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American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Determining Code Choice: Written Slogans during Egyptian Revolution-
January 2011**

A Thesis submitted to

Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language Department

Arabic Language Institute

In Partial Fulfillments of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

by

Hanzada Hesham Amin

Spring 2013

وَفَوْقَ كُلِّ ذِي عِلْمٍ

عَلِيمٍ

صَدَقَ اللَّهُ الْعَظِيمُ

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I cannot forget the consistent backing up and help from my dear husband and my lovely two boys.

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I dedicate this work for the souls of my grandmother and uncle.

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Abbreviations used in the study

CS	Code switching
SA	Standard Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
ESA	Educated Spoken Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
H	High Variety of Arabic
L	Low Variety Arabic
Code/register	Variety of Arabic
AFL	Arabic as a Foreign Language
DA	Dialectal Arabic

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Arabic Transcription

Consonants

ء /ʔ/ glottal stop

ب /b/ voiced bilabial stop

ت /t/ voiceless dentoalveolar stop

ث /th/ voiceless dental fricative

ج /g/dj/ voiced alveopalatal affricate

ح /ħ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative

خ /kh/ voiceless velar fricative

د /d/ voiced dentoalveolar stop

ذ /dh/ voiced dental fricative

ر /r/ voiced alveolar trill

ز /z/ voiced dentoalveolar fricative

س /s/ voiceless dentoalveolar fricative

ش /sh/ voiceless alveopalatal fricative

ص /s̥/ voiceless dentoalveolar pharyngalized fricative

ض /d̥/ voiced dentoalveolar pharyngalized fricative

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ط /t̤/ voiceless dentoalveolar pharyngalized fricative

ظ /d̤h/ voiced dental pharyngalized fricative

ع /ʕ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative

غ /gh/ voiced velar fricative

ف /f/ voiceless labiodental fricative

ق /q/ voiceless uvular stop

ك /k/ voiceless velar stop

ل /l/ voiceless dentoalveolar lateral

م /m/ voiced bilabial nasal

ن /n/ voiced dentoalveolar nasal

ه /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

Semi –vowels

و /w/ labiovelar

ي /y/ palatal

Short vowels

فتحة /a/ low unrounded short vowel

كسرة /i/ high front unrounded short vowel

Amin

ضمة /u/ high back rounded short vowel

Long vowels

آ /aa/ low unrounded long vowel

ى /ii/ high front unrounded long vowel

و /uu/ high back rounded long vowel

1 Abstract

This qualitative study aims at depicting the phenomenon of written code switching between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) in the written slogans during the Egyptian revolution January 2011. Findings show that ECA clauses comprise a significant percentage in comparison to MSA percentage as observed from the survey done through the questionnaire and application of Myers-scotton's (1993) theoretical framework of Matrix Language Frame (MLF). These findings shed light on 1) Merging between MSA and ECA is a distinctive feature in Arabic in many domains 2) The best ways to benefit from this phenomenon in AFL teaching 3) The importance of the event in documenting the Arabic language and its varieties in face of future language change; and 4) . Building on Bassiouney's (2010) idea that code switching and role are related, this thesis demonstrates that the protestors chose ECA code when they wanted to express their anger and embrace their new role or identity as having power over the regime.

Key Words

Written code switching, code-choice, identity, qualitative, AFL teaching

2 Introduction

About the power of language

Language can be used as an instrument for communication, but it can also be used as a symbol of one's identity. (Bassiouney 2009, p. 199)

2.1 Background: Arabic Sociolinguistics, Variation and History

The works and contributions of William Labov paved the way for the core methodologies and theories of sociolinguistics. However, the interest in sociolinguistics dates as far back as Al Khaliil Ibn Ahmed, who was an Arab philologist, living between 776 H and 791 H. His most famous works are the first Arabic dictionary as well as the *Rules for Prosody* (Bassiouney, 2009).

While interest in Arabic sociolinguistics dates far back, a distinct term for the field did not arise until the 20th century and variation in defining the field still exists. Crystal defines sociolinguistics as how language and structures interact and how societies function while Hymes specifies the hallmark of sociolinguistics as the diversity of speech (Bassiouney, 2009). In general, in the last fifty years, since sociolinguistics became a discipline, it has focused on language variation and how it implied social differences, focusing specifically on how speakers applied different language codes depending on varying conversation partners, contexts, and domains. The term for this branch of linguistics was not yet clear until the sixties when the Webster's New International Dictionary included the term "sociolinguistics" for the first time.

2.2 The Arabic Language

The Arabic language belongs to and is the most important of the Semitic group, which includes Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac, Phoenician, Ethiopic, Aramaic and South Arabic (Faris,

1975, Holes, 2004). More than eighty million people speak the Arabic language, and it has special importance due to the significance of Classical Arabic (CA) in Islam. The Qur'an, Literature and pre-Islamic poetry are all in CA, and hence, underlie the language's value for Arabs and Muslims. The general belief is that CA has not undergone significant changes since the codification of its grammar (Faris, 1975).

Language variation existed in the Arabic language from as far back as the seventh and eighth centuries, AD. The concept of diglossic dichotomy between classical Arabic and Arabic dialects can be traced to the early origins of the Arabic language where this low variety was seen as a corruption of the high language. This was clear in Sibawayhi's *Kitab* where he introduced his linguistic variation in light of social categories in seven different readings (*qira'at*) ranging from tribal, Bedouin Arabic to the formalized educated Arabic of well-educated Arabs. In addition to that, Owens (1991) in shedding light on Arabic grammar tradition, states that the institutionalization of variation was done by grammarians themselves and the existence of the seven readings or *qira'at* of the Qur'an is evidence of historical variation in the language,

2.3 Arabic language in Cairo/ECA

Versteegh (1997) said that the Arabisation of Egypt took place quickly after the Arab conquest in 640 AD. It started with Lower Egypt's urban population abandoning the Coptic language for the new language. On the other hand, Upper Egypt and the countryside took some time in moving gradually to Arabic. The western part of the country underwent Arabisation at the hands of the Bedouin tribes that emigrated westward from the Arabian Peninsula.

Cairene Arabic, or present day Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), is a mixed dialect that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century leading to the stigmatization and

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disappearance of rural Arabic forms (Versteegh, 1997). In a conception with many dimensions, ECA is considered the esteemed dialect for non-Cairenes. First, in every Arab community, there is a dominant L variety over other linguistic varieties either in the countryside or other surrounding regions. Second, political and socioeconomic factors also define this linguistic domination of certain dialects over others. In the case of Egypt, the Cairene dialect dominates over regional dialects in accord with Cairo's economic, social, and political dominance over the surrounding regions. (Bassiouney 2009)

Versteegh (1997) describes Egypt as having the greatest tendency towards usage of the dialect in comparison with other Arab countries. He adds that in favor of establishing a regional identity, the element of a dialect is an effective and important one. According to him, the interest in favoring the Egyptian dialect appears in several important contexts as on TV interviews and parliament speeches where dialect elements can be used freely. Moreover, there is significant public interest in the Egyptian dialect as it appears even in literary works. As an example, he cites plays originally in SA that are staged in dialect. It is specifically Cairene Arabic which appears in the dialogues of most literary works. In addition to this, works such as the Egyptian Language Dictionary of Badawi and Hinds (1986) exemplify the sense of pride towards Cairene Arabic. Lastly, in a regional political context, where most delegates opt to speak in SA at international pan-Arab conferences, Egyptian delegates speak in ECA with great confidence.

In her most recent ethnographic research in Egypt, Haeri (2003) seeks to answer how classical Arabic enters the lives of Arabs whose native language is a dialect. In depicting the domain of the presence of SA, Haeri states that Egyptian Arabic dominates almost all peoples' daily life. In an interview that Haeri conducted with Um Hassan, a woman in her early 40s, Um Hassan

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summarized the important debate about classical and Egyptian Arabic in a few simple sounding, but wise words. Um Hassan proceeds to tell Haeri a story:

A 45 year old man who is a school teacher said: “The language of Ammiyya is easier and faster and reaches the heart and conscience faster than the Arabic Language.” There are differences when I speak in ‘ammiyya, it is from me to you directly (minni liiki ‘ala tuul). What is in the magazine is *il-‘arabiyyal-fusha* , what I speak with you now is ‘ammiya. The Arabic language is not difficult, but, well, ‘ammiyya is the dialect of life (lahgat il-hayaat). If I spoke to you in fusha, that takes time and it is not normal/ reasonable (mish ma’uul) that we speak like that to each other. (Haeri, 2003:39)

These simple words exemplify how the Arabic language functions in Egypt, especially in Cairo.

3 Code switching

Many linguists, such as as Gumperz and Weinrich (1953), have focused on the reasons behind people’s code switching. Prior to discussing theories on code switching, it is worth mentioning Bassiouney’s (2009) concept of diglossic code switching. She states that Mejdell (2006) notes that code switching should cover a broader context including not only different languages, but also varieties. According to Poplack (1980) and Myer-Scotton (1988), code switching in certain contexts and communities is considered an unmarked communication mode (Jaffe, 2007).

Weinreich (1953) supposes that code switching results from the surrounding environment or different speech events and situations. According to him, the switching that occurs is instigated by the nature of the speech event; thus, it depends on the topic followed by the participants (Bassiouney, 2006). On the other hand, Gumperz’s point of view is primarily based on the importance of the speaker and his role in manipulating and controlling the situation. The importance of his contribution lies in his dealing with code switching as worthy of study and

analysis (Bassiouney, 2006). Gumperz simplifies the purposes for code switching in the following points: quotations in order to specify the addressee as the recipient of the message; reiterations and interjections in order to qualify a message and to differentiate between what is personal and what is general (Bassiouney, 2009). Romaine (1995) further adds to Gumperz's list of purposes for code switching: as sentence fillers; to clarify and emphasize a point; to shift to a new topic; to mark the type of discourse; and to specify a social arena.

3.1 Motivations for code switching

A number of theories were proposed by linguists to explain the motivations for code switching. Examples of these theories are: "accommodation" by Giles et al (1991), "social arena" by Ury and Myers-Scotton (1977); and "(un)markedness" by Myers-Scotton (2002). Generally, researchers agreed that code switching is used to accomplish certain aims revolving around: "identity negotiation, situational marking, social group membership, upward mobility, social solidarity, listener accommodation, face management, discursive salience, and linguistic economy (Albirini 2011). Additionally, clarifying and emphasizing a point are also purposes of code switching (Bassiouney 2009).

Myers-Scotton and Ury's (1977) theory of "social arena" divides the social arena into three universal aspects: identity, power and transaction. Regarding identity, Ury and Scotton say that the identity of the speaker or the interlocutor determines the code switching. Power is analyzed as whether one has power or others have power over him. The third aspect of the social arena depends on the situation and the purpose of the speech act. In other words, keeping the interaction undefined is a way to maintain ambiguity in the interaction in case of uncertainty about the other's person status.

3.2 Rules governing code switching

3.2.1 Speaker's identity and role

Pagliai (2003) considers the word “identity” to be ambiguous, whereas Bassiouney proposes that we can find many elements in a sole identity (Bassiouney, 2006). In other words, one can play the role of a professor professionally, while at home function as a mother and a wife with each role requiring specific code choice. Moreover, Gumperz (1982) sheds light on the importance of code change in relation to role change. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1993) tends to find a problem with this connection. She does not see a necessity in a change of code and that of role. In her view, this emphasis on the role of individual denies the nature of code switching as being rule governed. However, Bassiouney (2006) tackles code switching from a different view listing the factors that affect the change of role:

1. Paralinguistic factors, like the speed of delivery. A change in the speed of delivery may signal a change in role.
2. The nature of the message, whether the message of the speaker is personal or non-personal, subjective or objective, concrete or abstract, and whether the speaker states openly in what new capacity he is now speaking.
3. The use of pronouns, whether the speaker uses first or third person pronouns or none at all.

Bassiouney discusses a very important idea regarding code switching and the choice of the linguistic code. She proposes that according to Myers-Scotton's (1986) theory of Markedness and Unmarkedness of code choice, a speaker could choose to change the expected distance between him and the interlocutor. Moreover, code switching entails informality, intimacy or solidarity between code switchers. Abbassi (1977) and Myers-Scotton (1997) call this

phenomenon "solidarity syndrome." Myers-Scotton (2002) further notes that resorting to code choice can be seen in light of decreasing costs and increasing rewards. In other words, to leave the maximum impact possible on the audience a speaker resorts to code switching. Bassiouney (2006) furtherly notes that if one is code switching from MSA to ECA there is no need to resort to any other devices as this phenomenon is a linguistic device in itself. She explains, moreover, that identity construction and stance taking are closely related so that a speaker takes advantage of language in order to take a stance and thereby giving to oneself a certain identity in addition to imposing another different one to others.

3.3 Factors leading to Code-Switching from MSA to ECA

Owens (1991) refers to emotional and physiological factors that may affect the choice of the code or variety. In light of anger or excitement, as well as fatigue, the speaker will prefer the native or low variety. As he sees it: "NA is a refuge in extreme emotional and physical states," or as he further amplifies the situation according to Parkinson (1985) "...how often does one see a curse in SA" (p. 431).

Al Birini (2011) states that his data showed that people shift from MSA to ECA for many related reasons: "to induce parenthetical phrases and fillers; to downplay a particular segment of the discourse; to signal indirect quotes; to simplify a preceding idea; to exemplify; to mark a shift in tone from serious to comic; to discuss taboo or derogatory issues; to introduce daily life sayings; and to scold or insult or personally attack."(p. 547) Additionally, in his data analysis, Al Birini claims that in resorting to the dialect, a speaker increases the clarity of his words, avoids any possible ambiguous meanings and this notion is called 'war expertise'. He further notes that the idea of code switching from the standard to the dialect or the simpler variety, suggests that

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natives have a preconception of this simplifying task when switching from the first code to the other, simpler code, namely, the dialect.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduce in this context what is called situational code switching and metaphorical code switching. The former stands for the external factors other than participants responsible for motivating the situation such as a change in social situation, setting or topic. On the other hand, the metaphorical code switching stands for the perception of the participants themselves in relation to the previously mentioned external factors. (Bassiouney, 2009)

Gumperz (1982) introduces the idea of the individual's agency in choosing which code to use. It is him, according to Gumperz, who chooses the language he wants his audience to understand and how he will be understood, not the external factors or a pre-determined set of rules to follow in order to change code (Bassiouney, 2009). Moreover, Gumperz also introduces the idea of role and code-choice which deals with the causal relationship between change of code and role. In other words, the speaker may decide to change his identity, and, therefore, the code choice will change accordingly (Bassiouney, 2010).

Versteegh (1997) sees that any speech situation is built on three relevant factors: the interlocutor, the topic and the setting. According to him, one of the most important characteristics of diglossia is that the effect speakers have on each other; the level of speech of people in a discourse or situation. He sees that upgrading or downgrading the speech depends on the others' level. Additionally, Versteegh focuses on the choice of the code/variety in a specific situation; he sees a relationship between the formality of the situation and the usage of code. The participants' evaluation of the speech situation itself is important according to him. At this point the importance of role appears, and the indication of how participants see their interlocutor is

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determined by the choice of their code. However, neither this nor the linguistic factors that operate throughout the discourse happen mechanically indicating the significance of context and environment.

Versteegh (1997) sees code switching as complicated; the speakers make associations according to the varieties already found in their community. However, these varieties can be considered from different perspectives. If the standard Arabic is the High variety therefore it is the code of formality, respect and sometimes creating distance; it is the variety of official relationships and social distance. On the other hand, the Low variety or the colloquial is the one chosen for friendship, intimacy and informal social situations but it can also be seen as derogatory.

Myers- Scotton (2002) explains the notion of marked and unmarked choices of a language user which sheds light on a decision taken in a situation in order to change an identity:

In general, speakers seek to enhance rewards and minimize costs in terms of the provisions of a rational choice model. Marked choices inherently are potential sources of costs (in comparison with unmarked choices that largely validate the status quo). However, these marked choices also are the means for speakers to “step outside the box” of one set of values and embrace another set. Therefore, marked choices are the means of self-expression, per example, the means to negotiate new identities or multiply existing ones (p. 2-3).

4 Egyptian National Identity and Mass Culture

The researcher hypothesizes that due to the diversity of Egyptians mobilizing during the revolution, they needed a variety of language to act as a bonding factor between them, especially in the purely patriotic national situation that was the revolution overthrowing former President Hosny Mubarak. It is well known that the well-educated individuals and political activists, most

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of whom were young people, launched the blaze of the Egyptian revolution. (Shaheen, 2011). In light of the hypothesis, the variety they initially preferred and used is MSA as the situation itself was serious and formal; in other words, the domain of seriousness issued the variety of SA (Al Birini, 2011).

However, if we look deeper into the chronology of this event, what was seen in the media conveys that other, different and versatile social strata joined this first group of educated youth who started the revolution via Facebook and Twitter (Al Faramawy; 2011; Shaheen, 2011). In this context, we can shed light on Anderson's idea of shifting or switching from the "secular language" to the more vivid "profane vernacular" in order to stabilize the territory for nationalism. In this portrayal, ECA serves as the common element to find this nationalistic ground. (Fahmy, 2010)

Others who were interested also about "national identity" like Wodak (1999) defines it as follows: "We assume" national identity" to imply a complex of similar conceptions and perceptual schemata of similar emotional dispositions and attitudes, and of similar behavioral conventions, which bearers of this "national identity" share collectively and which they have internalized through socialization (education, politics, the media, sports and everyday practices)" (Bassiouney, 2009 p. 111).

5 Rationale and Statement of the Problem

The phenomenon of code switching (CS) from Standard Arabic (SA) or Al-FuSha to Dialectal Arabic (DA) in speaking has long been studied; however, there is relatively little research conducted on writing, and thus fewer theories on writing (Bhatt, 2006, Jonson, 2010).

Investigating diglossic Arab communities has been the primary focus of many sociolinguists

starting from Ferguson (1959), Badawi (1973) and passing through Holes (1993), Ryding (2002) Haeri (2003), Mejdell (1999, 2006) and Bassiouney (2006, 2009, 2012), (Dakwar et al 2011) and many others. However, if we investigate closely, we will find that the current linguistic status in Arab diglossic communities evolves day after day in order to cope up with the rapid political events, technological development, and globalization, along with the media sometimes requiring new or mixed codes. As one of the twenty diglossic Arab communities, the Egyptian community is in a similar situation where the linguistic status quo witnesses new horizons and domains and occasionally new identities.

This thesis is a descriptive qualitative¹ study on the diglossic situation in Egypt in regards to the written slogans of the Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011. The aim is to investigate the phenomenon of diglossic code switching between the two registers/varieties in regards to writing within the theoretical framework of the Markedness Model MLF by Myers-Scotton (1993). This thesis emphasizes the morphosyntactic dimension only. The depiction of this sociolinguistic phenomenon also focuses on the function of each code in light of the reasons that triggered this hypothesized linguistic situation whether political, social, sociopolitical or sociolinguistic.

The importance of this problem lays in the fact that Egypt, as a diglossic community, (Mejdell, 2006; Haeri, 2009; Bassiouney, 2012) will always witness different usages of code switching between MSA and ECA amidst the global and local versatile changing circumstances and domains. However, the question of which variety of language is used in a specific domain will keep recurring as the environment and human capabilities need change. The researcher intends to

¹ A descriptive design of research seeks to provide a picture of an event, condition or situation. The qualitative research design seeks to provide this picture by presenting the data through pictures and words not through numbers.

extrapolate hypothesized answers after reviewing the literature and expanding on other works done in the same field. The expected findings are that the protestors' code switched from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). The researcher believes that the findings will provide insight beneficial to AFL teaching, especially the challenge of diglossic code switching.

5.1 Research Questions

Based on the questionnaire answers and the collected data, the study investigates the following research questions:

1. Did Egyptians code switch from Modern Standard Arabic to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in revolution banners?

And if that happened,

2. When did they code switch from Modern Standard Arabic to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in revolution banners?

3. Why did they code switch from Modern Standard Arabic to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in revolution banners?

5.2 Hypotheses

In order to answer these research questions, the following points of hypotheses were drawn by the researcher:

1. The protestors called for their basic rights.
2. The slogans were written in MSA
3. The situation changed and so did the nature of the protestors.

4. There was a need to change the code to suit the nature of the message.
5. The factor of time urged them to use ECA in order to use the minimal effort.

To answer the research questions, the researcher will review the literature in relation to Arabic diglossia, spoken code switching, written code switching; and Matrix Model theoretical framework.

6 Definition of Terms

6.1 Diglossia

Diglossia stands for the dual aspect of the language (Rouchdy, 2011), or the concept of two varieties found in one language and used interchangeably according to certain sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules. In other words, each "register" is chosen to function differently in linguistic situations; one may sound more appropriate than the other in a specific domain. Diglossic code switching is rule governed.

The phenomenon of diglossia is found in twenty Arabic speaking communities: Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon, Syria, countries of the Arabian peninsula (i.e. the Gulf countries), Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt (Faris, 1975; Holes, 2004).

Al Birini (2011) suggests in his findings that the H variety is assigned to an "issue of importance, complexity and seriousness," whereas, "less important, less serious topics" are discussed with the L variety. He further explains that sometimes code switching takes place from one code to another in the same discourse. Owens (1991) best helps answer the question of why and how code switching happens:

A second problem pertains to the relative status of the two ideal poles, Standard Arabic and Dialect. While the two may be presented as opposed to each other, in terms of actual competence they are not of equal status. Whereas a dialect is a native variety of Arabic, and hence by definition perfectly learned by all Arabs, the Standard language is a variety learned as a second language. (See 4.1) The recognition of this status of affairs is of conceptual and descriptive consequence. Diem for instance, in his description of Lebanese, Syrian and Egyptian Arabic texts operates with a simplified levels classificatory system. He describes the speaker in one text beginning in dialect with SA interference, then switching over to SA. Given the non native nature of the standard, however, it is not clear in what sense one can speak with interference from the Standard in a dialectal text. (Owens, 1991 p.426)

In addition to that, Haeri (2000) notes in her review that one of the most distinctive features in the Arab world is the coexistence of the Classical Arabic with vernaculars like Egyptian, Syrian, Iraq, and so on; whereas, Bassiouney states that Diglossia is the classic dilemma facing Arabic speakers (Rouchdy, 2011). Holes (2004) enriches the literature concerning diglossia with a definition that pronounces it a “sociolinguistic tension”. The Egyptian community is a diglossic one; two languages coexist but are used according to different sociolinguistic dimensions. Natives choose a code/variety or another depending on the discourse.

6.2 Domain

A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics 2004 defines the term domain as follows:

A term introduced by Joshua Fishman for a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships, and resulting in a specific choice of language or style. In their study of bilingualism in the New York Puerto Rican community, Fishman et al. (1971) identified five domains which elicited behavioural patterns favouring either Spanish or

English: family, friendship, religion, employment and education. These abstract domains may be more concretely realized in physical and institutional settings like the home, street, church, workplace and school respectively. The concept of domain has proved very useful in the study of language choice, diglossia (an extreme form of domain specialization) and language shift.

6.3 Variety/Code

The definition of “variety” in a *Dictionary of Sociolinguistics 2004* is as follows:

A linguistic system used by a certain group of speakers or in a certain social context. Variety is often used as an alternative to dialect and language and can be a useful way of circumventing the difficulty of making a clear distinction between the two on linguistic grounds. Terms such as regional variety and social variety and standard variety and non-standard variety maybe used to specify the dimension according to which varieties are being distinguished.

Sometimes the term Code is used also for the same meaning. It can be referred to as the system of speech that along with its characteristics, background of the speaker, the interlocutor; the relationship between both and the situation form the integrated system of language; therefore, a variety or a code is a form of language a speaker uses in order to communicate with others.

(Cakrawarti, 2011)

6.4 Code Switching

In general, there is agreement in the literature that CS is a common creative communication strategy employed for sociolinguistic and pragmatic purposes to alternate between two varieties of a language (Al Birini, 2011). Bilinguals both consciously and unconsciously can resort to a linguistic phenomenon called code switching or language switching. (Auer, 1995.1998; Scotton, 2002). Moreover, Poplack (1980) defines CS as the alteration of two languages within the same

clause, sentence, or turn. It is a sophisticated, rule-defined use of language that can provide insight into the more complicated aspects of bilingual speech. Gort (2012) gives an explanation for code switching and states within one clause there can be alternation between two varieties and this operation is rule governed.

6.5 Stance

As in Bassiouney (2012), stance was referred to by Du Bois (2007) as the positioning of oneself after evaluating and then aligning. In other words, a language user gives a value or a quality to a situation. He/she attributes a knowledge or certainty to the situation which is positioning, and then standardises and normalizes between stances. This is referred to as alignment.

In addition, Jaffe (2007) specifies stance as simply as in the word “positioning”. She uses to the term “speakers stance” when referring to the stance as “ act as a guide for interpretation: it is a contextualization cue that instructs interlocuters on the nature of the relationship the speaker wishes to project with respect to the form and content of his or her utterance “ (P.56)

6.6 Standard Arabic/ Fus-sha (SA)

Standard Arabic has a special value among Arabs. It is the language of the Quran, the holy book of Islam. It is also connected with Islamic tradition and history (Bassiouney, 2012) and creates unity between Muslims, especially after the time of the Prophet Muhammed. It has endured for many years without significantly changing. In general, SA is the “common heritage” of the Arabs (Zughul, 1980). Mitchell describes it as “static and artificial” as well as “standard,” “literary,” “written,” and “formal”. It is used in primarily formal situations such as political speeches, sermons, broadcasts and conference discussions and also for writing (Altoma, 1967). Haeri (2000), on the other hand, described it as al-lugha al-arabyia al-fusha or as she noted

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pronounced as “fus-ha” or “al araby al faseeh” from a local and regional perspective or simply al-lugha al-arabiya; namely, the eloquent Arabic language. Versteegh (1997) describes it as the variety learned in school usually called fusha, which is only used for writing and formal spoken speech.

6.7 Colloquial Arabic and ECA

Colloquial Arabic is described by many sociolinguists. Mitchell, for example, describes it as a “vigorous, living language”. It has been described, as well, as the language of everyday activities and is mainly spoken. Additionally, it was described as: “lacking the prestige enjoyed by the classical and is looked down upon, often with a considerable degree of contempt as a stigma of illiteracy and ignorance.”(Altoma, 1967)

6.7.1 Features of ECA That Differentiate it from MSA

There are no dual nouns after the dual in ECA and in compensation for that the plural is used:

Waladeen kubaar	ولدين كبار	Two big boys
'ishtareet shanteteen gumaal	اشتريت شنطتين جمال	I bought two beautiful bags.

1. The demonstratives for the near- deixis are da, di, dol in ECA:

da raagil muhtaram	دا راجل محترم	This is a respectable man.
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However, in MSA they are haadha. haadhihi, haa'ulaa'i

Haadha ragul muhtaram	هذا رجل محترم	This is a respectable man.
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2. Interrogatives appear at the end of the sentence:

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kallimt -miin?	كلمت مين؟	Whom did you talk with?
kallt eh?	كلت ايه؟	what did you eat ?

While in MSA appear at the beginning

Ma3 man takallamt?	مع من تكلمت؟	Whom did you talk with?
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3. The imperfect starts with an aspect marker bi that expresses a habitual and continuous meaning:

huwwa biyishrab mayya ktiir.	هو بيشرّب ميه كثير؟	He drinks water a lot.
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While in MSA it is expressed the simple present

Huwa yashrab maa'an kathiiran	هو يشرب ماء كثيرا	He drinks water a lot.
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4. The future tense is expressed through the prefix ha:

hanruuh bukra is-sinima	هانروح بكرة السينما؟	We will go to the cinema tomorrow.
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In MSA the future tense is expressed either through the prefix “sa” or the word “sawfa” before the simple present verb

Sanadhhab ghadan 'ilas- sinima	سنذهب غدا إلى السينما سوف نذهب غدا إلى السينما	We will go to the cinema tomorrow
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Sawfa nadhab ghadan ‘ilas-sinima		
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5. The participle is an integral part of the verbal system. It works for present, past, near past and future time meanings:

ana sami3ha (present/ past)	أنا سامعها	I can hear it/her
ana lissa saami3ha imbaarih (near past)	لسه سامعها امبارح.	I have just heard it/her yesterday
Kunt saami3 kull-i- <u>h</u> aaga wa'taha	كنت سامع كل حاجة وقتها	At that time I could hear everything
‘ana shaayifa mashaakil gaayya fittarii’ (Future)	أنا شايفة مشاكل جاية في الطريق	I can see forthcoming problems
‘ihna gayyiin bukra	احنا جايبين بكرة	We are coming tomorrow

While MSA use of participle is different it is used as an adjective, adverb, subject or predicate of the nominal sentence

Huwa laysa saami3an shay’	هو ليس سامعا شيء	He does not hear anything (literally hearer)
‘as-saami3 afdal min-al mutakallim ‘ahyaanan	السامع أفضل من المتكلم أحيانا	The hearer is sometimes better than the speaker

Table 1 MSA and ECA

Feature	MSA	ECA
word order	Verb Subject Object (VSO)	Subject Verb Object (SVO)
morphosyntax	Not simplified and it includes case ending	Simplified for example: the abandonment of case ending
Lexemes	_____	Originally taken from MSA
Context use		Different from MSA
Phonological System	uses voiceless uvular stop “q” and labiodentals “ <u>dh</u> ” and “ <u>th</u> ”	Different from MSA for example: “q” the voiceless uvular stop often turns to the glottal stop “ʔ”; labiodental sounds like , “dh”, “th”, turn to “z’ and ‘s” and in some words turn to “d” like ‘diib” wolf and “t” like “ ta3lab” fox and “talg” ice.

6.8 Educated Spoken Arabic

As Haeri (2003) noted in her study that a number of linguists, Arabs and non-Arabs, who reacted against Ferguson’s notion of the developing standard variety, claimed there is a new one emerging from both classical and colloquial Arabic, namely, ESA (El Hassan, 1977 and Mitchell, 1986). Moreover, Mitchell (1986) thinks that there is mixing and interaction between the colloquial Arabic (CA) and the written (MSA), out of which another variety is born, namely, Educated Spoken Arabic. According to him, this variety exists for many reasons mainly based on

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the idea of sharing and communing. In other words, Arabs need to communicate using the language they have in common, namely, MSA but with shared colloquial elements.

6.9 High Variety (H)

High variety refers to the standard Arabic SA, which is also known as Classical Arabic or the eloquent language that is used mainly in administration, writing, education, political speeches, court rooms and all formal settings (Bassiouney, 2012)

6.10 Low Variety (L)

It refers to the colloquial or the vernacular, specifically ECA in this thesis. The Low variety/code is used in non-print and oral exchanges (Haeri, 2000).

7 Literature Review

7.1 Diglossia

Ferguson, a French linguist, who focused on North Africa, is the most notable contributor to the study of diglossia. He paved the way for others to recognize and study the existence of varieties in Arabic (William Marçais 30, 31). Ferguson's works specifically sheds light on the concept and the stability of this phenomenon, which lies in the functional allocation of the language varieties found in the community (Bassiouney, 2006).

Although, it was William Marçais who first used the term "diglossia" in 1930 (Schmidt, 1974)

who used the term: "diglossie," however, he did not present any language function for it.

Ferguson first used the term "diglossia" when applying it in an article published in 1959; he gave it the following definition:

..a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of a language (which may include the standard or regional standards), there is very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large respected body of written literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Schmidt, 1973 p.3).

According to Ferguson, there are three conditions that result in diglossia in a community if found: (1) there is a sizable body of literature in a language closely related (or even identified with) the natural language of the community, and this literature embodies, whether as a source (e.g. divine relation) or reinforcement, some of the fundamental values of the community; (2) literacy in the community is limited to small elite, and (3) a suitable period of time, on the order of several centuries, passes from the establishment of (1) and (2) above (Hammad, 1992 p. 341).

Furthermore, Ferguson differentiates between the purposes for H and L variety. He views the following situations as appropriate only for H variety (Bassiouney, 2009): sermon in church or mosque; speech in parliament, political speech; personal letters; university lecture; news broadcast; newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture; and poetry.

In contrast, Ferguson views the following situations as acceptable only for L variety: (1) instructions to servants, waiters, workmen and clerks; (2) conversation with family, friends and colleagues; (3) radio and TV soap opera, songs etc; (4) caption on political cartoon, and (5) folk literature.

Ferguson distinguishes between High and Low based on the following criteria (Hammad, 1992 p.341):

Table 2 Criteria of High and Low Varieties

Feature	H	L
Function specialization	Formal speech	Used at home
Attitude towards it by natives	Superior	inferior
Acquisition	At school	A natural native tongue
Grammatical system	Different	Different
Grammatical source	Yes	No
Standardization	Yes in dictionaries and traditional sources	No
Common Vocabulary	Yes	Yes
Phonolog	Range from highly similar to sharply different	Range from highly similar to sharply different

Moreover, Ferguson adds that diglossia is a stable situation .Another basic difference between the two registers is the method of acquisition for each. Haeri (2000) describes colloquial variety as the mother tongue which is learned instinctively in the home without formal instruction. Classical Arabic, however, requires formal instructions in a school as there is no community of native speakers.

Ferguson, eventually criticizes his earlier definition of diglossia in his article “Diglossia Revisited.” In the new definition, one of the best explanations he provides describes the use of language varieties in diglossic communities as “functionally and linguistically contrastive”. (Schmidt, 1973).

Specifically, in regards to Arabic, A High valued variety (H) and Low variety (L) were Ferguson's initial contribution to the field as only two poles in the Arabic language. In this initial definition, Ferguson did not mention at that time that they both formally and functionally overlap. However, later on in his article "Diglossia Revisited", he recognized that there are intermediate levels between the poles he introduced and this proposition paved the way for other linguists to work on diglossia. (Bassiouney, 2006).

Overall, in spite of Ferguson's notable contributions to diglossia, he was criticized for not taking into account the "social factors" of the concept itself and ignoring the socio-dialects (Rouchdy, 2011).

Linguists other than Ferguson, including Blanc, Meisels and Badawi, have their own models on diglossia which introduce intermediate levels between (H) and (L) in which people shift so that they are not purely (H) or (L). Blanc distinguished between five varieties: standard classical modified classical, semi-literary or modified colloquial, koinized colloquial and plain colloquial. Meiseles proposed that there are four varieties: literary Arabic or standard Arabic, oral literary Arabic, educated spoken Arabic and plain vernacular. On the other hand, Badawi's contribution is similar to Blanc's as he also proposes the existence of five different varieties. (Bassiouney, 2009)

7.2 Arabic Diglossia

It is worth noting that although there has been significant work conducted on Arabic diglossia, but no one has made a clear framework for the functional coexistence, the interrelations or the historical development of the Arabic varieties (Owens, 1991). Abou Saeda (1971) does depict the deep-rooted origin of diglossia in Arabic in his dissertation; he shows that it goes as far back

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as the pre-Islamic period preceding the seventh century A.D. Research shows that there were different dialects for tribes regarding pronunciation, idioms and vocabulary.

Similar to Ferguson, Haeri (2003) sums up all the languages' diglossic situation in presenting the idea of High variety (H) and Low variety (L) in which the former is used for formal occasions, writings, ceremonies, literature and political speeches. Additionally, speakers regard the H variety as prestigious, whereas (L) is used for "oral communication"(Hammad, 1992).

Unlike the two poles suggested by Ferguson and Haeri, however, Badawi (1973) introduces the notion of linguistic continuum in his book *Mustawayaat al lughah al arabiya*. He claims that there are many levels between the two pole of SA and ECA. He introduced these, and then further adds that between these levels there are many shades similar to the spectrum of colors in a rainbow:

1. Fusha al turath, "heritage classical": "this is the CA of the Arab literary heritage and the Qur'an. It represents the prescriptive Arabic Grammar as taught at traditional institutions like al-Azhar University, which is Egypt's oldest university. It is a written language, but it is heard in its spoken form on religious programmes on TV.
2. Fusha al 3asr, "contemporary classical": That is what most western-trained linguists call MSA, which is a modification and simplification of CA created for the need of the Modern Age. It is used in news bulletins, for example. It is usually read aloud from texts and, if the speaker is highly skilled, may also be used in the commentary to the text.
3. 3amiyat al muthaqafiin, "colloquial of the cultured": This is a colloquial influenced by MSA which may be used for serious discussion, but it is not normally written. It is used by cultured (i.e. well – educated people on television), It is also often the language used in formal

teaching in Egyptian universities, and it is becoming the means of educating students and discussing with them different topics. In other other words, it is becoming the medium of instruction in Egyptian classrooms

4. *Samyat al mutanawiriin*, “colloquial of the semi-cultured” or of “the elementary educated. This is the everyday language the people who are educated at a basic level use (but not university level) with family and friends, and may occur on TV in a discussion of sport or fashion and other “non-intellectual “topics. Cultured and well-educated people also use it when talking in a` relaxed fashion about non- serious topics.
5. *Samiyat al ummyin*, “colloquial of the uneducated,” or of the illiterates: This is the form of colloquial which is characterized by the absence of influence from MSA. On TV, it occurs only in the tongues of certain characters in soap operas, children’s shows and comic situations (Bassiouney, 2006).

Apart from studying Arabic diglossia broadly-speaking, there are numerous researchers who focus on the practical applications of diglossia in relation to specific dialects

For example, Khamis-Dakwar (2011) focuses on children’s acquisition of a diglossic language system: MSA and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic (PCA). His study examines elementary school children in five different grade levels by administering a forced-choice grammaticality judgment task. Ten structures were targeted, in particular, for reading, speaking, listening and writing in school curriculum for Arabs in Arabic schools in Israel. The findings show that over time diglossia impacts children’s morphosyntactic development in written standard Arabic. Khamis-Dawkar believe that two factors affected the childrens’ grammaticality judgment tasks: the degree of exposure to the variety and the linguistic structures themselves.

Talmoudi (1984) tackles the diglossic situation in North Africa, specifically describing the language situation in the Morocco. He analyzes the linguistic mixture produced and selects the features found. Farris (1975), on the other hand, compares MSA and the Syrian dialect in a search for a standardized language that can overcome the challenge of diglossia instead of emphasizing the unique features of varieties like Talmoudi. In Farris' study, she discusses three major topics: Diglossia; a synchronic comparison between phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Classical Arabic and Syrian Arabic.

Sabir and Safi (2008) depict diglossic switching from MSA to Hijazi dialect of Arabic in children between the ages of five and six. Although the age is young, children at this age show that diglossia is rule governed, adherent to Poplack's "Equivalence Constraint" (1980), and lastly, dependent on competence of syntactic structures of both varieties at a very young age.

Saiegh-Haddad's study focuses on the correlates of reading fluency in Arabic (2005). She targets her study on the reading process in phonemically diglossic context using pseudo-words with 42 first grade, Arabic-speaking children as her sample. These words follow the syllabic structure and are mainly composed of the SAV phonemes (familiar phonemes from oral vernacular) while the other half began or ended in the MSA phonemes. Her findings show that reading fluency in this context is not predictable by the phonological process of MSA phonemes. She concludes that her findings "cannot be extended to mean that sensitive reading diglossic Arabic is not sensitive to diglossic context" (Saiegh-Haddad, 2005).

Zughul and El Badarein (2003) focus on translation of Arabic/English/Arabic language varieties in a diglossic situation. They also call for research of delineation of equivalence in diglossic

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languages, with research particularly needed in: movies, literature and liturgical literature. The suitability of the variety according to the situation increases the interest on translation problems.

Abdel Malek (1972) tackles diglossia's impact on novels. Using Yusuf El Sebaei's works he shows how El Sebaei's usage of colloquial in literary works in revealing real life situations defies the movements that oppose the use of colloquial in dialect. He presents different stages of moving to colloquial that Al Sibaei could not help using the low variety. In Abdel Malek's work, this novelist admits that his own characters speak in colloquial, regardless of his preference, in order to depict real life.

Thus, it is evident that Arabic diglossia is also viewed through two lenses: high and low variety only, or a spectrum of varieties. Furthermore, there has been significant research on Arabic varieties and diglossia in written and spoken domains.

7.3 Code Switching

Myers-Scotton broadens the sociolinguistic term "code switching" to show that it can take place from a language to another or from a variety to another (Bassiouney, 2009). Bassiouney (2006, 2009) discusses this idea of code switching from one variety to another in her two books. She describes diglossic switching as part of classic code-switching. She further adds that research done thus far on Classic code switching can significantly clarify more about diglossia in the Arab world, especially when switching occurs between two varieties of Arabic, one of which is MSA. There are many researchers who look at code switching between standard and colloquial Arabic or between Arabic and another language.

For example, Taha (2008) deals with code switching between Arabic and English in foreign language university classrooms in Sudan. He finds that code switching is a pedagogic resource

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for teachers to achieve communicative functions, including effective classroom interaction and topic change and solidarity among other functions. Moreover, his research depicts code switching as a teaching strategy is both consciously and unconsciously applied by teachers.

Mejdell (1999), in comparison, looks at the interaction between MSA and ECA in light of Egyptian academics and writers and the related formal setting surrounding the written word. She states that interaction between MSA and ECA is linked to the social and cultural connotations, which provide a rich stylistic resource for speakers.

Ennaji (2005) deals with code switching as a language contact phenomenon in Morocco's distinctive triglossic atmosphere. He focuses on the domains where the French Moroccan dialect and SA are used interchangeably in Moroccan society. Ennaji gives special attention to social factors that lead to code switching in Morocco.

7.4 Written Code Switching

Written code switching can occur in numerous forms including literature, the classroom, and daily written communication. It varies from spoken code switching and has garnered much study.

7.4.1 Literature

Jonsson (2010) researches the function of written code switching in three Chicano theatre plays intended for performance. He finds that written code switching through reiterations, interjections, quotations, gaps and word play emphasizes words, adds another level of meaning, or delves into deeper meaning. Moreover, CS is a central strategy in marking closeness or distance and signifying bonds as well as complex identities of characters and plots. Jonsson views language in theater as a representation of language in common life.

Similarly, Bandia (1996) focuses on code switching and code mixing as an effective technique of African creative writers in order to convey many facets and aspects of African life to an international audience. Bandia's interest was in the pragmatic aspect of CS, not the grammatical. When writers resort to certain African words not found in European languages, they use intrasentential and intersentential CS to fill the gap of expression of ideas and cultural context. The sociocultural relevance of the African words is the main aim of using CS in such novels. It was found that highlighting some pragmatic functions such as neutralization, foregrounding, identity, focusing and distancing was the aim of using CS in these African novels. The researcher wants to benefit from the results in certain translation strategies in addition to enhancing the knowledge of the process of translation.

Al Bakry and Hancock (2008) examine code switching in Ahdaf Soueif's novel *The Map of Love* (1999). They analyze how this writer tackles this CS in English narrative fiction. They conclude that Soueif uses CS to find a new language; this was exemplified in her novel through the usage of lexical borrowing and transferring from Arabic.

Bennett-Castor (2008), however, discusses biliterate and multiliterate Irish texts. She summarizes the code-mixing theories that compare spoken and written code mixing. Moreover, modern, Irish literary texts reveal that there is not significant structural difference between both. However, Bennett-Castor concludes from her study that written code-mixing has a wider functional aim as it is more planned. Writers consciously utilize strategies from their linguistic repertoire. The researcher further adds that time plays an important role in written code-mixing as the user can make use of it to ponder the meaning with increase his awareness of it. Another important factor in this linguistic process is the full awareness of the reader regarding cultural, political, social circumstances surrounding written literary work.

7.4.2 Newspapers and Letters

Bhatt (2008) looks at code switching in English newspapers. The researcher analyzes the use of Hindi and argues that CS creates a third space where the representation of identity comes in two systems which are in response to tensions forced by global-local dynamics and the resulting dialogically constituted identities. The findings convey that CS as a visible marker and as a representation of linguistic hybridity creates a third space where users/actors have the freedom to synthesize and thus, code switch to reflect a new socio-ideological consciousness .

Also, looking at code switching in written daily communication, Monte-Alcala (2005) deals with written CS by examining the personal letters of Spanish-English bilinguals in order to shed light on written CS. He questions whether bilingual speakers who both do and do not code switch in speaking, code switch in their writing. His findings show that those who do not use CS in speaking do use it in writing and that the social stigma present in spoken CS is not paralleled in written CS.

7.4.3 Classroom

Gort (2012) examines code switching in the writing-related talk of six emergent Spanish-English bilingual first graders. He analyses them in order to track code switching in relation to content, form and purpose in the writing process. The results convey a variety of purposes: evaluation of self-regulation skill; sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence; and indicator of a shift in topic, person or syntactic form. The findings highlight the importance of code switching as a cognitive and a linguistic resource in addition to intimating children's capacity to use their bilingual linguistic repertoire for various academic and social purposes.

Through a writing workshop in which he analyzes interviews and collected samples, Gort (2006) investigates the writing process of eight emergent bilingual children. Patterns of bilingual writing of both emergent Spanish and English students in first grade are related to strategic code switching, positive literacy transfer and inter-literacy. This leads in turn to developing a preliminary model of bilingual writing in both English and Spanish dominant programs. Findings suggest that the interliteracy phenomenon is based upon applying the language specific elements of literacy from a language to another. On another level, this also has to do directly with student's bilingual and biliterate development and is parallel to their oral interlanguage. Although going through interliteracy stages will result in inaccurate language productions, this process is consistent in bilingual/biliterate language development. These findings further show that with time, these students develop their language skills and move from the interliteracy stage to the standard production stage in each language.

Escamilla (2007) also looks at code switching between Spanish and English bilinguals in the classroom. She depicts the role of CS in the written expressions of early elementary simultaneous bilinguals. The study argues that bilingual children are constantly moving in two worlds or more, which manifests through CS in speaking and writing. She further clarifies that CS is not "confusion" as was argued in previous studies. These children employ CS as a strategic way to move between two worlds with all their details in the case here of Spanish and English. The findings support that counter to the perspective that CS is a deficiency, children instead resort to CS as a strategy for communication. By expressing themselves in writing, they can later on use different cross-language strategies, including CS.

Rearick (2008) however looks at code switching in the classroom between English and African American English (AAVE). He evaluates their CS composition curriculum through a

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panel in order to test the feasibility of implementing it in a regular education setting. He argues that despite the fact that AAVE is a common vernacular in American culture, it negatively affects its users academically and socially. There is a clear conflict between the phonological and the grammatical features of AAVE vernacular and the Standard. This affects the academic written performance of its users and subjects them to cultural and educational discrimination. Rearick (2008) says that teachers must know the vernacular in order to prevent miscommunication with students. Moreover, she calls for the importance of teachers helping AAVE students reach a high level of communication.

7.5 Internet Written Communication

Modern internet communication, especially chatting, emails, and social media, represent an interesting phenomenon in that though they are expressed through writing, they do not carry the usually connotation of formality associated with writing.

Van Gass (2008) deals with code switching between English and Afrikaans in computer-mediated communication, especially in internet relay chat (IRC). The focus is on two important aspects: first, that English is no more the only language used globally on the internet in a multilingual world, and second, the characteristics of code switching from English to Afrikaans. Although communication via IRC is written, it is still synchronic, similar to face-to-face communication.

Siebenhaar (2006) studies code switching and code choice in Swiss-German internet relay chat rooms. The increasing tendency to use dialects in many written styles in Europe also impacts computer-mediated communication (CMC). Swiss dialects are used simultaneously with standard German; however, it was found that the dialectal usage proportions are near to 90%. It

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was also found the choice of a particular variety refers back to personal choice and the predominance of a variety in a certain thread.

Androutsopoulos (2006) investigates multilingualism, codes and identities in German-based Diaspora web sites. The study reflects the interest of Diaspora group members in Germany and their code choice in an intricate system of web environments. The two aims of the study are: tackling multilingualism in websites for the Diaspora population in Germany, and discussing linguistic diversity and ethnic identity in these web sites. New hybrid identities and cultures formed in a Diaspora shed light on the use of CS in distinction between the “we / they” code. The study concludes that extending the linguistic phenomenon of CS in contemporary environments is important due to its diverse and multilayered character. Code switching is depicted between the German language and other Diaspora/minority languages.

7.6 Spoken Versus Written Code Switching

Spoken and written code switching show some similarities as indicated in the literature.

Primarily, written code switching has similar social and stylistic functions as spoken code switching. Moreover, some studies show that users who normally code switch when speaking will do the same in writing. Other studies, such as Anacta's (1996) which focus on educated Filipino bilinguals, demonstrate that it is acceptable for individuals who code switch in spoken language do the same in their written (Montes-Alcala, 2005).

Differences between spoken and written CS in the literature, as in Chafe (1985), show that spoken CS takes place whereas an environment of social interaction whereas solitude defines written CS. Furthermore, the involvement of spoken variety users is in contrast with the

detachment of written variety users. The flow of information and speed in spoken contradicts the slowness and possibility of editing in written CS (Van Gass, 2009).

Functions for written CS in some studies reveal the saliency of the speaker's motivations such as problem/solution, directives/offers, discussion of topic, change of topic, purpose, condition and concession. (Montes-Alcala, 2005)

7.7 The Matrix Language Frame Model

This Model was introduced by Myers-Scotton in the early 1990s and onwards (Mejdell, 2012). It basically focuses on the idea that the involved languages/codes are not equal in status when we speak about CS. She further adds that it is natural that they play a different function or role in this mix of used language/code. Many studies were inspired by this model; especially, those focusing on Arabic diglossic code switching. The model is based on two pairs of dichotomous categories - ML versus EL and System versus Content Morphemes - and two principles - system morpheme principle and morpheme order principle (Callahan, 2002).

7.8 Egyptian Protestors and Stance

What is the stance that Egyptians took amidst the 18 days of revolution? What is the notion of stance?

These are important questions we need to ask in light of the hypothesis for this thesis. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993) is used here in order to explain the chronological order of the event of the revolution. However, before considering these questions, it is important to understand the idea of stance according to some linguists. According to Jaffe (2007:) stance "is

a guide of interpretation: it is the kind of contextualization cue that instructs interlocutors on the nature of the relationship the speaker language user wishes to project with respect to the form and content of his or her utterance.” Other approaches to stance describe it as the mediator between linguistic forms and social identities. Again, it is important to focus on the speaker’s intentions from stances and if there is difficulty in assigning meaning to code switching. (Jaffe, 2007)

Can code switching be a way for negotiating identities? Looking closely at the Markedness Model (MM) of Myers-Scotton which is based on her study of code switching between Swahili and English in Kenya, Poztepe, (2009) helps shed light on whether code switching can be a way for negotiating identities. Myers-Scotton introduces her model by saying that code choice lies under a number of norms found in any society. The term “Markedness“stands for the “relative degree of predictability of a particular code from the social conditions of its use.” Myers-Scotton refers to this relative degree as “obligations and norms.”

What is the relationship between the choice of language code and identity building? Resorting to code switching is a means or a ‘mechanism that lays claim to different indexes and thus appeals to different ideologies and eventually different facets of identity.’ (Bassiouny, 2012).

According to Jaffe also, constituting social relationship and identities is an important aspect when we discuss stance and code switching. He further explains in his words the supposed or hypothesized situation that he wants to make salient: “The presence of two codes in communication allows the opportunity for more than one meaning” (Jaffe, 2007). When applied to Egypt’s revolution, the protestors had a specific meaning at the beginning of the revolution when they used MSA; however, when as the events of the revolution progressed, they added and

changed their first meaning accordingly, which included changing their code to suit the evolving circumstances.

8 Methodology and Data Collection

8.1 Reasoning for Selecting Banners in the Egyptian Revolution

The choice to study CS in banners used during the 18 days of the revolution is based on the salience of the banners as a tool to voice the demands and slogans of the protestors in writing. The banners gave written and visual expression to the protestors' opinions. Moreover, the choice of banners was based on the hypothesis that they were written in MSA code initially used in the slogans and then developed to ECA. It is worth remembering here that many of the slogans used at the beginning of the Egyptian revolution were taken from the Tunisian revolution in MSA (Khalidi, 2011; Hadad, et al, 2012). These slogans from Tunisia permeated throughout the Middle East in MSA, but in Egypt they were developed to ECA (Filiu, 2011).

In this context of the revolution, where there is non-intimacy between the audience and speaker, High variety is both applicable and appropriate, according to Ferguson. Moreover the protestors' code choice to move from MSA to ESA demonstrates how the functionality of language impacts the choice of which code to use (Bassiouney, 2006). Although the discourse being studied is of protest, and not of a lecture, sermon or political speech, its political dimensions contribute to certain linguistic choices. Myers-Scotton's (2002) theory of Markedness and code choice is manifested here as the code switch in the language of a protest banner has the potential to change the distance between the protestor and the interlocutor, the Mubarak regime.

8.2 The Project Treatment of Research Questions

In order to answer the three research questions and test the hypotheses, the researcher collects data in the form of pictures and videos of written protest slogans from 2011 from YouTube and Google in order to make a small scale design corpus.

In order to analyze the language of the written signs of the Egyptian revolution 2011, two methods were used: a pilot study through a questionnaire following Dollinger's method (2012); and the MLF of Myers-Scotton (1993).

8.3 Design of the Study

This study is descriptive qualitative as it focuses on a certain situation, the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, in the specific area of written protest slogans. The researcher uses the descriptive method to describe systematic, factual, and detailed properties of this situation without quantitative analysis. The data collection is based on words, thus, quality of words, sentences and general utterances are the basic interest of the research. Any numerical analysis will be rudimentary and not statistical.

8.4 Delimitations

The research will not include any quantitative statistics as the focus is on the words and sentential level. Moreover, it will not focus on CS from phonological or semantic dimensions; the focus is only on the morphosyntactic dimension and intrasentential code switching. The study did not also focus on the importance of age and gender in participants.

8.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study utilizing questionnaire's was done from March to April 2011 in order to collect information about people's views on the language of the revolution's slogans.

8.6 Instrument

A questionnaire with nine questions was given to 30 volunteers. Most of the volunteers were sent the questionnaire via e-mail as in Dollinger (2012). The importance of online questionnaires as a vital tool in gathering self-reported sociolinguistic data was asserted by Dollinger. He further states that the written questionnaire can be conducted by mail (postal questionnaires) or distributed as paper hardcopies. The researcher employed all of these methods of distributing, but relied primarily on email for the sake of efficiency.

The questions asked the respondents views on the language used in the written slogans of the revolution as well as their views about the background of the protestors.

8.7 Participants

The volunteer participants were chosen from university colleagues, family members, and family friends ranging in age from 25 to 60. The volunteers were selected mainly based on their age – over the age of 18 - and educational background – university educated – to ensure their focus and comprehension of the research subject.

Table 3 List of participants

Participants	Age	Education
1 AUC part time faculty AFL Teacher	32	Masters degree
2 AUC part time faculty AFL teacher	33	Masters degree
3 Friend / A Physician	35	Doctor of Philosophy degree
4 Friend/ AFL Teacher	37	Masters degree

5 Institute part time AFL teacher	46	Bachelor of Arts
6 Institute part time AFL teacher	27	Bachelor of Arts
7 Institute part time AFL teacher	29	Bachelor of English Literature and Masters candidate
8 Family friend/ Economics university professor	40	Doctor of Philosophy degree
9 Family Friend /Business man	38	Bachelor of Business Administration Diploma
10 Family friend /	33	House Wife
11 Family Friend /	34	Interior designer
12 Family Friend/ Pharmacologist	34	Masters Degree
13 Family Friend Kinder Garden head of department	36	Bachelor of Education and Teaching
14 Family Friend	35	
15 Family Friend / Police Officer	40	Bachelor of law and police
16 Family Friend / Political Analyst	40	Bachelor of Economics and Political Science and Diploma
17 Family Friend	39	Bachelor of Arts
18 Family Friend	38	Bachelor of Commerce
19 Family Friend	39	Bachelor of Education and Teaching
20 Father / retired	65	Bachelor of Engineering
21 Mother House wife	60	Bachelor of Arts
22 Sister	29	Bachelor of Arts

23 Relative/Political Analyst	39	Masters Degree
24 Relative	65	Doctor of Philosophy
25 Relative	35	Masters Degree
26 Relative	35	Masters Degree
27 Relative	36	Masters Degree
28 Relative	35	Masters Degree
29 Sister in law/ House wife	35	Bachelor of Law
30 AFL Student works in Embassy of Japan in Egypt	25	Bachelor degree

8.8 Data collection of the pilot study

The questions in the questionnaire focused on the language of the written slogans, the timing for using certain codes, the users of the language, and the effect of using code switching in a language user message. The researcher proceeded with caution in the phrasing of the questionnaire to protect against biased questioning. The answers to the questionnaires were collected as 14 hardcopies and 16 softcopies. The answers to the questions were compiled according to each question.

Question 1: What was the language used in the 18 days of the Egyptian revolution written signs?

In this question, the term “language” was selected specifically in this very first question because the participants who are non specialists /non-linguists might not have understood the sociolinguistic jargon like “variety” or “code” at least at the beginning.

12 people mentioned that the language used in the slogans was ECA only, while the other 15 mentioned that it was a mixture between MSA and ECA, and the remaining 3 people said it was a mixture between MSA, English, and ECA but mainly, ECA while specifying that each language was used for certain purposes.

Amin

Question 2: Do you think the protestors used a variety of codes of the language used throughout the 18 days?

28 people agreed that there were a variety of codes used in the language of the slogans during the 18 days of the revolution. The other 2 disagreed about that and went on without answering the rest of the questions. The researcher assumes both did not understand this question enough.

Question 3: If the answer is “yes”, when was that approximately throughout the 18 days?

24 stated that code switching took place around the middle of the 18 days, one said in the beginning and the middle while 3 others said it was at the end, and the remaining 2 did not know the answer. It is worth saying that one of the volunteers who chose “around the middle” added chronology by mentioning: “right after the Battle of the Camel and the attack of the thugs.”

Question 4: If they code- switched from a code/variety of language to another, why do you think this happened?

In regards to the reasons for code switching, 2 people said that code switching was used for many reasons. For example, two people said that code switching was used for many reasons including English as an international code for the whole world watching the revolution. In the words of one respondent to bolster his argument that code switching occurred, “It is the people’s revolution and it is the language of the people and it is their right to have ownership over it. Variety choice was important to make the message of the revolution spread.” Another respondent states that code switching was a way to assert mass culture and unify the demands of the people regardless of the differences between them. Another five volunteers agreed that code switching occurred and mentioned that ECA was important for jokes and sarcastic expressions.

Amin

One answer included the idea that using ECA is important in ensuring the message was delivered quickly, in addition to that, it is the variety of the ordinary people, or “variety used in the streets.” One more answer included that the reason for code switching was to appeal to the uneducated stratum. Another one included the notion that the protestors did not choose the option of code switching, but they had to as they were facing various pressures. They had to select a code that could deliver their message, ensure unity and also address many semi-educated people who were still in their houses. In total, only two volunteers answered with “no” regarding this question.

Question 5: Do you think changing the code influenced the delivery of the message of the protestors? Why?

All agreed except one respondent.

Question 6: Do you think it is more suitable to choose one code only for example: ECA (Egyptian colloquial) or MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or any another for the written signs from the beginning? Why?

None of the volunteers mentioned that using one code is more effective or suitable than another for use in the written signs.

Question 7: If the protestors used MSA code/variety of language, who used it?

All selected “educated youth” except three respondents who selected ‘Muslim Brothers’ and one selected both the “educated youth and the Muslim brothers.”

Question 8 If you think the protestors used ECA, who used it? Why?

26 selected “all,” 3 selected “cultured and well educated” and one selected “other.”

Question 9 How do you see in general the effect of changing the code/variety of a language on a message of a speaker why?

Almost all agreed upon the effective way of using a different code in speech and its aim to create or limit distance between the user and the interlocutor. Others stressed the importance of using ECA in the slogans in a humorous way which helped in spreading it quickly between protestors and people generally. In addition, one volunteer asserted that when using ECA in code switching it helps in getting closer to the interlocutor and eliminating all the barriers between them. Only one volunteer saw that code switching as bad and viewed sticking to one variety as better.

8.9 Result of the Pilot Study and the Questionnaire

Table 4 Findings of the Questionnaire

Number of Question	Percentage of answers in favor of research questions
Q 1: What was the language used in the 18 days of the Egyptian revolution written signs?	100 %
Q2: Do you think the protestors used a variety of codes of the language used throughout the 18 days?	93 %
Q3: If the answer is “yes”, when was that approximately throughout the 18 days?	83 %

Q4: If they code- switched from a code/variety of language to another, why do you think this happened?	93 %
Q5: Do you think changing the code influenced the delivery of the message of the protestors? Why?	97 %
Q6: Do you think it is more suitable to choose one code only for example: ECA (Egyptian colloquial) or MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or any another for the written signs from the beginning? Why?	100%
Q7: If the protestors used MSA code/variety of language, who used it?	87%
Q8: If you think the protestors used ECA, who used it? Why?	87 %
Q9: How do you see in general the effect of changing the code/variety of a language on a message of a speaker why?	97 %

8.9.1 The Matrix language versus the Embedded Language

This dichotomy is based on the principle of the distinction between the Matrix or ML and the Embedded EL. The ML is responsible for setting the grammatical framework of the sentence and when there is CS the EL elements are inserted into the grammatical framework of ML (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; Callahan, 2002) In other words, the ML sets the morphosyntactic framework and all of the system morphemes and most of the content morphemes. On the other hand, the other variety/code which is the EL provides constituents and some content morphemes. These constituents of EL are, in turn, embedded, inserted or they participate in the ML base (Myers-Scotton, 2001; Dussias, 2001; Mejdell, 2012). Another view as in Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) states that the projection of the CP or complementizer is seen as the insertion of EL elements into the framework of ML rather than a mere code switching process from a variety to another.

In an attempt to ascertain the importance of the MLF as a universal theoretical construct for all data of CS, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) state that it suits all language data pairs regardless of the involved varieties (Bosoufara-Omar, 2003). Moreover, this distinction concerning ML+EL and system versus content morphemes highlights two important hypotheses: the system morpheme principle and the order morpheme principle. These two play the role of the tester of the distinction of the structural role of both ML and EL (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; Callahan, 2002)

8.9.2 The system Morpheme Principle

The system morpheme principle states that within all the ML+EL constituents, only the ML provides the active system morphemes in CS (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; Bosofara-Omar, 2003). System morphemes are like: complementizers, determiners and plural affixes, whereas

examples of content morphemes are like nouns, verbs, prepositions and adjectives that come from either ML or EL (Callahan, 2002; Deucher, 2005). In some studies they were called open/closed class morphemes instead of content system (Callahan, 2002; Deucher, 2005)

8.9.3 The Morpheme Order Principal

The notion of system morphemes versus content morphemes sheds light on how the operation takes place in CS based on MLF model. The dominant or the Matrix language ML takes the role of the determiner of the morphosyntax of the (ML+EL), it is also responsible for supplying the system morphemes and directing the word order of the morphemes in the constituents of (ML+EL). As for the content morphemes, they could either be supplied from either ML or EL, or "free" as Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) call them (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; Dussias, 2001; Bousofara-Omar, 2003; Mejdell, 2012).

8.10 MLF constituent types

1. ML² island
2. ML+EL constituents
3. EL island

Both islands follow their grammars in their formation while ML+EL constituents follow ML in their grammars. Moreover, there is an internal EL island that is formed by a determiner from ML and a NP from EL. However, in the case of this thesis it is sometimes difficult to recognize

² The researcher means here by island: the well formed level phrase constituents but under ML control (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000)

which is which as in written CS the pronunciation of the Arabic determiner could be read as either “ ‘il / ‘al” according to either ECA or MSA.

8.10.1 How to Determine the Matrix Language

There are many ways or approaches to determine the ML: number of morphemes, language of the verbs, and language of the inflectional morphology (Meakins, 2011; Callahan, 2002).

Table 5 Abbreviations used in the data analysis

VP	Verb Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
NEG	Negation
V	Verb
N	Noun
PR	pronoun
PR.P	Prepositional Phrase
DET	Determiner
DEF	definite article
PRCPL	Participle
ADJ	Adjective
COMPL	Complementizer includes INT: Interrogatives, REL P: relative pronouns, DECL COMPL declarative complementizers (e.g ‘an/ ‘anna)

8.10.2 Illustration of Clauses and Depicting CS

Clauses are depicted for the existence of code switching. The most salient ones were selected no matter how long or short they are.

Amin

1. ya mubarak ghoor ghoor mish hanu'af taani fi tabuur*³
Get out Mubarak, we will not stand in lines again.
2. hatta al affaal mish 3ayziinak *
Even the children do not want you .
3. ' inta ghaby? tiit 'inta hmaar walla eeh ?*
Are you stupid? Are you a donkey ?
4. gum3et al rahiil saptal-laghadab ahhad az-za3al 'itneen il 'ahr thulaathaa' il tafsh
yikhrib beetak 'irhhal ba'a
MSA ECA
Friday of leaving, Saturday of anger, Sunday of sadness, Monday of grief Tuesday of getting lost . Oh no, come on leave !
5. ma3lish ya balady 'it'akhart 3aleeky*
Please forgive me my country because Iam late for you.
6. 'ana zihi't min kintaaky 'irhamny [wir-rhhal]
ECA MSA
Iam fed up with Kentucky. Have mercy on me and leave.
7. tahhdhiir/tahziir: 'irhal 'abl-i- ma -ssa3ayda yiguulak
MSA ECA
Caution: leave before the Upper Egyptians come.
8. 'irhhal ba'a khattibty wahashitny minnak lillah ya zaalim
MSA ECA
Leave. I miss my fiancée you tyrant.

³ An asterisk denotes a full ECA clause

Amin

9. yakhy tiiit nuktet el sawra 3amalna sawra 3alashaan ilmakhloo3 yit3aalig 3ala yadd tabiib
'almaany wi shababna min il musabiin mish la'yiin 3ilaag huwwa f mustashfa lwahdu wi
humma luwahduhum fil 3azaab yakhi tiiit*

It is the big joke of the revolution really that the overthrown president is getting cured by the hands of a German doctor while our youth cannot find any doctors. This is torture!

10. 'illy yitkisif min mubarak maygebshi minnu fluus*

If you are embarrassed to ask Mubarak for money you will never get any.

11. ghadan masirat almilyoon

غداً مسيرة المليون

Tomorrow is the march of a million people

8.10.3 Pilot study for MLF

The MLF is tested upon some examples in a pilot study to investigate the ML /EL,
Content/System morphemes.

SVO word order: NP+ NEG V + N+ PRCPL +PRP

1. [nahnu laa nuriidak] 'ana kaatibha bisiini 'aslu mabyifhamsh 3arabi

MSA

ECA

ECA

نحن لا نريدك أنا كاتبها بالصيني أصله مايفهمشى عربى

We do not want you, I have written it in Chinese as he does not understand Arabic

Amin

In this clause, the ML is ECA as it contributes with the bigger number of morphemes while the EL is MSA and is represented by [nahnu laa nuriidak] EL island though the negated verb here is in ECA and represents a system morpheme. There are also other ML islands “ana kaatibha bissiini” and “aslu mabyifhamsh 3arabi”. The second island here also includes a system morpheme represented by the negated ECA verb.

SVO word order: NP + NEG V + COMPL+VP + VP

2. masr ghalia 3alayya ‘awi wi matsadda’uush il giziira

MSA

ECA

[‘innaha tufaddil dimaa’ ’almisriyyiin] ‘ittaqu Allaha fii misr/ itti’u-llah fmasr

MSA

MSA/ECA

مصر غالية عليا قوى و ماتصدقوش الجزيرة إنها تفضل دماء المصريين اتقوا الله فى مصر

In this clause, the ML is ECA and EL is MSA. The EL is represented by an island:

[‘innaha tufaddil dimaa’ almisriyyiin] in the middle of the clause.

Egypt is so dear to me and don’t believe Al Gazeera, it prefers the blood of the Egyptian martyrs.

If you are pious people love Egypt.

8.11 Data Analysis

(1)	<p>SVO word order N+ADJ +PREP['il/'alhizb ilwaaty] 'ila mazbalat/it at/it-taariikh</p> <p>ECA/MSA ECA MSA</p> <p>The low party... away with the trash of history</p> <p>The researcher proposes here that it is easier to pronounce the determiner in ECA “il” as the following adjective is in ECA. That is to say, It is very difficult to pronounce it as follows “al hizb ilwaaty”. However, the determiner could still be pronounced as “al” because ML dominates so that ML+EL constituents are represented in [al hizb ilwaaty].</p> <p>The same can be applicable to the ML morphemes though the researcher prefers the option of easiness in pronunciation so that it becomes “ 'ila mazbalat at-taariikh”. Another option is that the whole clause is in MSA except one morpheme:”ilwaaty” and this still form an ML+EL constituents in the greater ML as MSA and EL as ECA.</p>
(2)	<p>SVO word order</p> <p>zuzu targuuk['imshy ba'a 'ana 3ayza 'atfarrag 3ala-kkartoon]</p> <p>MSA ECA</p> <p>Zuzu implores you: Leave so that I can watch the cartoon.</p> <p>The ML here is ECA while EL, MSA. Islands appear as follows:</p> <p>ML island: zuzu targuuk</p> <p>EL island : 'imshi ba'a 'ana 3ayza 'atfarrag 3ala-kkartoon</p>
(3)	<p>VSO word order VP + VP</p> <p>'intaha addars ya ghaby 'irhal [<u>ya tinih</u>]</p> <p>انتهى الدرس يا غبى ارحل يا تنح</p>

	<p>Game is over, get out you idiot</p> <p>The clause represents ML as MSA EL as ECA. The constituent type is ML+EL constituents.</p>
(4)	<p>SVO word order NP (N+ V + PRP + CONJ +N)</p> <p>80 milioon <u>biynaadu</u> [la li-mubarak] wa ‘awladih/ wi wladuu</p> <p>MSA ECA MSA MSA ECA</p> <p>80 مليون بينادوا لا لمبارك وأولاده</p> <p>80 million people are against Mubarak and his sons</p> <p>The morpheme “80 milioon” can either be MSA or ECA as the number is written in figures and the following noun is without an inflection marker. The MSA “wa awladih” could suit following the MSA “la li mubarak “and be part of the island .Another option is that the last part “wi wladu’ can be read in ECA and then be part of of ML+EL constituents. The verb “biynaadu” is in ECA: ECA bi marker + yinaadu and is a content morpheme in the clause.</p>
(5)	<p>SVO word order NP + NP</p> <p>Ghanaa’im mawqi3at-il-gahsh : [‘iid wahda]</p> <p>MSA MSA ECA</p> <p>غنائم موقعة الجحش ايد واحدة</p> <p>We became stronger after the incident of the donkey (camel)</p> <p>In this clause, the last part represents ECA constituents between brackets. However the structure should have gone this way if it is MSA:” ‘inna ghanaa’im”. The</p>

	<p>morphosyntactic structure is of ECA though all content morphemes before the brackets are in MSA</p>
(6)	<p>VSO order” VP + V+ PRCPL+ V</p> <p>yasqut alnidhaam ‘irhal [3aayza a3iish]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MSA ECA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">يسقط النظام ارحل عايضة أعيش</p> <p>Down with the regime go away, I want to live</p> <p>This clause represents the ML as MSA While EL as ECA. An EL island appears between parentheses in the last part of the ML system and the part outside the parentheses is an ML island, too.</p> <p>SVO word order NP (N+ PRP) +CONJ+NP(N+ PRP)</p>
(7)	<p>alqiraa’a lilgamii3 wa – zz/dh-dh ulm[3ag-gamii3]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MSA ECA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">القراءة للجميع و الظلم ع الجميع</p> <p>In this clause, we can regard it as ML+ EL constituents. The last part in parentheses represents a prepositional phrase in ECA. The way it is written as 3 not 3ala makes it ECA. However the numbers of morphemes are equal and the system is not clear to which variety it belongs and that renders it difficult to determine ML. Even if we take prepositions as system morphemes for M , it is still ambiguous. The structure could be regarded as ECA as the equivalent in MSA is “ ‘inna alqiraa’a lilgamii3”</p>
(8)	<p>SVO word order</p> <p>N+V +VP +NP</p>

<p>A <u>'irhal</u> ya baarid Leave you one with no feelings ارحل يابارد</p> <p>B <u>'irhal</u> 3aawiz atgawizz Leave I want to get married ارحل عايز اتجوز</p> <p>C <u>'irhal</u> ya 3amm il hagg Leave you old man ارحل يا عم الحاج</p> <p>D <u>'irhal</u> bil ma'luub yimkin tifhim yabu 3alaa' I turned it to the other direction lest you understand ارحل بالمقلوب يمكن تفهم يا فرعون</p> <p>E <u>'irhhal</u> ba'a khattibty wahashitny minnak lillah ya zaalim Come on leave I miss my fiancée you tyrant ارحل بقى خطيبتي وحشتني منك الله يا ظالم</p> <p>F <u>'irhal</u> ba'a ya 3amm 'inta ma3andaksh dam? Come on leave you don't have dignity? ارحل بقى يا عم انت معندكش دم؟</p> <p>G <u>'irhal</u> 'abl-i- ma al hawa yikhlas Leave before there is no oxygen ارحل قبل ما الهواء يخلص</p>

<p>H. <u>'irhal</u> ba'aa ya 3amm khalli 3andak dam Hey come on leave don't be senseless ارحل بقى يا عم خللى عندك دم</p> <p>I. <u>'irhal</u> kitfi waga3ni Leave , my shoulder hurts ارحل كتفى وجعنى⁴</p> <p>J. <u>'irhal</u> ya rikhim Leave you silly ارحل يا رخم</p> <p>K. <u>'irhal</u> sooty raah Leave my vocal cords are affected ارحل صوتى راح</p> <p>L. <u>'irhal</u> 'irhal ya gabaan ya 3amiil – al 'amrikaan[<u>yasqut 'albaqara-al-daahiqa</u>] Leave you chicken you American agent .Down with La vache qui rit (the laughing cow) ارحل ارحل يا جبان يا عميل الأمريكان</p> <p>M. <u>'irhal</u> miraaty wahashitny – [mutazawig mundhu 3ishreen yoom] Leave, I miss my wife.-just married 20 days ago. ارحل مراتى وحشتنى متزوج منذ عشرين يوم</p> <p>N <u>'irhal</u> il wiliyya 3ayza tewled wil walad mish 3aayiz yishuufak. Leave my wife is in labour and the baby does not want to meet you</p>

⁴ The underlined parts along with the brackets represent the ML which is in MSA and represented by the same word at the very beginning of each clause while in L and M represent the EL islands

<p>ارحل الولية عايزة تولد و الولد مش عايز يشوفك</p> <p>O <u>'irhal</u> ya khinziir/khanziir</p> <p>Leave you pig !</p> <p>ارحل يا خنزير</p> <p>P <u>'irhal</u> bilhiirughliifi yimkin tifham[ya fir3oon]</p> <p>ارحل بالهيرو غليفى يمكن تفهم يا فرعون</p> <p>I tell you leave in hieroglyphic lest you get it you Pharaoh</p> <p>Q. <u>'irhal</u> 'irhal ya fir3oon di raghbit 80 milioon</p> <p>ارحل ارحل يا فرعون دى رغبة 80 مليون</p> <p>Leave leave you pharaoh, this is the will of 80 Million people of Egypt</p> <p>System morpheme comes from ECA “di’ , a demonstrative and although the rest of the clause can be read as either , it is likely to be also in ECA so the number can be read as “tamaniin”</p> <p>R. <u>tahhdhiir:</u> 'irhhal 'abl-i- ma -ssa3ayda yiguulak</p> <p>تحذير : ارحل قبل ما الصعايدة يجولك</p> <p>Caution: Leave before the upper Egyptians come ,do you get it ?</p> <p>“abl ma “is a system morpheme from ECA. Content morphemes come from both MSA and ECA: “irhal “MSA and yiguulak “. Moreover, “yiguulak “ is verb +assimilated ECA preposition that makes one more system morpheme from ECA .ECA so the system renders ML in ECA</p> <p>S. 'irhal ya3ni 'imshi yalli mabtifhamshi</p> <p>ارحل يعنى امشى ياللى مابتفهمشى</p>

<p>“Leave” means get out you dumb</p> <p>System morphemes are evident in:”yalli “the ECA demonstrative as well as the affixes/ markers of negation in the verb “mabtifhamshi” and the verb “ya3ni” is in ECA used for explaining in ECA. In MSA it is “’irhal fi3l ya3ni...../kalmia ta3ni” so the structure is of ECA.</p> <p>In the majority of these clauses, ECA contributes with the larger number of morphemes, especially system morphemes like the demonstrative ”di” in example Q and in example F the ECA negative markers/ affixes in “ma3andaksh”.The same is applicable to example N in negative ECA marker “mish 3aayiz” This further asserts that ECA is the ML while the EL is represented by the verb”’irhal’ in MSA as a content morpheme; this is applicable in clause R as well, the only difference is an extra morpheme in the beginning of the clause: ”tahdhiir’ which is also a noun in MSA or ECA , it can be read either ways . In this last clause, the ML is ECA as its morphemes number exceeds that of EL:” tahdhiir: ’irhal”.</p> <p>The MLF here is represented by the ML+EL type of constituents.</p> <p>In sentences /clauses L and M, the ML is MSA while EL is ECA as there are final parts of MSA representing ML. In clause P the final part can be read either in MSA or ECA as “ya fir3oon/ya fir3awn “</p> <p>This sentence is unique as it hypothetically sets the turning point in the events and the clauses as well. The researcher proposes here that after the chain of the above clauses starting with“’irhal”, starting with MSA “ ’irhal” to other clauses including the same morpheme but with code switching as illustrated above, the protestors positions this specific one as a paraphrasing for all the slogans like the above . They repeat it again but more boldly with a language carefully chosen. They have said everything now and all their</p>

	<p>personal circumstances in a humorous way; the newly married, the longing for his fiancée, the one with a newly born, the scuba divers holding the slogan under wateretc. Now they say it boldly: “go away/leave” means out you idiot (you one who don’t get it). In other words, when using this slogan specifically, the protestors summarize, sum up and put it boldly and straightforward. In what we are focusing on here in this thesis, this particular clause stands as a clear turning point in the premises of the hypothesis.</p>
(10)	<p>SVO word order NP + PRP+ CONJ + PRCP</p> <p>mubarak abb likull il- masriyyiin/’almisriyyiin [wa yamlik] 70 milioon dolaar wi 3ayziin newres</p> <p>ECA MSA MSA ECA</p> <p>مبارك أب لكل المصريين و يملك 70 مليون دولار و عايزين نورث</p> <p>Mubarak is a father to all Egyptians and that is why we want to inherit his money, he owns 70 million dollars</p> <p>In this clause, it is difficult to determine the ML. The whole clause can be read in either MSA or ECA only till “3ayziin newres” However, the syntactic structure of this clause starts in ECA as the MSA equivalent would be “inna Mubarak abb likul almisriyyin” The ML as ECA dominates in morphosyntactic structure.</p>
(11)	<p>SVO word order</p> <p>N+ADJ +N</p> <p>Kintaaki [mughlaqa] ya ghabi</p> <p>MSA ECA</p>

	<p>كنتاكي مغلقة يا غبي</p> <p>Kentucky is closed you dumb</p> <p>This clause has the ML as ECA and EL as MSA because the morpho-syntactic system is of ECA while only one adjective “mughlaqa” is a content morpheme from MSA .In MSA morphosyntactic system the part of “ya ghabi’ is preferable to be at the beginning of the sentence”ya ghabiyy ‘inna kentaaki mughlaqa “ or “’inna kentaaki mughlaqa ya ghabiyy” .</p> <p>The MLF rule applicable here is that of ML+EL constituents.</p>
(12)	<p>SVO word order</p> <p>PRCPL V+ VP + NEG</p> <p><u>3aayiz aakul</u> [‘ayna wagbat kintaaky?] maftirtish mi-<u>s</u>subh ya kaddabiin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ECA MSA ECA</p> <p>عايز آكل أين وجبة كنتاكي ؟ ما فطرتش م الصبح يا كدابين</p> <p>I did not have breakfast till now and I am hungry. Where is the Kentucky meal you liars?</p> <p>In this example, system morphemes appear in negative markers/affixes in the verb “mabyifhamshi” and the assimilated preposition “mi” we have dominancy of ECA as ML while the inserted EL is “ayna wagbat kintaaky?”In the form of an EL island . The other morphemes of ML also form the MLF constituent, the ML islands appear in “3aayiz aakul” and “maftirtish mi-<u>s</u>subh ya kaddabiin”</p>
(13)	<p>SVO word order CONJ + NP + NEG + PRCPL</p> <p>[<u>h</u>atta al atfaal] mish 3ayziinak</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MSA ECA ECA</p>

	<p>حتى الأطفال مش عايزينك</p> <p>Even kids do not want you</p> <p>The first part can be regarded as either MSA or ECA. However, if we look closer to the morphosyntactic system we find it closer to that of ECA. The system morphemes are like “mish” that come from ECA so here the ML is ECA.</p>
(14)	<p>VSO word order: V+ CONJ + VP) + ECA word order SVO (NP+ 2PRP] + VSO (VP +PRP) + CONJ +VP + PRP+Prep+ VP+NEG +VP</p> <p>Bakaytu wa maziltu abki khatiibati ‘istushhidat <u>28 yanaayir</u> 3ala ‘aydi mufsiidiin min rigaali-sh-shurṭa ‘albaltagiyya wa naqaltu[-d- dibla] mina-l yamiin ‘ila[-sh-shimaal] hatta takuun zawgati ‘ila aakhir ‘al3umr li’ aquul laha[ma3aaya] wa lan ansaaki</p> <p>The ML in this clause is MSA as it contributes with the larger number of morphemes and the EL of ECA is salient in ML+EL constituents. This is represented in “wa naqaltu d- dibla min al yamiin ‘ila sh-shimaal “. System morphemes are represented in “min” and “3ala” which are both MSA/ECA;” ‘ila” is MSA;” li” is MSA; and finally ma3aaya” is ECA. Moreover, negation” lan comes from MSA. That means system morphemes majority number comes from MSA so it is ML.</p> <p>SVO word order (PR + N + PR+ INT)</p> <p>(15) ‘ana ash/’ish-sha3b [‘inta miin] ?</p> <p>MSA ECA ECA</p> <p>أنا الشعب إنت مين ؟</p> <p>I am the people, who are you?</p>

(16)	<p>. The interrogative “miin” in the second island is part of the CP of the clause which may form the EL so that ML is MSA and EL is ECA .In addition the interrogative is a system morpheme from ECA and the pronoun is written in a way on the slogan which makes it ambiguous. It is not clear whether from ECA or MSA. However, it is easier to say “‘inta miin “other than “‘anta miin”, so it forms a whole ECA island in the clause. In general, it is ambiguous</p> <p>SVO word order NP+NP+NP+NP + VP</p> <p><u>gum3et</u>/at ‘il/al rahiil <u>sabtel</u>/al/’il-laghadab <u>ahhad</u> ‘iz-za3al[‘itneen il ‘ahr/’al qahr]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MSA ECA</p> <p>thulaathaa’ il tafsh</p> <p>..... [yikhrīb beetak ‘irḥal ba’a]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ECA</p> <p>جمعة الرحيل سبت الغضب أحد الزعل اتنين القهر ثلاثاء الطفش... يخرب بيتك ارحل بقى</p> <p>This clause contains ECA islands represented in the parts between the brackets. For instance: all the names of the days are in MSA except the first and second ones can be read both ways. The third one is in ECA; it was written on the slogan with /t/ sound not /th/ and the following morpheme would be read also in ECA as it is easier; the fourth MSA. They could have been written in one variety only and represent consistency of using the days of the week in one variety .However, the user chooses to merge between the codes and this more or less illustrates code switching Moreover, some morphemes can also be read either ways such as “‘il’ahr/al qahr”. Although it looks difficult to determine here the ML, the researcher finds the structure closer to that of ECA and the morphemes of ECA are larger in number. Therefore, ML is ECA.</p>
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<p>(17)</p>	<p>SVO word order (DET+ N N + PRCPL+ DET N + CONJ+N)</p> <p>(‘irrahiil ‘irrahiil/‘arrahiil ‘arrahiil) [<u>ya baayi3</u>] (‘il’ard win-niil/’al ‘ard wa n-niil)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ECA MSA ECA ECA MSA</p> <p>Leaving Leaving you seller of the land and the Nile</p> <p>It is difficult to determine here the ML as the first part represented by brackets can be read with either an ECA or an MSA determiner. If the determiner is in ECA and the N in MSA then it may form an internal EL island and this makes the part in parenthesis the ECA part vague .This still makes it difficult to determine ML. Another option is that the parts in brackets are in MSA and the ones in paranthesis are in ECA which renders ML as MSA and EL as ECA because ML gives the larger number of morphemes. In general, this clause is ambiguos</p>
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8.12 Ambiguous Clauses

The researcher found difficulty in determining the ML in some clauses because of the possibility of reading some morphemes in both MSA and ECA. However, that does not affect applying the

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MLF rules on the clauses we have. There were options given in the analysis on how to determine the ML and EL in the clauses.

8.12.1 Examples

‘asha3b/’isha3b huwa/huwwa ‘al hakam

الشعب هو الحكم

People are the judge

It can be read either in MSA or ECA but with slight differences, as shown in the transcription.

Table 6 Slight differences between ECA and MSA clauses

	Number of occurrence	Percentage
Total clauses	133	100%
ECA clauses	40	30%
MSA clauses	44	33%
Total CS Clauses	47	35%
ECA Matrix	44	94 %
MSA Matrix	3	6.3%
Ambiguous clauses	3	35%

9 Discussion

Building on the points in the hypothesis section, we can focus more on the hypothesis drawn for this study. The Egyptian protestors initially wrote the slogans in MSA as the situation was formal. The president was still in power, and the protestors called for reforms to the existing system granting them freedom, fairness and basic human dignity (Khalidi 2011; Lesch, 2011).

After the protests escalated as the regime tried to repress them, the protestors' message changed. Now, after being neglected and brutalized, they urged the president to step down. Unlike international media outlets such as Al Jazeera, local channels insisted on not covering the protests (Bassiouney, 2012). Mubarak's obvious disdain for the Egyptian people along with the aggravating patronizing patriarchal tone of his late speeches was a major factor in inflaming the situation (Khalidi, 2011; Filii, 2011).

There are other social factors that also need to be considered. First, the protests started mostly with the stratum of educated Egyptians, including activist leaders and their followers (Lesch, 2011). Andersen (2011) notes that the first leader of the protests is Wael Ghoneim, the creator of Khaled Saeed's page on Facebook and a 29 year-old Google executive who planned the 25 January protest. Invitations were sent on Facebook to millions calling for the uprising. Other activists including Ahmed Maher a civil engineer and co-founder of the April 6th movement were invited. Andersen goes on to describe the situation through the words of activists he met right after the revolution: "From the start I thought it would succeed," 29 year-old, filmmaker Mohamed Ramadani; n my whole life I have never seen something like that." (2011, p.3)

Filii (2011) states that "plotting " and "under-ground oriented activity" were the main strategies of the protests. Twitter and Facebook witnessed three years of "militant networking". However

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they were not the only forum for the protests. He further adds that twenty activists met daily for three weeks, hosted by famous activists, Ziad Al Alimi, a youth organizers of Al Baradei Movement, in the Al-Agouza neighborhood.

This diversity of Egyptians in Tahrir Square was exemplified by the words of Khaled Tantawy, a Muslim Brotherhood member, “I saw all these different and surprising kinds of people protesting and thought, wow, this can happen,” (Andersen, 2011 p.3)

Egyptian mass protest culture urged protestors to use ECA as the variety expressed their national identity as the masses including different social, religious, educational and cultural backgrounds. Al Faramawy (2011) states that people initially attributed the revolution to the youth, but the youth revolution transformed to all people of Egypt revolution. The researcher hypothesizes that the youth referenced, i.e. the activists who followed Ghoneim’s invitation on Facebook, are the educated youth of Egypt. This necessitates the usage of a code that suits “all the people of Egypt,” a code that implies mass culture and an overarching Egyptian identity. This may be the same phenomenon Filiu (2011) refers to when he states in his third lesson of the Arab revolution that their language characterizes the revolutionary. He considers this generation to be the first to use popular Arabic. Different from religion-oriented and elitist Arabic witnessed by the past centuries, Filiu specifies the Arabic language used by the new generation or as he calls them in Arabic “*the shebab*” as not threatened by “colloquial inputs.” He further adds that any Arabic conversation that switches between the Standard and the vernacular effectively “spices” the Standard with “colloquial expressions.”

We can hypothesize that the Egyptians started with the MSA variety, a variety used with formalities, such as when the protestors addressed the president and the whole government. The

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formal tone of the protestors reflected the unmarked norms that they were in a formal, political situation requiring the standard variety. They asked deposed President Hosny Mubarak to leave in a formal and polite way, for instance “‘irhal” and ‘assha3b yuriid isqaat arra’iis/ annidhaam.” Khalidi (2011) further explains that, “The slogan raised first by the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutionaries,” which was in MSA, “is now everywhere from the Atlantic to the Gulf: “Alsha’b yurid isqat al-nizam (The people want the fall of the regime)” (p.6) .This is further evidence that the initial spread of the slogan to Egypt from Tunisia, and then further across the Middle East, was in MSA. However, in Egypt it was localized to ECA as the revolution progressed.

When the turn of events heralded a resistant regime determined to stay in power, they resorted to variety. A reminder of the words of the 46 year old man to Haeri; speaking in fusha will consume time and will not be realistic. (Haeri, 2009) The man’s words evoke the creation of a social context where the speaker and the recipient are on the same level.

Out of formality, the Egyptian protestors used the MSA variety, however, when they chose to apply “the exploratory maxim” as in Scotton’s MM “there is a clash of norms and role relationships” (Poztepe, 2009). In other words, as the protestors felt increasingly ignored they resorted to using the L variety instead of addressing the President politely and formally as in the beginning of the protests (Khalidi, 2011). This transition from H to L variety can be explained in using various sociolinguistic theories and factors.

Within the framework of code switching and paralinguistic factors, the speed of delivery signifies a change in role. Thus, as the protestors desired to hasten the speed of delivery of their message, they altered their code to ECA instead of MSA, which strengthened their position protesting against the regime. Furthermore, this shifted the nature of the message from non-

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personal to personal as the people are now speaking to the authorities in a new capacity. In this new role, they had power over the president and the government, especially after the numbers of protestors multiplied to include individuals from varying social strata and cultural, educational, and religious backgrounds (Shaheen, 2011).

Myers-Scotton (1993) has three maxims that she believes appear in bilingual conversation. First, when the speaker wants to switch from the unmarked, MSA in this case, to the marked, ECA, according to the changes in the situation during the interaction to another. Second, when the speaker wants to increase social distance and aesthetic effect, the markedness maxim is chosen. Last, the third maxim as Garfinkel (1976) notes that exploring a choice takes place when vagueness appears regarding the unmarked community norms supposedly agreed upon in the interaction (Poztepe, 2009). Moreover, Myers-Scotton says that this last maxim takes place when there is a clash between norms and role relationships (Poztepe, 2009). An example is drawn about the sister and brother at work where the sister uses their mother tongue Lwidakho to emphasize solidarity of their brother-sister relationship whereas, the brother replies in the formal variety Swahili that is used at work to emphasize that she will be addressed and treated as a customer.

In accordance with Myers-Scotton's notion of "minimizing costs and maximizing rewards," the demonstrators wanted to seek a quick and effective way to deliver their message rapidly. Thus, they resorted to switching from MSA to ECA as it required minimal effort.

The questionnaire conducted by the researcher to collect data about the language of the written revolution banners renders a significant percentage of the nine questions which are respectively: 100%, 93%, 83%, 93%, 97%, 100%, 87%, 87%, and 97%. The ones in favour of the existence of

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code switching from MSA to ECA in the written banners: questions 4, 5, 6 that focus on CS directly also show a high percentage 93% 97% 100%.

The application of the MLF model on almost 133 clauses taken from the written slogans of the revolution show that clauses that represent ECA matrix are 44 with percentage of 94 while the ones with MSA as matrix only represent 3 clauses; 6.3%.

These results of the questionnaire show that people are aware of the existence of ECA in the revolution's written slogans and most important the existence of the phenomenon of CS which answers the first questions "Did the Egyptians code switch from MSA to ECA in the Egyptian revolution banners?" Code switching from MSA to ECA in the slogans occurred approximately around the middle of the revolution, and definitively before the end. This answers the research question referred to formerly in the introduction: "When did Egyptians code switch from MSA to ECA? Almost all questionnaire participants' acknowledge the importance of code switching in delivering the messages of the protestors. The results of the questionnaire show that people are well-aware of the protestors' resorting to code switching as a technique to attain certain aims of the revolution including: unifying all the Egyptian protestors, fast delivery of the message to the regime and the president, inviting others to join; and spreading the slogans quickly amongst themselves and others which answers the third research question "Why did Egyptians code switch from MSA to ECA in the Egyptian revolution?"

Analysis shows that there is a significant percentage of ECA in the data collected. Pure ECA comprise approximately 30 percent of the total 133 clauses collected. The application of the MLF revealed that the ML percentage of ECA is 94 percent, a significant amount in comparison with the occurrence of MSA as ML and ambiguous sentences. However, the occurrence of pure

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MSA clauses in the total data collected is 33 percent, not an insignificant amount which may indicate that protestors used MSA slogans before they started gradually code switching to some ECA then finally moving to pure ECA.

The percentage of CS clauses is 35 percent of the total 133 clauses; a modicum amount signifies protestors likely spent a reasonable amount of time in this stage before resorting to pure ECA slogans.

The SVO word order of many sentences is worth mentioning here. The researcher faced some difficulty at the beginning of investigating and then analyzing the collected data. As expected, an MSA word order would allow a big number of sentences /clauses that start with a verb, VSO word order. However, almost all the CS clauses witness an SVO one. This denotes the role played by the media in resorting to some techniques to capture the interest and attention of the audience by starting the sentence with the noun even if it is in MSA.

Ambiguity in dealing with some sentences sometimes hindered the application of the MLF model; however the researcher persevered to find a way out by making some hypothesis or options when applying the model. The difficulty was mainly caused by the clauses that can be read either ways MSA /ECA. Accordingly, the application of the MLF M by Myers-Scotton (1993) on these clauses needed some propositions in order to try to apply it.

The research findings emphasize that the phenomenon of code switching existed in the written slogans of the Egyptian revolution 2011. This written code switching is significant because although, code switching is generally accepted in spoken Arabic, it is often viewed as corrupting the language in written Arabic, especially outside academic domains.

However, as the experience of the protestors and code switching, during the Egyptian revolution indicates, code switching in written Arabic also has a relevant place. Building on Bassiouney's (2010) idea that code switching and role are related, this thesis demonstrates that the protestors chose ECA code when they wanted to express their anger and embrace their new role or identity as having power over the regime. Ultimately, the speaker's decision to change his code can be the result of a conscious decision to change his role. The significance of this linguistic feature can be generalized in different roles and structures in the Egyptian society.

The merging between MSA and ECA in daily life is a distinctive linguistic feature of Arabic which cannot be linguistically denied or regarded as a barrier to use or learn the language. This can be seen on the political level as seen from the language analysis of political speeches, for example, Bassiouney's (2006) linguistic analysis of former president Mubarak's speeches. This can also be seen on current TV political shows and interviews.

Understanding the code switching that occur from MSA to ECA in the written slogans of the revolution can help us understand how to deal with code switching in AFL field, and where it may be beneficial for instructors and students as well. This encompasses many significant and worth to mention issues at this point: proficiency exams and assessment.

9.1 Proficiency exams and written CS

In order to reach near native proficiency levels, a learner should be able to speak and understand DA as equally as MSA. Hence, the questions of proficiency tests can be done in DA/ ECA or MSA equally. An Arabic language learner needs to learn the colloquial for daily situations and activities and that is why the Arabic language programs include both varieties; namely, MSA and DA. It is worthless to learn MSA without a colloquial variety that enables daily contact with

natives and guarantee the fulfillment of daily needs and different situations. It is worth to note also that the tendency to use ECA in Egypt is higher than other Arabic country (Versteegh, 1997) which sheds light on the importance to learn the dialect. The importance of code switching in Arabic language speaking is important and significant as noted from previous studies in the Literature. However, a suggestion to proficiency tests is to add the writing skill section where code switching between the two varieties would be taken as a natural phenomenon in writing as it appears in the findings of this thesis.

9.2 Assessment

To code switch between MSA and ECA and vice versa is a characteristic of natives. And, hence, the ability to code switch between MSA and ECA and vice versa would be very beneficial if included in the assessment criteria. However, this operation may take some perseverance from the instructors and the learners as well. Going through stages of difficulty on the psychological and linguistic levels can occur.

Students who knowingly choose to participate in “a bilingual program” still face difficulties, especially at the beginning of the program. All proficiency levels of AFL students, including advanced level students who know the patience and perseverance it takes to learn a second language, struggle with diglossia and diglossic code switching in Arabic. The researcher recalls students who have made comments such as, “it’s crazy” regarding diglossia and many other students were not aware there are many diglossic languages besides Arabic.

Students in a writing program, for example, face problems when they mix words from MSA and ECA in their assignments. The syntactic and morphosyntactic merging of mistaken rules can be a difficult for both the student and the teacher. When their interlanguage is still working and some

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points and stages are not yet activated, both get frustrated. The role of the instructor here is to help and guide the student in order to focus on achieving the goals of the program or course.

In Arabic programs in many American, and some Arab universities, educated spoken Arabic is used in class or other varieties that mix between MSA and colloquial Arabic. However, when we discuss writing, the mixing or code switching between MSA and ECA is viewed as jeopardizing or spoiling Fus-sha. The researcher agrees with this to some extent but with caveats. As native speakers use code mixing or code switching in many domains of their daily life, an advanced or near native student will do the same in memos, notes, cell phone messages and maybe some e-mails. However, beginners and intermediate proficiency levels will face difficulties if there is tendency to neglect mistakes coming from CS between the colloquial variety or ECA in their writing.

Instructors who use only MSA in speaking may appear strange sometimes because it does not resemble reality, outside of an environment in which individual's are presenting lectures or speeches. However, the domains of writing can vary as do the domains of speaking. For a student who is newly learning Arabic, s/he needs to know the domains used for varieties even if only as background information to facilitate increased proficiency later on.

10 Summary and Conclusion (Pedagogical Implications)

To sum up, the January 25th Egyptian Revolution provides us with suitable data to depict the phenomenon of CS in written slogans. CS appears to be a mostly effective technique used to deliver a quick message, unify people, and sometimes paraphrase words, especially during a critical national situation.

Depicting the written slogans direct us to focus on new directions tied to this linguistic feature. The written slogans will last forever as documentation for the event; and hence for the code switching phenomenon between MSA and ECA. Taking into consideration language change, documenting this event is an important issue as well as documenting language itself. The varieties of Arabic are documented against any change or any new attempts to change the use or functions of varieties. In other words, the importance of documenting the language stands against language change and time. In addition, this documentation is beneficial for teaching the varieties of Arabic henceforth in facing language change through the passage of time.

The possibility to apply Myers-Scotton's MLF M (1993) on the collected data, and especially, on classic diglossic code switching between MSA and colloquial Arabic paves the way for further research on the best ways to benefit from written code switching in teaching AFL. This draws our attention to the necessity of more works to be done on Arabic written code switching. The current works done are very rare as noted from the literature review.

The researcher would like to shed more light on the limitations of this study. It did not take into consideration gender or nationality in regards to participants nor did it take into consideration the phonological and semantic levels of the language of the written slogans. These can be taken into consideration for further research. The 4M model of Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) was not taken into account either. The 4M model could have helped in determining the ML in many ambiguous clauses in the data. The researcher assumes that the idea of early morphemes would have helped significantly. Determining system and content morphemes at the very beginning saves time and effort more than calculating their numbers only. The researcher found out its significance only during finalizing the analysis of data. This is an implication for other studies that will replicate this one or any other studies tackling written code switching in Arabic.

10.1 Activities to practice CS

Intermediate students can conduct limited discussions on Blackboard for their course. Their language naturally focuses on MSA in an MSA course, but it would be fruitful if they start to train themselves in colloquial Arabic; practising the productive skills for ECA variety may make the whole CS operation easier for the learner. Even if they learn to use colloquial Arabic in making side remarks, learning to code switch, especially with assistance from their instructor will be beneficial for them. It is significant if a learner practises getting enough exposed to ECA and trains his/her productive skills from the very beginning.

In addition to Blackboard discussions, realia can be used as a weekly activity. For example, sending messages and e-mails that include CS clauses before conducting outside class activities as watching movies, attending lectures.....etc can be done and monitored by the instructor.

For higher proficiency levels starting from intermediate-mid, activities can be done such as play writing. Students can make drafts for their own plays written in CS and practise them throughout the semester and later act them out in semester parties. As in Jonsson (2010) theatre plays can be seen as a reflection of real life language. Hence, CS can be made beneficial for complexity of plots and characters. Even if done in a simple way, learners will make use of the practice in interaction in daily life and in different domains.

The idea of the written slogans can be followed also in Arabic classes of higher proficiency levels as high-intermediate, advanced and superior. The instructor divides the class in groups in which each chooses a topic related to politics, society or any other argumentative one. The students can display their own slogans that include CS on the walls.

11 References

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<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4f4rxNh8WM>

12 Appendix 1: Written Banners Corpus

1. 'irhal 3aawiz atgawizz

ارحل عاوز اتجوز

2. 'irhal ya 3amm il hagg

ارحل يا عم الحج

3. 'irhal bil ma'luub yimkin tifhim yabu 3alaa'

ارحل بالمقلوب يمكن تفهم يا ابو علاء

4. 'irhal ba'a khattibty wahashitny minnak lillah ya zaalim

ارحل بقى خطيبتي وحشتني منك الله يا ظالم

5. 'irhal ba'a ya 3amm 'inta ma3andaksh dam ?

ارحل بقى يا عم انت معندكش دم

6. 'irhal 'abl-i- ma al hawa yikhlas

ارحل قبل ما الهواء يخلص

7. 'irhal ba'aa ya 3amm khalli 3andak dam

ارحل بقى يا عم خلي عندك دم

8. 'irhal kitfi waga3ni

ارحل كتفي وجعني

9. 'irhal ya rikhim

ارحل يا رخم

10. 'irhal sooty raah

ارحل صوتي راح

11. 'irhal 'irhal ya gabaan ya 3amiil – al 'amrikaan yasqut 'aldaqara-al-daahiqa

ارحل ارحل يا جبان يا عميل – الامريكان يسقط البقرة الضاحكة

12. 'irhal miraaty wahashitny –mutazawig mundhu 3ishreen yoom

ارحل مراتي وحشتتي منزوج منذ عشرين يوم

13. 'irhal il wiliyya 3ayza tewled wil walad mish 3aayiz yishuufak.

ارحل الولية عايزة تولد و الولد مش عايز يشوفك

14. 'irhal ya3ni 'imshi yalli mabtifhamshi

ارحل بعني امشي يللي مبتفهمشي

15. 'irhal bilhiirughliifi yimkin tifham ya fir3oon

ارحل بالهيرو غلبي يمكن تفهم يا فرعون

16. 'asha3b yuriid 'isqaat 'arra'iis : bil3arabi 'imshi ya mubarak

الشعب يريد اسقاط الرئيس : بالعربي امشي با مبارك

17. 'irhal 'irhal ya fir3oon di raghbit 80 milioon

ارحل ارحل يا فرعون دي رغبة 80 مليون

tahhdhiir: 'irhhal 'abl-i- ma -ssa3ayda yiguulak

تحذير ارحل قبل ما الصعايدة يجولك

19. irhal ya baarid

ارحل يا بارد

20. 'irhal ba'a ya 3amm 'inta ma3andaksh dam ?

ارحل بقي يا عم انت ما عندكش دم؟

21. thawrat sibaa3 mish thawrat giyyaa3

ثورة سباع مش ثورة جياع

22. ya mubarak ghoor ghoor mish hhanu'af taani fi taboor

يا مبارك غور غور مش حنقف تاني في الطابور

23. hatta al attfaal mish 3ayziinak

حتى الاطفال مش عايزينك

24. inta ghaby? teeet 'inta hhmaar walla eeh ?

انت غبي؟ تيببيت انت غبي ولا ايه؟

Amin

25. gum3et el rahiil sabetl ilghadab ahhad il za3al 'itneen il 'ahr thulaathaa' il tafsh yikhrib beetak 'irhhal ba'a

جمعة الرحيل سبت الغضب احد الزعل اتنين القهر ثلاثاء الطفش يخرّب بيتك ارحل بقي

26. ma3lish ya baladi 'it'akhart 3aleeki

معلش يا بلدى اتأخرت عليكي

27. 'ana zihi't min kintaaki 'irhhamny wir-rhhal

أنا زهقت من كنتاكي ارحمني و ارحل

28. tahhdhiir : 'irhhal 'abl-i- ma -ssa3ayda yigoolak

تحذير: ارحل قبل ما الصعايدة يجولك

29. 'irhhal ba'a khaṭibti waḥashitni minnak lillah ya zaalim

ارحل بقي خطيبتني وحشتني منك الله يا ظالم

30. yakhi tiit nuktet el sawra 3amalna sawra 3alashaan ilmakhloo3 yit3aalig 3ala yadd tabiib 'almaany wi shababna min il musabiin mish la'yiin 3ilaag huwwa f mustashfa lwahdu wi humma luwahduhum fil 3azaab yakhi tiit

ياخي تيبب نكتة الثورة عملنا ثورة علشان المخلوع يتعالج على يد طبيب الماني و شبابنا من المصابين مش لاقين علاج هو في مستشفى لوحده و هم لوحدهم في العذاب تيبب

31. mubarak yuriid taghyiir ish-sha3b

مبارك يريد تغيير الشعب

32. 'ihna 'ish-sha3b il masri/'al misri il hurr did il 'ahr/'al qahr we did il zulm

احنا الشعب المصري الحر ضد القهر و ضد الظلم

33. raabitat naggari misr yas'aluuna al'osta mubarak ma naw3 alghiraa3 aladhi tastakhdimahu ?

رابطة نجاري مصر يسألونك الاسطى مبارك ما نوع الغراءالذى تستخدمه ؟

34. abu 3alaa' ḥaasil 3ala dibluuma fil borood

ابو علاء حاصل على دبلومة في البرود

35. tabb khallek 'inta we nimshy ihna

طب خليك انت و نمشي احنا

36. kifaaya ghataata

كفاية غتاتة

Amin

37. 'irhal ya baarid

ارحل يا بارد

38. 'irhal 3aawiz atgawizz

ارحل عايز اتجوز

39. 'irhal ya 3amm il hagg

ارحل يا عم الحج

40. kintaaki ahu

كنتاكي اهو

41. abuus rigl ummak 'irhal

ابوس رجل امك ارحل

42. usbuu3 ya rayyis wala hatta telefoon

اسبوع يا ريس ولاحتى تليفون

43. issa3ayda 'aluuha 'irhal 'ahsan wenta 3aarif

الصعايدة قالوها ارحل احسن وانت عارف

44. alqiraa'a lilgamee3 wa - zzulm 3aggamee3

القراءة للجميع و الظلم على الجميع

45. ilwara' khiliṣ 'a3millak eh taani ?

الورق خلص اعملك ايه تاني

46. 'uddaamak sikkit safar

قدامك سكة سفر

47. kintaaki mughlaqa ya ghabi

كنتاكي مغلق يا غبي

48. 'irhal bilma'loob yimkin tifhim yabu 3alaa'

ارحل بالمقلوب يمكن تفهم يا أبو علاء

49. 'allahuma 'irfa3 3anna al ghalaa' wal balaa' wabu 3alaa'

اللهم ارفع عنا الغلاء و البلاء و أبو علاء

Amin

50. zihi't min kentaaky 3aawiz lah_hma

زهقت من كنتاكي عاوز لحمه

51. nihayitkum /nihaayatakum 'arrabit

نهايتكم قربت

52. 'intaha addars ya ghaby 'irhal ya tinih

انتهى الدرس يا غبي ارحل يا تنح

53. yasqut alnidhaam 'irhal 3aayza a3eesh

يسقط النظام ارحل عايز اعيش

54. assahafyyuun yu'ayiduun ma_taalib assha₃b wa rahiil ra's annidhaam wa kaafat romoozih

الصحفيون يؤيدون مطالب الشعب و رحيل رأس النظام و كافة رموزه

55. minuufi baraa'a min husni Mubarak

منوفي براءة من حسني مبارك

56. ya mubarak 'ib₃id 3anna kfaya ba'a sibna fhalna

يا مبارك ابعدهنا كفاية بقى سينبنا في حالنا

57. 'illy yitkisif min mubarak maygebshi minnu fluus

اللي يتكسف من مبارك ميجبشي منه فلوس

58. 'irhal ya₃ni 'imshi yalli mabtifhamshi

ارحل يعني امشي يللي ما بتفهمشي

59. la lil ta₃tiim il'i₃laamy min al tilivizioon ilmasry

لا للتعظيم الاعلامي من التلفزيون المصري

60. algaysh wa shsha₃b ma₃an huma misr

الجيش و الشعب معاً هما مصر

61. ghadan masirat almiyyoon

غداً مسيرة المليون

62. 80 milioon_biy_naadu la limubarak wa 'awladih

80مليون بينادوا لا لمبارك و اولاده

Amin

63. ghadan althawra almiliyooniya ‘inshur likull-in-naas

غداً الثورة المليونية انشر لكل الناس

64. thawra-tal karaama ashsha3b yuriid ‘isqaatannidhaam

ثورة الكرامة الشعب يريد اسقاط النظام

65. nisf qarn 3ala thawra yulyu thawrat/it al/ilkaraama.

نصف قرن على ثورة يوليو ثورة الكرامة

66. hal ra’ayta ra’iis aghba min Mubarak ?

هل رأيت رئيس أغبي من مبارك ؟

67. zuzu targuuk ‘imshi ba’a ‘ana 3ayza ‘atfarrag 3ala ilkartoon

زوزو ترجوك امشي بقى أنا عايزة اتفرج على الكرتون

68. baay baay mubaarak mubaylaat ba’a

باي باي مبارك موبيلات بقى

69. law mish 3aayiz gadda fi ir-riaad fid-dammam fi is-siin is-siin helwa -ma3al ‘i3tidhaar limhammad hineedi

لو مش عايز جدة فيه الرياض فيه الدمام فيه الصين الصين حلوة -مع الاعتذار ل محمد هنيدي

70. da law kaan 3afriit kan insaraf

ده لو كان عفريت كان انصرف

71. ‘ingiz 3ashaan 3andina sanawiyya 3amma.

انجز عشان عندنا ثانوية عامة

72. law mastahamitsh in-naharda fbitna hastahama bukra fi ‘asr irriyaasa

لو مستحمتش النهاردة في بيتنا حاستحى بكرة في قصر الرئاسة

73. Shuhadda’ ‘al3abbaara yubalighuuk tahiyyat asmaak il ‘irsh / qirsh

شهداء العبارة يبلغوك تحيات اسماك القرش

74. ‘ana 3andi fikra liik ta3aala wana ‘akhabbiik faasil wa nuwaasil et-televisioon elmasri

أنا عندي فكرة ليك تعالي أخيبك فاصل و نواصل التلفزيون المصري

75. khalli Isra’iil tenfa3ak

Amin

خللي اسرائيل تنفعاك

76. hatta-n- nasr thawra fii kull shawaari3 Misr/Masr

حتى النصر الثورة في كل شوارع مصر

77. mubarak abb likull il- masriyyiin/'almisriyyiin [wa yamlik] 70 milioon dolaar wi 3ayziin newres

مبارك أب لكل المصريين و يملك 70 مليون دولار و عايزين نورث

78. 30 sana fasaad, sariqa/sir'a, ta3dh/ziib, 'i3tiqaal,

30 سنة فساد ، سرقة ، تعذيب ، اعتقال

79. dh/zulm, kabt, wu3uud faari/gha, 'istikhfaaf, fa'/qr, bay3/bee3, 'istibdaad

ظلم ، كبت ، وعود فارغة استخفاف ، فقر /...../ استبداد

80. gahl, xawf/xoof, qahr/'ahr.

جهل خوف قهر

81. maydaan/midaan it –at-tahriir huwa/huwwa ramz thawratina/sawritna

ميدان التحرير هو رمز ثورتنا

82. at-tawaari' hiyya 'alirhaab 'alhaqiiqiyy/ 'ilha'ii'i

الطوارئ هي الارهاب الحقيقي

83. algaysh/geesh hamaana wa ma zaal yahmiina fi-l-maydaan

الجيش حمانا و مازال يحمينا في الميدان

84. al'i3laan 'al3aalamiyy yatamarkaz fi-lmaydaan/ miidaan

الاعلان الاعلامي يتمركز في الميدان

85. ma3r fii khatar 'ilas3aar naar

مصر في خطر الاسعار نار

86. hatta-n- nasr thawra fii kull-i- shawaari3 Misr/Masr

حتى النصر ثورة في كل شوارع مصر

87. ya mubarak sahhi -nnoom in-naharda 'aakhir yoom

يا مبارك صح النوم النهارده آخر يوم

Amin

88. 'inta z3ilt ya rayyis ihna kunna binhazzar

انت زعلت يا ريس إحنا كنا بنهزر معاك

89. 'inta z3ilt ya husnyi di -lkamiral -khafiyya

إنت زعلت يا حسنى دى الكاميرا الخفية

90. 'ash-sha3b yuriid 'isqaat 'ar-ra'iis

الشعب يريد إسقاط الرئيس

91. 'al hurriyya lil sha3b 'al khubz lilfuqaraa' 'al 3amal lilmuta3attiliin - hizb al karaama

الحرية للشعب الخبز للفقراء العمل للمتعطلين - حزب الكرامة

92. ya suzaan khayfa 3aleeh hangibhuulik min rigleeh

يا سوزان خايفة عليه حنجبيهولك من رجليه

93. 'insarif 'a3uudhu billahi minal shaytaan 'irajiim

انصرف أعود بالله من الشيطان الرجيم

94. issa3ayda 'aluuha ['irhal 'ahsan] winta 3aarif

الصعايدة قالوها ارحل أحسن و انت عارف

95. da law kaan 3afreet kaan 'insaraf

ده لو كان عفريت كان انصرف

96. khabar 3aagil: umm maşriyya tudahhi bi'abnaa'iha fi muqaabil 'iqaalat 'alra'iis wa 'isqaat 'alnidhaam al faasid wa Mubarak yudahhi bisha3bimasr/misr muqaabil kibryaa'ih

خبر عاجل : أم مصرية تضحى بأبنائها فى مقابل إقالة الرئيس و اسقاط النظام الفاسد و مبارك يضحى بشعب مصر مقابل كبريائه

97. mukaafa'a mugzia liman yaqbid 3ala musagaliin khatiriin mubaarak wa habiib il 3adly

مكافأة مجزية لمن يقبض على مسجلين خطرين مبارك حبيب العادلى

98. taa'iraat al3aal 'alisraa'iliyya turahhib bimubaarak

طائرات العال الاسرائيلية ترحب بمبارك

99. katiibat 'al'i3daam haa'ulaa' hum'alqatala

كتيبة الإعدام هؤلاء هم القتلة

100. Mubarak mukhtall 3aqliyyan

مبارك مختل عقليا

101. 'aflaam mubaarak tuqaddim fil 'ihmy beetak
أفلام مبارك تقدم فيلم احمى بيتك
102. khurugna yu3arrid tadhahurna lidukhuul 3anaasir mukharriba
خروجنا يعرض تظاهرننا لدخول عناصر مخربة
103. masr/misr agmal biduun Mubarak
مصر أجمل بدون مبارك
- 104 'irhal
ارحل
105. 'As-sha3b yuriid 'isqaatan-nidhaam : bil3arabi 'imshi ya mubarak
الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام : بالعربي امشى يا مبارك
106. faasil wa nuwaasil et-televisioon elmasri
فاصل و نواصل التلفزيون المصرى
107. ghabi mabyifhamsh, leh fihimt mit'akhar? suquut is-saffaah
غبي مبيفهمش ليه فهمت متأخر ؟ سقوط السفاح
108. Thawrat/sawret 'il/al karaama ashsha3b yuriid 'isqaat an-nidhaam
ثورة الكرامة الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام
109. ash-sha3b yuriid 'isqaat 'an-nidhaam
الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام
110. nahnu laa nuriidak 'ana kaatibha bissiini 'aslu mabyifhamsh 3arabi
نحن لا نريدك أنا كاتبها بالصيني أصله مابيفهمشى عربي
111. 'asha3b/'isha3b huwa/huwwa 'al hakam
الشعب هو الحكم

13 Appendix 2: Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is about the language of the 18 days of the Egyptian revolution that appeared on the written signs in January 2011, please answer the following questions:

1. What was the language used in the 18 days of the Egyptian revolution written signs?

2. Do you think the protestors used a variety of codes of the language used throughout the 18 days?

3. If the answer is “yes”, when was that approximately throughout the 18 days?

X _____ X _____ X

At the beginning in the middle towards the end

4. If they code-switched from a code to another, why do you think this happened?

5. Do you think changing the code influenced the delivery of the message of the protestors? Why?

6. Do you think it is more suitable to choose only one code such as: ECA (Egyptian colloquial), MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or another code for the written signs from the beginning? Why?

7. If the protestors actually used MSA code/variety of language, who used it first?

X _____ X _____ X

Amin

Muslim brothers educated youth all educated Egyptians generally

Why?

8. If you think the protestors used ECA, who used it? Why?

X.....X.....X.....X.....X

Semi cultured uneducated cultured & well educated All other

9. How do you see in general changing the code/variety of a language on a message of a speaker why?

14 Appendix 3: Banners used in the Revolution



Picture 1 Min agli dimaa'ikum lan natruka maydaan 'attahriir hatta yarhal 'alqatala

من أجل دمائكم لن نترك ميدان التحرير حتى يرحل القتلة

For your blood sake we will not leave Tahrir square till the murderers leave



Picture 2 'irḥal ya3ni 'imshy yalli mabtifhamshi

ارحل يعني امشى ياللى مابتفهمشى

“Leave” means get out you dumb



Picture 3 assha3b yuriid 'isqaat annidh

الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام بالعربي : امشى يا مبارك
People want to overthrow the president in slang: leave Mubarak



aam bil3arabi 'imshi ya mubarak

Picture 4 'assha3b yuriid 'isqaat 'arra'iis

الشعب يريد اسقاط الرئیس

People want to overthrow the president



Picture 5 Kintaaky mughlaqa ya ghabi

كنتاكي مغلقه يا غبي

Kentucky is closed you dumb



Picture 6 Law mish 3aayiz gadda fii 'irriiad fii 'iddammaam fii 'issiin ...'iss

لو مش عايز جدة في الرياض في الدمام في الصين... الصين حلوة (مع الاعتذار لهندي)

If you don't want Jeddah, you can go to Dammam or China; China is beautiful. (With apology to Henedy)



Picture 7 'irḥal 'abl-i-mal hawa yikhlās
'il' i3tidhaar liheneedi)
ارحل قبل ما الهواء يخلص

iin helwa (ma3a

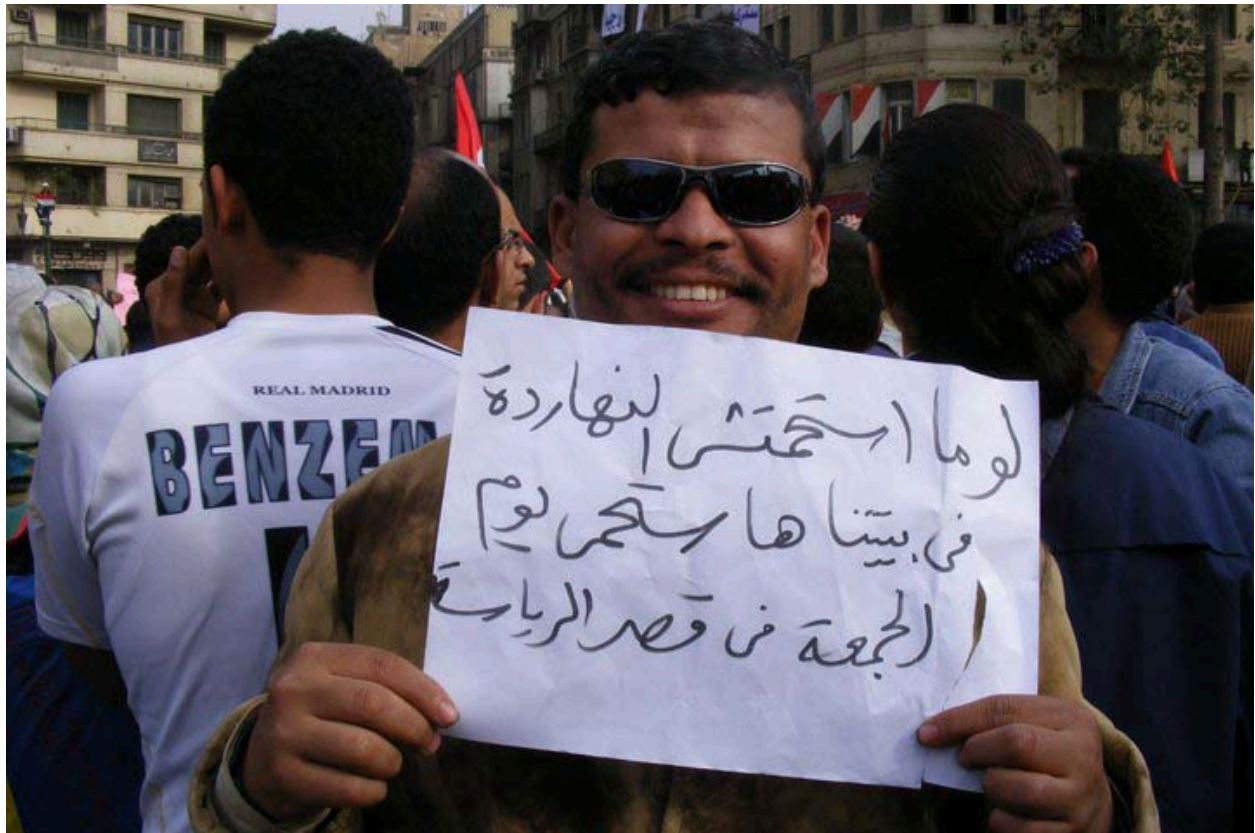
Leave before there is no oxygen



Picture 8 da law kaan 3afriit kaan inṣaraf (ma3 ‘al ‘i3tidh

ده لو كان عفريت كان انصرف (مع الاعتذار لإبليس)

If it was a jinni, we could have got rid of it (apologies to the devil)



aar li 'ibliis)

Picture 9 law mastahamitsh innaharda fbitna hastahamma yoom ilgom3a f'asr 'ir-riyaasa

لو ماستحمتش النهارده في بيتنا حاستحمي يوم الجمعة في قصر الرئاسة

If I did not take a shower today at home I will take it on Friday at the president's house.



Picture 10 ‘irhal miraati wahashitni mutazawwig mundh

ارحل مراتي وحشتني منذ عشرين يوم

Leave, I miss my wife; only married 20 days ago



Picture 11 haana waqta al 'i3tidhaar lilthuwwaar hatta la yuṣiibakumul 3aar

حان وقت الاعتذار للثوار حتى لا يصيبكم العار

It is time to apologise to the protestors so that you will not be disgraced

u 3ishriin yoom



Picture 12 'aflam Mubarak tuqaddim film 'ihmy beetak butulat habiib 'al3adly wal baltagiyya

أفلام مبارك تقدم فيلم احمى بيتك بطولة حبيب العادلى و البلطجية

Mubarak films presents protect your home starring habeeb Al 3adly and the thugs



Picture 13 'ism 'al taalib Muhammad husni Mubarak : raasib

اسم الطالب محمد حسنى مبارك : راسب

Name of student Muhammed Husni Mubarak: Failed



Picture 14 'irhal ba'a' 'iidi waga3itni

ارحل بقى أيدي وجعتني

Leave my hands hurt me



Picture 15 khabar 3aagil:

umm masriyya tudahhi bi'abnaa'iha fi muqaabil 'iqaalat 'alra'iis wa 'isqaat 'alnidhaam al faasid wa Mubarak yudahhi bisha3bimasr/misr muqaabil kibryaa'ih

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Breaking news: An Egyptian mother sacrifices her sons in favor of overthrowing the president and the regime but Mubarak sacrifices his people for his pride.



Picture 16 'irhal kitfi waga3ny

ارحل كتفي واجعني

Leave my shoulder hurts



Picture 17 'assha3b yuriid 'isqaat annidh

الشعب يريد اسقاط النظام

People want to overthrow the regime