Code-switching in Political Discourse: A Study of Nasser's Political Speeches

Michelle Joann Ann Konik

Key West, Florida

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Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Languages and Cultures

University of Virginia

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1. Introduction

It has long been known that an appealing rhetorical ability and political power are closely interconnected (Fairclough, 2001, p.84). While language is essential for the maintenance of power; the power and effect of language in turn rely on the influence and authority of the individuals who use it. Consequently, the ability to understand how language functions is crucial for understanding the culture it presents. The ideological assumptions embedded in language use are largely evident through an explanation of existing social conventions which are seen as outcomes of struggles for power (Fairclough, 2001, p. 84) As an influential revolutionary, Gamal Abdel Nasser was an enduring figure in Egypt's history from 1957 to 1970. When Nasser became the second president of Egypt in 1956, the use of Arabic language in the political arena was revitalized. While Egypt's first president, Mohammed Naguib displayed a monolithic preference for using Modern Standard Arabic in his speeches, his successor, Gamal Abdel Nasser, was notable for mixing the Egyptian dialect with Modern Standard Arabic in his speeches.

In order to influence the public and establish new social reforms, Nasser relied on the linguistic fluidity of Arabic to lead him to victory (Westad, 2005, p. 124). He consciously and persistently utilized code-switching in political contexts, from verbal strategies in political discourse to non-conventional means of humor. Nasser applied code-switching during his political speeches as a means to construct his power and in the same time, as a way to maintain it. For the first time in the Arab world, there was a distinctive focus on a vernacular form of Arabic combined with standard Arabic. (Westad, 2005, p. 124). While utilizing the fluidity of Arabic, Nasser led the pan-Arab

movement that was often in the center of his political speeches. Through Nasser's countless reforms, Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA) not only became the most recognized dialect across the Arab states, but it also highlighted the importance of the vernacular form in the political arena. Nasser's political speeches not only brought back the importance of vernacular as a political tool, but it gave rise to the study of codeswitching as a powerful political tool across the Middle East.

1.1 Significance of the Study

Political speeches are a crucial tool in the hands of leaders to achieve multiple ends: to communicate, alter their political situation, persuade the public, demonize dissidents, inform the public about their policies, and other tasks (Conger, 1991, p. 31). The necessity of analyzing code-switching in political discourse allows further understanding of code-switching as a strategic political device. Ever since Nasser, code-switching has become a major tool of modern presidential speeches. The current study analyzes three speeches of Nasser in order to understand and recognize his trigger behind code-switching and to identify the specific functions of his code-switching in political discourse.

This thesis explores the relationship between language and power; more specifically, it examines a consistent signal of code-switching in three speeches delivered by Gamal Abdel Nasser, the first from 1964, the second in 1965, and the third one in 1966. In the political discourse in Egypt, both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA) created different rhetorical effects. While MSA usually

appeared official, eloquent, and more globally focused; ESA was targeted towards local communities and consequently, made Nasser appear like the common-man who sided with the public. Many scholars have investigated variation in Arabic political speeches, from different perspectives under various linguistic terms. However, this thesis examines solely the trigger of code-switching as opposed to other linguistic features in Nasser's political speeches during his term in office.

After a review of the literature outlining the diglossia and different approaches in the study of codeswitching, attention will be focused on the sociopsychological motivations that drive the speaker to engage in code-switching such as setting, speaker's role, and the audience. The methodology used to collect and transcribe the data will be outlined, including distinction between MSA and ESA. Historical background is presented to explain the emergence of Nasser as a key political figure during the Pan-Arab era. It was necessary to use the second president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, as the main subject for this linguistic analysis. He was the first Arab leader who used code-switching in a political discourse and was able to do it successfully. Additional research was featured on Egyptian identity and the history of isolationism prior to the rise of Pan-Arabism. Educational and social reforms were also highlighted in the context of the study. It can be argued that Nasser's prominent code-switching was influenced by Egypt's social structure, geographic location, and education system during the period from 1952 until 1970. However, these events alone do not explain why Nasser chose to be the first president to include vernacular in a political speech. Ultimately, the amalgamation of both colloquial and standard language in a political discourse resulted in

a successful political tool that has been replicated to this day in the Middle East. This study aims to analyze a trigger and identify functions of Nasser's code switching.

2. Literature Review

This literature review section explores some of the major works on diglossia and code-switching in order to understand a trigger behind Nasser's code-switching. This section is divided into two parts. The first section describes the phenomena of diglossia in the Arab world. The second part provides an overview of major works on code-switching in order to lay a theoretical groundwork for this study.

2.1 Diglossia

The diglossic situation in Egypt has been redefined over the years. It was the second president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, who used diglossia to shape the linguistic background of Egypt in the mid-twentieth century. The amalgamation of vernacular with standard Arabic in political speeches not only resulted in approval from the Egyptian public, but it created a style that was closely followed by his predecessors like Anwar as-Sādāt and Ḥusnī Mubārak. During Nasser's term in office, the main emphasis was on the relationship between Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The term diglossia was first mentioned in English by the American sociolinguist Charles Ferguson in 1959. He defined diglossia as this:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.
>
> (Ferguson, 1959)

Ferguson's introduction of diglossia helped to position Arabic language on the sociolinguistic landscape. Ferguson brought attention to the idea that both vernacular and an official language can coexist in a given community. This research not only normalized the phenomena of diglossia in local communities, but it also established a foundation for further study. Following the definition of diglossia in 1959, Ferguson further elaborates on its characteristics in 1996 where he introduces the range of language forms between High (H) and Low (L) varieties. They are distinguished by the situational use within a speech community. In diglossic situations, the High variety is associated with formal and educational situations. Whereas, Low variety can be found within conversational and informal social circles.

Ferguson's differentiation between High and Low varieties can be applied to the sociolinguistic situation in Egypt. Prior to Ferguson's definition of diglossia, code-switching was prevalent on a daily basis in various communities in the Middle East (Mazraani, 1997, p. 49). Since Egypt has been characterized as a diglossic community, it is a community in which two language varieties exist each with a different function. Thus, ESA and MSA took different roles in Egyptian society. Following Ferguson's definition of High and Low varieties, MSA is regarded as the high variety language while

ESA is the low variety. Moreover, MSA emphasizes importance and is given priority when it comes to education and elite circles of Egypt.

The diglossic situation in Egypt has caught the attention of many scholars throughout the years. Ferguson (1959) set the stage for further sociolinguistic study of Arabic. Since then, there have been multiple important contributions to Arabic sociolinguistics by Haeri (1996), Schmidt (1974), and Holes (2004), among others. A groundbreaking work in this regard, is Badawi's (1973) study on multiple levels of Arabic in Egypt. Badawi (1973) expanded on the idea of language dichotomy and presented five levels of Arabic in Egypt: Classical Arabic (*fuṣḥa al-turah*), Modern Standard Arabic (*fuṣḥa l-'aṣr*), "High" Educated Spoken Arabic *('ammiyat al-muthaqqafin*), "Low" Educated Spoken Arabic *('ammiyat al-mutanawwirin*), Illiterate Spoken Arabic ('*ammiyat al- 'ummiyyiin*). Badawi's (1973) levels of Egyptian Arabic correlate with Ferguson's (1996) characteristics of diglossia. Badawi's Level 1 and Level 2 correspond with Ferguson's (1959) H level; whereas Level 4 and 5 correspond to Ferguson's L level. The only level on Badawi's model that does not correlate with Ferguson's definition is Level 3 – Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA). It stands on its own and acts like a bridge between H and L divisions.

2.2 Codeswitching

Code-switching is defined as an occurrence when a speaker uses more than one language within one communicative episode (Wardaughm, 1986, p. 103). The phenomena of code-switching has been evaluated by many scholars (Gumperz 1982, Weinreich 1953, , Li Wei 1998, Scotton and Ury 1977, Heller 1988, Gal 1998).

Early research on code-switching by Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced the division between situational and metaphorical code-switching. They described situational switching where alteration between varieties redefines a given situation, consequently being a change in governing norms. While metaphorical switching is where alternation "enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p. 425). Furthermore, Gumperz (1982) builds on this work and further proposes a variety of rhetorical characteristics of codeswitching. He argues that the speaker changes their choice of code based on the macro-social factors such as setting, social situation, and social event. Thus, these factors are part of how the speaker processes data used to choose which variety of a language to speak in.

Scholars have also suggested multiple reasons why people use code-switching in the first place. Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that the speaker chooses his codes based on the role he wishes to portray. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model elaborates on speaker's socio-psychological motivations when they use code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The model is based on the idea that the speaker is a rational actor that employs code-switching in order to make prime use of linguistic varieties. Goffman's (1981) notion of

"footing" explores the idea of the speaker's different participant roles. According to Goffman (1981), a change in speaker's role triggers code-switching in different situations.

3. The Linguistic Situation in Egypt

Arabic is a Central Semitic language, a part of the Afroasiatic language family. The Semitic languages family consists of 70 languages spoken among 447 million people across the Middle East and Northern Africa (Pereltsvaig, 2012, p. 92). Arabic is the most widely spoken Semitic language with 300 million speakers, followed by Amharic spoken by 22 million in northwestern Ethiopia, Tigrinya by 3 million in northern Ethiopia, and Hebrew with 5 million speakers in Israel (Pereltsvaig, 2012, p. 92). Since Arabic is the most widely spoken language in the Middle East, it is considered a *lingua franca* of the Arab world, specifically Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Modern Standard Arabic, also known as *fuṣḥā al-ʿaṣr*, is used for strictly administrative and educational purposes. It is regarded as the prestigious language, where religion is presented on the higher level (Haeri, 2002, p.120). Thus, MSA is perceived as the higher variety of the language as it is closer to the Qurʾānic form of the language than colloquial dialects. It is important to note that MSA is not a native language for any particular country in the Middle East, but it is understood by most Arabic speakers through formal education and news media.

Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA), known as *'ammiyya*", is the common language of wider communication and de facto national language of Egypt. ESA is used in everyday conversations by the general population (Haeri, 2002, p.122*)*. It is widely

spoken on streets and in homes across the neighborhoods in Egypt. Since ESA is one of the colloquial forms of Arabic, it contains a linguistic structure similar to *fuṣḥā*, but it varies in phonology and phonetics. It is part of the Semitic language family and has been influenced by a variety of other languages through historical and religious events (Perseltsvaid, 2012, p. 94). According to Ferguson, the lower variety of a diglossic language, in this case ESA, is used in the following instances: "instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks; conversation with family, friends, colleagues; radio 'soap opera'" (Ferguson, 1959). Additionally, ESA is widely prevalent in literature including novels, plays, and poems, and in popular media such as in comics, advertising, some newspapers, and in transcriptions of popular songs (Haeri, 1996, p. 796). The coexistence of these two varieties of Arabic has become a norm in Egyptian culture.

Since languages change overtime and communities get separated, Arabic has undergone various alterations over the years (Pereltsvaig, 2012, p. 94). Although MSA has remained static, the colloquial forms have continued to change. The Egyptian dialect dates back to the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the seventh century. Prior to the Arab conquest of Sassanian Egypt in the seventh century AD, the Egyptians spoke Coptic Egyptian which was the last phase of ancient Egyptian. In the eight century, Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan declared that Coptic would be replaced by the Arabic language in order to serve as the sole administrative and political language of Egypt (Zaborowski, 2008, p. 15). Due to the Muslim conquest of Egypt, Coptic gradually declined and only remained a spoken language of the native people up until the tenth century. The further decline of Coptic happened during the persecutions under the Mamluk Sultanate from

1250 to 1517. These events led to the official replacement of Coptic by Egyptian Arabic in early seventeenth century. Following the Arab conquest, there was a prolonged period of time when both Coptic and Arabic were spoken in Egypt, up until Egyptian Spoken Arabic became the common jargon. Egyptian Spoken Arabic was developed in the first Islamic capital of Egypt, that is now part of Cairo, the capital of present-day Egypt (Zaborowski, 2008, p. 15). With the increased influence of Islam as a religion on the region, Egyptian Spoken Arabic slowly replaced Coptic.

3.1 Language Use and Identity

The current sociolinguistic situation in Egypt can be traced back to the British colonization from 1882 to 1922. (Suleiman 2003, p. 34). During the British occupation, Egyptian society was remodeled on the image of Western ideals and modernization such as an immense emphasis on English language that consequently overshadowed Arabic. Since language is part of one's culture, the primary focus of the British was to eliminate Arab culture by targeting its language (Suleiman 2003, p. 34). The impact of British colonizers can be seen in Said's *Orientalism* (1978), where he criticized the Western occupation and the implementation of linguistic imperialism on the Middle East. Said argues that Westerners branded Arabic as chaotic and random, whereas English was considered a better substitute, being proper and eloquent. The Egyptian identity was replaced by the sole emphasis on English culture. The British did not want to be associated with Arabic and wanted to reinvent Egypt by implementing English. The British not only brought English culture to modernize Egypt, but they introduced

Egyptians to powerful words such as “homeland”, “nation”, and “government” (Suleiman 2003, p. 34). The new vocabulary chosen by the British, conflicted with the Egyptian cultural and political background.

The British Colonizers had an immense impact on Egyptian language and identity. Since the breakdown of Egyptian culture was a priority during Western occupation, it had a profound effect years after Egypt gained independence from the British. British settlement not only resulted in linguistic conflicts during the time of colonization but also in post-colonial Egypt. During post-colonial Egypt, there was a push for modernization of language that started with the English. Suleiman (Suleiman 2003, p. 124) notes that religious conservatives considered Classical Arabic a leading language for Egyptian people. They claimed that the superiority of CA was deeply rooted in the history of Islam. Moreover, the religious authority maintained an understanding that CA held a higher value than MSA, while at the same time correlating it with Egyptian identity (Suleiman 2003, p. 124).

The biggest drive for linguistic nostalgia through Classical Arabic was met with opposition from Pan-Arab nationalists in the 1950s (Suleiman, 2003, p.124). During that time, the priority was the unification of Arab countries through a common language – MSA. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Egyptian government slowly replaced CA with MSA in order to modernize Egypt and make it more accessible internationally (Haeri, 2003, p.32).). Haeri (2003) argues that Egyptian intellectuals believed that CA was dated and needed to be reinvented through modern morphology. However, it is important to note that even though establishing MSA as a unifying language in Arab-

speaking countries was a prominent idea, ESA remained widely used by the Egyptian communities (Stadlebauer, 2010).

The people living in Egypt consider themselves Egyptian first and Arabs second (Haeri, 1997). The notion of Egyptian identity being secluded, separate, and superior to Arab identity dominated in Egyptian community circles throughout the years. This belief closely correlates with the spoken language in Egypt. Egyptian Arabic is deeply rooted in their culture. It is their mother tongue - the language they grew up speaking (Haeri, 2002, p.37). Therefore, the power of ESA is closely tied to Egyptian preference towards isolationism. It is important to note that Egyptian isolationism predominated during most of the period between the First and the Second World Wars (Chejne, 1957, p. 156). Egyptian isolationism has its roots in the fact that Egypt has long been a separate political unit. The question of Egypt's relation to Pan-Arabism remained unsettled prior to the movement in the 1950s. The Egyptian position towards Pan-Arabism has undergone multiple changes over the years prior to Nasser's becoming the second president of Egypt in 1956 (Chejne, 1957, p. 156). With British domination in Egypt, the idea of isolationism was seen even more favorably in public circles. While some claimed pan-Arabism is a step towards cooperation; for others pan-Arabism was synonymous with giving up Egyptian heritage and Egyptian personality (Chejne, 1957, p. 156). Subsequently, the fear of sacrificing the Egyptian identity and Egyptian culture towards one unified Arab identity began to take place. Chejne writes:

> As late as 1952, the Egyptian press reflected this feeling in varying degrees. Egyptian nationalism and pan-Arabism were often described as two irreconcilable movements. The main trend was that Egyptians should preserve and promote Egyptian nationalism without diverting any attention to other nationalist ideas.

> The question was widely discussed at public conferences. A general belief was that each one of the Arab countries should concern itself with its own affairs following the example of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey after the First World War.
>
> (Chejne, 1957, p. 260)

Thus, the notion of Egyptian identity being secluded, separate, and superior to Arab identity dominated in Egypt. Since Pan-Arab ideology solely focused on Arab unity as a whole, it did not take the individual identity of Arab states under consideration (Owen, 1983, p. 16). Anti-Pan-Arab proponents, therefore, supported Egyptian individualism, even if it meant staying away from the collective idea that was Pan-Arabism (Owen, 1983, p. 16). They argued that Arab nationalism operated to eradicate and demote native Egyptian identity by complying to the universal idea of Pan-Arabism. The idea of isolationism remained favorable in the region, but slowly began to lose the approval from the public once Egypt joined the League of Nations in 1945 (Owen, 1983, p. 17). Prior to Nasser's direct influence on Pan-Arabism in the 1950s, the first step to unification of Arab states was the establishment of the Arab League in the region (Owen, 1983, p. 16). The main goals of the Arab League were to strengthen relationships among member states and create a stable cooperation. Along with five other Arab nations, Egypt assumed a leading role in the Arab League movement. The Arab League possessed a certain degree of influence among the existing members. It established a foundation for the mutually accepted goal of Arab unification. Consequently, the creation of the Arab league gained momentum for the Pan-Arab movement (Westad, 2005, p.124). While the League was first created as a movement to reach political unification among the Arab nations in the Middle East, it slowly adopted the Pan-Arab ideology and included north

African countries. The underlying impetus behind the ideology was the colonization of the area by the Ottoman Empire and then by European powers. The League of Arab Nations and the Pan-Arab faction movement prioritized Arab political power and unity in the region (Westad, 2005, p. 124).

3. 2 Egyptian Attitudes towards Pan-Arabism

The years between 1952 and 1970 saw the drive for Arab unity at its highest (Crabbs, 1975). The popularity of Pan-Arabism was not only evident in Egypt, but across the Middle East and Northern Africa. The strive for harmony across the Arab region started to become a priority in the late nineteenth century. Many distinguished Arab leaders tried to create a Pan-Arab state, but ultimately, they were unsuccessful. Among those who tried to establish a Pan-Arab state were King Abdullah of Transjordan and Nuri al-Said of Iraq (Crabbs, 1975). However, it was not until Gamal Abdel Nasser became the second president of Egypt when Arab nationalism gained a new momentum across the region. Nasser not only assigned a new meaning to Arab nationalism but made Egypt competitive economically on a global scale. Arab unity was clearly evident during the 1950s and 1960s, when Egypt was dominated by a leader the likes of whom the Arabs had not seen in a long time.

Gamal Abdel Nasser ruled with an iron fist and challenged the existing establishment in Egypt. His attitude towards Pan-Arabism quickly became a national priority during his strong regime as the president of Egypt. He possessed every needed

prerequisite to be the face of the Pan-Arab movement. After his success of the Suez Canal in 1956, Nasser became a leading voice in Pan-Arab eyes (Westad, 2005, p.125). His policies were based on Arab nationalistic ideas which ultimately highlighted the importance of Arab identity. He rejected Western influence on the area which strained his political alliances with the United Kingdom and the United States. Abdel Nasser's domestic and foreign policies under the ideology of Pan-Arabism permitted Egypt to grow (Chejne, 1957, p. 256). Since Nasser followed Pan-Arab ideology, he focused on making Arab nationalism a state policy in Egypt. This move not only defined Egypt's position as a leader of Pan-Arabism, but it also secured a competitive position on a global scale (Chejne, 1957, p. 256). Particularly, it showed that Egypt was an integral part of the Arab nation. Although prior to Nasser's regime Egypt's position towards pan-Arabism was debatable, the attitude towards it changed drastically when Nasser took office (Chejne, 1957, p. 256). One example can be seen in the Egyptian constitution of 1956 that highlights Egypt as an integral part of the Arab nation. It contains additional provisions compared to the 1923 constitution. In addition, it acknowledges the priority of Pan-Arab ideology. It indicated that Egypt is a sovereign independent state; it is a democratic Republic, and the Egyptian people are an integral part of the Arab Nation (Chejne, 1956, p. 266).

Under Nasser's regime, several institutions, from education to literature, exercised Arabic language as an integral part of society (Chejne, 1956, p. 266). After 1970, many factors slowly led to the decline of Pan-Arabism. One of the first causes that caused Arab nations towards breaking away from the Pan-Arab ideology was the defeat of the Arabs

by Israelis in the Six-Day War in 1967 (Westad, 2005, p. 125). After the Arab-Israeli war, the Egyptian relationship with Pan-Arabism was strained. Ultimately, the death of Abdel Nasser in 1970, set back the cause of Pan-Arabism. By the 1980s, Pan-Arabism was overtaken by nationalistic and Islamic ideologies (Westad, 2005, p. 125). Nevertheless, the effect of Pan-Arabism provided many opportunities in terms of Arab identity. It is crucial to note that pan-Arabism influenced Egypt in more than one way. It brought back the importance of language as a unifying factor across the Arab nations. Specifically, it helped the rise of Arabic as a leading language across the nations.

4. Nasser's Rise to Power

Gamal Abdel Nasser was born in 1918 in Alexandria, Egypt. He was raised in a lower-class family to Fahima and Abdel Nasser Hussein (Westad, 2005, p. 124). His childhood situation is likely what had the most influence on his policies as a president, namely, to improve the living conditions of the Egyptian lower class (Westad, 2005, p. 124). He enrolled in the University of Cairo to study law but dropped out a year later to join the Royal Military Academy. After graduating as a second lieutenant, he was stationed with the Egyptian Army in Sudan. During his deployment, he met three fellow army officers that later became his co-members in a secret revolutionary organization known as the Free Officers (Westad, 2005, p. 124). The group consisted of Zakaria Mohieddin, Abdel Hakim Amer, and Anwar El-Sadat. The society intended to overthrow the British occupation of Egypt and the Egyptian royal family. Before Abdel Nasser became the second president of Egypt in 1956, King Farouk ruled Egypt, from 1936. The government under Farouk's leadership was corrupt and created instability in the region. On July 23,

1952, Nasser and his fellow members in the Free Officer society, staged a coup d'état to overthrow King Farouk (Westad, 2005, p. 124). The coup resulted in the abdication of King Farouk and him leaving the country. The political overthrow of King Farouk caused the abolishment of constitutional monarchy and aristocracy in Egypt and Sudan (Westad, 2005, p. 124). The coup was also known as the Egyptian Revolution not only because of the military involvement in Egyptian politics, but also a step towards the end of British colonization and Sudanese independence (Westad, 2005, p. 124).

On January 1955, Nasser was elected as the second president of Egypt (Westad, 2005, p.124). His plans for reform gained widespread support during his political campaign. In 1956 he drafted the Egyptian Constitution which established a single party system under the National Union (Westad, 2005, p. 124). His priority was to remove the British from Egyptian territory. Consequently, his biggest domestic policy included getting back the Suez Canal which was on Egyptian land but was occupied by the French and British (Westad, 2005, p. 125). The Suez Canal was an international hub for trade and the main link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Thus, whoever controlled it had immense power in the region. Abdel Nasser invaded the Suez Canal with the initial purpose to nationalize it (Westad, 2005, p. 125). As a result, Britain and Israel bombed Egyptian troops to maintain the Suez Canal. The crisis marked the beginning of the end of British and French control over the region and gave immense power to Nasser (Westad, 2005, p. 125). The nationalization of the Suez Canal became a political victory for Nasser, which was met with praise among the Arab nations. Many people across the Middle East were inspired by his actions. This inspired the creation of

political "Nasserist" parties that aimed to highlight Pan-Arab ideology (Westad, 2005, p. 125).

In 1956, Nasser began a series of major socialist measures and modernization reforms in Egypt. Behind these new developments and alterations to the Egyptian political system was a strong attachment to Arabic. On the domestic side, Nasser focused on the social, political, and economic policies of the country to make Egypt strong domestically (Rubin, 2015, p.243). On the foreign policy side, Nasser turned to a position of neutralism between the West and the Soviet Union, and subsequently increased Egypt's connection to the other countries in the Middle East (Rubin, 2015, p.244). As a former Army officer, Nasser knew how important it was to appeal to the public in order to alter existing provisions. Thus, he quickly realized that one way to attract Egyptian popular support was through the radio. Nasser took advantage of the Arabs' emotional attachment to the Arabic language to spread his political schemes. He knew that Arabic was closely linked to Egyptian identity, especially the Egyptian dialect that was used in everyday life. Nasser used the power of language to advance his political reforms within the country.

4.1 The Power of Promoting a Language

Nasser used his rhetorical skills to delegate and create new means of authority over the region. Under Nasser's regime the first radio station, "The Voice of the Arabs" (*Sawt al-Arab*), was created to highlighted Arab identity and call for unity. It first aired one year after the Egyptian Revolution. Boyd (1999, p. 401) argues that Nasser's modest lower-class background made him aware of the significance of the oral tradition in Arab

culture (Boyd, 1999, p. 401). By realizing the importance of Arabic, Nasser had a unique insight for how to approach and manipulate Egyptian society. Consequently, Nasser expanded the national broadcasting system for self-interest and for propaganda reasons (Boyd, 1999, p. 401). By connecting to the public in Egyptian dialect, the spread of Pan-Arabism could have been understood by those who did not speak MSA. The radio had a widespread reach in Egyptian society, by targeting both upper and lower-class groups. Additionally, it was the ultimate means of reaching illiterate individuals throughout the Arab World. Prior to the Egyptian Revolution, the press remained outside of government control until 1960 when it was officially nationalized. Unlike the print media, radio was solely under the government's control (Rubin, 2015, p.243). The government under Nasser expanded programs that could reach a wide range of listeners in order to spread nationalistic and socialistic ideas. According to Boyd, the radio highlighted the power of Arabic language. He notes that the combined use of ESA and MSA in the radio meant to address every single person in the region (Boyd, 1975, p. 401).

The linguistic combination of both vernacular and standard Arabic early in Nasser's reign, made "The Voice of Arabs" a powerful medium of Pan-Arab ideology. It addressed Nasser's anti-Western stands and focused on the ideas of Arab Nationalism (Boyd, 1975, p. 401). At times it spread messages about revolutions across the Arab States targeting those that did not share the same ideology. Voice of Arabs broadcasted speeches and interviews of politicians, news with commentary, radio drama and music

(Boyd, 1975, p. 401). It successfully served as an immense part of the Pan-Arab project. While describing the influence of The Voice of Arabs, Rubin writes:

> The new leadership had recognized that a powerful medium-wave signal would make reception possible without special equipment. Signal strength was increased, and programming improved with large financial investments. Transmitter power grew twenty-eight times stronger in just ten years. Specific cultural programming was designed for intellectuals, and political indoctrination programs were prepared for the lower classes. There was a European program in six languages, Sudan Corner, a Palestine program, and even a Hebrew one. The licensing fee for radio receivers was eliminated to improve access. Domestic broadcasting went 18 hours a day in 1952 to 72 per day in 1960 to more than 120 hours per day in the 1970s. By the late 1970s, some 85 percent of the urban adult population said it listened to state radio.
>
> (Rubin, 2005, p. 244)

"The Voice of Arabs" not only functioned as Nasser's propaganda weapon, but it also highlighted the strength of Arabic language across the region. The nature of the Arabic language made it easier to appeal to the public (Boyd, 1975, p. 401). Regardless of where the people lived and what class they belonged to, they could listen to news and political addresses that had one thing in common - Arab unity. It promoted the projection of the nation-building initiative that Nasser was preaching for. Although Egypt's economy flourished under Nasser, the radio was a reminder that Arabic language is what connects people together at the end of the day (Rubin, 2015, p.243). Nasser believed that the radio had the power to stimulate the public's perception towards political matters. Since Arabic language was synonymous with Egyptian identity, the radio amplified its power within Egyptian society (Rubin, 2015, p.243). The station was a symbol of Arab unity, and its popularity was closely tied to Nasser's successes and failures. Thus, the

"Voice of Arabs" thrived during Nasser's regime but gradually declined after falsely documenting the Six-Day-War in 1967 (Rubin, 2015, p.243). The Egyptian radio stations were among one of many examples of the rise of the political use of Arabic language during Nasser's regime.

4. 2 Code-Switching Behind Educational Reforms

Gamal Abdel Nasser was the first president to use MSA and ESA in his political speeches (Holes, 1993, p. 17). Because of Nasser, code-switching became a political device in the Middle East used by many leaders that followed. An example of that is former Iraqi president Sadam Hussein and former Libyan leader Muammar Gadaffi, who admired Nasser's rise to power and was inspired by his speech style (Mazraani, 1997, p. 50). Mazraani (1997) notes "Saddam Hussein and Gaddafi seem to have been influenced by Nasser's style in their imitation of the call to the Arab nation and in their mixing of MSA and dialectal levels for the achievement of their rhetorical aims" (Marzaani, 1997, p. 49). Thus, it is evident that Nasser's code-switching was an inspiration for many, but it was also instrumental for Nasser's educational reforms. It is interesting to note that in order to establish MSA as a universal language in Egypt, Nasser used vernacular language to promote Pan-Arabism ideology.

Prior to Nasser's regime, the educational system under King Farouk was crumbling. The illiteracy rates were at their highest. Osman (2010) notes that before Nasser became president, "the Egyptian middle class compromised roughly 4 million people (in a population of 21 million, of which 17 million were considered lower class

and poor, and less than half a million upper class and rich" (Osman, 2010, p.120). These data indicate that in the beginning of the 1950s, the majority population in Egypt were of lower-class Egyptians who mainly used Badawi's (1973) Levels 4 and 5 to communicate with each other. Since the lower-class could not afford elementary education, they were not exposed to MSA as were the upper class (Osman, 2010).

Nasser understood that education was instrumental in developing a new set of political attitudes that suited his Pan-Arab agenda. After he took office, he reformed the educational system. However, he wanted to emphasize the importance of the spoken word. From 1955 to 1965, public school enrollments doubled in size and illiteracy rates went down. Schools became affordable for lower-class groups making the gap between rich and the poor even smaller. It is important to note that there were many factors that drove Nasser to use code-switching during his political speeches. Nasser utilized Egypt's economy and educational system for his advantage. He understood who his audience was and the best way to appeal to them was mixing ESA with MSA.

5. Discussion and Analysis

The present analysis of Nasser's speeches is a descriptive as well as corpus-based study, which uses linguistic analysis of the corpus to reach conclusions. The data provided in this research was collected and analyzed linguistically. There is an extensive scholarship in the field of sociolinguistics on code-switching in political discourse in order to strategically gain public support. Fairclough (1985), Badawi (1973) , and Haeri's (2002)

research on H and L levels of Arabic emphasizes that MSA is regarded as more prestigious than ESA. Therefore, ESA is consequently tied with the lower class. Both Holes (1993) and Mazraani (1997) analyzed Nasser's speeches in terms of linguistic variety. While Mazraani (1997) compared the aspects of language variation in Nasser's speeches; Holes (2004) analyzed six speeches delivered by Nasser from 1953 to 1970. According to Holes (1999), ESA used in Nasser's political speeches blurs High and Low levels. In his study, Holes (1993, p. 33) indicated three factors behind the phenomena of code-switching: status, function, and role. While examining Nasser's speeches, Holes (2004) claims that Nasser knew the significance of sociolinguistic tension in Arabic speech communities and used code-switching to his advantage. He argues that Nasser often switched language levels regardless of the conventional way of public speaking in order to find the most effective form to influence his audience. He further notes that Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study on metaphorical code-switching shows similarities behind the switching of different varieties of Arabic used in Nasser's speeches. Thus, the choice of variety is constrained to factors such as the status, the discourse function, and the role he wishes to play (Holes, 1993, p. 37)

According to the literature review, code-switching from MSA to ESA and ESA to MSA could be due to several different factors. First, the focus of the analysis will be on whether or not topic change had any influence on the code choice. The macro-social factors described by Gumperz (1982) will be taken under consideration while discussing the trigger behind code-switching. This study will also draw on Myers-Scotton's Markedness model to explore the speaker's sociopsychological motivations when

engaging in code switching. Furthermore, the speaker's role will be taken into consideration. These factors will shed light on the trigger behind code-switching as strategically employed in political discourse.

5.1 Methodology

The aim of this study is to recognize a trigger behind code-switching in Nasser's speeches. In addition, it seeks to identify functions of code-switching in political discourse. Three political speeches were analyzed. All speeches were delivered domestically. The first speech was given in 1964 in Port Said, with one instance of code-switching. The second speech was delivered in 1965 at the Arab Socialist Union and it draws on two instances of code-switching. The third speech was given in 1966 and it shows two examples of code-switching. The three speeches include enough data to illustrate a potential trigger behind code-switching. In all three speeches the audience is the Egyptian community. Each speech delivered a different message, but all emphasized Egyptian interests during the Pan-Arab era.

5.2 Procedure for Data Collection

In order to describe the motivation behind code-switching, data was gathered through audio and video recording. The data was collected from a combination of YouTube and the online collection of Nasser's speeches that are available on the official website http://nasser.bibalex.org which belongs to Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the Gamal Abdel

Nasser Foundation in Alexandria, Egypt. The three excerpts of the speeches were chosen because they were available to me in recorded form. In addition, the examples chosen for this analysis show a consistent trigger behind code-switching. In all three cases, I note the date and place of the speech. This study will use Holes's (1993) approach in examining speech extracts from a semantic perspective. Semantic perspective will clarify the occurrences of code-switching within the particular clauses. The semantic approach is necessary in order to see whether a consistent trigger can be established behind switching from one code to another. The method of analysis was to identify sentences where code-switching appeared and then determine if linguistic choices had been made to depict ideas and concepts in a certain way.

Three speeches were analyzed separately and comparatively in terms of different factors that may be an influence behind code-switching. After listening to the three speeches, the crucial instances of code-switching were collected and analyzed in order to find a trigger behind code-switching. One of the reasons behind the choice of these three speeches is their closeness in time and audience. The first speech was delivered on 23 December 1964 in which the speaker was addressing the public in Port Said. The second speech was delivered in 1965, when the speaker was addressing the Arab Socialist Union. The third speech was given in 1966 and addressed the Muslim Brotherhood. I purposely used these three speeches to see if the closeness in time was a factor in code-switching. Furthermore, the general aim of the three speeches is similar because in all cases, the speaker is trying to persuade the audience of the new position of Egypt on the global stage.

Speech 1: December 23, 1964: The Speech given by President Gamal Abdel Nasser in Port Said on Victory Day celebrations

The URL of the speech available in Appendix

The 1964 address of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Port Said was delivered on the eighth anniversary of the withdrawal of British and French troops. The speech held major significance because it highlighted the Egyptian victory over Western forces. During the Suez Canal Crisis, the main battles occurred in Port Said, which is why the place itself played a historic role in Egyptian history (Westad, 2005, p.125). The withdrawal of British and French troops occurred on the 23rd of December 1956. Since then, December 23 was chosen as Port Said's national day that celebrates the successive stages of Egypt's triumph over imperialism in 1956 (Westad, 2005, p.125). The significance of this speech is not only the place where it was delivered, but also the message that was highlighted throughout the speech. The 1964 speech lasted thirty minutes. Each year, Nasser's speeches had a different underlying message. Although they all start with acknowledgement of Egypt's victory in Port Said, they transition into discussing a priority concern at the time. The 1964 speech addressed criticism towards the United States about the delayed economic aid for Egypt.

Socio-Political Context

Nasser's message was fueled with anger towards the United States because of the events that happened prior to Victory Day celebrations. The speech was provoked by the US's stand towards the Egyptian requests for economic aid ("Downing of Plane, 1964"). The US Ambassador, Lucius D. Battle, refused to discuss the Egyptian economic situation because of Cairo's handling of the incident that happened days prior to Nasser's speech. On December 20, 1964, Egyptian Air Force jets shot down a personal American aircraft near Alexandria. The plane was going to Amman, Jordan, and was carrying the American pilot and Scandinavian co-pilot who both died at the scene. According to Egyptian reports, the plane lacked adequate clearance to fly over Egypt. Prior to the incident, the Americans signed a three-year agreement in 1962 with Egypt to send surplus food shipments. The United States Embassy released a statement informing President Nasser that the attack could jeopardize Egypt's chances of receiving economic aid. The incident prompted American diplomatic circles to reconsider economic aid due to the shooting down of a civilian plane by Egyptian jets. The incident exacerbated Egyptian-American relations and caused disturbances from both sides. It is not surprising then that American response to the attack was the main target of Nasser's 1964 address ("Nasser Angered by Criticism", 1964). Throughout the speech, Nasser directed his frustration over the economic aid and focused his anger towards Ambassador Battle's refusal to discuss Egyptian requests.

Analysis

The 1964 speech in Port Said discusses delayed US economic aid and is expressed through a colloquial language. The extract was selected due to the different roles acted by Nasser that are depicted by the use of code-switching. This extract from the 1964 Port Said speech is four minutes long. The rest of the Port Said speech was not available in audio form. The extract is in pure ESA from syntax to morphology almost throughout. There is only one short instance of code-switching at 0:07-0:13. This speech is also the most consistently colloquial out of all three speeches. By consistently using ESA, the speaker is more involved with his audience evoking a distinctively conversational feel throughout his delivery. The tone of the speech remains cynical and at times even acerbic and derisive. The code-switching happens in the beginning of the four-minute extract in example 1A:

1A)

واحنا بنقول ان احنا أما بنتعامل مع دول العالم بنتعامل معاها على أساس ان
We say, that when we deal with other countries, we deal on the basis that [ESA]

ماحدش يتدخل فى شئوننا
Nobody intervenes in our affairs [MSA]

After that, he continues delivering the speech in ESA
ولكن إذا كانوا الأمريكان بيفهموا انهم بيدونا شوية معونة علشان ييجوا يتحكموا فينا ويتحكموا فى سياستنا
But if the Americans think that they give us some economic aid so they could control us and our economic policy [ESA]

أنا باقول لهم احنا متأسفين، احنا مستعدين ننزل الشاى شوية
Then I have to say that we are sorry [ESA]

In example 1A, the speaker is discussing the actions taken by the United States towards distribution of economic aid for Egypt. The speech is delivered in ESA, rather than MSA. From the socio-political context, it can be inferred that the whole speech was delivered in ESA in order to connect with the audience on an emotional level. Since the speech tackles US involvement in Egyptian affairs, the use of ESA serves as a reminder that the speaker is one with the audience. The speaker appeals to the public's loyalty to their country by evoking an emotional appeal through the use of ESA. In doing so, the audience feels as if the speaker is talking to them face to face. Furthermore, he speaks on behalf of the crowd by refuting the idea of being controlled by Western forces: *Then I have to say that <u>we</u> are sorr*y. Here, the speaker shows how important and valuable the audience is, by involving himself as part of *them* within his speech. This is an interesting example because it shows that the speaker's choice of using first the person pronoun makes him one of the audience. He attempts to draw a line between the Egyptian people and the ones who try to interfere in domestic affairs. Thus, the speaker not only accommodates the audience, but also instantaneously points out a symbolic boundary between "we" and "they". The communicative aim of using ESA in example 1A is to stress the importance of Egyptian unity while making the actions made by the Americans apparent to the audience.

Throughout the speech, Nasser stresses the importance of freedom as one of the gains of the 1952 revolution. From the start, he puts the country and fellow Egyptians as his priority. By doing so, he chooses to stick with ESA to remind the audience where his loyalties reside. The strategic use of ESA can be also tied with the relationship between the state and society (Diong, 2015, p. 5). In this case, the use of ESA within the speech to

emphasize the United States economic aid, serves as a link between the state and its citizens. The use of colloquial language helps to establish a relationship not only between the speaker and his audience, but also between the state and society. Furthermore, it shows the use of rhetoric is crucial in political discourse by way of an indirect manipulation of language through changing codes. Skillful speakers such as Nasser are able to influence the audience for their own political agenda by mixing linguistic codes.

A notable aspect of the 1964 speech is an instance of code-switching that represents a consistent change of codes. In this case, example 1A shows that the switch happens in the first ten seconds of the extract. The speaker uses MSA to finish the sentence that was given in ESA. Blom and Gumperz (1972, p. 417) emphasized "that the linguistic separateness between dialect and standard is conditioned by social factors". Thus, social factors such as audience, setting, and topic can be the trigger behind code-switching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p.417). It is noteworthy to point out that once the speaker code-switches, he deliberately changes his codes in order for his remarks to become accessible beyond Egypt. By switching from ESA to MSA, he makes a point that nobody will intervene in state politics. Thus, the speaker is not talking to the Egyptian audience because he is warning not only the United States but the rest of the world not to intervene in Egypt's policies. The tone of the speech remains the same as the code-switching takes place. Furthermore, the gathered data and analysis of example 1A shows that the communicative aim of MSA can signal the speaker's intention to make indirect threats and gain the public's attention on US economic sanctions.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 302) , "speaker's choice of language is determined by their desire to index – i.e. assess or point to". In this scenario, the speaker takes advantage of Egypt's diglossic community to contrast his ideas through linguistic means. Example 1A demonstrates that the speaker performs different roles according to his communicative needs depending on the situation. Holes (1993, p. 17) traces the same pattern when discussing Nasser's code-switching. He notes that role is one of the patterns behind code-switching. He points out that "the different roles played by Nasser are characterized by consistent differences in his linguist form". By looking at the language choice against the background of the patterning, the data indicates that the switch occurs when the speaker changes his role during the speech. The 1964 extract shows that the speaker plays two roles: the president and a common citizen. The role of the president is conveyed through MSA, and the role of a common citizen is evoked through ESA.

Good citizens care for each other, which is shown when the speaker here is concerned about the state and well-being of his fellow citizens while discussing the economic situation in Egypt. As a common citizen, he takes part in the governing process because democracy is run by the people. He volunteers and is active in a community. In fact, he is engaging in the political process just like any citizen would. In addition, just like his fellow Egyptians, the speaker disagrees on some issues. He makes his opinion known on important issues that concern his country. In this case, he stands up against the treatment from the United States towards Egypt's economy. While doing so, he uses ESA to convey his role as a common citizen to strengthen his credibility, and at the same time, to reach any social class. Therefore, the speaker plays the role of a fellow citizen throughout the entire speech when stressing freedom and economic aid.

While the role of a fellow Egyptian is conveyed through ESA, the role of the president is expressed in MSA. The emphasis on US intervention in Egyptian policies along with stating facts and numbers of US goods are all given in MSA. In this case, MSA is used to state facts in order to influence the audience. When the code-switching happens, the role is reversed, and he acts as the president of Egypt. Here, as president, he uses his authoritative persona to emphasize the needs of the country as a whole. His leadership skills are highlighted through a strong vision for the country's future. The extract from the 1964 speech in Port Said shows that audience and speaker's role correlate with the instance of code-switching. When the speaker employs the role of a fellow citizen, he uses ESA, whereas the role of the president is evoked through the use of MSA.

Speech 2: July 22, 1965: The speech given by President Gamal Abdel Nasser at the Socialist Union on the 13th anniversary of the revolution

The URL of the speech available in Appendix

This speech was delivered on the thirteenth anniversary of the Egyptian revolution of 1952, also known as the 1952 coup d'état (Westad, 2005, p. 124). The entire speech given at the Arab Socialist Union lasted two hours and twenty minutes. However, this study will examine an eight-minute fragment due to the lack of an audio file of the entire speech. The extract shows prominent use of code-switching. The main message of the speech was the significance and position of socialism within Egyptian society. The

speech had two main objectives that the speaker wanted to highlight. First, the speaker wanted to inform the audience about Egypt's growing position in the international arena. Second, to indicate the speaker's stands on socialism and its crucial role in Egyptian society. In the 1965 speech, Nasser discusses a definition of socialism while highlighting his stands on the subject by using code-switching.

Socio-Political Context

The 1965 speech marked the anniversary of the Egyptian revolution of 1956. The Free Officers Movement led by Muhammad Naguib and Gamal Abdel Nasser, initiated the revolution. The main objective was to overthrow King Farouk who was a proponent of British occupation. It was the first military coup in the Arab World, and it set a pattern for many to follow. The revolution not only marked a new chapter in Egyptian history, but it introduced Arab nationalism as a main priority behind political decisions (Westad, 2005, p. 124). Since the 1956 revolution, Nasser transformed Egypt into a republic with centralized parliamentary rule and social reforms. In addition, the anniversary of the coup d'état is observed on Revolution Day, an annual public holiday in Egypt on 23 July (Westad, 2005, p. 124). The speech was delivered at the Arab Socialist Union. By December 1962, the Arab Socialist Union was Egypt's sole political party. Their main principles favored Nasserist Arab socialism. Thus, during the 1965 speech, Nasser expands and elaborates on the idea of socialism, highlighting its importance in Egyptian society.

Analysis

The extract of the 1965 speech at the Socialist Union is eight minutes long out of the entire two-hour speech delivered by Nasser. There are various instances where code-switching from MSA to ESA and ESA to MSA takes place in the extract. However, the data analyzed shows two examples where the trigger and the function of the code is evident. The speech was delivered domestically, at the Arab Socialist Union in Cairo. Therefore, the audience consists of politicians from different social classes. The message of the 1965 speech tackled the definition of socialism and the opportunities that are associated with it. The tone of the speech remains serious from the beginning to end, with few instances of humorous anecdotes. Example 2A shows an instance that is representative of the consistent use of code-switching:

2A)

ايه هي الإشتراكية؟

What is socialism? [ESA]

الإشتركيه هي ان ادي البني ادم انسانيته

Socialism is to give the person his humanity [ESA]

و ان اعطيه حقوقه

And to give him his right in life [MSA]

A similar case can be seen in example 2B, where the speaker introduces the same rhetorical question as a thought-provoking tool. The question is followed by code-switching from MSA, and then immediately by ESA :

2B)

ايه هي الإشتراكية؟

What is socialism? [ESA]

الإشتركيه هي ان نقضي علي الفقر نأخذ من اهل الغني و نعطي اهل الفقر

Socialism is that we abolish poverty
We take from rich people and give to the poor [MSA]

دا بلنسبه ليهم كفر كفر ليه لانهما اهل الغني

This is considered blasphemy by them!
Because they are the rich people [ESA]

In the 1965 speech discussing a definition of socialism, the speaker poses an abstract question in ESA in examples 2A and 2B. In both cases, the question is posed in ESA to address the Egyptian public. Although the question is abstract, the use of ESA in a question becomes specifically tied with Egyptian interest and at the same time, it makes the question more personal. The speech then takes the form of a dialogue as the speaker takes the part of the audience. In example 2A, he answers the question in the same ESA code but immediately follows up with MSA. Here, he switches the code from ESA to MSA while still answering the same question. The code-switching happens in the second half of the definition of socialism. The first part in ESA, discusses the same topic as MSA, but it tackles a particular issue. It addresses a specific function of socialism – a person's humanity. Here, the speaker emphasizes that it is not just any humanity, but Egyptian humanity. On the other hand, the follow up sentence delivered in MSA targets a more abstract idea, civil rights.

The instance of code-switching occurs synonymously with the speaker's role. Example 2A shows that the speaker takes on two roles: teacher and president. The role of a teacher is acted through the use of ESA and the role of the president characterized in MSA. Example 2A shows that the speaker addresses the question: *What is socialism*? in ESA. As a teacher, he poses a question to challenge the audience to think. Consequently, he reflects on the question that he poses by elaborating on it to further promote discourse, which is an integral part of teaching. By playing a teacher, he creates an atmosphere where he introduces an idea that is followed up with a definition. He gives an impression of facilitating discussion by asking the audience questions. Once the speaker switches codes, the role of the teacher is changed to the role of the president. Here, instead of attempting to inform the audience with his rightness, he reminds the audience that people need rights in society. This authoritative move is given in MSA. The communicative objective here is to persuade the audience through an emphasis on the president's credible persona.

Similarly, example 2B addresses the same question on socialism. The main difference here is that the first sentence is followed by MSA, and the second sentence is immediately followed in ESA. The speaker here again employs the same two roles: teacher and president. The same question is posed in ESA evoking the role of a teacher. The sentence delivered in MSA presents an ambiguous definition of socialism. In this short sentence, the speaker's message tackles social welfare and taxation. Here, he justifies expropriation from the rich through political means to benefit the country. The use of MSA instead of ESA conveys the authoritative persona of the president, who

favors facts instead of emotional appeal. The second sentence, in ESA, does not answer the question as the first sentence does. Instead, it is a commentary on the issue stated in the previous sentence. Here, the speaker criticizes the actions of the upper class. The use of ESA instead of MSA conveys a teacher's persona by focusing on social structure instead of on presidential duties. His commentary is addressed to the Egyptian audience that suffers from inequality at the hands of the rich. By doing so, the speaker not only addresses the politicians at the Socialist Union, but the message is aimed for those who do not have an educational background to understand MSA. The communicative role here is to indicate the injustice and the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

Goffman's notion of "footing" explores the notion of a speaker's swapping roles in particular discourse. "A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves as expressed in the way we manage reception of utterance" (Goffman, 1981, p. 128). Since change in footing is closely language-linked, the roles that the speaker plays in a given moment have an effect on code-switching. He further states that the speaker chooses to wear a series of masks by enacting different roles in order to convey a certain message. As the data from example 2B indicates, the speaker employs two roles that are correlates with code-switching: the role of the president and the role of the teacher. Each of those roles closely tracks the content of the speech. The data gathered shows that once the switch happens, the role of a teacher is delivered in ESA is switched to a broader issue such as the gap between the rich and the poor, that is addressed by the role of the president. The instances of code-switching showcase the moment where the speaker is acting as an authoritative politician who discusses the

poverty and the social structure of Egypt, placing the emphasis on MSA. When the code-switch happens, the speaker is acting as a teacher who aims to provoke a response from the audience by bringing up an example such as the injustice in the system. By summarizing the instances of code-switching in example 2B, the speaker is simultaneously acting out both of his roles as a politician and a teacher, but they do not take away from the message of the speech that focuses on the importance of socialism. By doing so, Nasser stays true to the persona that he portrays to his audience.

Speech 3: 1966: The speech given by President Gamal Abdel Nasser on Muslim Brotherhood

The URL of the speech available in Appendix

The third speech analyzed in this study was given by Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1966. There is no mention of the day and month when it was delivered because of the lack of transcripts. During the thirteen-minute speech, the speaker takes aim at the Muslim Brotherhood and their ideology. He explains to his audience that there is no place for them in Egypt. Furthermore, he recaps the events of the past in which the Muslim Brotherhood wanted to influence the course of the Revolution of 1954 and forced everyone to live under their guardianship. The speech shows numerous instances of code-switching from MSA to ESA and ESA to MSA.

Socio-Political Context:

The state of the Muslim Brotherhood under Nasser's leadership began when Mohamed Naguib became the first president of Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood found themselves slowly being excluded from national matters. Once Nasser ascended to power in 1954, he detained several thousand members of the Muslim Brotherhood overnight. The move was caused by the Muslim Brotherhood's leader, Mahmoud Abdel-Latif's, assassination attempt on Nasser in October 26, 1954, while he was delivering a speech in Alexandria (Westad, 2005, p. 127). Additionally, the Muslim Brotherhood's Islamic message did not align with Nasser's push for Arab identity and social reforms. In the 1966 speech, Nasser not only condemns the Brotherhood's actions but scrutinizes their ideology. In addition, he criticizes the Muslim Brotherhood as people who exploit religion to obtain people's support in order to seize power for their own gain.

Analysis

The extract of the 1966 speech is thirteen minutes long. No mention is made of its time and place. However, the content and the message of the speech suggest that it was delivered domestically. The message of the 1966 speech tackles the Muslim Brotherhood, an issue that resonated with the speaker throughout his term as the second president of Egypt. Additionally, it touches on the subject of veiling women in Egyptian society. The 1965 speech is delivered with numerous anecdotes to rally the crowd with his dead-pan humor. The tone of the speech quickly transitions from scornful and disapproving, to

more playful and comic while discussing the encounter with a member of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The most representative example of the use of code-switching within the 1966 speech happens during a narrative discourse. The speaker recounts a meeting with member of the Muslim Brotherhood to settle differences. When Nasser asks what his demands are, the man replies that his first demand is that all women in Egypt need to be forced to be veiled at all times. Consequently, the line caused an uproar of laughter from the crowd shouting, "*Why doesn't he veil himself*". This interesting example where code-switching becomes evident starts at 1:56:

3A)

و قابلت المرشد العام للإخوان المسلمين

And I met with the head of the Muslim Brotherhood [MSA]

و قعد و طلب مطالب

And he sat with me and made his requests [MSA]

طلب ايه؟

What did he request? [ESA]

اول حاجه قالي

The first thing he said to me [ESA]

ان تقيم الحجاب في مصر

was to make wearing a hijab mandatory in Egypt [MSA]

Nasser continues with his dead-pan delivery, displaying lack of emotions by criticizing the Muslim Brotherhood. He says that he does not believe that veiling should be imposed on anyone, because it is a personal choice. The member of the Muslim Brotherhood insists, telling him that he should, as ruler, impose the veil. Nasser continues to reply by switching codes to appeal to the public:

3B)

اذا واحد قال هذا الكلام

And I told him if one were to say these words [MSA]

بيقولك رجعنا لأيام الحاكم بأمر الله

They will say that we have returned to the days of Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (Ruler of Egypt in the 9th century) [MSA]

اللي كان بيخلي الناس مايمشوش بالنهار و يمشوم بالليل

Who forbade people from walking at day and only allowed them to walk at night [ESA]

و انا في رأي ان كل واحد في بيته هو اللي ينفذ هذا الكلام

And my opinion is that every person in his own house decides for himself the rules [ESA]

In example 3A, the speaker's narrative helps him to convey the role of a diplomat through the application of MSA. The speaker demonstrates his efforts, as a diplomat, to settle differences with a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. He recounts the

meeting with the head of the Muslim Brotherhood, employing MSA to illustrate his presidential duties, such as listening to demands. Then, he switches codes by recalling the question that was asked during his meeting: *What did he request?* The question is posed in ESA similarly to examples 2A and 2B. The communicative aim of using ESA in a question instead of MSA, is to stress the Pan-Arab secularization unity against outsiders such as the Muslim Brotherhood who favored social and religious conservatism. This is an interesting example because it shows that the speaker is conveying Pan-Arab unity through ESA instead of MSA. By doing so, he switches language codes regardless of conventional way of public speaking in order to find the most effective form to influence his audience. In this scenario, in order to convince the audience, he uses ESA instead of MSA.

The use of ESA in this context shows that the speaker acts as a fellow Egyptian who cares about sharing his concerns with other common citizens. Here, the role of a diplomat was quickly switched to a fellow Egyptian by employing ESA. Then, the switch happens again from ESA to MSA, when the speaker answers the question recalling Muslim Brotherhood's detailed demands on mandatory veiling for Egyptian women. The response is delivered in MSA because the speaker goes back to his role of a diplomat who recalls the demands stated at the meeting. In a way, the role of the president is closely associated to the role of a diplomat. In both cases, the use of MSA is used to address the public by making comments with facts. Since a leader has many roles to fill, one of the most important jobs is ensuring that everybody is on the same page, regardless

of any cultural or political differences. The speaker plays the role of a diplomat by relying on the use of MSA.

As Blom and Gumperz (1972, p. 433) point out "nonstandard code forms were introduced as metaphorical switches into what were basically [standard code] utterances to provide local color and indicate humor." In this scenario, the nonstandard code is ESA, and standard code is MSA. Thus, one of the triggers behind code-switching can be tone change. Since it is not clear from the excerpts presented in written form, they all include humorous anecdotes that are shared with the audience. It is obvious by the tone and his utterance that he is employing a dead-pan humor while conveying his message. In example 3A, when Nasser recalls the demands stated by a member of Muslim Brotherhood, the line causes an uproar of laughter from the crowd screaming: "*Why doesn't he veil himself*". This example indicates that code- switching not only occurs when the speaker changes his role, but also when the tone of the speech changes from scornful to more playful. Nevertheless, out of all three speeches, the 1966 speech is the only example that showcases that tone may be an explanation behind Nasser's code-switching. In previous speeches, the tone was not found to be in correlation with code-switching.

In example 3B, the pattern of code-switching is similar to the speaker's switching of roles. Example 3B shows that the code-switching is parallel to the switch of the role of a diplomat to fellow Egyptian. Here, the speaker again starts with employing MSA while recalling the meeting with a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. He continues his delivery by criticizing the idea of mandatory veiling proposed to him by the Muslim

Brotherhood. The conveyance is expressed through MSA to support his credibility as a diplomat. Similarly, to the role of the president, he takes necessary action in employing MSA to showcase his diplomatic characteristics. The simile to Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, indicates that as a diplomat, he not only knows the history of his country, but he understands what works and does not work for the nation while discussing Egypt's interests. When the speaker switches the code to ESA, the role from a diplomat is swapped to a fellow Egyptian. Consequently, the speaker explains why the law of mandatory veiling will not work in Egyptian society by recounting an example from the past and in the same time, by stating his own opinion on the matter.

Holes (1993, p. 30) argues that "Such linguistic choices [code-switching] are in themselves signals of differences in the status of what is being said". He further notes that the choice of MSA and ESA is a personal choice to convey a certain message (Holes, 1993, p. 33) This method is often used by Nasser who switches from one code to another for his own rhetorical ends. When the text is delivered in MSA and the commentary that follows is in ESA, the status of what is being said changes. Example 3B shows the speaker switching codes by making a statement in MSA, and commentary in ESA. Consequently, the role switch from a diplomat to a fellow Egyptian happens in the same time as code-switching occurs. Thus, the speaker leaves the objective side of a diplomat by sharing his own opinion on the matter with the audience. By articulating his opinion on mandatory veiling, the speaker employs ESA to carry out his message. The commentary delivered in ESA highlights the role of a fellow Egyptian. By taking the role of a common citizen, the speaker is conscious of the social function of the language. Furthermore, the gathered

data and analysis of examples 3A and 3B highlight that a switch of code can signal the speaker's intention to make indirect negative comments, gain the public's attention, and influence the public through political means.

5.4 Discussion

The data gathered from the speeches shows that Nasser understood that using one code is not going to be a convincing method to persuade the audience. He engaged in code-switching to make an optimal use of the language and diglossic situation in Egypt. The research shows that in these three speeches, the speaker played four different roles, that of the president, fellow citizen, a diplomat, and a teacher. The extracts highlight the importance of the role being a trigger for code-switching. The 1964 speech showed an instance where the speaker played two roles: the president and a citizen. In the 1965 speech, the speaker played the role of the president and a teacher. The 1966 speech showed two different roles: a diplomat and a common citizen. In all instances, code-switching was present at the moment when the roles were changed.

Blom and Gumperz (1982, p. 417) argue that "the linguistic separateness between dialect and standard is conditioned by social factors such as setting and social event." This study explored different themes such as US-Egypt relations, socialism, and Muslim Brotherhood. In all three cases, code-switching was employed. The data showed one instance of correlation between the tone and the setting of the speaker to code-switching. The audience as a factor behind code-switching was considered, but the only instance where code-switching correlated with audience change was in example 1A. Additionally,

humor was found to correlate with code-switching in example 3A. It is important to note that the instances of code-switching can have different interpretations, but the most consistent trigger behind code-switching was when the speaker changed roles.

As Myers-Scotton points out, "markedness could be defined as the speaker deliberately using a code with a discourse function and a motivation in mind" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 302). Since Myers-Scotton's markedness model is a rational actor model, it takes into account societal factors instead of linguistic choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 302). Thus, the choice of the code reflects a particular goal that the speaker is aiming for. Code-switching provides an opportunity for the speaker to switch between roles that a speaker takes on in a context. In all three speeches studied here Nasser makes conscious choices because of his own agenda– to influence the public through political means. In each speech, the speaker's code choice reflects the role that he plays in order to enhance rewards and minimize cost. The gathered data indicates that the speaker's code switch is a marked choice. Thus, it correlates with Myers-Scotton's markedness model theory that the speaker uses codeswitching as a means of optimal use by employing different roles throughout the speech.

In William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Jaques's famous speech "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" , draws attention to the way people present themselves differently in different situations. The three speeches discussed in this study reflect the idea of role-switching as a possible trigger behind code-switching. There is a systematic correlation with switching from one code to another and adopting different masks that the speaker wears. Nasser plays a range of different parts determined

by the message he is trying to convey. Goffman explores this idea by reflecting on how human interactions are closely related with language use. According to him (1981, p. 133), "we play a range of different parts determined by the situations we are in." Nasser's code-switching exemplifies that idea.

6. Conclusion

The current study analyzed three speeches of the second president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser. The sole focus of this study was to find a trigger behind code-switching. The first speech was given in 1964, the second was one delivered in 1965, and the third was given in 1966. The data gathered from Nasser's speech delivery was both in MSA and ESA. All instances indicated that the speaker possessed a rich repertoire and could transition from standard to vernacular effortlessly. In all three cases, the speeches were delivered domestically. The audience was majority Egyptian. As the study indicated, Nasser employed code-switching as a political tactic to act as a regular person by switching to ESA.

The main research question was about a trigger behind the speaker's code-switching and the function of code-switching in political discourse. The data gathered from the three speeches suggest that the role the speaker played while delivering the speech was the main trigger behind code-switching. Based on the limited number of speeches and available documents, it appears that the role that the speaker played did have an impact on code-switching. In order to influence the public and get his point

across, the speaker adapted each variation of Arabic to the role that he was playing. Holes (2004, p. 33) mentions speaker's role as one of the triggers behind code-switching. He claims that speaker's role is often used to persuade the audience. Although three speeches were delivered at the end of the speaker's presidential term, the data shows that time was not a driving factor behind code-switching. In fact, the research suggests that the speaker followed the principle of situational switching instead of time.

There were different themes explored in the speeches ranging from economic aid, socialism, and anti-Muslim Brotherhood agenda. The first speech was delivered in ESA and showed one instance of code-switching. The collected data suggest that the speaker's role was a prime trigger behind code-switching. Neither the topic of the speech nor the audience was the motivation behind the choice of code-switching. The speaker decided when to switch from one code to another by employing a different role in the process. The second speech shows two examples of code-switching that indicate the same correlation between code-switching and speaker's role. The third speech shows more variety of speaker's roles that are connected to code-switching. In all instances it is clear that the speaker plays a certain role while delivering the speech. While all three speeches were delivered at different points of the speaker's presidency and under different socio-political contexts, there are common strategies used by the speaker. When Nasser addressed the public, he often mixed various linguistic strategies to evoke an emotional appeal from the audience. The historical facts were delivered in MSA instead of ESA. Depending on the message of the speech, he often used code-switching to commemorate his achievements and lay out facts to establish a closer bond with his audience. The

analysis of Nasser's political speeches within their respective political context shows a correlation between the speaker's roles and the instances of code-switching.

As this study indicates, Nasser knew how to manipulate Arabic in political discourse. As a skillful politician, he adopted code-switching in order to persuade and influence the public. The mix of MSA and ESA had a tremendous effect on the audience. It is important to note that Nasser started the phenomena of code-switching in political speeches in the Middle East. Prior to Nasser's regime, political speeches in Egypt were solely performed in MSA. Nasser's Pan-Arab era not only marked a turning point in Egyptian politics, but it shined a light on the importance of using vernacular in political speeches. It was not until Nasser that code-switching became a prominent political tool, later used by his successors. The significance of this research is to shine a light on code-switching as a powerful political tool in Arab society. In order to understand the nature of code-switching, it is important to understand the role language plays in society. Nasser not only understood the fluidity of Arabic language, but he revolutionized the structure of political speeches in the Middle East. He knew that in order to gain the public's trust, it was important for people from any social class to feel comfortable with his words. This means that the President would not succeed in his communication with the public unless he had already built a relationship of trust with the public. Nasser not only started including code-switching during his speeches, but he was successful at it. In addition, this study emphasizes that Nasser's code-switching reflects a democratization of politics which is a vital part of the history of Egypt.

The limitation of this study is the lack of documentation of audio files of Nasser's political speeches. The collection of speeches given by Nasser that exists online through Bibliotheca consists of a vast collection of Nasser's transcripts, both in Arabic and in translation, but there are not enough audio files. Although the current study analyzed three speeches that showed instances of code-switching, it lacks an in-depth analysis of linguistic variation of the speaker mainly because it solely focused on the trigger behind code-switching instead of the linguistic structure of the speech itself. Although the data presented in this thesis relied on the limited availably of recorded speeches and page constraint, it would be interesting to expand the sociolinguistic study of code-switching. In addition, future research could expand on morphological, syntactic, and phonological aspects of code-switching to further the debate about the speaker's role as a consistent trigger behind code-switching.

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Appendix

Speech 1:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGuead4hMAs

Speech 2:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ExaonayiLQs

Speech 3:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYrZUwa_2EM