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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Code-switching between Cairene mothers and their children in public:
A study in language attitudes**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

by

Gihan Hamdi Hussein

Under the supervision of Dr. Marilyn Plumlee

May 2018

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Abstract

This study investigates the reasons causing a rising number of Cairene mothers to code-switch into English when they speak to their children in public. Further exploration of the mothers' attitude towards their children's nascent bilingualism is pursued along with an attempt to identify the mothers' perspectives on the phenomenon in question when manifested by other parents in their community. To this end, the researcher implemented a mixed methodological approach for data collection starting with a snowball sampling strategy for distribution of a questionnaire, and culminating with a number of follow-up semi-structured interviews of a selected group from the questionnaire participants. Ninety-two participants completed the questionnaire, and eight of them participated in a follow-up interview. Findings of this study show the most prominent reason causing the language behavior of code-switching to spread among Cairene mothers is an attempt to scaffold the child's linguistic aptitude to prepare them for school. Furthermore, mothers associate fluency in English with a better socio-economic future for their children which justifies their use of English to promote their children's early bilingualism. However, many of the mothers, despite engaging in this linguistic behavior themselves, have a tendency to perceive the act of code-switching into English in public as intentional to reflect social prestige. The perspectives and attitudes are highly affected by the speakers' accent, pronunciation, the length of the utterance spoken in English and the context of occurrence. Perspectives are negative when the speakers' accent and pronunciation are flawed, when the conversation is fully conducted in English or when the context does not require the use of a foreign language.

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List of Abbreviations

CS: code-switching

ECA: Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

FLP: family language policy

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic.

OPOL: one-parent one-language approach.

SA: Standard Arabic

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background and context

Over the past twenty years, the act of code-switching (CS) – or the alternation between two languages or varieties /registers of the same language within an interaction – has gained substantial attention after numerous research studies have been undertaken to tackle the subject from syntactic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives (Auer, 2013). Researchers have identified various types of code-switching and its diverse functions, the patterns of code-switching among children and adults, as well as the reasons behind the occurrence of this phenomenon in our speech.

As a result of modernization, and a surge in communication technology, exposure to foreign languages and the possibility of acquiring a second, third or more languages has become more accessible than ever (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). More than half of the population of the modern world is considered bilingual (Grosjean, 2010). This has changed the language practices in many speech communities based on the different variables at play such as the ideological positions, attitudes, norms, values, and the degree of acculturation to foreign and new languages and cultures. Due to this increase in multiplicity of language practices, code-switching remains one of the most studied language practices in the field of applied linguistics.

An interesting analogy describing research conducted on code-switching is mentioned by Gardener-Chloros (2009) in the introduction to her book *Code-Switching*. She uses an anecdote in the form of a poem describing six blind men feeling different parts of an elephant, remaining unable to guess what it was without an overall view. The same can be thought of the different

paths taken by researchers to study code-switching. Many studies have looked into the nature of this language behavior as well as its functions from focused perspectives, syntactic, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, or through a combination of these approaches in an attempt to reach a deeper understanding of what causes its occurrence.

As a mother of two, I had the opportunity to notice the phenomenon of code-switching among Cairene mothers since I usually target child-friendly locations either for shopping, dining or any other pastime activity. Every time I took my children out for dinner or shopping at a mall, be it at the 6th of October Mall of Arabia or New Cairo's Point 90's Mall, I have come across incidents of code-switching between a mother and her child. The current study endeavored to explore the reasons causing the language behavior of code-switching to surface among the community of Cairene mothers with particular regards to the mothers' attitudes and perspectives towards their children's nascent bilingualism.

1.2. Code-switching

Auer (2013) describes code-switching as a language practice that occurs in bilinguals' conversation which involves switching between two different languages either by inserting a few words or starting an utterance in one code and culminating it in another. Romaine (1989) argues that this switching can also apply to the alternation that happens between different varieties of the same language. Another argument views code-switching as a linguistic behavior that is neither exclusive to bilingual speakers nor specific to bilingual communities (Joshi, 1985). That is to say that code-switching as a language behavior can also appear among monolingual speakers whose first language comprises a number of varieties. The focus of the current study is on the language attitude that affects the use and choice of the parents' language within a non-bilingual community.

Extensive research has been done on the causes of this language behavior. Grosjean (1982) argues that CS occurs as a facilitator for communication when the speaker does not know the exact word or if there are no alternatives for the expression or word in the foreign language. Gumperz and Blom (1972) identify types of CS according to the function it serves. They classify it into conversational, metaphorical and situational CS. Myers-Scotton (1988) proposed a sociolinguistic and pragmatic foundation for the study of CS where she explored psychological reasons and social stimuli causing this language behavior. All in all, the key word relevant to the study of CS is the presence of a linguistic situation where more than one language and/or a spoken variety are needed for communication which in turn allows for this switching to take place.

Some of the most interesting functions of code-switching are introduced by Gumperz and Blom (1972), where they made a distinction between “metaphorical”, “conversational” and “situational” code-switching. The “conversational” acts of code-switching are concerned with the communicative effect of knowledge exchange within a conversation. In those cases, code-switching is automatic, and unintentional. Language use in that sense is not governed by complex social meanings and carries no further implications than the immediate meaning conveyed – that is to say that code-switching here functions just as the rules of grammar that form part of one’s underlying knowledge which speakers use to communicate effectively and convey meaning. On the other hand, “situational” and “metaphorical” code-switching are more controlled by the social context of occurrence. The languages and/or varieties employed are governed by settings, activities, events and categories of speakers (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

Psycholinguists in particular refer to the act of willful and controlled switching to another language in a bilingual setting as “language switching”. A great many sociolinguists share the interest with regards to the “why” behind this linguistic behavior. Heller (1988) argues that code-switching is regarded as something that requires explanation where it happens in a context that

considers one language to be the “normal” or “expected”. Cook (2001) considered code switching in the classroom as “a natural response” in a bilingual situation. For instance, code-switching to English within the medium of a private university’s campus in a non-English-speaking country where the language of instruction in all fields of study is English might be considered commonplace. In that sense, the occurrence of code-switching in a situation where only one language variety would be promoted or accepted is to be considered “unorthodox”. The Cairene community is full of instances of similar occurrences where this language-switching happens with no specific pattern or apparent reason, and without a bilingual setting. Within the Egyptian community, studying the act of code-switching requires an understanding of the various aspects about this community: namely the linguistic situation, language ideology and attitude, and the bilingual education status.

1.3. Language situation in Egypt

1.3.1. Diglossia and code-choice

Despite the occurrence of the phenomenon of code-switching within what is to be considered as a “natural” context of occurrence, it can also occur unexpectedly. Within the Cairene community, the mechanical code-switching, i.e., code-switching when the situation does not require using another language variety, is becoming prominent regardless of context. One good example would be as follows: while riding a public transportation bus, two Egyptians start code-switching into English. Public transportations in Egypt is most commonly used by lower and middle class people. Most of them are relatively cheap, highly populated, lack proper organization or commitment a timed schedule, which makes upper middle class, educated and higher social classes opt for private cars or taxis – also recently Uber and Careem services – for commuting. In this case, there is no apparent communicative need for the speakers to engage in a conversation using a foreign language unless they are purposefully code-switching in order to disguise what

they are saying from the other passengers who might overhear them. The setting or context, being in a public bus, allows for predicting a certain category of speakers who would not normally engage in any other language than the dominant variety, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA).

This leads to a consideration of the diglossic linguistic situation in Egypt, and the resulting speech communities of Cairo. Ferguson (1959) refers to the presence of a high variety and a low variety between one or more language varieties used within the same context. He further explains how people tend to use the high variety solely for the prestigious effect it possesses, and despite having a limited command of that high variety. Ferguson's conceptualization of diglossia can be applied to describe the language situation in the Cairene community where code-switching is no longer restricted to the shifting between ECA and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), but also between ECA and English. Despite the fact that English and Arabic are unrelated genetically (Bagui, 2014, p.4), the resulting language situation can still fit under the construct of "diglossia" as proposed by Ferguson. Thompson (1991) argues that one potential reason justifying code-switching is that people who engage in this language behavior are attempting to assign themselves to certain discourse communities, certain category of speakers, making linguistic choices highly attached to individuals' identity and socio-economic status.

Cameron (2001) describes identity as a marker of the self that people acquire early in their life, and it continues to change and shift as they interact with each other in the world. People's identity is built through a constant negotiation of meaning in their social communities, and this negotiation is primarily achieved through language (Wenger, 2000). Language choice and use can assume an "identitive dimension" when ideological trends and attitudes promote one language or variety over another (Blot, 2003, p. 85). English is persistently regarded as the ticket for upward social mobility on a global scale. Thus, speakers of this language are assigned a higher social class even if they are financially and educationally disadvantaged.

1.3.2. Bilingual education in Egypt

The role of the bilingual education system in Egypt in shaping the attitude of the general population towards foreign language use is directly related to the status of English as a foreign language in Egypt. English is believed to play two fundamental roles (Schaub, 2000). The first role lies in its being the first and only mandatory foreign language taught in public schools that the majority of the population attends. Almost all private schools begin the instruction of English as early as kindergarten. Second, according to Schaub (2000) and Stevens (1994), English acts as a second language of supplementary communication for a wide range of Egypt's higher social class. In addition, Bernstein (2003) considers the education system in any given context as a mirror reflecting the social structure of its community. Haeri (1997) further notes that the Egyptian elite often opt to send their children to English-medium schools, making anyone using English to communicate automatically assigned to a prestigious higher class.

Lippe (1999) argues that Egypt, and especially Cairo, is moving from a classic tradition-based society to a more modern society firmly based in education. Parents, and particularly mothers, strongly believe that the prospective success and prosperity of their children lie solely in a better education, and thus, they would spare no pains to pursue such a goal. Cochran (2013) states that it was due to the late President Sadat's open-door economic policy that Egyptians started to actively pursue an "English" education that reputedly formed the basis of well-paid jobs in international firms or banks. This in turn resulted in an increase in the number of language schools in Egypt. As part of her fieldwork in Cairo, Haeri (2003) conducted interviews with a cross-sectional sample of Egyptians belonging to wide-ranging social classes, from doorkeepers to diplomats, and reported that with only a few exceptions all of them had received their education in a foreign language. The prevalence of English in Egypt today can be attributed to a combination of the British colonization

influence and a demanding global market in which English plays the role of the access card to social, economic and educational superiority (Bassiouney, 2006).

1.3.3. Language attitudes in Egypt

Egyptians' positive orientation to English as a language that can contribute to their upward social mobility was challenged when the situation transformed into a "panicked frenzy" or intense excitement for English (Nour, 1992, p.8). Nour (1992) further noted a shift in job advertisements targeting only graduates of English or American schools and universities. This reportedly caused attitudes of "resentment" among national-universities' graduates who were faced with a job market that assessed their potential and all their acquired qualifications based on their proficiency level in English. Despite the resentment, Zaher (1995) reported higher enrollment rates in English language institutes than any of the other language programs offered in French, Italian or German.

The ideological and attitudinal stance of communities towards languages and their varieties influence the display and usage of these languages among their members. This means that linguistic ideology is unpredictable and cannot be regarded as a result of the social experience of people in a given society. On the contrary, the prevailing ideology of a community makes a contribution to the relationship between the community and language practices adopted by its members. For example, Nova Scotian parents in Canada are found to actively dissuade their children from learning the vernacular variety based on their belief that this acquisition may impair or mark their English. On the other hand, Gapun parents in Papua New Guinea assume their children's general aggressive attitude and constant dissatisfaction can be ascribed to the loss of their vernacular roots (Gapun is the name of a village and the language spoken in that village. It is in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea). Another situation is that of Haitian parents in New York City. They worry that their children will not be successful acquiring English despite the

massive English language input they are exposed to as children, and will eventually grow up speaking Haitian Creole affected by their parents' native language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

A large number of studies have examined the role of parents' language attitudes in the foreign language development of their children. These studies demonstrated how the language practices embraced by members of a family are subject to many variables including the native language of the parents, the language of the community, the heritage language of the family, the attitudes towards those languages, and the language of education (Baker & Sienkewicz, 2000). The literature is abundant with studies conducted on a number of family language policies (FLP) exploring to what extent those language policies and practices affect the children's language acquisition and usage (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). The "mixed-languages" approach is one example of a family language policy that is most relevant to this study. In this case, both parents are native speakers of the dominant language of the community, yet one parent persistently code-switches into an acquired foreign language (Lyon, 1996).

All of this reinforces the fact that there is an increasing number of parents who are embracing bilingual parenting attitudes as the ultimate goal of "good parenting" (King & Fogle, 2006). It comes as no surprise that according to the Center for Applied Linguistics in 2005, there is a surge in demand for bilingual education programs across the globe. Compelling evidence is found in the substantial increase in the production of CDs, flash cards, and online You-tube videos geared towards babies and toddlers featuring songs and games in almost all the languages of the world, and marketed for parents as the best way to give their children a head start on a bilingual track (Harrison & McTavish, 2016).

1.4. Research gap

Most of the available literature on the effect of parents' language attitude on their language use with their children either examined the outcome of reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991; Tse, 2001; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Bialystok & Shapero, 2005), or targeted populations that are mostly children of immigrant families residing in a new community. Few of the studies focused on the effect of language attitudes on parental code-choice within a non-immigrant/non-bilingual context. Furthermore, longitudinal studies on parents' language policies had two major flaws in their methodology that the current study attempts to challenge.

The first issue is that those studies depended mainly on self-reporting parents' narratives along with reactive/participant observations of their actual language use (Romaine, 1995). This means that participants in those studies were aware that they are being observed, and this might have influenced their behavior. The current study asked participants to report their language use with their children at home and in public, and the language use observed on other mothers' and parents in their community which helped minimize the effect of affect as the mothers were less guarded reporting the language behavior of other mothers. The second issue is the fact that research done on family language policies was carried out by linguists studying their own language use with their children. For the present study, the researcher targeted parents from different educational and professional backgrounds without the potential influence of judgment that could be present due to the expertise of a linguist when regulating and reflecting on their language use with their own children.

Cairo has become awash with the language practice of code-switching, where this switching seems to occur arbitrarily, and without a compulsory context, nor in a bilingual setting where code-switching would be expected. Recently, it has been noted that a growing number of mothers in Cairo code-switch to English when they speak to their children in public locations such

as supermarkets, clothing stores and cafés. Mothers perform code-switching into English despite the fact that they are interacting with their young children and despite the absence of a compelling need to communicate using a different language. In that sense, they violate the potential communicative purpose of code-switching, and make the phenomenon worthy of further investigation. The study attempted to answer the following questions:

- 1) Why do Cairene mothers code-switch when they speak to their children in public?
- 2) What are the mothers' perspectives on code-switching when used by other parents? What affects their perspectives?
- 3) What are the parents' attitudes towards their children's nascent bilingualism?

1.5. Delimitations of the study

The participants of the study were mainly from several districts in Cairo, namely New Cairo, Downtown (Wast El Balad), Nasr-City, El-Mokattam, El-Rehab, Sheraton, Zamalek, El-Maadi, 6th of October and El-Mohandeseen, which does not cover all districts of Greater Cairo, but which provides a sampling of several neighborhoods with distinctive socio-economic characteristics. The study focused only on the mother's language attitude with partial attention to the children's responses or interaction to avoid diverting into matters that lie beyond the scope of this study. Despite including questions pertaining to the fathers' language use in the questionnaires and interviews, no attempt is being made to identify a difference between mothers' and fathers' language attitudes and perspectives. The reason some questions targeted the fathers' language choice was merely to sketch a general idea of the family's language use. The purpose of the study is strictly exploratory, and no endeavor is made to generalize the findings to larger or similar populations elsewhere.

1.6. Definitions of constructs

1.6.1. Theoretical Definitions

Code-switching (CS): Perhaps Gumperz' (1977, p.1) definition of code-switching best describes the phenomenon under study. He defines it as “the juxtaposition of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems within the same exchange”. It is the speakers' alternation to a second language within one exchange where the native language is primarily spoken. In 1979, Myers-Scotton refers to code-switching as “the choice” or linguistic decision a speaker makes within a conversation to achieve a particular goal or effect.

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA): The spoken variety used by most Egyptians. It is also considered a variation on the spectrum of the diglossic situation in Egypt. (Bassiouney, 2009)

Identity: Hall (2012, p.31) defines identity as “a set of established attributes unique to individuals that may be independent of the language they speak or the context of their action, and that is largely reliant on their social history”. This social history is made up of the individuals' past life experiences and the social activities in which they participate.

Language attitude: The study of language attitude is concerned with language use that provides the listener with clues about the speaker's affiliation to a certain group, and the prompting of the listener's beliefs and judgments about that group (Chambers et al. 2008, pp.40-66).

Speech Community: “People who share a common social bond, language choice, and attitudes towards language practices” (Montgomery, 1986, p. 119). “The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms” (Labov, 1972, pp. 120–121).

1.6.2. Operational Constructs

Code-switching: When Cairene mothers insert one or more English words in their ECA conversations with their children in public, or when they conduct full utterances in English without a compelling context.

Identity: Cairene mothers acquire their identity through the social activities made available to them – for instance dining at MacDonalD’ or shopping at Toys R Us – by virtue of their pastime locations, overall appearance and language use.

Language attitude: The mothers’ attitude is examined primarily with regards to the extent to which they comply with or deny the institutionally and socially constructed supremacy of English as the language of social mobility through their perspective on CS, and their actual use of code-switching into English.

Speech Community: The speech community of women residents of Cairo, the capital city of Egypt, who are “mothers” and who take their children on outings and frequent locales such as major malls and shopping centers which are recognized to be points of social contact for Cairenes of a certain social class. Social classes will range between middle, upper-middle and elite.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature under the general sociolinguistic framework of code-switching. The works reviewed here demonstrate particular and non-exhaustive research theories and practices that directly inspired the research topic and influenced the methodology chosen in this project. To this end, the literature is categorized into three major themes and sub-themes dictated by the research questions driving the study. The first section elucidates bilingual families' language policy and practices. The following section examines a number of distinctions pertaining to functions of code-switching as a bilingual action and how it is used as a conscious and/or unconscious language practice. The third section reviews language ideologies affecting code-switching in Egypt, and explores how code-switching as a language practice reflects the parents' attitudes towards their children's prospective bilingualism.

2.2. Bilingual families

Bilingualism has evolved over the past fifty years as a result of the unprecedented surge in modernization and globalization. (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). Through educational and technological advances, migrations, mass communication and the shifting gears of a modern world, bilingualism is the ordinary status of more than half of the people all over the world (Grosjean, 2010).

Understanding language practices and language attitudes within bilingual families entails taking into consideration a number of variables that directly affect the family's language practices. These variables include the native language of the parents, the parent's acquired second or third language(s), the language(s) that parents speak to each other, the language(s) spoken to the

children by their parent(s), the language spoken by the children to the parent(s), the language(s) that the children speak among themselves, and the language spoken and/or understood by other close family relatives (see Baker & Sienkewicz, 2000, pp. 37-38). Indeed, other factors are of equal importance to consider such as the majority language of the community, the language of education and that of religious services.

Baker and Sienkewicz (2000) argue that bilingualism does not necessarily start at home. If members of the family speak one language at home (for instance the minority or heritage language) while acquiring the majority language outside, this makes their children's bilingualism sequential and rather different from a family where one parent speaks a language, and the other speaks a different language with children growing up speaking both languages making their bilingualism simultaneous. Furthermore, bilingual parents may choose to raise monolingual children, and the other way around, affected by a number of social, circumstantial and economic factors. And since most bilingual families share a number of these factors almost always in an overlapping fashion, distinguishing the different types of bilingual families would be more comprehensive if done with regards to the language policy adopted by the family.

2.2.1. Family language policy (FLP)

Based on Schiffman's (1996) definition of the term "language policy", family language policy can be identified as the intentional, explicit or implicit regulation of language use among members of a family who are capable of speaking more than one language. This represents a micro image of the larger language planning umbrella that may happen as a result of policies declared by governments, firms or other institutions (schools, universities, and workplaces) to give preference to one language variety over others in order to manipulate, challenge or maintain certain political, social and economic ideologies (Shohamy, 2006).

Most research done on language policy (also known as language planning) has focused on the macro image, and examined the language use at institutions, workplaces and similar settings. What makes “family” language policy more challenging to explore is that it requires the examination of theories of second language acquisition within the sociolinguistic framework of language policy (King & Fogle, 2013). The challenge further lies in the ability of the researchers to identify what really happens to the language use within a given family circle over an extended period of time. Both fields of study, second language acquisition and sociolinguistics, are generally concerned with the circumstances of language learning and use, and both are significantly occupied with the effect of parental input on the development of language within bilingual families. Harding and Riley (1986) and Romaine (1995) proposed categorizing types of bilingual families based on the strategies and policies used for regulating language use among the family. The following section will review a number of strategies and policies used by families who adopt some form of planned bilingualism at home.

2.2.1.1. The one-parent one-language approach (OPOL)

The “one-parent one-language” approach is perhaps one of the most studied, recommended and controversial strategies that is claimed to promote balanced bilingualism in a family (Houwer, 2007). The French linguist Maurice Grammont first introduced this formula for family language planning in 1902 when he published his book *Observations sur le langage des enfants* (Observations on Children’s Language). Grammont’s method states that when both parents have different native languages, each parent should speak only their native language to the child. So, for example, the father speaks French and the mother speaks German. Later, in 1908, his fellow linguist Ronjat applied that strategy with his son Louis who was born to a German mother, a French father, and lived in Paris. Ronjat’s case study of his own son later revealed the success of that technique as the boy grew up mastering both languages (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004).

In 1920, Serbian linguist Pavlovitch – who was residing in Paris - compiled a study done on his son starting at 13 months of age where he was exposed to only Serbian from both parents and French from a family friend who dedicated several hours a day just to speak to the boy in French. The findings demonstrated how successful the OPOL was for learning both languages simultaneously. In 1930, the linguist Werner Leopold applied the same technique with his daughter but with some modification. Both Leopold and his wife had to shift roles sometimes as one of them would speak the language of the other on certain occasions. For the most part, the father spoke German, while the mother spoke French as long as they were in the U.S.A. When the mother visited family in Germany, she would switch into German and the father would switch into English. Nevertheless, the outcome remained the same. Their daughter grew up fluent in English, French and German.

Up until the 1980s, the rule specified “one-person one-language” as Grammont first introduced it. This makes the strategy inclusive of any person who comes in contact with the family on a regular basis such as a caregiver, a nanny, a cook, a driver or a family friend. Yet, later research that was inspired by this method questioned the validity of this approach to ensure the success or failure of the acquisition of language (Schmidt-Mackey, 1971; Bain and Yu, 1980; Saunders, 1982; Taeschner, 1983; Arnberg, 1987; Döpke, 1992; Romaine, 1995; Lyon, 1996; Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

2.2.1.2. Other language policies

Other non-OPOL strategies have been studied by researchers actively including the “non-dominant home” or “hot-house” language policy (Fantini, 1985; Pan, 1995; Kouritzin, 2000). It is specifically popular with parents who are determined to keep their heritage (or minority) language alive. In the “hot-house” family language policy, parents have different native languages but one of them is the dominant language of the community. Both parents speak the non-dominant variety

at home with the child being exposed to the dominant language at school or anywhere outside home.

In 1989, Romaine names this “double non-dominant home language without community support” as another language policy. In this case, both parents have different native languages and neither of them is the dominant language of the community. Hoffman (1991) shows that the parents with two different native languages create a trilingual environment as the child learns both their native languages at home, and the majority language of the community through interactions outside home

Lyon (1996) examines the “non-native parents” or “mixed-languages” policy in which both parents share a native dominant language of the community while one parent often speaks to the children in a non-native acquired language. This language policy is relevant to the case of Cairene mothers where both parents are presumably Egyptian natives, yet the mother persistently uses a foreign language with her children. In addition, one more strategy appeared promoting bilingualism in which the parents or caretakers engage in code-mixing, or the parents hire a caretaker who is a native speaker of the target language to practice speaking that language with the child (Taeschner, 1983; King & Logan-Terry, 2008).

Without delving into discussions about language policy on a larger scale, it remains true that what affects language policies and practices, whether it is on the level of the family or on the level of a country, is people’s thoughts, perspectives and views about languages and their varieties. This explains how language ideologies of people act as a catalyst for the emergence of language policies and practices in the various speech communities either on the family level or on a larger scale (Ricento, 2009).

2.2.2. Methodological issues

Romaine (1995) draws attention to a problem area in the methodology adopted by most longitudinal studies implementing the OPOL approach. Data collection techniques relied primarily on self-reported parents' discourses, audio recordings of daily interactions and naturalistic observations. Hence, she claims that those studies cannot be used to generalize the success or failure of the approach since the researchers did those studies on their own children, being both relatively subjective and having the added expertise of linguists which is not always the case within other ordinary bilingual families. Furthermore, she added that the majority of those longitudinal studies were done on elitists or additive bilingualism, making their outcomes highly specific to the participating population. She concludes that these techniques make the quality of parental language input more influential than the quantity. This also leaves a gap for further investigation of other parents' discourses and their adopted language policies.

Hamers and Blanc (2000) also criticize the findings of studies done on the OPOL strategies claiming that they should not be regarded as proven rules, but rather as hypotheses that need proof. They propose that it does not matter that a parent maintains a single language when what really matters is the available social networks and linguistic role-models for the child's bilingual development. They support their claims by citing two studies (Bain & Yu, 1980; Doyle, Champagne, & Segalowitz, 1977) that were done on two families, one of which uses the OPOL approach while the other does not. Findings of the studies reveal no difference in the outcome of bilingual development in the children of both families.

2.3. Code-switching (CS): A bilingual action

Gumperz (1982, p.1) explains CS as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems". Simply put, it is a bilingual action

that takes place within a conversation when the speaker alternates the use of two languages or more (Auer, 1999). Joshi (1985) describes code-switching to be a systematic phenomenon that takes place within bilingual communities. However, this definition is later challenged by Romaine (1989) when she defines code-switching using a more general sense that includes switching among varieties and styles of the same language.

2.3.1. Functions of code-switching

The most recurrent question that surfaces when observing bilingual language practices is this: why do bilinguals code-switch in the first place? Grosjean (1982) claims that CS occurs as a result of “lack of knowledge” where the speaker tends to fill in the gaps of their knowledge by shifting the code to facilitate communication. Heredia and Altarriba (2001) argue, on the other hand, that CS happens even among particularly fluent bilinguals when the speaker is occasionally unable to retrieve a word due to lack of frequency of using the word and time pressure. Another explanation argues that CS takes place when there is no exact match or equivalent of the word or expression in the target language (Isurin, Winford, & Bot, 2009).

2.3.2. Situational vs. conversational vs. metaphorical code-switching

Blom and Gumperz (1972) place the social dimension of code-switching center stage in their research. They started out by making a distinction between types of CS based on the usage. On one hand, there is the situational code-switching, and on the other hand, there is the conversational CS. In a diglossic context, the type of CS that mostly prevails is usually the situational. In that case, specific varieties of language are determined by the settings, the activities and the category of speakers. The language variety used at home differs from that at the workplace, that used in ceremonies/public speaking is different from the one used for daily conversations, the language

spoken to government officials or strangers varies from that spoken to family and friends (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

In conversational CS, the relationship between language use and social context is more complex as the speakers engaging in code alternation are often unaware of this bilingual action (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). That is why in 1980 and 1982, Gumperz moved towards creating a foundation for a framework that studies social motivations behind code-switching behavior occurring in natural conversations. This explains why recent research in code-switching encouraged natural observations of the phenomenon while occurring spontaneously in natural settings.

Metaphorical code-switching on the other hand involves using language to serve as a metaphor that indexes different associations and social relationships that are typical of this language. Blom and Gumperz (1972, p.425) call it the “social indexical effect” of code-switching. Gumperz and Blom provide an example of this in which a Spanish-speaking mother living in the US code-switches into English as a mild threat to warn her disobedient child. The use of English in this instance is viewed as metaphorical of the authoritative connotations that the English language represents among minority-language speakers in the USA.

2.3.3. Construction of “self” vs. “the other” through code-switching

Gumperz (1982) introduces his distinction of code use among bilingual communities where there is a minority code and a majority code. This symbolic dichotomy suggests the presence of a different code of interaction within an ethnic group and that used by members of this group when communicating with the society at large. Gumperz defines this concept as the “we code” as opposed to the “they code”. In that sense, the “we code” is associated with the minority language

and used for informal interactions within the ethnic community. The “they code” is reserved for formal interactions outside the community.

In 1994, Romaine further explores the functions of CS in the speech of bilingual speakers of the Punjabi ethnic community residing in Britain. The study focused on natural observations of spontaneous conversations among the speakers, and further revealed how the use of Punjabi served to mark an “in-group” language practice of Punjabi-English bilinguals, whereas English served as a marker of “out-group” language use with the majority.

Jorgensen (1998) studies this concept in light of CS behavior, and contends that generally the “we code” ends up associated with low prestige, yet remains a sign of belonging to the minority group. Jorgensen conducted a longitudinal study on the bilingual development of Turkish-speaking infants attending Danish schools. The study reveals that the children used Turkish as the “we code” – the language used for emotional utterances and private interactions, while Danish was denoted as the “they code” and was used strictly for public and formal interactions.

2.3.4. The markedness model of code-switching

Myers-Scotton (1988) introduced a sociolinguistic and pragmatic framework for the study of CS through the theoretical model known as the “markedness model”. This framework takes both social motivation and psychological factors underlying CS into consideration. Myers-Scotton divides language usage of bilingual speakers into a “marked” or “unmarked” linguistic choice. The unmarked choice relates to a set of rights and obligations associated with a particular type of exchange, whereas the marked choice refers to the attempted violations of those sets by the speaker to negotiate a different balance (Rahman, 2014).

In code-switching, when a speaker unexpectedly switches to a different code for the purpose of achieving a strategic effect in their conversation, this is called “CS as a marked choice”. The unmarked choice is, on the other side, when the speaker conforms to the anticipated code to maintain meaning in a particular exchange. Myers-Scotton (1995) further claims that marked choices of CS largely happen when there is a socio-economic difference between the speakers, or when the speakers are strangers to one another. This suggests that the theory holds CS to be a controlled language use despite being largely unconscious.

2.4. Language ideology

There are multiple definitions for the meaning of ideology many of which are studied within political frameworks. Woolard & Schieffelin (1994, p. 55) describe it in linguistic terms as “a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk”. The most relevant and accessible definition is the one proposed by Simpson (2003) in which he defines ideology from a critical linguistic perspective as “...the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society” (p.5). In other words, an ideology springs from the unquestionable set of beliefs, assumptions and values “shared collectively by members of a social group” (Simpson, 2003, p.5).

An ideology becomes dominant if it happens to be shared by a powerful social group. Fairclough (1989) argues that the relationship between language and dominant ideology can be described as a process of “naturalization” or “make-believe”. He contends that those ideologies “become ingrained in everyday discourse” to the extent that they become taken-for-granted assumptions about “the way things are and the way things should be”. In that sense, language does not only reflect the ideology of its context, but it may also re-construct and shape that ideology as well (as cited in Simpson, 2003, p.6).

2.4.1. Language, education and ideology

The linguistic situation in Egypt reflects the complexity of its socio-economic, political and historical status. English has been taught in the schools of Egypt for almost 150 years, through which the Egyptians' attitude and ideology towards this foreign language shifted and varied from accepting the language as a "necessary evil" to actively embracing it as a means for social, economic and educational advancement (Imhoof, 1977).

One of the most influential rulers of Egypt who dedicated enormous efforts to change the education system was Muhammed Ali Pasha (ruled 1805- 1848). He created the first government schools that taught geometry, science and also technical secondary schools. Yet the true purpose of his efforts of educational reform was not to empower Egyptians and enhance their socio-economic status, but rather to educate them enough to be employed in the military infra-structure or become public servants (Sayed, 2006).

Muhammed Ali did not believe in generalizing education to include all social classes. He feared that this was the cause of revolutions and uprisings in Europe. He mentions in a letter to his son, "our duty is to teach them how to read and write to a certain limit...and not spread education beyond that point" (Abdel-Moneim,2015, p.48). His successor, Ismail Pasha , who received European education in Paris , was rather obsessed with foreign education system, and aimed to recreate it through expanding foreign language schools across the country and providing abundant financial support for their maintenance. It was his way to westernize Egypt as a means to attain modernization (Cochran, 2013).

Nonetheless, the true turning point in Egypt's linguistic, cultural and social standing can be traced back to the British occupation of Egypt that started in 1882 and continued until 1956. The

first period of occupation (1882-1914) is known as the “veiled protectorate” where the Khedive (ruler) of Egypt remained loyal to the Ottoman Empire while the British established a de facto protectorate over the country. When the First World War broke out in 1914 and the Ottoman Empire joined the war, Egypt came under the protection of the British military. Yet the British forces remained even after the declaration of independence in 1922 in accordance with some reserve clauses in the declaration that justified the presence of British military. Tignor (2015) argues that Egypt presents the perfect example for “a case study of cultural contact and change under colonial rule”. Balfour’s 1910 lecture before the House of Commons reveals two themes that the British Empire used to rationalize its occupation of Egypt: knowledge and power (Said, 2014, p.32), “I take up no attitude of superiority ... we know the civilization of Egypt better than we know the civilization of any other country.”. This knowledge entails the power of knowing what is best done to this nation.

The power that comes with knowledge did not remain in the ideology of the British colonizer alone, but extended to appear in the social, economic and educational grounds of Egypt (Said, 2014). However, the British had no intent to advance education during the occupation period as evidenced by the fact that they abolished free public education in 1907. The sole purpose of educational reform during that time was to produce English-speaking personnel who were able to conduct the business of the British civil service, and remain loyal to the empire (Sayed, 2006).

During the 74 years of British occupation, foreign language and missionary schools increased and flourished providing quality education to upper middle class elites. The English language was declared the official language of the country along with Arabic. In 1945, English language teaching at primary stages was abolished during the development of the nationalization movement which placed more importance on Arabic. It was further neglected during the immediate aftermath of the 1952 revolution, resurfaced during the 1970s and only started

spreading widely in the early 1990s with the rise of private and international language schools (Kirkpatrick, 2016).

It is evident that ideology is closely related to politics (Bassiouney, 2009). The contemporary political scene in Egypt promotes diversity, cultural exchange and globalization. New reports on the spread of international schools around the world places Egypt among the countries with the highest growth rates of international schools in the Middle East having around two hundred international schools across the country, half of them in Greater Cairo (*ICEF Monitor*, 2014). This alone reveals a general shift in the collective ideology of Egyptians towards foreign language, and a significant change in their attitude towards English specifically.

2.4.2. Language and attitudes

Research on language attitude has become a major focus of many scholars in the field of sociolinguistics. Attitudes have been investigated across various disciplines such as cognitive psychology, social psychology and social studies (Santello, 2015). In his book *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (p.6, 1954), defines attitude as a “learned disposition to think, feel or behave towards a person or object in a particular way” (See also Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, pp. 137-157). What makes his definition of particular interest is the manner in which he describes “attitude” as “learned”. This entails that attitudes as a mental state - or as Oppenheim (1982) puts it “mental life”- are not inherent in humans, but they develop and evolve from acquired beliefs and embraced ideologies.

Giles and Ryan (1982) explained language attitude as any psychological index of reaction towards the various language varieties and their speakers. Those psychological indices are made up of affective (or emotional), cognitive and behavioral aspects. Baker (1992) distinguishes two dimensions of language attitudes: instrumental and integrative. The instrumental orientation

pertains to attitudes related to usefulness of knowing a language. A good example can be easily drawn from our Egyptian context where the number one requirement for most job applications is “fluent written and spoken English” regardless of the field. Consequently, learners of English will be driven by this instrumental attitude towards acquiring the language for the purpose of gaining the benefit of employment. The other dimension, integrative, relates to the need for social integration within a speech community.

Gardener and Lambert (1959) implemented both orientation indices in their study that was designed to explore the correlation between the role of linguistic aptitude and motivation in learning a second language. Conducted on Canadian high school students who had been studying French as a second language for seven years, the participants completed a battery of tests that measured a number of attitudinal and motivational aspects. The researchers contend that learning a second language requires adopting the same attitudinal and motivational mindsets that are present in a child acquiring his/her first language. They further argue that the individual’s attitude towards the target language and culture can partly determine their rate of success or failure to achieve proficiency in the second language.

Those dimensions of language attitude have become a recurrent theme in multiple studies on second language acquisition. Albirini (2014) examined the relationship between language proficiencies of Egyptian and Palestinian heritage speakers and other linguistic and socio-affective factors such as language attitude, language use and parents’ language. The participants in this study focused on Arabic speakers who were born in or migrated to the United States before the age of six, and whose parents are both Arab. The participants’ ages ranged between 18 and 34. Findings revealed that Palestinians outperformed Egyptians in terms of fluency, accuracy and complexity in using Arabic, their heritage language. Interviews’ data mirrored an overall more

positive attitude on the part of the Palestinian participants and their parents towards Arabic - viewing it as a marker of their national heritage and identity.

2.4.2.1. Bilingual parenting, attitudes and the effect of the social milieu

Found in a number of second language motivation studies, the effect of the social milieu refers to the attitudinal mode influenced by significant others such as parents, spouses and others in the immediate environment of the learner (Dornyei & Csizer, 2006). To this end, researchers have examined the role of the parents' attitude towards acquired languages, and how it can directly influence their children's attitude towards a language apart from the educational context of the classroom.

Many parents link child bilingualism with intelligence, and thus generally share a positive attitude towards teaching their children added languages. Bar-Adon and Leopold (1971) claimed in their study that the speech of a bilingual child revealed significant advantages for the cognitive development of the child in general. In this case, the child was able to separate between the phonetic formations of a word from its meaning which is usually the typical dilemma of monolingual children who struggle to extend the use of an acquired word across different contexts. Another study conducted by Peal and Lambert (1962) compared the overall performance of monolingual and bilingual children in Montreal schools. Findings denoted a higher performance rate in measures of achievement and intelligence in favor of the bilingual children (also see Mohamed, 2014).

Further studies examined the effect of language attitude on parental language practices. King and Fogle (2006) examined how parents choose, explain and defend their adopted family language policies based on a perceived notion that links "bilingual parenting" with "good parenting". The study included 24 American parents residing in Washington, D.C. who have at

least one child under five years' old whom they were consciously attempting to raise as Spanish-English bilingual. Audio recorded interviews were conducted at the parents' houses. Findings suggested that most parents' decisions about their family's preferred language policy are highly based on their own experience with language learning and bilingualism. They reflected on their own upbringing and believed that they have missed opportunities of personal, economic or social growth by lack or absence of exposure to their heritage language or a second language in their community.

Mishina-Mori (2011) examined the effect of qualitative and quantitative aspects of parental input on the language choice of the children. The research aimed to analyze the effects of the parents' language choice and discourse strategies on their children's language choice. The study was conducted on two Japanese/English bilingual children at the age of two and their parents. The two families resided in California which makes their community dominated by English speakers, and Japanese is a minority. The parents adhered to the OPOL policy, and the researcher collected the data via audio and video recordings in their home contexts. Findings of this study revealed no correlation between the parents' language choice patterns and that of their bilingual child. Yet it was the parents' attitudinal response towards the children's language mixing that contributed to separating the languages within conversation on the part of the children.

2.4.2.2 Speech community of Cairene mothers

The definition of the term "speech community" has been negotiated across several studies. Starting with a rather specific notion of the ideal speech community as completely standardized where only one language variety prevails as proposed by Chomsky, the term evolved to gain more flexibility as Wardhaugh (1986; 2011) explains how the definition of the term should vary according to the context, participants and situation. He gives the example of a bilingual speaker from an immigrant community who lives in a bilingual setting. This speaker belongs to more than

one speech community, and thus speech communities may overlap and co-exist in a flexible fashion.

Another definition of the term is the one proposed by Montgomery (1986) as he defines the term to refer to a group of people who collectively share a common language, common social bonds, typical language choice and usage practices, and shared attitudes towards that language. Yet Romaine (1994) argues against the linguistic aspect of the definition claiming that more than one language may exist in the same speech community (see also Labov, 1972). Labov maintains that it is the participation and embracement of shared social norms, and not the linguistic practices, that can create the sense of belonging to a certain community on the part of the individuals.

If one is to examine the community of Cairene mothers from Labov's perspective, there is sufficient evidence for considering the Cairene community of mothers as a speech community of its own. The mothers share almost the same social norms, duties and practices. These shared common grounds can be found in the way mothers choose to communicate with their young children, and the most trending parenting practices of the modern Cairene community. Still, the typical language usage, practices and attitudes towards language are yet to be explored with the rise of the trend of code-switching among Cairene mothers that is evident in their speech with their children in public as this study attempted to prove.

2.5. Diglossia and bilingualism in Cairo

According to Bassiouney (2009), the 23 countries in which Arabic is proclaimed to be the official language, Egypt included, are linguistically diagnosed as "diglossic speech communities". This means that along with the Modern Standard Arabic performing as the countries' official language, one or more additional varieties of the language are being actively used in daily conversations. Ferguson (1972) describes diglossic communities as those having a highly

prestigious standardized literary language that is usually learned at school and used on formal occasions and on an official basis only, and a lower variety of the same language that is used for daily conversations and ordinary interactions.

In the Cairene community, diglossia would then be evident in the presence of MSA as the country's official language, but which is infrequently spoken by Egyptians, and ECA which is the spoken variety of most Cairene Egyptians. A good test for the presence of the diglossic phenomenon according to Ferguson is to examine the functionality of the varieties in question within the community. How functional are the varieties used in modern Cairene communities? If one is to consider the functionality of MSA, it is indeed evident that MSA is the official language of government institutions, ministries, official news media and politics. However, ECA remains the main language of conversation among Egyptians.

Yet one cannot ignore the fact that a growing body of international firms, institutions, banks, universities, and schools is now actively using English more prominently than MSA in most of their official websites, legal transactions, and formal written and spoken exchanges. In that sense, English can be established as a functional second language within the Egyptian community. This marks the modern Cairene community as both bilingual and diglossic in terms of the varieties and languages that are being actively used by Cairenes.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology implemented in the study for the purpose of answering the research questions. The study investigated a linguistic phenomenon pertaining to members of a specific community in Egypt. The phenomenon in question relates to instances of code-switching from ECA to English among Cairene mothers when they speak to their children in public areas. The research questions were concerned with what causes this language practice to surface, and aimed to investigate the mothers' attitudes towards their children's prospective bilingualism, exploring if the individuals under study were aware of their code-switching, and attempted to apprehend how they perceived this phenomenon when manifested by other members of their community. The chapter includes a detailed description of the research design starting with the research gap, rationale for the selected design, data collection procedures, participants, instruments, and data analysis techniques.

Most research done on parents' language attitude has either showed a family's attempt to preserve a heritage language within a foreign context (Budiyana, 2017; Mejía, 2016; Pillai, Soh, & Kajita, 2014; Lao, 2004), or an aspiration for bringing up a bilingual child within a context where the second language is the native or majority language of the community (Hu, Torr, & Whiteman, 2014; King & Fogle, 2013). Fewer studies have examined parents' attitude towards their children's nascent bilingualism within contexts where the target language is not the native language of the majority of the population nor the native language of either of the parents (Gao & Park, 2012; Arua & Magocha, 2000). Furthermore, a growing

number of studies are showing the decisive role that parents' language attitudes plays in the development or deterrence of their children's bilingual development – again with either a bilingual context or with one or both parents speaking a different language than that used in the community at large (Besemeres, 2015; King & Fogle, 2013; Crutchley, 2000; Aldridge & Waddon, 1995).

This identifies the gap this study attempted to fill. To begin with, the target population is Egyptian parents, particularly mothers, who speak the Egyptian variety of Arabic (ECA), and live within a community where ECA is the majority language of the society. According to Bassiouney (2009) and Stadlbauer (2010), the linguistic situation in Egypt displays a diglossia of Arabic/Egyptian language use where varieties creating this diglossic situation are Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). The latter can be further subdivided into more specific varieties based on the district or governorate. In addition, there is the Bedouin Arabic in Sinai Peninsula, the Berber language in Siwah Oasis, the Beja in the Eastern Desert and along the coast of the Red Sea, the Dom in Luxor and North Cairo and the Nubian language spoken in Aswan and Nubia, all of which are distinct varieties only spoken and understood within those areas.

This means that there is no variety that is not based on Arabic spoken anywhere in Egypt on a scale large enough to be rendered a “spoken variety”. This also means that this study is conducted in a non-bilingual context, and the target population is native speakers in a country where English is depicted to be an emerging spoken variety that contributes to Egypt's modern diglossic situation. The research questions guiding the study are concerned with the reasons causing mothers to code-switch into English while speaking to their children, explore their perspectives on the phenomenon when other parents engage in it, and examine the mothers' attitudes towards their children's prospective bilingualism.

3.2. Research design

As evident from the proposed research questions, the study explored mothers' attitudes, perspectives and language practices towards the prospective bilingualism of their children. Accordingly, the researcher resorted to a mixed methods approach to provide descriptive data of the attitudes and perspectives of the mothers using questionnaires. The descriptive data were supplemented by richer in-depth data collected by means of follow up one-on-one semi-structured interviews that helped to extend the descriptive details provided by the questionnaires.

3.3. Procedures

The procedure for data collection began by administering the online questionnaires on a selected group of mothers after explaining that the purpose of the study is generally concerned with the mother's language choice and aspiration towards her children's prospective bilingualism. The questionnaires were distributed via email and/or Whatsapp group message (Whatsapp is the name of a smartphone application that is popularly used for instant messaging). The questionnaire included a place for participants to indicate whether they were willing to be interviewed later, in addition to an option to nominate or invite potential candidates to complete the questionnaire.

Analysis of the questionnaire data began instantly in order to prepare a tentative schedule for interviewing the participants, and use collected contact information (emails or phone numbers) of recommended participants to further distribute the questionnaire. Since both questionnaires and interviews were conducted in a language other than English, translation was required for relevant responses in both instruments, yet only instances of code-switching into English were taken into consideration while analyzing the data from the field notes.

3.4. Participants

The primary target population for this study is Cairene mothers. The sampling procedure targeted the recruitment of two types of participants. The first group was made up of the mothers from the researchers' circle of acquaintances who have taken part in the questionnaire. And the second group was a subset of the previous group comprised of those who answered the questionnaire and were selected to take part in the follow-up interview. The initial sampling frame used for recruiting participants of the second group was the contact number lists provided by 3 day care centers that the researcher is acquainted with their owners. The number of mothers in each of the day care centers was around 30. Next, recruitment of participants assumed a snowball sampling strategy where the primary participants who took part in the questionnaire were asked to invite and/or recommend potential additional participants. Selection of the interview participants was decided after the questionnaire data were analyzed to identify which participants were willing to take part in the interview, and those who had a higher probability to expand their responses and elaborate on their opinions.

The selection criteria for the women who were asked to complete the questionnaire were as follows: only mothers who are native Egyptians, born to Egyptian parents, have resided in Egypt for at least the past five years, and who have one or more child. The age of the mothers is irrelevant and therefore no specific age-range was targeted. However, the study was open to identifying if a correlation exists between certain types of responses and the mothers' general age group. Eight participants took part in the follow-up interviews.

3.5. Instruments

3.5.1. Questionnaires

Ehrlich (1969) argues that not every attitude has a corresponding behavior that represents it. Rokeach's (1968) definition of "attitude" explains it to be a complicated system of beliefs that entails affective, cognitive and behavioral components. Survey questionnaires have typically been used in most research done on language attitudes. Some studies focused on the social significance of certain language varieties and how this affects people's attitudes (Lambert et al., 1960; Herman, 1961; Anisfeld & Lambert, 1964; Fishman, 1968; Webster & Kramer, 1968) while other studies tackled language attitude as evident in the individuals' language choice and usage (Barker, 1947; Herman, 1961; Rubin, 1962; Fishman, 1968; Greenfield & Fishman, 1968).

These arguments justify the need for conducting a questionnaire to understand the true language attitudes of the mothers that may or may not be causing the language practice of code-switching to surface, and further enhance our understanding of the social dimension involved in this behavior. Floyed, Fowler, and Consenza (2008) describe a good question being one that provides responses that are precise and reliable reflections of something that one is attempting to describe. They suggest four characteristics of survey questionnaires that can ensure an overall good estimation of the issue under study. Firstly, the questions must be consistently understood. Secondly, the respondents need to have access to the information required to answer the questions. Thirdly, the fashion in which respondents are asked to answer the questions must provide a response that is precise and provides a reliable reflection of what they want to say. And finally, respondents must be disposed and willing to complete the questionnaire.

Since the target respondents are Egyptian natives, and since their English proficiency levels were unknown to the researcher before conducting the questionnaire, I opted to write the

questions in MSA. That is to ensure abiding by the first two characteristics of consistency of understanding the questions, and access to the information required to answer the questions. The first part of the questionnaire inquired about the number of children of the respondents and their ages. Other questions investigated the amount of exposure to English language such as frequency of watching English movies, listening to English songs, reading specific magazines or books in English.

A number of items on the questionnaire (see appendix I) investigated language attitude through asking about their proficiency level in English, the frequency of the respondents participation in “language-switching” at home with their various family members, and if they have been subject to that practice in the earlier stages of their lives or during their childhood. Towards the end of the questionnaire, most questions focused on perspectives on the language practice under study exploring if they were aware of engaging in it, and how they perceived it when manifested by other mothers in public. Respondents had enough space for elaborate answers to the open ended questions, and multiple choice questions were complemented with carefully worded answer choices. The purpose was to avoid any direct questions that might affect the participants’ true opinions.

To this end, demographic questions pertaining to the respondents’ age, residence, and children’s current and future schooling were placed towards the conclusion of the questionnaire to decrease potential inhibition that could have affected their willingness to complete the majority of the questions. The questionnaire was administered through Allcounted.com, a free online surveying tool through which the researcher created the questionnaire, and then forwarded the link to the participants via email.

3.5.4. Interviews

Qualitative interviews have the advantage of making one notice that which can be easily missed, and examine that which is often observed but seldom noticed (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Sociolinguistic research on language attitude have used interviews to provide in-depth understanding of the social factors at play as well as language choice and usage patterns that reflect this attitude (Herman,1961; Nader, 1962; Gumperz ,1964; Labov, 1966; Johnston, 1967). Data gathered from interviews were by means of open-ended questions and answers based on the questionnaire previously conducted. The core of this in-depth semi-structured interview lies in the form of three types of questions: main questions, probes, and follow-ups.

The main questions were the main research questions of the study addressing the reasons why Cairene mothers code-switch when speaking to their children in public, examining if they continued code-switching at home, discussing their attitudes towards their children's nascent bilingualism, and exploring their opinions and perspectives on other mothers who exhibited the same language practice. These sets of in-depth interviews were the tool of choice because the study attempted to explore a rather individual choice made by some mothers in their daily interactions with their children.

For this study, the researcher adopted the “responsive interviewing model” as used by Rubin and Rubin (2011). In this model, the researchers were encouraged to build a relationship with their conversational partners (interviewees) and establish rapport. The interviewer adapted to new information and changed the direction of the questions when necessary for the purpose of achieving a clearer and greater depth of unpredicted insights. The interview participants were 8 mothers from the Cairene community who have participated in the questionnaire with elaborate,

unique or otherwise interesting responses. The interviews were audio-recorded using an integrated recording application on the researchers' mobile phone.

The interviews were conducted in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic to serve two purposes. The first aim was to lower the affective filter of the participants, as conducting the interview in English could have distracted them by the potential thought needed for finding the right expression in English, and producing the accurate pronunciation. Second, Modern Standard Arabic was not an adequate alternative as it is only used in very formal official instances. According to Bassiouney (2009, p.10) on diglossic communities, "no one speaks the H variety natively" (see also Ferguson, 1972). This would have made conducting the interview in MSA both awkward and problematic for establishing rapport. It must be noted that the "responsive interview model" was established as a naturalistic framework. Therefore, from a naturalistic approach, conducting the interview in the natural language of daily conversations, that is ECA, was the most convenient choice. Interviews were conducted in different locations varying between the researcher's workplace, the participants' homes or workplace, or a relatively quiet public café, and at times convenient for the interviewees.

3.6. Data Analysis

Questionnaires were first edited for illogical responses or errors in submission. Then, a summary of the responses was coded in the researcher's code book. The researcher used color coding for open-ended question items to identify emerging themes. A 5-point-Likert scale was used for questions pertaining to attitude, and the survey tool provided the mean, median and mode of responses. Pie charts and bar charts were automatically generated by the survey tool representing the percentages of responses on each item, and the overall total of respondents' completion of questionnaire items. Because the researcher used two forms for the same questionnaire, Arabic and English, charts and graphs were represented separately in the figures, whereas tables and written descriptive results represented the total of both questionnaire forms

combined. Only relevant sections of the interviews data were translated into English, and further interpreted with respect to the research questions that focused on the participants' perspectives, opinions and actual practices.

Chapter 4

Results

4.1. Introduction

This study aimed to investigate the possible reasons causing an increasing number of Cairene mothers to engage in code-switching into English when speaking to their children in public. In addition, the parents' attitudes towards their children's nascent bilingualism are examined with further exploration of how they perceive this behavior exhibited by other parents, and what affects their perspectives. Two tools were implemented for data collection: questionnaires, and interviews. The questionnaire yielded 92 responses of which 8 were selected for follow-up interviews. It must be further noted that 47 of the questionnaire participants opted for the Arabic form of the questionnaire whereas 45 used the English form.

As it was not feasible for the researcher to combine both questionnaire results into one file due to the absence of this option on the website providing the survey, figures are represented for English and Arabic responses separately where (a) figures represent responses from the English form, and (b) figures represent responses from the Arabic form of the questionnaire. In the following section, I present the results and findings guided by the research questions of this study.

4.2. Reasons for code-switching

Why do Cairene mothers code-switch when they speak to their children in public?

This is the main question guiding the study. But before looking into the answers to this question, other questions were needed to establish the second language of the mothers, the extent to which the phenomenon of code-switching into English has been observed and if the use of code-

switching as a language behavior has been present in some of the participants' daily interactions with their children.

4.2.1. Establishing the mothers' bilingualism

In the questionnaires, when asked to choose the foreign language(s) that they can speak, 88 of the 92 participants chose English, while 32 reported both French and English, 10 chose both German and English, and 16 opted for both English and other languages, including Spanish, Italian, Turkish and Arabic.

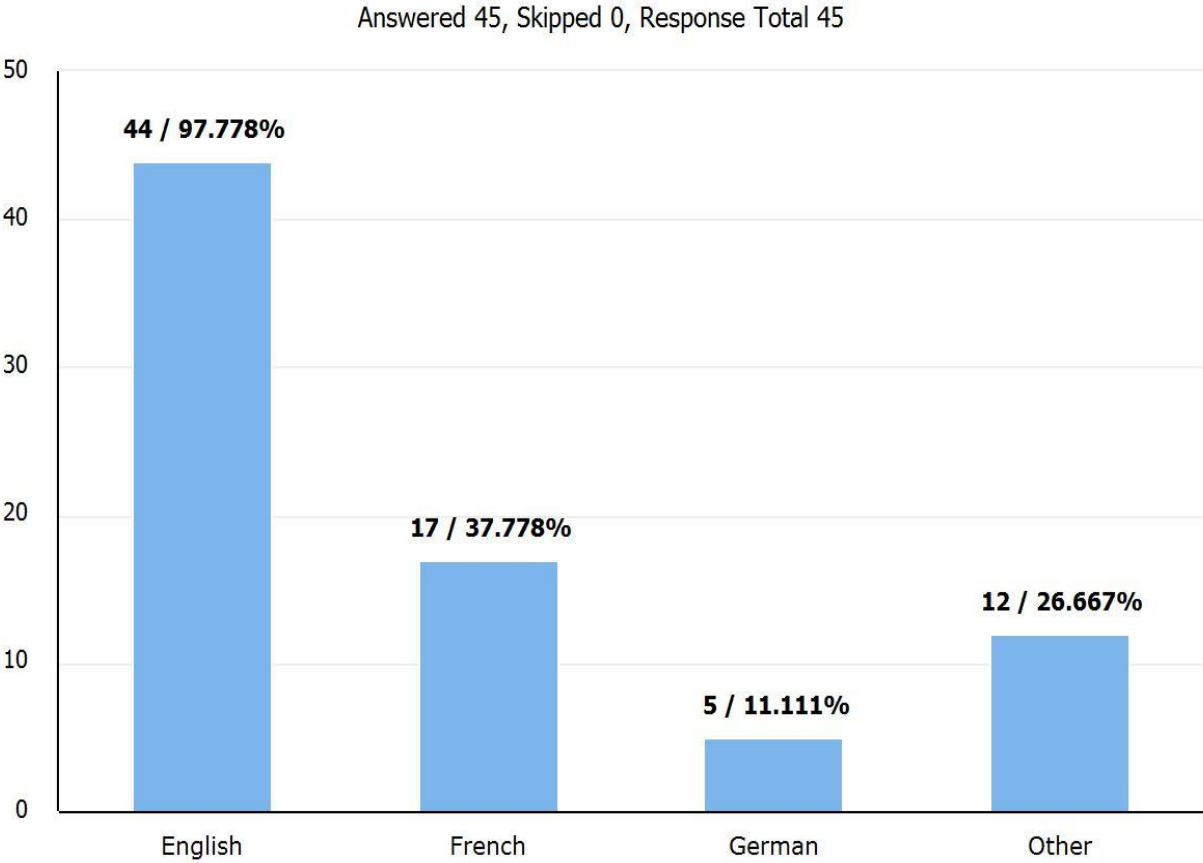


Figure (1a) responses on English questionnaire to “How many languages can you speak?”

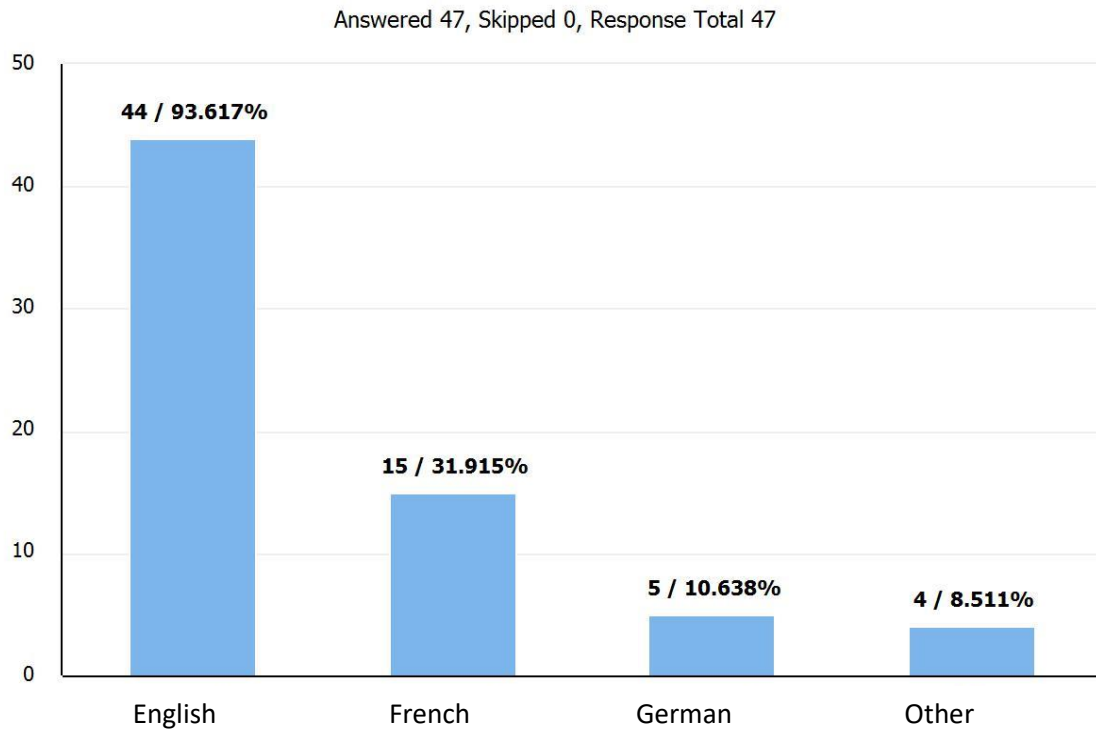


Figure (1b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “How many languages can you speak?”

The following question aimed to identify which language was acquired by the mother and not just studied. When asked which foreign language(s) they were able to speak fluently, 89 of the participants reported only English, and 4 of them reported French. Similar response rates were given when asked which of the languages the participants learned before the age of 5. Figures 2(a) and 2(b) show responses to “Which languages of these do you speak fluently?”

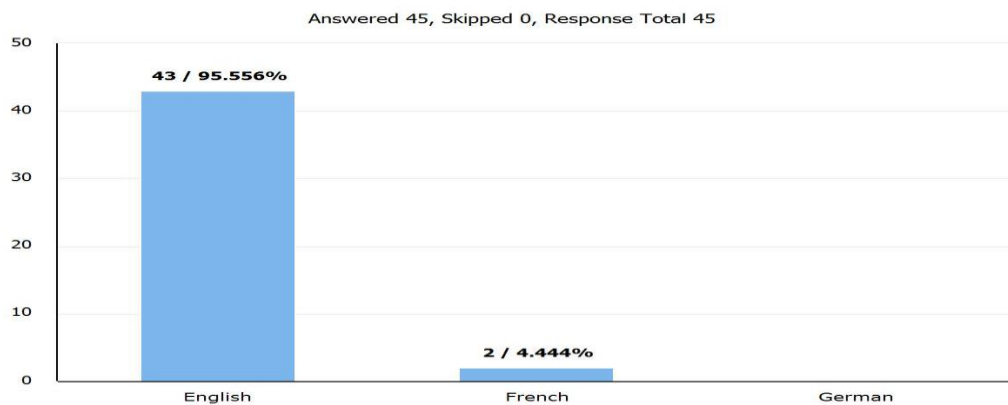


Figure (2a) responses on English questionnaire to “Which of these languages do you speak fluently?”

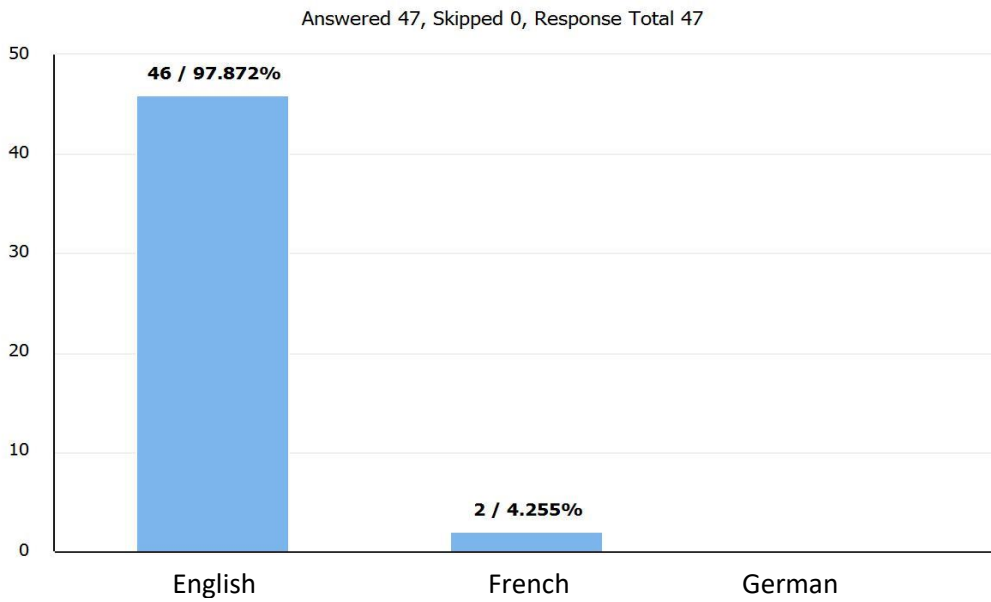


Figure (2b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “Which of these languages do you speak fluently?”

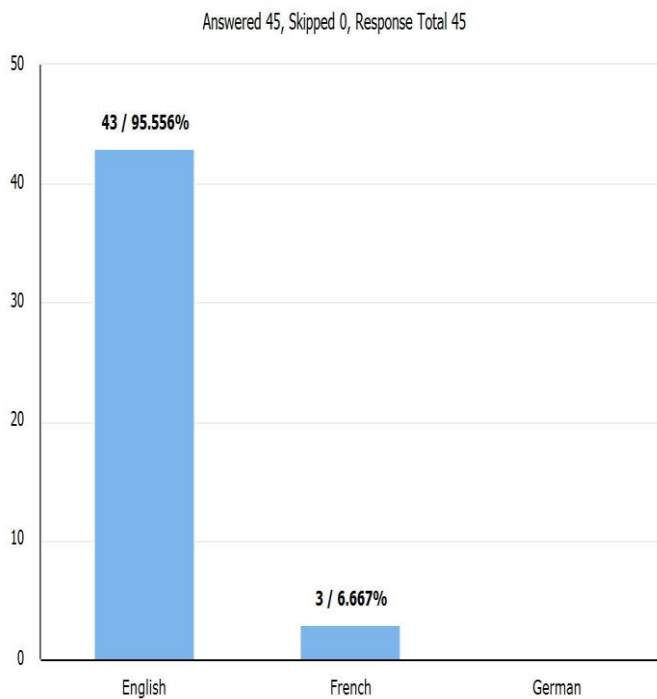


Figure (3a) responses on English questionnaire to “Which foreign language(s) have you been taught before the age of 5?”

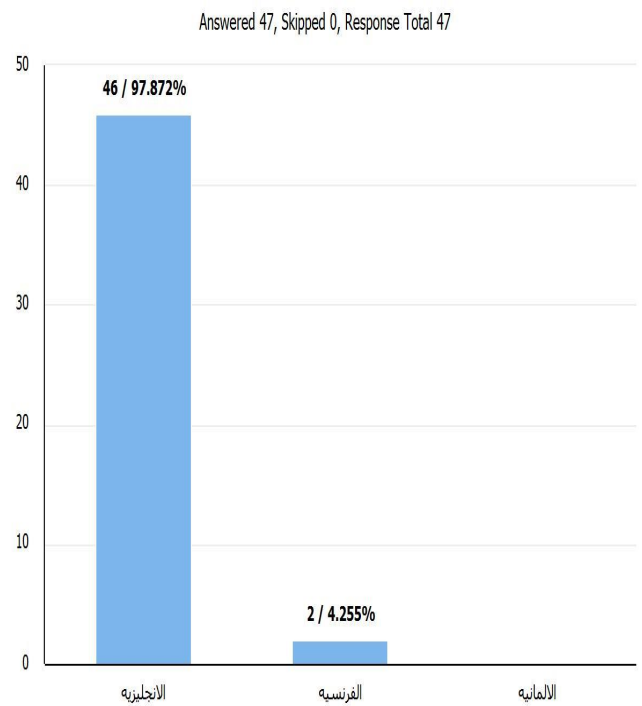


Figure (3b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “Which foreign language(s) have you been taught before the age of 5?”

4.2.2. Possible causes for code-switching

The mothers were then asked to report their own opinions on what they consider to be possible reasons causing Cairene mothers to engage in the language behavior of code-switching with their children. Once again, text responses were given both in English and Arabic regardless of the initial language of the questionnaire, and sometimes one response included a mixture of both Arabic and English. During the follow-up interviews, participants were asked to elaborate on their responses to this specific question. Table (1), below, shows a summary of the respondents' answers to "In your opinion, why do you think mothers would use English to speak to their children?" Responses marked with an asterisk are translated from Arabic. Color coding was used to mark positive (yellow) and negative (blue) perspectives of the phenomenon. Emerging references to perspectives on the Arabic language were coded in green (see Table (?) appendix C).

Table (1) showing summary of responses trend to "In your opinion, why do you think mothers use English to speak to their children?"

Color Code	Yellow (Positive Responses)	Blue (Negative Responses)	Green (References to Arabic)
Percentage of participants	75 %	55%	21%
Reasons for code-switching	To promote the child's early bilingualism/to gain fluency	Showing off	Easier pronunciation of English.
	As a matter of habit/ constant exposure to English as a result of education or career.	Social Prestige	No socio-economic need for Arabic.
	School's policy for parents.	Imitating others to blend with the society	Using Arabic reflects a lower social class.
	For studying since all subjects are taught in English.	Inferiority complex	Children are struggling to understand/study Arabic.

	Responding to their children who speak English more often than Arabic.		Not enough resources for information/ education in Arabic.
	For the job market that requires fluency in English.		

4.3. Perspectives on code-switching

What are the mothers’ perspectives on CS when used by other parents? And what affects their perspective?

When asked if they recall using English or a foreign language with their children outside home, 77 reported “yes” whereas 28 reported “sometimes” and explained that their use as being restricted to simple commands or to disguise what they are saying from others. When asked how often they thought they used English in their conversations with their children, the majority of participants described their use of a foreign language to be “sometimes” when asked to mark their use of English on a 5-Point-Likert-scale ranging between “very often”, “often”, “sometimes”, “rarely” and “never”. Figures 4 (a) and 4 (b) below indicate respondents’ answers to “How often would you say you use English words while speaking with your children?”

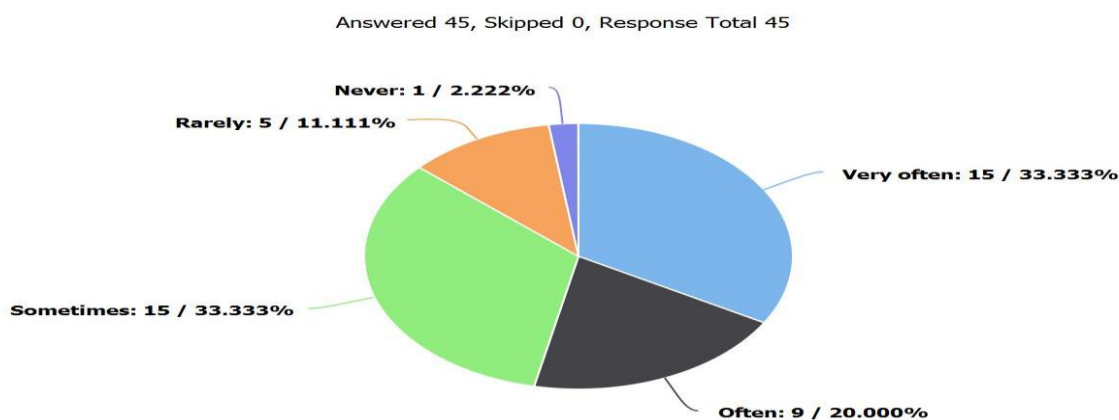


Figure (4a) responses on English questionnaire to “How often would you say you use English words while speaking with your children?”

Answered 47, Skipped 0, Response Total 47

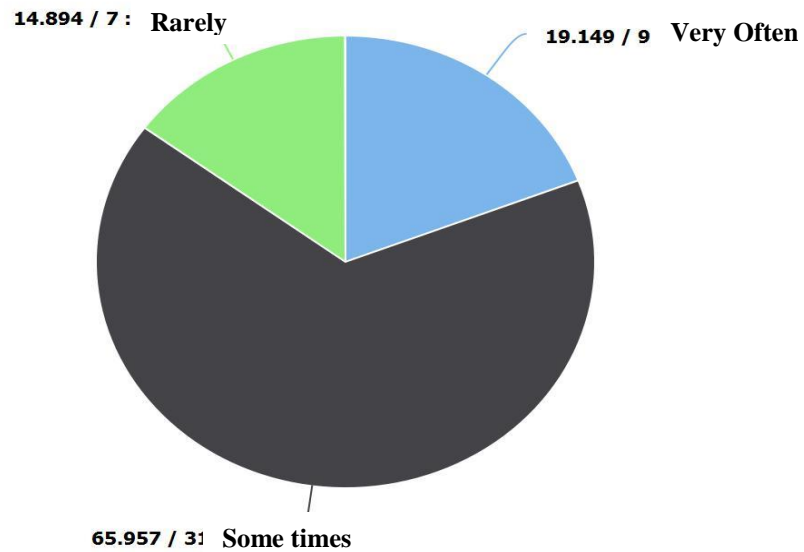


Figure (4b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “How often would you say you use English words while speaking with your children?”

Table (2) showing summary of the level of foreign language use among the respondents.

Answer Choice	No. of Participants	% All Question Responses
Very often	24	26%
Often	9	9.7%
Sometimes	46	50%
Rarely	12	13%
Never	1	1.08%
Mean:2.8 Median: 3 Mode: Sometimes		

Mean scores are based on a 5-point-Likert-scale (1=very Often; 2=often; 3=sometimes; 4= rarely; 5=never)

The mothers were then asked if they have observed the phenomenon in question manifested by others. The question specifically asks the mothers if they recall hearing other mothers using English with their children. Ninety participants confirm having heard some type of code-switching into English between a mother and her child. Figures 5(a) and 5(b) below show respondents answers to “Do you remember hearing other mothers using English words while speaking to their children?”

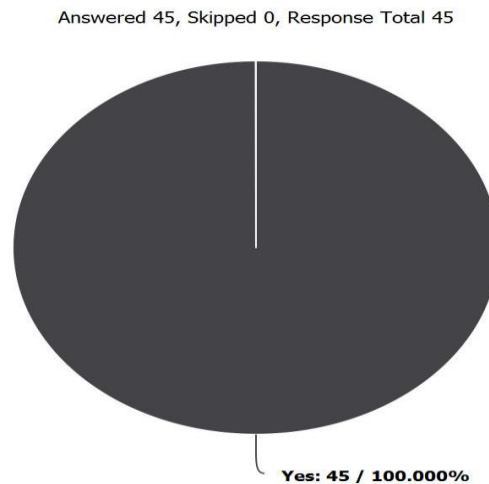


Figure (5a) 100% of the respondents to the English questionnaire “Do you remember hearing other mothers using English words while speaking to their children?”

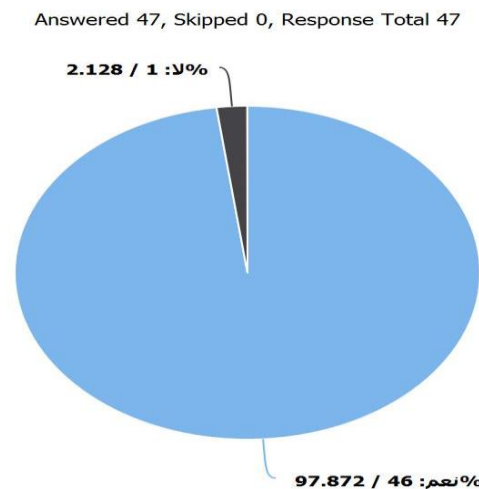


Figure (5b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “Do you remember hearing other mothers using English words while speaking to their children?”

When asked how often they recall encountering instances where mothers are code-switching into English with their children in public places, 41 participants reported “often”, whereas 39 participant chose “very often”, 9 participants said “sometimes” and only 3 participants opted for “rarely”. Table (3) below shows the frequency of the respondents’ reported encounters of other mothers’ code-switching in public locations.

Table (3) showing summary of the frequency of the respondents’ reported encounters of other mothers’ code-switching in public locations.

Answer Choice	Selections	% All Question Responses
Very often	39	42.39%
Often	41	44.56%
Sometimes	9	9.78%
Rarely	3	3.26%
Never	0	0%
Mean: 1.8		Median: 2
Mode: Often		

Participants were then asked about their impressions with regards to the behavior of code-switching when observing other parents engaging in it. 42 mothers reported always accepting this behavior, 5 reported a positive sense of surprise by the behavior, 12 said they were not sure about how they feel, whereas 14 mothers reported finding the behavior irritating.

Answered 45, Skipped 0, Response Total 45

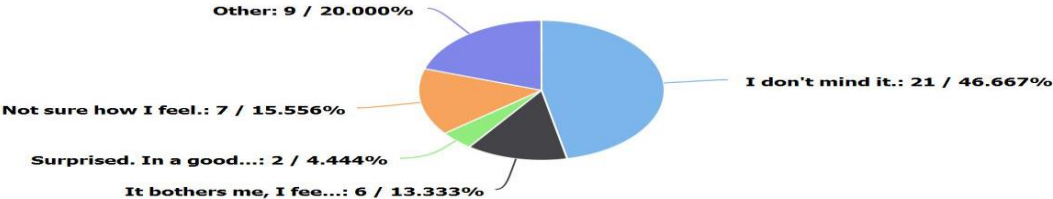


Figure (6a) responses on English questionnaire to “What is your impression of mothers who use English to speak to their children?”

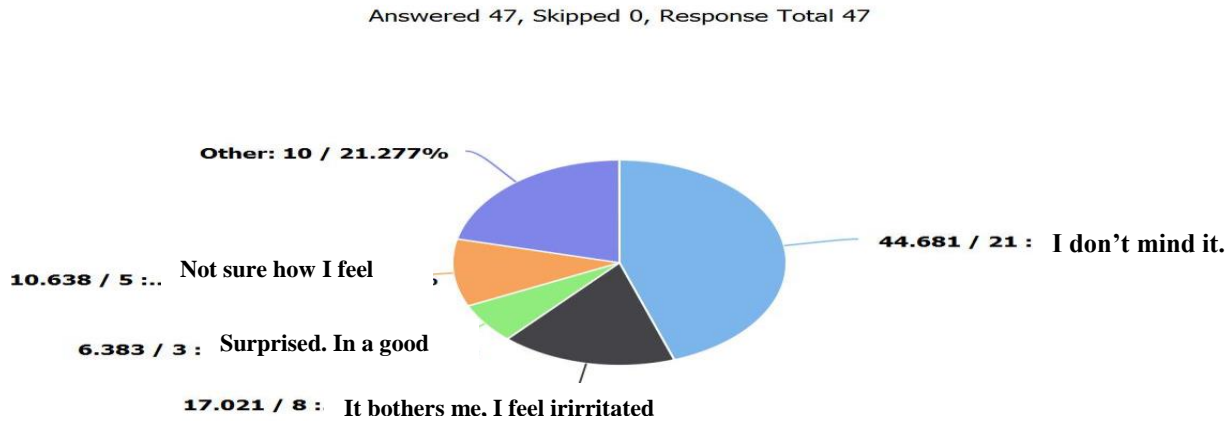


Figure (6b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “What is your impression of mothers who use English to speak to their children?”

The question wording allowed the participants to write “other” impressions if the given options were found limiting to how they actually feel. More impressions were further elicited during the interviews. Almost all of the participants, 90 out of 92, gave the same or similar responses represented in table (4) below showing summary of the respondents answer to “what is your impression of mothers who use English to speak to their children?”

Table (4) showing summary of the variables affecting the respondents’ impressions of code-switching.

Variables affecting the respondents impressions	Positive	Negative
Length of speech conducted in English.	When the speaker uses only a few words in English.	When the speaker uses full sentences in English.
Context	When the situation requires using English such as studying, or at school.	When the situation doesn't require using English.

Accent & Pronunciation	When the speaker is fluent.	When the speaker has poor accent/pronunciation.
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Table (4), above, shows some variables that affect the mothers' perspectives on code-switching whenever encountered in public. The length of the mothers' utterance conducted in English affects the respondents' perspectives. Conducting full conversations in English, or code-switching using longer sentences in English is perceived negatively as an attempt to reflect social prestige whereas inserting only a few words in English within the speech is generally accepted and perceived positively as a result of habit.

Another variable affecting the mothers' perspective is the context of occurrence. Respondents referred to specific contexts or situations where using English within the speech is considered acceptable such as studying with their children, at school meetings, or if the parent is purposefully trying to disguise what they are trying to tell their child from other people. Furthermore, the mothers' accent and pronunciation in English affected the respondents' perspective on code-switching. Respondents tended to perceive the behavior of code-switching negatively when the mothers' accent or pronunciation is inaccurate.

4.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism

What are the parents' attitudes towards their children's nascent bilingualism?

To answer this question, a number of questions were devised to trace possible factors influencing the mothers' attitudes towards their children's prospective bilingualism. When asked if they recall either or both of their parents using a foreign language to speak to them at home, 68 participants reported "no" whereas only 24 of them answered with "yes". The participants who answered with "yes" were asked to explain the occasion and elaborate on how often it occurred.

Most responses given justified the parents' use of English due to "business", "during studying", "travelling abroad occasionally", and "living in England or other foreign countries".

When asked if the participants themselves recall using English or a foreign language at home with their children, 72 of the mothers confirmed whereas 20 responded that they did not use English or any other foreign language at home. The question further prompts the mothers to explain the occasion of using a foreign language if they answered with "yes". The text responses to this question were given in both Arabic and English regardless of the questionnaire's initial language. Occasions for using English as explained by the mothers were varied. Some participants justified their use of English to teaching new vocabulary or to comply with the school's policy which encourages parents to use English at home. Some mothers reported having to respond in English as their children initiate communication using it.

More explanations for context were given by the participants regarding their use of English. Some claimed using it only for giving simple instructions such as "put on your shoes" or "say thank you". A number of mothers also explained that some expressions are commonly used in English that they never use Arabic to express them be it with their children or anyone else such as "No", "Excellent", "Sorry" and "Bravo!" Among the text and interview responses were recurrent references to the limited stretch of the discourse where code-switching happens as the participants claimed to restrict their use of English to "only words" or "not long conversations or full sentences" and "simple commands". Table (5), below, shows summary of the responses given by the mothers explaining the occasion of using English at home with their children.

Table (5) showing summary of responses to “Do you recall speaking in a foreign language to one or any of your children at home? If yes, please explain the occasion.”

	Occasions for using English
	During studying time to help their children learn words or letters.
	While playing with their children or to teach the child a song.
	As a matter of habit. It happens spontaneously.
	For bedtime story telling.
	To give commands like say “thanks”, or “put on your shoes”.

When asked what type of school their children attend, 38 mothers reported sending their children to “National language schools”, 35 said “International/American school”, 2 reported sending their children to Catholic schools and 17 had children below school age.

Answered 45, Skipped 0, Response Total 45

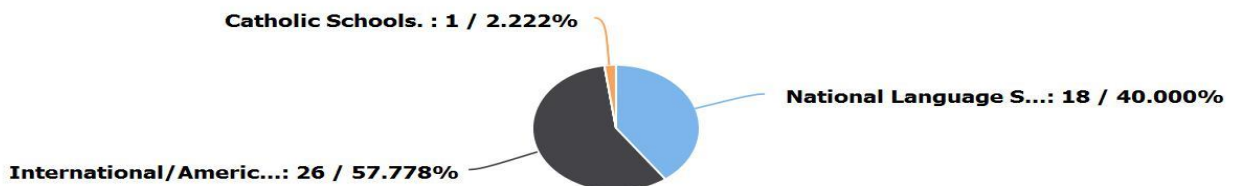


Figure (7a) responses on English questionnaire to “What type of school are your children attending?”

Answered 47, Skipped 0, Response Total 47

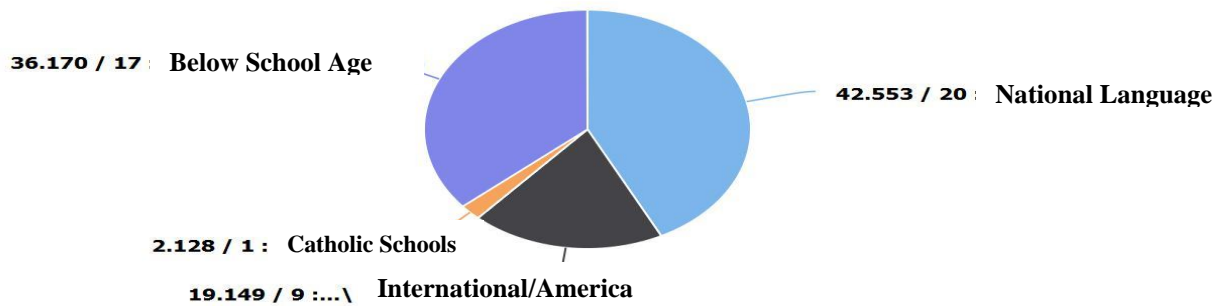


Figure (7b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “What type of school are your children attending?”

For those who have children in nursery schools or pre-school daycare, they were asked to report what type of prospective schooling they were hoping to enroll their children in. Thirty-eight mothers chose “International/American schools”, 20 opted for “National language schools”, 7 reported “Catholic schools” and only 2 selected “Governmental/Experimental schools”. When further prompted to justify their choices of school type during the interviews, many of the participants expressed their inclination towards a specific type of school for having “relatively better education and social standard”, or “because of its proximity to home”, or “being affordable.”

Some mothers reported hoping for an international schooling for their children, but because they could not afford it, they opted for national language schools instead. The participants who selected “Catholic schools” referred to the ethics and manners that they teach the children and “not just the language”. Some participants claimed that Catholic schools were even superior educationally in comparison to international or national school system based on

their own or their acquaintances' schooling experience. Figures 8 (a) and (b) below show respondents' preferred school type.

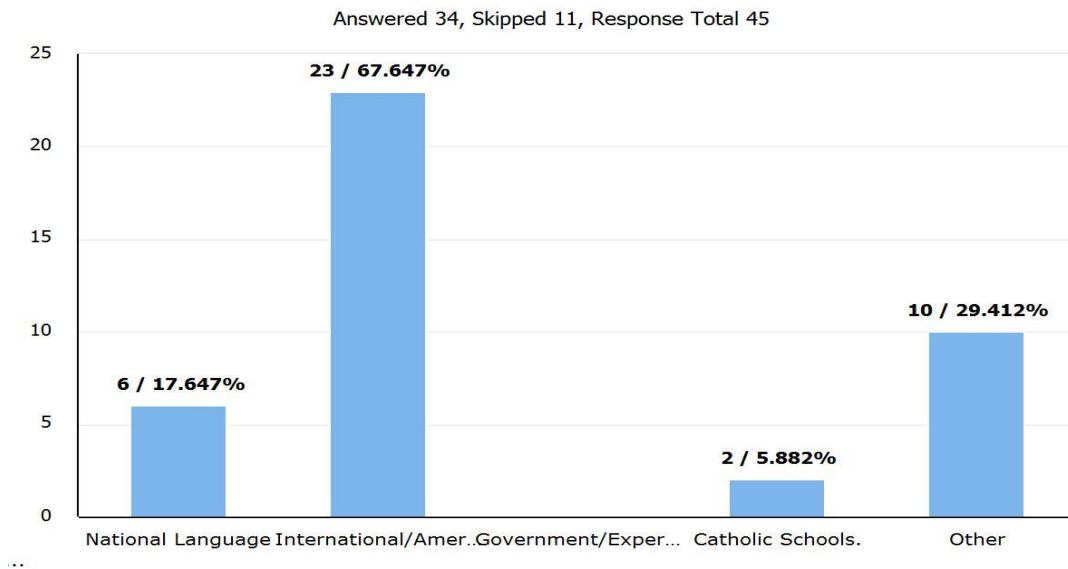


Figure (8a) responses on English questionnaire to “what type of school are you hoping to send them to?”

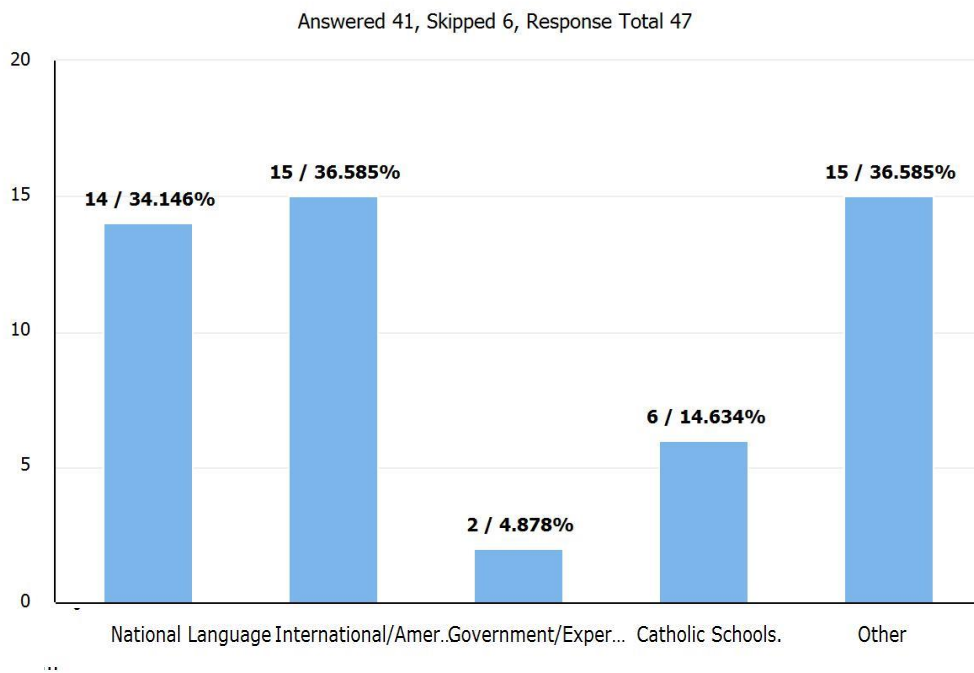


Figure (8b) responses on Arabic questionnaire to “what type of school are you hoping to send them to?”

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I attempt to interpret and describe the significance of my findings in light of the research questions investigated in this paper. The study attempted to identify the reasons causing a rising number of Cairene mothers to code-switch into English when speaking to their children in public. In addition, the study explored how this particular phenomenon is perceived by the participants, and the factors affecting their perspectives. The final research question tackled the mothers' level of commitment towards their children's nascent bilingualism. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the underlying meaning of my research problem, discuss possible implications of my study and explore how the findings contribute to existing gaps in the field. At the end of this chapter, I present potential improvements to overcome some of the limitations encountered during data collection which can be undertaken in future studies.

5.2. Code-switching in Cairo: Reasons and attitudes

5.2.1. School policy for early acquisition

The main research question driving the study was to explore the reasons causing the language phenomenon of code-switching into English to appear in the interactions between mothers and their children in Cairo. Reasons specified by the participants can be categorized into three major themes. The first category is the logical one that connects language use with context (Cook, 2001). More than two-thirds of the participants attributed the reasons for code-switching with their young children to the demanding policy of primary or nursery schools which urge parents to use a foreign language for extended periods of time with their children. It must be noted that it is a customary practice for Egyptian mothers in particular to help their children with their

homework, and mentor their studying and academic progress. As most subjects taught in language schools were in English, the mothers are compelled to use English most of the “studying” time even when they are reviewing other subjects like math or science. This in essence creates a communicative need for using a foreign language.

The majority of the respondents made references to the “early acquisition” of language. There seems to be a general assumption among the participants that their children’s acquisition of English at an early age will allow them to become fluent speakers when they grow up. This echoes Bloom’s (1994, p. 744) claims that if children were to be exposed to a second language prior to the age of 7, they were capable of becoming “totally fluent” as adults (see also Lenneberg, 1967). It was not identified though whether this knowledge is explained by the schools’ policy makers or if the mothers’ acquired that particular knowledge from a different source. A number of the participants reported having been or being currently enrolled in a language course specifically for this purpose. This in essence reflects a general positive attitude among the mothers’ towards promoting their children’s prospective bilingualism, and echoes King & Fogle’s (2006) claims of an emerging trend among parents that embraces bilingualism as symbolic of good parenting.

5.2.2. Reflecting social prestige

The second most prominent reason given by the participants falls under the theme of “social class”. Even among participants who attributed the use of a foreign language to schools’ policy and attempting to teach the language at an early age, the same participants had reasons to believe that the act of code-switching was sometimes done solely to reflect a better socio-economic status which echoes Thompson’s (1991) speculations regarding reasons for code-switching being linguistic choices done by people to assign themselves to certain categories of speakers and socio-economic statuses. The participants particularly used words such as “fake”, “inferiority complex”, “social prestige”, “show-off” and “high-class” repeatedly to describe the act

of code-switching done by other parents. Participants' perspectives on code-switching reinforce previous research that established how Egyptians perceive English to be reflective of a social prestige (Nour, 1992; Zaher, 1995; Schaub, 2000).

Some of the participants further considered that code-switching is a way to “blend in” society or adapt to the norms of their speech community, and this suggests that the society at large is embracing this phenomenon as the norm, and by not following this new “trend”, it can be troublesome for some mothers to socialize properly with their peers. Myers-Scotton (1995) theorized that marked instances of code-switching usually happen when there is a perceived socio-economic difference between the speakers. This explains why sometimes the mothers pretend to know the foreign language, and they end up in embarrassing situations, as reported by some participants. Being a non-immigrant, non-minority-language situation, Egyptian mothers code-switching with her child in public in Cairo appears to be a rather extreme measure, especially since the context is not compelling for the use of a foreign language. This means that the case of Cairene mothers' code-switching into English is less a result of an instrumental dimension, and more a result of an integrative dimension, the former being for communication purposes, the latter for social integration and acceptance (Baker, 1992). This reinforces the claims about code-switching being a linguistic behavior that is neither exclusive to bilingual speakers nor restricted to bilingual societies (Joshi, 1985).

5.2.3. The Arabic language dilemma

The third theme that emerged regarding reasons for code-switching appears in the form of a consensus among the participants that one of the hypothesized reasons mothers are now more inclined to use English or a foreign language with the children is in fact due to issues with the children's of their native language. Some made references to the complexity of Modern Standard

Arabic, and discussed how their children struggle the most when studying Arabic at school more than they did studying other languages or subjects. In more than one instance, mothers made a point to clarify how their use of a foreign language in speech is in fact a “response” to their children’s utterances mostly conducted in English or a foreign language, being not only the language of their preference for communication, but in some cases the only language they can easily understand. On more than one occasion, participants gave the same or a similar comment, “unfortunately we need sometimes to translate Arabic into English in order for them to understand”.

Other mothers expressed their own perspective on the Arabic language as more “complex”, explaining how they find it much easier to express themselves using English, e.g. “Arabic is difficult”, “sometimes the expression closer to the mind and tongue is in English”. This can be justified as a by-product of either their education or profession or both, which makes them in that case active bilinguals, and ultimately they code-switch during their conversations unintentionally as a matter of habit, or use code-switching as a facilitator for communication as Grosjean (1982) argued.

Furthermore, the mothers made interesting references to the English language calling it the “colloquial language” of the society nowadays. Emphasis was placed upon the accessibility of the English language in comparison to Arabic, and participants complained about the insufficient media and knowledge resources and tools in Arabic, thus making them have recourse to another language. This explains how the variables which caused the rise of the English language among Cairene mothers are the same causing the demise and decline of the use and exposure to the spoken Arabic language. These variables are evident in the language of the community, of education, of the parents, and the attitudes associated with this language (Baker & Sienkewicz, 2000). Some of the recurring comments made with regard to the lack of need for the Arabic language for future education and employment were “They study everything in English”, “My son doesn’t watch cartoon if it’s in Arabic” and “Arabic is useless”. It must be noted that the spoken

variety of Arabic in Egypt, the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, is not the same as the Modern Standard Arabic taught in schools. Despite the fact that Modern Standard Arabic is used in more formal contexts, e.g., official news broadcasts, newspapers, and despite being the only variety of Arabic used on local official documents, e.g. birth certificates, educational degrees, and formal emails or letters, the actual exposure to that variety for younger people like children is limited to classroom institution at school. Other forms of input such as television and social media are more abundant in ECA or English. A number of the participants pointed to the fact that their children would prefer a cartoon dubbed in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic to that dubbed in Modern Standard Arabic because they simply could not understand the latter because they hardly ever hear it spoken.

What was particularly surprising with the findings in this regard is the fact that many of the participants reported negative attitudes towards the Arabic language. Apart from having English as the new standardized tool for blending into a higher social class in the Cairene community of mothers, it seems that Arabic has become loaded with negative associations that in fact it can and may affect how mothers perceive other mothers negatively solely for their use of their mother tongue with their children. This reflects how language practices are not only shaped by trending ideologies, but they re-construct and shape new ideologies and attitudes as well (as cited in Simpson, 2003, p. 6).

During the interviews, a number of mothers confirmed this negative perspective on the Arabic language among Cairene parents. “Most of them would be surprised that I am not using English with the children. They think I am not well-educated or coming from a lower social class.”, “I think they feel superior to other Egyptians if they don’t speak Arabic.” This emphasizes how the native language, heritage or minority, the “we code” ends up associated with lower prestige despite remaining a sign of “belonging” (Jorgensen, 1998). A few references were made to the speakers’ identity, claiming they were not proud of their own, and trying to assign

themselves a new identity, “They are not proud of their Arab identity, and trying to look for a different identity to belong to.” This is true since language choices can indeed procure an identitive dimension when the ideological trends of the society promote one language or variety at the expense of the others (Blot, 2003).

5.3. Implications of the study

What appears to be intriguing in the findings is the paradox between the mothers’ perspective and use of both the English and Arabic languages. Despite justifying the need for using English in their community, mothers tend to perceive this use negatively based on the speakers’ accent, context of use and the length of utterance. Participants assume the act of code-switching is “faked” when the speakers’ accent is “Egyptian”, and if the code-switching is not restricted to inserting a few words in English. Mothers perceive negatively other parents who conduct full conversations in English, and view it as the most obvious sign that the parent is just “showing off”. The question that comes to mind then is how do they judge the speakers’ accent if they only insert a few words? And what if the speakers engage in long conversations in English with a poor accent, do they perceive them differently? The assumption here is that, for the most part, participants are inclined to judge a speakers’ fluency by their accent, and accept their use of code-switching (or lack thereof) based on their fluency. Furthermore, long stretches of code-switching into English appear to violate the unspoken rule of the modern Cairene community of mothers which is that code-switching into English is welcomed in the form of a few word-insertions but not at the full sentences, or utterances, level. This appears to reinforce the shift from the old assumption that code-switching is stigmatized (Arthur, Farrar, & Bradford, 1974; Martin-Jones, 1988; Eldridge, 1996; Butzkamm, 1998 as cited in Duszak, 2002), and in a way suggest specific guidelines for code-switching inside the post-modern Cairene scene without stigma.

Concerning the Arabic language, some participants showed active attempts to foster the language either by hiring instructors for Quran recitations, or by claiming to use both Arabic and English equally for communication. This reveals an assumption (misconception) among the participants that Quran recitations, done in pure Standard Arabic (SA), can help improve their children's native language when in fact the children's native language is ECA. Exposure to SA only does not guarantee or promote the use of either MSA or ECA. In addition, despite the fact that half of the participants opted to take the Arabic questionnaire, their text responses were done in either MSA or English or a mixture of both. Only a few of them gave written responses in ECA. It is unusual for Egyptians to use the written form of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in any context except for internet messaging or mobile phone texting. Furthermore, and as of recently, Arabizi, a written form of ECA with Roman letters usually used over instant messaging, has become widely used. But the truth remains that many of the participants share a concern about the rising negative perspective on the Arabic language. This can again be attributed to the idea of access since lower social classes are believed to have limited or no access to a better education that promotes bilingualism and foreign language use. But in case of the current study, this perspective is not firmly grounded since the main language of the society is ECA, and is still spoken by the majority.

This implies that the participants' perspectives are highly influenced by other parents' practices, and their attitudes extend to other speech communities, who are not necessarily parents, e.g. "it has become a way to classify people nowadays: those who speak English are chic and classy, while those who use only Arabic are ordinary." Despite engaging in the act of code-switching themselves, many of the participants found the behavior to be "irritating", "absurd" and "strange" when manifested by others. Varying reasons were offered for this opinion. Some believed that the length of the utterance was detrimental to how they perceived the act of code-switching. Longer stretches of code-switching were perceived negatively as deliberate or intended

to reflect a higher social level. Others claimed that the accent and/or pronunciation of the speaker affected their perspectives. Fluent and accurate pronunciations were perceived more positively. Once again, less fluent speakers or those with a strong Egyptian accent were perceived negatively as attempting to assign themselves to a category of speakers which they do not normally belong to. This category is presumably that of a higher social class of well-educated speakers who can speak fluently without the obvious influence of their native accent. While retaining the prestigious effect it procured ever since the rise of foreign education started in Egypt, this effect is negatively influencing the perspectives and use of the Arabic language and it is creating a “stigma” for those who prefer to use only Arabic while speaking.

Previous studies explored language attitude and language choice of parents with their children within immigrant situations whereas the current study investigated the reasons affecting language attitudes and language choices of mothers within a non-immigrant context. The findings thus fill the gap in this regard where the non-bilingual/non-immigrant population of mothers revealed unforeseen reasons for their language use with their children related to the nature and status of the native language of the mothers. Another issue identified in previous studies was that observations of the language use were carried out by linguists studying their own family language policy or those of close acquaintances which may have confounded the findings being closely structured and organized by the experience and knowledge of the researchers conducting the studies. Most participants of this study come from various educational and professional backgrounds and are not experienced linguists studying their own language use with their children.

The fact that participants come from various educational and professional backgrounds explains a few things with regard to the data collected. First, it explains the dichotomy among the participants’ perspectives on the phenomenon, i.e., they perceive it positively at one point and negatively at another without deep understanding of the variables affecting their perspectives. As a

result, they report their responses without prior bias or knowledge that might alter what they ought to say or mean. Second, it reveals that certain impressions about the act of code-switching were largely affected by context of occurrence more than they were by the mothers' education or career. Regardless of their educational and professional backgrounds, participants seemed to share a common set of views regarding code-switching with their children as being the norm in their speech community.

5.4. Limitations of the study

There were a number of limitations encountered in the current study that must be noted for future development. The research has intended to use naturalistic observations as an added tool of data collection merely for establishing the existence of the phenomenon. However, due to major issues encountered after several attempts of data collection were made, the researcher decided to exclude naturalistic observations of the phenomenon from the study since the initial attempts for observations proved to be extremely difficult, and did not yield adequate data to be reported. Nevertheless, I will discuss some of the encountered problems since the experience was worthy of mentioning. First, it was very difficult to single out code-switching instances among the conversations between mothers and their children in crowded malls, clothing stores and restaurants in Cairo. The level of noise often interfered with the collection of complete proper notes of the conversations. Second, the researcher had to rely on typing the field notes using the digital notebook on her mobile phone since the use of paper and pen was difficult, and sometimes appeared awkward or out of context during observations in clothing stores and restaurants. The dynamics of the shopping malls and cafés are also another issue as the observed participants abruptly arrive and leave the location which made it more difficult to procure more data. Another issue was the timing. At some points, the malls and shops were almost empty of potential participants, and in that case the researcher had to wait for more than two hours only to collect one

utterance or two. Due to time limitations, the researcher could not spend equal amounts of time in each of the locations to establish if the phenomenon is more frequent in some locations than others. Those issues could be resolved by conducting more visits to the same sites at different time intervals, and by delegating research assistants to take notes of any code-switching instances whenever encountered. A good alternative could also be taking the consent of a friend or two to record their daily interactions with their children for a week or so, but in this case the spontaneity of the behavior could be sacrificed.

Another major limitation of the study was the distribution of the questionnaire. Only through persistent and on-going reminders to the owners of the three nursery schools contacted was the researcher able to get the participants involved. Perhaps including more nursery schools, schools and members of a club could yield a better participation rate. Many people were not willing to reveal their identities or age, and most of them preferred to not take part in the interviews. Only ten of the 92 participants were willing to volunteer for a follow-up interview, and of those ten, two of them declined to take part after learning that the interviews will be audio recorded.

5.5. Suggestions for future research

Further studies can explore how the mothers perceive the Arabic language in general. More insights can be obtained with regards to the participants' understanding of the presence of different varieties of the Arabic language within the community. In addition, more investigations can be done concerning the Arabic language within the educational system, and explore the reasons why it is perceived to be "complex" or why the children are facing difficulty studying it at schools. More research can be conducted on Arabic language teachers' perspectives on the language they teach, the current approaches to teaching that they adopt, and perhaps examine the challenges they face teaching this language in the post-modern Egyptian society that provides limited exposure to MSA.

Since initial observation of the phenomenon of code-switching revealed that fathers and grandparents are also engaging in the act of code-switching into English, and not just the mothers, further research can be done to compare the fathers' and grandparents' perspectives and attitudes towards the behavior, and examine if their behavior is affected by the child's gender and age. Studies on the grandparents' impressions of code-switching can be rewarding if retrospection can be implemented to identify their past and current attitudes and perspectives on the phenomenon.

5.6. Conclusion

The study investigated the reasons behind the language behavior of code-switching among the community of mothers in Cairo. Participants expressed a variety of possible reasons causing mothers to use a foreign language within their speech with their children. The most common cause was an attempt by the mother to foster her children's early bilingualism hoping for a prospective fluency in the foreign language as an adult. Following this, participants reported another major cause for using English within their speech to be a result of schools' policy that encourage parents to practice speaking to their children in a foreign language at home to promote their fluency.

Furthermore, the study was set out to explore how mothers' perceived encounters of other parents who code-switch with their children in public. Perspectives were affected by a number of variables, namely the length of the utterance in English, the context of occurrence and the speakers' accent and/or pronunciation, according to which the act of code-switching was either perceived positively or negatively. Longer utterances in English, full sentences or conversations done purely in English were perceived negatively as fake or an attempt to show off knowledge or social prestige whereas shorter utterances or inserting a few words in English were perceived positively being a matter of habit or without intention. Using English in the context of education, such as studying or revising vocabulary words, was perceived more positively. Accurate pronunciation and good accents shed a positive light on the respondents' perspective on code-switching, whereas poor

pronunciation and a strong “Egyptian accent” casted a negative shadow over the speakers who were code-switching.

The final point of interest in this study was regarding the participants’ attitude towards their children’s prospective bilingualism. Their choice of schooling system reflected a tendency to prefer language-based education. During the interviews, a number of participants discussed that even among international schools, there are “top” and “ordinary” schools, claiming that one can tell if this international school is good by the rate of the fees, 100 thousand Egyptian Pounds (current exchange rate 1 US Dollar = 17.7 L.E.) per year makes it among the top schools whereas the 40 or 50 thousand Egyptian Pounds per year could mean the school is not that good. Some references were made to the quality of education in different schools, and that international schools are most popular for “taking care of the language part”.

In general, participants did not only seem to express a positive attitude towards their children’s nascent bilingualism, but also actively promoted their children’s early language acquisition through code-switching. The mothers’ level of commitment to promoting their children’s bilingualism ranged between an intensive practice of engaging in the foreign language use via code-switching to opting for a school education that treats language as a priority, and promises a smooth language development of the child. Using English at home was thought to help scaffold their children’s linguistic abilities even before enrolling in school. Except for a few participants, the majority opted for a school education system that is based on a foreign language: international or national. The most recurring justification for school choice among participants were preferences made based on the affordability of the fees, and having little to no faith in the educational system of Egypt in general.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. ما عمر طفلك؟ إذا كان لديك أكثر من طفل برجاء اختيار العمر.

How old is your child? If you have more than one child, please specify the age(s).

2. كم لغة تستطيعين التحدث بها؟

How many languages can you speak?

3. كم لغة تتحدثينها بطلاقة؟

How many languages do you speak fluently?

4. أي لغة تعلمتها قبل سن الخامسة؟

Which language have you learned before the age of 5?

5. أي هذه اللغات تعلمتها من خلال المدرسة؟

Which of these languages did you learn at school?

6. هل تلقيت كورسات تقوية أو محادثه لأي من هذه اللغات؟ برجاء ذكر أسم الكورس.

Have you taken any speaking or conversation courses in any of these languages? If yes, please specify.

هل تذكرين تحدث أبويك أو أحدهما في المنزل بلغه أجنبيه؟ إذا أجبت بنعم ، برجاء التوضيح

Do you remember one or either of your parents speaking in a foreign language at home? If yes, please clarify.

7. هل تذكرين التحدث بلغه أجنبيه مع أبنائك في المنزل؟ و ما المناسبه؟

Do you recall speaking in a foreign language to one or any of your children at home? If yes, please explain the occasion.

8. هل تذكرين تحدث زوجك إلي أبنائك بلغه أجنبيه؟

Do you recall your spouse speaking to your children in a foreign language?

هل تذكرين إستخدام بعض الكلمات الإنجليزيه خلال حديثك مع أبنائك؟

Do you remember using some English words while speaking to your children?

10. هل تذكرين سماع الأمهات يستخدم بعض الكلمات الإنجليزيه خلال حديثهم مع أبنائهم؟

Do you remember hearing other mothers using English words while speaking to their children?

11. كم من المعتاد أن تسمعي استخدام بعض الامهات كلمات انجليزيه خلال حديثهم مع أبنائهم؟

How often do you hear mothers using some English words while speaking to their children?

12. ما هو انطباعك عن إستخدام بعض الأمهات اللغه الإنجليزيه للتحدث إلي أبنائهم؟

What is your impression on mothers who use English to speak to their children?

13. في إعتقادك ، ما الذي يدفع الأمهات لإستخدام الإنجليزيه في التحدث مع أبنائهم؟

Why do you think mothers would use English to speak to their children?

14. ما نوع المدرسه التي يرتادها أبنائك؟

What is the type of school that your children are attending?

15. اذا لم يكن أبنائك في سن المدرسه بعد ، ما نوع المدرسه التي تأملين إحاقهم بها؟ و لماذا؟

If your children are not attending school yet, what type of school are you hoping to send them to? Please explain why.

16. ما هي آخر شهاد علميه حصلتي عليها؟

What is your last obtained academic degree?

17. هل تعملين بوظيفه أم ربه منزل؟

Do you work or are you a house-wife?

18. هل تتطلب وظيفتك إستخدام لغه أجنبيه؟

If you work, does your job require using English?

19. ما عمرك؟

How old are you? Specify age range.

20. هل تسكنين بالقاهره؟ اذا كانت الإجابه بنعم ، برجاء تحديد المدينه.

Do you reside in Cairo? Please specify the district/city.

21. هل سافرت إلي دوله أجنبيه خلال السنوات الخمس الأخيره؟

Have you been to a foreign country in the past 5 years? If yes, how long did you stay?

Appendix II: Questionnaire responses (tables 6 & 7)

Table (6) showing text responses to “In your opinion, why do you think mothers use English to speak to their children?”

No.	Responses to “In your opinion, why do you think mothers would use English to speak to their children?” *Responses marked with an asterisk are translated from Arabic.
1.	To enhance their bilingual skills as early as possible so that they gain fluency in both mother tongue and another foreign language
2.	Honestly, because almost everything around us is fealty [sic: filled] with in English. That's why I do not want to confuse my boy while he is still learning speech, especially when we don't have attractive or sufficient or even proper media tools in Arabic
3.	It differs from one person to another. Some mothers would like to show off and present themselves as coming from high social background. other times, the child has a problem to understand everything in Arabic especially those who belong to international schools and they deal with foreign teachers all the time they are away from home.
4.	To make it easier when they go to school
5.	To rehearse speaking in a foreign language.
6.	Different reasons
7.	if my kid initiates the conversation in English or German I respond in the same language. It does matter how many words from which language as long as the full discussion is in a certain language not a mix of all 3
8.	Because this makes them feel they are up to the standard that their surrounding community requires
9.	At first it was so they get better in the language but then it became absurd how much mothers talk to their children in a foreign language. I think they feel superior to other Egyptians if they don't speak Arabic
10.	They are trying to raise bilingual generations who got the ability to communicate meaningfully using more than one language
11.	To practice one of the most common languages used around the world so that they can fluently use it in all kinds of situations when needed.
12.	I think they do so to improve their child's language.
13.	Some think it's prestigious and others for having better future for their kids!!!!!!
14.	To show off. Others would use it just to teach their kids. The difference shows from the quality of language and the nature of the situation.

15.	To show off most often or maybe they believe that such a way will develop their kids' language.
16.	In order to add to their mind a second language which is very important and global, also the arabic lang they will be able to speak it 100% as they always hear it anywhere but English needs an effort to let them used to hear it and used to use it and let them save some vocabularies to help them in speaking english in all countries out of egypt.
17.	Some mothers do so to appear more classy while others would do so thinking that this would benefit their kids in terms of learning a language early in their life.
18.	Mostly to help their young ones acquire the language as early as possible. Others just do it to show off
19.	Im not sure..sometimes i feel its just to appear cool..some coz of their work..others to help their children understand & master it as much as possible
20.	To promote bilingualism
21.	Some do it for social acceptance reasons others do it to really strengthen their children's language
22.	To practice their children's spoken English
23.	To show off. Kind of mothers' ignorance
24.	Some mothers use it because they think it's more classy. Others (like I do) think that fluent English is a must nowadays for the children's learning process and future careers.
25.	a way to get them learn the language as early as possible may be.
26.	In some expressions English is easier
27.	to try to improve children skills, and make a balance between home and Daycare the communication skill
28.	to improve their foreign languages
29.	To practice the language since early years as for most cases the children will study in language schools. English is the language number #1 globally
30.	To be able to succeed in the school assessment for KG1, the interviews are usually in English.
31.	It is easier... I guess that's why I'm filling the English survey. And maybe so that they become fluent at it.
32.	To train them how to understand both languages as my target is to let them continue their education outside Egypt.
33.	To strengthen the English language both spoken and heard , to facilitate talking fluently
34.	because the education of the kids make them understand the sentences in English better than in Arabic , unfortunately sometimes we need to translate from Arabic

	to English to them in order to understand.
35.	To help them practice.
36.	Social prestige!! Used to takking [sic: talking] in English Kids arabic language is not v.good enough due to the exposure to foreign culture in schools
37.	It goes back to an inferiority complex that the Arab region at large suffers from.
38.	Worldwide language
39.	1. Because this could be their own mother tongue or the language they themselves are comfortable using. 2. Another reason could be to strengthen their English language proficiency so they can do better in school.
40.	Easier for the mother and to familiarize the child with the other language.
41.	A lot of parents use English to show off, and a lot of people, similar to me just naturally speak in English since this has been the most used Language at home, school, work and life. School Assessments pressure parents into using English a lot because they wouldn't accept their child unless he speaks in English and knows all the basic words.
42.	Inferiority
43.	I am a French mother, and spend time with american mothers: so what is the problem if i do hear them talk in English? But, Egyptian mothers speaking in English to their children, i think that this is showing off and to denying your origins.
44.	Some I think are showing off. However, others I think are used to it. But I personally didnt use to do that with my eldest but his english language isn't good as compared to the middle child. I was told by his teachers that i need to have the child practice and use at home in order to be fluent
45.	1. To help them acquire the language more fluently. 2. To stress the acquisition of school studied items. 3. Help toddlers to grasp as many vocabulary which will help in conducting school interview. 4. Some have it has a habit. 5. Some feel it is out of prestige. 6. Some brag.
46.	*1. Their wish to teach their children a foreign language at an early age so they use it at school. 2. To show off and appear like "high-born and high-class" in front of others. 3. Being used to speaking the language because of the nature of their work for example in teaching or call center.

47.	*The language of communication between the world.
48.	*The reasons may differ between a real desire to teach the children a new language that will allow them to benefit from new cultures and experiences. Personally, I like learning new languages, and wanted my daughter to be fluent in two or three languages by the time she is in university. Besides, the declining level of education in Egyptian schools makes us need external sources of education, and the best resources are usually available in a foreign language.
49.	*Many mothers use a foreign language to scaffold their children's language in order to make them prepared for school assessments. Other mothers use a foreign language just to show-off.
50.	*Foreigner complex. Got used to using some words only in English.
51.	*To keep up with the new trend or showing off in front of friends, family or club acquaintances.
52.	*To enhance the children's language and widen their horizons. And, so that they are on the same level as their peers. Also, to show everyone present the cultural stance of the family as a way to show-off.
53.	*To facilitate school admission. It happens sometimes that the expression closer to the mind and tongue is in a language other than Arabic. Also, for social prestige.
54.	*They believe this will advance the foreign language of their children, and gives a general impression of a higher social standard.
55.	*They think this will strengthen their kids' language.
56.	*To make the language stronger in the children.
57.	*To reinforce the vocabulary and the language in their minds.
58.	*To advance their language.
59.	*To show off in front of the people.
60.	*To keep up with what is happening at school, and to get a chance of being admitted to school in the first place.
61.	*Colloquial language. An attempt to acquire the language before school. Showing off. To blend into the bigger society. To be able to communicate if put in a foreign context.

62.	*Majorly to appear to be of a higher social standard in the society.
63.	*Some do it to show off, others to help their children advance their language, and others as a matter of habit.
64.	*I think this due to two reasons. First, the mother wants her child to practice the language everywhere so that they may learn it faster and become fluent. Second, the mother is showing off in front of other mothers that her kid knows another language and can speak in it.
65.	*Sometimes it is because of the mothers' education, so it might be a result of habit. Other times, the mothers are just trying to pretend to know English like other mothers who do, or to imitate their friends while in fact they don't know English and this actually makes them look inferior and might embarrass them.
66.	*They want their children's second language to be strong so that they are fluent when they grow up.
67.	I think they want them to be fluent in that second language, but also it has turned into social standard criteria.
68.	*Because I am in a foreign country, and the kids sometimes cannot understand Arabic. But here in Egypt, I find those mothers' behavior strange.
69.	*To enhance the children's language since most kids are now in international schools.
70.	*To teach their children the language or because they think it makes them look chic.
71.	*As a matter of habit or trying to be fluent in a foreign language. Because Arabic is difficult.
72.	Social prestige Practice the language For school interviews and admissions
73.	*Using the vocabulary that is easier to pronounce by the kids.
74.	*Majorly to foster the foreign language. Or show off in front of other people. Or trying to emphasize their desire to migrate.
75.	*Trying to make the child learn a foreign language from early age, and making it part of their lives like their mother tongue.
76.	*Not proud of their Arab identity and trying to look for a different identity to belong to.
77.	*Some use it to show off and others are trying to foster the language.
78.	*Sometimes it is to show off, but I think the majority of the mothers are trying to teach their children the language.

79.	*To encourage the children to use it.
80.	*I think that a number of mothers believe that learning a foreign language will benefit their children in the future when they face the job market. But for Arabic, it is useless. That is why they will do their best to have their children learn to speak a foreign language at a very early age. Other people are just doing it to show their social prestige.
81.	*Sometimes it is just a pretense to show off, but other times it is to make the child learn certain things like colors and shapes and this happens on a daily basis.
82.	*Because all of the society nowadays is dealing with English as something very important. Most mothers are trying to speak in English all the time with their kids, and it has become a way to classify people with: those who speak English are chic and classy, while those who only use Arabic are ordinary.
83.	*To show off.
84.	This is what they used to speak in nursery.
85.	*showing off- feeling inferior.
86.	*So that he can speak the language when he grows up and look like someone cultured. But unfortunately it is sometimes just to show off.
87.	Mostly because they want them to catch the second language early. Sometimes they are just making a show to appear cool.
88.	*A bit to show off.
89.	*To strengthen the language in their children.
90.	*The children sometimes want to speak English like they do to school, so mothers have to respond back in English.
91.	*The schools require mothers speak in English to the children. But sometimes they are just showing off.
92.	*Sometimes it is very fake when the mother suddenly starts speaking in English when other people come, before this I could see she spoke in Arabic to the kids like everyone else.

Table (?) showing text responses to “What is your impression on mothers who use English to speak to their children?”

No.	<p>Response to “What is your impression of mothers who use English to speak to their children?”</p> <p>*Responses marked with an asterisk are translated from Arabic.</p>
1.	It depends on the situation and the mom as well. If she fakes it and the situation doesn't need this. i feel irritated , but if this is contextualized in the right situations then it is fine.
2.	None of my business
3.	Sometimes it is a must to get your meaning across to your child or if you don't want other people knowing what you are saying
4.	It bothers me when they do it in public it does not sound natural
5.	Surprised in a bad way
6.	I want the children to master both languages
7.	I think they should use Arabic as often so that kids grow up knowing how to talk just as good in both Arabic and English, and not just the latter.
8.	It depends on how you were brought up, I do it, not to avoid speaking in Arabic, it is how I speak in general . I started sending my 5 year old to Quran reciting sessions to protect and make sure he speaks proper Arabic .
9.	I don't like it, i honestly haven't seen that except in Arab countries . They feel inferior
10.	* It is an irritating behavior if the child doesn't know Arabic .
11.	* It depends on the way and the reason .
12.	It depends on the situation . But a lot of times it seems unnecessary to me .
13.	* It depends on the country where the parents reside .
14.	*It is an attempt to reinforce the language .
15.	*It depends. If it is one word or two within the context of conversation, I don't mind the behavior , but if the whole conversation is in English, I might get a bit irritated .
16.	* I don't mind the use of a few words , but I find using complete sentences in English something irritating .

17.	*I used to think it is a strange behavior and did not like it, but with school admission tests for my son, I discovered that it is important because the interview is in English for a 3 year old child, and so the children who are used to speaking in English with their mothers have better chances for getting accepted by the school.
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Table (7) showing responses to “Do you recall speaking in a foreign language to one or any of your children at home? If yes, please explain the occasion.”

No.	Responses to “Do you recall speaking in a foreign language to one or any of your children at home? If yes, please explain the occasion.” <small>*Responses marked with an asterisk are translated from Arabic.</small>
1.	Many occasions, even while we are studying subjects which are in their mother tongue. This is basically because they wouldn’t understand the needed concepts if they are spoken or explained in Arabic.
2.	Studying with them or just teaching them how to express themselves in English
3.	Not long conversations nor full sentences, just few words related to potty training or some clothes items.
4.	When watching cartoons and reflecting on it
5.	To give orders like No or encouraging like Super or Excellent or name objects around
6.	I always tend to speak to her in both languages in various occasions
7.	It just happens; both of us are good at english and sometimes [sic: sometimes] it’s easier to express yourself in English. However, we never do this in front of others who don’t understand or at [sic: are] not good at the language.
8.	I speak to my son in English almost as often as I speak in Arabic to him
9.	Giving him simple instructions in English language to strengthen his language
10	Frequently I try to use short English sentences especially when we are doing a learning activity as learning letters or tracing lines
11	Songs, and sometimes when play, and when told her story
12	In several occasions to practice the language as his nursery teachers speak in English with him and ask us to do the same at home
13	some words are easier for them in English
14	Some French words just for fun.
15	I speak to my children most of the time in English [sic: English]
16	education and fluency
17	I unconsciously speak English in all conversations

18	All the time, either in english or in french -even arabic-
19	For giving instructions or teaching certain new vocabulary. By school time, it beame [sic: became] a source of instilling information giving [sic: given] at schoo [sic: school].
20	*On daily basis to give them other vocabulary besides Arabic.
21	*Complying with school's policy requesting that we spend half an hour daily speaking to them in English.
22	*To practice the language, and sometimes it is spontaneous.
23	*Sometimes I use French to teach my daughter songs she takes at school.
24	She talks in English and I respond.
25	*Just for giving simple commands like "say thanks", "put on your shoes"
26	*For a few words like "shoes", "water", "garbage"
27	*daily conversation
28	*To teach new vocabulary, names of animals and body parts.
29	Every now and then because this is what she understands
30	*Simple command words.
31	*To make his second language stronger.
32	*Sometimes as a matter of habit.

Appendix III: Interview Questions

1. كلميني عن دراستك، إنتي خريجه إيه؟

Talk to me about your education, where did you graduate from?

2. بتشتغلي و لا ربه منزل؟

Are you working or staying at home?

3. بتشتغلي إيه؟

What is your job?

4. إشتغلتي في مكان قبل كده تطلب يكون معاك لغه؟

Have you ever worked in a place where English was requirement to get hired?

5. إمتي بتستخدمي اللغه الإنجليزيه في حياتك الخاصه؟

When do you use English in your personal life?

6. بتفضلي تنفري علي أفلام أجنبي و لا عربي؟

Do you prefer watching foreign movies or Egyptian?

7. الأفلام الاجنبيه بتفضليها تكون مترجمه و لا مدبلجه؟

For the foreign movies, do you prefer them dubbed or with captions?

8. بتسمعي أغاني أجنبيه؟

Do you listen to foreign music and songs?

9. عندك أطفال قد إيه؟ و عندهم كم سنه؟

How many children have you got? How old are they?

10. بيروحوا مدارس أو حضانات إيه؟

What schools/nursery school do they attend?

11. أفلام الكرتون اللي بتجيبهاهم بتكون مدبلجه و لا بالإنجليزي؟

The cartoon movies you often let them watch are in English or dubbed in Arabic?

12. عمرك حاولتي تتكلمي معاهم بالإنجليزي في البيت؟

Have you ever tried speaking to the kids in English at home?

13. طب و بره البيت؟

How about outside the house?

14. ايه رأيك في الأمهات اللي بيستخدموا إنجليزي في وسط الكلام مع ولادهم؟

What do you think of the mothers who insert some English words in their speech while conversing with their children?

15. تفتكري هم بيتعمدوا استخدام الإنجليزي في كلامهم و لا بيحصل الموضوع بدون قصد؟

Do you think they intentionally use English or it happens without intent?

16. هل لاحظتي الموضوع ده قبل كده؟ حاسه انك لاحظتيه كثير؟ و لا عادي؟

Did you notice this before (that mothers use English when speaking to their children in public)? How often did you notice this? You think it happens often or not much.

17. ايه أكثر حاجه لفتت نظرك في الموضوع ده؟

What is the most significant thing that captured your attention about this behavior?

18. بما انك فكرتي في الموضوع و اتكلمنا فيه, تفتكري ده ممكن يخليكي تغيرى استخدامك للغه مع ولادك؟ و ايه؟

Now that you have thought about it, and we discussed this, do you think this could change the way you use language with your kids? Why?

Appendix IV: Consent forms



Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: Code-switching by Cairene mothers with their children in public: A study in language attitudes

Principal Investigator: Gihan Hamdi Hussein- geen@aucegypt.edu -01153519307

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is to understand the reasons why mothers in Cairo speak in English to their children in public places, and the findings may be published, presented, or both. *The* expected duration of your participation is 10– 20 minutes.

* You are asked to complete a questionnaire, and invite further mothers to take part. At the end of the questionnaire, please mention if you are willing to take part in a follow-up interview at a later date.

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

*There will be benefits to you from this research. Findings can help you consider, and perhaps revisit your language use with your children as part of your parenting approach.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential. Your responses will only be used for the purpose of the study, and your identity will not be revealed to anyone.

*Questions about the research, your rights, or research-related issues should be directed to Gihan Hussein at 01153519307.

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

Signature _____

Printed Name _____

Date _____

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

عنوان البحث : دراسة حول السلوكيات اللغوية لدى الأمهات القاهريات في استخدام الإبدال اللغوي للتحدث مع أطفالهن في الأماكن العامة.

الباحث الرئيسي: جيهان حمدي حسين

البريد الإلكتروني: geen@aucegypt.edu

الهاتف: 01153519307

انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن السلوكيات اللغوية للأمهات في القاهرة.

هدف الدراسة هو معرفه الأسباب التي تدفع بعض الأمهات في القاهرة لاستخدام لغة أجنبية في سياق حديثهم مع أطفالهم في الأماكن العامة.

نتائج البحث ستنشر في دوريه متخصصه أو مؤتمر علمي أو ربما كليهما.

المدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث بين 10 و 20 دقيقة.

اجراءات الدراسة تشتمل على استكمال نموذج استطلاع رأي و المبادره بدعوه المزيد من الأمهات للمشاركة في الدراسه. برجاء الاشاره في نهايه النموذج اذا كنتي توافقين علي المشاركة في مقابله لاستكمال البحث.

الاستفادة المتوقعة من المشاركة في البحث: قد تفيدك نتائج البحث في تحديد أو مراجعه استخدامك للغة مع أبناءك كجزء من الخطه التربويه التي ترغيبين في تطبيقها. لا يوجد أي مخاطر متوقعه للمشاركة في البحث.

السرية واحترام الخصوصية: المعلومات التي سندلي بها في هذا البحث سوف تكون سرية. جميع اجاباتك سوف تستخدم لغرض البحث فقط و لن يتم كشف أي بيانات خاصه بك.

عند الرغبة في الحصول على مزيد من المعلومات عن الدراسة وحقوق المشاركين برجاء الاتصال ب : جيهان حسين – 01153519307.

ان المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ماهي الا عمل تطوعي, حيث أن الامتناع عن المشاركة لايتضمن أي عقوبات أو فقدان أي مزايا تحق لك. ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت من دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

الإمضاء:

اسم المشارك :

التاريخ :/...../.....

Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: Code-switching by Cairene mothers with their children in public: A study in language attitudes

Principal Investigator: Gihan Hamdi Hussein- geen@aucegypt.edu -01153519307

* You are asked to take part in this interview to elaborate on the responses you have given in the questionnaire. The purpose of the research is to understand the reasons why mothers in Cairo speak in English to their children in public places, and the findings may be published, presented, or both. Please feel free to extend on your answers, and express your opinion and point of view honestly.

*This interview is audio-recorded. The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential. Your responses will only be used for the purpose of the study, and your identity will not be revealed to anyone.

*Questions about the research, your rights, or research-related issues should be directed to Gihan Hussein at 01153519307.

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

Signature _____

Printed Name _____

Date _____

Appendix V: Proof of IRB approval

CASE #2017-2018-085



To: Gihan Hussein
Cc: Sara Tarek
From: Atta Gebril, Chair of the IRB
Date: Jan 21, 2018
Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "Code-switching by Cairene mothers with their children in public: A study in language attitudes" and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" category. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Ashraf Hatem. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Atta Gebril".

Dr. Atta Gebril
IRB chair, The American University in Cairo
2046 HUSS Building
T: 02-26151919
Email: agebril@aucegypt.edu

A logo consisting of a yellow square on the left and a dark blue rectangle on the right.

Institutional Review Board
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