was shown that the older ages demonstrated less flexibility in altering between speech codes. It was also found that bilingual speakers may exhibit an urge to codeswitch, when emotionally triggered, in reaction to frustrating, embarrassing, or provoking situations.

As previously mentioned, this study started with an inquiry to examine how five particular social motivations are tied to codeswitching between the two codes: Egyptian

colloquial Arabic and English; these 5 social variables are: education, social class, identity, stance, and age. However, the data analysis revealed 2 additional variables that are worth taking note of jobs and intense emotions as potential triggers for codeswitching. The below section will shed light on the results related to each variable; yet, the results on the three variables of social class, identity, and stance are combined under the second point, since the observations on them were found to be integrated and codependent.

4.3.2   Education

The results of the data analysis indicated that education could be a primary reason for codeswitching, especially in academic contexts; such linguistic behavior can even extend beyond the contexts of academia to other life situations. An examination of the results revealed that 5 out of a total of 7 films presented codeswitching in an educational context: a high school, a university, or a language course. Data analysis revealed that codeswitching instances were mostly uttered either by high school students, undergraduate students, university Professors, or language learners, although 32 instances were detected to be directly related to an educational factor or an academic context; international university students and Professors may codeswitch to English or use English terms when referring to specific educational concepts; for example, "civilization", "research", "exam", and "open book", as presented in *Morgan Ahmad Morgan*.

Excerpt 16 (See Annex) traces a conversation between Morgan and two other undergraduate students in a classroom at the university. It was Morgan's first time attending the university which he was recently admitted by virtue of his capacity as a well-known

businessman donating a big sum of money to the university, in addition to the fact that Morgan's children were both enrolled at the same university. He was introduced to his new colleagues who were undergraduate students. A few lines of the excerpt are analyzed below.

Excerpt 16:

Lines 3 to 5:

3.

Female student: **دا امتحان Open-book**

da: ʔmtiħa:n open-book

This is an open book-exam.

4.

Morgan: **Open-book إزاي يعني؟**

Open-book ʔiza:j jaʕni:?

How is that open-book exam?

5.

Female student: **مسموح نبص في الكتب والمراجع**

masmu:ħ nibusˤ fil kutub wil-

mara:dʒiʕ

We are allowed to use books and

references.

Mogran entered his class for the first time. To his surprise, there was an exam scheduled to start. A female student gave him some instructions and offered him a reference and a paper. In line 3, she was trying to draw Morgan's attention to the fact that the exam that was about to begin was an "***open-book***" exam; she referred to that type of exam in English. Thus, to refer to an educational concept, she codeswitched to English, saying: "***Open-book*** دا امتحان'".

In other words, she did not think of any other well-known equivalent for this term in Arabic, until she realized that Morgan did not understand the English term as he asked her what she meant, in line 4. Therefore, she made some speech adjustments by explaining the term in Arabic, and thus, aligning herself with Morgan's predominant speech code (Arabic) to successfully convey the meaning.

Then, lines 17 and 18 of the same excerpt (16) shed light on a brief conversation between Ouday and Professor Gehan, during the same class which Morgan started to attend.

A student enters the class at this point, late. His name is Ouday and he is Morgan's son.

17.

Ouday:

أنا متأسف جدًا يا دكتور.. أنا الوقت سرقني وأنا في المكتبة بعمل research وبعدين..

ʔana: mutaʔassif giddan ja: dukto:r.. ʔana: il-waʔt saræʔni: wana: fil makttaba baʕmil research wibaʕdi:n..

I'm so sorry, Professor. I didn't feel the passing of time while I was doing research, at the library.

18.

Dr. Gehan interrupts Ouday:

إنت متأخر ربع ساعة عن المحاضرة يا عُدي..إنت عارف إن النهاردة فيه exam

الوقت دا مخصوم من وقت إجابتك.

ʔinta: mitʔaxar rubʕ sa:ʕa ʕan il-muħa:dˤra ja: ʕudajj..ʔinta ʕa:rif ʔinn il-naha:rda fi:h exam.

il-waʔt da: mxsˤu:m min waʔt ʔigabtak

You're 15 minutes late to class, Ouday! You

know that you have an exam today. Those 15

minutes are taken out of your answer time.

In line 17, Ouday was addressing Professor Gehan in Arabic, apologizing for his late arrival to class; as he was explaining his reasons for coming late, he told her he was at the library, doing "***research***" and lost track of the time. And in line 18, Professor Gehan responded to Ouday in Arabic too but – similarly - mixed one English word in her response, as she said this late arrival would affect the "***exam***" time for Ouday. Thus, both the student and the Professor codeswitched to include some English words commonly used for academic purposes or in educational contexts, as if these words, "***open book***", "***research***" and "***exam***" are examples of established terms in advanced educational institutions. Overall, excerpt 16 presents education as a main motivation for codeswitching in an educational institution.

Studying the 5 excerpts collected from ***Morgan Ahmad Morgan***, it was revealed that the use of the English language was either by the students or Professors of an international university. Morgan, on the other hand, was a parent of 2 students enrolled at the same university, and who was a very rich businessman coming from a socio-economically powerful class but did not receive a proper education, unlike his children, he scarcely codeswitched to English. In the very few examples when he did, that was after he joined the university, and it was codeswitching at a word level, mostly repeating an utterance of another undergraduate. This implies that education was the main social variable that accounted for

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codeswitching in the context of this film, even superseding social class as a triggering factor for CS.

In the same context, *Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah* is one of the films that yielded abundant results in the number of codeswitching instances (See Table 1). As the name implies, education and social class are supposedly the most predominant social variables in this sample of data. An analysis of the 9 excerpts extracted from the film found evidence for the occurrence of codeswitching in the speech of undergraduate students, such as Abla, Hashim, Seyada, and Khalaf, as well as the speech of Serag, an Assistant Professor at the American University, who had 2 national identities, being an American Egyptian.

Excerpt 28 depicts part of a scene in which Serag introduced himself to his class at the beginning of a new academic year. Line 1 is quoted below for analysis:

Excerpt 28:

Line 1:

1.   **Teacher:**   **Welcome to the AUC.**

أحب أرحب بيكم في أول محاضرة لينا هنا في الـLab

قبل أي حاجة، أحب أعرفكم بنفسي، سراج طايل،

Assistant Professor، وهندرس مع بعض

الـPolitical Science..

على فكرة أنا مصري المولد، وأمريكي الجنسية!

Welcome to the AUC.

ʔaħib ʔraħhab biːkum fiː ʔawil muħaːdˤra liːnaː hinaː fil lab. ʔabl ʔajj ħaːga ʔaħb ʔaʕarfkkum binafsiː. seraːg tˤaːjil wehanedris maʕ baʕdˤ ʔil political science.

ʕala fikra ʔanaː masˤrjj ʔilmawlid w-ʔamrj] iːkijj-l gensijjia

Welcome to the AUC.

I would like to welcome you to our first class in the lab. First of all, I'd like to introduce myself to you, Serag Tayel, Assistant Professor; I'm going to teach you Political Science.

By the way, I am Egyptian by birth, and an American citizen.

In line 1, it was found that Serag codeswitched into English while speaking about: the university, "***Welcome to the AUC***", his job title, "***Assistant Professor***", and then the course he was to teach, "***Political Science***". Serag used English as a speech code, to welcome the new students who just joined the American University in Cairo and to introduce his identity as a faculty staff. This poses another example of codeswitching being associated with an academic context, suggesting that education can contribute to or account for codeswitching.

4.3.2   Social Class, identity, and stance

Data analysis results hypothesize that social class can be an identity marker. Moreover, identity and stance were found to be almost inseparable; in other words, constructing one's identity or perceiving another individual's identity already involves taking or representing a particular stance. A strong correlation was detected between these social variables: social class, identity, and stance, and therefore, results related to these 3 social variables are collectively discussed in this section.

The data revealed that Egyptians may codeswitch to English due to their social class or lifestyle, if they lead a life of richness, access to power, exposure to Western culture, good education, or due to their desire to sound or seem "cool", which are all indexed in speaking English. However, people from lower social classes who do not have access to all these resources may still be found to codeswitch sometimes, to assume a certain identity that is associated with upper social classes, since English is known amongst the Egyptian

community to index proper education, wealth, and/or association with powerful or influential social networks.

In *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha"*, the codeswitching instances were found to be tied to social class and social networks, in addition to the presence of the educational factor, as social variables. Naguiba was a former top achiever at high school, Thanawya Ammah, descending from a humble socio-economic background, whose language sounded closer to Modern Standard Arabic before she joined the university. She did not codeswitch into English until she was admitted to college and introduced to new social networks. She wanted to align herself with another social group from an upper social class, to win the love of a prospective future fiancée, Nabil. Besides, the data revealed that the characters who engaged frequently in codeswitching were university students and undergraduates, either coming from an upper social class, such as Nabil and his fiancée, or coming from an economically and socially less privileged class wanting to associate themselves with upper social classes, like Naguiba. They were all students at the Faculty of Archaeology; Nabil was a senior student, while the 2 ladies were juniors.

Naguiba seemed to have fallen in love with her new identity as an undergraduate student – as indexed in her codeswitching to English - and was observed to codeswitch even beyond the scope of her academic life in the university to the point of speaking English in her conversations with her parents at home (See Annex, excerpt 4) and even at the police station when she got arrested (See Annex, excerpt 7).

In choosing a different speech code, Naguiba was re-defining her stance from her parents and former background, as she tried to dissociate herself from their code and eventually from their social class and identity. As if, speaking Arabic indexed locality while English indexed affiliation with sophistication. Even when she spoke Arabic, she used a speech style that was different from that of her parents and also from the MSA style that formerly marked her speech, as shown in line 18 when she was addressing her dad, asking him to calm down in slang Arabic:

"بقولك إيه يا ميتو، كبر الجمجمة وُفكك من اللبش دا! موووة.. ههههه"

baʔullak ʔiːh jaː miːtuː, kabbaril gumgumma wifukk min il-labaʃ daː! Muwwwah.."laughs"

"Meto, come on! Be cool and stop minding these issues! "A kiss", Hahahaha."

Excerpt 5 (See Annex) revealed that both Naguiba and Nabil were making speech adjustments; Nabil was maintaining most of his speech in Arabic, while Naguiba codemixed English words in her responses frequently, to align themselves with each other and gain each other's acceptance. However, each of them had different reasons for wanting to gain the other's approval: Naguiba saw in him a potential future husband, whereas Nabil wanted to manipulate her, as a top achiever student, to pass his last academic year to graduate, as he happened to be enrolled in a course she was enrolled at, although it was Naguiba's first year at college. Nabil was best known for codeswitching into English, which urged Naguiba to

speak to him in his code, while, on the other hand, Nabil adjusted to using her original code of speech, Arabic; the stance of each of them was that of alignment with the identity of one another. For example, Naguiba used English words like: "***yes***", "***wow***", "***sure***", "***yeah***", and "***thanks***", to give Nabil the impression that she has become "cool", like him, indexing that her identity is more like his. On the other hand, he still cared to use Arabic frequently to gain her trust and approval.

Later, excerpt 6 (Annex), shows that contrary to such an initial stance, once Naguiba realized that Nabil was only making use of her to pass the final exams of that academic year and that he eventually engaged another girl, she used the Arabic code of speech more often as she confronted him. On the other hand, Nabil codeswitched to English repeatedly. Such a change in their code choices suggests two things: first, they were, at this point, dissociating themselves from one another, choosing different stances, and representing two distinct identities; secondly, this may also support the result on codeswitching as a reaction to intense emotions such as anger or provocation, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

A few lines of excerpt 6 that mark the change in their stances towards each other are below presented for discussion:

Excerpt 6:

<u>Lines 2 to 4:</u>

2.

Naguiba:

مبروك يا أبو الكباتن.. مش كُت تعزمنا؟

mabr<u>u:</u>k ja: ʔabul kaba:tin.. miʃ kut

tiʕzimna:?

Congrats, big boss! Why didn't you invite

me?

3.

Nabil:

معلش يا نجيبة، أصل I was very busy

maʕliʃ ja: nag<u>i:</u>ba, ʔasˤl I was very busy.

Excuse me, Naguiba. I was very busy.

4.

Naguiba:

إنت مبتردش على تليفونك ليه؟ بقالك عشرتيام مختفي

ʔinta mabitruddiʃ ʕala: tilif<u>u:</u>nak l<u>i:</u>h?

baʔa:lak ʕaʃar tijjia:m muxtafji

Why don't you pick up phone calls? You

disappeared for ten days!

10	تيجي عشان تتقدملي..عشان تخطبني! مش دا كان
Naguiba:	إتفاقنا؟

ti:gi: ʕaʃa:n titʔad <u>i:i:</u>.ʕaʃa:n tuxtuˤbn<u>i:</u>! miʃ

da: ka:n ʔitifaʕna?

You should have come to propose to me, to

engage me.. Didn't we have an agreement?

11	**Of course, Naguiba !طبعًا..إءء-آاا**
Nabil:	**Of course! Of course!**
	منورة ..ههه

ʔa:a: ʔiʔʔ tˤabaʕan Of course, Naguiba

Of course! Of course!

mina:.wara .."laughs"

Yes, of course. Of course Naguiba.

Of course! Of course!

Happy you're here! Haha.

12	**Nabil's fiancée, putting her hand on his shoulder:**	**Hi يا نجيبة** **Baby,** **أنا زعلت أوي أما عرفت إنك سقطتي السنة دي.** **Hard luck! No problem, you can do it!** Hi ja: nagi:ba Baby, ʔana: ziʕilt ʔawi: ʔamma ʕirift ʔinnik siʔtˤti: ʔilsana: di:. Hard luck! No problem, you can do it! Oh, Naguiba! Baby, I'm so sad to know you failed this year. Hard luck! No problem, you can do it!
13	**Naguiba:**	**Hmmm.. No problem?** **أهم حاجة بس لنبيل إن هو نجح وطلع الأول.** Hmmm.. No problem? ʔaham ħa:ga bas linabi:l ʔn huwwa: nigiħ witˤliʕ ʔl-ʔa:wal.

Hmmm.. No problem?

Most importantly Nabil succeeded and

was ranked first.

| 14 | **Nabil's new fiancée:** | **Definitely, baby! Oh my God!** |

<div dir="rtl">

حرام! إنتي ماتعرفيش إن أنا ونبيل اتخطبنا؟

</div>

Definitely, baby! Oh my God!

ħara:m! ʔintj ma:tiʕrafjʃ ʔn ʔana: wi

na:bi:l ʔitxa:tˤabna:?

Definitely, baby! Oh my God!

That's sad! Don't you know that Nabil

and I got engaged?

Excerpt 6 examines a conversation between Naguiba, Nabil, and his fiancée, that took place on board a ship, immediately before Naguiba had a fight with them, being shocked to know that Nabil – who had not been lately responding to her phone calls and messages – got engaged to another young lady, a junior student as well, but she came from the same social class of Nabil. Unlike her speech adjustments to English, in this scene Naguiba spoke mainly in Arabic, codeswitching only in 2 responses, one of them is introduced in line 13, while Nabil and his fiancé codeswitched in 5 responses, such as in lines 3 and 11 above.

In line 12, Nabil's fiancée was trying to show her stance from Naguiba; her tone of voice, gestures, code choice, and indexed messages showed that she was ridiculing Naguiba for the latter's failure at the final exams.

Hi يا نجيبة

Baby,

أنا زعلت أوي أما عرفت إنك سقطتي السنة دي.

Hard luck! No problem, you can do it!

The fiancée's stance toward Naguiba sounded very much arrogant and mocking. That got even more evident in lines 14 and 18 quoted below:

<u>**Line 14:**</u>

Definitely, baby! Oh my God!

حرام! إنتي ماتعرفيش إن أنا ونبيل اتخطبنا؟

<u>**Line 18:**</u>

Oh my God!

يا بيلو *Sorry*

أصل هي طلعت بيئة..طحن!

Oh my God!

Sorry ja: bil<u>u:</u>

ʔasˤl hijja tˤilʕit b<u>i:</u>ʔa: tˤaħn!

Oh my God!

Sorry, Billo,

She turned out to descend from a low social class!

Lines 14 and 18 show how Nabil's fiancée was trying to demonstrate her power over Naguiba and her stance as well. The fiancée was sarcastically saying she was surprised at how Naguiba was unaware of the young lady's engagement to Nabil: "***Oh my God!***". Then, she codeswitched back to Arabic, explicitly ridiculing Naguiba's social background, saying the latter came from a low social class: "*أصل هي طلعت بيئة. طحن!*". Thus, excerpt 6 indicates how power relations, stances, and identities can be defined and constructed by the different speakers through code choices; Nabil's fiancée frequently codeswitched to English when speaking to Naguiba, indexing power and superiority, defining her distant stance from Naguiba. Nabil, on the other hand, when he wanted to sound assertive of his distinct identity and stance from those of Naguiba, he codeswitched to English more frequently than before. Besides, Naguiba seemingly preferred to resort to her core identity – indexed in her use of

Arabic code - and was satisfied to represent a different identity than theirs, so she employed Arabic more often in this conversation.

On a different note, an analysis of the 6 excerpts collected from, *Assal Eswed*, revealed that Masri, an Egyptian citizen who had lived abroad in the United States and just returned to Egypt, constantly codeswitched to English, due to his social background that made him emerge in a Western English-speaking country. One noteworthy result about data from this film was that speaking Egyptian Arabic – or being Egyptian – indexed, as per the plot, receiving poor treatment, confronting difficulties and troubles, and having a weak status. Masri always faced troubles and challenges as soon as his Egyptian identity was known (See Annex, excerpts 9 and 10). This hypothesizes that code choice is an identity marker that defines the identity of a speaker in the eyes of the community, and consequently the treatment he/she would receive.

Looking through excerpt 9, the first few lines reveal how the driver changed his tone, which represents his stance towards Masri, as soon as he realized that the latter was Egyptian:

Excerpt 9:

Lines 1 - 9

1. **Driver, addressing travelers who just came out of the airport:**	**..Sir لاموزين Sir.. لاموزين Sir.. لاموزين** **لاموزيين! لاموزيين!** lamuzi:n lamuzi:n Sir lamuzi:n lamuzi:n lamuzi:n lamuzi:n Sir.

Taxi, Sir! Taxi, Sir! Taxi, Sir!

Taxi! Taxi!

2.
Masri, waving: **Excuse me!**

Excuse me!

Excuse me!

3.
Driver: **لاموزين Sir**

It's very best!

lamuzi:n Sir

It's very best!

Taxi, Sir! It's the best!

4.
Masri:

Thank you!

كنت عايز أروح فندق ...

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Thank you!

kunt ʕaːjiz ʔaruħ funduʕ

Thank you!

I want to go to an hotel…

5.

Driver, interrupting:

عايز أروح؟ مابركبش مصريين..Foreign بس!

ʕaːjiz ʔar u:[ħ? Ma barakkibʃ

masˤrijjn..foreign bass

You just said, "I want to go"?? I don't offer

rides to Egyptians; only foreign people!

6.

Masri:

والمصريين مالهم؟

wilmasˤrijjin malhum

And what's wrong with the Egyptians?

Excerpt 9 traces a scene in which Masri was looking for a taxi outside Cairo airport,

upon his arrival in Egypt. A taxi driver was calling out on potential customers from the

arriving travelers. Masri waved to him and started talking to him in English to get a ride. However, once Masri codeswitched to Arabic, trying to make himself understood by the driver who spoke poor English accent, saying, "... كنت عايز أروح فندق", the driver, Radi grew annoyed and his face and tone changed. He was not happy realizing that Masri turned out to be Egyptian when the latter replied in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic; therefore, Radi immediately responded to Masri that he did not admit Egyptians to his van, and that only foreigners were welcome.

عايز أروح؟ مابركبش مصريين..Foreign بس!

This is an example of how code choice in the Egyptian community can determine the way an individual's identity is perceived and consequently the stance an interlocuter or the audience of the speech act may have towards that individual.

In *Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda,* as per excerpt 21, Ramzy was very assertive of his different identity as a young man from a rich family, coming from an international school, and showed his stance of non-alignment in his choice of the English code of speech throughout the conversation he had with the public school minister. Ramzy was transferred from an international school to a public school located in a village as a punishment. Excerpt 21 sheds light on a scene that is very rich in codeswitching instances in a comic context. The scene was to introduce Ramzy to his class at this new school that he just joined. Although the school principal introduced him to the class and addressed him in Arabic, offering Ramzy a seat in the first row, the latter responded in English: "*I'll sit in the back.*" And even when the public school principal asked for clarification, Ramzy just repeated his last reply, merely enunciating it and pointing at the last rows of the class. The

school principal and his assistant only spoke in one code: Arabic, while Ramzy codeswitched between Arabic and English, with a predominant use of English as a main speech code rather than Arabic. Ramzy codeswitched to English for 6 out of 9 responses he uttered in this conversation. This indicates that he was very keen on standing out from this new social group to which he was recently admitted; although he could have guessed that they would most probably not understand him if he spoke in English, he did repeatedly codeswitch to English, in an indirect emphasis of his identity as a student from an international school and whose father was the minister of education; the choice of a different code than that of the social group emphasized Ramzy's different identity.

In ***Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah,*** Khalaf did not have the same social and educational backgrounds that most of his peers had; he was a top achiever in Thanawya Ammah, high school, and was, therefore, granted a scholarship at the American University; he codeswitched to English less frequently than his peers. However, his stance towards using the English code of speech witnessed a change in the course of the plot events.

When Khalaf first entered the university campus, he had his first conversation with 2 non-Arab students fully in English (See Annex, excerpt 25). However, in the finale scene (excerpt 33) in which Khalaf was giving a speech on the occasion of his graduation from the university, he intentionally codeswitched to Arabic instead of delivering his word in English, declaring his reasons early in his speech: His code choice for the ceremony was different from that of his colleagues and against the university's tradition, which standardize using English as the only code during such ceremonies. He accounted for speaking in Arabic and

for making such speech accommodations by the fact that his father who was attending the ceremony was a simple old man from the village who did not know English, and Khalaf was keen on making himself understood by his father who financially supported him with his university studies.

Contrasting Khalaf's code choice in his first time at the American University in Cairo (See Annex, excerpt 25) to his code choice in his graduation ceremony (See Annex, excerpt 33) is indicative of the identity Khalaf finally wanted to align himself with; he was reasserting and prioritizing his roots as an Egyptian Arabic young man coming from a small village over his newly acquired identity as a graduate student of an international university.

Another example for analysis is excerpt 30, collected from the welcome party organized for new students, to which Khalaf was invited and in which allowed to bring some of his non-student friends.

Excerpt 30:

Lines 1-13:

1. **Khalaf's friend (a non-student):**   **إيه يا خلف؟**

                                                              ʔjh jaː xalaf

                                                              Hey, Khalaf!

| 2. | **Hashim:** | **Ohhh, Khalaf!** |
| | | **مبسوط؟** |

Ohhh, Khalaf!

mabsu:tˤ?

Ohhh, Khalaf!

Are you happy?

| 3. | **Khalaf:** | **الحمد لله، انت عامل إيه؟** |

ʔilħamdu-lilla, ʔinta ʕa:mil ʔi:h?

Thanks God. What about you?

| 4. | **Hashim, giving him a cigarette** | **Get high!** |

Get high!

Get high!

| 5. | **Khalaf:** | **لا لا لا، بص يا عم. دول اخواتي، وبلدياتي،** |
| | | **علي وحسين.** |

la: la: la:, busˤ ja: ʕam, du:l

ʔixwa:ti: wbaladiJja:ti:, ʕali:

wiħsi:n.

No, no no! See, these are almost

my brothers as they are from my

neighbourhood: Ali and Hussein.

6.　　**Hashim:**　　　　　　　　　　　**Nice to meet you!**

Nice to meet you!

Nice to meet you!

An excerpt depicting a conversation between Abla and Serag, who is her teacher

7.　　**Serag:**　　　　　　　　　　　والدك أ...

wa:ldak ʔa..

Is your dad…

8.　　**Abla:**　　　　　　　　　**سراج، ياريت نتكلم في أي حاجة تانية. أنا مش**

بحب حد يكلمني عن my father

sera:g ja:ri:t nittkallim fi: ?aj ħa:ga

ta:nja. ?ana: miʃ baħib ħad jikal.limnj

ʕan my father

Serag, please let's talk about anything

else. I don't like people to speak to

me about my father.

9.   **Serag:**   **Why Abla?**

Why Abla?

Why Abla?

10.   **Abla:**   **Without why!**

Without why!

Without why!

….

11.   **Serag:**   **إيه رأيك في الحفلة، حلوة؟**

?jh ra?jik fil ħafla, ħilwa?

What do you think of the party?

Is it good?

12. **Abla:**   **Stylish!**

وانت كمان stylish..

Stylish

winta kama:n stylish..

Stylish! You too are stylish!

13. **Serag, smiling:**   **Thank you, Abla..Thanks!**

Thank you, Abla..Thanks!

Thank you, Abla..Thanks!

Excerpt 30 highlights the welcome party the university union held for new students recently admitted to the American University. It was at a camping location, attended by Khalaf, his non-student friends whom he invited, Hashim, Syada, Abla, and Serag, an Assistant Professor. The data analysis showed that the codeswitching instances in excerpt 30 were either by the American University's students, such as Hashim and Abla, or the AUC Professor, Serag. However, when Khalaf was introducing his non-student friends to the Hashim, he said that in Arabic and spoke in that code throughout the whole scene. As shown in lines 2, 4, and 6, Hashim codeswitched to English in all his responses to Khalaf, being introduced to Khalaf's friends. Hashim's choice of a different code implies his declaration

of his distinct identity from that of Khalaf and his guests, based on what the speech codes index; English indexes power, coolness, and proper education, while Arabic mostly indexes locality. In laying an emphasis on his different identity and in employing a code that indexes power over the interlocutor, Hashim was implicitly defining his stance from Khalaf and the non-students.

4.3.3 Age

The data analysis revealed that the younger generations are more likely to engage in the practice of codeswitching, as compared to the older ones. Younger speakers, across the 7 films, showed greater flexibility in altering between the two codes, ECA and English in their conversations. Similarly, they demonstrated dynamicity in making speech adjustments and shifting to a code that is understood by the interlocutor, whenever needed to achieve successful communication. For example, in *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha,* the speakers who engaged in codeswitching were the undergraduate students of the Faculty of Archeology, who were all young people. Similarly, the data collected from *Assal Eswed* revealed that the people with a tendency to codeswitch were either Masri, the young Egyptian man who had been living abroad and recently came to Egypt, or Egyptian employees interacting with him, who were also young and middle-aged speakers. The characters that frequently codeswitched in ***Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah*** were either undergraduate students or the university Professor, who were all in the early or middle years of their youth.

Moreover, looking over excerpt 16 from ***Morgan Ahmed Morgan***, undergraduate students were found to also codeswitch; for example, when Haitham Dabour, a student, wanted to greet the old newcomer, Morgan, he did that in English, establishing his "cool" identity image before the new student. A few lines are cited from excerpt 16 for discussion:

Excerpt 16:

Lines 6-11:

6.

Shortly, Morgan looks at his left and finds another male student, a colleague, with long curly hair, a red shirt, and a long necklace. As he looks at his left, the male colleague says:	**Yo yo yo!**
	Yo yo yo!
	Yo yo yo!

7.

Morgan, smiling:	**Yo!**
	Yo!

Yo!

8.

Haitham Dabour:

نورت .. إحنا النهاردة زارنا النبي! المحاضرة يا عم الحاج!

nawwart-il-muħa:dˤra

ja:ʕamil ħag!

ʔiħna: il-naha:rda za:rna: ʔil-

nab<u>i:</u>!

We're happy to have you in

class! The lecture is great

because of you!

9.

He then introduces himself to Morgan, wanting to shake hands with Morgan:

هيثم دبور

hayθam dabb<u>u:</u>r

Haitham Dabour

10.

Morgan shakes hands with him: منورة بأهلها.. مرجان أحمد مرجان

Minawwara biʔahalaha:..

murgaːn ʔaħmad murgaːn

It's great because of you!

Morgan Ahmad Morgan

11.

Haitham Dabour: **Moregan! .. Beautiful!**

Moregan! .. Beautiful!

Moregan! .. Beautiful!

The excerpt highlights Morgan's first time attending a class at the university where he was newly enrolled. Morgan was introduced to 2 of his colleagues, a female student and a male student whose name was Dabour. In line 6, Dabour said, "*Yo yo yo!*". Morgan who was speaking in Arabic throughout the conversation, adapted to the speech code, replying, "*Yo!*", and aligning himself with the identity of his new cool colleague by greeting him in the same manner. This suggests that Morgan may have initially attempted to identify himself with this new social group to which he was just introduced, the university community.

However, no personal or frequent urges to codeswitch were traced at the end of Morgan. Dabour was so excited by this and, in turn, made more evident speech accommodations in Arabic; this suggests the possibility that, due to Morgan's old age or poor knowledge of English, Morgan did not show flexibility in altering codes and mainly used Arabic. However, Dabour was keen on speaking in the code he thought Morgan would surely understand; Dabour even added to his greeting a cliche Arabic proverb he was sure Morgan would comprehend,

<div dir="rtl">

...إحنا النهاردة زارنا النبي!

</div>

Hence, excerpt 16 included many speech adjustments, mainly by the younger undergraduate students. While maintaining their identities as students of an international university, Haitham Dabour and another female student were still keen on achieving successful communication with Morgan; this was clear throughout this excerpt (See Annex, excerpt 16). The undergraduates showed more flexibility in making speech accommodations than Morgan. This result may suggest that the younger generations, represented in the undergraduate students, demonstrate higher rates of flexibility in altering between the 2 codes, as compared to the older generations.

On a different note, unlike the age group of the undergraduate students that used to codeswitch in *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha*, other characters playing the older people - such as Naguiba's father as well as the police officer – scarcely codeswitched, and when they did,

that was in a sarcastic tone, merely to mimic some words or phrases mentioned by Naguiba (See Annex, excerpts 4 and 7). Such sarcasm may imply some of the community's views about codeswitching.

Similar to the above observation about *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha,* the character of Ramadan, in **Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda,** the teacher of Arabic who came from a rural area but got appointed at an international school rarely codeswitched to English; and when he did, the motivation for that was solely to repeat English words uttered by students, but in a sarcastic tone (See Annex, excerpts 21 and 24).

In the same context, Ramzy, the international high school student, was the only character taking the initiative of making speech adjustments and codeswitching frequently in his conversations. That could be seen in the conversation between him, his father, the minister of education, and the international school principal (See Annex, excerpt 19), and also later in his conversation with the public school principal (See Annex, excerpt 21). This may postulate that codeswitching and/or making speech adjustments are more expected from the younger generations who are still receiving their education, as opposed to the older generations who are static in their choice of speech codes, and consequently in their identity construction as well as their stances towards the younger generations. Besides, it suggests that the younger generations demonstrate a remarkable degree of flexibility and adaptability in their stances, identities, and code choices.

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In line with that, excerpt 27 extracted from *Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah* sheds light on a conversation between 4 young men and women, undergraduate students at the American University, at the beginning of an academic year. The students were Abla, Ahmed, Hashim, and Syada.

Excerpt 27:

Lines 1-9:

1.   **Syada:**   **Heyyyy!**

                                                                         Heyyyy!

                                                                         Heyyyy!

2.   **Another male student:**   **H..Ohhh!**

                                                                          H..Ohhh!

                                                                         H..Ohhh!

3.   **Sayada, addressing Abla:**   **How are you?**

                                                                      How are you?

                                                                     How are you?

4.	**Abla:**	**I'm fine.**
		I'm fine.
		I'm fine.

5.	**Hashim:**	**Abla, how are you? I missed you.**
		Abla, how are you? I missed you.
		Abla, how are you? I missed you.

6.	**The male student then introduces Abla to their new colleagues:**	أحمد، عبلة.
		عبلة، أحمد.
		ʔaħmad ʕabla:
		ʕabla: ʔaħmad.
		Ahmad, this is Abla.
		Abla, this is Ahmad.

7.	**Abla:**	**Hi!**
		Hi!
		Hi!

8.   **Ahmed:**   **Hi!**

                                                               Hi!

                                                               Hi!

9.   **Syada:**   **Ahmed, Abla's my best friend.**

                                                               كنا بنروح المدرسة مع بعض.

                                                               Ahmed, Abla's my best friend.

                                                               Kunn<u>a:</u> binr<u>u:</u>ħ-il madrasa maʕa

                                                               baʕdˤ

                                                               Ahmed, Abla's my best friend.

                                                               We used to go to the same school.

    Abla, Syada, Hashim, and Ahmed met for the first time in their new academic year. The undergraduates were getting introduced to each other; Syada, who was always dressed in casual attire and wearing a backpack, clarified that Abla had been her best friend since school. Out of a total of 9 utterances comprising this conversation, 7 were in English and only 2 were in Arabic. Therefore, an analysis of excerpt 27 may indicate the high tendency among the younger bilinguals enrolled at an international university to codeswitch to English and to even have English as the predominant code prevailing over their conversations.

Besides, the excerpt may also show how international university students and young generations coming from more privileged social classes may want to give a first impression of "coolness" and of being aligned with the West in their code of speech and dressing code.

In addition to the above social variables, data analysis revealed 2 more social contexts that are likely to trigger codeswitching; they are:

4.3.4 Jobs

Data analysis indicated that people may codeswitch to English or codemix some English words in their Arabic conversations while performing their job duties. A total of 52 codeswitching instances were found to be directly linked to particular job occupations. This was exemplified in excerpts (9,10, 11, 12, and 37) through the characters performing jobs such as the hotel receptionists, the car rental company agent, and the driver in *Assal Eswed,* in addition to the shop assistant in *Teer Enta*, as well as Professors in more than one work. Egyptian employees interacting with Masri, in *Assal Eswed*, codeswitched in their conversations with him as they codemixed some English words while assuming their professional daily tasks. Some lines from excerpt 10 from *Assal Eswed* are quoted below as an example of how codeswitching was employed in the daily life of some employees in certain professions. Excerpt 10 is an example of the people who codeswitch to English as part of their jobs; it is a conversation between Masri and an hotel agent:

Excerpt 10:

Lines 3-5:

3.

Hotel Receptionist:	ماينفعش نلغي الحجز لأنه already مدفوع، لازم هو اللي يلغيه

majinfaʕʃ nelɣiː il-ħagz laʔannu already madfuːʕ,

laːzim huwwa ʔelliː jilɣiːh

We can't cancel the reservation because it's already

paid. He has to cancel it.

4.

Masri:	It's the same person! Yeah!

أنا هو هو، نفس الإنسان.

It's the same person! Yeah!

ʔan<u>a</u>ː huwwa huwwa nafs-il ʔinsaːn.

It's the same person! Yeah!

I am that person. Same individual.

5.

Receptionist: **Sorry يافندم**

بس كدا حضرتك بالنسبة لي شخصين، أمريكاني

ومصري

Sorry jaː fandim

bas keda ħadˤretak bennesabliː ʃaxsˤiːn,

ʔamrikaːniː wmasˤriː

I'm sorry, Sir.

To me, you are 2 different persons: one

is American and another is Egyptian.

Upon Masri's arrival to Egypt, he headed towards the hotel which he pre-booked when he was still in the United States, before arrival to Cairo. To his surprise and frustration, the hotel agent informed him that there was a problem with his hotel reservation. Examining lines 3 and 5, it was found that the hotel receptionist codemixed the English words, "*already*" and "*sorry*" separately in these 2 responses about the reservation. This may suggest that some employees, such as hotel receptionists, may sometimes codeswitch to English in their conversations at the workplace while maintaining their predominant speech code.

Moreover, examining excerpt 37 from *Teer Enta*, another job is highlighted in which a female shop assistant demonstrated a noticeable inclination to alter between the codes, English and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. The shop assistant, with a poor English accent indexing affiliation with a lower social class and educational level, had certain terms, related to the product names and descriptions, learned by heart, as she uses them when speaking to potential shoppers and customers. Some lines of excerpt 37 are discussed in the section below:

Excerpt 37:

<u>Lines 6-8:</u>

6.   **A female shop assistant:**   ههههه مساء النور يا فندم

حضتك إحنا عندنا perfume، كريمات، makeup،
accessories، حضتك تحب إيه؟

"laughs" masa:ʔel nu:r ja: fandim

ħadˤetak ʔiħna: ʕandena: perfume, krima:t,
makeup, accessories, ħadˤetak teħib ʔi:h?

"Laughs'. Good evening, Sir. We have in-
store perfumes, creams, makeup, and
accessories. What would you like to get?

7.	**A Khaliji customer:**	ها؟
		ha:?
		Pardon?
8.	**Shop assistant:**	يعني أنا اقصد ان إحنا كدا كدا sections، فيه sections كريمات، فيه perfume" sections"، فيه accessories، فيه makeup. حضتك تحب إيه؟

jaʕni: ʔana: ʔaʔsˤud ʔinn ʔiħna: keda keda sections, fi:h sections kirima:t, fi:h sections perfume, fi:h accessories, fi:h makeup. ħadˤetak teħib ʔi:h?

I mean, we have sections. Sections for creams, sections for perfumes, others for accessories, and fourth for makeup. What would you like to have?

Line 20:

| 20 | **Shop assistant:** | فيه حضتك عندنا Dior فيه Channel فيه Estée Lauder..Lauder Estée long lasting على فكرة. |
| | | وفيه Alien أو الـAngel لو حضتك بتحب الحاجات المسكرة الـsugary |

fi:h ħadˤetak ʕandina: Dior fi:h Channel fi:h Estée Lauder.. Estée Lauder long lasting ʕala: fikra.

wfi:h Alien ʔaw il -Angel la:w ħadˤetak

betħibil ħa:ga:til mesakkara il-sugary.

Dior, Channel, Estée Lauder are all in stock.
Estée Lauder is long lasting by the way. We
also have Alien and Angel, if you like the
surgery aromas.

Line 25:

25.	**Shop assistant:**	ماشي يا فندم. يبقى ناخد Lolita Lempicka على إنِ معاها
		offer بتاخد شنطة package فيها الـperfume بالـ Jell
		shower بالـdeodorant

ma:ʃi: ja: fandim.. jibʔa na:xud *Lolita Lempick*
ʕala: ʔinni maʕa:ha offer bita:xud ʃantˤa packag
fi:ha-l-perfume bil shower jell bil deodorant.

Okay, Sir. So, you'd better get Lolita Lempicka
as it comes with an offer; you receive a packag
bag that contains a perfume, shower jell, and
deodorant.

Excerpt 37 is taken from one of the stories presented in Teer Enta; this story was about a young man from the Arab Gulf region (a Khaliji citizen) who, during his visit to Egypt, went to a cosmetics store where he was attracted to the shop assistant, a young lady working at that store that sold perfumes and other personal care products. Eight out of 27 lines comprising this excerpt had codeswitching instances; all of them were by the shop assistant, while the Khaliji young man codeswitched merely once to repeat one choice the shop assistant listed, "*sugary*". Although the shop assistant's English had a strong accent, and even her Arabic pronunciation indexed an affiliation to a lower socio-economic class or poor education, as indicated in her pronunciation of the word "حضتك", the majority of the codeswitches in this conversation and the scene were by her, in the manner shown in the below example:

<div dir="rtl">

حضتك إحنا عندنا perfume كريمات، makeup، accessories حضتك تحب إيه؟

</div>

Examples of her codeswitching instances can be traced in lines: 6, 8, 20, 23, 25, and 27 under excerpt 37 (See Annex). She used words such as: "***makeup, accessories, sections, sugary, long-lasting, Channel, Estée Lauder, Alien, Angel, package, offer,*** and ***deodorant***". Examining her codeswitching instances, it is found that she mostly codeswitched to refer to product names, product descriptions, or offers. This supports the hypothesis that some people may codeswitch while performing their job duties, to refer to

specific information, expressions, products, or processes names in the context of their potential daily job conversations.

4.3.5 Intense emotions:

One more interesting observation that could be concluded from the data is that codeswitching into English (or the predominant code) may occur as an immediate spontaneous reaction to situations that are provoking or embarrassing. For example, in *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha*, studying excerpt 6 (See Annex) revealed that Naguiba, under provoking or shocking situations, used her original speech code, Arabic, while Nabil and his fiancée tended to codeswitch into English when they had to confront Naguiba with their engagement, a disappointing fact for Naguiba.

Moreover, the data analysis of excerpts extracted from **Assal Esswed** suggests that among the social contexts in which Masri codeswitched to English were the frustrating and provoking situations in which he got negative responses from some Egyptian employees; this could be traced in his conversations with the police officer at the airport and the hotel agents. Moreover, when Masri got angry for the bad conduct of the driver, Radi, as the latter threw empty bottles and other waste from the van's window, Masri immediately codeswitched to English (See Annex, excerpt 9), marking his different stance and identity from those of Radi, the driver, once Masri was provoked by the driver's misconduct. Select lines of excerpt 9 are quoted below for analysis:

Excerpt 9:

Lines 33 to 36:

33.
Masri then, holding the empty plastic bottles and the plastic bag that has waste, asks the driver:

طيب، نرمي الحاجات دي فين ونرمي دول فين؟ ها؟

taʕjjib, nermi: il-ħa:ga:t di: fi:n winermi: du:l fi:n? ha?

Okay, so where to get rid of these items? Any idea?

34.
Driver:

هات

ha:t

Give them to me.

He says that while throwing the bottle from the car's window.

35.
Masri, shocked, yells:

Hey! Hey! What're you doing?!

Hey! Hey! What're you doing?!

Hey! Hey! What're you doing?!

Driver smiles at Masri

36.
    Masri: **stop! stop it!**

إيه اللي انت عملته دا كدا في الشارع؟

stop! stop it!

ʔiːh ʔelliː ʔinta ʕamaltu daː kida fiː-l

-ʃaːriʕ

stop! stop it!

What did you do in the street?

Lines 33 to 36 trace part of the conversation between Masri and the driver during a ride from the airport. Masri was initially trying to make some speech adjustments by codeswitching to Arabic, aligning himself with Radi, the driver. However, this was disrupted by Radi's sudden action as he threw the waste and empty water bottles from the van's window; Masri expressed his disappointment immediately by telling Radi: "***Hey! Hey! What're you doing?!***". This poses another example suggesting that codeswitching can be a spontaneous reaction to shocking or frustrating situations.

In line with that, excerpt 10 (See Annex) constitutes another example that shows that Masri codeswitched into English more often when faced with frustrating situations. It depicts a conversation between Masri and one hotel receptionist upon his arrival to Cairo. It traces a conversation between Masri and one hotel receptionist at the hotel Masri booked ahead for his stay in Egypt while he was still in the US. Upon his arrival, he discovered there was a problem with the reservation that he made with his American passport that he left in the United States. He only had his Egyptian passport at that point when he arrived in Egypt. The hotel agent could not consider his booking valid, since he presented a different passport from the one with which the online reservation was made. Masri, frustrated to know his booking was invalid, automatically began to codeswitch in every single response throughout this conversation. First, he codeswitched to English in line 2 to offer a solution to the problem:

We can cancel

الحجز اللي أنا عملته من أمريكا

with my Egyptian passport ونحجز

We can cancel

il-ħagz ʔilli: ʔana: ʕamaltu min ʔamri:ka:

winiħgiz with my Egyptian passport

We can cancel

The reservation I made in America

And make a new reservation with my Egyptian passport

Similarly, of interest about some of the results that the analysis of data collected from *Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda* revealed is that Ramzy showed a recurrent urge to codeswitch whenever he got embarrassed, provoked, or frustrated as a result of a miscommunication. This reaction was again seen in Ramzy's conversation with his Arabic teacher, Ramadan, when the latter asked Ramzy why he and another female student arrived at class late (excerpt 24).

Excerpt 24:

Lines 6-10:

1.	
Ramadan:	هيا داهي؟ أهلاً يا ست جيجي..كتو فين وسايبين الحصة؟
	hijjaa: da:hi:? ʔahlan ja: sit dʒjdʒi:..kuttu fi:n wi sajbi:n-il ħisˤ. sˤa?

Is this her? Welcome Miss Gigi. Where were you, away from the class?

2.	**Ramzy:**	أصل بقالها يومين قافلة الموبايل، فـااا...

ʔasˤl bʔaːlha: jumiːn ʔaːfla-l mubajil faː..

She has been switching her phone off for the past two days, so…

3.	**Ramadan, interrupting:**	ما تقفل الموبايل ولا تتحرق هي والموبايل.. إنتو سايبين الحصة وكتو فين؟

ma: tiʔfil il-mubajjl walla: titħiriʔ hijja wil-mubajjil.. ʔintu sajbiːn-l ħisˤ. sˤa wi kuttu fiːn?

Even if she did. I don't care about her or the mobile. Where were you, leaving the class?

4.	Ramzy, codeswitching to complete chunks of English as he responds to his Arabic teacher:	**Hey, hey, take it easy. She had a boyfriend problem, so I came just to sort it out... a little bit of an idiot. So what's going on? What's wrong with you, what's wrong with you man?**
		Hey, hey, take it easy. She had a boyfriend problem, so I came just to sort it out... a little bit of an idiot. So what's going on? What's wrong with you, what's wrong with you man?
		Hey, hey, take it easy. She had a boyfriend problem, so I came just to sort it out... a little bit of an idiot. So what's going on? What's wrong with you, what's wrong with you man?
5.	**Ramadan:**	**خلاص، خلاص.. إذا كان على كده، براءة** xalaːsˤ, xalaːsˤ.. ʔiðaː kaːn ʕalaː kida baraːʔa Its okay, then.

Excerpt 24 analyses a conversation between Ramadan and Ramzy when the latter arrived at the class late, at Ramzy's international school at which Ramadan was appointed as a teacher of Arabic. At the beginning of the conversation, Ramzy was keen on aligning himself with his teacher, Ramadan, by speaking in his teacher's code: Arabic. However, once Ramadan repeatedly blamed and reproached him for his late arrival and for being busy with issues related to his girlfriend, the provoked and disappointed Ramzy codeswitched to English in full chunks as seen in line 9 under this excerpt:

"Hey, hey, take it easy. She had a boyfriend problems, so I came just to sort it out... a little bit of an idiot. So what's going on? What's wrong with you, what's wrong with you man?"

He did not only alter to a code that he knew his teacher could not understand, but he also ridiculed him in fluent English. Ironically, the teacher excused Ramzy and allowed him to class, which showed that the teacher failed to understand what Ramzy said, due to it being said in a speech code Ramadan was illiterate to.

This conversation reveals that reproach resulting in frustration or provocation may trigger codeswitching into English among younger generations portrayed as being intolerant to any kind of blame or obstacles. This implies that the willingness to align oneself with the audience of the speech act can be interrupted if the speaker grows angry or disappointed,

spontaneously feeling compelled to employ the speaker's favorite or predominant speech code that best expresses their identity or conveys their feelings, regardless of whether the interlocutor or the audience of the speech act could understand the speaker.

Excerpt 17 from **Morgan Ahmed Morgan** (See Annex) shows how Professor Gehan instantly codeswitched to English, immediately after Morgan's provoking response that revealed his misunderstanding of a situation, telling him: "**You're impossible**!". This also enhances the hypothesis that anger or frustration resulting from miscommunication may trigger codeswitching.

Excerpt 32 presents another example of provocation or embarrassment as a potential trigger for codeswitching.

Excerpt 32:

Lines 10-14:

10.	**Khalaf:**	طب ممكن تسيبوني لوحدي؟
		tˤajjib mumkin tesibu:ni: liwaħdi:?
		Would you please leave me alone?

11.	**Syada:**	نسيبك ازاي وانت في الحالة دي؟
		nisi:bak ʔiza:j winta: fil ħa:la di?

		How can we ever get to leave you
		at this state?

12.	**Khalaf:**	ليه إتجننت ولا بشد فشعري يا سيادة؟
		li:h ʔitgannint walabaʃid f-ʃaʕri: ja:
		sija:da:?
		Why? Do I look crazy, Syada?

13.	**Syada:**	**إيه دا**
		You have such an attitude!
		ʔi:h da: You have such an attitude!
		What are you saying? You have
		such an attitude!

14.	**Hashim**	**Ok, ok, guys..guys.**
		Hold on, hold on!
		سيبيني معاه شوية يا سيادة.
		Ok, ok, guys..guys.
		Hold on, hold on!
		sibi:ni: maʕa:h ʃiwaja ja: sijja:da

Ok, ok, guys..guys.

Hold on, hold on!

Leave me with him for some

time, Syada.

Excerpt 32 sheds light on a scene upon expelling Khalaf from one class. Some of Khalaf's colleagues followed him out of the class; they were Syada, Hashim, and another foreign student. Throughout the conversation, Hashim and Syada were making speech accommodations and were keen on sticking to Arabic code at the beginning, while approaching Khalaf who was angry. So, Hashim and Syada were trying to align themselves with Khalaf's stance and therefore used his main code of speech: Arabic. Only when Syada grew provoked by Khalaf's response in line 13 as he asked her whether she deemed him insane, that she codeswitched to English automatically, telling him in a louder and angrier tone of voice:

"يا دا You have such an attitude!"

Hashim, in turn, also codeswitched to English when interfering between Khalaf and Syada to stop a potential conflict that was about to arise between his two colleagues. Thus, the above excerpt also supports the hypothesis that provocation or embarrassment may trigger codeswitching in young bilingual speakers.

4.4 Results related to the second research question

How does the Egyptian community view codeswitching and the individuals who codeswitch between Arabic and English?

Studying the collected excerpts concluded that the Egyptian media and filmmaking industry have complex views of codeswitching, over the past 25 years. Although an Egyptian speaking English has been repeatedly approached to index a good education, an affiliation with the more prestigious social classes, and access to other cultures, CS is used as a source that either brings about humor or adds to a comic context. Therefore, humor has been integrated and blended into the structure of approximately the entirety of excerpts – containing CS instances - collected.

One more observation that adds to the complexity of how codeswitching is presented and tackled in the Egyptian media is that, according to the examined data, the majority of characters who codeswitch are introduced, to varying degrees, as being either over-spoiled, irresponsible, and/or leading an extravagant lifestyle; the concept of "coolness" is always associated with speaking English. Meanwhile, the minority of characters coming from humbler socio-economic classes who codeswitch to English are portrayed as serious hard workers or studious students who most probably codeswitch to index all the above advantages associated with speaking in the English code.

All 7 films collected are classified as comic ones; humor has been a prevailing characteristic over roughly the multitude of the scenes that involved codeswitching, at a frequency of CS instances amounting to 301 times. In most cases, the comic effect is the product of the codeswitching behavior or the personality traits of the characters that codeswitched. For example, using the English code of speech in irrelevant situations has been employed as a source of humor, such as when H. Dabour codeswitched to English at the microbus station located at a low social class district, as per excerpt 42 (See Annex).

Another example of using English as a speech code in an irrelevant context was when Naguiba codeswitched to English at the police station when she got arrested, as per excerpt 7 (See Annex). The police officer's reaction to her frequent responses in English can provide an insight into how the Egyptian community may react to such a linguistic behavior; he codeswitched twice, merely to sarcastically repeat some of Naguiba's English utterances, asking her why she used words like "*Oh*", "*No*", "*Yes*", and "*Wow*", although she comes from a humble socio-economic class indexed by the district she said she lived in: "Been Es-Sarayat":

بين السرايات، ومقضياها wow وYes، وNo، وOh!

Bi:n-il saraja:t, wimʔdˤ dˤija:ha: wow w yes w no w oh!

This may show how codeswitching into English - or how mixing English words with ECA speech – is most likely perceived by the Egyptian community to be associated with higher social classes or the more socio-economically privileged classes. Naguiba made those speech adjustments represented in codeswitching in an attempt to portray her identity, or to be perceived as coming from an upper social class, in an attempt to project an image of prestige before the police officer. However, the community represented by the police officer may find her altering between the 2 speech codes or her predominant use of English unacceptable, taking into account her social and economic backgrounds.

A further example of the different views and stances the community, represented in the interlocutors of the speech act, may hold towards codeswitching is excerpt 21 from *Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda*. The below lines are presented for examination:

Excerpt 21:

Lines 19-22:

19.
Ramzy:
<div dir="rtl">إنت فصلتني!</div>

ʔinta fasˤaltini:!

You shut my mind off!

20.

School Principal, smiling:

آني أفصلك؟ دا انت ابن الوزير..

دا انت اللي هتفصلني!

ʔaːni: ʔafsˤilak? danta ʔibni-l-
waziːr..

danta-lli-hatifsˤilniː!

Do I have the power to? You are
the minister's son. It's you who
will terminate me (meaning
terminate)

21.

**Ramzy, shaking hands with the
School Principal:**

You take drugs as well?!

You take drugs as well?!

You take drugs as well?!

22.
School Principal:

إيه؟ ههه آه هيه..إنجليزي؛ ابن وزير بقى!

ʔih? hhh ʔaːh "laughs"..ʔingliːziː;
ʔibn waziːr baʔa!

What? "Laughs", Oh, he speaks
English! Typical of a minister's
son!

Excerpt 21 highlights the scene in which Ramzy was introduced by the principal of his new school, a public one, to his class for the first time. The scene was comic as a result of the different codes used throughout the conversation and the misunderstandings as well as the miscommunications resulting from the elder's ignorance of English, which Ramzy extensively and fluently used. Hence, it can be concluded that the filmmakers attempted to index and highlight how Ramzy who mainly spoke in English, and the school principal who merely spoke in Arabic, differed in terms of their identities, social backgrounds, stances, and levels of education, through their code choices.

In line 19, Ramzy, frustrated by the fact that the public school principal repeatedly failed to understand him whenever he codeswitched to English, inappropriately responded to the school principal once, making sure to use the Arabic code so that the latter knew Ramzy was disappointed, said: "*إنت فصلتني!*" which meant, "You annoyed me" in slang Arabic. However, ironically even this Arabic utterance was misinterpreted by the school principal who translated it in terms of MSA vocabulary, assuming Ramzy was speaking about "termination", as he replied in line 23:

آني أفصلك؟ دا انت ابن الوزير.. دا انت اللي هتفصلني

In addition, in line 25 in which the public school principal was trying to account for Ramzy's phenomenal linguistic behavior that was not common in the public school he managed, attributing this to Nabil's capacity as the son of a minister, as he wondered:

This sentence, which means: he must be speaking English since he is the minister's son, may provide a significant insight into how the community may look at codeswitching. It signifies that speaking English is associated with the more powerful and the more educated. Besides, this excerpt supports the previous results denoting that codeswitching and making speech adjustments are more common in younger generations who have more exposure to the English language due to their education or lifestyle.

Data collected from ***Teer Enta*** sheds light on the social class and the personal characteristics associated with characters that codeswitch to English; the film exaggerates in magnifying particular personal and social traits of bilingual Egyptians who speak English. Starting from the sarcastic and humorous names of some characters: Misho and Koko, to other paralinguistic aspects such as dress code, tone of voice, lifestyle, and reactions, can provide insights about how the Egyptian community – represented in cinema makers – may look at codeswitching and most importantly at the bilingual speakers who alter between these speech codes. In other words, such hyperbolic exaggeration in the paralinguistic context in which this linguistic practice is introduced can be indicative of how the society may view codeswitching, its advocates, and its users. However, the results cannot be considered final or conclusive, due to the nature of the data that is not natural speech.

In the same context, excerpt 36 analyses a conversation that took place on the pool, between Misho and Laila, a young lady he got introduced to when her car stopped working

on the highway, and who by chance was heading to the same resort he was going to. The scene was by the pool, where they were chatting and dancing.

Excerpt 36:

Lines 1-6:

1.
   A guy hits Laila's elbow by mistake: **Oh, sorry!**

                                                        Oh, sorry!

                                                        Oh, sorry!

2.
   Laila: **Never mind.**

                                                        Never mind.

                                                        Never mind.

3.
   Then she addresses Misho: على فكرة دي تالت مرة

                                                        يعملها، شكله بيعاكس.

                                                        ʕala fikra di taːlit marra:

jiʕmilhaː, ʃaklu bijʕaːkis

This is his third time to do so.

He must be flirting.

4.
Misho: **So?!**

                                                        So?!

                                                        So?!

5.
Laila: **So إيه؟**

                                          بقولك شكله بيعاكس بيـflirt..

                                                        So ʔih?

                                          baʔullak ʃaklu bijʕaːkis bij flirt..

                                          So what? I'm telling you, he must

                                                        be flirting!

6.
Misho: **So what? So what?**

<div dir="rtl">

عيشي اللحظة، فكك بقى.

</div>

So what? So what?

ʕiːʃi-l-laħðˤa, fukkik baʔa.

So what? So what?

Live in the moment. Don't think

like that.

While Laila was dancing with Misho at the pool in the said resort, a guy's elbow, by chance, touched hers; he immediately apologized in English, as shown in line 1: "***Oh, sorry!***". His urge to apologize was expressed in English; Laila replied in English as well, as per line 2: "***Never mind.***" But when she turned back to Misho, she explained her concern, that this could be deliberate, in Arabic in line 3. When she was in doubt if Misho understood her, as he replied to her: "***So?***", she code mixed a verb in English with her Arabic response in line 5:

<div dir="rtl">

So **ايه؟**

بقولك شكله بيعاكس بيـflirt.

</div>

She explained to him that she thought that guy intentionally hit her elbow to flirt with her. In line 6, Misho also replied altering between English and Arabic, showing a reaction accompanying his response that is utilized by the filmmakers as a humor and sarcastic factor: Unlike Egyptian and Arabic men of the Orient who are well-known for their jealousy and overprotection, Misho did not feel angry or provoked when his girlfriend was offended by someone who touched her, claiming it was by mistake. He wondered in a cool tone of voice: "***So what? So what?***", to reassure her that there is no problem with that.

This may imply a negative stance the Egyptian media may take against codeswitching and people who use English in their Arabic conversations, portrayed as a practice that is often expected of or associated with the more socio-economically powerful classes. This can be an indicator of how the Egyptian community itself sees this linguistic phenomenon as well; it is presented as being the habit of people who do not exercise due diligence nor care enough about others, or who are very spoiled and irresponsible.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

5.1 Data analysis and aim of the study

This study aimed to explore codeswitching as a growing linguistic phenomenon that has become increasingly evident in Egyptian films over the past 2 to 3 decades. In other words, it was set to depict such a linguistic practice within a sociolinguistic context. For this goal, it adopted a qualitative research approach to examine codeswitching across 7 Egyptian Arabic films, produced from 1998 and after, which were purposefully selected for their richness in codeswitching instances. In the data collection process, some films were found to contain more CS instances than others, however. The study addressed two research questions; the first inquired about the social motivations that may trigger Egyptians to codeswitch between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and English, and the second explored how the community views codeswitching.

The data collected from the 7 films came out in 43 excerpts containing codeswitching instances. The sample of data may not be inclusive of every codeswitching instance existing in the 7 films in full; in other words, the source films may include more CS instances beyond the scope of the sampled data. However, data collection was purposeful and focused on the conversations richer in the frequency of CS utterances and relevant to the research questions of this study.

Data analysis was conducted according to 3 theories: the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the Accommodation Theory, and the Social Arena Theory. The data was reviewed and analyzed in

terms of particular social variables: education, social class, identity, stance, and age. Yet, the results of the data analysis revealed more social variables that may trigger codeswitching in some cases: jobs and intense emotions such as provocation, embarrassment, and frustration.

Data analysis, additionally, included an estimation of the frequency of CS instances per film (Table 1) and also per each social variable addressed (Table 2). Some CS instances were found to serve more than one sociolinguistic function: e.g.: identity and stance; in such cases the instance has been counted under the corresponding social variable/s. When 2 further variables emerged in the data analysis process: jobs and intense emotions, their frequencies were also documented, and added to Tables 1 and 2 (See Chapter 4, Results).

5.2 Education

The study revealed that the type and level of education can significantly increase a speaker's disposition or urge to codeswitch. As per the results, students of international schools, such as Ramzy in ***Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda***, as well as Hashim, Syada, and Abla in ***Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah***, who formerly received their high school education instruction in English, in addition to Professors of international universities, such as Serag, the assistant Professor presented in ***Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah*** have higher chances to alter between the 2 codes, Colloquial Egyptian Arabic and English. In addition to using English for academic purposes, students and teachers of international educational institutions may adopt the same speech styles in other social contexts beyond the scale of academia. This result is similar to the results of Shalaby's study (2018) on the language attitudes of Egyptian students concluded; the

study was conducted on two groups of participants, one group was comprised of international university students and another from a national one. The results of that study found that students of international universities who received their former education in English instruction or who received high school education at international schools look positively at codeswitching in comparison to those who received their education in a national university who previously received their high school education in a national school (Reem Bassiouney & Walters, 2022). The result Shalaby reached may account for the linguistic behavior of Khalaf in *Sa'eedi Fil Gama'a El Amerikeyyah*, as he was a top achiever at a national high school, granted a scholarship at the American University in Cairo. Khalaf showed less tendency to codeswitch to English, compared to his peers who had a different high school educational background.

5.3 Social Class, Identity, and Stance

Although the majority of the sample films included an educational context, codeswitching instances triggered by social class, identity construction, and stance were significant, according to the data analysis results. Examination of the excerpts yielded an estimation of 224 codeswitching instances triggered, either by social class, identity, or stance. When classifying the results, the researcher found it challenging to document the results and observations on social class, identity, and stance, separately; results on these 3 social variables were found to be significantly interchangeable. For example, results on social class could not be discussed without including identity as a frame of reference, since social class is an identity marker. Similarly, stance-taking is dependent on the established or constructed identity of both the speaker and the interlocutor. Therefore, the researcher combined the 3 of them under the second point in the results chapter. This is consistent with the Social Arena theory which hypothesizes that 3 universal social arenas

affect code choice: identity, power, and transaction. Identity represents the first social arena, as the speaker determines their code choice based on both: the speaker's identity as well as the audience's identity. Moreover, the second social arena, power, also influences code choice.

In line with that is Swann's (2004) definition of identity: a term employed to describe a person's or a group's sense of self/selves, and that identity can be defined in terms of variables such as ethnicity, nationality, gender, social class, and occupation (Swann, 2004). Therefore, it was difficult to speak about an individual's identity without taking into account the social class from which they come. In addition, grouping these 3 social variables was consistent with Mohamed Amin's study (2018) which hypothesized that identity construction is realized through stance-taking. Therefore, discussing the results on these 3 social variables was found necessary.

The study found that, as per the cinema industry in Egypt, Egyptians may codeswitch from ECA to English due to their social background, class, or lifestyle; English has frequently indexed leading a life of richness, access to power, exposure to Western culture, good education, a desire to be perceived of as "cool". This can be situated within the frameworks of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory as well as the social arena theory. CDA is a theoretical structure that serves as a mediation reconciling between the sociological and the linguistic aspects. It is concerned with studying the interrelations between society and discourse by combining sociological and linguistic approaches (Weiss and Wodak). This is why the choice of a particular speech code may have another sociological dimension or significance. In that sense, this is also closely tied to the social

arena theory which sees that linguistic choices may constitute a form of power-exercising over others.

The majority of the characters that frequently codeswitched were coming from upper social classes in Egypt. However, in some cases, characters descending from lower social classes were still found to codeswitch to English but were often presented as hard workers and top achievers, unlike the characters – from more socio-economically empowered classes – that were mostly portrayed as spoiled or irresponsible. Characters from the two social groups, however, were seen to make speech adjustments, as the communication purposes may dictate, to achieve certain goals, obtain some gains, or win the other group's approval, by trying to align the speaker's code with the interlocutor's predominant code. This supports the accommodation theory which is based on the socio-psychological aspect of similarity-attraction; an individual may want to affect the impression or the opinion of another, to make them evaluate him/her more favorably through the reduction of dissimilarities between them. Speech accommodation is no exception to this principle; it is a reflection of a speaker's desire to gain the social approval of another (Giles).

These results support the results of the recent research on codeswitching that have been more preoccupied with exploring the way bilingual speakers manipulate their own linguistic repertoires for exercising power in discourse; the way they employ their linguistic practices to construct their identities through their own unique personal combination of speech codes they speak (Sciriha, 2016, p. 20). An example of this from the results of this study is excerpt 21 from ***Ramadan Mabruk Aboul Alameen Hammouda***, in which Ramzy was defining and differentiating his own identity

as an international high school student and as the son of the minister of education, from that of the public school principal as well as the social group associated with the latter. Ramzy expressed and emphasized his different identity through the choice of a different speech code from that of the public school principal; he maintained speaking English throughout the excerpt and the scene, in an attempt to show off his social and educational background, exercising some kind of power or projecting a sense of superiority on the public school's social group. Another example of manipulating linguistic repertoires and shifting between the speech codes with the aim of exercising power over the interlocutor is excerpt 6 from *Al Thalatha Yashtaghalunaha,* in which Nabil's fiancée who came from an upper social class ridiculed Naguiba for her failure at the final exams as well as her humble social background as the fiancée says:

Line 12:

Hi يا نجيبة

Baby,

أنا زعلت أوي أما عرفت إنك سقطتي السنة دي.

Hard luck! No problem, you can do it!

And line 18:

Oh my God!

يا بيلو *Sorry*

أصل هي طلعت بيئة ..طحن!

The choice of English code here was a means of power exercising over Naguiba, as Nabil's fiancée was trying to highlight Naguiba's failure at the final exams, looking down on her and telling her that the latter came from a lower social class. English code was employed to stress the stance of superiority and power over Naguiba.

5.4 Age

The study revealed that the chances to codeswitch are higher among youth and teenagers who have a proper educational and/or social background. The total number of codeswitching instances associated with young age was 303 times. For example, the characters that engaged in codeswitching were either high school students, university students, expatriates returning to Egypt, or employees. This is in line with what the recent studies on language variation found as they identified relationships between some social variables, such as age and social class, and the frequency of using particular linguistic features (Swann, 2004).

5.5 Humor

The frequency of the CS instances associated with - or tackled within - a comic context reached 301 times. Speaking about the humor factor that is predominant over the entirety of sample films would pose few questions that are worth investigating and studying in future research. Although speaking English has been constantly introduced in the Egyptian drama and films to be associated with the more wealthy and privileged social classes that have access to power, there is a seeming strategic trend to situate codeswitching - between Arabic and English - within comic contexts or conversations. Moreover, there is a parallel consistent portrayal of the characters that codeswitch

as being spoiled and lacking responsibility, if they are affiliated with upper social classes, or as having a poor English accent and hard workers if they come from lower social classes, or even as lacking common sense in terms of matching the right speech code to the right social context, in either case. A few examples of this are excerpts 7, in which Naguiba was speaking to the policeman in English, even when she was arrested at the police station. Another example is excerpt 39 in which Arawah, a driver's daughter coming from a humble socioeconomic background, was codeswitching to English in her phone call in a poor English accent whenever she switched codes. In addition to the examples in which codeswitching to English was irrelevant to the social context, resulting in the creation of a sarcastic comic element is excerpt 41, in which Haitham Dabour, a young "cool" gentleman who came from a very rich family before his father's fortunes were confiscated and his father got arrested, codeswitched to English to explain to Arwah the breakfast items he desires, "cornflakes", "strawberry", and "skimmed milk" on a table in which beans, potatoes, and cheese were served, indexing the differences in the social classes each of the 2 food lists represent: rich versus poor.

5.6 Final Insights about the Results and Recommendations for Future Research

The study strived to explore codeswitching in few sociolinguistic contexts, which were predominantly presented in comic films. A wholistic view at the extracted data, especially within the context of the films, may leave the researcher with conflicting impressions about how the Egyptian community views codeswitching; as depicted the select sample of movies, there is no single stance towards such linguistic behavior. The data analyzed suggests that the film making industry, a part and parcel of the Egyptian community, has a paradoxical perception or mixed feelings towards codeswitching between ECA and English, that even looks as if the Egyptian

community has a love-hate relationship with codeswitching and its advocates. At the one side, some data suggests that speaking English indexes power, sophistication, and proper education; yet, a rich young man or woman who use English in their speech are often characterized with some negative traits such as irresponsibility, not caring about studying hard, carelessness, arrogance, or disrespect towards others from lower social classes. Conversely, yet ironically, people from lower social classes codeswitching into English are always imagined to have more positive traits, such as chivalry, hard work, a serious attitude to life, but are often depicted to either have a poor English accent or to codeswitch at irrelevant situations in a way that creates a material for humor.

In other words, although, according to the Egyptian media represented in the data sample, codeswitching from ECA into English is highly regarded to generally index being on the more powerful side, it could be concluded from the excerpts and the contexts in which they were uttered that the Egyptian film makers have strategically employed and contextualized codeswitching in a way that constantly creates comedy or adds to it, for a considerable number of years. Perhaps this stance has changed even after these 7 films were produced, with the emergence of online TV and film platforms. But looking into the timeframe covered by the selection of films this study examined, the stance of the Egyptian community towards codeswitching between the 2 codes mentioned is portrayed as controversial and to have different facets. Such controversy and paradoxical conflicting stances towards this language attitude some Egyptian bilinguals hold, codeswitching, may inspire more future research on the subject in the Egyptian media discourse, especially film and TV language. Online TV and film platforms presenting Egyptian works are yet relatively an unfathomed rich area of data and ideas for potential future research on language variation, language attitudes, and linguistic phenomenon, such as codeswitching.

On a different note, investigating how far social networks can influence codeswitching, and what other psycholinguistic or cognitive motivations may trigger codeswitching between ECA and English can be of interest to future studies on CS. Moreover, there is a lack of research on why codeswitching has long been tackled by the Egyptian drama and films in a comic context or why has it frequently been employed as a humor element. How far the character traits attributed to the people who codeswitch, from upper and lower social classes, are honest and representative of the real sociolinguistic situation can also be a significant question to explore by research.

Chapter 6 - Pedagogical Implications and Conclusion

6.1 Implications for the classroom

Since this study is concerned with highlighting and exploring some of the language attitudes of native Egyptian Arabic speakers, it may help foreign learners of Arabic be well-acquainted with the recent trending and growing language attitudes as well as the linguistic behaviors and practices of native Arabs from the perspective of Egyptian drama and film making industry films. Although the data is not natural speech but performed previously written scripts, an imitation of the language attitudes of Egyptians can be informative to the learners of Arabic as a Foreign Language (AFL). It can be informative on how code choices of bilingual or multi-lingual Egyptian Arabic natives may differ according to many social variables, such as their level and type of education, age, social status, job, identity considerations, and stances; or even psychological variables, like the different emotional states or reactions that may lead to using particular linguistic features or adopting certain speech styles. However, this is not an attempt to teach nor to encourage AFL learners to adopt the practice of codeswitching, but it serves to provide them with some facts and insights on the recent changes in the language variations and attitudes in an Arab country. In other words, this is not a call to "teach" AFL learners to code switch between Arabic and English, but it is an endeavor to teach them how Arabic is used and how they can understand it when they encounter such a linguistic behavior. It is their own decision whether they want to immolate it, and in such cases, they would be reaching and showing a better level of communicative ability, especially if this code-switched language is used in the appropriate context.

It would be useful for an AFL learner to gain awareness that, whenever they encounter native Egyptian Arabic speakers codeswitching to English in their speech with them, this could be more of the linguistic style of the speaker, rather than any form of language incompetence at the end of the AFL learner. Besides, informing AFL learners about such a linguistic behavior that is widespread in Egypt can enable them to predict which job occupations, social classes, ages, or educational backgrounds are expected to codeswitch into English in their natural speech.

Since the media discourse language, namely film language in this context, follows spontaneous speech in significance as a source of data for academic research, and because it is a reflection of how native speakers use the language, the results of this study highlight the language attitudes, styles, practices, preferences, and trends depicted from an Arabic community that the media deliberately and strategically highlights.

Therefore, developing an awareness of the linguistic reality is of paramount importance for AFL learners. In class, teachers should educate their Arabic language learners on the contexts and areas in which codeswitching is appropriate to achieve an easier understanding without breaking or hindering communication. Presenting codeswitching patterns to students, even codeswitching in general at the level between both Fusha and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic would be beneficial, especially starting with a high intermediate level.

6.2 Conclusion

This study aimed at exploring the social motivations behind codeswitching, a common linguistic phenomenon, in the spoken language of modern Egyptian Arabic films. These social motivations investigated were: education, identity, stance, and age. Besides, the study was also concerned with examining how the Egyptian media and filmmaking industry portray, present, or view the codeswitching practice and people who codeswitch, especially because CS has always been associated with comic films. To this end, 7 Egyptian films – produced as of 1998 and after - were selected for data collection and analysis. A total of 43 excerpts containing codeswitching instances were sampled - out of the 7 films - for analysis in the light of the sociolinguistic variables mentioned, within the theoretical framework of the social arena theory, accommodation theory, and critical discourse analysis.

The language of films and TV is considered a rich source for sociolinguistic research. For, although such language can be exaggerated in nature, it can be insightful in terms of highlighting the community's views on a particular linguistic phenomenon. The language of films and drama is, therefore, an important source for academic research. However, the results of a study that's based on this language as its data cannot be considered conclusive for the results may not constitute final answers, and therefore cannot be generalized. Yet, the results of this study and/or similar ones can help pave the way for further research about codeswitching between Arabic and English in the performed language in the future, especially because there are few studies in this field.

Examination of the collected data, the frequency of codeswitching from Arabic into English and vice versa, the social context, and the social variables interacting or interfering with it, yielded few results, and observations addressing the 2 research questions upon which this study was constructed. This is in addition to two other interesting results that extend beyond the scope of the social variables examined in relation to codeswitching.

First, the study revealed that codeswitching has a significant presence in modern Egyptian films and that such a linguistic phenomenon is particularly widespread among international high school students, undergraduate students, university Professors, and individuals enrolled in language courses. The results showed that although codeswitching may occur frequently within educational contexts, it extends to be practiced by the same persons in social situations that are beyond academia. This, in turn, hypothesizes that codeswitching could be more of a linguistic habit that extends beyond educational purposes.

Secondly, the results of the study indicated that English, as a code of speech, is often indexed in the Egyptian community as the language of the more prestigious social networks and the more socio-economically powerful social classes. However, the results revealed that people from different social classes codeswitch, although CS was the more dominant code in the case of the upper social classes. Yet, the instances of people from lower social classes codeswitching indicated that they codeswitch to associate themselves with the prestigious classes and to mark their identity as not associated with locality.

The data analysis also suggested that there could be some form of an inseparable bond between social class, identity, and stance; for, taking a stance means one has already established a particular identity that is capable of taking aligning, dissociating, or conflicting stances from others. In this context, the results might imply that codeswitching can be employed as a means of constructing and projecting identities since speakers strategically make conscious choices from their linguistic repertoires to align themselves with – or differentiate themselves from - particular social groups. In other words, it was found that code choice is often a reflection of the speaker's identity and stance.

Moreover, the data analysis results also suggested that codeswitching is more common in the young than the old; the younger generations represented in high school students, university students, returning expatriates, etc., showed greater flexibility in making speech adjustments as much as the communication purposes may need, while the older generations mostly stick to one code, Arabic, and hardly codeswitch or codemix an English word unless sarcastically rehearsing an utterance.

Apart from the social variables set forth above, two interesting results were observed. The first is that codeswitching could be spontaneous in nature since it can occur as a reaction to a variety of emotional states, triggers, or provocations, conditions under which the more predominant code of speech emerges. The second result was that people might codeswitch as part of their jobs.

Finally, the study identified the complex multi-dimensional views of codeswitching within the Egyptian media and filmmaking domain. Although speaking English in Egyptian Arabic films stereotypically indexes a good education and affiliation with the more prestigious social classes, codeswitching is frequently employed in comic contexts. Moreover, characters from upper social classes who codeswitch are stereotyped as being either irresponsible, spoiled, or arrogant, while the ones coming from more humble socio-economic social classes who codeswitch are often portrayed as hardworking individuals who use codeswitching to imply having the perceived advantages indexed with speaking English.

Overall, this study strived to contribute to the understanding of the linguistic phenomenon of codeswitching between Arabic and English in the language of Egyptian films. It explored some sociolinguistic factors that may account for CS and highlights its various functions, such as identity construction, stance-taking, emotional expressions, and professional contexts. It revealed some of the nuances of codeswitching in the Egyptian Arabic film language and provides some insights on the sociolinguistic dynamics underlying the contemporary Egyptian society as portrayed by the Egyptian cinema.

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Appendices

<u>Full Data Access of 43 Excerpts</u>