

EDUCATORS' AND PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODE SWITCHING
BY ARAB BILINGUALS: PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

A THESIS IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

This study explores educators' and parents' attitudes towards the phenomenon of Arabic-English code switching (CS) in the culturally and linguistically diverse context of the UAE. Arabic-English language mixing is a widespread linguistic behavior among adults as well as younger bilingual speakers due to the pervasiveness of English and bilingualism in both educational and social settings. To investigate different attitudes towards this language phenomenon, the following research seeks to determine whether monolingual and bilingual educators and parents perceive the mixing of Arabic and English as a problem that interferes with the development of bilingual competence, and leads to mental confusion, relative or even lack of proficiency, and native language loss; or as findings from recent research suggest they see CS as a strategy that bilingual children use to develop their communicative competence and conversational skills during peer interaction. More specifically, this study seeks to answer three questions. The first question examines parents' and teachers' awareness of the widespread use of code switching since it is a typical aspect of the speech of Arab bilinguals at school and in social contexts. The second question looks at the reasons underlying the stigma that code switching carries as perceived by parents and educators showing sensitivity to this linguistic phenomenon. One of the possible reasons that underlie negative views of code switching is the extent of parents' and educators' understanding (or lack of it) of the functions and dimensions of CS as a skillful demonstration of bilingual proficiency rather than the result of lack of competence in one or both of the languages. And finally the third question addresses the difference between the attitudes of "younger" versus "older"

participants towards the use of language alternation by young learners. The results of the surveys indicated that although CS does not seem to be highly valued among participants, the “older” group of respondents showed more tolerance toward young Arab learners’ code switching.

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: ATTITUDES TOWARD CODE SWITCHING AMONG YOUNG ARAB BILINGUALS

Background

As the United Arab Emirates (UAE) continues to grow as a multilingual society, members of culturally and linguistically diverse populations live, work, interact, and communicate with one another in different settings and contexts. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity has led to the pervasiveness of English as the "lingua franca" for both Arab and non-Arab expatriates. One of the significant outcomes of this cultural and linguistic diversity is the evolution of a conversational mode among bilingual speakers where elements from two distinct codes appear in the same interaction and even the same sentence. The mixing of elements of different languages in a single discourse has become a hallmark of bilingual communities around the world, and the UAE is no exception, although it still "lacks a generally accepted terminology" (Auer, 1995, p.116).

The switching from one language to another has attracted a considerable amount of attention and research for more than four decades, from scholars and researchers who have studied this language contact phenomenon from a number of perspectives: linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, neurolinguistic, formal and functional viewpoints. Gumperz (1982) was one of the first authors who studied code switching and claimed that it is a skilled performance among bilingual speakers. Numerous articles and books following Gumperz research have been written addressing different types, functions, factors affecting code-switching, and attitudes towards it, (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Lipski, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998; Gorsjean, 1995; Romaine, 2000; Poplack, 1995; Schiffman, 1998; Trudgill, 2003; Spolsky, 1998; Skiba, 1997; Luna & Peracchio, 2005; Stockwell, 2002) among many others. The overwhelming literature on this language manifestation behavior reveals "little cross-fertilization among code-switching theories" evident through the researchers' concern about terminological confusion (Poplack, 1995).

The term code-switching is also referred to as code-mixing, language alternation, code alternation, and so forth. These different terms refer to the communicative strategy that allows bilingual speakers opportunities to combine and

alternate two separate language systems within a single discourse, especially in oral communication.

While considerable research has been done on code switching in officially bi- or multi-lingual countries, comparatively little interest has been raised in investigating attitudes towards language contact phenomena, and the impact of possible linguistic conflicts in the UAE as an officially monolingual country. Therefore, the present study seeks to address this gap in the literature, and bring forth data that disclose educators' and parents' views of code-switching behavior among young Arab learners living and studying in the culturally and linguistically diverse context of the UAE.

The United Arab Emirates is a Middle Eastern country situated in the southeast of the Arabian Peninsula in Southwest Asia, on the Arabian Gulf. It borders Oman and Saudi Arabia. This geographic location helped the coexistence of groups from different backgrounds which made the country multicultural and multilingual. The population includes at the present time about 19 percent Emirati, 23 percent other Arab and Iranian, 50 percent South Asian, and 8 percent other expatriates including Westerners and East Asians (World language, n.d.).

The diversity in ethnic backgrounds entails linguistic diversity. Therefore, people communicate with each other through different languages and dialects that include Arabic, English, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, and Malayalam. They all become prevalent languages that serve in various capacities and domains across the region (Syed, 2003). Although other languages are predominant, Arabic is the official language of the country. Different varieties of Arabic are used in the region though: Classical Arabic and colloquial dialects spoken in different regions of the Arab world. These varieties stand in what Ferguson (1971) refers to as a "diglossic" relationship (a relationship between two varieties of the same language). This relationship is apparent through a diglossic continuum that extends from classical Arabic (the language of the Holy Qu'ran), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) the language of modern literature, school manuals, official media, to regional vernaculars such as dialects of the Maghreb, Egypt, the Middle East, Sedentary and Bedouin dialects. Many researchers studied the diglossic nature of Arabic language. The contention is that "the domains of linguistic behavior are parceled out in a kind of complementary distribution. These domains are usually ranked in a kind of hierarchy, from highly valued (High) to less valued (Low)" (Schiffman, 1998, p. 205). Classic Arabic is not used in every day talk, it is a prestigious variety and the higher form associated with glorious traditions, and

special activities such as religion, art, law and education. It is learned in formal educational contexts. Formal styles of speech have distinctive pronunciation, syntax and vocabulary, and are the linguistic equivalent of formal dress on formal occasions. Formality of the setting or language speech, rather than status or solidarity, is usually the more important influence on appropriate language choice. The use of Standard Arabic in informal contexts such as the home would feel wrong, and would be like wearing a suit at home (Chaika, 1994, p.333; Holmes, 2001, p.375, Schiffman, 1998). In contrast, the regional Arabic dialects, or vernaculars are referred to as, "colloquial", "slang" or "spoken Arabic". They are the default variety of spoken language. They are used in everyday conversations, during informal interactions at home, in casual talk and jokes, in the street, in the market, in folk literature and informal settings. These dialects are acquired as the first languages and transmitted only orally, thus they are classified as the low varieties. The dialects differ from Classical Arabic in their wider flexibility in word order and on the level of phonology. So, while regional dialects are not understood by all Arab nationals, Classical Arabic is understood by all educated Arabic speakers although it is not spoken by all of them.

Despite people's varying competence in Classical Arabic, they have a strong pride in it, and love for it because "[it] is the Prophet's holy and blessed language. It is distinguished and privileged by God because it is the language of the Qur'an" (Darwish, 2006). According to Nydell (1987) Arabs are secure in their knowledge that Arabic is superior to all other languages, it has an unusually large vocabulary, it has a grammar that allows for easy coining of new words so that borrowing from other languages is less common; and it is beautiful in the sense that its structure easily lends itself to rhythm and rhyme. Such societal beliefs are often stressed and met with conformity. In the UAE Moslem society, it is sometimes difficult to separate religion, culture and the Arabic language in everyday life. The social norms and rules of appropriate verbal behavior for everyday activities are determined by religious and koranic instructions in Arabic, therefore they are seen to be best maintained through the Arabic language. These norms extend to include beliefs about Arabic, being the language of the Qur'an, as suitable for all needs and all times, and that it adds spiritual value to the act of communication when it is used. Darwish (2006) asserts that "Arabic language is the symbol of our identity and our existence as Arabs so we have to protect its purity from invasion by other dialects and languages." Despite this

claim, a form of linguistic invasion in particular of the English language is taking place in many fields like education, science, and technology.

The spread of English has found its way in the region through different gateways that are difficult to protect. According to Syed, English has been basically linked to development and modernization by policy makers. Therefore, like the rest of the Arabian Gulf countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman, The UAE has undergone significant developments in a relatively short period of time. It has grown from a desert country into one of the most highly technological and modern countries in the Arab world. Discovery of oil and the rise of the country economically led to raising consciousness about the role of education as key to future prosperity in an increasingly globalised economy. This facilitated the spread of English as the language of "higher communication" in the fields of science, technology, government, and law in most third world countries (Syed, 2003). To keep up with rapidly changing cultural and economic environment, the Ministry of Education in the UAE encouraged the creation of about 1500 private and public schools that accommodate local and expatriate students from different social, cultural, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. Arabic, English, as well as other languages such as French, Iranian, and Hindi are used as languages of instruction within ethnic based schools. English is becoming increasingly used in education, business, industry, and the media although it is not the native tongue of the vast majority of the UAE population.

The spread of English, and its domination of scientific, educational and technical fields, made the tendency to insert English words, phrases, and sentences in other base languages and more particularly in Arabic a common practice among adults as well as young bilingual speakers. Public use of English alongside Arabic as evident on road signs, shops, restaurants, shopping centers, etc. encouraged the mixing of both languages. Arabic-English code switching in formal and informal settings has become a widespread behavior by bilingual speakers. This language mixing as practiced by young bilinguals turns out to be a challenge for both parents and educators who hold ambivalent views towards it. For this reason, the current study seeks to investigate how parents and teachers view language mixing by young Arab learners in social and school-related contexts.

Features of Bilingualism in the UAE

Bilingual education was adopted by the UAE government a few decades ago. As English becomes intrinsically linked to modernization and scientific development, it becomes taught as a subject at all levels from elementary through high schools in most public institutions. Also, it has become the medium of instruction in private schools and universities in order to foster the educational and development plans across the UAE (Syed, 2003).

The students in different grade levels in public schools receive their schooling mainly in Arabic "Mainstream Education" with "drip-feed" of English as a foreign language, (Baker, 2001, p.200). The reason for this classification is that most learners in public schools receive Arabic-medium instruction, to reinforce their home language. English language lessons last 45 minutes each, and are taken twice a week only. This amount of exposure to English language instruction constitutes "the sole other language diet" (Baker, 2001).

Although in public schools English is taught only as a foreign language, many students develop high levels of proficiency in English due to the role English plays in their environment and in the UAE context in general. The fact that English is used in the wider environment leads to the development of bilingualism. The UAE provides a print-rich environment that encourages the use of both Arabic and English. English is used everywhere in society, such as restaurants, shopping centers, play-grounds, which helps students who attend public schools become "functionally bilingual children".

Mainstream education as perceived in public schools in the UAE leads to the development of BICS or "basic interpersonal communication skills" in English (Cummins, 2000). These are language skills needed in social situations that students may need as part of the day to day language, to interact socially with other people. Administrators and policy makers in public schools assert that the amount of exposure to English as a second language is fair enough to develop basic skills in that language. The main goal of educational programs in public schools is to promote and reinforce Arabic, the language of the Qu'ran, and the mother tongue of all students in public schools, so that students from Arabic backgrounds don't forget their religion, customs, traditions and values. Once students develop competence in their mother tongue, they are introduced to English. Developing students' mastery of English language is not the goal of public education as perceived by the Ministry of

Education, and school administrators. Public schools aim at providing the students with a proper instruction in Arabic, and only a basic level in English as a foreign language that will enable them to communicate everyday needs. But generally the print-rich environment helps achieve a 'good command' of English.

Private schools, on the other hand, use English as the medium of instruction for scientific subjects, and Arabic for Religious and Social studies reinforcing its perception as a heritage language. Besides, private schools offer 7 sessions of English language instruction in addition to the 13 sessions of content areas a week using English as a medium of instruction. As a result, 78% of the curriculum is assigned to English, whereas only 22 % of it is taught in Arabic.

In addition to differences in the media of instruction, public and private schools differ at other levels. Students in public schools are to some extent from a fairly average socioeconomic status in comparison to those in the private ones. Moreover, many teachers in public schools are locals with a few Arab expatriates including non-native English teachers; whereas in private institutions, almost all teachers are Arab expatriates, while most of the English teachers are native speakers of English. Furthermore, English curricula and textbooks in public schools are mostly designed by Arab authors, and are adapted to the local context, whereas in private schools, almost all teaching materials are written by Western expatriate educators, and follow the British or American curricula except for the Arabic, Religious and Social Studies textbooks. Private schools' aim is the development of the students' basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) as well as their cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), in order to prepare students for entrance examinations to international universities.

This educational framework in the UAE fosters disparate levels of bilingualism among young Arab bilinguals with widely differing levels of competence in Arabic and English. One of the main features of bilingual speech as produced by young Arab learners is code switching. Most of young bilingual speakers use this technique of language alternation as they claim it is a way to overcome the predicament of which language to use to best communicate with family, peers and teachers. As code switching among young Arab bilinguals becomes a predominant characteristic of their language use in educational and social contexts, different views of the phenomenon of language alternation are expected.

Research Questions

This study aims to determine whether monolingual and bilingual educators and parents perceive the mixing of Arabic and English as practiced by Arab learners as a problem that interferes with the development of bilingual competence, and leads to mental confusion and relative or even lack of proficiency, and native language loss; or as findings from recent research suggest they see CS as a strategy that bilingual children use "to extend their communicative competence for achieving conversational goals during peer interaction" (Reyes, 2004). Specifically, this study seeks to answer three questions. The first question examines parents' and teachers' awareness of the widespread use of code switching since it becomes a typical aspect of the speech of Arab bilinguals in social and educational contexts. The second question looks at the reasons underlying the stigma that code switching carries as perceived by parents and educators showing sensitivity to this linguistic phenomenon. One of the possible reasons that underlie negative views of code switching, is the extent of parents' and educator's understanding (or lack of it) of the functions and dimensions of CS as a skillful demonstration of bilingual proficiency rather than the result of lack of competence in one or both of the languages. And finally the third question addresses the difference between the attitudes of 'younger' versus 'older' participants towards the use of language alternation by young learners. This study is based on the following three hypotheses:

- 1- Code switching is a widespread linguistic behavior among young Arab bilinguals in the UAE context although it is not highly-valued among teachers and parents.
- 2- Teachers and parents in the UAE context reject CS for different reasons. CS is seen as a sign of alingualism, semilingualism and a symptom of language deficiency. One of the possible reasons for such a perception is parents' and educators' lack of understanding of the assets of CS as a communicative strategy that results from the development of complex language skills.
- 3- 'Young' educators and parents are more open towards the role of English as an international language; they are more tolerant towards Arabic- English mixing than older parents and educators for whom language boundaries should be maintained to preserve purity and integrity of the Arabic language.

Review of Chapters and Appendices

Chapter 2 provides an in-depth review of the literature on code-switching research, and the different areas of inquiry on this language contact phenomenon, its functions, dimensions, and attitudes towards it. Chapter 3 presents the methodology adopted to investigate the above questions, and chapter 4 includes a discussion of the results and the findings as obtained from the main instruments of data collection. These include surveys, interviews and classroom observations. The findings are interpreted and discussed in reference to the literature when relevant. Chapter 5 is the conclusion which summarizes the findings of the study; suggest implications for bilingual instruction, and makes recommendations for further research.

There are five appendices: Appendix A is the teachers' version of the survey. Appendix B is the Parents' version of the survey. Appendix C is the table that includes raw data as gleaned from parents and teachers. Appendix D is the table that includes raw data as gleaned from the two age groups of participants. Appendix E is the different respondents' replies to the open-ended questions of the survey.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation or discourse known as code switching (henceforward CS) has received considerable attention in recent years from researchers in multidisciplinary fields. The linguistic, sociolinguistic, anthropological, psycholinguistic, developmental and conversationalist perspectives have attempted, throughout the last four decades, to study the different facets of CS which has become identified as a hallmark of bilingual communities around the world. This chapter will sketch the literature and review issues related to the definition of CS and its distinction from other language contact phenomena, the dimensions and functions of CS, attitudes to this linguistic behavior, and CS by Arab bilingual speakers.

CS is a linguistic behavior that involves language mixing or alternation by bilingual or multilingual speakers between one language and another within the same conversation or discourse. Trudgill (2003) defines CS as a process through which "bilingual speakers switch back and forth between one language and another within the same conversation to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention" (p.23). This process of alternation or mixing is assigned different terms to distinguish different types of language-mix. Instances include code-mixing, code-alternation, code switching, language alternation, and borrowing.

The fact that researchers who study CS do not use the same terms in the same way suggests that they do not agree on the concepts underlying this manifestation of language. However, despite terminological variations most researchers (Coulmas, 1998; Greene and Walker, 2004; Holmes 2001; Hudson, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 1998; Poplack, 1995; Romaine, 2000; Sert, 2005; Trudgill, 2003) agree that CS is a language contact phenomenon that involves two or more linguistic varieties in alternation by the same speaker within the same discourse, conversation, or interaction. Heller (1988) who studied CS from anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives, proposes that CS involves "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode; CS is a form of language practice in which

individuals draw on their linguistic resources to accomplish conversational purposes" (p.161). These definitions mention the use of the word "language" in alternation with another language. However, other researchers use different terms such as varieties, semiotic systems and grammatical systems (Auer, 1995; Downes, 1998; Gumperz, 1982; Greene and Walker, 2004; Myers-Scotton, 1998).

Gumperz (1982) identifies CS as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p.59). The juxtaposition is further stressed by Auer (1995) who, based on a conversationalist perspective, states that "code alternation...is defined as a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such" (p.116). This definition emphasizes the speakers' or 'users of the signs' active role in deciding or selecting the appropriate code to express intended messages. Downes (1998) uses the term 'stretches of speech' being mixed by speakers when he states that "CS relates to speakers in conversational settings whose repertoires consist of more than one variety produce stretches of speech first in one variety and then the other (p.80).

There is a rationale to using the term "code" rather than language or dialect which is related to its neutrality. Other interpretations of the term "code" include the use of "variety", to refer not only to languages but also to two tonal registers, or dialectical shift within the same language. These concepts which are used to distinguish different types of language-mix refer to a process of language alternation by bilingual speakers that is claimed to be one of the natural outcomes of the contact between language communities. According to Trudgill (2003) "CS is a very common linguistic behavior in multilingual situations"(p23). Also, Regan (2003) describes CS as "the inevitable by-product and one of the natural results of language contact" (p.8). Other researchers also point out to the inevitable result of using two or more language systems within the same discourse in most bilingual or multilingual contexts around the world (Coulmas, 1998; Holmes 2001; Hudson, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 1998; Romaine, 2000). Hudson argues that in a "typical bilingual or multilingual situation" (p52), one language is reserved exclusively for use at home and another is used in the wider community, for example when shopping. Whereas Myers-Scotton (1998) contends that in many of the world's bilingual communities, "fluent bilinguals sometimes engage in CS by producing discourses which in the same conversational

turn or in consecutive turns, include morphemes from two or more of the varieties in their linguistic repertoire" (p. 217).

The distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena

Despite the overlap and the lack of key distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena such as code alteration, borrowing, interference and integration, many scholars in the field maintain such distinctions (Downes, 1998; Hudson, 1996; Regan, 2003; Trudgill, 2003; Walters, 1991). For instance, Trudgill (2003) differentiates between "code-switching" and "code-mixing" as the latter involves "indulging in code switching between languages with such rapidity and density, even within sentences and phrases, that it is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking" (p.23). Whereas code switching refers to the switching back and forth between one language and another within the same conversation to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. The distinction is based on the speed of alternation between languages as it becomes in some cases difficult for interlocutors to decide which code is the base language of the conversational exchange. Another distinction is based on the association of one language with one set of domains, and the other language with another. Downes adds that because CS is extremely frequent and rapid, its linguistic interpretation is sometimes difficult because of the intertwining of the languages.

This led to break CS into finer classifications: code mixing that occurs when a second language term is interposed into an utterance which remains in a first language, and code changing which occurs when a sentence changes from a first to a second language. Others such as Regan (2003) state explicitly that precise definitions of CS and code mixing differ although both refer to the habit of some bilingual speakers of alternating between two languages while speaking or writing. This definition adds that CS exists not only as an oral skill but also in the written form. The usual pattern of language mix- is for the most of the language to be in the speaker's L1 with elements of his or her L2 supplanted into the conversation. This phenomenon is categorized as CS if the interjected elements of L2 are clause-length or longer, and it is code-mixing if the supplanted elements are shorter than a clause length. (the process of alternating languages is called 'code mixing' if L1 is interspersed with L2 elements especially single words).

Also, most scholars in the field distinguish between CS and borrowing (Duran, 1994; Extra and Verhoven, 1998; Grosjean, 1995; Poplack, 1995; Spolsky, 1998; Trudgill, 2003). Poplack (1995) states that "It is uncontroversial that CS differs from the other major manifestation of language contact: lexical borrowing."

Borrowing differs from CS as it involves single words or "short frozen idiomatic expressions" which are called also "loan words" (Trudgill, 2003, p.23) and which recur regularly and are generally accepted in the pertinent language community and are commonly grammatically integrated in the language of the community.

To distinguish between CS and borrowing Spolsky, proposes that the switching of words is the beginning of borrowing, this occurs when the new words become integrated into the second language. According to Spolsky, one bilingual individual using a word from language A in language B is a case of switching, but when many people of language A do even those speakers (including monolingual speakers) of B who do not know A, at this stage, especially when the pronunciation and morphology have been adapted, the word can be said to be borrowed.

Many researchers study the distinctions between different language contact phenomena and suggest definitions which discussion is beyond the scope of the present study. Since the focus of the present research is on different attitudes towards CS as a language contact phenomenon, instances of language-mixing are considered as CS. This cover term refers to the linguistic behavior by young Arab learners of embedding English words, phrases, sentences, or constituents in Arabic-based discourse in two different contexts: at home and at school. Arabic will be used to refer to the different varieties as well as to classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic(MSA) used by speakers in different contexts. The reasons behind such specifications are first the need to maintain operational practicality throughout the whole process and data analysis of the study, as well as maintain focus on the scope of this research, which is a study of attitudes towards the practice of Arabic-English switching.

Types of Code Switching

Structural typology

Most structural CS researchers such as Poplack (1988) identify two major types of CS intrasentential and intersentential. Intrasentential CS involves switching at the sentence level, constituent or even word. It is claimed to be more frequent than

other types of CS, and practiced by less proficient bilinguals for different reasons. Single-word and tag switches are favored to emphasize a point made in the other language, signal a switch in the conversation participants, indicate to whom the statement is addressed, or provide a direct quote from or reference to another conversation. Intrasentential switching is also identified as emblematic when based on interjections like "yes, no, I see, you know" (Spolsky, 1998). It relates most commonly to content words and nouns that have a clear link to cultural contents. This type is also hardly subject to syntactic constraints, and can appear without violating syntactic rules (Extra and Verhoven). The authors claim that according to various studies of CS in different language situations, intrasentential CS occurs more often than intersentential CS and relates most commonly to single words and more particularly content words and nouns that have clear link to cultural contents. Intersentential CS, on the other hand, occurs when the switch is made across specific sentence boundaries or complement phrases (Scotton p.222). Scotton maintains that intrasentential CS occurs when a complement phrase contains at least one constituent with morphemes from language X and language Y (a mixed constituent), whereas intersentential CS occurs when switching takes place between monolingual complement phrases which are in different languages (p.223).

Whether the switching is intra- or intersentential, CS researchers argue that CS is not a random or deviant idiosyncratic behavior, rather it is "grammatically constrained" (Poplack, 1995, Scotton, 1998). The syntactic constraints are identified as follows:

- The free morpheme constraint: predicts that a switch between a bound and a free morpheme occurs only when the free morpheme is integrated into the language of the bound one (the base language).
- The equivalence constraint: predicts that a switch occurs at points of the sentences where the elements do not violate the syntactic rules of both languages. That is switching may occur between sentence elements which are similarly ordered in the languages mixed.
- The morphological constraint predicts that switches may not occur between structures such as main and auxiliary verbs, subjects and verbs, adjectives and nouns.

- The size of constituent constraint: predicts that switches may appear in major constituent boundaries. That is sentences are more frequently switched than other smaller constituents such as adjective, nouns and verbs.

However, these constraints did not seem to account for all instances of switches that occur between different languages, which made the disagreement among CS researchers themselves as to what constitutes CS persist. To overcome the flaws in the constraint typology, Myers-Scotton (1998) suggests another approach based on the Matrix Language Frame Model. She states that "CS is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" (p.220). She used the term "matrix language" to refer to the language which sets the grammatical frame in mixed constituents (ML) and "embedded language" (EL), the other language participating in CS. Terms such as the one suggested by Myers-Scotton and others like "the host language", "the base language" and "the guest language" (Grosjean 1995) suggest that "there still is no agreement among CS researchers themselves as to what constitutes CS" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p.220), however many CS researchers recognize that the participating languages have different roles, and involve different sociological and sociolinguistic factors.

Sociolinguistic typology

Examined from different perspectives, a group of socio-linguistically oriented scholars suggest a different typology for CS (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986; Hudson, 1996; Downes, 1998). These researchers consider CS as a type of skilled performance, and a meaningful strategy employed by participants to convey linguistic and social information. The typology involves:

Situational switching: (sometimes referred to as transactional switching) assumes that a direct relationship between language and the social situation and that the situation type will predict which variety or language a speaker will employ. Hudson (1996) states that "bilingual speakers use their choice of language in order to define the situation, rather than letting the situation defines the choice of languages" (p.52). The intention becomes for bilingual speakers to count what they are doing (the switching) as an instance of a given situation. Situational language switching is also influenced by contextual variables such as, the setting, the participants, their gender, age, class, ethnicity, race, occupation, the ecological surroundings and the range of topics involved. These variables make CS a

social marker and an "index of the relative social relationship between speakers (Wong 2000). The linguistic forms employed become critical features of the event. For instance, a person who uses the standard where only the dialect is appropriate violates commonly accepted norms. His/her action may terminate the conversation or bring other social actions or measures. Each language or code has a social function which no other language could fulfill because each code conveys particular social meanings such as beliefs concerning the solidarity, the unique identity and the egalitarian values of the local community. With such consideration of the social meanings (such as solidarity, and identity), CS becomes explicable rather than random (Downes). The social meaning of the code is the actual link between the linguistic varieties and the situations. CS depends also on the orientation of values of the participants involved in the discourse.

Metaphorical switching: this type of Conversational switching assumes that the language switch relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986, p. 425). This type of alternation refers to the use of a code or a variety that alludes to the social values it encodes, while it is inappropriate to the situation in which it is uttered (Blom and Gumperz, p. 84). For example, in some cases, a speaker uses a local variety humorously or ironically for a rhetorical effect in a discourse otherwise uttered in a standard with no intention of changing the situation itself but merely to make a comment. So metaphorical CS is used to convey specific meanings related to a speaker's attitude to the topic being discussed.

The classification of CS into situational and metaphorical as presented above provides two broad categories into which code switching at different instances of conversational life could fall. Rather than situational or metaphorical, Myers-Scotton (1998) suggests that CS is a 'marked' or 'unmarked' linguistic behavior depending on the context where it occurs.

According to Myers-Scotton, the theory of markedness provides a framework to examine the social meanings of CS and how languages can become associated with certain meanings. The Markedness Model claims that for any interaction type and the participants involved, and among available linguistic varieties, there is an unmarked choice. Myers-Scotton states that "Discourses including CS may be unmarked choices when associated with in-group membership" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 231). The unmarked choice in CS is an index of solidarity, and both codes become "salient indices of the values the bilingual speakers incorporate in their identities" (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 232). Thus, CS is marked in communities where the main medium

of communication is the majority language, whereas it is an unmarked choice if CS itself is the main medium of group conversations. (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 231).

Based on the 'Markedness Model', the author attempts to explain the social motivations of CS by considering language choice as a way of communicating desired or perceived group memberships and interpersonal relationships. Scotton contends that "humans are innately predisposed to exploit code choices as negotiations of position" (p.478). Bilingual speakers use their linguistic choices as tools to show to others their perceptions of self and of rights and obligations holding between self and others. Hence, an individual's choice of language signals a specific social identity and/or belonging to a specific community. Speakers switch languages or insert other language elements into their speech when they want to communicate certain meanings or group memberships. So that an element from another language becomes marked because of its contrast with the listener's expectations, it is meant to communicate a specific intended meaning. Thus CS is socially motivated is rarely a sign of a lack of fluency in either language but rather a sign of the development of bilingual competence.

Luna and Perracchio (2005) suggest that 'the Markedness Model' underlying the practice of CS helps explain the notion of language schemas which are the sets of features or associations linked to a particular language. The authors suggest that schemas include individuals' perceptions about the kind of people that speak a certain language, the situations and occasions when that language can be chosen, the topics for which the language is better suited, beliefs of how the language may be perceived by others, and the meanings that may be communicated by choosing that language. Language schemas are activated or deactivated depending on the language that is processed at any particular time. The majority language tends to be associated with more positive features than minority languages, resulting in positive majority-language schemas and negative minority-language schemas.

These different typologies suggest that CS is not a meaningless behavior but a "consciously chosen conversational strategy" (Extra & Verhoveen, 1998, p.43) that fulfills a set of different functions in the bilingual communities where it occurs.

The functional characteristics of CS

Many researchers developed elaborate typologies of CS in which they summarized the different communicative functions of this language manifestation

phenomenon (Grosjean, 1995; Auer 1995, Milrory & Muysken, 1995). The different functions were originally stated in most CS studies in the early 70's in the form of an answer to the basic research question "why is it that bilingual speakers engage in CS?". The answer largely received is that CS is a strategy used to influence interpersonal relations. Interpersonal usage patterns in CS reflect group values and norms associated with the varieties in a community's repertoire (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 218). CS becomes one of the linguistic choices bilingual speakers use to reflect the dynamics of competition between ethnic groups in different multilingual communities. Besides, CS serves a variety of other linguistic, interpersonal, and social functions that can be summarized as follows:

- Mark and emphasize group identity (expressing solidarity)
- Continue the last language used (topicalisation, topic/comment)
- Quote someone (reported speech)
- Specify addressee
- Qualify a message (emphasizing, or clarifying it through reiteration)
- Specify speaker involvement (personalizing messages)
- Convey confidentiality, anger or annoyance
- Exclude, include, or marginalize co-participants or bystanders in a conversation
- Change role of speaker (raise status, add authority, or show expertise)
- Add parenthesis or side comment.
- Fill a linguistic need for a lexical item, a phrase or a discourse marker.

In fact many CS researchers argue that a code switch is not only an expression of solidarity and reciprocity through which bilingual speakers switch codes to highlight their membership of ethnic groups, and show camaraderie (Chaika, 1994 p.335), but “may be related to a particular participant or addressee in a conversational exchange” (Holmes,2001; Spolsky, 1998; Chaika, 1994; Skiba, 1997). CS becomes associated not just with topics and places, but also with identities and roles associated with them. For instance, Hudson (1996) points out that speaking is an 'act of identity' (p.239), it locates the speaker in a "multi-dimensional social space" because it provides observable clues which other people can use in order to work out how the speaker sees their place among the various social types relevant to speech. Marshall (2003) adds that speech acts become acts of projection through which the speaker “projects his inner universe with an implicit invitation to others to share it, at least by recognizing his language as an accurate symbolization of the world and sharing his

attitudes towards the world" (p.52). The motivation to join the group is powerful, and is reinforced or reversed by feedback from the group, which is an important constraint that shapes one's ability to modify his/her linguistic behavior.

A language switch may also express a change in other dimensions such as the status relations between people, redefine the formality of their interaction, and signal the level of intimacy, familiarity, or emotional charge (Malakoff and Hakuta, 1998; Chaika, 1994; Holmes, 2001; Stockwell, 2002). Different kinds of relationships are often expressed through different codes, for example formal relationships are often expressed in the H (high) variety or code, while friendly relationships that involve minimal social distance are generally expressed in an L (low) code. Romaine states that "CS is a strategy of neutrality or a means to explore which code is most appropriate and acceptable" (p.60) in order to join a group and help increase familiarity of the speakers involved in conversational exchange.

Moreover, Holmes notes that people may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic, and many bilinguals find it easier and more appropriate to express their views of certain kinds of content or topics in one language than in the other. Topics themselves may trigger a switch to the appropriate code. Milroy and Wei (1995) state that family; school and workplace are among the most prominent domains. In each of these domains CS or mixing may be triggered because of culture-specific or field specific vocabulary in the guest language. Regan (2003) asserts that "there is a natural preference for using the mother tongue outside the classroom or job situation, and there is nothing unusual or culpable in this attitude-most people all over the world revert to their mother tongue in the home, over meals, with friends at the race track. To expect anything else would be pipe-dreaming" (p.3).

Also CS serves a referentially oriented function when a speaker switches code to quote a person, a proverb, or a well-known saying in another language. Through referentially motivated switches the speaker wishes to be accurate, emphasizes the precise message content and signal ethnic identity. Switching has also an affective function (to express anger, approval, disapproval, distancing the speakers from the addressee, etc).

In addition to the sociological functions that affect interpersonal relationships, Regan (2003) suggests further linguistic reasons for the use of CS, some of which reflect rhetorical skills. These reasons include linguistic innovation, chaotic language behavior, linguistic entrepreneurship for expressing foreign things, convey

metaphorical experiences, the absence of translation equivalents, euphemism (use a word in language A to avoid the direct or overly literal equivalent in language B) specificity, bilingual punning (attempt to create double meaning) and the principle of economy (to use the shorter word in language A so as to save considerable linguistic effort if its equivalent in language B is used). When applied skillfully, these functions make code switching operate like metaphor to enrich the communication (Holmes, 2001, p.41).

From a description of the functions of CS as mentioned above, it is clear that language mixing is used by bilingual speakers to fulfill several different purposes. Extra & Verhoven categorized them as serving referential, directive, expressive, metaphorical, metalinguistic, and a poetic function. These functions play overlapping roles in various contexts in which CS is used and make this speaking strategy (CS) the norm rather than the exception in many communities around the world today.

Psycholinguistic Features of Code switching

CS researchers based on multidisciplinary perspectives identified different facets that promote CS as a linguistic strategy available to bilingual and multilingual speakers. Heller (1995) argues that although CS violates a strong expectation that only one language will be used at any given time, "[CS] is one of the most powerful and potentially effective strategies at the disposal of bilingual students to collaborate with, or resist the monolingualizing and standardizing efforts of the school". CS is used to communicate specific intended meanings. It is socially motivated, and rarely a sign of a lack of fluency in either language.

Greene and Walker (2004) studied code-switching practices between Standard (Mainstream American) English and Black English. They claim that African Americans engage in the almost unconscious and reflexive practice of code-switching as a means of adapting to or negotiating various communication contexts. Their study revealed that CS is not random or meaningless; rather it has roles, and characteristics. CS is a linguistic tool that reflects the participants' awareness of alternative communicative conventions. It is a patterned, predictable, and systematic alternation between languages despite that many researchers describes it as a kind of spontaneous linguistic behavior that is part of the natural results of language contact (Malakoff and Hakuta, 1998; Regan, 2003). CS is a language tool that can be used to activate or deactivate language schemas from a different language into speech which leads to

different levels of persuasion. Luna and Peracchio (2005) conducted a study to investigate the impact of CS on persuasion. Their findings show that CS results in the activation of associations relevant to the language of the conversation, or the embedded language. The associations refer to the schemas which include individuals' perceptions about the kind of people that speak a certain language, the situations and occasions when that language can be chosen, the topics for which the language is better suited, beliefs of how the language may be perceived by others, and the meanings that may be communicated by choosing that language. The authors claim that "Language schemas are activated or deactivated depending on the language that is processed at any particular time. Schemas activated through language alternation make CS a communication strategy that has special impact on persuasiveness" (p. 478).

In her discussion of CS in community repertoires, Gardner-Chloros (1995) argues that CS as a result of bilingualism could not be dismissed as arbitrary or aberrant. She states that "CS is a special form of skilled bilingual behavior, to be distinguished from the aberrant manifestations of bilingualism which involve one language influencing another." (p.68). CS becomes a communicative tool, and a strategy of neutrality that is widely accepted as a universal means of communication with people of diverse linguistic competence. Moreover, Milroy and Muysken (1995) based on an interdisciplinary perspective that involved social, psychological, and developmental orientations state that CS does not usually indicate a lack of competence on the part of the speaker but results from the development of complex bilingual skills (p.1). Bilinguals' interactive strategies help them express a range of social and rhetorical meanings when they alternate languages, which make CS an additional resource rather than a deficient knowledge of language or "a grammarless mixture of two codes" (p.9).

Despite creative outgrowths of being bilingual and although researchers' claim that CS indicates proficiency in both languages, development of interactive communication strategies, higher levels of linguistic sophistication through simultaneous processing of the rules of both languages, many people, educators and researchers maintain ambivalent and negative attitudes to CS as a discourse marker of bilingual communities. These varying attitudes will be discussed in the following section.

Attitudes toward Code-Switching

Code-switching is widely spread in a variety of linguistic contexts, ranging from that where highly educated bilinguals alternate between two codes to situations where multilingualism is the general norm. However, attitudes towards CS vary seem to be affected by the status of each language in the community. Lipski (2005) contends that "In most bilingual communities the two languages are not on an equal footing as regards prestige, official recognition, or correlation with socioeconomic mobility; members of the subordinate ethnic group are typically bilingual by necessity" (p.2).

The status of both languages in contact is one of the important factors that affect judgments about CS, and determine the way it is perceived by parents, educators and young learners. This includes the language situation (the existence of high and low varieties, and language policy restrictions), and also the appropriateness of language use as determined by the community's social norms. The status of a minority language in a bilingual community more particularly, its 'low status' determines not only its use in a code switching style which may preserve it from deterioration and loss, and also its chances of survival (Holmes, 2001, p.367). This creates the anxiety that CS may lead to language loss in the future. This anxiety in turn strengthens the belief that bilingualism and extensive CS are steps along the road to linguistic extinction and instability leading to language loss and death.

Many researchers report that some social stigma has been attached to CS. Alternating languages was considered ill-mannered, showing-off, ignorant, a behavior that is not pure, that should be avoided as it can pollute a language (Grosjean, 1995, p.271). Many people in social and educational settings reject CS and discourage its use because they relate it to alingualism, semilingualism, interference, mental confusion and fossilization. They claim that CS is used to fill a gap and may hinder the growing of the first language or debase it, which may lead to confusion in the speaker's mind. Many people in educational settings continue to perceive CS as a grammarless mixture of two codes. They believe that to code switch means to be unable to use the language adequately to articulate complex ideas or express oneself, therefore code boundaries should be maintained. Many bilingual speakers claim that CS leads to a deficiency in the speaker's ability to converse in either one of his/her languages well enough. Many CS researchers point out that most often people are

unaware of the fact that they code switch but when their attention is drawn to this behavior, most tend to apologize for it, condemn it and generally indicate disapproval of mixing languages (Holmes, p.45).

In the review of Stavans' book "Spanglish", Cashman (2005) notes although some form of language mixture is ubiquitous in almost every bilingual situation around the world, the mixing of languages in contact is disparaged both by bilinguals and monolinguals, and is considered the tongue of the uneducated, and a kind of "hodgepodge rather than a source of creativity". CS is often blamed for low socioeconomic status, educational failure and discrimination.

Moreover, Forey and Nunan (2002) state in their discussion of Chinese speakers' attitudes towards English that code and medium switching may cause considerable difficulty mainly regarding CS between spoken and written language because of the cultural differences between any discourse patterns (Chinese) and Western discourse patterns (p.214).

There are many reasons underlying such misconceptions of CS. For instance, it is postulated that people such as parents and educators do not value CS because they are not well informed about its dimensions which impede their capitalizing on students' bilingual repertoire so as to maximize learning. Furthermore, other factors such as the degree of language proficiency of bilingual speakers, the purpose of the message to be conveyed, age, sex, education, and the personal judgment involved on the suitability of CS affect perceptions of CS and reinforce the belief that CS is a problem that should be treated by maintaining language boundaries (Baker, 1995).

Although reactions to code switching styles are negative in many communities where some consider it a verbal salad, a sign of lack of competence, education or even manners, proficiency in intrasentential code switching requires good control of both codes and is an important means of communication in culturally and linguistically diverse communities. CS helps reflect the multiple linguistic identities that can coexist within the same time, and activated in different settings (Coulmas, 1998; Holmes, 2001; Romaine, 2001, Poplack, 1995).

Yet, not all reactions to the practice and use of code-switching are negative, the literature has shown also positive attitudes among bilingual speakers reported in many scholars' studies, and are based on the functional aspects of CS. Contrary to the belief that CS is an evidence of a lack of control in maintaining linguistic separation, and evidence of the disintegration of language and culture, and also a deviation from

some bilingual norm as many educators maintain, recent studies on CS suggest that language mixing is rule-governed, and function-specific, and not evidence of linguistic interference. The point at which the language switch occurs, whether at the word, phrase or sentence level is specified by a set of rules, which is an appropriate syntactic structure in both languages. Many scholars view this style of speech as "a creative verbal skill, a competence, a communicative strategy, and an important tool of communication" (Coulmas, 1998, p.2).

Romaine suggests that the mixed mode of speaking does not only involve change in setting, topic or participants, it implies as well "the speakers' active role in choosing the perspective and social framework of their linguistic discourse"(p.59). Romaine's claim calls into doubt the common view of the ideal bilingual's behavior, which suggests that the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.) but not in unchanged speech situation. To accept this view means that speakers who frequently code-switch are not ideal bilinguals and have less than ideal competence. This view remains in sharp contrast with the increasing evidence on the grammaticality of the majority of bilingual utterances, the important functions CS serves in the communities, and the contention that CS is a legitimate mode of communication in its own right both within and outside the communities concerned.

Moreover, Milroy and Muysken (1995) argue that CS does not usually indicate a lack of competence on the part of the speaker but results from the development of complex bilingual skills (p.1). Bilinguals' interactive strategies help them express a range of social and rhetorical meanings when they alternate languages which make CS an additional resource rather than a deficient knowledge of language or "a grammarless mixture of two codes" (p.9). Furthermore, Myers-Scotton argues that speakers who engage in CS are proficient bilinguals if they have "the ability to produce well-formed constituents in their dialects of either language involved in their discourse; that is, they can consistently project grammatical frames according to the norms of their dialects"(p. 223). In addition, she asserts that showing more ability in one language than the other is usual especially if we consider CS as a structurally coherent process, it shows predictable structures, and exists as one of "the poles on the continuum of well-formedness in bilingual or mixed speech" (p. 224).

Despite researchers' claims about the benefits of CS as a communication strategy, Regan (2003) notices in a study of current attitudes towards language and

code mixing in Hong Kong that bilingual speakers' attitudes to mixed-code are largely negative or ambivalent (p.5). Some Hong Kong academics view code mixing as polluting the integrity of the Cantonese language. However, despite explicit hostility to the use of English for intraethnic communication among Chinese Hongkongers, mixed code is widespread. Regan states that the apparent anomaly that while Hong Kong university students claim to dislike using or hearing CS, most of them admit using it regularly may be related to the anomaly that bilinguals had an overt attitude of hostility towards CS as well as a covert one. The students may feel obliged to reject the use of English on the ground of ethnic loyalty to their mother tongue, however, the requirement to use some English on pragmatic or status grounds makes CS unavoidable. In some cases, CS represents a strategy of neutrality as speakers do not want to appear totally westernized or Chinese in orientation, which could be viewed as marking their identity. Regan concludes that despite an overtly negative attitude towards the use of English or mixed code, CS is becoming more widespread in Hong Kong in domains once reserved for either English as "high" language or Cantonese as "low" language. This profile of language use characterized by diglossic bilingualism maintains the languages involved as distinct entities.

Attitudes toward code-switching among young bilingual speakers

According to Romaine (2000) in situations of intense language contact, code-switching becomes a part of "the normal process of growing up bilingually and acquiring competence in more than one language" (p.56). Romaine argues that learning to speak more than one language often involves putting together material from two languages. Therefore, the early utterances of children growing up bilingually often contain lexical items from both languages. Holmes (2001) adds that in multilingual communities children generally learn their ethnic language first, and later add other languages for purposes such as education, and communication with a wider range of people in a wider range of contexts. So children gradually develop a "linguistic repertoire" (Holmes, 2001 p.367) of the linguistic codes or varieties which are appropriate in different domains in their speech communities. In many cases, CS among children does not seem to be principled, which makes it difficult to decide whether the child is speaking language A with a few words from language B inserted or vice versa. What is obvious is that children's lexicon is drawn from more than one

language. Romaine refers to this situation as a “third linguistic system” distinct from languages in contact (p.56) rather than a deviation from one language or another.

Other researchers admit that CS among young speakers is evidence of not only linguistic separation but also of children's knowledge of the differences and similarities across languages. It reflects their sophisticated metalinguistic awareness (Lindholm and Padilla, 1978; Malakoff and Hakuta, 1998, Steinberg et al., 2001). Steinberg et al. (2001) propose that the mixing of words from two different languages may not be the result of the child having difficulty distinguishing between the two languages; rather it can be the result of the child using the different linguistic tools at his or her command in order to communicate. The authors suggest that "CS is a communication strategy based on using words or phrases from the first language when they are unknown in the second language for the purpose of keeping the conversation going" (p.237).

Malakoff and Hakuta (1998) point out that some studies of child code-switching suggest that children's usage does not differ greatly from that of adults, although children appear to make more unacceptable switches to bilingual speakers than do adult code switchers. The children use lexical switches more often than phrasal switches, and the most common switch occurs for single (content) nouns. The switches conform to rules dictating number agreement. Also, children code-switch when they can not think of a word or a phrase in one language, so they might use a word or a phrase while speaking the second language. This technique makes CS a communication strategy based on using words or phrases from the first language when they are unknown in the second language to ensure continuity in speech, the idea is that "usually it is better to say something, even if wrong, than to say nothing" (Steinberg et al., 2001, p.237).

CS by young bilingual speakers seems to be widely accepted not only in the context of the community but also in academic contexts as it is seen to facilitate children's language development in both L1 and L2. Lao (2004) conducted a study to investigate how Chinese parents view the effects of CS behavior on language-related expectations for their children, and on bilingual education as a whole. Her findings suggest that the vast majority of participants (Chinese parents) strongly believed that CS does not hinder the development of bilingualism, which would bring their children practical advantages such as better career opportunities, and effective communications with friends and relatives, and would help youngsters establish a positive self image.

The literature has shown a growing use and even acceptance of code switching in educational contexts because of its widespread among young and old speakers and also because of the different functions it fulfills for teachers and learners in classrooms. Mattsson and Burenhult (1999) reported the increased acceptance of CS as a teaching method in foreign language classrooms. They stated that "code switching in a foreign language classroom has more functions than mere translation...it is related to topic switch but also it has affective, socializing, and repetitive functions" (p.11). Cs is a communicative strategy that allows bilingual speakers opportunities "to access a more readily word for a concept in the other language when they might be momentarily unable to access it in the language in use" (Reyes, 2004). Are teachers and educators aware of the pedagogic functions of CS? To what extent do they agree with Reyes' statement about the reasons for the use of CS in educational settings? The following section will present an overview of the practice of CS in classrooms and teachers' attitudes towards it.

Teachers' attitudes to code switching

Review of the literature on CS Research has revealed that this language-mixing strategy (CS) can be used for a variety of functions in ELT classrooms. However, there are widely differing attitudes to the effects that code switching has on classroom interaction and the development of learners' communicative competence. Some authors contend that CS might be an indicator of the development of bilingual communicative competence in children who are learning a second language. Nevertheless, other views claim that CS in classrooms is not conducive to learning. So what functions does CS serve in language classrooms and why is it viewed differently by bilingual speakers in educational settings?

Sert (2005) studied the functions of CS in ELT classrooms. He notices that although CS characterizes the discourse of teachers and students, teachers' CS is not always performed consciously, which means that they are not always aware of its functions such as topic switch, affective and repetitive functions that could be beneficial in language learning environment when applied appropriately.

In topic switch cases the teacher may switch codes when dealing with grammar which may create a bridge from the known (native language) to the unknown (new foreign language content) so that the teacher exploits students' L1 learning experience to increase their understanding of L2. The affective functions

refer to the contribution of CS in creating a supportive language environment in the classroom which helps the teacher build solidarity and intimate relations with the students. Whereas repetitive function refers to the teacher's adding clarity to the content of the lesson by code switching between the target language and the native language when instructions are not clear to help efficient comprehension.

Students' code switching serves different functions such as equivalence, floor-holding, reiteration, and conflict control. The first functions may be correlated with the deficiency in linguistic competence of the target language and refers to the use of the native equivalent of a certain lexical item in target language. Equivalence operates as a defensive mechanism as it gives students the opportunity to continue communication by bridging the gap resulting from foreign language incompetence. Floor-holding refers to the same principle of using a word when the student can not recall the appropriate target language structure or lexicon. Reiteration refers to using the native language to repeat what has been said in the target language in order to reinforce, emphasize, and clarify what has been said appropriately, and show understanding to the teacher. Conflict control refers to the tendency to avoid any misunderstanding that may arise in case of lack of some culturally equivalent lexis.

Reyes (2004) conducted a similar study about the effects of CS functions on school children's conversations. She reports the impressive ability of bilingual speakers to switch with ease at different points in conversation, she notices that CS by children learning two languages is not due to lack of proficiency, but it is used to extend communicative competence to achieve conversational goals during peer interaction. Reyes proposes that younger children show more lexical item CS than older children not because of incomplete knowledge of one of the languages, rather and in some cases, children may be momentarily unable to access a word for a concept in the language in use, but can access its equivalent promptly in the other language. This behavior explains the relation between one of CS functions and the development of children's bilingual communicative competence. The author states also that older children code switch when they learn that elements of the other language convey the meaning of the intended idea more accurately.

Also the author argues that CS increases in bilingual children as they have more exposure to the L2, and it is used as a resource to extend communicative competence. As these bilingual children become older, their exposure to different social and linguistic experiences increase, and these experiences in turn affect and

enlarge their knowledge and ability to use their different languages and to deploy CS for sociolinguistic purposes (p.80).

Reyes maintains that across age groups, the four most commonly used types of functions were topic shift, clarification, emphasis, and turn accommodation. The topic shift type of code switch is the most frequently used by different groups of children. This type is important in social talk because children spend a great deal of time talking about social events (such as popular characters) and teasing each other. Her findings propose that children use CS for power, control and dominance to achieve particular goals during peer interaction. The author states that setting (situation) was a secondary factor for language choices by bilingual school children. In addition, her study shows that children, during peer interaction, seem to be monitoring and accommodating their peers' linguistic abilities. Older children who have developed bilingual competence through increased exposure to the L2 (including metalinguistic knowledge of two languages) become more aware of their listeners' linguistic abilities and accommodate to their peers (p.93). Consequently, they become better at CS, able to adjust to the level of bilingual fluency of their interlocutors to accommodate their linguistic demands, and better communicators by taking advantage of their bilingual skills. Such skills are part of their developmental bilingual pragmatics. Children become able to switch languages with ease, and know when it is appropriate to mix them and when they should keep the languages separate. CS becomes an index of bilingual competence development.

The study also revealed that speakers with the greatest degree of bilingual communicative competence are the ones who most frequently use CS as a strategy to meet their conversational goals and to communicate with their peers. This suggests a positive relationship between bilingual CS and language proficiency, and that "the number of instances of CS can be interpreted to reflect the child's developing communicative competence". This view is in contradiction with the claim that CS is a sign of communicative incompetence or language deficiency. Instead, Reyes claims that CS is recently identified as one of the skills bilingual children use during cooperative learning environments.

CS is becoming widely observed phenomenon in classrooms, it is increasingly recognized as part of children's linguistic knowledge used to convey essential information that affects their understanding of others (Reyes, 2004). CS has communicative functions, and leads to cognitive benefits for language learners.

Nonetheless some researchers argue that its application in classes which do not share the same native language leads to neglect some of the students, sacrifice mutual intelligibility, or even lacks interaction if the teachers' native language is different from the students' mother tongue.

In their study of teachers' patterns of alternation between English the majority language and the target languages (Japanese , Korean, French and German) in a foreign language context, Kim and Elder (2005) found that teachers' CS was not conducive to learners' target language development. The authors assume that the foreign language teacher is often the only source of target language (TL) input. Thus, teacher's CS practice should be minimized not to deprive learners of opportunities for TL intake and for authentic communication in the TL. By examining the relationship between CS and particular pedagogic functions, the researchers did not find any consistency in the TL use by the participants in their study. They did not find any systematic relationship between the teachers' language choices and particular pedagogic functions. The authors contend that despite teachers' native-speaker proficiency TL use was not maximized either in quantity or quality in their lessons which made the potential for learners' intake and meaningful communication limited. The authors state that FL teachers generally use the learners' L1 more frequently than the target language in case of communication breakdowns, and to perform certain key pedagogic functions such as complicated instructions.

Despite its use in educational settings in which CS fulfills different pedagogic functions, and may be an effective learning strategy, many teachers favor the application of communicative techniques in any teaching environment and oppose the practice of CS as a form of using the native language of the learners. They maintain that mixing languages in classrooms may create blockage and hinders learning.

Attitudes Toward code-switching by Arabic speakers

The current language situation in the context of the present study is both diglossic and bilingual (or multilingual). Diglossia refers to the "[use of] two or more languages (or varieties of a language) in a speech community [which] are allocate to different social function" (Chaika, 1994, p.332). Arabic is used along a written-spoken continuum, whereas bilingualism involves the use of Arabic, English, and other languages such as Hindi and Urdu

Because of the diglossic situation, CS among Arabic speakers was examined from different perspectives. For instance, some researchers studied facets of the alternation between MSA and local dialects; whereas others discussed attitudes to diglossic bilingualism in which MSA is intertwined not only with local colloquial varieties, but also with other languages such as English. Myers-Scotton (1998) points out that in the Arab-speaking world, CS occurs during interviews between educated strangers. Interviewees wish to express their education; therefore they speak in a variety called "oral educated Arabic" which is similar to MSA. Also, they wish "to express their roots, sincerity, nationality, therefore, they switch to some features of the local colloquial variety of Arabic" (p.2).

The use of CS as a strategy to project two identities at once, that of a modern sophisticated person, and that of a local loyal patriot, is also pointed out in Sayahi's (2004) study of bilingual speakers' attitudes towards use and presence of Spanish in Northern Morocco. The author argues that the speakers' identity reflects cases of bilingualism and biculturalism in an immigration setting. Bilingual speakers identify themselves as Spaniards who preserved their language, nationality and religion, while they confirm their identity as Tangerine. Also, he points out that in regions where Spanish is one of the unmarked codes, speakers perceive their knowledge of Spanish and Arabic/Spanish code switching as part of their identity that distinguishes native Tangerines from the rest of the country and more significantly from rural immigrants.

In addition to the role of CS in projecting two distinct identities at once, CS is perceived as serving communication strategy by which academic goals are facilitated and achieved in educational settings. El-Fiki (1999) studied attitudes to English-Arabic code-switching in scientific and technical domains at Libyan universities. She asserts that Arab university students manage learning through an Arabic-English mixed mode of instruction in a context where CS is the product of necessity rather than choice. The necessity lies in the instrumental role English plays in the students' education.

However, along the positive attitudes to Arabic-English code-switching as expressed in the previous studies, the literature reveals negative and ambivalent views that CS pollutes the Arabic language and represents a threat to its integrity and purity. For instance, Bergman (2001) studied the use of French in Spoken Algerian Arabic (SAA), she contends that SAA like other North African varieties use significant amounts of French in conversations that even speakers of other varieties of Arabic

hesitate to identify SAA as, truly or authentically, Arabic. Bergman states that "mixing SAA with significant amounts of French poses challenges to the Arabic diglossic continuum that has at one end absolute or pure MSA and at the other unmixed spoken Arabic" (p.9). The challenge is in the use of French that leads to create another "intersecting or interacting continuum" (p.10). The use of French complicates the diglossic situation to learners of Arabic who often "resist the diglossic competency when dealing with MSA and spoken Arabic or learning them, the challenge for the researcher is to make the learning task comprehensible and simple" (Bergman, 2001, p.10).

Furthermore, Daoud (2001) indicates that "the current language situation in Tunisia, which is both diglossic and bilingual, led to discontinuities in language mastery and use by young students" (p.216). Daoud examined language and literacy policy and planning decisions in Tunisia and states that diglossia and bilingualism through the use of French-Arabic CS in classrooms led to students' low level of competence in French, and to a rivalry between French, Arabic and English. French needs to be maintained as a means of access to science and technology and a symbol of modernity and openness, Arabic is tied to traditionalism, backwardness, whereas English is hoped to replace French as the first foreign language" (p.212). The author points out that although Tunisia is an Arab country, literacy in Arabic alone is not sufficient to secure a prosperous future in spite of the Arabization campaign. French literacy is valued as a means to a good education and good living. This situation encouraged French code-switching while teaching the arabized version of the math and science courses in basic education. Teacher-talk that involves French on one hand, and Arabic along a written-spoken continuum which extends from Classical Arabic to modern standard Arabic the language of modern literature, official media, to Tunisian Arabic Vernacular on the other hand. This bilingual and diglossic language use reinforced the rivalry between Arabic, French as well as English.

In addition to the indecisiveness of the arabization process, Daoud reports the fear expressed in the media from the threat that globalization poses to the purity of the Arabic language as it is becoming more filled with French sounding grammar and word transliteration. He contends that Arabic is never unfit for use in the scientific and technological domains. Therefore, some experts claim that "it is time to relieve the children from the burden of bilingualism in speech and writing" (Daoud, 2001, p.216). Such feelings are clearly and explicitly articulated in a radio program

broadcast on the National day of The Arabic Language. Darwich (2006) the presenter of a program entitled “Our Language is Our Identity” that was broadcast on Sharjah Radio Station on the occasion of “the Arabic Language Day” celebration, states that one of the problems that bothers people in the Arab world, and threatens purity of the language is that Arabic is invaded by English words. Most of the participants in that program insist that Arabic-English code switching is one of ways that weakens “the blessed and holy language of the Qu’ran, therefore it is weakening our religion, and our identity as Arabs”. One participant from the audience of the program contends that “there is no life for Arab people without a unifying tongue which is the Arabic language in its purist form”. For all participants in that program Arabic language reflects their identity, heritage, civilization, history, their way of thinking, and above all it is the language that God has chosen for the Holy Qu’ran, therefore it has to be used and practiced in its pure form to preserve it from classification among endangered languages of the world.

In conclusion, the literature that has been reviewed in this chapter, gives an important overview of the areas under discussion in this study. It has defined the term code-switching as a verbal skill that involves the mixing by bilinguals or (multilinguals) of two or more languages in discourse, it presented some of the different claims by CS researchers and scholars in the field who attempted to define types, functions and aspects of code switching in order to distinguish it from the confusing range of terms involving other language contact phenomena such as borrowing and interference. Also the literature reported the lack of consensus among bilingual speakers about the benefits and the effects of young learners using code switching in different setting. Ambivalent and mixed attitudes towards using Arabic English code switching have been revealed through descriptions of an overwhelming number of various studies and articles that linguists provided in an attempt to explain dimensions of CS as a manifestation of language practiced in multilingual communities around the world.

Despite the wide array of sources available on the topic of attitudes towards code switching, there has been little research done on educators’ and parents’ attitudes to the use of language mixing by young Arab bilinguals in the Arabian Gulf or among native speakers of Arabic in this region. Thus the present study will not concern itself with discussion of terminological or linguistic issues related to code switching, it investigates how educators and parents in the culturally and linguistically diverse

context of the United Arab Emirates' context feel about young Arab learners using code switching in different settings, and the effects of that practice on the future of Arabic language and the development of bilingual fluency and proficiency. In addition this research contributes to the literature on Arabic-English code switching and attempts to give some suggestions on ways to improve teachers' and parents' understanding of the phenomenon studied.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Purpose

To address the basic research question of how educators' and parents perceive the use and practice of Arabic-English code switching by young Arab bilinguals, this study aims to test three hypotheses:

1. Code switching is a widespread linguistic behavior among young Arab bilinguals in educational and social settings in the UAE context.
2. Teachers and parents in the UAE context reject CS for different reasons. CS is seen as a sign of alingualism, semilingualism and a symptom of language deficiency. One of the possible reasons for such a perception is parents' and educators' lack of understanding of the assets of CS as a communicative strategy that results from the development of complex language skills.
3. 'Young' educators and parents are more open towards modernization and globalization, and the role of English as an international language; they are more tolerant towards Arabic- English mixing than are older parents and educators, for whom language boundaries should be maintained to preserve purity and integrity of the Arabic language.

In order to test these hypotheses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used. They all helped to provide as much information as possible from different accessible data sources that may serve the investigation. They include: an attitudinal survey, ethnographic observations and field notes.

Background Information on Public and Private Schools in the UAE

The present study was conducted in 6 schools: five private and one public in the cities of Dubai and Sharjah in the UAE. The schools are: Sharjah British School, School of Creative Science, School of Research Science (Duabi), AL Kamal private school, Rosary School, and Balqees public School in Sharjah. Except for Balqees public school, all participating schools are broadly based on the National Curriculum for England, with assurance that cultural considerations of the UAE are integral to all subject areas taught.

Balqaes Public School in Sharjah (BPSS), like other government schools, has been created since the establishment of the UAE Federation in the early seventies. The school offers formal, comprehensive, and free education to UAE Nationals, and more particularly to female students. The school is classified under the mainstream education with a 'drip feed' language program. All the subjects are taught in Arabic except for the English language that is taught during two lessons per week. The students learn English as a subject, whereas all other subjects such as mathematics, biology, sciences, art, history, geography, social and religious studies are taught in Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic is used for key words or terminology. Nonacademic types of interactions with students such as giving praise, or asking a student to read or do anything inside or outside the classroom take place in dialects whether local dialect of the Emirates, or other Arab vernaculars.

Private schools like School of Research Science Dubai, School of Creative Science, Al kamal private School, Rosary School Sharjah, and Sharjah British School fall under the mainstream bilingual program. All subjects are taught through the English medium except for Arabic, Islamic, and Social Studies. They are international schools that accommodate 40% of the student population in the UAE at all levels.

The majority of the students in both schools are locals, but in BPSS they are from a fairly average socio-economic status in comparison to those of the private schools. As the administration is stricter and has authority over the students since they are assigned by the government and cannot be expelled, the parents have a greater role in their children's education to keep them with the flow. Many teachers in BPSS are locals with a few Arab expatriates including non-native English teacher; whereas in most public schools such as the ones involved in the study, most teachers are Arab expatriates except for the English teachers who are native speakers. The BPSS aims at providing the students with a basic level that will enable them to communicate everyday needs in English, while the focus is on giving a proper instruction in Arabic. In contrast, private schools claim to prepare students for entrance examinations to international universities.

BPSS offered 6 sessions of English language teaching out of 25 sessions of instruction a week. On the other hand, private schools offer more than 7 sessions of pure English language teaching in addition to more than 13 sessions of content area through English medium. As a result, more than 20 out of 35 sessions are assigned to English which amounts at 58% of the curriculum, whereas only 20% of the curriculum

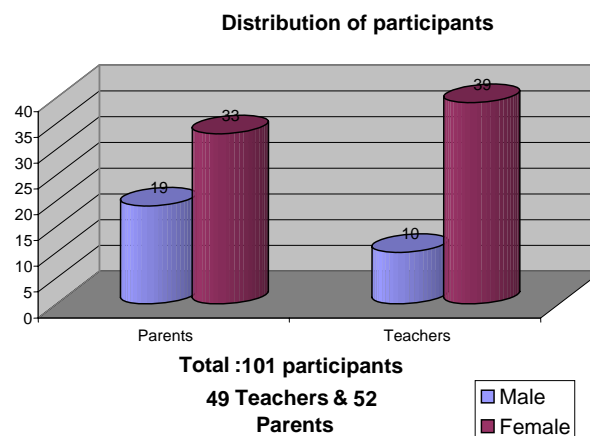
is assigned to Arabic. Moreover, the English curriculum and texts in BPSS are designed by non-native authors, and are adapted to the local context, whereas in private schools all the teaching materials are written by native speakers and are part of the British or American curricula.

Despite that education is offered free to learners in all public schools, most UAE nationals choose to join expatriate learners in the private sector because of the high-quality standards, innovative, and comprehensive educational systems provided in private bilingual schools.

The participants

Educators in public and private schools in the cities of Sharjah and Dubai in the UAE, as well as parents of young Arab bilinguals were the main two groups of data sources for this study as represented in (Figure 1). The first group consisted of 49 teachers of English as a foreign language and teachers of other subjects (10 males and 39 females). Most of them teach in private schools where English is used as medium of instruction. The second group consisted of 52 parents who were mostly native speakers of Arabic who have been living in the UAE for a varying number of years.

Figure 1

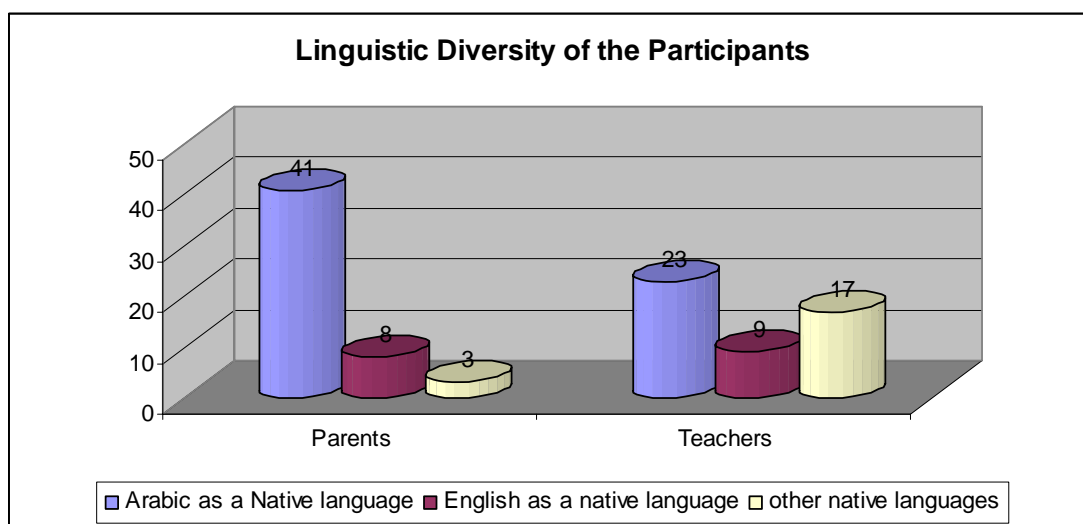


The samples from each group contributed by furnishing data that revealed their views and attitudes towards code-switching. They were chosen based on a set of pre-determined criteria:

Educators

All of the teachers in this study teach English as a foreign language, and other subjects through the medium of English in different public and private schools in the cities of Dubai and Sharjah in the UAE. There were 49 participants in this group (10 males and 39 females). Their ages ranged between 22 and 54. They were mostly qualified, experienced teachers; most of them were B.A. holders, specializing in English language and Education. The minimum years of teaching experience was 3 years, with one of the teachers having 25 years of experience in EFL teaching. They were bilingual and some of them were multilingual speakers who have been recruited world-wide. Forty seven percent of the participant teachers spoke Arabic as their native language, and 18% spoke English as their native language. The remaining 35% of the participating teachers had other native languages such as Serbian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Slovak, Africaans, Swahili, Urdu, Telvav, Hindi, Yoruba, Malayalam, Kanada, Tamil, Marathi, French, German, Italian, and Greek. All non-native English teachers spoke English as a second language. The diversity of this group (as represented in figure 2 below) reflects cultural and linguistic diversity of different ethnic groups living in the UAE.

Figure 2



The Arabic National expatriate teachers speak a variety of regional vernacular such as dialects of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine; Dialects of North Africa, and dialects of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. All non-UAE teachers have lived in the UAE for a varying number of years. Fifty three percent have spent an average of 6 years teaching in different educational institutions. Also, almost all of the teachers

have taught Arabic-speaking students in different institutions and contexts. These criteria were selected to control for variables that might affect the teachers' perceptions of code-switching by young Arab bilinguals.

To administer the questionnaire to the teachers, I visited the schools, met the principals and explained verbally that the questionnaire was to investigate teachers' attitudes towards the phenomenon of Arabic-English code-switching by young Arab learners. Also, I explained to all participants in the study the concept of code-switching and how they were to respond on the questionnaire.

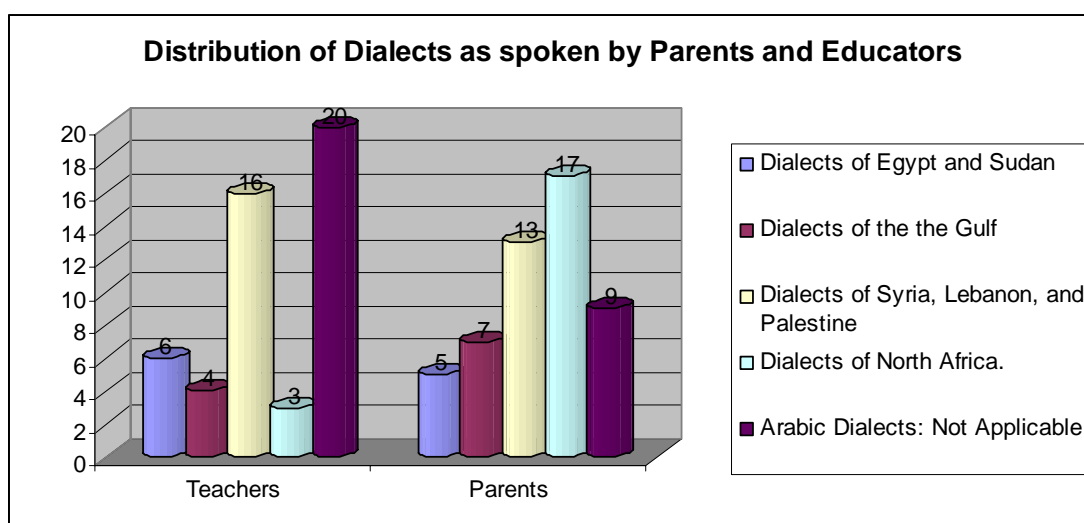
Parents

Fifty two parents participated in this study (19 males and 33 females). Their ages ranged between 23 and 57. Most of the parents are bilingual and multilingual speakers coming from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most of them (79% or 41 parents) were native speakers of Arabic. Arab parents spoke a variety of regional dialects: 17 parents spoke North African dialects, 13 spoke dialects of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, while the others spoke a variety of other vernaculars as seen through Figure 3. The remaining group (21% of the participants) spoke different mother tongues that included languages such as English, Polish, Spanish, French, Turkish, and Yoruba (a language spoken in South West Nigeria).

Sixty five percent (or 34 out of 52) of the parents spoke English as a second language, whereas the others (35%) spoke a variety of other languages that included French, Spanish, Slovak, Japanese, Chinese and Hebrew. Fifty six percent of them have lived in the UAE for an average of five years. Many parents mentioned that they spent a number of years that ranged from 2 to 30 years.

Most of the parents who participated in the study live and work at the American University of Sharjah which hosts a wide variety of nationalities. They all interact basically in English, the lingua franca for adults and children in that context. They were all selected because they were all parents of bilingual (and multilingual) children. They accepted to participate and share their opinions and views on Arabic-English code switching as used by their children in different social and educational contexts.

Figure 3



Preparations and pre-arrangements

In order to be given access to the teachers required for this study, and to maintain appropriateness and ease of the work ahead, some preparations and arrangements had to be made prior to carrying out the actual procedure. Prior to undertaking field work, permission was taken from the schools in which the research was to be conducted. A formal letter from the MA TESOL director that requested permission to conduct ethnographic observations, and administer the questionnaires at the intended research sites in the cities of Sharjah and Dubai. The material of the study (questionnaire) was checked, discussed, and approved by an authorized university committee that included three professors in the MA TESOL at the American University of Sharjah. The next step taken was to make contact with head teachers in different schools where the study was to take place. This was seen helpful as it provided me with some assistance, guidance and information regarding the logistics of collecting the data.

Once authorization was granted, the initial phase in the fieldwork involved formal and informal meetings with academic staff members as well as parents who provided insightful information about the linguistic behavior of young Arab bilinguals as perceived through their daily contact with them. This phase involved also attending some classes at Balquees public school, observing different teachers of English in their classrooms, and their reactions to learners' language use. Ethnographic observations, formal and informal meetings with head teachers and parents, and emails with participating teachers were meant to explore the study environment

closely, and to discuss issues of concern to the study. Also many parents and teachers were willing to discuss their responses through emails, formal, and informal meetings, which gave me easy access to information about the social and educational contexts in which young Arab bilinguals live and interact.

Design of the Instrument

Teachers' and parents' Survey

The main tool utilized for data collection in this study was a 27 item survey, "Educators' and Parents Attitudes toward Code Switching" (see Appendices A and Appendix B for versions given to Educators and Parents respectively), whose purpose was to elicit educators' and parents' views on code switching by young Arab learners, the way it occurs in social and educational contexts. The questionnaire was written in English and accompanied by a cover page that included the purpose of the study. It gathered also biographical data on the participants including gender, age, country of origin, number of years in the UAE, dialects and languages they spoke fluently, and self-reported statements on languages used in their daily interactions with young Arab bilinguals.

On the second and third pages of the survey, there were two main types of questions including scaled responses, and open-ended questions. Twenty four items of the instrument were on a four-point Likert scale, where teachers and parents showed their extent of agreement/disagreement (strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree, disagree). A forced-choice response scale with an even number of responses and no middle neutral or undecided choice was used to force respondents to decide whether they lean more toward the agree or disagree end of the scale for each item. The last three items were open-ended questions that allowed participants to freely comment, explain, express their opinions, or add any additional comments.

The questionnaire finalized after utilizing a similar one in a pilot study done early in the fall semester of 2005. Twenty eight teachers (18 females and 11 males) from different private schools in Sharjah met in the IEP building at the American University of Sharjah, during a TESOL Arabia workshop. There were native and non-native speakers of English, teaching English as a foreign language at different grade levels. They were attending presentations, one on action research and another about techniques for enhancing learning and cognitive processing as part of their professional development. Based on participants' responses, and discussions with

many participating teachers, a few items on the survey were modified, a neutral column in the scaled responses section was added and a slightly different version of the same survey was designed for the second group of parents. The pilot test showed that many statements in the scaled-response section do not apply to some teachers and parents alike, many of them added comments such as "neutral, I don't care, not sure, not applicable, I don't know, depends on the situation, no idea, etc. Therefore, a "neutral" category was added to give the participants more options. Moreover, some teachers in the pilot group did not understand the concept code-switching and confused it with borrowing. Therefore, I used "language mixing" in all the statements so that participants understood the questions clearly.

Another major change in the final questionnaire compared to the pilot version was that in all the statements included in the different sections of the instruments, I had to change "your children" and "at home" with your students in the classroom or at school". Many teachers replied that they don't have children therefore they could not respond to the survey. This led to design two slightly different versions of the questionnaire one addressed to educators and the other to parents.

The twenty-four Likert scale items included in both versions of the instrument fell into three groups or categories. Each category was designed to elicit information about one of the following concerns:

- Educators and Parents' extent of awareness of the widespread use of English-Arabic code switching among young Arab bilinguals in educational and social contexts in the UAE;
- Educators' and parents' attitudes towards code-switching by young Arab learners, the extent of their understanding of different aspects of the phenomenon of language mixing and its effects on the development of bilingual skills.
- Younger participants (parents and educators) are more open to modernization and the expanding role of English globally; as a result they are more tolerant to young learners' Arabic-English code switching than are older respondents.

Teachers' Interviews

To allow respondents to share their opinions and views on the examined phenomenon, planned yet informal and reflexive discussions with some head teachers and teachers were included in the methodology for this study. Berg (1995) promotes the use of interviews as a valuable method of collecting information for certain kinds

of assumptions. He states that interviews are particularly useful when researchers are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants. In this study part of the instructions on the cover page, prior to completing the survey, was to ask the subjects to put their names, and phone numbers or email addresses on their survey if they would be willing to be interviewed later. Twenty one participants from the teachers who completed the questionnaires agreed to be interviewed (17 females and 4males)

The interviews were conducted as soon as the participants completed the surveys, they were informal rather than structured interviews, which helped establish good rapport with many teachers. Prior to each interview, I thanked the participants for their time and assured them that their responses would remain completely confidential. I then gave each interviewee a copy of his/her questionnaire and asked follow-up questions regarding the responses given. The explanations provided through this method were useful as they helped establish the rationales for why they responded as they did to the questionnaires. Although some interviews were characterized by different degrees of involvement in the conversations, information gleaned through these discussions was fairly focused. Many teachers liked to extend the discussions to talk about other issues such as the current situation of the Arabic language, the causes that led to code-switching in schools, and instances of code-switching behavior. These discussions provided clarifications concerning their responses to items of the survey, which helped me determine if my interpretation of their responses was correct. Immediately after each interview, I took notes of the participants' comments and attached them to their questionnaires. All interviews took place in the head teachers' offices, and in the staff room, where sometimes other colleagues and staff members joined in.

Administration of the Instrument to Teachers

During my visits to the schools, I met the head teachers, showed them the letter from the director of the MA TESOL program at the American University of Sharjah, and upon their approval, I showed them copies of the survey. We had verbal discussions about the phenomenon investigated in my study. I explained the concept of code switching to each head teachers, and how the participating teachers were to respond on the questionnaire. The head teachers of the School of Creative Science Sharjah requested a soft copy of the survey to forward it to all teachers in the school. However, I received only two responses via email, I collected five more hard copies

form the assistant to the head teacher. Teachers in School of Research Science, Sharjah British School, Al kamal School, Rosary School, filled in hard copies that I took to the schools, and that were administered to them by the head teachers at the end of class periods.

Although many teachers in the different schools opted not to fill out the questionnaire, many others took less than 15 minutes to complete the surveys, and were willing to be interviewed following completion of the questionnaires. They put their names, mobile numbers, and email addresses on their surveys and I was able to contact them immediately in order to discuss their replies.

Administration of the Instrument to Parents

The questionnaire designed specifically for the parents included almost the same items as in the teachers' version. I distributed the survey to the parents who were all members of the American University community. I visited all of them in their houses, held social discussions with most male and female parents, during which I explained the meaning of code-switching concept, and the purpose of the study. Almost all parents were willing to take part in the study since the language contact phenomenon under discussion was most relevant to their situation. They were all parents of school children who practice Arabic-English code switching in different contexts.

Nineteen participants from the parents who completed the questionnaires agreed to be interviewed (14 females and 5 males). I held most interviews in an informal way after the completion of the surveys with most of the participants. However, I held a few telephone conversations with those who were interested in adding comments that shed light on their written replies. Some parents commented on the meaning of some statements which in few instances were not relevant to them. Others elaborated on their responses to the open-ended section, and expressed their appreciation of the topic under scrutiny because it was relevant to their lives with their bilingual children.

Classroom observation

In most classroom interaction studies, all behavior within a group is regarded as performing different functions: either solving the task problem or maintaining the necessary background social relations that is fostering social cohesion. Having this in

my mind, and with special interest in types of verbal behavior, and more particularly, the use of code-switching by Arab learners and educators, I undertook five ethnographic observations in Balquees public school in Sharjah during the spring semester of 2005. When I entered the school, many distinguishing features draw my attention to the characteristics of that setting. First of all, I noticed that almost all the students, and most of the administrators were wearing the veil (al hijab); the principal explained that it is a rule and part of school uniform that students wear the veil even if they need to remove it outside school. There were only female students, teachers and staff.

Each class I observed included 24 Arab students, all non-native speakers of English aged 14 to 15 years old. The teachers and the students shared a common mother tongue, which is Arabic but spoke different dialects that characterize their countries of origin.

When I entered the classrooms to observe the intended English lessons, I was attracted by the classrooms organization and physical features. The classrooms were all equipped with big white boards, computers and realia that the teacher and students would use for different teaching activities. The seating plan was in the form of U. The students were seating on both sides, so that on each side there were 12 students, each 6 were seated facing 6 others. a schema that fostered social cohesion among students, and helped address their needs and interests. The friendliness of the teachers and their willing to make these classroom observations enjoyable learning experiences relaxed the atmosphere and made all participants comfortable.

The data Sets

The data for this study were collected over a period of seven weeks. Employing the above-described procedures, the following sets of data were gleaned on which this study was based:

- A total of five hours of ethnographic observation of five different teachers at Balquees Public School in Sharjah (a model that represents all public schools in the city).
- One hundred and one questionnaires completed by parents and teachers of young Arab bilinguals (Appendices C & D) .
- My notes based on informal discussions with parents and teachers in different social and academic contexts, most participants in this study were willing to

talk about issues concerning the language mix and its perceived effects on the development of bilingual competence and the future of Arabic language.

- Field notes based on ethnographic observations of young Arab bilinguals mixing Arabic and English in educational contexts.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the analysis of data is described; the results are reported and explained. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into three sections, each dealing with one of the hypotheses raised in this study. Findings pertaining to the first hypothesis (Code switching is a widespread linguistic behavior among young Arab bilinguals in educational and social settings in the UAE context) are discussed under the heading "The extent of use of CS in the UAE." Findings concerning the second hypothesis (Educators and parents hold the attitudes that CS among Arabic speaking students reflects alingualism, semilingualism and is a symptom of language deficiency don't understand well that code switching is a communicative strategy that results from the development of complex language skills) are discussed under the heading of "Attitudes towards CS" Finally, findings pertaining to the third hypothesis (Young educators and parents are more tolerant towards young Arab bilinguals' code switching than their older partners because they are more open to modernization) are discussed under the heading "The Relation between Age and Attitudes to CS."

Data Analysis

To address the hypotheses mentioned above, the study is based on analysis of the completed questionnaires as the main set of data. The other set of data (notes from ethnographic observation) was collected to enrich the study as they were related to practice of code-switching by young Arab bilinguals, and provided additional contextual information. Yet, all available data were used to shed as much light as possible on educators' and parents' attitudes to code-switching by young Arab bilinguals in the UAE context.

All educators and parents participants in the study responded to all items of the questionnaire except the last three open-ended questions, where they were invited to express their opinions concerning issues related to code-switching by young Arab bilinguals. Most participants (83%) answered the open-ended questions, and added comments and information which were not provided in the survey. To account for frequency of responses to the 24 items, descriptive statistics were used. All responses

were loaded into "Microsoft Excel" spread sheets, the percentage of participants' selecting each point in the five-point scale was computed for each statement. The frequency counts were reflective of the subjects' general trends of response, and were used in detecting educators' and parents' views on the phenomenon presented in the questionnaire. The data received for the open-ended questions were analyzed qualitatively. The responses to the 24 statements were examined separately for interpretations on an item-by-item basis, and jointly within the frame of each of the three questionnaire categories. These categories correspond to each of the three hypotheses raised:

1. Responses to statements 8, 10, 15, 16, 17, 20, and 21 were classified under the category "The extent of use of CS in the UAE." From responses to these questions, I was able to determine if Arabic English code-switching is a common linguistic behavior among young Arab learners; the contexts in which young Arab bilinguals practice code switching most frequently; the perceived topics that involve using CS, and the perceived origins of the language rivalry in the diglossic and multilingual context of the UAE.

2. Responses to statements 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 19, and 24 were classified under the category "Attitudes towards CS." Replies to these statements helped me determine how participants felt about the practice of code switching in both educational and social contexts, and their reasons for proposing that language boundaries should be maintained. The second part of this category was discussed through Responses to statements 1, 3, 5, 9, 13, 14, 18, 22, and 23. Their replies revealed participants' extent of awareness of the functions and assets of CS as a mode of speaking, and a normal outcome of the cultural and linguistic diversity existing in the UAE, and their perceived effects of language mixing on Arabic language use and development of children's bilingual competence.

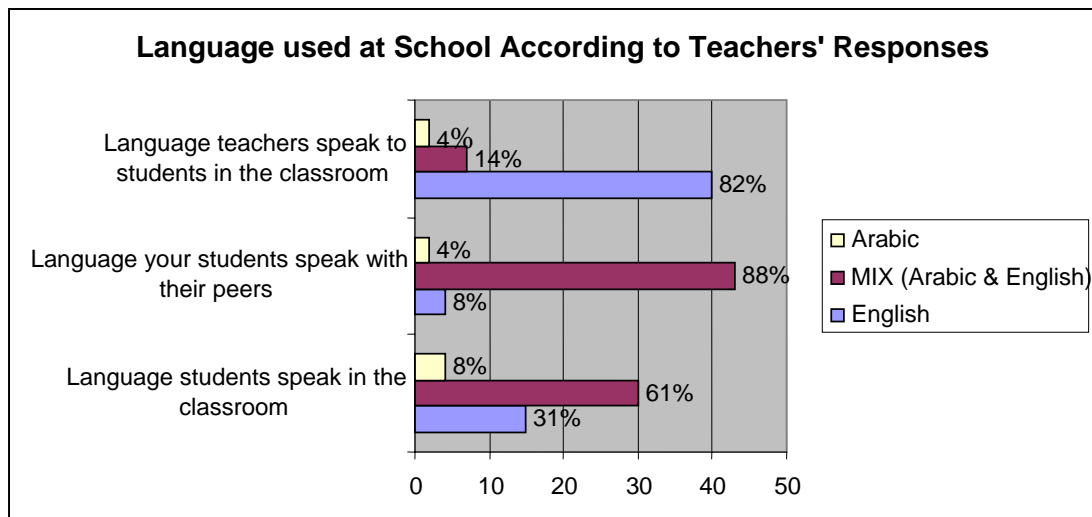
3. Responses to all the statements were analyzed in terms of the participants' age groups; there were 50 participants aged 35 and below, and 51 participants aged 36 and above. Thirty five years old was the selected cut off age to compare the extent of openness of the participants to modernization, globalization and the expanding role of English globally. Only responses to statements 1, 5, 9, 13, 18, and 22 were classified under the category "The Relation between Age and Attitudes to CS" because they showed differences between the responses of 'younger' and 'older' participants in their perceptions of CS.

The data from the questionnaires were analyzed and the results are shown in this chapter. These data in conjunction with data extrapolated from notes of discussions, interviews, ethnographic observations were reviewed, organized, and utilized in order to provide support for the major findings of the surveys.

The extent of use of CS in the UAE

In an attempt to test the first hypothesis of this study questions had to be designed that would reveal types of language choices made by young Arab learners, and educators' and parents' awareness of the widespread phenomenon of Arabic-English code switching in both educational and social contexts. Four statements on the cover page of the questionnaire asked specifically and explicitly parents and teachers (teaching English language and also other subjects through the medium of English) about the nature of the bilingual speech as produced by their children and students respectively. The statements were meant also to reveal educators' and parents' preferences for language use versus actual language use as perceived in their classrooms and at home. The results are shown in Figures 4 and 5 below.

Figure 4

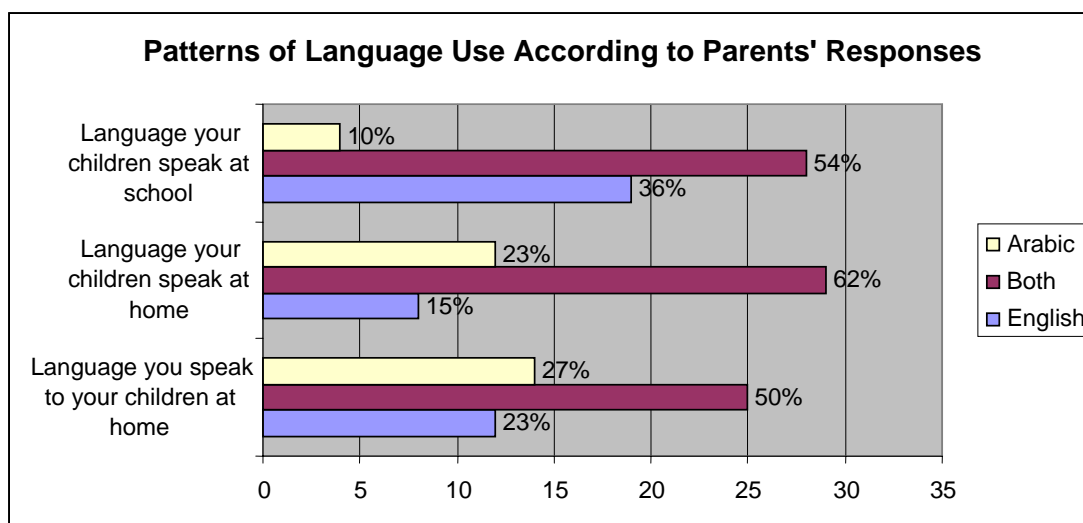


In keeping with my initial hypothesis, it turns out that 88% of the teachers' responses indicated that young Arab learners mixed Arabic and English to communicate with peers. Only 8% of the responses indicated that Arab learners used English only in their interactions with their peers. Also, 61% of the responses to the

statement "language your students speak in the classroom" indicated that Arab learners mixed both Arabic and English during classroom interactions, such as interactions during collaborative learning type of activities. Thirty percent of the responses stated that English is the medium of classroom interactions, a result that may not correspond to the fact that the study was conducted mainly in private schools where English is the medium of instruction for all subjects except for Arabic, Social and religious studies (Figure 4).

As for the second group of parents, it turns out that 62% of the respondents indicated that their children use Arabic-English code switching during their daily interactions at home. Whereas 23 % replied that their children used Arabic only and 15% stated that their children communicated at home in English only. Also, more than fifty percent of the parents acknowledged that they are aware of their children's use of both Arabic and English in their different interactions in basically English medium schools (Figure 5).

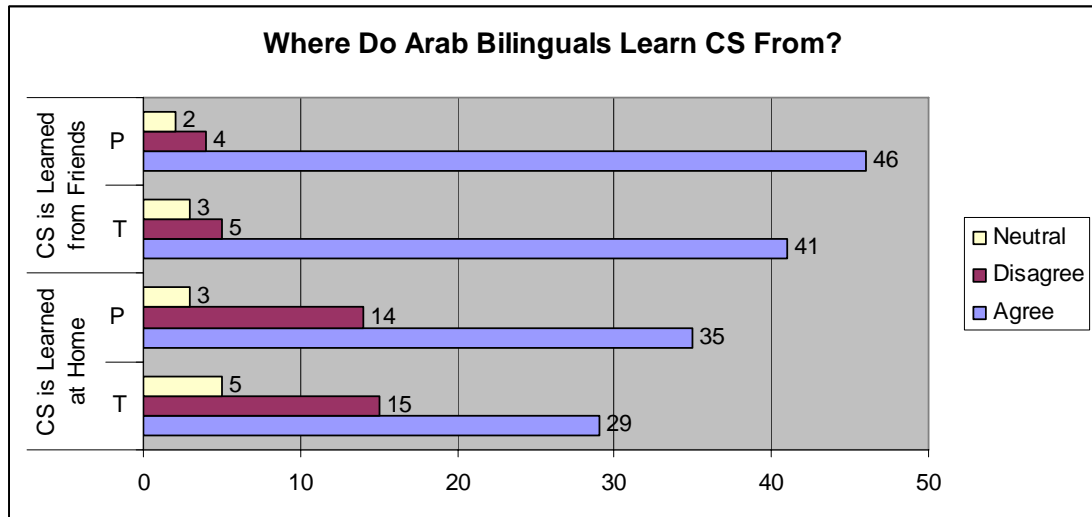
Figure 5



Statements number 8 "Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their parents", and 10 "Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends" were utilized to determine the paths through which young Arab bilinguals learned to mix Arabic and English in their discourse. The data show that for item number 8 most parents (67%) agreed that children learn to mix Arabic and English at home, more particularly from their parents. Parents are responsible for passing the form of language on to their children in the home through their use of their linguistic repertoires with members of their families. 59% of the educators' group agreed also to

the same statement. However it seems that peers have more influence on Arab bilinguals' patterns of language use since the data reveal that 88% of the parents and 84% of the teachers agreed that children learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends (Figure 6), which confirms researchers' such as Chaika's contention that "children use CS as an expression of solidarity, reciprocity, and to show camaraderie" (1994, p.335).

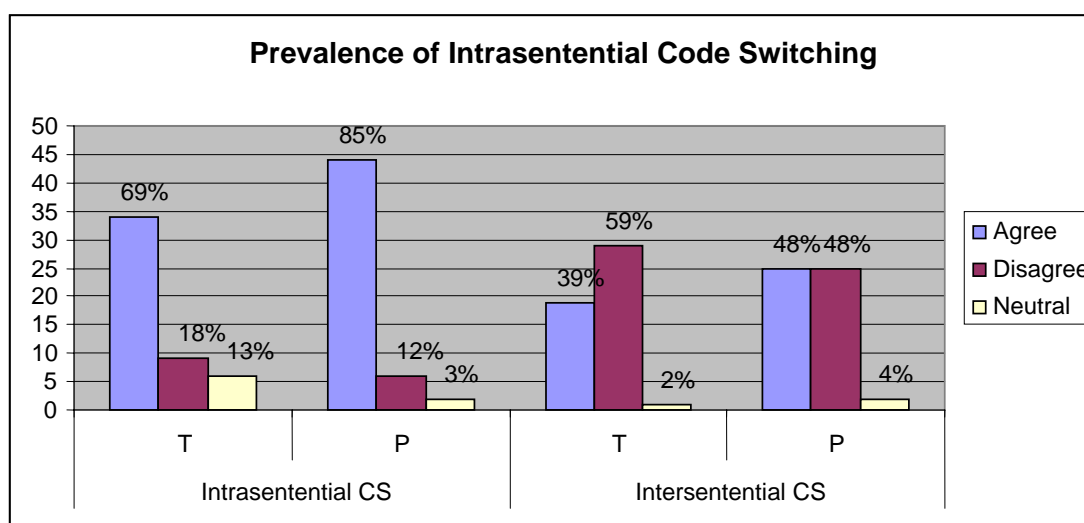
Figure 6



T = Teachers; P = Parents

To determine the types of code-mixing, statements 15 and 16 asked whether young Arab learners used intra- or intersentential language mix. According to Myers-Scotton (1998) a complement phrase rather than a sentence "shows intrasentential code-switching if it contains one constituent with morphemes from language X and language Y" (p.223). This type of mixed constituents that relates most commonly to single words and more particularly content words and nouns that have clear link to cultural contents occurs more often than intersentential CS (Extra & Verhoven, 1998). This is confirmed through items 15 and 16 in the questionnaire (Figure 7). Most respondents (85% of parents' and 69 % educators) agreed that Arab bilinguals mixed Arabic and English words rather than sentences or clauses. More than fifty percent of the teachers' responses and fifty percent of parents' disagreed that Arab bilinguals used intersentential code-switching, whereas the other fifty percent of parents' replies and forty percent of teachers' responses expressed agreement with the statement that the children used intersentential CS as illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7



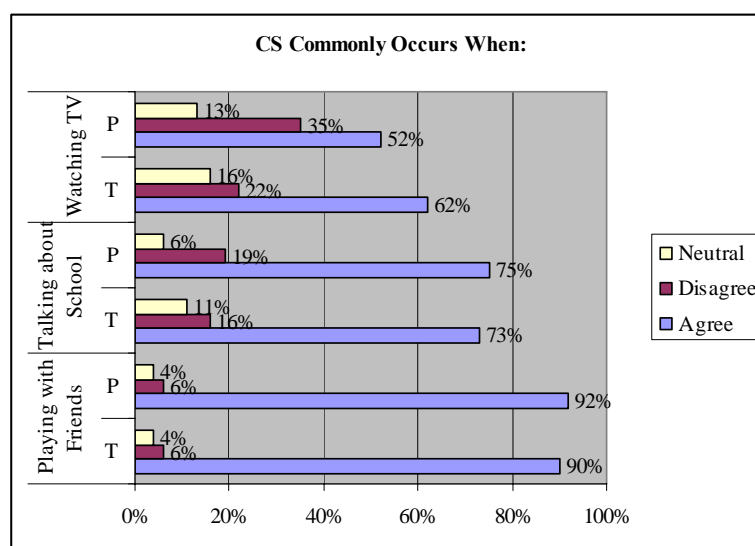
T = Teachers; P = Parents

When questioned about the topic that most commonly involve code switching by Arab bilinguals, the majority of the respondents (92 % of parents and 90 % of educators) agreed that "young Arab bilinguals mix Arabic and English when they play" which confirms the findings in the literature that children use code switching to identify and connect with their peers, and to "build interpersonal relationships among members of a bilingual community" (Sert, 2005). Through their use of CS as a tool to communicate with friends and peers, "young bilinguals show how they use different languages according to addressee and context" (Reyes, 2004). Talking about school-related issues is also another topic that results in Arabic- English mixing by Arab bilinguals.

The data show that most respondents (73% of teachers and 75 % of parents) agreed that children mix Arabic and English when they talk about school. Television and the media seem to influence language choice as 62% of the teachers and more than half of the parents agreed that young Arab learners mix languages when watching TV as shown in Figure 8 below.

As we can see from the graphs above, CS is a common practice among young Arab bilinguals in educational and social settings alike as reported in the parents' and educational replies. This is confirmed by definitions of CS as proposed by many researchers (Trudgill, 2003, Cashman, 2005, Romaine, 2000). These researchers state that in almost all bilingual or multilingual situations around the world, some form of language mixture is found to serve different needs of diverse speech communities.

Figure 8



T = Teachers; P = Parents

CS according to the respondents' replies seems to follow the usual pattern described in the literature and characterized by the use of "the speaker's L1 for most of the language with elements of his or her L2 supplanted into the dialogue" (Regan, 2003). Most researchers refer to this as intrasentential code switching. According to many researchers Hammik (2000) CS is a systematic linguistic behavior that reflects proficiency of the speakers; more particularly intrasentential CS reflects speakers' sophisticated knowledge of the grammars of both languages, and knowledge of how the grammars relate to one another. In the following section we will explore teachers' and parents' views of code switching and the extent of their agreement with the increasing evidence in the literature about the efficiency of code switching as a communication strategy that helps develop speakers' bilingual competence.

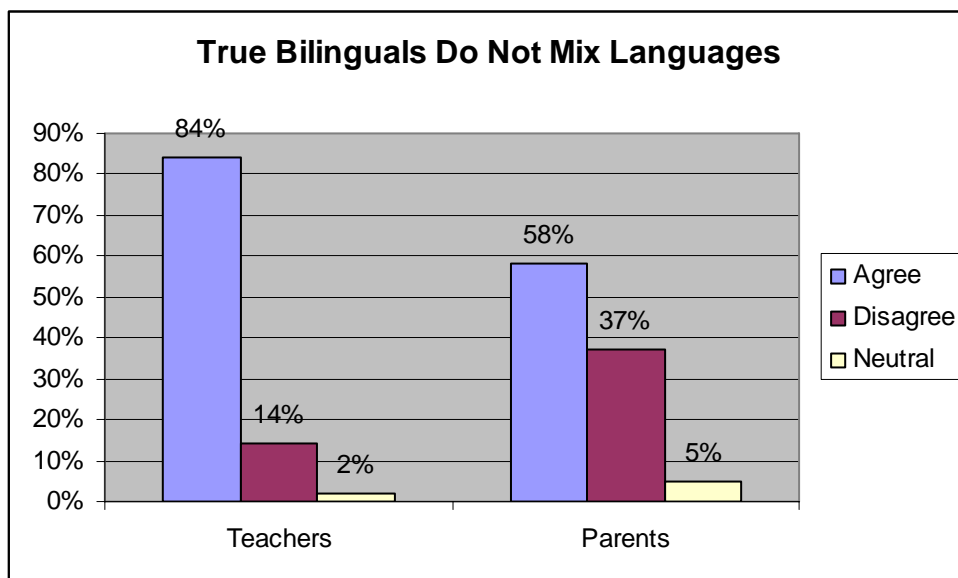
Attitudes towards CS

Despite its widespread, and the use of Arabic-English code switching to interact with family members at home and peers, and teachers in educational settings, educators and parents in the particular context of the UAE hold ambivalent to negative attitudes towards this linguistic manifestation of language. To test the second hypothesis of this study, it was important to show how participants hold mixed attitudes to code switching and present the reasons underlying their feelings. Responses to the first item of the questionnaire "It sounds natural to me when my

children mix Arabic and English" show that the majority of parents (73%) agreed that it is a natural behavior that their bilingual children mix Arabic and English. Also, 65% of educators' responses agreed with the same statement, and only 35% of them expressed disagreement with it, which reflects the respondents' awareness that CS is a common behavior and a normal outcome of the pervasiveness of bilingualism and the increasing diversity in the UAE context.

Although responses to the first statement confirm Romaine's (2000) contention that "learning to speak more than one language often involves putting together material from two languages; this is part of the normal process of growing up bilingually and acquiring competence in more than one language"(p.55); most replies to statement 12 somehow contradicts Romaine's assertion since 84% of teachers' and 58% of parents' responses agreed that "true bilinguals do not mix languages". Only 14% of educators' replies and 37% of parents' responses disagreed with that statements, which may justify the attitudes of the majority of participants to maintain language separation as illustrated in figure 9 below.

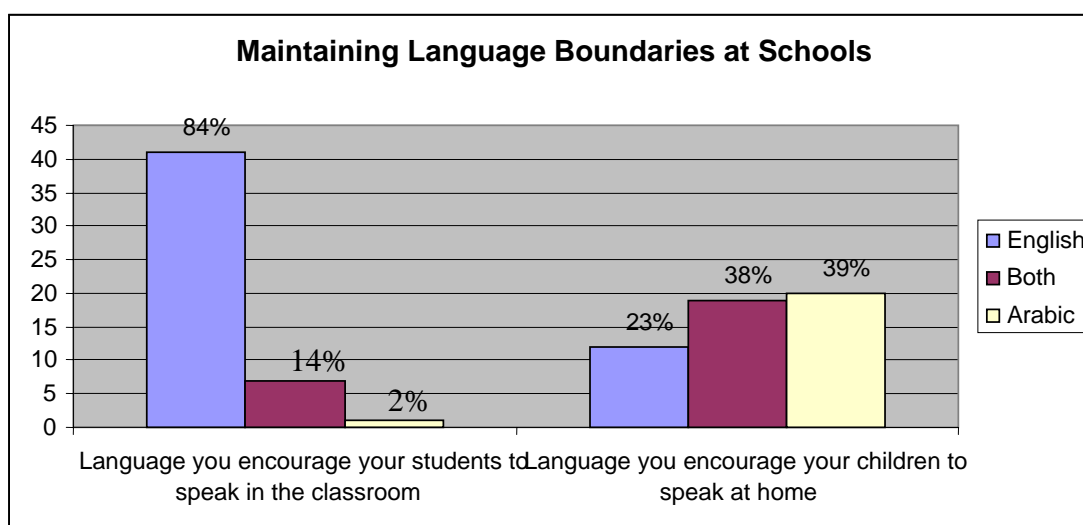
Figure 9



In their responses and comments to maintaining language boundaries in educational and social settings, the majority of educators (84%) replied that they encourage their students to use English only during classroom interactions. While only 14 % replied they encouraged the mixing of both Arabic as the native language of the majority of the students and English as a foreign language to foster learning.

Contrary to the teachers' attitudes towards maintaining language boundaries, 37% of the parents encouraged the mixing of English and Arabic during interaction between family members, although 40% of the same group encouraged children to keep both languages separate, and use only Arabic to strengthen the mother tongue of their children. 23% of the parents encouraged the use of English as a more convenient medium of interaction in bilingual families (Figure 10).

Figure 10



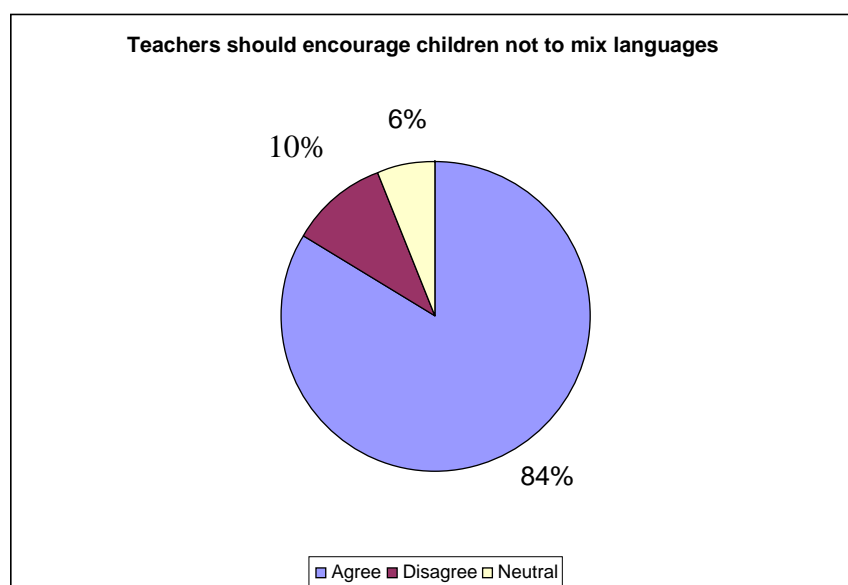
When questioned during the interviews to clarify their responses to the first open-ended question in the survey, most teachers indicated that English and Arabic should be kept separate in order to develop fluency of both languages separately. Only 8% of the teachers stated that they used Arabic- English alternation during their talk in the classroom to achieve certain pedagogical functions such as clarification of difficult words, and helping continuity in speech.

In their replies to the question "Do you Mix Arabic and English at school or in the classroom? Why or why not?" One of the teachers said "Yes, because some words you feel they express the meaning you want more in one language than the other, also studying and learning in English makes the English words be spoken out more naturally." Another teacher added that they mix Arabic and English because "in the classroom some of the learners do not know English well, so I have to explain by Arabic". Still another teacher mentioned that code-switching is a tool that he/she or one of the students used to "explain, through Arabic, terms and concepts that few children do not comprehend". So Arabic is used to facilitate learning, emphasize what

has been presented, increase students' vocabulary, and "build a bridge from what is known to what is unknown" (Sert, 2005). Language mix in classrooms is used to promote learning in content areas taught in English, and develop acquisition and fluency of English in language classes.

In spite of the stated functions of code switching in classrooms, 92% of the teachers contended in their responses to the same open-ended item that Arabic should not be used in language classrooms, or when teaching other subjects through the medium of English. 83% of the teachers maintained that educators in schools should encourage children not to mix languages (see figure 11 below):

Figure 11



Many teachers replied that "Due to school policy reasons, we do not speak Arabic in our classrooms and we do not mix languages, we should encourage the students to use English language". Rules in many schools where English is the medium of instruction are strict about the use of Arabic, one of the teacher stated that "I speak in English while in classroom. My subject demands it (Biology), I'm teaching in an English medium school and I prefer them to speak English, They can speak Arabic their native language at home." This group of teachers maintains that being English teachers or teaching through English implies the exclusive use of English. One of the teachers asserted that "Of course I don't mix English and Arabic, because as an English teacher, I should speak English only.

In contrast, the second group of participants that involved parents, 44% indicated that they mix Arabic and English to fulfill different purposes such as using the word in the language that expresses the meaning more appropriately, and more specifically, for them, some words do not exist in Arabic, so using English words is the only way to express meaning, and vice-versa. Others mentioned CS as a way of involving all family members in conversations in case of mixed marriages, or because of feeling lazy to find the appropriate word in the "base" language. One of the parents said "We too are sometimes lazy and jump from one language to another, we try to avoid or minimize this, though" Another parent answered "Yes to mixing, it's sometimes the easiest way to communicate an idea that requires promptness." In the same vein one parent explained that "I do mix Arabic and English. I do not bother trying to find proper words in any languages as long as people can understand me" Another stated that "Mixing comes out unconsciously, and naturally. I used to mix Arabic and French, but now it's mostly English and Arabic because of the environment".

Despite these favorable attitudes to CS, 56 % of the respondents said "No" to mixing Arabic and English because some think that "there is no point to do that, I use Arabic, I rarely use English". Another said "it is not the way to learn properly languages" Another added "No to mixing, because when we start mixing, we will always mix, and never be able to speak each language completely." Still Another parent commented that "I don't mix these two languages because my opinion is to speak only one language at a time. Moreover I'm fluent in French more than in Arabic." Furthermore many parents ascribed each linguistic repertoire to be developed in a distinct context of the environment, school and home; the main concern for those parents is to develop their children's fluency in Arabic as a priority since the culturally and linguistically diverse environment in the UAE does not promote it. One parent stated that "I don't really mix languages, I prefer using our language at home, so that they [children] become fluent in this language and let the schools do the rest in English (outside activities, friends...)." Another answered: "No, I don't mix most of the time but sometimes I mix to make sure that the kids understand what I said...I always like to speak in Arabic at home because I want the kids to understand and learn all Arabic words and then they can use them properly." Finally another parent replied firmly that "I never mix languages. I like my children to follow me in either

English or Arabic. I use English on purpose to show when to use it, and I like children to master their Arabic first. English is a foreign language."

Although they use language alternation for the reasons they mentioned above, most teachers (76%) and parents (60%) expressed agreement with statements 9 and 13 of the questionnaire which state that they should encourage children not to mix languages as shown in figures 12 & 13 below.

Figure 12

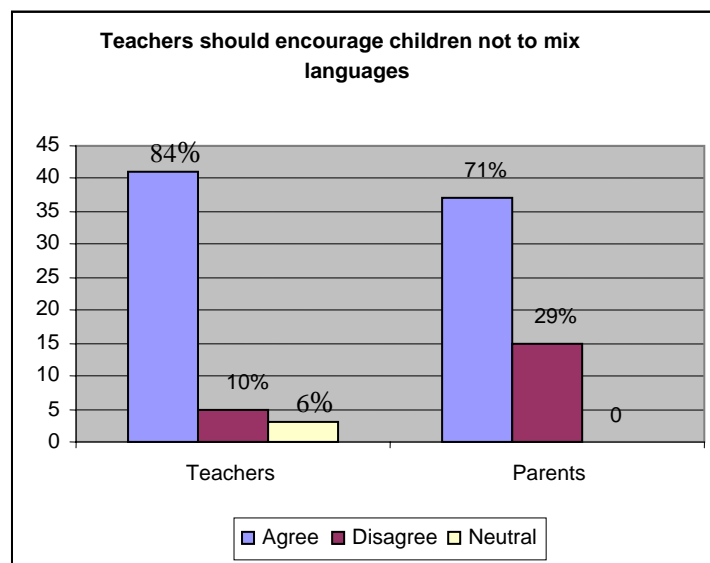
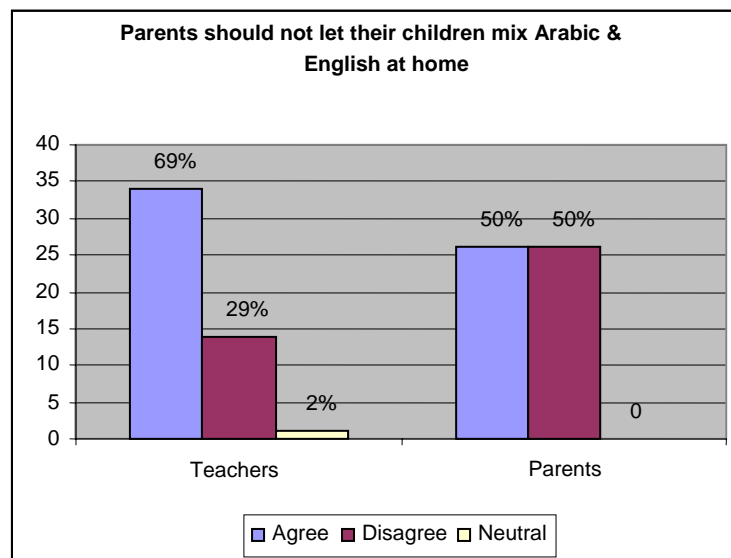
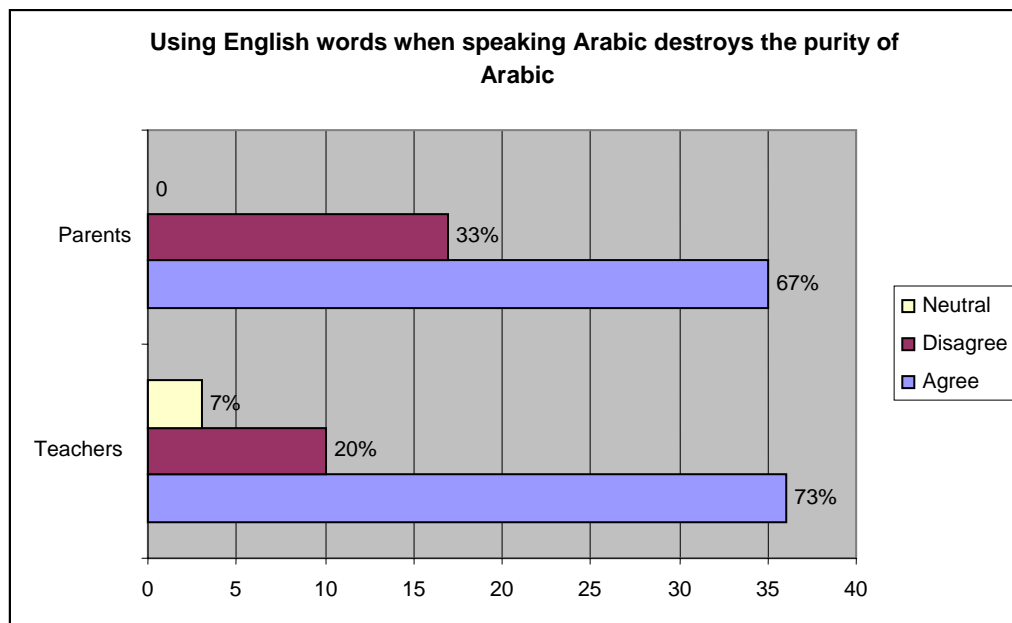


Figure 13



In addition to the uses, and roles of each language in the different contexts that led to encouraging the maintenance of language boundaries, there are other reasons underlying parents' and educators' ambivalent or negative attitudes to Arab bilinguals' use of code switching. Since “speaking is an act of identity” (Hudson, 1996, p.239), statements 6 and 11 were designed to understand how parents and educators view the effects of Arabic- English mixing on Arab cultural identity and the purity of Arabic language. Parents and educators answered to statement differently. Sixty three percent of the teachers and only 46% of parents agreed that mixing languages affects Arab cultural identity; whereas only 26% of educators and 52% of parents disagreed with the same statement. For both groups of participants, CS affects the purity of Arabic rather than influences identity of its speakers. Seventy three percent of teachers’ and sixty seven percent of the parents’ replies indicated that ‘using English words when speaking Arabic destroys the purity of Arabic.’ Their attitudes reflect the profile of diglossic bilingualism, through which Arab speakers feel it is necessary to purify the Arabic language from words that belong to different regional vernaculars and languages such as English. In their attempt to do so, they maintained that languages involved need to be kept as “distinct entities” (Regan, 2003) (Figure 14).

Figure 14



Qualitative Responses to the Effects of CS on the Arabic language

When asked during interviews to clarify their responses to the third open-ended question on the survey which read "What is the impact of too much use of English on the future of Arabic language?" teachers' and parents' replies showed very mixed attitudes about the impact that Arabic English alternation may have on children's learning and use of Arabic language. CS does not seem to be highly valued among some educators who claim that mixing is harmful to the purity of the Arabic language; some academics view code mixing as polluting the integrity of the Arabic language, destroying it and making it an endangered one. Many teachers responded that although CS makes communication among nations easier, it might weaken the Arabic language, the students forget the original words in Arabic, use less Arabic words in their discourse. Their views confirm Romaine's (2000) assertion that "CS among the younger generation leads to fears that the native language will be lost in the future" (p.59). According to Romaine, the fears and anxiety about the future of the language lead to strengthen the belief that bilingualism and extensive CS are steps along the road to linguistic extinction and instability leading to death. These fears are expressed as following:

"Bad effect, most of students with time forgetting the Arabic language"

"It will leave very few fluent speakers of Arabic"

"Arabic is a rich language with a lot more grammar (confusing rules). I believe mixing languages or using too much of English takes away the confidence to use Arabic in public areas and when talking to strangers. Too much use of English will greatly impact the Arabic society negatively and already is."

"Create a generation far away from their mother tongue, which is already happening"

"The possibility of losing the purity of the Arabic language"

Others teachers, however, did not see any relation or effect that mixing has on the use or the future of Arabic language because they believe Arabic is the language of Qu'ran so people will never forget it. Their replies included the following:

"Nothing, Arabic language will remain what it is irrespective of whether people speak it a lot or not because Allah (SWT) has revealed the Qu'ran in it and we are all learning/ will learn this language at least to understand the Qu'ran.InshaAllah"

"I don't think [CS] will affect Arabic too much, because as long as the Arabic is the language used mostly at home and with friends it will stand in front of the use of English in all other parts of life"

"Use of English will not affect Arabic language as it is an international language. But care should be taken to improve their Arabic language also"

"I don't think there will be any serious impact because most Arabs who speak proper English continue using Arabic at home or with relatives. I mix Arabic and English when communicating with my Arab friends who speak English. I guess this is in our nature."

A third category of responses answered that CS is enrichment for the Arabic language since English is the language of "higher communication" in the fields of science and technology. Many participants pointed out that English is the most taught foreign language in the world, and is the most preferred lingua franca. The replies received included the following:

"I think that new words will evolve in Arabic to incorporate English words and slang. Just as English keeps evolving and incorporating words from many other languages as well as new words that come from the advances in technology, etc."

"I think [mixing Arabic and English] will add more good expressions to Arabic language and make it life and updated because it is the time of development in all fields of life and that needs the communicating languages to be improved and developed too"

"There is nothing like too much use of English, English can not be overused for native Arabic speakers. They need to speak as much English as possible. English is universal. It is the business language of the world."

"I think the world has become a global village. No language would be a pure language. UAE has become a cosmopolitan country. UAE national should concentrate on both languages equally."

"There will not be an impact! English in a Arabic society is for educational purposes. Arabic will remain the standard because it is the language of their culture"

These responses show inconsistency in educators' increasing concern about a young generation of Arab learners growing up using mixed speech as a means to interact in different contexts.

Parents' Responses to the impact of language mixing on the future of Arabic language did not differ from educators' widely varying replies. A few parents stated

that mixing Arabic and English is not really a concern; it does not have a major impact if it is used in schools or with English speakers. Another said that Arabic will not be much affected by English because it is deeply rooted in Arab traditions and it is related to the Qu'ran which preserves it. Also, For most participants from mixed marriage families, mixing languages does not affect Arabic language; what is happening through language mixing according to them is that borrowed words will infiltrate in the language, which happens for all languages, it's the normal evolution of a language. Dated words also disappear with time. Another said that the brain knows how to separate the two, so formal Arabic in pure form is used in instruction in educational settings.

However the majority of parents' responses to the same open-ended question about the impact of too much use of English on the future of Arabic language were pointing towards the view that bilingualism and extensive CS present a danger, and steps along the road to linguistic instability, deterioration and loss of the children's native language and their Arabic identity. Some of the replies received included the following:

"As English is easier to learn than Arabic, I think that Arabic will lose its power. To stop that we have to encourage our children to use both languages without mixing them"

"Classic Arabic language will disappear from the repertoire of younger generations"

"The development of Arabic language will be hindered; especially new word creation would be difficult"

"Arabic will be lost, English will invade because of prestige and pop culture, and who knows what form Arabic will take. Purity is non existing anymore for both languages"

"It [CS] will probably make people (Arabic speakers) less interested in their national tongue. In severe case, it might lead to language death"

"The importance of English worldwide has shadowed the use of Arabic language and its importance. The use of too much English will pass from generation to generation leaving little space and importance for its own language"

"It [Arabic language] will deteriorate. Bilingual children think now that the Arabic language is not cool, so they don't use it anymore. In the future the situation will get worse"

"To my knowledge, the Arabic language is already suffering, due to the impact of other languages upon it."

"Arabic language is not easy and if children don't use it, they will miss many words, and then they will become very weak in Arabic and shy to speak Arabic since they may make too many mistakes"

However, not all parents were pessimistic about the effects of code switching on the use and future of Arabic language. A few parents showed mild attitudes towards CS and suggested the need for some balance in using the two languages. They think that CS provides more ability to communicate with English speakers; English CS may have positive impact if English is taught in the right way. For them the type of impact is determined by language use at home and in the environment.

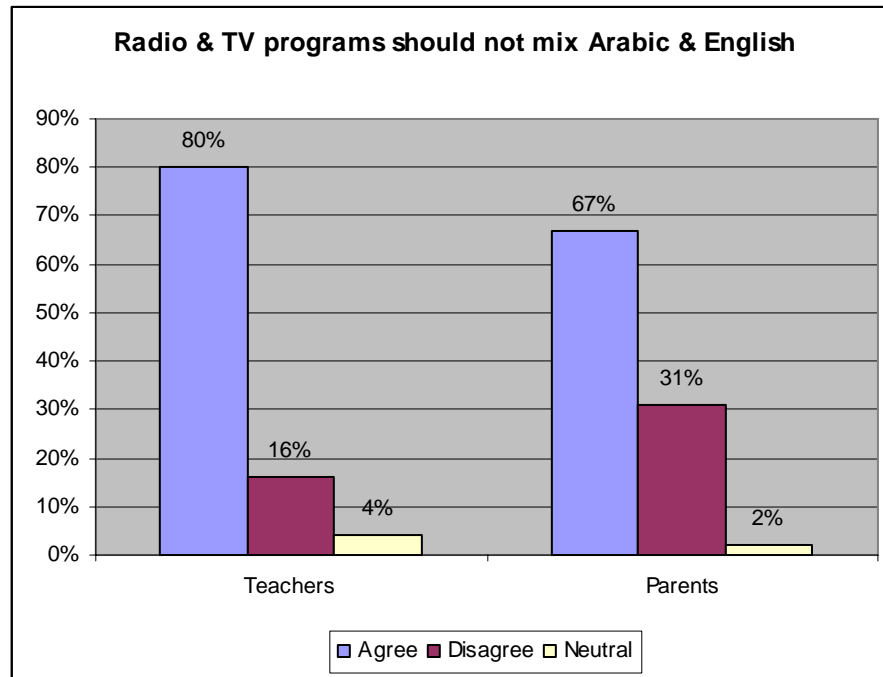
To determine whether parents and educators are well informed about the assets of CS and understand its functions in the educational and social contexts, and to find out about the reasons underlying parents and teachers' hostility to the practice of language alternation and their proposition to maintain language boundaries, specific statements in the survey asked parents and teachers their perceptions of the reasons underlying young learners' use of CS. The average responses to statements three and five, which asked whether school children use this mixed mode of speaking as a communicative strategy or to sound modern and show off, indicated that 56% of the educators and 62% of the parents disagreed that CS is practiced to reflect modernity or to show off, whereas only 40% of the educators' and 30% of the parents' agreed that Arab bilinguals mix Arabic and English to sound modern or to show off. This implies as far as the parents' group of participant is concerned that Arab bilinguals take pride in their Arabic culture and civilization.

Rather than a means of showing off, most respondents propose that CS reflects speaker's laziness to find appropriate words in either language. Sixty three percent of the educators believe that Arab bilinguals mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they don't want to find the words in only one language. Their replies confirm Spolsky's (1998) proposition that "code switching is used for convenience, [bilingual speakers] choose the available word or phrase on the basis of easy availability" (p.50). Yet only 44% of the parents agreed to that statement, 50 % disagreed, and 6% did not express any position to this statement.

To help minimize the effects of code switching on purity and integrity of Arabic language, most participants' responses to statement 19 showed that the

majority of educators (80%) and 67% of parents suggested that media should not mix Arabic and English. Whereas 31% and only 16% of parents disagreed that radio and TV should not mix Arabic and English as shown in Figure 15 below.

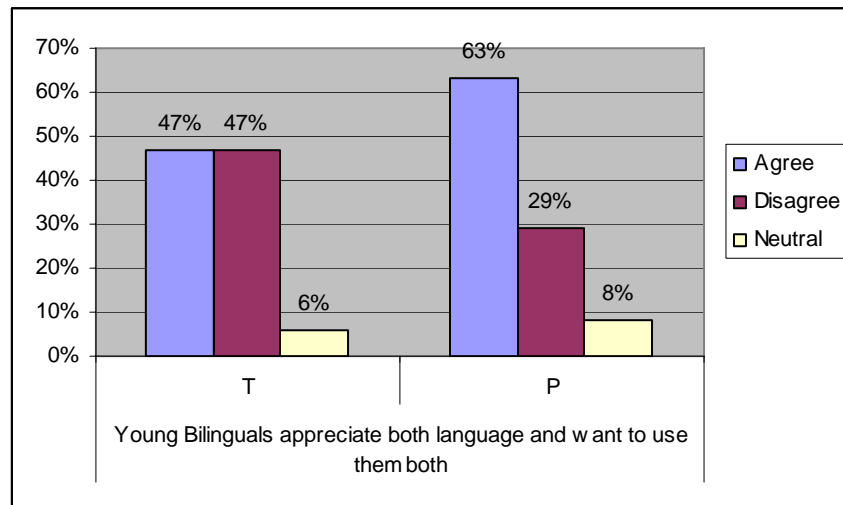
Figure 15



Are educators and parents well informed about the assets of CS as an efficient technique that help extend communicative competence for achieving conversational goals during peer interaction? Do parents and educators lack understanding of the assets of code switching?

To evaluate the extent of parents' and teachers' awareness of the benefits of code switching, The percentages of responses to item 2 were similar for both parents and educators; most educators (55%) and fifty percent of parents agreed that it is a good thing to mix languages in a culturally and linguistically diverse context like the UAE. Only 42% of teachers and 44% of parents disagreed on that. As to whether young bilinguals mix Arabic and English because they appreciate both languages and want to use them both together, the data reveal major differences in parents' and teachers' responses to that statement. Most parents (63%) and only 47% of teachers agreed that bilingual children appreciate both languages, whereas 47% of educators and only 29% of parents disagreed on this as illustrated in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16
CS & Language Appreciation

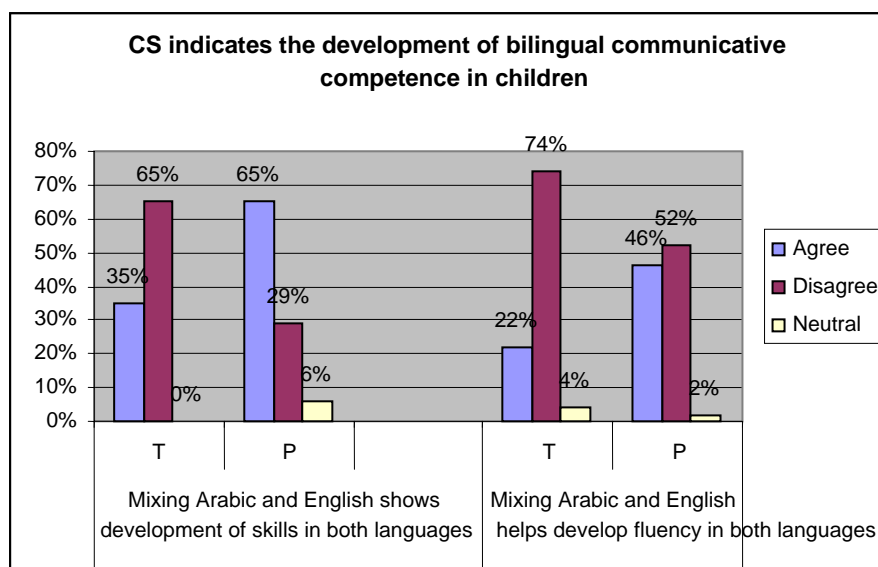


T = Teachers; P = Parents

Responses to items 14 and 22 regarding the claim that CS is a skilled and creative speaking strategy that reflects the development of bilingual skills showed lack of consensus among parents and educators. Most teachers (65%) and only 29% of parents did not agree that CS reflects the development of bilingual competence of school children. However, the majority of parents' responses (65%) and only 35% of the teachers indicated their agreement with that. The majority of parents and educators strongly disagreed that CS helps children become fluent in both languages. Only 46% of the parents agreed that CS promotes fluency in the codes mixed, as seen in Figure 17 below.

These responses are further confirmed through interviews and responses to the second open-ended item of the survey, which requested participants' opinion on whether CS interferes with the development of good language skills in both languages equally.

Figure 17



T = Teachers; P = Parents

Qualitative Responses to the Effects of CS on the Development of Bilingual Skills

When asked if they think code mixing interferes with the development of good language skills in Arabic and English, a few teachers stated that they respect children's efforts in expressing their views through combining both languages. For them, mixing helped progress in their language skills. According to these teachers, introducing the Arabic meanings of the English words may make the students understand things better." Nonetheless, the majority of educators undermined the role of CS in fostering the development of bilingual skills, they even think that CS hindered such development because of the different grammar rules of the languages involved, and the inability of the speakers to develop good command in Arabic and English repertoires. Some of their replies are as follows:

"Yes, mixing the two languages does not allow the students to develop a command of the English language because the rules of grammar that govern the two languages are a world apart"

"Yes [CS] demotivates the learner to learn a second language, his or her language skills develop slowly,"

"Yes because they try to translate Arabic and English, this will decrease the motivation to learn new words or expressions in each language separately; also this will make them forget the words in their own language"

“Yes, children never get fluency and confidence in English if they mix the two languages, mixing will affect the purity of each language, speakers should use each language grammar and rules separately to develop the skills in it.”

“Yes, when mixing two languages, you either can’t find the vocabulary, or you are not sure of the word which causes you to break the language structure all together, break the rules, and corrupt both languages.”

“I don’t think mixing develops good language skills because then the child will never speak either language perfect, he or she won’t differentiate between languages.” (More example of these replies are included in appendix E)

Parents’ replies to the second open-ended item were not different from the teachers’ as far as their diversity and negative attitudes are concerned. Some participants did not indicate any relation or effect of mixing on the development of good language skills in Arabic and English as they think mixing is a “must” among bilingual speakers. They consider CS a quick way to pick up two different languages as one language will help the other. These parents feel children are able to differentiate between the two distinct codes and separate them as they grow older. Others said they were not sure or concerned with the issue the question raised. For them, any interference depends on the level of knowledge (or mastery) of both languages. Only one parent (out of a total of 101 participants) stated that code switching shows creativity of thought and expression. For her, the focus is on communicating meaning as a goal rather than on form. She noted that CS is a creation of a new language, a statement which agrees with Romaine’s (2000) contention that CS becomes a “third linguistic system rather than a deviation from one language or another, CS became a system distinct from both languages in contact” (p.56).

However, the majority of parents think that mixing interferes with good language skills, and causes confusion because the children may not develop appropriate competence in both languages equally. Parents think that children’s knowledge of the grammar of both languages will be confused and limited since the languages involved have different structures. The replies received were the following:

“Yes it reduces vocabulary knowledge of the child in each language and confuses grammar”

“I think so, when you mix languages, you mix not only words but also syntax and a way of thinking”

“I think that mixing languages create a barrier in becoming not only fluent but also very good (academic English or Arabic) in one language. The maximum of the skills in a language are not being used”

"Yes, children will not be able to express themselves fluently; also they should think and talk in the same language"

“Mixing could be natural just out of a coincidence. However it could be negative if a person is trying to compensate for words he doesn’t know in one language by using the new language”

"The child will not be able to speak pure Arabic or pure English which will make his language skills in both languages very poor"

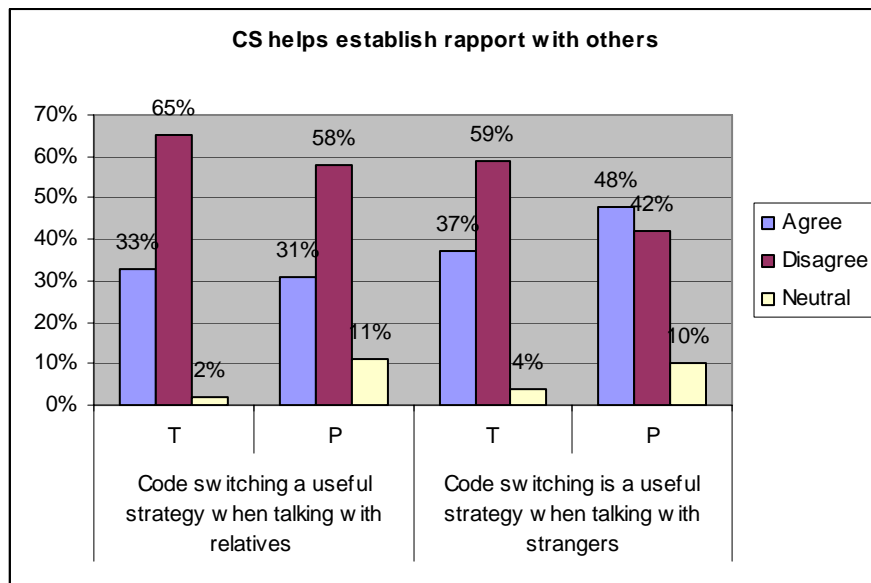
“Speakers will not concentrate on each language’s grammar and vocabulary, all rules will be mixed together they will not have pure correct language”

"Mixing might become a habit by which both languages lose being fluently practiced. It is better to practice each separately"

These responses suggest that these parents were concerned about the need for developing fluency in each language separately. They maintained that developing one's language skill requires the speaker to focus only on one language at a time, either pure English or pure Arabic. For them, children mix the two languages together because it is easier than looking for the right word in Arabic to use it. As a result, once they can say what they want in English then, they don’t care anymore to learn the corresponding Arabic word. Since code switching helps continuity of speech, the majority of parents believe that kids will never be fluent in both languages; they will never be as proficient as either Arab monolingual or English monolingual speakers. They expressed their hope that as they grow children would catch up with both languages and differentiate between them.

The remaining items (18, 23, and 24) of the questionnaire were designed to determine participants’ awareness of the social role CS plays in building intimate interpersonal relationships among members of a bilingual community or group. According to Skiba (1997) CS is an important strategy of communication; "it helps express solidarity or establish rapport with a particular social group"(p.2). The average percentages for statements 18 and 24 showed that 50% of the parents and 62% of the teachers disagreed that CS is a useful strategy when talking with relatives or strangers as illustrated in figure 18 below.

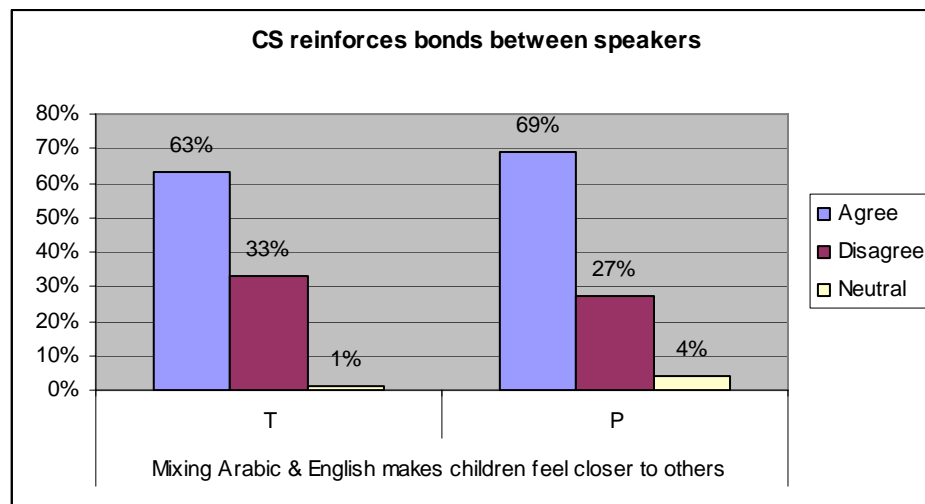
Figure 18



T = Teachers; P = Parents

However the results for statement 23 showed that the majority of both parents (69%) and educators (63%) agreed that CS reinforces bonds between speakers because it makes them feel closer to others as shown in figure 19.

Figure 19



T = Teachers; P = Parents

Since the crux of this study is to determine the current position of CS in the UAE context, and reveal parents' and educators' overt as well as covert attitudes towards it, replies the second hypothesis were helpful in presenting the differences in

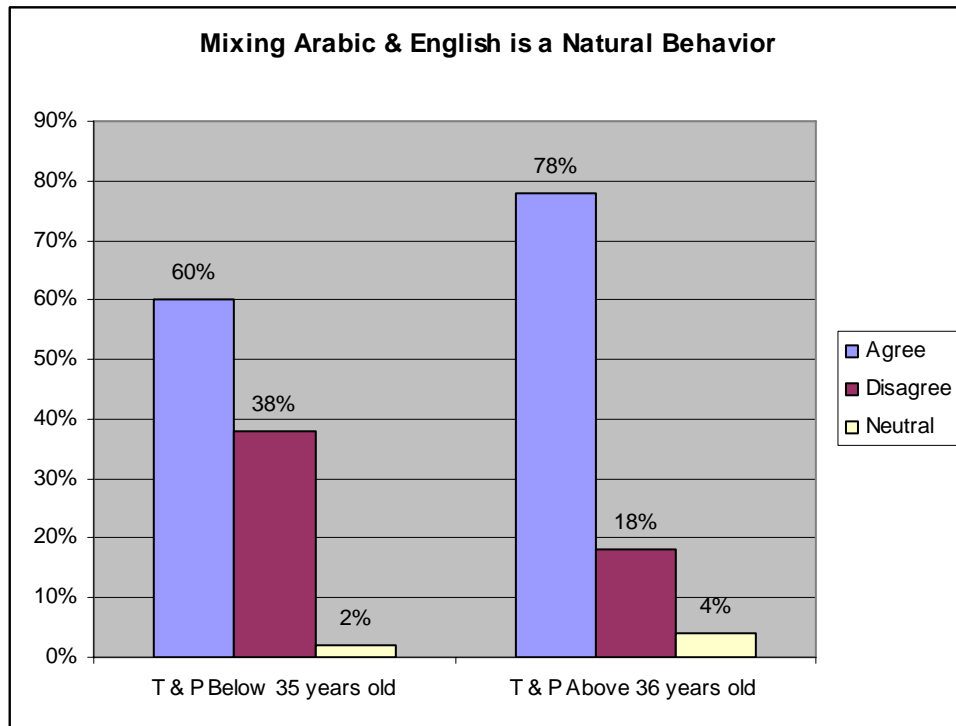
parents' and educators' perceptions of how CS is used, the reasons underlying its use and its effects on Arab culture and identity. The participants' responses were characterized by lack of consistency or negative attitudes towards this manifestation of language. Most of the attitudes expressed quantitatively and qualitatively pointed towards overt hostility and stigma related to young bilinguals' use of CS. As revealed in the findings of the study, the majority of the participants acknowledged that Arabic English CS is a natural outcome of the cultural and linguistic diversity in the UAE context, and the growing importance of the English language globally. However, both groups of participants disagreed with the social role that CS plays in building intimate interpersonal relationships among members of a bilingual community or group, and establishing rapport with others, though they agreed that CS reinforces bonds between bilingual speakers. Moreover, both teachers and parents disagreed with the claim in the literature that CS helps develop fluency in both languages. Contrary to that claim, the majority of the teachers disagreed that mixing Arabic and English indicates the development of bilingual communicative competence in children therefore they strongly proposed that language boundaries should be maintained at school as well as in social contexts.

The Relation between Age and Attitudes to CS

In order to test the third hypothesis of the present study, which is that 'young' educators and parents are more tolerant towards young Arab bilinguals' code switching than their 'older' partners due to their openness to modernization and globalization, it was important to set two groups of participants based on their age as provided on the cover page of the survey. The rationale for looking at age as a variable is the assumption that young generation of participants are more open to modernization, and to the spread of the English language worldwide. For them, English is more acknowledged as the language of "higher communication" in the fields of science and technology in the world. Whereas, participants from older generation were assumed to be more conservative about preserving purity and integrity of the Arabic language, their main concern was to keep both languages separate. There were 50 participants in the first group that involved teachers and parents aged 35 years old and below, and 51 respondents in the second group which included parents and participants aged 36 years old and above (Appendix D).

Responses to all items of the questionnaire showed similar percentages for almost all the responses provided by both age groups except for the statements 1, 9, 13, 14, 18, and 22. Responses to the first item of the survey showed that 38 % of the younger group and only 18 % of the older group disagreed with the statement that mixing Arabic and English is a natural behavior that bilingual children exhibit as shown in figure 20 below.

Figure 20

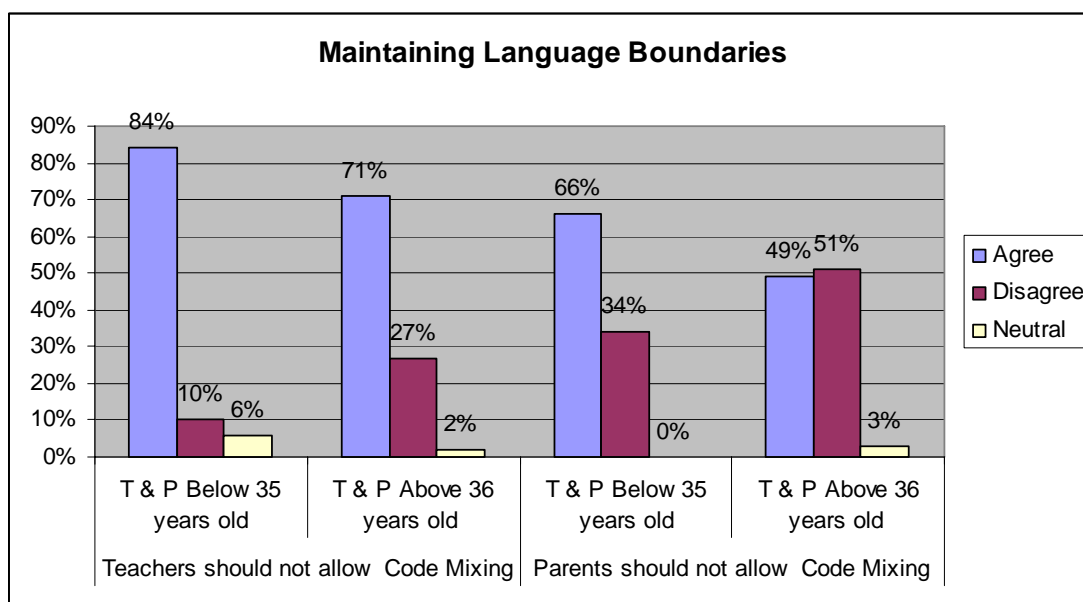


T= Teachers; P = Parents

The most interesting finding that was revealed after analyzing the responses according to the distribution of participants following their age groups is that the older participants seemed more tolerant to the practice of Arabic English alternation in social settings than younger participants. In fact, responses to item 13 which states that “parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home” revealed that the majority (66%) of the younger group of respondents and only 49% of the older group agreed that parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home; whereas almost half of the older respondents (51%) and only 34 % of the younger participants disagreed with that.. Regarding item 9, while the majority in both groups of respondents (84 % & 71 %) agreed that it is the teachers' role to help young bilinguals maintain language boundaries by discouraging switching codes, 10%

of the younger group and 27% of the older one thought otherwise as it is illustrated in figure 21 below.

Figure 21



T = Teachers; P = Parents

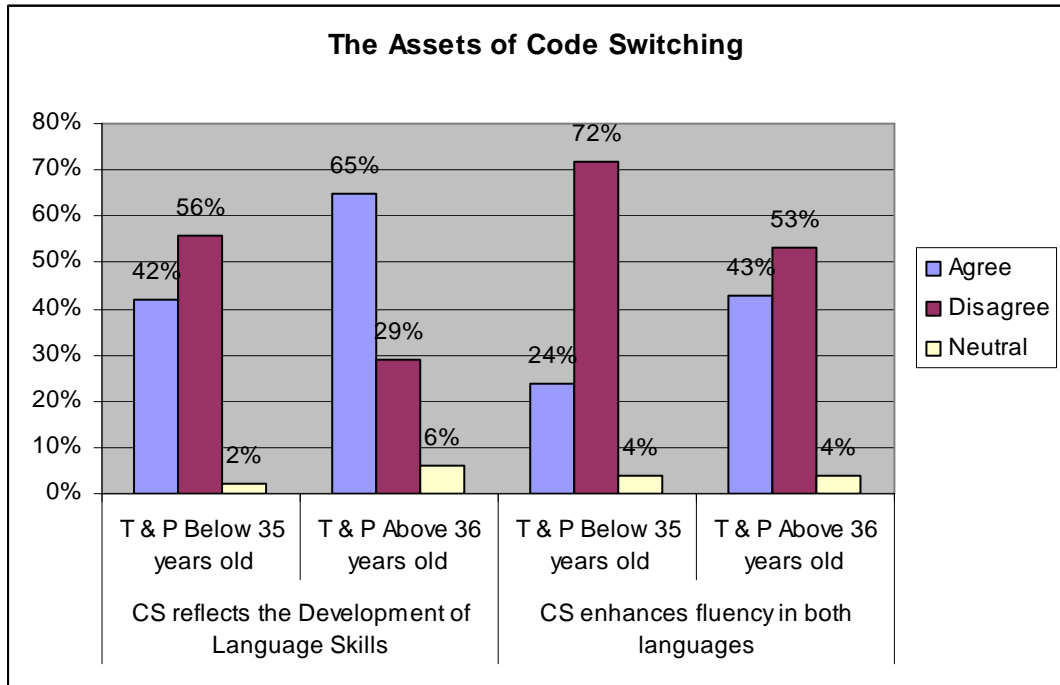
Furthermore differences between younger and older groups of participants are revealed through items 14 and 22. Responses to item 14 showed that more than fifty percent of younger participants (56%) and only 29% of the older group disagreed that the use of code switching reflects the development of bilingual skills in both languages, whereas 65% of the older group of participants and only 42% of the other group agreed on that.

In item 22, the majority (72%) of the younger group and about half (53%) of the older group disagreed that Arabic English CS helps children become fluent in both languages. Twenty four percent of the younger group while 43 % of the older group agreed that language mixing helps promote fluency in both languages equally. Four percent in both groups did not express any opinion regarding this issue as seen in Figure 22 below.

Finally, item 18 shows also the difference between the two age-groups of participants in their views of the social role of CS as a useful communicative strategy that helps talk and connect with relatives. While the majority of respondents from the younger group (78%) disagreed that mixing Arabic and English is helpful when talking with relatives, only half of the older participants expressed disagreement with

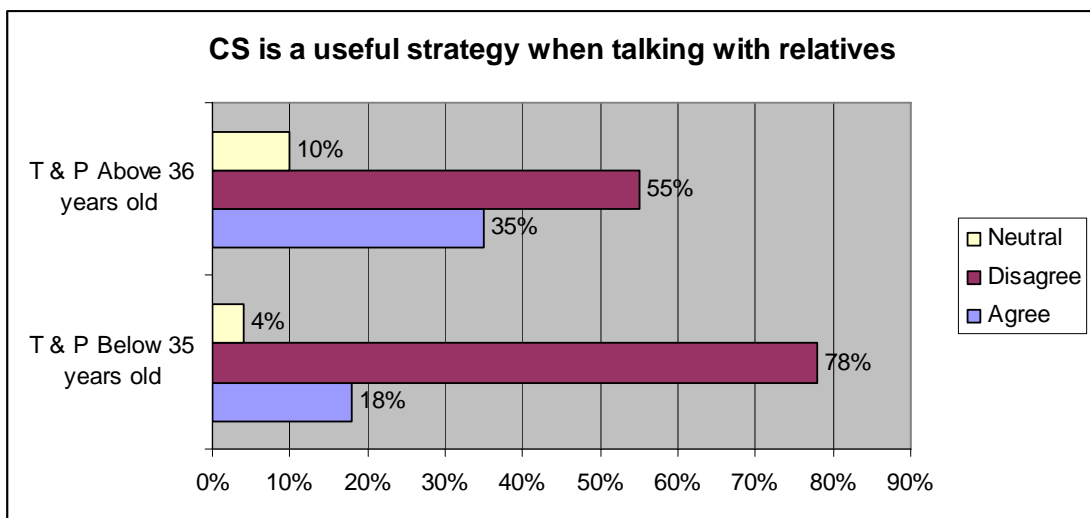
that statement. Thirty five percent of the older group and only 18% of the younger group agreed with that as shown in figure 23 below.

Figure 22



T = Teachers; P = Parents

Figure 23

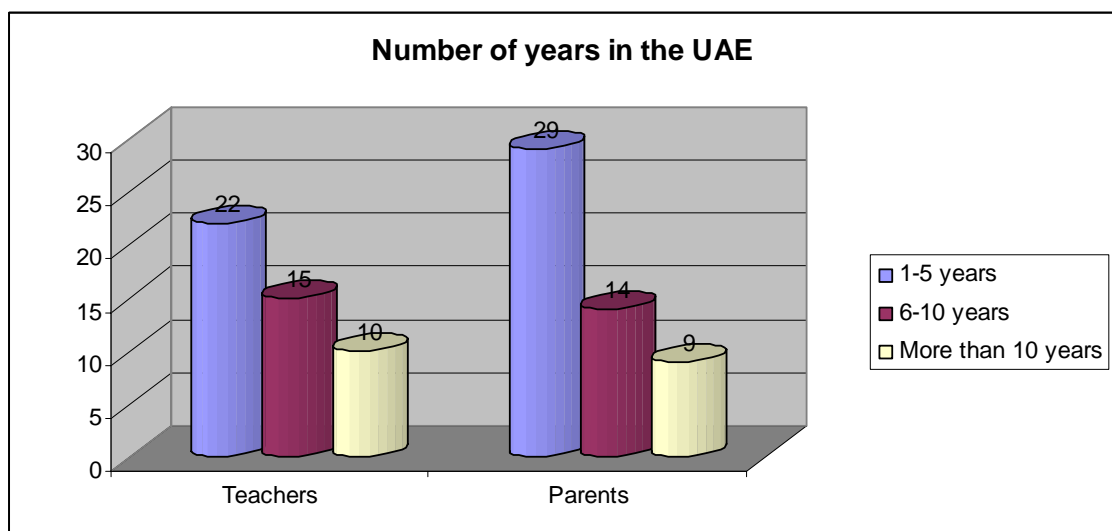


T = Teachers; P = Parents

As can be seen through the figures and participants' responses to the items of the survey, the main variables that helped determine attitudes to Arabic English code switching are relation to the bilingual speakers (parents or teachers), and age of participants. The first variable revealed awareness of both groups of participants of the widespread of CS in educational and social settings. They acknowledged that it is a common behavior and a normal outcome of the pervasiveness of bilingualism and the increasing diversity in the UAE. The first variable also showed lack of consensus among teachers and parents about the assets of CS. The second variable that shaped participants' answers is age. The findings of the study as far as age is taken into consideration did not confirm the third hypothesis of the study, it revealed that despite their understanding of the widespread use of English, younger participants rejected the use of CS and disagreed that it a natural linguistic behavior in bilingual communities. This same group disagreed also that language alternation helps develop bilingual skills and language fluency in both languages. For them, both languages should develop separately to insure high levels of learning and also to preserve the Arabic language from deterioration and loss among their children.

The other variables that were taken into consideration in the data analysis were the number of years each respondents spent in the UAE, and the difference in Arabic dialects spoken by most participants as shown in figures 2, 3, and 24. These variables did not affect the participants' attitudes towards the phenomenon studied.

Figure 24



Two UAE National teachers took part in the survey.

Data from classroom observations

In the different English-language classes that I attended in Balquees Public School in Sharjah, I noticed that classroom interaction was mainly based on answering the teachers' questions and repeating those answers fluently and accurately rather than on negotiating meaning. Whenever the students were allowed thinking time, they switched to their mother tongue (Arabic) to interact with each other. More particularly, the students were using their regional dialects rather than Classic or Modern Standard Arabic during peer interactions. Also, the teachers used Arabic-English code-switching to give nonacademic instructions such as praising students or asking some of them to respond to her questions. Moreover, teachers mixed English and Arabic, on few occasions, to translate part of the content into Arabic, pose questions in Arabic, or explain grammar rules in Arabic when little support was offered by context. Switching to the students' native language was practiced because of the need to increase students' understanding of cognitively demanding tasks. During such tasks, the teachers provided word for word translation from English into Arabic instead of explaining content with realia and other types of classroom techniques.

On the other hand, English is the main medium of instruction in private schools, however only 30 % of classroom interactions took place in English during interaction between teachers (who are mostly English native speakers) and Arab learners, all remaining interactions (basically among students during collaborative work) were performed through language alternation between Arabic and English, which confirms Regan's (2003) contention that "there is a natural preference for using the mother tongue outside the classroom or job situation, and there is nothing unusual or culpable in this attitude-most people all over the world revert to their mother tongue in the home, over meals, with friends at the race track. To expect anything else would be pipe-dreaming" (p.3).

Summary

In summary the findings of this study revealed that educators and parents understand well that code switching is a common behavior among young Arab bilinguals. Code switching was shown to be a dominant feature in the speech of not only young Arab bilinguals but also the participants involved in this study. The phenomenon of CS was perceived by educators to constitute more than 88% of the

speech of Arab bilinguals in educational settings. This picture serves to provide an idea about the extent of the use of Arabic English CS. However, in the absence of any norms defining or characterizing the use of CS, this picture does not provide a basis upon which one can draw conclusions on whether this extent of use is endangering the future of the Arabic language as proposed by most participants or not. These conclusions would require a multi-dimensional account that involves linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational, national and international perspectives, which is far beyond the scope of this study.

Within the context of this study, data showed that both groups of participants (parents and educators) stood firm in their contention that fluency in English and Arabic and development of good language skills in both languages will not be promoted by extensive use of code mixing, despite the widespread use of this communicative strategy among them all. Therefore, they encouraged the maintenance of language boundaries so that Arabic will not be classified among endangered languages of the world. A proposition that bring to light the disconnect between what these bilingual speakers do and what they think should be done.

Despite some of the confusion and in some cases discrepancies between from parents and educators, most participants in this study showed lack of understanding of the dimensions of code switching. This was shown quantitatively as well as expressed qualitatively through responses to the open-ended items of the survey. Only a minority (3 out of 101) of the respondents believed that Arabic English code mixing is a skilled and creative speaking strategy that reflects the development of bilingual skills. Also a majority of the respondents acknowledged that this manifestation of language is an acceptable behavior and a normal outcome of the devastation of linguistic and cultural diversity in the UAE context. Nonetheless the majority hardly recognized it as a legitimate mode of communication particularly in social and educational contexts. Language mixing as practiced in the diglossic and bilingual context of the UAE is still stigmatized by most participants despite the increasing evidence in the overwhelming literature that it serves important functions in educational and social contexts. The reasons underlying such a claim need to be addressed in further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This study was designed to investigate perceptions towards the practice of Arabic- English code switching in social and educational settings in the culturally and linguistically diverse context of the UAE. More specifically, it examined parents' and educators' attitudes towards the linguistic phenomenon of language alternation as used by young Arab bilinguals.

The term code switching has been used interchangeably with terms like language alternation and code mixing to refer to a mode of oral discourse (Sankoff, 1998) characterized by embedding English words, phrases, sentences, or constituents in Arabic discourse; it refers also to inserting Arabic words in English conversations and interactions.

To implement the study, three basic hypotheses were raised and tested using surveys, ethnographic observations, and personal interviews. The hypotheses addressed the following concerns: Arab bilinguals use extensive Arabic-English code switching in educational and social contexts; code switching is not a highly-valued communication strategy among educators and parents who perceive it as a sign of semilingualism and language deficiency; and educators' and parents' lack of understanding of the assets of code switching underlies their negative attitudes towards this manifestation of language in the culturally and linguistically diverse context of the UAE.

Despite the overwhelming literature on code switching, this analysis was important in terms of its focus on bringing perspectives of two different groups of participants: parents and teachers and the way they perceive the phenomenon of Arabic-English code mixing influencing children's language fluency and proficiency in a context characterized by diglossic bilingualism. This inquiry aimed at contributing more understanding to views regarding the notion of Arabic English language mixing by Arab children and their need to communicate, and interact in a multilingual community environment in the UAE. Thus, the study is important due to its originality. It is the first of its kind to investigate educators' and parents' uses and

views of CS. It is hoped that this research would benefit teachers, particularly, those teaching Arabic speaking students through the medium of English. It is also hoped that the information provided by this study would lead to more awareness of the functions and dimensions of code switching as a skilled communication strategy that reveals speakers' creativity, their ability to interact in different contexts, and development of their bilingual skills.

A summary of the results obtained from the surveys and classroom observation for each of the three hypotheses follows. The findings of the study support the first hypothesis as the majority of teachers and parents who responded to the survey indicated that CS is a common behavior among young Arab learners in social and educational settings. More than 88% of educators' and 56% of parents' responses acknowledged that young Arab learners use language mix during their interaction at school and at home. These findings confirm the claims in the literature that code switching is the inevitable consequence of bilingualism or, more generally, multilingualism (Hudson, 1996; Spolsky, 1998; Greene & Walker, 2004). Young Arab bilinguals were found to use language alternation mostly with Arab nationals from different backgrounds. In order to overcome the differences in their regional dialects, most Arab bilinguals use CS to convey "culture-specific and field-specific vocabulary" (Regan, 2003, p.5). For them English which is the children's second language becomes the "Matrix language" (Meyers-Scotton, 1993, p.67) and the pattern of language production involves Arabic words and phrases embedded in English discourse.

Also, related to the first hypothesis is the finding which confirms the literature that CS is used to build solidarity, intimate relations and "show camaraderie" (Chaika, 1994, p.335). The study showed that the majority of parents and educators agreed that young bilinguals learn to code switch languages from their friends at school or in the community around them in order to identify and connect with them.

On the other hand, the majority of parents (92%) and educators (90%) agreed that intrasentential CS in which a switch of languages occurs within the boundaries of a sentence is the predominant type of CS that young bilinguals use. According to many researchers, intrasentential CS is practiced by more proficient and balanced bilinguals as it requires the speakers' ability to control and use two linguistic systems at the same time or interchangeably. For those researchers, "the speakers' sophisticated knowledge of the grammars of both languages, and knowledge of how

the grammars relate to one another underlie the well formedness of the code switched utterances and the complexity of intrasentential CS” (Hammik, 2000; Downes, 1998; Greene and Walker, 2004). Nonetheless, most participants in this study expressed overt attitudes of hostility towards language mixing whether intra- or intersentential, and reject it as a mode of oral discourse among young bilinguals. Most participants (parents and educators) maintained that practice and use of CS in different context does not help the development of fluency in both languages equally, they asserted that “children mix Arabic and English because they don’t know either one well” For them CS is an index of relative linguistic competence in both languages; they even went further in their assertion that CS is a sign of a lack of proficiency and fluency in either language. They stated also that extensive CS does not promote the development of bilingual skills since the children’s mixing patterns reflect their increasing proficiency in the “guest” language syntax and lexicon, and their declining use of Arabic and more particularly Classic and Modern Standard Arabic with peers and others in school or social domains (Pfaff, 1998, p.119). Therefore, most respondents in this study proposed that language boundaries should be maintained to relieve the children from the "burden of bilingualism in speaking and writing" (Daoud, 2004, Darwish, 2006), and to protect the integrity of the Arabic language from the polluting effects of code switching.

The second hypothesis of this study was strongly supported through this investigation, as the majority of the educators and parents surveyed who voiced negative opinions about the use of CS maintained that the use of English in academic and social settings carried threatening values to the Arabic language and destroys its purity. Therefore, training young learners to use pure Arabic through formal education helps minimize the use of code switching and protects the speakers’ native language and their cultural distinctives (Darwich 2006).

On the other hand, upon comparing parents' and teachers' views on code switching, the findings of this study reveal points of mismatch between the two participant groups. The majority of educators (63%) agreed that children mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they do not want to find the words in only one language, whereas only 44% of the parents' group agreed on that. The majority of parents disagreed that CS is a sign of laziness and lack of interest. Despite the discrepancy in their replies most respondents maintained that CS among young learners is not a sign of developing bilingual skills but a deviation from one language

or another since the majority of educators and parents agreed that “true bilinguals do not mix languages.”

The results of this study show that parents and educators are not well informed about or aware of the social, and pedagogical benefits and uses of CS. The majority of the surveyed participants disagreed that “mixing Arabic and English is a useful strategy that helps children become fluent and proficient in both languages equally” Most of the respondents in this study think that CS is a lazy and deficient way of speaking which contradicts the claims in the literature that CS is not an arbitrary or meaningless language phenomenon, but it is a systematic linguistic tool, structurally governed by a free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint that are operative at the point of the switch (Poplack, 1995; 1988). When they produce well-formed monolingual fragments, the existence of the grammatical constraints reflect the proficiency of bilingual speakers. According to Myers-Scotton (1998) CS is structurally coherent (i.e. constituents are assembled in predictable ways), yet for bilinguals showing more ability in one language than the other is usual. She asserted that “there exists a continuum of well formedness in bilingual or mixed speech with CS as one of the poles” (p224).

The third and final hypothesis, 'Young' educators and parents are more open towards modernization and globalization, and the role of English as an international language; they are more tolerant towards Arabic- English mixing than are older parents and educators, for whom language boundaries should be maintained to preserve purity and integrity of the Arabic language,” was not confirmed by the findings of the study. In fact the replies of the younger group of participants opposed the hypothesis. Contrary to the attitudes of the ‘older’ participants, the ‘younger ones’ stood firm in their disagreement with the social function of CS in promoting intimate interpersonal relationships between people, or that CS extends communicative competence in both languages. This group of younger participants argued that young children should purify their language (especially when using their mother tongue, the Arabic language) and make the effort of investigating how to say what needs to be said in each language separately. ‘Older’ participants were more open to the practice of Arabic English CS as they agreed with the literature that it is a natural outcome because of the intense contact with English. One possible explanation for this finding which did not validate the third hypothesis of this study is related to the migratory process. Accordingly, ‘older’ generation of participants including parents and

educators seem to be more open to globalization and to the role of English as an international language because they have left their places of origin earlier than the younger group of participants, they have more experiences with migration, more contact with groups from diverse ethnicities, more contact with minority and majority languages, and more exposure to different cultures in the host countries. This presupposition of the relation between migration, openness to the modernization, and acceptance of the social and pedagogical roles of CS needs to be examined in further research.

Implications of the Study

The implications of the study are relevant to educators, classroom teachers and parents. Because of the paucity of participants and dissonance of their attitudes, the study's primary function is to lead the way to more extensive research that would investigate the reasons underlying ambivalent or negative attitudes to code switching in a context characterized by diglossic bilingualism, and how to raise awareness that CS is a communicative strategy rather than a symptom of language deficiency. However, in this instance, conclusions and recommendations can be drawn about this particular context of this study.

Implications for Educators

This study has revealed that teachers judged code switching negatively although they acknowledged their use of this strategy to perform a range of classroom functions including grammar explanation and disciplinary (organizational) matters e.g. physical environment of the classroom, assigning seats or speech turns, and in case of communication breakdowns. Also, teachers rejected the use of language mixing by their bilingual students despite the claim in an overwhelming literature about the topic that CS is used as a strategy by bilingual speakers to extend their communicative competence during peer interaction, and that intrasentential code switching reflects speakers' greatest bilingual ability, it is practiced by proficient and balanced bilinguals as it requires the speaker's ability to control and use two linguistic systems at the same time or interchangeably (Greene and Walker, 2004; Wong, 2000; Hammik, 2000, Malakoff and Hakuta, 1998).

To help improve educators' "cognitive dissonance" (Greene and Walker, 2004) about language mixing, it is important that teachers share with researchers and

linguists the most current research on the benefits of using code switching when speaking in a variety of contexts. This makes teachers feel more confident about their own use of CS during instruction or when used by the learners themselves. By educating teachers about the pedagogic functions of CS in the foreign language classroom, they would reconsider their attitudes toward the linguistic process by becoming sensitive and enlightened to ethnicities, cultures and language communities. Change in attitude may be reflected in a change in pedagogy and the development of educational programs that cultivate social growth and inform teachers that CS is a manifestation of language that portrays ethnic, personal and group identity.

Recommendations for teachers

Recent research on CS has identified it as “one of the skills bilingual children used during cooperative learning environments” (Reyes, 2004). According to Reyes, CS becomes part of the children’s linguistic knowledge; it conveys information that might affect their understanding of others. Therefore teachers need to be aware of the different aspects of CS, and consider the following few recommendations for instruction in order to for the students to benefit from alternating between languages:

- Teachers should explore their attitudes toward CS and see language and culture in tandem and as a reflection of individual and group identity as well as group solidarity. If instructors demonstrate an understanding and respect for others' dialects and languages, then they may change how children feel about themselves as persons, learners, participants and contributors.
- Teachers can communicate expectations for language use in the classroom: for example, they should discuss with students how language choice and presentational style will affect grading; this enhances understanding and performance outcomes.
- Teachers can exhibit model behavior for students to emulate: instructors can promote CS by demonstrating effective CS and displaying respect and valued consideration for other dialects which fosters identification between themselves and their students in the classroom. CS used deliberately and appropriately to the content enables students to linguistically emulate the instructor.
- CS can also be a second language teaching tool through reciprocal language teaching. This method requires the students to switch languages at predetermined points, The teacher switches languages at certain key points, such as

during important concepts, when students are getting distracted, during revisions or when students are praised which makes the lesson communicative.

- Teachers should affirm students' language: communication exists on a continuum, so it is important to recognize, accept, and validate students' different dialects and use of language alternation as a viable language and not to devalue or dismiss it as nonsensical. Arabic language is linked to the identity and heritage of people, thus it is important that students and educators learn the historical development of dialects and MSA. When the students know the differences between languages and the value of language and culture, they will understand that they do not have to surrender one language for another.

- Teachers need to be aware that accepting CS leads to empower students for full freedom of expression in both languages which leads to increase in self esteem.

- Teachers can create culturally reflective assignments that take into account students' language diversity which help build self esteem, legitimize dialects, and facilitate learning.

When instructors reconsider their attitude towards cultural language usage, students will better appreciate the ability to code switch and to recognize language choices in various communication situations. This can be achieved by promoting teachers' awareness of the functions and outcomes of CS process. According to Sert (2005) the functions of CS in classrooms are affective, repetitive, and related to topic switch. In topic switch cases, the teacher may switch code when dealing with grammar which may create a bridge from the known (native language) to the unknown (new foreign language content) so that the teacher exploits students' L1 (students' native language) learning experience to increase their understanding of L2 (target language). Affective functions refer to the contribution of CS in creating a supportive language environment in the classroom which helps the teacher build solidarity and intimate relations with the students. Repetitive functions refer to the teacher's adding clarity to the content by code switching between the target language and the native language when instructions are not clear to help efficient comprehension. Students' code switching behavior in the classroom can be seen to serve different functions as well. These are equivalence, floor-holding, reiteration, and conflict control (Sert 2005; Kim & Elder, 2005). The first function may be correlated with the deficiency in linguistic competence of the target language and refers to the

use of the native equivalent of a certain lexical item in the target language. Equivalence functions as a defensive mechanism as it gives students the opportunity to continue communication by bridging the gap resulting from foreign language incompetence. Floor holding refers to the same principle of using a word when the student can not recall the appropriate target language structure or lexicon. Reiteration refers to using the native language to repeat what has been said in the target language in order to reinforce, emphasize, and clarify what has been said appropriately, and show understanding to the teacher. Conflict control refers to the tendency to avoid any misunderstanding or to refer indirectly to specific purposes through CS. This is frequent in case of lack of some culturally equivalent lexis.

Implications for Parents

Schools need to work in concert with parents to establish more effective home-school partnerships to meet the different language needs and expectations of the parents and students, Lao (2004, p.116). Educating parents about the dimensions and functions of CS should probably be considered, as such by raising their awareness through newsletters and informal discussions or talks that a negotiation of languages is not an attack on the speakers' language or dialect but an attempt at helping them to broaden their linguistic skills and function within society.

This study revealed that many parents expressed strong attachment to their native language Arabic, the practice of CS for most of them was seen as a violation or even betrayal of the Arabic speakers' ethnolinguistic identity. Although they acknowledged that English is the preferred code for a great deal of technical and scientific knowledge, and it is the vehicle of knowledge, many surveyed participants expressed confidence in their own identities and ability to filter out any polluting values that might be carried with English.

Most parents who responded to the survey maintained that Arabic is more than an instrument, it is an expression of personality and an act of identity therefore it should be protected from English invasion. They expressed strong need for their children to get exposure to Classic Arabic at school. They proposed that Classic Arabic should be encouraged at schools and learned in its pure form. For them it should not be polluted with words from other languages such as English because it is the holy language of Qur'an, it should not be tampered with or improved upon. Most participants expressed pride love and respect for the Arabic language which they

regard as one of the great cultural treasures. Therefore, classic Arabic should be reinforced in schools among young learners to insure its optimum use in its purist form.

In conclusion, the results of this study revealed a great dissonance in parents' and teachers' attitudes towards Arabic- English mixing by young Arab bilinguals. Contrary to findings in the overwhelming literature about CS, most surveyed participants showed ambivalent attitudes towards the claim that speakers with the greatest degree of bilingual communicative competence are the ones who most frequently use CS as a strategy to meet their conversational goals and to communicate with their peers. Implied in such a claim is the suggestion that a positive relationship exists between bilingual CS and language proficiency. According to Genesee (2002) "the number of instances of code switching can be interpreted to reflect the child's developing communicative competence"(p.190), an assertion with which most participants in this study in a context characterized by diglossic bilingualism hardly agreed.

Limitations of this Study

This study concerned attitudes of teachers from five private schools and only a public one. Whereas all parents who responded to the survey had children who attended private schools and received instruction through the English medium, the results may be viewed as inconclusive. Attitudes of parents whose children attend public schools may differ from the participants' views as expressed in this study. This factor of receiving instruction in all subjects through the English medium may have had an effect on the level of learners' competence in the Arabic language and as a result influenced parents' attitudes towards the use of CS and its effects on the development of bilingual communicative competence. Therefore any future study of this type needs to include a larger sample of participants representing different schooling systems.

In addition, this study serves as an initial attempt at exploring different attitudes to the use of CS in the UAE context, and some of the reasons underlying the stigma attached to it. However, future research such as longitudinal studies is needed to determine if the profile of diglossia in a bilingual context, or bilingualism in a diglossic situation such as the UAE context, and the existence of a continuum of

languages with different poles are the underlying factors that led to ambivalence and dissonance in attitudes towards the phenomenon of language alternation.

This study, although it used interviews and ethnographic observations in an attempt to triangulate and validate its findings, its main source of data was basically attitude surveys that included scaled choice responses and open-ended questions. These types of questions may not be helpful in obtaining completely reliable information about the participants' attitudes towards the phenomenon examined, one can never be sure if the scores represent accurately reported attitudes and feelings. This problem, although common across most attitudinal studies, remains critical for future research to validating a scale that would present perceptions in a better light.

Despite its small size, the study gives a point of departure for further research in the field and specifically in this region of the world. People from different generations and levels continue to use Arabic- English code switching in a context characterized by English invasion of different educational, social and economic domains. Therefore, it is hoped that this study can serve teachers, parents and educators as a useful first step in gaining knowledge of how to draw on children's language resources to help students' achieve academic and communicative competence.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire for teachers

Teachers' and Parents' Attitudes toward Code switching

The purpose of this survey is to explore parents' and teachers' perceptions of children's mixing English and Arabic when they speak. This survey is part of my Master's thesis study. Data provided will be kept strictly confidential and will be used for this study only. Thank you for your support of my research.

- Gender: Male Female
- Age (optional): _____
- **Number of years in the UAE:** 1 – 5 5 – 10 _____

Your native language is Arabic English Other

Other languages you speak _____

What Arabic dialects do you speak?

- Dialects of Egypt and Sudan
- Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, and the Gulf.
- Dialects of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine
- Dialects of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

Language you speak to your students in the classroom/ at school

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language you encourage your students in the classroom/ at school

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language your students speak in the classroom

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language your students speak with their peers

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Would you like to be interviewed on this topic and discuss your answers and opinions?

- Yes, I would like to be interviewed.

- No, I would prefer not to be interviewed.

If yes, please provide your name and contact information so I can contact you:

Name _____

Phone or e-mail: _____

Read each statement carefully and tick (✓) only one appropriate box.

No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	It sounds natural to me when my students mix Arabic and English.				
2	It is a good thing to mix languages because of the different cultures in the UAE.				
3	Young learners mix Arabic and English to sound modern.				
4	Young learners who mix Arabic and English appreciate both languages and want to use them both together.				
5	Young learners mix Arabic and English to show off.				
6	Mixing languages affects Arab cultural identity.				
7	Students mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they don't want to find the words in only one language.				
8	Young learners learn to mix Arabic and English from their parents.				
9	Teachers should encourage students not to mix languages.				
1	Young learners learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends.				
1	Using English words when speaking Arabic destroys the purity of Arabic.				
1	True bilinguals do not mix languages.				
1	Parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home.				
1	Mixing Arabic and English shows that a learner is developing skills in both languages.				
1	When my students mix languages they mix Arabic and English words .				
1	When my students mix languages they mix Arabic and English sentences .				
1	Young learners mix Arabic and English when they watch TV.				
18.	Mixing Arabic & English is a useful strategy when talking with relatives.				
19.	Radio & TV. Programs should not mix Arabic & English.				

No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20	Young learners mix Arabic and English when they talk about school.				
21	Young learners mix Arabic and English when they play.				
22	Mixing Arabic and English helps students become fluent in both languages.				
23	My students mix Arabic and English because it makes them feel closer to others.				
24	Mixing Arabic and English is a useful strategy when talking with strangers.				

Please answer the following questions. You can write your answers in either English or Arabic.

1. Do you mix Arabic and English at school or in the classroom? Why or why not?

2. Do you think that mixing Arabic and English interferes with the development of good language skills in Arabic and English? (Please explain)

3. What is the impact of too much use of English on the future of Arabic language?

I greatly appreciate your filling out this survey.

Appendix B: Questionnaire for Parents

Educators' and Parents' Attitudes toward Code switching

The purpose of this survey is to explore parents' and teachers' perceptions of children's mixing English and Arabic when they speak. This survey is part of my Master's thesis study. Data provided will be kept strictly confidential and will be used for this study only. Thank you for your support of my research.

- Gender: Male Female
- Age (optional): _____
- **Number of years in the UAE:** 1 – 5 5 – 10 _____

Your native language is Arabic English Other

Other languages you speak _____

What Arabic dialects do you speak?

- Dialects of Egypt and Sudan
- Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, and the Gulf.
- Dialects of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine
- Dialects of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

Language you speak to your children at home

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language you encourage your children to speak at home

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language your children speak at home

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Language your children speak at school

Arabic English Both Arabic and English others _____

Would you like to be interviewed on this topic and discuss your answers and opinions?

- Yes, I would like to be interviewed.
- No, I would prefer not to be interviewed.

If yes, please provide your name and contact information so I can contact you:

Name _____

Phone or e-mail: _____

Read each statement carefully and tick (✓) only one appropriate box.

No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18.	It sounds natural to me when my children mix Arabic and English.				
19.	It is a good thing to mix languages because of the different cultures in the UAE.				
20.	Children mix Arabic and English to sound modern.				
21.	Speakers who mix Arabic and English appreciate both languages and want to use them both together.				
22.	Children mix Arabic and English to show off.				
23.	Mixing languages affects Arab cultural identity.				
24.	Children mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they don't want to find the words in only one language.				
25.	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their parents.				
26.	Teachers should encourage children not to mix languages.				
27.	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends.				
28.	Using English words when speaking Arabic destroys the purity of Arabic.				
29.	True bilinguals do not mix languages.				
30.	Parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home.				
31.	Mixing Arabic and English shows that a child is developing skills in both languages.				
32.	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English words .				
33.	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English sentences .				
34.	My children mix Arabic and English when they watch TV.				

18.	Mixing Arabic & English is a useful strategy when talking with relatives.				
19.	Radio & TV. Programs should not mix Arabic & English.				
No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20.	My children mix Arabic and English when they talk about school.				
21.	My children mix Arabic and English when they play.				
22.	Mixing Arabic and English helps children become fluent in both languages.				
23.	Children mix Arabic and English because it makes them feel closer to others.				
24.	Mixing Arabic and English is a useful strategy when talking with strangers.				

Please answer the following questions. You can write your answers in either English or Arabic.

3. Do you mix Arabic and English at home? Why or why not?

4. Do you think that mixing Arabic and English interferes with the development of good language skills in Arabic and English? (Please explain)

3. What is the impact of too much use of English on the future of Arabic language?

I greatly appreciate your filling out this survey.

Appendix C: Teachers' & Parents' Responses to the Questionnaire

No.	Statement	Gender	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
1	It sounds natural to me when my children mix Arabic and English.	FT	5	24	8	3	0
		MT	0	3	2	4	0
		Total	5	27	10	7	0
		FP	7	15	8	1	2
		MP	8	7	0	2	1
		Total	15	23	8	3	3
2	It is a good thing to mix languages because of the different cultures in the UAE.	FT	3	19	14	5	0
		MT	0	5	3	0	1
		Total	3	24	17	4	1
		FP	4	11	11	6	2
		MP	6	5	5	1	1
		Total	10	16	16	7	3
	Children mix Arabic and English to sound modern.	FT	3	15	17	4	0
		MT	1	2	4	1	1
		Total	4	17	22	5	1
		FP	3	8	16	5	1
		MP	0	4	10	2	2
		Total	3	12	27	7	3
	Speakers who mix Arabic and English appreciate both languages and want to use them both together.	FT	0	20	14	4	2
		MT	1	2	4	1	1

		Total	1	22	18	5	3
		FP	2	18	10	2	2
		MP	5	8	2	1	2
		Total	7	26	12	3	4
	Children mix Arabic and English to show off.	FT	4	12	19	4	3
		MT	1	2	5	0	1
		Total	5	14	24	4	2
		FP	2	6	20	5	1
		MP	0	4	10	1	3
		Total	2	16	30	1	4
	Mixing languages affects Arab cultural identity.	FT	5	20	8	2	3
		MT	1	3	3	0	2
		Total	6	25	11	2	5
		FP	5	10	17	3	0
		MP	4	5	7	2	1
		Total	9	15	24	3	1
	Children mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they don't want to find the words in only one language.	FT	12	13	11	0	3
		MT	0	5	3	0	1
		Total	12	19	14	0	4
		FP	4	11	14	3	1
		MP	4	4	7	2	2
		Total	8	15	21	5	3
	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their parents.	FT	8	15	10	3	4
		MT	0	6	1	1	1
		Total	8	21	11	4	5
		FP	4	18	9	1	3
		MP	1	12	5	0	0
		Total	5	30	13	1	3
	Teachers should encourage children not to mix languages.	FT	23	10	3	1	3

		MT	3	4	1	0	1
		Total	27	14	4	1	3
		FP	14	13	7	0	0
		MP	8	2	7	1	0
		Total	22	15	14	1	0
0	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends.	FT	8	22	4	1	2
		MT	0	8	0	0	1
		Total	13	28	4	1	3
		FP	5	23	3	0	2
		MP	3	14	1	0	0
		Total	8	38	4	0	2
1	Using English words when speaking Arabic destroys the purity of Arabic.	FT	10	20	6	1	1
		MT	1	3	3	0	2
		Total	13	23	9	1	3
		FP	11	14	8	1	0
		MP	3	7	6	2	0
		Total	14	21	14	3	0
2	True bilinguals do not mix languages.	FT	15	15	6	2	1
		MT	1	7	1	0	0
		Total	16	22	5	2	1
		FP	9	12	10	2	1
		MP	4	5	6	1	2
		Total	13	17	16	3	3
3	Parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home.	FT	9	16	11	0	0
		MT	2	4	2	0	1
		Total	11	23	11	3	1
		FP	8	12	12	2	0
		MP	3	3	10	2	0
		Total	11	15	22	4	0

4	Mixing Arabic and English shows that a child is developing skills in both languages.						
		FT	2	12	18	6	1
		MT	0	3	5	1	0
		Total	2	15	25	7	0
		FP	5	18	10	1	1
		MP	5	6	3	2	2
		Total	10	24	12	3	3
5	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English words .						
		FT	8	20	5	4	3
		MT	1	5	0	0	3
		Total	9	25	5	4	6
		FP	8	19	6	0	2
		MP	4	13	0	0	1
		Total	12	32	6	0	2
6	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English sentences .						
		FT	2	14	20	3	1
		MT	0	3	6	0	0
		Total	2	17	26	3	1
		FP	1	17	13	2	1
		MP	1	6	7	3	1
		Total	2	23	20	5	2
7	My children mix Arabic and English when they watch TV.		FT: 4	17	10	1	5
		FT					
		MT	0	7	1	0	1
		Total	3	29	10	1	6
		FP	3	14	11	1	4
		MP	1	8	4	2	3
		Total	4	23	15	3	7

18	Mixing Arabic & English is a useful strategy when talking with relatives.	FT	2	11	19	5	0
		MT	0	3	3	2	1
		Total	2	14	25	7	1
		FP	1	12	15	3	3
		MP	0	3	8	4	3
		Total	1	15	23	7	6
19	Radio & TV. Programs should not mix Arabic & English.	FT	12	16	5	3	1
		MT	4	4	0	0	1
		Total	21	18	5	3	2
		FP	13			2	0
		MP	6	4	7	0	1
		Total	21	14	14	2	1
No.	Statement		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
0	My children mix Arabic and English when they talk about school.	FT	4	23	7	0	4
		MT	0	7	1	0	1
		Total	4	32	8	0	5
		FP	8	18	5	0	1
		MP	3	8	4	1	2
		Total	11	28	9	1	3
1	My children mix Arabic and English when they play.	FT	5	27	2	1	0
		MT	0	9	0	0	0
		Total	5	39	2	1	2
		FP	7	24	1	0	1
		MP	2	14	0	1	1
		Total	9	39	1	1	2

2	Mixing Arabic and English helps children become fluent in both languages.	FT	2	6	22	0	1
		MT	0	3	5	0	1
		Total	2	9	28	8	2
		FP	2	12	18	1	0
		MP	1	9	4	3	1
		Total	3	21	23	4	1
3	Children mix Arabic and English because it makes them feel closer to others.	FT	4	24	9	1	1
		MT	0	2	5	1	1
		Total	4	27	14	2	2
		FP	4	22	5	2	0
		MP	2	7	5	2	2
		Total	6	30	10	4	2
4	Mixing Arabic and English is a useful strategy when talking with strangers.	FT	0	16	14	5	1
		MT	1	0	6	1	1
		Total	2	16	23	6	2
		FP	3	15	10	3	3
		MP	0	7	6	3	2
		Total	3	22	16	6	5

Appendix D: Distribution of Responses According to Participants' Age Groups

No.	Statement	Age group	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
1	It sounds natural to me when my children mix Arabic and English.	T	3	12	8	6	0
		P	4	11	4	1	1
		B.35	7	23	12	7	1
		T	1	16	2	1	0
		P	11	12	4	2	2
A.36	12	28	6	3	2		
2	It is a good thing to mix languages because of the different cultures in the UAE.	T	2	14	9	3	1
		P	2	7	8	4	0
		B.35	4	21	17	7	1
		T	1	10	7	2	0
		P	8	11	7	3	2
A.36	9	21	14	5	2		
3	Children mix Arabic and English to sound modern.	T	4	10	12	2	1
		P	3	6	12	2	0
		B.35	7	16	24	4	1
		T	1	9	8	3	0
		P	0	8	13	5	3
A.36	1	17	21	8	3		
4	Speakers who mix Arabic and English appreciate both languages and want to use them both together.	T	2	13	11	2	1
		P	3	11	6	1	0
		B.35	5	24	11	3	1
		T	0	7	9	2	2
		P	4	16	6	1	4
A.36	4	23	15	3	6		
5	Children mix Arabic and English to show off.	T	3	9	14	2	1
		P	1	5	11	3	1
		B.35	4	14	25	5	2
		T	2	4	13	2	1
		P	1	4	20	3	3
A.36	3	8	33	5	4		
6	Mixing languages affects Arab cultural identity.	T	4	13	7	2	2
		P	1	6	13	1	0
		B.35	5	19	20	3	2
		T	3	10	5	1	2
		P	8	8	10	4	1

		A.36	11	18	15	5	3
7	Children mix Arabic and English because they are lazy, they don't want to find the words in only one language.	T	8	10	8	0	3
		P	4	5	11	1	0
		B.35	12	15	19	1	3
		T	4	9	6	0	1
		P	4	9	12	3	3
		A.36	8	18	18	3	4
8	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their parents.	T	5	13	5	1	4
		P	1	11	6	2	1
		B.35	6				
		T	2	9	6	3	1
		P	4	18	9	0	0
		A.36	6	27	15	3	2
9	Teachers should encourage children not to mix languages.	T	16	7	1	1	3
		P	9	9	3	0	0
		B.35	25	16	4	1	3
		T	9	9	2	0	1
		P	14	5	11	1	0
		A.36	23	14	13	1	66
10	Children learn to mix Arabic and English from their friends.	T	6	17	1	1	3
		P	4	12	4	0	1
		B.35	10	29	5	1	4
		T	2	16	2	0	1
		P	4	26	0	0	1
		A.36	6	42	2	0	2
11	Using English words when speaking Arabic destroys the purity of Arabic.	T	7	12	7	1	2
		P	3	13	5	0	0
		B.35	10	25	12	1	2
		T	7	11	3	0	1
		P	9	11	9	2	0
		A.36	16	22	12	2	1
12	True bilinguals do not mix languages.	T	13	8	7	1	0
		P	4	9	7	1	0
		B.35	17	17	14	2	0
		T	5	12	2	0	1
		P	10	7	9	2	3
		A.36	15	19	11	2	4
13	Parents should not let their children mix Arabic and English at home.	T	10	10	8	0	0
		P	2	10	7	2	0
		B.35	12	20	15	2	0
		T	1	11	7	1	1
		P	8	5	17	1	0
		A.36	9	16	24	2	1

4	1	Mixing Arabic and English shows that a child is developing skills in both languages.	T	2	5	16	3	1
			P	4	10	6	0	0
			B.35	6	15	22	3	1
			T	0	11	7	3	1
			P	6	16	8	0	2
	A.36	6	27	15	3	3		
5	1	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English words .	T	5	15	2	1	4
			P	5	11	5	0	1
			B.35	10	26	7	1	5
			T	4	11	1	3	3
			P	5	20	1	0	4
	A.36	9	31	2	3	7		
6	1	When my children mix languages they mix Arabic and English sentences .	T	2	8	17	0	3
			P	1	9	10	1	0
			B.35	3	17	27	1	3
			T	0	5	11	2	1
			P	1	14	10	3	3
	A.36	1	19	21	5	4		
7	1	My children mix Arabic and English when they watch TV.	T	2	14	4	0	7
			P	2	9	7	1	2
			B.35	4	23	11	1	9
			T	2	12	6	1	1
			P	2	15	7	2	5
	A.36	4	27	13	3	6		
18		Mixing Arabic & English is a useful strategy when talking with relatives.	T	2	3	17	3	2
			P	1	3	16	2	0
			B.35	3	6	33	5	2
			T					
			P					
	A.36	0	9	9	3	1		
		0	9	10	6	5		
		0	18	19	9	6		
19		Radio & TV. Programs should not mix Arabic & English.	T	13	8	3	2	3
			P	7	8	6	0	0
			B.35	20	16	9	126	3
			T	7	9	2	1	1
			P	14	7	7	2	1
	A.36	21	16	9	3	2		
No.	Statement							
20		My children mix Arabic and English when they	T	3	17	4	0	4
			P	4	12	5	0	0
			B.35		29	9	0	4

	talk about school.	T	2	13	4	1	1
		P	7	18	2	1	3
		A.36	9	31	6	2	4
21	My children mix Arabic and English when they play.	T	4	19	1	1	2
		P	5	16	0	0	0
		B.35	9	35	1	1	2
		T	2	16	1	1	2
		P	5	23	0	1	2
		A.36	7	39	1	2	4
22	Mixing Arabic and English helps children become fluent in both languages.	T	1	3	17	5	2
		P	1	7	13	1	0
		B.35	2	10	30	6	2
		T	1	5	13	1	1
		P	1	15	9	4	1
		A.36	2	20	22	5	2
23	Children mix Arabic and English because it makes them feel closer to others.	T	3	14	8	2	1
		P	2	13	5	1	0
		B.35	5	27	13	3	1
		T	1	13	6	0	1
		P	3	20	3	3	2
		A.36	4	33	9	3	3
24	Mixing Arabic and English is a useful strategy when talking with strangers.	T	2	9	10	5	2
		P	3	8	7	2	1
		B.35	5	17	17	7	3
		T	1	7	9	3	1
		P	0	15	7	4	5
		A.36	1	22	16	7	6

Appendix E: Qualitative Responses to Open-Ended Questions 3 “What is the impact of too much use of English on the future of Arabic language?”

"Bad effect, most of students with time forgetting the Arabic language"

"It will be destroyed"

"The children will forget the original words in Arabic in the future"

"It may weaken the Arabic language"

"It will leave very few fluent speakers of Arabic"

"We should differentiate between the two languages and to concentrate on studying each language alone without mixing between them"

"Easier communication among nations but it might weaken the Arabic language"

"Arabic is a rich language with a lot more grammar (confusing rules). I believe mixing languages or using too much of English takes away the confidence to use Arabic in public areas and when talking to strangers. Too much use of English will greatly impact the Arabic society negatively and already is."

"It might cause some words to be used less"

"It may lose its true language form, mixing rules like –ing ending in the Arabic language"

"A feeling English language is easier, so children will prefer to use English rather than Arabic unless they have a choice".

"It will have a negative impact if the Arabic language is not given the same amount of importance."

"Create a generation far away from their mother tongue, which is already happening"

"Too much English will definitely prevent the development of good language skills in Arabic"

"The possibility of losing the purity of the Arabic language"

"The language would become highly distorted"

"Use of English will not affect Arabic language as it is an international language. But care should be taken to improve their Arabic language also"

"Bad impact on Arabic"

"If Arabic and English are taught in parallel from an early age it [CS] will benefit language acquisition in both languages"

"The English is a familiar language in all over the world, so to talk English is so important to contact other people. The Arabic still my native language, I will never forget it"

"At home they speak Arabic so I don't see any harm for this language in future even if they use English outside their home"

"I feel each language has its own identity. So usage of each language will not create much impact on the other language"

"Use of English develops English language, whereas they know Arabic well as they speak in the home and everywhere else"

"No bad impact on Arabic, may be broadening its sphere of vocabulary use"

"A very bad influence"

"People knowledge of Arabic reduces over time"

"People will use English more than Arabic and want to speak English due to the fact that English is the language of technology"

"Too much use of English will make you forget your language and that is not good"

"Yes, mixing has a very bad impact on developing fluency in Arabic, in the contrary we will get a weak language"

"Arabic will be forgotten if they might think it is not important. They also (children) love English, we don't want this, but we want them to be confident with Arabic language"

"It represents a danger in my opinion for the language."

"Probably people will not do the effort to develop the Arabic language"

"Mixing may affect the speed of word recognition, children may not figure out the meaning of Arabic words when they see them written"

"It will dilute the Arabic language, mixing languages when I was growing up has certainly given me less knowledge of my native language."

Qualitative responses to the second open ended item of the survey Do you think that mixing Arabic and English interferes with the development of good language skills in Arabic and English? (Please explain)

“Yes, children should learn early on which language to speak to the appropriate adult i.e. Islamic and Arabic teachers in Arabic but others in English; each should be kept separate and pure.”

“Yes, students use [mixing] as an easy way out when they don’t know words in either Arabic or English, they should concentrate on one language especially at early age”

Parents replies:

“Yes, because people will not think about words in English or (Arabic). They will just say whatever is on their minds whether it’s in English or in Arabic”

“Yes, because it will cause confusion”

“Yes, because it’s a creation of a new language”

NOTE: All replies are reported verbatim. I did not correct grammar, spelling or any other type of mistake that may appear in the participants’ replies.

VITA

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