

English-Cairene Arabic Classroom Code Switching: An Interactional-Sociolinguistic Approach

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Abstract: *This is a data-oriented study of code switching in the context of Cairene Arabic-English bilinguals in university classrooms. Data were collected through in-class observations of bilingual Egyptian professors in a program where English is the language of instruction. The observed code-switches are grouped into a structural typology based on their syntax and into a functional typology based on the communicative activities they perform. Each category is exemplified, and the examples are analyzed from an interactional-sociolinguistic perspective. I entertain both the hypothesis that certain verbal activities are associated with a given language during the switch, and the hypothesis that the code switching behavior is itself a contextual cue associated with certain activities, and contend that a synthesis of the two is needed. Patterns, tendencies, and attitudes of the participants are thoroughly discussed. By providing a careful treatment of code switching, the paper promotes the idea that it is a natural linguistic strategy which bilinguals employ to enrich their communication, not least in the classroom setting.*

Keywords: classroom code switching, interactional sociolinguistics, L1 Cairene Arabic.

1. Introduction

Code switching (CS) is by far the most prominent topic in bilingualism research. While an array of definitions exists, there is some agreement that the term refers to bilinguals' alternating use of two languages whether within the same sentence-utterance, the same turn, or the same conversation (see Poplack 1980; Hoffman 1991; Milroy and Gordon 2003). CS is one of several verbal strategies that bilinguals develop to exploit their linguistic resources; and hence it is by no means structurally random nor functionally meaningless (cf. Valdés-Fallis 1978:7-8).

Despite the formal-grammatical interest in CS, it is the functionalists and sociolinguists who have paid most attention to the phenomenon (see e.g. Fishman 1965; Gumperz 1982; Malik 1994; Gardner-Chloros 2009). The reason is obvious: the act of code alternation and the choice of code itself are triggered by external social and psychological factors rather than by internal linguistic factors of the languages involved (Giacalone Ramat 1995:46). Moreover, these external conditions are thought to determine which permissible patterns are preferred (ibid.). This last point explains the priority often given to the sociolinguistic approach over the structural approach in CS studies. A purely non-formalist account may thus define CS as merely "an element in a socially

agreed matrix of contextual cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees [...] to the social and situational context of the conversation” (Gumperz 1982:132). Quite naturally, the study of CS from different disciplinary perspectives focuses on different aspects of this behavior. Holmes (1992:51) claims, however, that sociolinguists are interested in identifying both the functions or meanings of switches and the specific grammatical structures in which they occur in utterances.

The current paper investigates the structural categories and communicative functions of English-Cairene Arabic CS in teacher-led talk in university-level English literature classes. This type of *classroom CS* is different from *naturalistic CS* in that it involves simultaneous use of a target second language (L2) and the students’ first language (Kamwangamalu 2010:127). Thus, it not only aims to achieve interactional goals but also to advance L2 for one set of interlocutors (see Lin 2013; Macaro 2014 and references therein). Based on original first-hand data, the study will contribute to the growing discussion of classroom CS and to the understanding of its multifaceted roles. While CS between English and Cairene Arabic has been studied before from various perspectives – Eid (1992) from a grammatical standpoint in adult Egyptian-Americans; Othman (2006) from a sociolinguistic standpoint in first generation immigrants to the UK; Gamal (2007) from an acquisitional standpoint in a bilingual Egyptian-American child; and Reigh (2014) from an attitudinal standpoint in elite students of the American University in Cairo – no empirical work has been reported on CS in this language pair based on data obtained from university classrooms.

My research question is “Why do bilingual Cairene-English professors use CS during lectures that are held in English?” To provide a comprehensive answer, the analysis of the data must address the following specific issues:

- What are the attested structural categories of CS?
- How can we classify the switches in terms of their social function?
- Are there any correlation patterns between the structural and functional types of CS?
- What conditions regarding the situation and participants seem to encourage the use of CS?
- What attitudes to CS prevail among the code switchers themselves?

The main objective of the analysis is to demonstrate how CS is a naturally occurring and useful resource for bilinguals, which provides ample communicative strategies and a richer toolkit for creating meaning. Research in this area should also help combat the prevailing attitude toward CS among students and educators in the bilingual classroom context.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. First, the methodology section describes the setting, the participants, the data collection process, and the analytical framework of the study. Section 3 presents the structural/grammatical categories and sub-categories of the attested switches. Section 4 examines the functions of CS that are prevalent in the bilingual

classroom setting, backed by a close analysis of the examples. Section 5 outlines some patterns and tendencies in the participants' code-switching behavior, as well as in their attitudes toward CS. Section 6 concludes.

2. Methodology

2.1. Setting and participants

The body of data used in this study was compiled during the 2001/2002 academic year at the Faculty of Al-Alsun of Ain Shams University in Cairo, the third largest university in Egypt – founded in 1950. Al-Alsun joined Ain Shams University only in 1973, but its history dates back to 1835, when it was established as a technical school to educate translators and cultured individuals who act as a bridge between the East and the West, a tradition which it strives to maintain (Al-Alsun official website). The study was conducted at the English department (approximately 1500 students), where the researcher obtained access to lectures in four English literature courses – in drama, novel, poetry, and culture – offered to fourth year undergraduate students over two semesters. English is the official language of instruction at the department, though not of the entire faculty.

The subjects under investigation are seven university staff members covering a range of academic positions (all hold PhD degrees), and covering the age range of 33–53. One is male, and six are females. They were all born in Cairo, and are therefore native speakers of Cairene Arabic, the most prestigious vernacular in Egypt. In addition, they have semi-native proficiency in English. To ensure the anonymity of the participants, their personalities are coded in the following fashion: Participant number {gender (Female/Male) / age / academic rank (Lecturer/Associate Professor/ Professor)}. Thus, the abbreviation P3 {F/45/L} shows that we are dealing with a 45-year-old female (F) who holds the rank of Lecturer (L). I will refer to all participants generically as 'professors'.

If this is a study of code switching, one has to establish that these Cairene native professors teaching academic subjects in English, and *on* English literature, are in fact bilingual. Linguists have variously used the term *bilingual* to refer to native, academic, proficient, or even partial bilinguals. For my purposes here, I will describe my subjects as proficient-academic bilinguals. They are proficient in the sense that they are relatively evenly dominant in both languages, are active users of both languages, have had sustained exposure to both languages, and appear to have generally high verbal fluency (MacSwan 1999:36). They are also academic adult bilinguals in the sense that have become bilingual by choice, having mastered one of their languages after the critical period in an academic context (*ibid.*). It is important to note, however, that bilinguals are seldom perfectly balanced in their use of or strengths in both languages (Valdés-Fallis 1978:3-4). This is one of the reasons why they develop strategies like CS to boost communication with other bilinguals, in this case the (partially) bilingual students.

2.2. Data collection and framework

As stated above, the focus of this study is on teaching-learning events at university classrooms. My goal was to collect naturally occurring classroom instances of CS – ones that are not co-produced with or provoked by the researcher. This way I can minimize the speakers' avoidance of CS in self-conscious speech, which results from the social stigma associated with this linguistic behavior (Pfaff 1979). Therefore, I decided to study CS through written observations of naturalistic speech, a technique used as early as Weinreich (1953). I have collected the data myself by way of keeping a field diary, and subsequently running a questionnaire to solicit the participants' reflections on what had been happening. Audio or video recordings were avoided as they could compromise the naturalness of the data, which would be counterproductive for the research.

I will adopt the methodology of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1971; 1982), which utilizes the tools of Conversation Analysis (e.g. Eggins and Slade 1997; Ten Have 1999; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby and Olsher 2002), but takes account of the ethnographic sociocultural context in interpreting a given interaction. According to Garner (2007:43), the main steps are: (i) obtaining a record of naturally occurring interactions accompanied by detailed contextual information (e.g. the social characteristics of the participants and the purpose of the encounter); (ii) identifying and tagging the target utterances; and finally (iii) investigating the relationships between the social and situational features of the interaction and the language used. Studying CS within this approach entails focusing on the social meaning of the switches and on the discourse functions they perform for speakers (Kamwangamalu 2010:123).

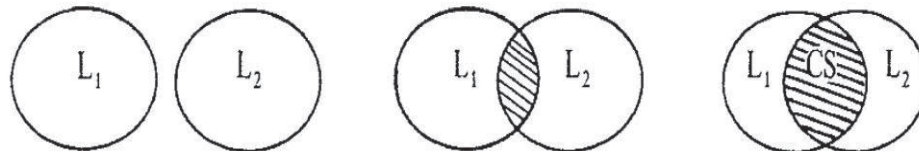
The transcriptions in this paper follow the conventions of Conversation Analysis, most notably: (.) for micropauses under 0.2 of a second, (0.0) for pause length in seconds, multiple colons for stretching of a sound, hyphens for self-interruptions, underlining for additional stress or emphasis, and punctuation marks for intonation. For CS, Cairene segments are presented in *italics* in the original utterance, followed by a free English translation. And where necessary, both morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and a free translation are provided.

3. Syntactic categories of code switching

There is wide agreement between researchers that CS is not random. As a rule, CS does not violate the syntax and morphology of the participating languages (Macaro 2014:16); when this happens, bilinguals may judge a sentence to be unacceptable or ill formed. Pfaff (1979:314) infers that bilinguals who code-switch must be competent in the syntactic and morphological rules of both languages.

This section introduces the major syntactic categories of CS, identified by Poplack (1980) as *tag switching*, *inter-sentential switching*, and *intra-sentential switching*, which are illustrated visually in Figure 1. Each category is defined and exemplified, and certain definitional issues are addressed. As a preliminary

note, I should point out that the word ‘sentential’ in the latter two categories is somehow problematic since incomplete sentences are very common in oral communications. However, for lack of a good alternative, I will continue to use *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential*, and occasionally use the terms *inter-act* and *intra-act*, which employ Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) notion of *act* – a functional rather than a grammatical notion.



a. Inter-sentential switching b. tag switching c. Intra-sentential switching
FIGURE 1. *Representation of CS grammars* (reproduced from Poplack 1980:615)

3.1. Tag switching

Tag switching (or *emblematic switching*) refers to an interjection/tag/set phrase in one language that is inserted into an utterance entirely in the other language, e.g. *you know, right*. The examples in (1a-b) involve frequently repeated stock phrases in Cairene: *mish kida* (question tag) and *istaghfarullah-al'azi:m* ‘God forbid’. What is interesting about such embedded elements is that they do not assume any predetermined syntactic role (Dabène and Moore 1995:34); rather, they fulfill an exclamatory or phatic function.

- (1) a. P4 {F/36/P}: When you say these, it has to refer to something you said before, *mish kida*?
... doesn't it?
b. P4 {F/36/P}: We as audience imagine the actors as go::ds. (.)
istaghfarullah-al'azi:m.
... God forbid

3.2. Inter-sentential switching

These are switches between two utterances within the same act (inter-act); in other words, the switch is done at a sentence boundary (Myers-Scotton 1989). In the following example, CS marks the passage from a statement to a request for information, with a significant pause between the two.

- (2) P7 {M/41/L}: It's very deterministic. (2.0) Deterministic *ya'ni e*?
... ‘Deterministic’ means what?

Inter-sentential CS can occur between utterances that are fairly apart from each other in the course of a conversation. And Dabène and Moore (1995:31) prefer to consider this linguistic behavior as an instance of *change of code* rather

than an instance of CS. For this reason, the data in this study only marginally includes such sentence-to-sentence switches.

3.3. Intra-sentential switching

The term refers to sentence- or utterance-internal switches. Formalists find this type of CS to be intriguing because of the grammatical complexities involved when words, phrases, or clauses from (often typologically very) distinct languages are integrated in syntactically sound utterances. Today, there is little doubt that intra-sentential switches do not occur at just any point; they are systematic and structured. To characterize this systematicity, a number of formal proposals covering both universal principles and language-specific constraints have been formulated (see Bhatt 2001 for a review). Due to space limitations, however, only two relevant proposals are addressed here.

One is the Equivalence Constraint (Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981), which requires that the surface word order surrounding the switching point be parallel in the participating languages for the switch to occur. Hence, CS is possible between a noun and an adjective if both languages have the same post- or pre-nominal placement of adjectives. The other is the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 1993; 1998), which postulates that in a given code-switched utterance, the Matrix Language (ML) defines the surface structure (i.e. determines word order and contributes function words), whereas the Embedded Language (EL) contributes content words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The notions ML and EL clearly build on the earlier notions of *host* and *guest* languages, proposed by Sridhar and Sridhar (1980). Myers-Scotton has developed these ideas into what is now the predominant model in the grammatical approach to CS (Chan 2009:184).

3.3.1. Segmental switches

Intra-sentential (or intra-act) CS can be further divided into *segmental* and *unitary* switches (Dabène and Moore 1995:33). Segmental switches modify a segment of the sentence, as opposed to a single word. A segment can be an entire clause, as exemplified in (3). Here it is somehow difficult to decide which language is the ML and which is the EL, since each of the two clauses is expressed entirely in one language.

- (3) P7 {M/41/L}: Your parents speak in one topic,
wi-ntu truddu fi nahya tanya. ((smiles))
 ... and you-PL respond in direction other
 “Your parents speak in one topic, and you respond in another.”

A segmental switch can also involve a phrase that takes on a specific grammatical function in the utterance. Given that the ML in (4a-b) is Cairene, the English phrases function as object and adverb, respectively. In (4c), the ML is English, and the Cairene phrase functions as a complement.

- (4) a. P7 {M/41/L}: *ana* ‘*rif* *mne:n* that he means spirituality?
how did I know ...
- b. P7 {M/41/L}: *il-*‘*inwa:n yutargam* as verb and not as noun.
the title should be translated ...
- c. P2 {F/53/L}: You can use ad for variety a couple of times *walla ha:ga*.
... or something

Whether the switch involves a phrase or an entire clause, there is alternation between the languages involved, and no pause at the switching point. But how do we determine the ML in these cases? Muysken (1995:182) offers two answers from a grammatical perspective: (i) the first word or set of words in the sentence determines the ML, and (ii) some element or set of elements determines the ML, often the main verb. For clause-switches like (3), only the first solution is helpful: the ML is the language in which the sentence starts, here English. For phrase-switches like those in (4), both solutions seem plausible. Importantly, however, it is not always possible to determine the ML statistically, that is, as the language in which most words/morphemes are uttered.

3.3.2. Unitary switches

In unitary switches, one or more single elements are affected. In most cases, the embedded element is treated syntactically as a ML element (Dabène and Moore 1995:33). For example, Cairene syntax dictates that an adjective must follow the noun it modifies (Woidich 2006:196). Since the ML in (5) is clearly Cairene, the English adjective is inserted in the position reserved for the Cairene adjective, i.e. post-nominally (cf. Mustafa and al-Khatib 1994:221). The switch sounds plausible even though the noun-adjective word order is not shared by the two languages (see Chan 2009 for a discussion of syntactic mismatches between ML and EL). This is a counterexample to Poplack’s Equivalence Constraint mentioned above.

- (5) P5 {F/33/AP}: *in-na:s mish* ‘*aysha* ‘*i:sha* secure.
the-people not living a life ...
“People don’t have a secure life.”

Both sentences in (6) start with existential *there* in Cairene, which appears to be the ML. In (6a), the switching point coincides with an emphatic pronunciation. And in (6b), the ML is easily revealed by the function words; the only embedded English elements in the utterance are nouns. One noun is indefinite, *dynamite*, and the other definite – showing a mix of the Cairene determiner *l-* with the English noun *garden*. I found this usage to be very frequent for noun phrase mixes in the data (see also Mustafa and al-Khatib 1994:219-20; Othman 2006:44-5).

- (6) a. P5 {F/33/AP}: *fi:* two types of people in the play, enemy and non-enemy.
there ...

- b. P5 {F/33/AP}: *fi*: dynamite *fi-l*-garden.
 there ... in the ...
 “There’s dynamite in the garden.”

For many linguists, it is crucial to distinguish CS, especially unitary switches, from the process of *borrowing*. Both notions are similar in the way that they involve *insertion* of a constituent from one language into another (Muysken 1995:180). We know that borrowing may occur in the speech of monolinguals (typically to fill lexical gaps), while CS requires some degree of bilingualism (Pfaff 1979:295-6). Clearly, a longer insertion with its own syntactic structure will point toward CS rather than borrowing (*ibid.*). However, in single-word insertions, opting for one or the other can sometimes be a very complex matter, involving consideration of many different factors (Eastman 1992; MacSwan 1999), such as the speaker’s competence in both languages, the phonological and morphological integration of the element, and the discourse function of the insertion. This discussion is beyond the scope of the paper. And for exposition’s sake, I have included unassimilated single lexical items from both English and Cairene, rather than dismissing them as mere borrowings.

4. Functions of code switching

There are many functional reasons for switching from one language to another. And just as CS is a grammatically rule governed phenomenon, it is also functionally rule governed (Malik 1994: 12). Bilingual speakers may employ different linguistic codes to fulfill different social or contextual functions, or they may have the freedom to switch to either code to fulfill certain other functions. Gumperz (1982) proposed situational, metaphorical, and conversational categories of CS, while more recent categorizations distinguish between audience-related and discourse-related functions. This section explores these and other functions of CS which were reflected in my classroom data. It also describes the rules which govern them and evaluates some proposals which attempt to explain them.

4.1. Lack of facility

Bilinguals often code-switch when they cannot find a proper expression for their meaning or when the language being used lacks the target vocabulary or the translation thereof (Malik 1994:16). The equivalent may exist, but they are too lazy to use the extra time and effort to find the appropriate word/expression in the ML when it is readily available in their other language (*ibid.*). Or they may even know the word/expression in both languages, but only language X comes naturally to them for this purpose. For example, the religious term used in (7) does not have an English equivalent of the same strength, although some translation is possible: ‘night journey to Jerusalem and ascent to heaven’. The micropause indicates that the speaker does not spend any meaningful amount of time trying to find the translation. Why did the switch happen then? The phrase

has unique connotations in Arabic, and hence the speaker feels that this notion is better expressed in this language.

- (7) P3 {F/45/L}: This journey was in a way similar to Prophet Muhammad's trip (.) ?il-isra:ʔ wi-l-mi'ra:g.

It is important to distinguish between switching for lack of facility and switching for lack of competence. For the latter, Dabène and Moore (1995:37) coined the term *complementary bilingualism*, which describes the tendency of some bilinguals to use elements from one of their languages to compensate for the insufficient mastery of the other. These switches are different from switches where speakers have a genuine, or partial, choice about which words they will use in which language (Holmes 1992:50). They are typically triggered by vocabulary gaps in the language being used, and a possible result is that the speaker is stimulated into speaking in the other language for a while (Crystal 2006:414). My data include no such switches. Since the participants were English literature academics lecturing in their own specialization, there was very little room for terms or concepts with no ready-to-mind English equivalents. This is also proof that the participants are proficient academic bilinguals.

4.2. Affective functions

The switches in this category are used to express moods, feelings, and attitudes (affective meaning), rather than content (referential meaning). Commonly, repetitions and exclamatory/ phatic terms serve the expression of emotions. These switches play an essentially symbolic role, and correspond to no specific linguistic function (Dabène and Moore 1995:38).

The examples below show the same information expressed in one language and then in the other. Hence, the second part of each act carries no referential meaning. In (8a), the professor gets no response from the student, gets angry or annoyed, and so he switches to Cairene after a long pause, repeating what he initially said in English. In (8b), the English command is not an exact repetition of the Cairene, but similar enough that it appears to add no information. It has a purpose, though – to express impatience and to project power relations (social roles as professor vs. student) within the interaction. For both speakers in (8a) and (8b), CS is a *marked choice* (Myers-Scotton 1998), an unexpected choice of code to signal authority or anger. They are easily comparable to Crystal's (2006:414) classic exemplar of a mother asking her child to do something in one language, and then switching to another language to show her displeasure when the child fails to obey.

- (8) a. P7 {M/41/L}: Where's your novel?
 (3.0) *fe:n in-novel bita'tik?*
 b. P3 {F/45/L}: *bass bass*. Stop Talking.
 enough! enough! ...

Example (9) involves a tag switch (see §3.1), the use of an exclamatory phrase to convey disappointment at the student's factually incorrect remark. Cairene is the appropriate code for this purpose, and the CS behavior is therefore anticipated.

- (9) P4 {F/36/P}: There're three levels of performance. You make them five. (.)
hara:m 'ale::ki.
 ... Shame on you!

4.3. Expressing solidarity

Language switching commonly occurs when individuals, regardless of their bilingual proficiency, wish to demonstrate solidarity with a specific social group. In general, when speakers desire others' approval, they tend to adapt, or *accommodate*, their speech to narrow the social distance between them. The adaptation can be realized by modifying a variety of linguistic features, including CS (Giacalone Ramat 1995:49). In the case of classroom CS, the social distance is often related to both age and status/power.

The utterance in (10a) exemplifies the tendency of a particular professor of Arabic to make use of short switches to English, as an attempt to create solidarity with the English students. (10b) shows an analogous tendency of an elderly female professor to overuse Cairene terms of endearment when addressing the class as a whole, apparently to bridge the age gap between herself and the students. This often happens when she tries to encourage students to answer questions. Her overuse of expressions like *yawla:d* gives an impression of a loving and caring person, and she was indeed revered as a mother figure by her students.

- (10) a. Professor: *kullaha mut' alliqā bi- l-personality bita: 'it tawfi? il-haki:m.*
 it's all related to-the ... belongs Tawfik al-Hakim
 "It's all related to Tawfik al-Hakim's personality."
 b. P2 {F/53/L}: How can the critic gain experience *yawla:d*?
 ... my children

Besides establishing solidarity to overcome differences, a speaker may use CS to reinforce an existing group identity. One particular young female professor uses CS frequently in what seems to be signaling her age-group identity with the students, while diluting her higher status as a professor. A representative sample is given in (11).

- (11) a. P5 {F/33/AP}: We gather, *masalan*, as if in a ceremony.
 ... for example ...
 b. P5 {F/33/AP}: This is symbolic *tab'an*. It's not real dynamite.
 ... of course ...
 c. P5 {F/33/AP}: The plot is difficult to follow, *bass* it's very interesting.

- ... but ...
- d. P5 {F/33/AP}: In page 135 *barḍu*, Hector illustrates his violence.
 ... also ...
- e. P5 {F/33/AP}: Understand first *wi ba‘de:n* write in your own words.
 ... and then ...

It is clear that the switches made for this purpose are very short (see Holmes 1992:50), and they are mainly discourse markers: conjunctions and adverbs. The ML is English. But how and why do these semantically empty words serve as indicators of identity and solidarity with the addressees? Here the degree of closeness is not merely established by using Cairene words, but by the fact that many of the students code-switch in a similar fashion outside the classroom. We can therefore consider this an instance of *accommodation* – specifically *convergence* – to the speech of the audience (Giles and Smith 1979). According to Myers-Scotton (1998), CS here is an expected or *unmarked choice*, where the connotative meaning of the switches is one of empathy with the addressees.

4.4. Audience-related functions

Code switching is described as hearer-oriented when the speaker takes account of the “hearer’s linguistic preferences or competencies” (Martin-Jones 1995:99). An obvious manifestation would be change of code to address a different audience; for example, any guest to the classroom who is not fluent in English would guarantee a switch to Cairene. But more importantly, this notion is useful when we consider CS as part of teaching methodology. It is a fact that a foreign language used as a medium of interaction presents a challenge to at least some learners who have limited exposure to English in their daily lives outside the school context (ibid.:100). Most instructors will compensate for this deficiency, consciously or unconsciously, by using both English and Cairene to transfer academic content. The examples in (12) illustrate CS as an inclusion strategy for low-proficiency students.

- (12) a. P1 {F/40/L}: *il-philosophy di khad-ha min a German philosopher ism-u Nietzsche.*
 the ... this adopted-it from ... name-his ...
 “He adopted this philosophy from a German philosopher called Nietzsche.”
- b. P1 {F/40/L}: *il -evolution bita:‘it Darwin bit?u:l inn ma-fi:sh chance for human will.*
 the ... belongs ... says that there no ...
 “Darwin’s evolution says that there’s no chance for human will.”
- c. P1 {F/40/L}: *yib?a il-mistakes hiyya il-means illi shock us.*
 so the ... they the ... that ...
 “So, the mistakes are the means that shock us.”

It should be instantly clear that technical items or keywords are all in English while the low-key words are in Cairene. Linguistically speaking, English is used to carry the referential content while Cairene is used to express grammatical items such as prepositions, main verbs, the definite article *the*, the relative pronoun *that*...etc. We may infer that this particular instructor chooses to enhance her students' comprehension by using Cairene, in which they feel more comfortable and competent, as the ML. And at the same time, she achieves her teaching goal by keeping information-carrying items in English, which are amplified and emphasized by way of code juxtaposition.

This and similar strategies draw our attention to differences in CS patterns between general communication settings and classrooms specifically set up to educate advanced learners of English who are native speaker of another language. In this context, CS would be used in specific ways, as demonstrated in the above examples, to teach terminology and to assist with L2 comprehension. In the questionnaire I conducted for my participants (see §5), one professor justifies her CS in terms of the difficulty facing the students' comprehension of a difficult subject: "Sometimes I feel the theories are hard to assimilate; so I switch to [Cairene] Arabic to make the students on the same wavelength". Interestingly, I have noted that instructors who code-switch often such as P1 and P5 are rated consistently higher than those who do not. Students believe that those educators show a high level of personal involvement with the curriculum and have the ability to simplify difficult academic content in a supportive environment. In addition, their use of Cairene, the mother tongue of everyone in the classroom, is interpreted as a sign of closeness and solidarity, as was shown in the previous section.

4.5. Discourse-related functions

The final, and most substantial, set of functions for CS is related to the speaker's manipulation of the discourse to accomplish communicative goals at certain points within the interaction. This means that bilinguals use CS as a discourse strategy to achieve different stylistic or pragmatic functions, including topic shifts, side sequences, reported speech, reiterations, culture-specific usage, and language play (Valdés-Fallis 1978:10-1; Martin-Jones 1995:99). These discourse-related functions are said to be speaker-oriented (Auer 1990), and the category is referred to as *functional bilingualism* (Dabène and Moore 1995).

It is worthwhile here to present two opposing theories pertaining to discourse-related CS. The first theory, pioneered by Joshua Fishman (1965; 1967), is based on the assumption that "certain conversational activities prompt the use of one language or the other". Proponents believe that for many bilinguals certain topics or types of activity are linked to a particular language, such that in the environment of the other language, CS occurs (see Holmes 1992:44). If we view the present classroom setting as a diglossic context, English will serve formal or *high functions* such as passing academic content, whereas Cairene will serve informal or *low functions*: as a solidarity code, for

translation and clarification, to give procedures and directions, or to check for understanding. What matters in this approach is the correlation between the speech activity and the respective language, not so much the act of switching itself. Most critics have argued that this association is oftentimes ambiguous, and even in the most transparent cases, it is never powerful enough to predict language choice in more than a probabilistic way (Auer 1995:118).

The alternative is a sequential account of language choice, developed by Peter Auer (1984; 1990; 1995). In this approach, the focus is not on direct associations of languages with verbal activities, but rather on the activities in which bilinguals tend to switch from one language into the other. Typologies of such CS activities have been thoroughly developed. For Auer, as for Gumperz (1982), CS can function as a contextual cue, like pauses or intonation, in which the language chosen for one speech activity is seen against the background of language choice in the preceding utterance. Because the switch matters in its unique sociocultural context, this model is thought to have clear interactional-sociolinguistic emphasis.

The following example illustrates a topic shift from a casual chat back to the lecture theme. This corresponded to a code shift from Cairene, the language of the diversion, to English, the language of instruction. Even within the utterance, the switch occurs exactly where the theme is mentioned. After that, the use of English continues for a while. Fishman's theory is in full force.

- (13) P3 {F/45/L}: *nirga' ta:ni lil-* Indian myth.
we return again to the ...

Switching may also be used as parentheses or side sequences. In (14a), the professor pauses and waits for the completion of her sentence – as indicated by the vowel lengthening and the rising intonation. Upon getting no response, she fills in the missing word, and then switches to Cairene to give a critical comment. We can see a correlation between academic remarks and English on the one hand, and between casual remarks and Cairene on the other. The activity itself has triggered a switch to the appropriate code; once again, Fishman's theory is verified. Now consider (14b). Analyzing an event in a novel, the professor starts off the utterance in Cairene, then self-interrupts his utterance and switches to English to make a casual side-comment. Thus, Cairene does not serve the low function here; English does. The very switch from one language to another is what accounts for the change of activity, not the association between a certain activity and a language. What motivates the switch is possibly a desire to assert dominance over the student.

- (14) a. P3 {F/45/L}: The season the Wastelanders hate most is the season o::f?
(3.0) Spring (.) *ʔis hu ihn lissa s-subh.*
... wake up; we're still in the morning
b. P7 {M/41/L}: *fi:htima:l inn* – What's your name?
there's a possibility that ...

Another major activity for discourse-related CS is reported speech. As shown in (15), the professor uses one language for narration (Cairene) and the other for paraphrasing (English). The language choice fits the expected conversational activity. But more importantly, the switch acts like a set of quotation marks (Holmes 1992:45) – its sole function to provide a contrast between the context of the quote and the reported speech itself (Auer 1995:119).

- (15) P7 {M/41/L}: *ana mish hasʔal fi-ll-imtiha:n* what are the degrees of concentration?
I won't ask in the exam ...

One special function of CS is reiteration, i.e. quasi-translation immediately following the original utterance. The Cairene expression in (16a), for example, does not add new information, but it is used to attract attention to the end of a discussion. Compare that to (8b) above, where English was used in reiteration to serve an affective function. In (16b), the reiteration is in the form of subject *pronoun doubling* (Eid 1992:59-62), a common CS feature used in many language pairs to avoid switching between pronouns and verbs. The utterance starts with the Cairene subject pronoun *humma* 'they', which appears redundant before *all of them*, though it conceivably serves an emphatic or a solidarity-building function. For most cases of reiteration, we can claim that the language choice does not match a clear conversational activity. The repetition of the same item in two languages suggests that the switch itself is meaningful for the speaker, as Auer's theory would predict.

- (16) a. P4 {F/36/P}: That's all, *khala:s*.
... finished
b. P5 {F/33/AP}: *humma* all of them belong to the fashionable class of society.
they ...

Finally, CS can be used for rhetorical reasons. Bilingual speakers are skilled at exploiting the stylistic options of their linguistic repertoires; they draw on the unique social and cultural meanings of each of their codes "just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings" (Holmes 1992:46-9). The examples in (17) illustrate three uses of rhetorical switching. In (17a), *insha:ʔallah* is a typical Islamic expression, habitually translated as 'God willing'. It is uttered in Arabic here to emphasize a precise religious/cultural content, rather than to compensate for lack of facility or lack of an equivalent in the ML (cf. Valdés-Fallis 1978:11). The use of CS in (1b) above is very similar. In (17b), CS is used to create a dramatically humorous effect. And in (17c), it is used for language play. Upon hearing the Cairene translation for *ransom* where the target is the literary critic J.C. Ransom, a dispreferred second pair part, the professor decides to make a pun by linking the word to an animate pronoun.

What is common about the switches in (17) is that there is a close link between the language and the activity, in line with Fishman's theory. Each of the three switches is intended to produce a precise (cultural, dramatic, or linguistic) effect, where the exact words are important.

- (17) a. P4 {F/36/P}: *insha:ʔallah*, next time I'll start part two.
 God willing ...
- b. P4 {F/36/P}: This is not literature, it's politics.
 (.) *ʔanwar is-sada:t, qissit ʔumma*. ((laughter))
 ... Anwar Sadat – the story of a nation
- c. P6 {F/45/L}: *'arfi:n Ransom walla mish 'arfi:nu?*
 "Do you know Ransom or not?"
 Student: *fidya*.
 "ransom"
- P6 {F/45/L}: *a:: huwwa da, fidya*.
 "Yea! That's him, ransom."

In concluding this section, it may be useful to evaluate the data that have been presented against Fishman's and Auer's approaches. The former approach, which assumes a simple link between a given speech activity and one of the languages, was able to account for topic shifts and rhetorical functions, but only partially for side comments. The latter approach, concerned with the connection between certain activity types and the process of CS, was able to consistently account for discourse-related switching, although in many encounters the specific language choice also proved to be meaningful to the discourse. Both approaches clearly have merits, and only a synthesis of their core ideas could provide a complete explanation of CS events. According to Gumperz (1982), CS is a communicative device that builds on the bilingual's perception of two dissimilar languages. In certain social contexts, this perception is shaped such that the code choice per activity is significant, while in others, any of the two codes is permitted, and the choice becomes a matter of personal preference or social protocols (cf. Valdés-Fallis 1978:10). The context can be seen as both deliberate and emergent.

5. The participants and their attitudes

Based on the body of collected data and the supplementary questionnaire, FIGURE 2 gives a snapshot summary of the seven participants' code-switching behavior. Although the sample of subjects is clearly not gender-balanced, it does reflect the gender distribution in this particular department. For each subject, the table provides the predominant structural type of CS (tag, unitary, or segmental), the predominant function of the switches, and her/his attitude toward CS in general. A number of tendencies can be observed, and will be discussed below.

	DETAILS	PREDOMINANT TYPE OF CS	PREDOMINANT FUNCTION	GENERAL ATTITUDE
P1	F/40/L	unitary (nouns)	audience-related	positive
P2	F/53/L	tag switching (words)	solidarity-related	neutral
P3	F/45/L	segmental (clauses)	discourse-related	negative
P4	F/36/P	tag switching (phrases)	discourse-related	neutral
P5	F/33/AP	unitary (discourse markers)	solidarity-related	positive
P6	F/45/L	segmental (clauses)	discourse-related	negative
P7	M/41/L	segmental (clauses)	discourse-related	neutral

FIGURE 2. *Summary of code switching behavior*

Discourse-related (speaker-oriented) functions are the most common, followed at a distance by solidarity functions. Structurally, segmental intra-sentential switching is more usual than other types. Some correlations can also be drawn between the structural and functional types of CS. Audience-related and solidarity switches tend to be short: the former concentrates on nouns which present keywords and terminology, and the latter concentrates on tags and discourse markers which build or claim in-group identity. Discourse-related switches are longer; they mainly involve entire clauses or tag phrases. This seems to suit their diverse sub-functions.

In order to determine the participants' attitudes to CS, I used the direct questionnaire method (see Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). The questionnaire requested a one-word response for: I think code switching is generally (a) positive, (b) negative, or (c) neither positive nor negative. And a short comment on the open-ended question: if you use code switching in the classroom, why do you do so? Similar to Labov's (1963) findings on Martha's Vineyard English, those who view CS as generally negative, e.g. P6, tend to switch less, and vice versa. But this correlation is somehow unpredictable. How can we explain, for example, that P4 and P7, two of the most frequent switchers, have a neutral attitude? The predominant functional type may provide a clue here. It appears that those who chiefly use discourse-related switching have negative or neutral attitudes, never positive, while those who prefer solidarity and audience-related switching have either positive or neutral attitudes. One may also infer that P7, the male subject, is less concerned about CS being of low prestige.

The answers to the open-ended question reflect some of the well-known attitudes to CS (see e.g. Valdés-Fallis 1978; Hoffman 1991; Malik 1994; Reigh 2014). One participant, P6, was unaware that she switched occasionally. She condemned the practice as a linguistic aberration or at best a sloppy habit that reflects linguistic incompetence. Duran (1994) explains why some bilinguals have this attitude: "because [switches] do not sound conventional, because we do not understand the role they play in natural language, and because we have little control over them". Two other participants, P2 and P3, acknowledged that

they code-switch, but they were apologetic about it. It is “a sign of laziness” that should be kept to a minimum, they noted. Only P1 and P5 viewed CS as a natural and healthy side effect of bilingualism, which serves important functions for the language user. P1 felt that CS fills a momentary linguistic need, an educational one in this case. She commented that switching to Cairene in the classroom “cuts a long story short, when a certain meaning or concept is difficult to grasp in English”. P5, who had the most relaxed disposition toward CS, viewed it as a useful communication resource. She noted that she also uses English in Cairene conversations outside the classroom. “This does not mean a lack of my fluency in Cairene,” she wrote, “it’s just an impact of being bilingual”.

6. Conclusion

This paper examined English-Cairene Arabic code-switching data gathered in a bilingual university classroom setting. The alternating use of these two languages was shown to take various structural forms – tags, constituents within a single utterance, or utterance-level switches – as has been reported in the literature. I focused on the first two types, where an element (word, phrase, clause, or tag) from one language is introduced into an utterance in the other language. Assuming that only one of the languages determines the overall surface structure, following Myers-Scotton’s model, we conclude that all code-switches are structurally rule governed.

A micro-level sociolinguistic analysis of CS must take into account how factors like situation, communicative function, and audience preferences influence the code-switching behavior. The present study is concerned with L2 classroom CS, and so it has focused on the social functions that CS performs in this particular context. As a verbal strategy of bilingual instructors, CS was used to compensate for lack of facility, to communicate emotional states, to express solidarity with the students, to boost their comprehension, and to show respect for their background, culture, and life experiences through discourse-related usage. Fishman (1965) contends that there are different functional domains for each of the bilingual’s languages. Thus, if the instructor has an advanced degree in English and uses English as the medium of lecturing, she will be likely to use English for referential academic information, i.e. formal functions in the classroom. And if the instructor shares the same native language (Cairene) with the students, she will be likely to use it for intimate or informal functions. But since bilinguals’ choice of code can vary from context to context, Auer (1984) proposes to treat CS as a contextual cue where the focus is on the kind of activities that trigger this behavior – in the spirit of Interactional Sociolinguistics. I have suggested, however, that if the analysis is totally context-dependent, the two models are reconcilable.

Finally, I have shown that bilingual educators vary in their levels of awareness of and attitudes toward CS. Many are unaware of the fact that they code-switch; many condemn it as a linguistic impurity or a sign of laziness; and only a few view it as a linguistic asset for bilingual speakers. Linguists have no

doubts about the latter fact. Since the seminal study of Blom and Gumperz (1972), CS has been accepted as a strategy that bilinguals use “to convey important social messages above and beyond the referential meaning of an utterance”. Educators, on their part, need to foster a healthier attitude toward CS in the classroom and actively seek to use it to good advantage. As the study has shown, CS is an effective choice that meets a wide range of classroom needs, which all serve to facilitate learning for the students (for a discussion of the pedagogical implications of CS, see e.g. Adendorff 1993; Cook 2001; Kamwangamalu 2010). Besides filling a gap in L2 classroom CS research on a specific language pair, the analysis presented here may also provide insights for future work in this area.

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