STANCE AND INDEXES OF CODE-SWITCHING IN THE EGYPTIAN NOVEL ZAAT

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Applied Linguistics
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Degree of Master of Arts

By
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"And say: My Lord! Increase me in knowledge." (Qur'an, Ta-Ha 20:114) "Seeking knowledge is incumbent upon every Muslim (male and female)." (Hadith) The high rank that knowledge gains in Islam has been the main motivator for me to pursue an MA degree. All thanks go to Allah, the most Gracious and most Merciful.

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Finally this MA thesis is dedicated to the soul of my mother, Iman El Kishky, may she rest in peace.
ABSTRACT

This sociolinguistic study examines stance and indexes of three linguistic codes in the Egyptian society: English, Standard Arabic (SA), and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) by analyzing examples of code-switching (CS), in the Egyptian novel Zaat or Self by the Egyptian writer, Son’a Allah Ibrahim. Zaat has a unique structure among other Arabic novels, meaning that all the odd-numbered chapters narrate the life of Zaat, the heroine, but even-numbered chapters reflect factual incidents that took place in Egypt during the rule of presidents Mohamed Anwar El Sadat and Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. The theory of indexicality (Bassiouney, 2012, 2013, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2010; Woolard, 2004) was used to analyze data as well as linguistic resources, such as: presuppositions, intertextuality, and pronouns (Bassiouney, 2014).

Application of the indexicality theory showed that in Egypt each linguistic code has several indexes that differ according to the situation. English for instance enjoys the positive indexes of (1) good education, (2) modernity, (3) social prestige, and (4) developed countries. On the other hand, it also has the negative index of conspiring with the West. As for SA, it also has positive indexes, such as: (1) authority, (2) literacy, (3) education, and (4) Islam; however it also has the negative index of being outdated. As far as ECA is concerned, it signals the following indexes; (1) daily interaction, (2) authenticity, and (3) belonging to Egyptian masses.

These indexes assisted in identifying the stances characters took in the novel, whether towards each other or towards social events. In some examples, characters preferred to take the stance of belonging to a certain group by using its linguistic code, while in other situations characters resorted to CS as they sought divergence from a certain group. Characters also took various stances, such as, belonging to a higher social class and being more educated, powerful, or religious.
Key Words: Stance, indexicality, code-switching, diglossia, English, Arabic, SA, ECA, Egypt.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA: Classical Arabic

CS: Code-switching

ECA: Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

H: High

L: Low

L1: First language

L2: Second language

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

SA: Standard Arabic
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Code-switching (CS) is a linguistic phenomenon taking place in almost all societies. CS occurs when people switch from one variety to the other within the same language or switch between two different languages. It occurs in written and spoken forms of language as well as sign languages (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Since linguists are interested in the way people communicate (Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams, 2011), among other interests, CS has been studied from different perspectives, such as: psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic (Gumperz, 1982; Nilep, 2006). It has stirred discussions as to whether it should be thought of as a healthy sign in communities or a threat to the purity of languages (Bassiouney, 2009, 2014; Suleiman, 2004).

There are different kinds of CS, among which are: situational and metaphoric (Gumperz, 1982). The first occurs when the speaker changes the topic, but the second type of CS can take place without any change in the topic of discussion. Other types of CS are: intra-sentential and inter-sentential, as the name suggests, the first type occurs within the same sentence and the latter is CS, which occurs between more than one sentence (Bassiouney, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 1993a). When CS is the norm and is expected to happen it is referred to as unmarked while the type of CS that is more notable is called marked (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). The marked type has more social connotations and performs a more salient role in revealing the speaker’s stance.

Reasons for CS vary, some bilinguals resort to it because they are not completely proficient in one language and need to use another code to express their feelings eloquently (Bassiouney, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 1993b). In other cases people use CS to accommodate to the interlocutor, which often takes place when one returns to her/his hometown, after having lived abroad or in another region for a long time, and uses its code. However, this is not always the
case because interlocutors may use CS for a word they are familiar with in both codes (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). CS can also be used to give context to communication by providing information that exceeds the linguistic reference like reflecting a certain identity (Omoniyi & White, 2006), designating change in social roles (Gumperz, 1982; Nilep, 2006), or as Myers-Scotton (1976) indicated, creating social distance. Myers-Scotton added that CS could also be used as a neutral tool in uncertain situations when the speaker does not opt for one variety with all its attributes. In addition, people resort to CS as a means of expressing belonging to a certain group or having specific origins (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Suleiman, 2004). Romaine (1995) mentioned that consistent switching often has a specific reason (as cited in Bassiouney, 2009).

After introducing CS, some kinds of CS, and reasons for CS, it would be of value to introduce some of the main concepts that form the background for this study. These concepts are: diglossia in the Arab world, stance, and the theory of indexicality.

Arab countries are diglossic communities (Ferguson, 1959), which means there are at least two different varieties of Arabic used in these communities. In addition to Standard Arabic (SA) that is shared by all Arab countries, each country has its own vernacular (Bassiouney, 2010; Bassiouney, 2015). To give some examples, there is Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) in Egypt, Levantine in the Levant (Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan), and Al Darija in Morocco and North African countries. In previous times, the low variety (colloquial Arabic) was disdained and considered a corrupt version of the more sophisticated SA (Abdel-Malek, 1972; Cachia, 1967; Suleiman, 2004), yet this attitude has witnessed considerable changes. In Egypt, if the context is written, literary, or formal, SA is considered the suitable variety, while in everyday life spoken interaction ECA is used. Though, ECA has found its way into literary works, there are still debates whether to accept it or not. Since diglossia is deemed as a kind of CS (Albirini,
in this study the diglossic situation in Egypt was referred to as CS between SA and ECA.

After discussing CS and diglossia, it is important to introduce here stance and the theory of indexicality. Stance is how one positions herself/himself to the audience. Whenever an individual makes a choice of code, pronouns, or vocabulary, there is a stance and a process of inclusion or exclusion (Bassiouney, 2014). Language with its indexes is used to classify people and take stances. For instance, one can take the stance of a hero, a victim, an equal, or a superior. In addition, one gives a position to the audience (Cameron, 2005). For example, when talking to students a teacher takes the stance of being more knowledgeable while when the same teacher talks with a fellow teacher, the stance shifts to that of informality. This does not mean that these roles are static or that the interlocutor has to accept them (Suleiman, 2004).

CS can reflect the stance each character takes because each code has its indexes. A good example of this is Suleiman’s (2004) narration of his visit to his homeland. Suleiman’s family noticed his refusal to use his mother tongue with the occupiers of his country and his insistence on holding the conversation in English. He accounted for this saying that he did not want to have a sense of familiarity or belong to the same group with the occupiers and thus did not speak the same language with them. He also distanced himself from them through the use of a code, English, that is loaded with prestige. This is called indexicality: the associations of codes “by convention and not resemblance” (Bassiouney, 2014, p.58). This association is highly dependent on the context and is not fixed (Jaffe, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2010) as will be explained further in the definitions and methodology sections.

There are different degrees of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003): First order indexicality which is not noticeable or intentional since it happens naturally, second order indexicality which
is more creative and noticeable as it serves in denoting belonging to a certain group, and third order indexicality which is very creative and performative as it goes beyond belonging to one group. For example, when someone who was born and raised abroad comes to Egypt and speaks English, this is referred to as first order as it is normal and expected. However, this person knows Arabic very well and intentionally does not use it, that is second order indexicality as it means this person shows belonging to another group than Egyptians. An example of third order indexicality was given by Bassiouney (2014) when she described an Alexandrian journalist who had used her variety to denote belonging to Alexandria as well as to show religious tolerance, since she related to all Alexandrians regardless of their religion. In this study second and third orders were of primary interest.

In Egypt, CS is manifest in almost all sorts of communication: people’s daily conversations, newspapers, television shows, and even political speeches. Arabic is the formal language of Egypt and English is the most widely spread foreign language. Since novels are considered a means of communication between the novelist and her/his readers as well as a reflection of society, CS has also appeared in novels and particularly in the dialogue between characters. It would be interesting to examine indexes of CS in Egyptian novels, especially occurrences of switching to English, which has not been studied in this context before as the review of the literature discussed hereafter suggests.

Statement of the Research Problem

Most studies of CS have examined spoken data and even the few studies that have examined CS in novels have not analyzed the functions of CS. CS to English has scarcely been examined in a context where Arabic is the main language of communication and it has not been studied in Egyptian novels before. In this study CS in an Egyptian novel was analyzed in
relation to stance-taking and indexicality. In novels, characters take different stances towards each other, the society, and major occurrences in their lives. It would be useful to employ the theory of indexicality to examine how novelists deploy CS to reveal the stances characters take.

It would also be interesting and useful to do further research on CS in Egyptian society through novels. Such knowledge is needed for a better understanding of language use in Egyptian society. This study attempts to reveal more about the status of English, SA, and ECA in Egypt.

Research Questions

The study intended to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the indexes of English, SA, and ECA in the Egyptian novel Zaat?
2. How is CS employed as a tool to show the stance of the characters in the Egyptian novel Zaat?

Delimitations

This study explored examples of CS between English, SA, and ECA in the Egyptian novel Zaat. It focused on the connotations of each code used and how the novelist deploys CS to convey certain meanings. In addition, the role of CS in illuminating stances characters take towards each other or towards certain ideas was examined. However, the study did not investigate the frequency of different structural types of CS since this structural approach does not account for the reasons or meaning attributable to CS (Nilep, 2006). In addition, the perspective of readers on the use of CS in literature was not examined.

Definitions of Constructs

It may be useful to present some of the main concepts that are of importance in this study. These concepts are: code-switching, diglossia, stance, and the theory of indexicality.
**Code-switching**

CS is defined as the use of two codes in the same means of communication; these codes can be varieties of the same language or two different languages (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Myers-Scotton, 2010). The code that is more prominent is referred to as the *Matrix language*, while the code that appears less frequently is the *Embedded language* (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Myers-Scotton (1993b) referred to CS as a type of communicative competence gained from one’s society in order to be able to communicate with others, which is true in cases of switching between two varieties of the same language.

**Diglossia**

Diglossia in the Arab world means that there is a formal high (H) variety and an informal low (L) one of Arabic, and each variety is used in its own context and suitable situation (Ferguson, 1959). SA has a literary nature and is linked to writing while local dialects are related to conversations and everyday life (Bassiouney, 2006, 2009, 2014; Holes, 2011; Suleiman, 2004).

**Stance**

In Du Bois’ (2007) stance triangle, stance includes three different acts: first the stance taker evaluates an object, then positions a subject (usually herself/himself), and after that forms alignment with other subjects to form a bigger group or estrange herself/himself from them. Thus, positioning, which means how one presents herself/himself in relation to other people, places, ideas, or whole countries, is only a part of the stance-taking process as stance takes it further to whether one aligns with the interlocutors to form a group or not (Du Bois, 2007).

**Indexicality**

Davis (2014) referred to indexicality as context-sensitive expressions such as *I* and *enemy*
whose referent is highly dependent on the situation. Non-referential indexicality is the association between linguistic utterances and social identities (Bassiouny, 2014). The same code can have positive or negative indexicality, depending on context. For example, Myers-Scotton (1993a) called it a “love/hate attitude” (p. 30) when narrating two situations of the use of English in Kenya that gave opposing results. In the first situation, English was indexed as the language of the elite and allowed the speaker to enter the police station and even free a relative of his while in the second situation, speakers of English were thrown out of a beer party as they were viewed as being conceited.

**Operational Definitions**

**CS** is considered here switching between two different languages, Arabic and English, as well as between two varieties of Arabic (SA and ECA). One can recognize it through lexical, morphological, or even phonological variation.

**Stance** is how characters in the novel are positioned in relation to each other, as well as to social and political events. Through the use of CS one of the characters can reflect her/his agreement or disagreement with an idea or topic of discussion, especially if it is not her/his habit to use this code.

**Indexicality** in this study is considered as the associations of each code characters use, whether positive or negative associations.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter offers a review of the main pertinent research to the present topic, which is studying stance and indexes of CS in the Egyptian novel Zaat between English, SA, and ECA. Many studies have examined CS as spoken, yet very few have examined its written form (Albakry & Hancock, 2008; Sebba, Mahootian, & Jonsson, 2012). Studies of spoken CS had various points of foci and mainly used conversation analysis (CA) as a theoretical framework (Cromdal, 2001; Gafaranga, 2001; Hussein & Shorrab, 1993; Sebba & Wooten, 1998; Wei, 2005). Data in all the above-mentioned studies was derived from spoken discourse and did not relate CS to stance or indexicality.

This literature review is divided thematically into three parts: research relating CS to stance and the theory of indexicality, then studies on CS in literary texts, and finally contextualizing the study. The first two parts are each divided into three sections where studies are grouped together thematically. As for part three, it deals with the use of English, SA, and ECA in Egyptian society. The first part presents studies of CS that showed the role of CS in revealing stance within different contexts and between various languages. Then it examines studies that analyzed CS and applied the theory of indexicality to the two varieties of Arabic in Egypt (SA and ECA) as well as English in India. After that, it reviews two studies that employed both stance and indexicality. The second part of the literature review discusses studies of CS in novels from different parts of the world, then articles on CS in Egyptian novels (particularly between SA and ECA), and after that research on CS between Arabic and English in Egyptian novels. The last part discusses the linguistic situation in Egypt regarding the use of English, SA, and ECA.
Part One: Studies on Code-switching, Stance, and Indexicality

Code-switching and Stance-Taking

There are several studies on stance (Biber, 2006; Charles, 2006; Jaffe, 2007; Silver, 2003; Watson, 1999). This section selects some of the studies on CS which highlight the fact that stances people take towards groups, whether to belong to them or not, can be illuminated by CS (Al-Khatib, 2003; Al Masaeed, 2013; Bassiouney, 2006; Khattab, 2013; Parveen and Aslam, 2013; Singo, 2014). These studies not only discussed CS in different countries, but in different domains as well, i.e. Facebook in Pakistan and physicians’ conversations with patients in Zimbabwe. First, reference is made to two studies on CS between English and two different languages, followed by three studies of CS between English and Arabic, and finally a study of CS between SA and ECA. These studies were chosen because they tackle CS and stance (though not all of them have stated clearly that belonging to a group is a stance).

Two studies, Parveen and Aslam (2013) and Singo (2014), discussed the functions of CS and are analyzed here. Parveen and Aslam conducted research on Facebook users in Pakistan and how they switch between Urdu and English. Their aim was to investigate reasons for CS. They used a convenience sample and collected data from 50 participants both males and females. Descriptive qualitative data analysis was provided. Malik’s (1994) framework and its ten reasons for CS were employed. The relevant reasons, among these ten reasons for CS, were showing belonging to a group and the mood of the speaker. Mood of the speaker is CS that occurs when the person is angry or tired. These reasons were evident in the analyzed examples of this study.

Singo (2014) conducted an interesting study that examined CS between doctors and their patients. Data was collected in Zimbabwe where Shona was the first language (L1) and English
the second language (L2) for all the participants. Singo observed and tape recorded a real meeting between a doctor and his patient in the physician’s clinic. Singo also listened to five medical programs on the radio. The reason for resorting to radio programs was to avoid the observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972), and it is assumed it was relatively difficult to attend appointments between doctors and patients given the emotional intensity, privacy considerations as well as embarrassment in these meetings. Singo focused on studying the functions of CS and she found that doctors resorted to this linguistic phenomenon when attempting to establish rapport with patients especially with the absence of non-verbal language on the radio and thus the use of Shona was pivotal. She also added that patients switched to English to show that they have good education as well as to accommodate to doctors who use English a lot.

These two studies, Parveen and Aslam (2013) and Singo (2014), seemed of interest especially since they examined CS in different contexts, which implies that CS is evident in all aspects of our lives. Both studies reached the conclusion that CS is sometimes used to show belonging to a certain group, i.e. the stance one takes towards this group.

In this part, three studies will be discussed that related stance-taking to CS between English and Arabic. Khattab (2013) focused on spoken communication of three Arabic-English bilingual children in the U.K. Given that these children were exposed to different varieties of English, Khattab aimed at discovering the sociolinguistic competence of these children as they switched between Arabic accented English (of their parents) and British English. The researcher had two types of sessions: English sessions with the participants where she spoke to them in English and other sessions where the participants communicated with their mothers and were encouraged to use Arabic. The qualitative analysis of data showed that the participants used native English pronunciation when they did not know the word in Arabic, or when they needed
to show disagreement with the mother. The participants used Arabic accented English when the main language of the session was Arabic, or when they wanted to avoid using the Arabic word they knew. Here language played a role in showing which stance children took towards their parents.

The second study took place in the same setting, included the same number of participants and also explored the role of CS in revealing stance. For six months, Al-Khatib (2003) examined the language of three Arabic-English bilinguals who were born and brought up in London. The results showed that participants’ choice of language played a role in revealing social convergence or divergence in certain situations, in other words, the stance participants chose to take towards people around them as participants showed whether they belonged to the same group or not by using alternating codes.

The third study was conducted in a different setting, it was a doctoral dissertation by Al Masaeed (2013), who collected data from conversations of students in a study abroad program in Morocco with their tutors. For students, English was the L1 and Arabic was the L2, while for teachers it was the opposite. The language of these conversations was Arabic, and occasionally both students and teachers would switch to English. The participants of this study were 17 students and nine conversation partners. Al Masaeed employed the markedness theory as well as the conversational CS approach, and he noted that the first was more beneficial for data analysis. He found out that participants switched to English for several reasons, according to the markedness theory. If CS was marked it had the following functions: showing solidarity between speakers, joking, or taking care of serious business issues. If CS was unmarked, it served for fulfilling a linguistic gap, providing help, and further explanation. Using the conversational analytic framework, CS to English was observed to have these functions:
quotations, reiteration, inclusion or exclusion of interlocutors, humor, and language negotiation.

As for stance in CS between SA and ECA, Bassiouny (2006) conducted an interesting study where she examined CS between SA and ECA in more than one domain. She examined political speeches of former Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and other politicians, religious sermons in mosques, and university lectures at Alexandria University. All these were spoken monologues that had been well prepared before being given to the audience and the relationship between the speaker and the audience was formal. Bassiouney found out that Ferguson’s model, that SA is the only code used in formal domains, did not apply to the Egyptian society because the three formal contexts she examined were a mix of SA and ECA and not only dominated by SA. Bassiouney also found that political speakers used codes to influence their audience and play different roles, which correlates with what Gumperz (1982) mentioned about roles and Goffman’s idea of change of footing. For example, Mubarak’s speech was in SA, but when he wanted to address the people as a father figure he switched to ECA. This particular example is of interest to this study as data has shown an example of a speech by Mubarak in the novel where he resorted to ECA for a similar reason.

**Code-switching and Indexicality**

Some of the studies that discussed indexicality are Bucholtz (2009), Davis (2014), and Silverstein (2003). In this section studies of CS that referred to the indexes of the codes used are examined (Albirini, 2011; Bhatt, 2008; Gokarn, 2008). First a study that discussed some indexes of the two varieties of Arabic used in Egypt (SA and ECA) is presented. Then, two studies that elaborated on some of the indexes of the English language in India are reviewed. These studies were chosen because they examined the same codes focused on in this study. In addition, some of the indexes they linked to these codes were evident in the results of this study.
If Albirini (2011) is compared to Bassiouney (2006), which was discussed in the previous section, both studied CS in spoken contexts in more than one domain. However, there are differences between the two studies in terms of the focus as well as the collected data. First, Albirini focused on CS between SA and dialects in general, while Bassiouney selected CS between SA and ECA in particular. Second, data in Albirini’s study was from both formal and informal contexts, while Bassiouney collected data from formal contexts only.

The three dialects that Albirini (2011) chose were Egyptian, Gulf, and Levantine Arabic, the contexts he selected for data collection were all spoken, and from three different domains: religious sermons, political debates, and soccer commentaries. The reason for choosing these contexts was the levels of formality they have: religious lectures are formal, political debates contain mixed levels of formality, while soccer game commentaries are informal.

Data analysis concentrated on patterns of CS rather than individual cases. The results of Albirini (2011) showed that there were eight functions/reasons for switching to SA and nine functions for switching to a dialect. Having the same results in the three contexts with their different formality levels showed that CS is not only bound by formality. This correlates with the findings of Bassiouney (2006, 2010) that Ferguson’s model of high and low is not adequate for the Arab diglossic context. Albirini’s finding that CS is mainly linked to the indexes of the codes themselves and how speakers view them more than the situation itself is of interest to this study. He also shed light on identity, the link between SA and Arab-Muslim identity, and recommended investigating the issue of identity in further studies.

Regarding the indexes of English, two studies revealed some of the indexes of English in India by examining CS between Hindi and English. Bhatt (2008) studied two English newspapers in India and instances of CS to Hindi in these newspapers over the span of five years.
from 2001 to 2006. He started by giving background about the position of English in India as the language of the colonizer, yet also the language of the upper classes and good opportunities for work. This can be referred to as the different indexes of English in the Indian society, which are very close to its position in Egypt. He also shed light on the political situation in India at the time of the study, which is important to account for the increase in the use of Hindi in English newspapers. Bhatt argued that CS to Hindi created a new area, which he referred to as third space, for people who wanted a compromise between modernity (English) and tradition (Hindi).

Gokarn (2008) also worked on CS between Hindi and English, but in Indian television advertisements. Gokarn chose advertisements from the mid 90s till 2007 to find the objective for CS between English and Hindi, or what he referred to as the use of Hinglish. The researcher chose advertisements for various products, such as: soft drinks, watches, and skin products. The script of these ads was analyzed and some screen shots of the ads were included for demonstration. Like Bhatt (2008), Gokarn gave some background about the linguistic arena in India and how English is widely used especially by the youth, yet Gokarn did not discuss the negative indexes of English in India. Gokarn relied on the positive indexes of English to explain the reasons for using Hinglish. For instance, English is related to science and progress, which makes Hinglish beneficial to market various products and to deliver the message to customers that this product is of value. In addition, English is associated with the developed West and prestige, which is a positive image businessmen would be keen on linking to the image of their products in customers’ minds.

**Code-switching, Stance, and Indexicality**

There are two studies by Bassiouney (2012, 2013) in which she utilized the indexicality theory and referred to its relation to stance-taking. In the first study she examined three codes,
English, SA, and ECA, while in the second one her focus was on SA and ECA. The researcher employed the indexicality concept (Johnstone, 2010; Woolard, 2004) and markedness theory (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1998, 2005) in both studies. These studies were chosen because they incorporated both stance and indexicality, which will be accounted for in this study as well.

Bassiouney (2012) analyzed the role of code choice during the Egyptian revolution that began on January 25, 2011. She focused on identity and stance-taking and how they were reflected by the use of language at such a critical time. In this study the codes that were examined were English, SA, and ECA. Bassiouney analyzed three examples from television that used language in an attempt to account for the motivations as well as the identity of the protestors in Tahrir Square. The first two examples were from television shows and were against the protestors while the last one was a poem representing the opposite point of view.

Bassiouney (2012) examined how English in the first two examples in the data indexed interacting with foreigners and being part of a conspiracy theory against Egypt. SA, on the other hand, indexed authority and knowledge. Therefore, it was widely used in the third example by the Egyptian poet, Hisham El Gakh, who was pro-Tahrir square rebels against the Egyptian government and needed to have a powerful stance. It was a marked choice on the part of El Gakh who is known for mixing ECA with his Upper Egyptian dialect in his poems. During such an emotional time, language played a pivotal role in showing stances and identity to the extent that it was deemed as “a passport photo” (Bassiouney, 2012, p. 123).

As for Bassiouney (2013), the researcher examined CS in religious sermons between SA and ECA with a focus on social motivation. Again this study, like Bassiouney (2006) and Albirini (2011), clarified how Ferguson’s (1959) distinction between the use of H and L varieties is not accurate in describing current linguistic practices in the Arab world. Data was collected
from mosque sermons during Friday prayer. Out of ten hours of recording, Bassiouney selected three sermons only in order to be able to analyze them thoroughly. Two sermons by Sheikh Sharawy, who was a very famous religious figure in Cairo, were analyzed to be capable of highlighting a pattern in his speeches and one by Sheikh Abd al-Zahir, who uses only SA. These speeches were chosen to prove that preachers have the freedom to choose the codes they use. In the first and second speeches, Sheikh Sharawy displayed a pattern of using Classical Arabic (CA) for Qur’anic verses, SA for conclusions, and ECA for examples and explanations. The audience seemed to be engaged with the preacher and gave comments of praise like Allah! The other speaker’s speech was mainly in SA, which made it seem more didactic.

In the findings, there was a substantial difference in the influence on people due to the distinct codes used by speakers, yet there was not any change of the role of a preacher as a religious teacher unlike the changing roles of politicians in Bassiouney (2006) that was discussed earlier. The concept of indexicality was applied to the data, i.e., when the speaker wanted to be close to the people and be one of them, he used ECA because it has connotations of intimacy and informality. However, markedness theory was slightly challenged. This is due to the fact that speaking ECA in a religious sermon should be marked, yet for someone like Sharawy it was not marked because his audience expected it from him.

**Part Two: Code-switching in Novels**

Studies on CS in written discourse are scarce (Bassiouney, 2014; Bhatt, 2008; Parveen & Aslam, 2013; Sebba, Mahootian, & Jonsson, 2012), and are even more so in novels. Some of the studies that commented on CS in literary works are Bandia (1996), Callahan (2002, 2004), Myers-Scotton (1998), and Sultana, Gulzar, and Ijaz (2012). In the first section, two studies that discussed Nigerian and South African novels will be presented (Bamiro, 2006; Madonsela,
2014). In the second section there will be a focus on studies of Egyptian novels (Abdel-Malek, 1972; Bassiouney, 2010, 2014; Cachia, 1967) These studies are very few and had different areas of focus than this study. Except for Bassiouney’s (2010, 2014), studies that dealt with the role of CS in Egyptian novels discussed writers’ attitudes towards the use of ECA rather than accounting for the function of CS and analyzing examples from novels. Finally, there are not any studies that analyzed CS between Arabic and English in an Egyptian novel where Arabic is the matrix language.

**Code-switching in non-Arabic Novels**

Bamiro (2006) examined CS in three Nigerian novels: *The Interpreters*, *Season of Anomy*, and *No Longer at Ease*. His focus was on examining the politics of CS in these three novels between Nigerian languages, Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa, and English. The analysis of these novels showed that linguistic codes differentiated between the powerful and powerless social classes in Nigeria. CS denoted the stances Nigerians took towards each other whether of superiority or submissiveness. Results have also revealed that English is the dominant and more prestigious language in Nigeria than the local languages.

A very recent study by Madonsela (2014) examined CS between Siswati and English in a South African novel: *Imbali YemaNgcamane (The Flower of the Ngcamanes)*. Madonsela did not focus on the numbers of occurrences of CS in the novel, but rather on its social interpretation. Madonsela focused on code-switching from a sociolinguistic perspective as CS plays a role in determining the social status of the speaker. Madonsela also referred to Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) discussion where she talked about the Markedness Model. Madonsela found that the embedded language was used to negotiate social roles. The researcher gave four examples from the novel where speakers talked in both Siswati and English to index the
significance of their social levels. After that he gave a brief summary of the novel and continued to give examples of CS from the novel and related them to theoretical aspects.

**Code-switching between Standard Arabic-Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in Egyptian Novels**

Cachia (1967) studied the use of colloquial Arabic in literature. She discussed the attitude towards the use of colloquial Arabic in written forms and how this evolved through the passage of time. She analyzed how great authors in Arabic literature like Taha Hussein and Naguib Mahfuz were against linguistic change. She drew attention to the difference between drama, novels, and short stories. In the first, it is easier to use colloquial dialects, as the audience is specific to the country where the play is shown, while in the latter if novelists use only one dialect, they risk losing the audience in other Arab countries. However, colloquial Arabic found its place in the dialogue of novels as this was more realistic and many novelists tended to use both standard as well as colloquial Arabic in dialogue. There were also calls for using the colloquial variety in novels when referring to stream of consciousness and humor. Cachia also mentioned the famous Egyptian journalist Salama Musa’s call to get rid of Standard Arabic and the fierce attack on this by accusing him of being pro-foreigner thought and anti-nationalism. Cachia’s work was a useful overview of writers’ use of colloquial in their works and varying attitudes toward it. However, her work did not extract or analyze any examples from the literary works of the authors she mentioned.

Abdel-Malek (1972) conducted a study where he examined CS in the novels of the famous Egyptian novelist Yusuf Al-Sib’ai. He noticed that Al-Sib’ai passed through three stages in his literary career: the first was using solely SA, the second witnessed holding conversations between characters in ECA, and the third was a compromise between SA and ECA to please language purists. The article focused on novels of the last stage.
Bassiouney (2010) analyzed CS between SA and ECA in Bahaa Tahir’s novel *Love in Exile*. She explained the diaglossic situation in Egypt first and then gave a summary of the novel to account for instances of CS in light of the context. In this novel, the protagonist did not live in Egypt and was suffering from loneliness. Bassiouney found that narration was in SA while conversations included CS between SA and ECA. The protagonist’s dialogue was always in SA, yet he used ECA when talking to his children. Bassiouney remarked that this was an important use of the index of ECA as a language of intimacy to strengthen the meaning of the novel. The protagonist only felt at home when he interacted with his children, and thus used ECA, while he was estranged from all the other characters and used SA in the dialogues he held with them.

A more thorough analysis of CS in Egyptian novels can be found in Bassiouney’s (2014) discussion of dialogue from a linguistic point of view in four Egyptian novels: *The Saint’s Lamp* (1944), *Love in Exile* (1995), *The Leaves of Narcissus* (2001), and *The Book of Rinn* (2008). These four novels were analyzed to demonstrate the use of CS to reveal stances related to Egyptian identity in these narratives. If CS were to reflect reality all dialogues would have been in ECA (Abdel-Malek, 1972; Bassiouney, 2010, 2014). However, authors made use of CS to exploit the different indexes of SA and ECA.

**Code-switching between Arabic-English in Egyptian Novels**

To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that have examined CS between Arabic and English in Egyptian novels. The only study that may be related to this area is one by Albakry and Hancock (2008), but the novel they analyzed was written in English and Arabic was the embedded language.

switch between English and Arabic in her novel. Albakry and Hancock indicated that most studies focused on spoken CS and few examined written media and even fewer examined Anglo-Arab literature. Their interest was to demonstrate the importance of CS in such a post-colonial work. The authors deployed the framework of Kachru (1987) that examined literary CS or bilingual creativity in analyzing their data.

The first category Albakry and Hancock used was traditional honorific titles, and the second was references to customs and traditions. The third category was historical references, which included names of characters and events like Abuzeid El Helali and Suez Canal, yet these should probably not be considered a type of CS as they are proper nouns. The fourth category was greetings and conversational formats. Albakry and Hancock commented on the significance of this type in reflecting a cultural difference between Egyptians and the English or all western people as Egyptian conversations and greetings include frequent mentioning of God even when the conversation is not on a religious topic. As for the fifth category, it was inter-language dialectal variation between SA and ECA. Since the novel is in English, this category was interesting as it showed CS between SA and ECA within CS between English and Arabic. The sixth category the authors used was translational transfer like proverbs or idioms.

Albakry and Hancock (2008) also found a few instances of French CS and they agreed that whether Arabic or French, CS in this novel reflected the desire to break away from the hegemony of the colonist and revealed cultural connotations to the western reader. For each chapter, Albakry and Hancock collected the occurrences of CS then calculated their number as well as percentage of the number of Arabic utterances among the English text. The figures showed that there was a considerable dependence on CS since only three out of 29 chapters were devoid of CS. Hence, the authors started to question the readability of The Map of Love for the
western reader, who most probably lacks sufficient background of the Egyptian culture and its diaglossic situation. However, they concluded with the idea that this was a good challenge for readers to read more extensively about other cultures.

**Part Three: Contextualizing the Study**

In Egypt, the official language is Arabic as stated in the Egyptian constitution (“Chapter One,” 1980). As discussed above, Egypt like the rest of the Arab world is a diglossic community, which entails teaching SA in schools and using it in official situations like political discussions and legal issues while using ECA with families, friends, in movies, and in the streets. This does not mean that all the governorates speak the same vernacular (“Egypt,” n.d.). There are, for example, regional vernaculars in Upper Egypt, coastal cities, and rural areas. However, the ECA referred to in this study is Cairene spoken Arabic, since it is the one extensively used in literature as well as in the media. In addition, English is the most widely spread foreign language in the Egyptian society followed by French (“Egypt,” n.d.).

**English**

English is taught in almost all Egyptian schools. In public schools, it is taught from grade one, while in private and international schools, it is taught from kindergarten and on a deeper level than public schools. English is also evident on television, as Channel Two and Nile TV broadcast news and programs in English. There is also Nile FM (104.2) radio station that is always in English and receives phone calls that are conducted in English. Moreover, English is widely used in the streets and on shop signs. English indexes that the speaker has received a good education, comes from a high social status, or has been brought up in a developed foreign country.

On the other hand, English is historically associated with the British colonization in
People went very far in relating English to foreign countries to the extent that during the January 25th revolution, some of them accused protesters who speak English of being spies and conspiring against their own country. When Salafists (radical islamists) joined the Egyptian parliament, some of them called for banning the teaching of English in Egypt in 2012\(^1\). Two years later, Youm7 newspaper, along with other newspapers like Al Ahram, reported an incident of two men being arrested in a metro station just because they were talking in English (“Egypt's most bizarre,” 2014). However, this situation was very strange and was ridiculed by many Egyptians on Facebook and other social media, which reveals the contradictory indexes a language can have.

**Standard Arabic**

SA is related to education, history, and Islam, specifically the Qur’an. It is taught in all schools whether public, private, or international. At the university, academic books that are in Arabic are written in SA. In 2002 when I joined the Department of English Language at the Faculty of Al-Alsun (Languages) at Ain Shams University (an Egyptian public university), it was obligatory to take a course in SA for the four years that focused heavily on grammar. In addition, there was also a translation course each semester from Arabic to English and vice versa, and the variety that was used was always SA (“Faculty of Alsun,” n.d.).

As for the relation between SA and Islam, most preachers depend on SA in their sermons (Doss, 2010). The Egyptian radio station *The Holy Qur’an*, which broadcasts religious programs and recitations from the Qur’an, uses SA abundantly and even had a program for teaching the rules of SA called *In the Garden of Arabic* which is available on YouTube\(^2\). It is mentioned in religious texts and by preachers that one of the marvels of the Qur’an is that it was sent to people

\(^1\) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pKtiE9le7H0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pKtiE9le7H0)
\(^2\) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_ve9eQySb4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_ve9eQySb4)
in the Hijaz, the current Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, who mastered Arabic and appreciated poetry to a great extent. These people were amazed at the eloquence of the Qur’an and their trials to compose anything like it failed, in spite of their prominent linguistic skills. Thus Muslims do not like to change the language of the Qur’an. It is worth noting that the Arabic of the Qur’an is referred to as classical Arabic and is hardly used by anyone, so sheikhs resort to SA to explain and interpret Qur’anic verses after reciting them in classical Arabic. Associating SA to religion is also evident in movies. Whenever a series or movie is made about a certain religious figure or an important era in Islamic history, SA is the predominant language in use in these works of art, such as the movies *Dawn of Islam* and *Al Shimaa*.

**Egyptian Colloquial Arabic**

ECA is the language of communication among Egyptians (Doss, 2010). An American colleague, who learned SA in the U.S. and came to the American University in Cairo as part of a semester abroad program, expressed his frustration the very first minute he tried to talk with the taxi driver at Cairo airport, in SA, because the driver neither understood him nor replied in SA. As indicated above, SA is taught in schools, and since the illiteracy percentage is high in Egypt, it makes sense to find many Egyptians especially people that work in handicrafts who cannot read or write SA. A website that gives advice about traveling overseas gave some examples of sentences tourists can use in Egypt. “Do you speak English?” in ECA is rendered as “betekkallem ’engelīzi? (addressing a male)”, while if it were in SA it would have been *Hal tatakalam alenjiliːz’ia?* (“Languages in Egypt,” n.d.). ECA is also used in movies and the vast majority of television talk shows. Therefore, it is associated with intimacy, friendliness, and informality (Bassiouney, 2009, 2014).

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3 This was also supported by a paper on an Arabic Language Institute website http://azhar-ali.com/go/
Conclusion

From work on CS it is clear that interest in CS in spoken communication is greater than in written texts. Even the few studies that have examined CS in novels did not focus on indexes of codes or relate CS to stance (Bassiouney, 2014). Rather, they looked at the structure of CS or the attitude of novelists towards CS. The studies discussed in this chapter were arranged thematically. First there was a review of studies of CS that used stance and the theory of indexicality, then CS in novels in general and Egyptian novels in particular was discussed, after which a description of the Egyptian linguistic arena was presented.

To sum up, studies reviewed in the literature revealed many interesting aspects about CS. CS is prevalent in almost every speech community and every means of communication (Carra, 2009). Most studies of CS between SA and ECA focused on oral contexts and have not examined written texts (Bhatt, 2008; Parveen & Aslam, 2013). It was the same case for studies of CS between Arabic and English that studied conversations and were mainly conducted in English-speaking contexts (Hussein & Shorrab, 1993). Thus, it would be of interest to examine CS between English, SA, and ECA in a written form where Arabic is the dominant language.

To the best of my knowledge, studies of CS in novels are very few (Albakry and Hancock, 2008; Bassiouney, 2014) and almost none examined switching from Arabic to English in a novel written in Arabic. Thus, my aim was to examine CS between English, SA, and ECA in the Egyptian novel Zaat. My focus was on the indexes of each code the author used to reflect the stance characters took towards each other or in opposition to surrounding events. Zaat was selected for analysis because the novel revolves around the life of its heroine, who represents Egyptians’ struggles in life. Moreover, the author focused in many chapters on providing an archive for important social and political events in Egypt, specifically during Mubarak’s
presidency. As Khattab (2013) noted, most studies focused on language itself and very few studies focused on switching as a way of demonstrating identity and affiliations. In addition, Albirini (2011) called for more studies that focus on the relation between SA and identity. Therefore, my focus was not what type of CS occurred, as much as it was on the effect of this switching in revealing meaning.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The literature review indicated that there are several gaps in studies of CS. Hence, the purpose of this study is to fill in these gaps and investigate CS in an Egyptian novel. In Zaat or Self, the main language used was Arabic and English was the embedded one. However, the novelist not only switches between Arabic and English, but between SA and ECA as well. Since the aim of investigating CS in this study was to shed light on the associations of CS and its importance in relation to stance, this novel has been chosen as it contains many major social and political events that would enrich the discussion of stances characters take towards these events.

The present study is a descriptive as well as a corpus-based study, which used linguistic analysis of the corpus to reach conclusions. All the data that was collected was analyzed linguistically. It is believed that such a design suits the nature of the research questions and accounts for the functions of CS.

Source of Data

Data was collected from a novel by the famous leftist Egyptian novelist Son’a Allah Ibrahim entitled Zaat (1992) or Self. This novel was a great success and was adapted into a television series in 2012. The title, which is the name of the female protagonist, implies a focus on the identity of the Egyptian heroine who is believed to represent the life of most Egyptian women or even symbolize Egypt. The novel starts with Zaat’s marriage and continues in narrating her life till she becomes a mother of three children. She is full of hopes at the beginning of her life, yet all her dreams are crushed by the severe reality she has to endure and the lack of understanding between her and her husband. The novel depicts the sufferings of Zaat’s family on different levels, such as: the financial, educational, medical, and professional
levels. Therefore, *Zaat* is rich with criticism of Egyptian society.

The structure of the novel is unique as half of the chapters of the novel, all the even-numbered chapters, are purely dedicated to reviewing major incidents in Egyptian history. Chapter 2 for instance is full of political, economic, and social news. Starting from public events that concern all Egyptians such as the high interest rate provided by Faisal Islamic Bank, to very specific incidents like an accident of a balcony falling on a young couple, leading to their death. In addition, the novel refers to the eras of two Egyptian presidents: Mohamed Anwar El Sadat and Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. However, it covers the presidency period of Mubarak more thoroughly. As the publisher has indicated at the beginning of the novel, the incidents presented in some of the chapters are taken from both the governmental and opposition Egyptian newspapers with the goal of reflecting the general atmosphere influencing the characters of the novel.

*Zaat* was chosen for data analysis because it includes CS between three linguistic codes, English, SA, and ECA. It would be the first study to analyze CS between Arabic and English where Arabic is the matrix language and English is the embedded one. Furthermore, the novelist’s focus on social and political news that took place in Egypt, provided good examples of stance-taking not only towards other characters in the novel, but towards the whole Egyptian society as well as other countries.

It is worth mentioning that two copies of the novel were used. The first one is in Arabic while the second is the translation by Calderbank (2001) and published by the American University in Cairo Press. Each copy had different page numbers, so the same example in the Analysis chapter will have different page numbers i.e. a page number for the Arabic quote and a different one for the English translation of the same example.
Procedure for Data Collection

After reading the novel, the major instances of CS were collected and analyzed whether this switch was between Arabic and English or between SA and ECA. To better understand the indexes of CS in relation to stance, context was highlighted as it is of huge importance, which Fishman (1989) referred to as occasion, event, and interlocutor. In addition, the narrator’s comments and the linguistic pattern each character followed while speaking were traced. What is meant by pattern is the code that the character used most of the time to emphasize the significance of CS when it took place. After collecting and analyzing data, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was used for transcription of the data to make the differences between codes clear. By the use of IPA non-Arabic speakers will be able to read the examples and see the differences between SA and ECA. Moreover, glossing of examples was used by providing literal translation for each word from Arabic to English followed by the idiomatic translation by Calderbank (2001).

Data Analysis

To answer the research questions, the theory of indexicality was applied to CS as it was applied in previous studies (Bassiouney, 2012, 2013, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2010; Woolard, 2004). By relying on the indexes of each code, one can get a better understanding of the implications of CS (Bassiouney, 2014; Woolard, 2004). For instance, in the novel Zaat the main character’s husband switches to English by saying the word of course several times, though he is speaking to Egyptians. He is using the index of English as a prestigious language to substitute for his low level of education in an attempt to position himself at a higher social status. Thus, CS plays an important role in revealing stances characters take.

To support the indexicality theory, the context of each CS examples was provided,
patterns of characters’ linguistic habits were highlighted, and the narrator’s comments were included. In addition, some linguistic strategies or resources were employed to overcome the shortcoming of indexicality easily lending itself to subjectivity. “These linguistic resources are both discourse-based and structural-based” (Bassiouney, 2014, p. 65). Discursive strategies include presuppositions, metaphors, metonyms, intertextuality, and dialogicality. A presupposition is the background knowledge one needs to be able to understand the text (Bassiouney, 2015). An example of a metaphor is: Egypt is undergoing a surgical operation (Bassiouney, 2014). Metonyms are when we say the university while we mean the administration of the university. Intertextuality is saying something that refers to a previous text or replies to it, while dialogicality is replying to a prior conversation and adding to it. Both intertextuality and dialogicality require former knowledge of the text or dialogue in order to be able to mention it.

As for structural resources, they encompass the use of pronouns, tenses, and demonstratives, as well as phonological, lexical, or structural variation. Pronouns and tenses are very expressive of the stance a speaker takes as they mark the group he/she belongs to or wants to show empathy with in a certain situation. Demonstratives also play a role in revealing a speaker’s position towards something, i.e. whether s/he considers this thing close or far from her/him. Variation depends on the indexes of different varieties or languages used to demonstrate the speaker’s stance towards someone or something in addition to other functions that were revealed by analyzing the novel.

In data analysis there are three main categories of CS: CS to English from ECA, CS to SA from ECA, and CS to ECA from SA. Such categorization was based on differences between these codes on the lexical, morphological, or phonological levels (phonological difference can be
clear in written data by the use of diacritics). For example, the question word *what* in SA is /maːða/ and in ECA it is a different word /ʔeih/ which is a lexical difference. The future morpheme that is used in SA is /sa/, while in ECA it is /ʔa/. The word *send* is not the same in SA and ECA due to phonological differences, i.e. in SA it is /baʕaθa/ while in ECA it is /baʕat/. However, some words are shared between the two dialects which Bassiouney (2006) called neutral, i.e. the word *book* /kitaːb/ which is written and pronounced in the same way in SA and ECA. In the analysis, examples of CS where it was not clear whether the used code was SA or ECA were not included in the analysis.

This categorization of data into three categories of CS: CS to English from ECA, CS to SA from ECA, and CS to ECA from SA, was important to determine the codes and then relate CS to concepts of indexicality and stance that were explained in the definitions section. This relation was emphasized by the context of the novel, characters’ linguistic patterns, the narrator’s comments, as well as by linguistic tools, such as: intertextuality and the use of pronouns.
CHAPTER FOUR: Analysis

Introduction

This study examined CS between English, SA, and ECA from a sociolinguistic perspective in the Egyptian novel Zaat. The focus was to reveal the indexes of codes used in CS and how these helped in communicating stances which characters took towards each other or towards incidents in the novel. This study thus attempted to answer two research questions; one aimed at identifying the indexes of English, SA, and ECA and the second examined ways CS helped in revealing stance-taking in this novel.

In this chapter, the examples focused on are those of marked CS, where CS was unexpected and thus had more social significance than the unmarked type. Data was divided into three main categories: CS to English from ECA, CS to SA from ECA, and CS to ECA from SA. This was determined by the lexical, morphological, or phonological differences between these codes. In many instances, the narrator in the novel stated clearly that in a given situation one of the characters used a certain linguistic code; this comment of the narrator would then be mentioned to support the analysis of the extracted examples. Results are arranged in the three categories mentioned earlier instead of being arranged by research question for two reasons. First, stance and indexicality are strongly related and it would be more coherent to discuss them together. Second, the context of the examples is of value to understand both indexes and stance. Since context was provided to grasp the indexes of the codes, it would have been redundant to repeat the explanation of context again when commenting on stance in each example.

Code-switching to English from Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

The first examples of CS to English are from the character who switched frequently from ECA to English in the novel and was the first to use it, Zaat’s husband “Abdel Megeed”. In his
conversations with Zaat and her family during the engagement, Abdel Megeed tended to insert in his talk the English word “of course” (p. 4) as illustrated in example (1)

Example (1)

Of course.

In Egypt, English is associated with good education and by switching to English Abdel Megeed was using the index of English as a prestigious language to make up for his feeling of inferiority since he did not have a college degree. This sense of inferiority led to his disapproval of his wife going to the university, as he did not want her to be better educated than him. When Zaat expressed her desire to her husband Abdel Megeed to continue her studies at the university, he firmly refused under the pretext that she did not need a degree or work since he was supporting her financially.

It is worth mentioning that in the same paragraph where the novelist presented Abdel Megeed’s use of this word of course, the narrator mentioned that Abdel Megeed had one downside “Yes indeed. One dark cloud in Abdel Maguid’s clear sky: he did not have a university degree, although only one exam … stood between him and it.” (p. 5). Later in the novel, he tried to read an English magazine but failed (p. 57), which shows that he had limited knowledge of the language, or only knew a few words that he repeated for showing off and to give himself a stronger stance among his in-laws.

Another instance of Abdel Megeed’s switching to English from ECA was when he suggested that Zaat should start working. Example (2) demonstrates his use of the word “meaning” (p. 16) to tell Zaat that staying at home was meaningless since every woman worked at that time, which is contradictory to his previous rejection of Zaat’s wish to continue her education. In the translated version of the novel, the word meaning was written with double ‘e’
“meening” to show that it is Abdel Megeed who switched to English here and it is not merely the English translation.

Example (2)

Anna  baqa:?aha  fi  elmanzil  laysa  lahu
that  stay-pos.-3rd pers. Sing.-female  in  the house  not  to him

“Meaning” (p. 16)
meaning

that her staying at home had no “meening”. (p. 10)

In this example, English indexes modernity and being open-minded and Abdel Megeed wanted to employ these indexes to avoid disclosing the real reason for asking his wife to go to work, which was that he could not afford to pay for their living expenses, especially since the cost of living kept increasing. Instead of Abdel Megeed openly seeking help from Zaat, he preferred to take the stance of a more knowledgeable person who knew what was best for them and of course English was an important tool that he used to cast himself in this powerful position. Abdel Megeed was successful in his attempt, as Zaat started working after this discussion.

Another example that shows that English is affiliated with modernity and belonging to a higher social class, was when Abdel Megeed went to the house of an upstart businessman. The apartment was very spacious, had five reception rooms and was furnished with a video set, air-conditioning, and other modern and expensive conveniences. The wife of this man was described as having a modern appearance and blonde hair, so she needed a linguistic code that completed the modern image in which she cast herself. She switched to English to give herself the stance of someone that belonged to a high social class and repeated “no problem” twice in one dialogue (pp. 216-217) as indicated in example (3).
Example (3)

No problem.

She even pretended that her Arabic was not that good by mispronouncing some words. For instance in Arabic the word *cats* is *ʔoṭaṭ* with /ṭ/ that is a unique sound in the Arabic language as it is an emphatic /ṭ/. This wife said this Arabic word like a foreign language learner would say it with /ṭ/ (p. 217). It was hilarious later on when she was caught off guard as she found her son playing with the air conditioning plug and “she let out a huge shriek that could have come from the back yards of Old Cairo: ‘Bloody hellfire!’ ” (p. 208) Her shout “Ya: lahwi:!” (p. 218), which is a very vulgar exclamation, defied the image she was drawing for herself during the visit and the narrator commented on it saying that she sounded like a pure inhabitant of a shanty town.

Another character that used English in the novel was Zaat herself. The readers’ experience with Zaat was that she had never used English nor even understood a simple expression like *of course* when her husband used it. She went to the Hilton to meet her friend and neighbor Samiha, and wore her newest and most expensive outfit. On her way she ran into one of the staff members of the hotel who said to her “Excuse me ya: fandi” (p. 293) “Excuse me Ma’am” and the narrator described this hotel staff’s use of English *excuse me* as a way to show his social distinctiveness. Thus, Zaat needed to accommodate to this situation by saying “sorry” (p. 293) in order to cope with the whole atmosphere and not appear of an inferior position. This accommodation is referred to in example (4),

Example (4)

Excuse me…Sorry.

Similar to how Zaat wore her best outfit, she used the most prestigious code (English) to show her stance of wanting to belong to that group of prestigious people in this luxurious hotel. The
narrator commented on this sarcastically by referring to the irony of the situation when two Egyptians, the hotel staff member and Zaat, spoke in English while the song that was playing at that time in the hotel reception was in Arabic by Dalida, an Italian singer who knew how to speak, and even sing, in Arabic as she used to live in Egypt.

It is worth mentioning that when Zaat gave birth to her son, Amgad, who her husband was longing for after the two girls they had had, this boy had speech problems and did not utter one single word. Of the three codes the novelist used, English, SA, and ECA, none of them was convenient for Zaat’s son or the heir, as his parents called him. As the narrator explained “It seemed that the heir’s apparent first impression when his eyes opened onto the world was not encouraging, and he abstained from putting the transmission machine into operation.” (p. 167)

The Egyptian society was full of corruption, injustice, cruelty, and favoritism that the novelist made very clear in the chapters that he solely dedicated to real news from the Egyptian society at the first ten years of Mubarak’s presidency. In reaction to this corrupt status quo, the boy’s silence, which changed afterwards to using signs and gestures, indexed an objection and refusal to deal with this flawed society. To give an example, the doctor who was supposed to treat Amgad’s speech problems suffered himself from stuttering. Through this ironic example, the author sarcastically pointed out the high level of corruption that was prevailing in Egypt.

After a while, Zaat’s son started to speak, but he only spoke in English. This was odd since he was born in Egypt and everyone around him spoke in Arabic. The narrator described him as the ingenious child and Zaat was also very proud of him and boasted to her colleagues at work how Amgad knew the names of fruits only in English and not in Arabic, which indexed the high prestige English had in the Egyptian society. Example (5) refers to Amgad’s use of English instead of Arabic,
Example (5)

\[\text{ʔanbaːʔ } \text{eṭṭf} \text{l } \text{elmoʃgiza } \text{allaði } \text{kama } \text{ʔaʃlanat}\]
news the male kid the miracle male who as declare-past-3\textsuperscript{rd}-female

\[\text{Zaat } \text{f} \text{i } \text{zahw } \text{yaqou}l\]

\text{“orange” w “apple” fi sala:sah}
Zaat in pride say-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male orange and apple in ease

\[\text{taːmah } \text{lakinnahu } \text{yaʃgaz } \text{ʕan ettalafuð}\]

complete but-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male fail-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers. Sing.-male to the articulation

\[\text{bi “bourtouqaːl” wa “touffāːḥ”. (p. 213)}\]
with orange-pl. and apple-pl.

[T]he latest news of the miracle child, who, as Zaat proudly announced, could now say apple and orange in English completely fluently, though he was incapable of pronouncing them in Arabic. (p. 203)

In this situation, Amgad’s inclination towards English and refusal to speak Arabic reflected the idea that western countries are more developed. Moreover, Zaat’s pride in her son’s ability to speak in English emphasized the fact that English was the language of the elite in the Egyptian society.

Example (6) presents a very interesting incident of switching to English when the narrator discussed the changes that took place in Zaat’s workplace with the coming of the new Egyptian president at that time, Hosni Mubarak. The narrator said:

Example (6)

\[\text{Ahadan } \text{lam } \text{yakun } \text{yaʃrif } \text{baʃd } \text{ayna}\]
Someone not be-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male know-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing-male yet where

\[\text{yamiːl } \text{arraʔiːs } \text{algadiːd, raʔma annahu}\]

lean-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male the president the new though that-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male

\[\text{ʔaʃlana } \text{ʔakθar min } \text{marra: “My name is Hosni Mubarak” (p. 22)}\]
declare-past-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male more than time my name is Hosni Mubarak” (p. 22)
Mubarak

No one knew yet the leanings of the new president, although he had announced more than once: “May neem eez Hosni Mubarak” (pp. 15-16)

Here the use of English was sufficient to index Mubarak’s cooperation with the U.S. instead of the Soviet Union at that time. This simple sentence was significant enough to show the stance Mubarak was to take towards the U.S., which was that of alliance. This stance was confirmed in the following chapter (which was dedicated to real news from Egyptian television and newspapers at that time). The narrator referred several times to Egypt’s dependence on the U.S. to buy weapons for the army, Mubarak’s declarations about the benefits of the American financial aid to Egypt, American interference in Egypt’s affairs, and even its insults to Egyptian diplomats. This brings further evidence that the use of English “My name is Hosni Mubarak” was not haphazard and was meant to index his stance towards the U.S. Like the translator wrote Abdel Megeed’s English utterances differently, the same thing was done in this example “May neem eez” to make it apparent to the reader that the character switched to English.

In all the previous examples it is noticeable that the novelist used English words but wrote them in Arabic letters except for one incident, “Made in Egypt” (p. 123), where he used Latin letters. It can be argued that his characters’ use of English reflects fake reality, as they wanted to show off or belong to a higher social group, without a real need for switching to English from ECA, while when it is used for manufacturing and appeared on the shampoo bottle, there was a genuine need to use English.

Table 1 summarizes the indexes of English as suggested by the examples above and whether these indexes were viewed as positive, negative, or neutral.
Table 1

Indexes of English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>View of the index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Good education</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modernity</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social prestige</td>
<td>Negative, Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developed countries</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affiliation with the West</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, the narrator described the nails that the inhabitants of Zaat’s building agreed to hammer outside their doors, in order to hang trash bags and solve the problem of cats messing up their trash, by saying that these nails would take “the shape of a letter ‘L’ (the Latin one not the Arabic one of course)” (p. 45). It is interesting how when the neighbors thought of a letter to resemble the nail’s shape, it was the Latin/English one $L$, though the Arabic letter $ل$ would have served the same purpose. It can be claimed that the narrator wanted to highlight how people did not think highly of their mother tongue and detached themselves from it in comparison to foreign languages.

**Code-switching to Standard Arabic from Egyptian Colloquial Arabic**

This section examines the examples of switching to SA from ECA and the different indexes and stances these examples suggested. The analysis revealed that switching to SA from ECA was evident in Zaat’s speech on two occasions only while her common practice was to speak in ECA. There were also examples from the speech of other characters where SA was used and the narrator commented on these characters’ switch from ECA to SA, which reveals
that CS was marked in these incidents. These comments are referred to hereunder to support the suggested indexes of SA in the following examples.

One of the interesting examples was at Zaat’s workplace. It was interesting because of its political and social implications as well as the fact that it was uttered by Zaat, who always spoke in ECA in the novel except for two incidents, as mentioned above. As has been indicated before, following the pattern of the character and which code it usually used is of importance to understand the salience of switching to another code.

A new president, Hosni Mubarak, had started to rule Egypt and Zaat’s colleagues wanted to hang his picture next to the pictures of former presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and El Sadat, but there was not enough space on the wall and they had to remove the picture of Abdel Nasser, Zaat’s favorite president, so she said,

Example (7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iða:} & \text{ ka:na} \\
\text{la:bu} & \text{du} \ ?\text{an} \ \text{yaðhab} \ \text{ʔahad} \ \text{falyakun}
\end{align*}
\]

If be-past-3rd pers.sing.-male must to go somebody so be it

\textit{El Sadat.} (p. 22)

El Sadat

If someone has to go, then let it be El Sadat. (p. 15)

Example (7) is one of the rare incidents when Zaat spoke in SA; she resorted to the index of SA as the language of power and authority used mostly in the formal domain. If the sentence were to be said in ECA, it would have been \textit{lw kan lazem ḥad yemfi: ybʔa Essadat}. Phonetic differences are noticed in these two words \textit{ka:na, ʔahad}. As for the lexical difference between the two codes, it is shown in table 2:
Table 2

**Lexical Differences in Example (7)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>ECA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iða:</td>
<td>lou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la:budda</td>
<td>lazim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaðhab</td>
<td>yimʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falyakun</td>
<td>ybʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, her endeavor failed as Abdel Nasser’s photo was removed and Zaat was transferred to the archives department as a kind of punishment.

The second time Zaat used SA was in a conversation about education with her old friend Safia. This invokes the connection between SA and literacy. Safia and Zaat were talking about the illiterate people Zaat volunteered to teach when she was a college student, before her marriage. Zaat was talking in ECA, as usual, but as example (8) illustrates, she switched to SA and said,

Example (8)

*Kontu saʔugan min ʕadam qodrat*

Be-past-1\textsuperscript{st} pers.sing. future morpheme-be mad from lack ability

*riga:l moḥtarami:n bifawa:rib ʕala*

man-pl. respectable-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.pl.-male with moustache-pl. on

*ettamyi:z baina haða:*

the discrimination between masculine demonstrative

*w haðihi. (p. 119)*

and feminine demonstrative

It drove me mad how respectable men with moustaches couldn’t distinguish between masculine and feminine demonstratives. (p. 109)
In this example all the words Zaat said are morphologically, phonologically, and lexically SA. For example the future morpheme *sa* in *saʔugan* indicates the use of SA and not the equivalent *ḥa* in ECA. The verb is also differently pronounced in ECA *ḥa:tganin*. There is a lexical difference between the word *shawa:rib* in SA and its equivalent *ʃanaba:t* in ECA. Lexical difference is also clear between *haða:* and its colloquial equivalent *dah*. If the sentence were in ECA, it would have been greatly different even on the syntactical level *Kont ḥa:tganin min rigga:la mohtarama bifanaba:t ma:btsraff timayyiz bi:n dah w di:*. Thus, Zaat was trying to take the stance of an educated person by using SA. There is also presupposition here as Zaat assumes that her friend knows what she is talking about, unlike the illiterate people she had to deal with back then.

Table 3 summarizes all these differences.

Table 3

*Morphological, Phonological, and Lexical Differences in Example (8)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>ECA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morphological</td>
<td>Saʔugan</td>
<td>ḡa:atganin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonological</td>
<td>ʔugan</td>
<td>a:tganan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>shawa:rib</td>
<td>ʃanaba:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>haða:*</td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conversation between Zaat and Safia continued and an additional example of SA indexing literacy was revealed. Safia and Zaat were still talking about their memories of their university days and how they had dreams of erasing illiteracy and educating people. Safia was using ECA except when she imitated what an important employee at the university, the secretary
of the Socialist Union, said to explain his rejection of assisting in the literacy program. This is indicated in example (9)

Example (9)

\[
\text{If we taught them the reading and the writing then who would work in the fields and clean the streets? (p. 110)}
\]

It is noticeable here in this example that the words used are neutral and can belong to either SA or ECA depending on the way they are pronounced, and since no diacritics were used, it would be difficult to determine that they belonged to one of these two codes. However, the words in bold are clearly SA on the lexical and phonological levels; lexically \textit{ya\textsuperscript{š}mal} would have been \textit{yif\textsuperscript{a}gal} in ECA and phonologically, as shown in table 4:

Table 4

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
SA & ECA \\
\hline
\textit{qira:\textsuperscript{ʔ}a} & \textit{ʔiraya} \\
\textit{faman} & \textit{fami:\text{n}} \\
\textit{na\textsuperscript{ḍ}a:fa} & \textit{na\textsuperscript{ḍ}afa} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The secretary of the Socialist Union was using SA to indicate that he was educated, but not every Egyptian has the right to such education. He believed that there must be two types of
people: illiterate people who work as farmers, peasants, and cleaners and educated people like himself who work at the university and use SA. Here SA had the index of being literate and showed the stance of superiority which was supported by the speaker’s choice of the pronoun *them* as he did not want to belong to the same group.

As SA indexed literacy it also indexed good education, which was revealed through the following example from the dialogue between Zaat and her old friend Safia.

Example (10)

\[
\begin{align*}
S: & \textit{ʕirifti: } \textit{uzzai?} \\
& \text{Know-past-2}^{\text{nd}} \text{ pers.sing.-female how}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Z: & \textit{ʕirift } \textit{ʔeih?} \\
& \text{Know-past-1}^{\text{st}} \text{ pers.sing what}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S: & \textit{Essam.} \\
& \text{Essam}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Z: & \textit{Malu?} \\
& \text{What about him}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S: & \textit{Ga:i } \textit{boukra. } \textit{Axaḍa } \textit{ellisa:nce wil} \\
& \text{He coming tomorrow obtain-past-3}^{\text{rd}} \text{ pers.sing.-male the BA and the}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ma:jisteir maʕa baʕd. (p. 118)
& \text{MA with each other}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S: & \text{How did you know?} \\
Z: & \text{Know what?} \\
S: & \text{Essam.} \\
Z: & \text{What about him?} \\
S: & \text{He’s coming home tomorrow. He } \textbf{did} \text{ his bachelor’s and his master’s at the same time. (p. 108)}
\end{align*}
\]

What is interesting in this dialogue in example (10) is that it was conducted in ECA, except for the word in bold that referred to obtaining educational degrees and was uttered by Safia. If it were in colloquial, it would have been *axad* with a phonological difference in the last sound.
This is because SA is taught at schools and related to education up till now in the Egyptian society. It is really unlikely to find an Egyptian who has not attended school and speaks in SA, so Safia switched to SA from ECA when she was talking about the educational degrees her brother had obtained.

One of the very interesting examples of switching to SA from ECA was when Zaat went into a store to buy a toy for her son. The store was full of books about religion and the owner wanted to position himself as a pious man to gain more respect from people, which he succeeded to do, as a woman came asking for his opinion on a religious matter, fatwa, though he was not certified in theology. The language this man used played a role in portraying an image of a man of piety, someone who is knowledgeable in religion; he needed a code that indexes authority as well as affiliation with Islam, which was SA in this case as illustrated in example (11).

Example (11)

\[
\text{Qaːʔilan} \quad \text{biloḡatihi}
\]
Saying-3\text{rd} pers.sing.-male \quad \text{with language-pos.-3\text{rd} pers.sing.-male}

\[
el \ fuʃha \ assaliːma \ "\text{ma: raʔyoki}
\]
the classical the correct what opinion-pos.-2\text{nd} pers.sing.-female

\[
yα: \ oxt? (p. 180)
\]
hey sister

[S]aying, in his correct Classical Arabic: “What is your opinion, sister?” (p. 170)

Here the narrator indicated more than once that the salesman was using correct Standard Arabic and not the colloquial Arabic most people use in their daily interaction. Even when calling on a saleswoman who worked with him, the man deliberately pronounced the name in SA, which was indicated by diacritics on the letters ““Ya Faːṭimah” (p. 180) which would have been pronounced in ECA as \text{Ya Fatma}. Furthermore, the narrator mentioned that Zaat thought of this phonological variation as the Islamic pronunciation “annotq el Islami:” (p. 180) which supports
that SA indexed Islam in this situation. There was also intertextuality in the narration of this part as a verse of the Qur’an was referred to subtly; “w tad史上最it: ila: kalimatin saw:?in bainahuma” (p. 180) “kalimatin saw:?in bainana: wa bainakum” (Qur’an 3:64) “a word that is correct between us and you”, which enhances the idea that this person sought to appear as a knowledgeable person of Islam.

Afterwards, Zaat bought a toy for her son from this same store, but she found out later that the toy was broken, so she decided to go back to the store and replace the toy. In this situation the same salesman who was using SA switched to ECA:

Example (12)

| sa:ha | addoctor | Fathy | mohta:gan, w qad |
| cry-past-3rd pers.sing-male | the doctor | Fathy | infuriated and did |
| taxalla | niha:?iyan | ?an | logati |
| abandon-past-3rd pers.sing-male | completely | of | the language of |
| the Qur’an and I do for her what |

Doctor Fathy cried out in exasperation, having abandoned once and for all the language of the Qur’an: “And what do you want me to do about it?” (p. 180)

Here in example (12) this man is changing the code that is associated with the Qur’an, wisdom, and Islamic piety to the code of daily interaction such as buying and selling or even arguing. With CS, he changed his status from that of a religious man to that of a businessman who cares for profit by switching to ECA.

In addition, this man’s stance was illustrated in his use of pronouns. When he was adopting the character of a religious man, he addressed Zaat as sister, yet when he switched to ECA and assumed the role of the salesman who is keen on profit, he did not talk to Zaat directly
instead he used the third person pronoun *her* to refer to Zaat who was standing right in front of him. Then when he announced that he was going to the mosque to pray, he returned to the use of SA “ṣaʔaðhabu liṣṣala:h” (p. 190).

The last index of SA that emerged from the data was its being strongly linked to the past. This index was presented to the readers through the character of Sheikh el Arab (a family friend of Safia). Safia described this man as someone who constantly talked about the glories of the past. Thus, it was appropriate for his use of language to be predominantly in SA since it was connected to the past. Intertextuality was also used when he greeted Zaat and Safia with a very old expression that was used by the prophet of Islam Muhammad, peace be upon him, saying:

Example (13)

Assalamu ṣla: mani itabfä el huda: (p. 121)
Peace on who follow-past-3rd pers.sing.-male righteousness

Peace be upon those who follow right guidance. (p. 111)

Table 5 summarizes the indexes suggested by the examples above and whether these indexes were viewed as positive, negative, or neutral.

Table 5

*Indexes of SA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>View of the index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Positive, Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As was indicated in the examples above, SA had several positive indexes, yet it also had the negative index of being old-fashioned. In the novel, different characters resorted to SA in various contexts. Even Zaat, whose commonly used code was ECA, used SA in the two situations that were mentioned above.

**Code-switching to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic from Standard Arabic**

This section discusses the marked examples of CS to ECA from SA. The findings suggest that there are three indexes of ECA in Zaat.

At the very beginning of the novel, the novelist/narrator made a comment about the difference between SA and ECA. Describing AbdelMegeed’s physical appearance, he wrote in example (14),

**Example (14)**

\[
\text{Wa naqṣid bīḍalik ʔa:lyatihi aw moʔaxeratihi aw ʕagizatihi}
\]

And mean-1\textsuperscript{st} pers.pl. with that backside-pos.-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male or buttocks-pos.-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male or posterior-pos.-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male

\[
\text{(falmouṣgam la: youmidduna biwasf youqa:rib)
}\]

the dictionary no give us with description approach-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing.-male

\[
\text{fiddiqqa wal ihka:m almorfologyi:n ʔalika allaḍi}
\]

in accuracy and the precision morphological that which

\[
\text{toʔadi:h alkalima albaḍi:ʔah almawgouda alʔa:n ʕala}
\]

perform-3\textsuperscript{rd} pers.sing-female the word the obscene the existent now on

\[
\text{ṭarf lisa:n alqa:riʔ aw alqa:riʔa) (p. 10)}
\]

tip tongue the male reader or the female reader

[H]ere we mean his backside or his buttocks or his posterior (the classical dictionary does not provide us with a word approaching, in its morphological precision and accuracy, the more obscene one which is now on the tip of every reader’s tongue) (p. 4)
This obscene word was later mentioned in the novel and was of course the ECA word for _bottom_ (p. 86), which suggests that all the three SA words in the dictionary do not have the same effect in conveying the intended meaning as accurately as the vulgar ECA word. In addition, saying that the ECA word came to the mind of each reader, whether male or female, means ECA is more expressive and is closer to the mind than SA.

Building on this previous idea, all through the novel when a character had an argument with another one, ECA was used. This was evident in the example of the salesman who was using SA, but turned to ECA when he had a disagreement with Zaat (see Example 12). Almost all the disagreements or arguments in the novel were in ECA. When a person is angry, she/he stops acting to belong to a higher class or pretending to be well educated and sophisticated as suggested by the example of the nouveau riche wife (see Example 3). Therefore it can be argued that ECA was the most natural code here, when the true self was revealed, since it indexed authenticity.

Furthermore, when a person needed to stress on the fact that s/he belonged to the masses of the Egyptian people, s/he used ECA. There are two examples of using ECA which denote belonging to the Egyptian grassroots. The first one is of a peasant delivering a speech to people in his village. In opposition to President Sadat’s policies of having peace with Israel and having an Israeli embassy in Cairo, the peasant said that he had held two simple people as hostages to force the government to expel the Israeli ambassador. The speaker was in dire need to win the people to his side, so he used ECA to stress on his stance as one of the people he is addressing _Minkom, zayyokum_, as example (15) shows,

Example (15)

_Ya: ?aha:li: Aghour_ Ana: _Saad Idris Hala:wa_. **Minkoum** w
_Hey People Aghour I Saad Idris Halawa of you and_
Peasant like you plant 1st pers. sing. land 1st pers. sing

with hand 1st pers. sing and sweat 1st pers. sing. not leave it

and go past 1st pers. sing. sell the buffalo …

People of Aghour! I’m Saad Idris Halawa, one of you, a peasant like you. I farm my land with my hands and my sweat. I haven’t left the land, or gone and sold the buffalo … (p. 13)

The words in bold are in ECA. Lexically zayyokum, roḥt, sibthaːf are different from their SA equivalents miθlokum, dāhabtu, taraktuha respectively. Morphologically, ECA present tense and negative morphemes are used ba- in bazraː and -f for negation in sibthaːf which are not used in SA. The speaker also utilized presupposition to show his knowledge of peasants’ life by mentioning details like planting with hands and sweat. Table 6 summarizes these lexical and morphological differences as follows:

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>ECA</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>zayyokum</td>
<td>miθlokum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roḥt</td>
<td>dāhabtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sibthaːf</td>
<td>taraktuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphological</td>
<td>ba-zraːf</td>
<td>-azraːf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sibthaːf-ːf</td>
<td>lam -atrukha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second example was of Mubarak, who made sure to give people the impression that
he was one of them by using ECA in one of his speeches on Labor Day. Example (16) reveals switching from SA to ECA

Example (16)

La:.. ʔistannou .. ʕilawi: ʔeiḥ? .. ʕalina: fiddaxil aqsa:ṭ diyoun
No:..Wait .. bonus what .. on us in the inside installment-pl. debt-pl.

elbnook w fawa:yid eddyoun ʔellī: iḥna: bingibha: min
the bank-pl. and interest-pl. the debt-pl. that we bring it from

barra .. bingib .. haḍihi elgoroud ʕafa:n niʔdar
outside..bring-1st per.pl. this the debt-pl. in order to can

niṭawwar xadama:tna:... w eddin
develop-1st pers.pl. service-pl.-pos.-1st pers.pl. and the debt

mif ʕeib (p. 144)
not wrong

No. Wait a minute. What raise are you talking about? Here at home we have to pay off the installments on our bank loans and the interest on the loans we get from abroad. We get these loans so we can develop our services … we shouldn’t be ashamed of debt. (p. 134)

The words in bold were uttered in ECA while the others are neutral because the way they are written does not determine whether they belong to SA or ECA. As mentioned above in (Ch.3), data analysis focused on examples that were clearly ECA or SA while the neutral group was of less importance to this study. The colloquial present tense prefix bi- was used in bingibha:, bingib. In addition, the use of first person plural pronouns we and our in ʕalina:, niʔdar niṭawwar xadama:tna: supports the stance Mubarak was keen on having which was presenting himself as one of the simple Egyptian workers he was addressing in this example. There were also lexical differences as the words in bold are all in ECA and are lexically different from the corresponding ones in SA as table 7 shows,
Table 7

*Lexical Differences in Example (16)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ECA</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?istannou</td>
<td>?intadīru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?eih</td>
<td>?ayya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ellī:</td>
<td>allatī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iḥna:</td>
<td>naḥnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingi:bha:</td>
<td>noḥdirha:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barra</td>
<td>elxa:rig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingi:b</td>
<td>noḥdir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miʃ</td>
<td>laisa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕaʃa:n</td>
<td>min ḥagi ʕan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niʔdar</td>
<td>nastaṭiʕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 summarizes the indexes suggested by the examples above and whether these indexes were viewed as positive, negative, or neutral.

Table 8

*Indexes of ECA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>View of the index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Daily interaction</td>
<td>Positive, Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Positive, Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belonging to Egyptian masses</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ECA was used in daily interaction and arguments between people. It was also used when people were mostly themselves and not pretending, like the salesperson who used SA to present himself as a religious authority, but who switched to ECA when he was arguing with Zaat. Finally, ECA was used to communicate belonging to the Egyptian masses.

**Conclusion**

Examples were extracted from the novel to be analyzed and presented in three categories, namely: CS to English from ECA, CS to SA from ECA, and CS to ECA from SA. The analysis provided five indexes for English, five indexes for SA, and three indexes for ECA. These indexes were supported by context, linguistic pattern of the character, narrator’s comments, as well as other linguistic features, such as: intertextuality, presupposition, and pronouns. In addition, stance of characters was accounted for, whether it was stance towards people or situations.
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Introduction

The examples presented in the analysis chapter revealed several features about CS as presented in Zaat. Each code turned out to have multiple indexes, both positive and negative, which helped in illuminating the stances the characters took whether towards each other or the society as a whole. The aim of this chapter is to attempt an interpretation of these findings in light of previous studies and of real current events in Egyptian society. In addition, the chapter attempts to account for unexpected results and explain the findings further. This chapter is divided into two sections: discussion of findings and conclusion.

Discussion of Findings

In this section, codes will be discussed in the same order they appeared in the analysis chapter: CS to English from ECA, CS to SA from ECA, and CS to ECA from SA.

Code-switching to English from Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

First a discussion of the findings of examples of CS to English is presented. The narrator made several comments on how people preferred to use English even when it was not needed; names of shops is one example. Even when Zaat was on her way to the countryside with her neighbor, she noticed that English signs were used everywhere. This tendency has become strikingly widespread in the Egyptian society as reflected in street and shop signs. Even a kiosk that sells cigarettes and candy has its sign in English, though it is located in an area where the vast majority of residents are Egyptians, who speak Arabic. One of the main reasons for the spread of English in Egypt and other countries is that in terms of power English is a very powerful code and the current lingua franca. It is the language of science, technology, research, and development, and therefore individuals worldwide are keen on mastering and using the
English language. Table 9 summarizes the examples of CS to English.

Table 9

*Examples of CS to English*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example Number</th>
<th>Who Said it?</th>
<th>To whom?</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Chapter Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abdel Megeed</td>
<td>Zaat’s family</td>
<td>Several times.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abdel Megeed</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Convince Zaat to work.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Upstart businessman’s wife</td>
<td>Abdel Megeed</td>
<td>Show off her social position.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Hilton staff member</td>
<td>Accommodate to the hotel employee.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zaat’s son, Amgad</td>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td>He only spoke in English.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hosni Mubarak</td>
<td>To the Egyptians</td>
<td>At the beginning of his presidency.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study has shown that English has the index of quality education in Egypt. As was mentioned earlier the schools that provide good education in Egypt are language and international schools, and the majority of these schools offer education in either American or British English. These schools are much more expensive than the public schools and therefore going to an international school denotes coming from a well-off family. It is also worth mentioning that many of these schools are so selective that they conduct interviews with the parents before accepting their children to make sure they come from “appropriate” social backgrounds. Thus, it is no wonder that Abdel Megeed, who did not finish his college degree, resorted to English to give himself the stance of a well educated and a more knowledgeable person than his in-laws (see Examples 1, 2). This goes hand in hand with the index of belonging
to a high social standing, which the wife of the businessman tried to demonstrate by inserting English words in her conversation (see Example 3). Like Abdel Megeed, who also made use of the index of English as the language of modernity and open mindedness, she had a desire to take a prestigious stance and appear in a higher position. The study by Singo (2014) showed that English enjoys the same status in Zimbabwe, studies by Bhatt (2008) and Gokarn (2008) found that English was related to good social status in India, and the study by Madonsela (2014) revealed a similar situation in South Africa.

Sometimes people speak in English because they have to accommodate to others. This was Zaat’s situation when she went to the Hilton and the staff member spoke to her in English. She had never used it before in the novel, and could not even understand a simple word like *of course*, but in this situation she felt the need to prove the adequacy of her linguistic code at the five-star hotel (see Example 4). The narrator made fun of this whole incident, by referring to the irony of having two Egyptians talk in a foreign language to each other, while a well-known song of a foreign singer, Dalida (an Italian who was born and brought up in Egypt) was playing in the background in Arabic. Indicating that there was no real need for not using Arabic except to have a fake image.

This study has also suggested that English is linked to developed countries and progress. Zaat’s son, Amgad, did not speak for several years and then resorted to signs and gestures. The narrator commented that being born in such a corrupt society, where bribery and injustice were rampant, the boy had no desire to speak and only used visual gestures. Through Amgad’s journey in the streets of Cairo and its different institutions, the reader was exposed to the high level of corruption that was prevalent in different sectors: from the unqualified doctors at the public hospital to the salesmen at the store who sold a broken toy to Zaat and refused to replace
it. While Amgad was contemplating the world around him, “Zaat felt her son clinging to her in fear” (p. 176). Thus, the boy was estranged and wanted to detach himself from this society by not speaking its code, Arabic. It was not expected to find in the results an index for silence in addition to the indexes of the three codes that were examined: English, SA, and ECA.

Later on, this long-awaited son “the heir” (p. 167), as Abdel Megeed referred to him, started to speak in English and did not utter a word of Arabic (see Example 5). This use of English denoted belonging to a “supposedly” better group and breaking any connection with Egyptian society. Both Zaat and Abdel Megeed were very proud of their son’s use of English instead of Arabic and even called him a genius and a miracle child. The study by Gokarn (2008), which was conducted in India, indicated that English is linked to developed countries, progress, and science.

One of the main indexes of English is having relations with English language speaking nations like England or the U.S. The negative index that English had in this novel was that of alliance with the West at the expense of the welfare of one’s own country and its free will. The novelist, Son’a Allah Ibrahim, who is famous for his leftist inclinations, mentioned several news that supported this kind of cooperation, such as: getting fully armed by the U.S., receiving aid from the U.S., and allowing American nuclear ships to pass through the Suez Canal. He also referred to a piece of news from the New York Times where it was highlighted that the American aid to the Egyptians would make them think twice before opposing any American decision. It was very expressive to make the first interaction of Egypt’s president at that time with his people in English (see Example 6). This revealed a lot about his inclinations and intentions to cooperate with the U.S. and allow its interference in Egyptian policies. In chapter four, one of the chapters dedicated to real news, the novelist referred to American pressures on the Egyptian government
to proceed in normalization with Israel. Thus, these relations with the West were considered as a negative thing, spying, or conspiring against one’s own nation, which was the case in Tahrir Square in 2011 when the media cast doubt on the demonstrators’ loyalty to Egypt just because there were some signs and slogans that were written in English (Bassiouney, 2012).

This was an interesting finding especially since many studies have not discussed this negative index of English in their societies. It is also an important finding because it resonates with recent incidents that took place in Egypt in 2012 and 2014 when people speaking English were suspected and considered a source of trouble, first when a parliament member called for banning the teaching of English in schools, claiming that this is a Western conspiracy to erase the Arab identity and the second was when two people were about to be jailed because they were discussing politics in English in the subway.

**Code-switching to Standard Arabic from Egyptian Colloquial Arabic**

Second, examples of CS to SA are discussed. It was significant that Zaat, who always used ECA in her conversations whether at home or work, used SA twice. The first incident was at her workplace and the second was while talking to an old friend of hers. These two indexes support what was discussed by Bassiouney (2006, 2012). The first time, Zaat needed to speak from a powerful position as she was confronting her superiors at work who wanted to take an agnostic position towards her favorite former president of Egypt, Abdel Nasser (see Example 7). Here Zaat’s resort to SA as the code used in politics and indicating power did not work out and she was punished. This is relatively like Arab leaders’ attitude towards local and international issues. They speak, renounce, and refuse injustice, yet in vain since no actions are taken to change the status quo. It can be argued that SA was powerful at a certain point in time, but not
anymore. Now it indexes talking a lot without clear goals or plans. Table 10 summarizes the examples of CS to SA.

Table 10

*Examples of CS to SA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example Number</th>
<th>Who Said it?</th>
<th>To whom?</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Chapter Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Colleagues at work</td>
<td>She refused to remove the picture of Nasser.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Her friend, Safia</td>
<td>Talking about illiteracy program.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Secretary of Socialist Union at the University</td>
<td>Zaat and Safia</td>
<td>To reject the illiteracy program.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Safia</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Talking about her brother’s educational degrees.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Salesperson</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Conversation with Zaat before she bought the toy.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Salesperson</td>
<td>Zaat</td>
<td>Argument with Zaat after she bought the toy.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sheikh el Arab</td>
<td>Zaat and Safia</td>
<td>Greeting.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second time Zaat used SA was not the only incident in the novel that implied the connection between SA and education. Both Zaat and her friend Safia switched to SA on two separate occasions when they wanted to speak about education (see Examples 8, 10). This can be understood since Egyptians do not speak SA and they only learn it at school particularly for writing academic essays. Most jobs require English while mastery of SA is required in certain jobs, mainly related to the media, politics, and jurisdiction. Thus, when someone talks in SA this may be proof that this person is educated.
This is also supported by the example of the official at the university who said to Zaat and her friend in SA that education should not be provided to all Egyptians (see Example 9). He mentioned how some people needed to remain illiterate, as these people were needed for certain jobs like agricultural works and cleaning the streets. His use of SA indicated the association between SA and literacy. Moreover, this example revealed the way an administrative system that did not value equality between people, looked at education and the importance of literacy. This resonates with a recent incident that took place in May 2015 when the former Egyptian Minister of Justice, Mahfouz Saber, announced on television that a cleaner’s son could never work as a judge as his social class is inadequate for such an eminent job, but this son of a garbage collector could search for other jobs that would suit him. These declarations were seen as classist and have infuriated many people who attacked the minister and caused his resignation (“Egypt’s Justice Minister,” 2015). There was also a call by the famous Egyptian novelist Alaa Al Aswany to ban illiterate people (around 40% of Egyptians) from voting in the constitution referendum that took place in 2012 (“The rewriting of Egypt’s recent events,” 2012). Though Al Aswany explained that his call was to achieve real democracy and guarantee that people understood what they were voting for, this call appalled many people and he was harshly criticized for it.

The example of the salesperson at the store made the link between SA and Islam clear (see Example 11). As was mentioned in the literature review, SA is the language used in religious sermons, programs, and books. It is also closer to the classical Arabic of the Qur’an than colloquial Arabic. Therefore this man cast himself in the identity of a religious man not only by growing his beard, wearing a galabeya (gown) like sheikhs, but also by the employment of the appropriate linguistic code. This attempt to portray this image seemed to be successful as

4 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7H8mPdTJUWw
people came to his shop seeking his opinion on religious matters as if he were a sheikh. This result conforms to what Albirini (2011) suggested as a link between SA and Islam.

**Code-switching to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic from Standard Arabic**

The last section of this chapter examines the examples of CS to ECA. Being a diglossic community, like other Arab countries, Egyptians use their own dialect to express themselves, buy and sell, or argue. This was also evident in Abdel-Malek (1972), Albirini (2011), Bassiouney (2010, 2014), and Malik (1994). However, some politicians use ECA even though in politics SA is more widely used. The role of ECA in these instances is to show the speaker as one of the audience. That is what Mubarak did in the example discussed above (see Example 16) when he addressed workers in ECA to signal his stance as a member of this group. A similar finding was in Bassiouney (2006, 2013) where she found that a prominent religious figure, sheikh Shaarawi, as well as Mubarak, relied on ECA in their speeches to reach people’s hearts and give the impression that they feel for them. Table 11 summarizes the examples of CS to ECA.

Table 11

*Examples of CS to ECA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example Number</th>
<th>Who Said it?</th>
<th>To whom?</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Chapter Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The narrator</td>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>Commentary on Abdel Megeed’s physical appearance.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>A peasant</td>
<td>Other villagers</td>
<td>Gain their support in opposing El Sadat’s decisions.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hosni Mubarak</td>
<td>The Egyptians</td>
<td>Labor Day speech.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

Findings

The findings of this study have revealed that the same code can have more than one index in Egyptian society. English enjoys positive indexes, such as: enjoying a good education, being modern, and belonging to a high social standard or coming from a developed country. However, it can also have a negative index, which is cooperating with the West in a harmful way against one’s own country. As for SA, it is related to authority, education, literacy, Islam, and the past. While English was presented as having a strong relation to modernity and development, SA was depicted in Zaat as a language that has lost its authority and one that is used by those who are trapped in the past and its stories. Concerning ECA, it was characterized as a code related to authenticity, everyday interaction, and belonging to the Egyptians.

CS helped to illuminate the stance a character assumed towards another one in the novel. Switching to English was linked to taking the stance of being more knowledgeable, modern, or belonging to a higher social standard. It also reflected whether one wanted to belong to her/his society or preferred to show affiliation with the West and its developed countries. Regarding CS to SA, it was used in an attempt to project a powerful stance, better position in society, being well informed of the past, and Islam. While CS to English and SA showed a better stance, CS to ECA was employed to imply belonging to the Egyptian masses.

Implications of the Study

It is hoped that this sociolinguistic study provides an insight into language use in Egypt and how choices of different codes, English, SA, and ECA, are interpreted. The study has shown that indexes of codes can be positive, negative, or both at the same time. English, for instance, had negative associations when it was used in politics, but was loaded with prestige in social
interaction. Moreover, the study has revealed that in the field of politics, speakers tend to manipulate the masses by using the code that is closest to people’s daily interaction and the pronouns *we, our* to imply that these politicians are united with the Egyptian masses. By shedding light on these indexes, people’s awareness of the role of linguistics in influencing them would increase. It would also assist speakers in choosing the most suitable linguistic code depending on the situation. Understanding these indexes of codes and the stances they can give to the interlocutors would provide a clearer picture of the Egyptian linguistic situation.

The implications of this study can also be transferred to teaching languages. English language teachers’ awareness of the positive indexes of English in Egypt would help them motivate the learners to master the language and benefit from its prestige, especially that learner motivation is of great importance (Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008; Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2013). Arabic language learners and curriculum designers should also be aware of the fact that indexes of SA differ from the indexes of ECA. If a learner of Arabic aims at specializing in politics or theology, s/he will prioritize learning SA, while if her/his goal of learning Arabic is for communication or tourism, s/he will give priority to ECA. Thus, understanding the connotations of each code could be useful for both teachers and learners.

**Limitations of the Study**

Limitations of the study include being conducted on one novel only. It did not include quantitative analysis of the instances of CS in the novel. In addition, the theory of indexicality is subjective and further support for findings was always sought. Furthermore, the categories used in data analysis were: English, SA, and ECA. These were arranged based on lexical and morphological differences given the nature of the data (written text). It was notable that distinguishing English words was very straightforward. However, it was not the same case for
SA and ECA. In some instances it was not easy to determine whether the code was SA or ECA because there are many words that are shared between both codes. Maybe this has reduced the number of analyzed examples.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

It is recommended for further research to investigate the relation between CS and identity. It may also be of use to include, within the scope of studying CS in novels, readers’ perception and whether they are aware of the meanings CS delivers. Moreover, it can be valuable to examine the indexes of English in other countries as well as the indexes of SA and the local dialects in other Arab countries.
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