

Code-switching & Identity Construction in 'Takh's' [Boom /Bang] 'Call Me Ziko'

Maha S. Zaghloul

Assistant Professor / Lecturer, Faculty of Arts, Helwan University

Abstract:

Egyptian Arabic exhibits diglossia as Egyptians speak country two varieties of Arabic side by side; this is in addition to the English language which is one of the most widely used foreign languages in Egypt. The present study investigates how code-switching (CS) is employed in 'Call me Ziko', one of the songs by an Egyptian popular band called 'Takh' which literally means in Arabic [boom / bang]. The song is presented as a short narrative sarcastic sketch, where code-switching is extensively used to mark the social identity of the main characters in the narrative, creating a humorous enjoyable message. The study answers the following questions:

1. What are the linguistic codes (i.e. Arabic dialects and foreign languages) used in *Takh's* Song '*Call me Ziko*'?
2. How does code-switching construct the social identities in '*Call me Ziko*'?

The study analyzes the code switching in the song and verifies the results about the identities of the main characters (Siham & Ziko) through a survey administered to the audience eliciting their attitudes and expectations about the social background of Siham and Ziko.

Keywords:

Code Switching – Social Identities – 'Call me Ziko' – Takh Band – Egyptian Arabic – Egyptian English – American English

التناوب اللغوي وبناء الهوية في أغنية "كول مي زيكو" (ناديني زيكو) لفرقة "طاخ"

الملخص العربي

تتمتع مصر بإزدواجية اللغة حيث يستخدم مستويان من اللغة العربية جنبًا إلى جنب، هذا بالإضافة الي اللغة الإنجليزية والتي تعد واحدة من أكثر اللغات الأجنبية استخدامًا في مصر. تقوم الدراسة الحالية بدراسة كيفية توظيف التناوب اللغوي في أغنية 'كول مي زيكو' (ناديني زيكو) وهي إحدى أغاني فرقة غنائية مصرية شهيرة تدعى فرقة 'طاخط، وتُقَدَم هذه الأغنية في شكل اسكتش روائي ساخر يستخدم فيه التناوب اللغوي باستفاضة لتمييز الهوية الاجتماعية للشخصيات الرئيسية في السرد ، مما يخلق رسالة ممتعة ومضحكة.

تُجيب الدراسة على الأسئلة التالية:

١. ما هي الأكواد اللغوية (من اللهجات المصريه واللغات الأجنبية) المستخدمة في أغنية "كول مي زيكو" لفرقة 'طاخ'؟

٢. كيف يعمل التناوب اللغوي في أغنية "كول مي زيكو" على بناء الهوية الاجتماعية لأبطال الأغنية؟
تقوم الدراسة بتحليل التناوب اللغوي في الأغنية والتحقق من النتائج حول هويات الشخصيات الرئيسية (سها م وزيكو) من خلال استبيان تم إجراؤه على الجمهور لاستنباط مواقفهم وتوقعاتهم حول الخلفية الاجتماعية لسها م وزيكو.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

التناوب اللغوي- الهويات الاجتماعية - "كول مي زيكو (ناديني زيكو)" - فرقة طاخ - العامية المصرية - الإنجليزية المصرية - الإنجليزية الأمريكية

1. Introduction

The present study investigates how code-switching (CS) is employed to deliver the implied meaning of the songs which are presented as short narrative sarcastic sketches. Takh's songs use code-switching to trigger implied social identity creating a humorous enjoyable message. The study intends to answer the following questions:

1. What are the linguistic codes used in *Takh's* song '*Call me Ziko*'?
2. How does code-switching construct the social identities of the main characters in '*Call me Ziko*'?

The different sections of the paper proceed as follows: firstly, the band is introduced (section 2 below); secondly, the review of literature is presented over several sections (sections 3 & 4 below); thirdly, code switching as a trend in popular Egyptian songs is discussed to provide a general context for the phenomenon (section 5 below); fourthly, the song is analyzed and the results of the survey are presented (section 6) and finally, the paper is concluded (section 7). Transcription and phonemic keys are listed in appendix A following the references. The whole song with its transliteration and my translation of it are presented in appendix B. As for the review of literature, it is discussed in two sections. The first section outlines code switching and identity construction. The second one provides a discussion of the different features of Egyptian English code as it is extensively used in the song reflecting Ziko's identity. Egyptian English represent the lower middle class as it comes as a result of not learning foreign languages at an early stage. This is because the type of education reflects social class.

2. About the band 'Takh'

Takh is an Egyptian popular band consisting of 'two talented young singers, Ezz Shahwan and Yousra El Genedy'. 'Takh', in Arabic, means the sound of crashing objects or a fired bullet. The 'duo chose Takh as the name of their band because it is the onomatopoeic word reflecting the sound of objects plonking; conveying the effect they want to create in the music field through the mix of music, sounds, and lyrics'. <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/33311/Takh-band-to-perform-at-El-Sawy-Cultural-Wheel>. The band's " Facebook page has about 187,000 likes and 193,000 followers" and it "started in 2015 by posting songs on YouTube and Sound Cloud, paving the way for its members to perform in cultural centres in Egypt". <https://thearabweekly.com/egyptian-funky-band-gets-attention-young-audience-sarcasm>. A song that is 'available on YouTube or an

article that is available and can be read by anyone for free has a wide scope of distribution' (Bassiouney, 2014, p. 15). Takh's songs 'refer to everyday Egyptian lives in a sarcastic manner'. Yousra El Genedy writes the lyrics, and performs the songs rather than just sings. "I spontaneously perform my songs in a certain way given their special, funny words impersonating the characters in each," she said'. She incorporates several English words and expressions in her songs. "That's probably because my generation and the younger generation speak this way", she explains. <https://thearabweekly.com/egyptian-funky-band-gets-attention-young-audience-sarcasm>.

3. Code-switching (CS) and Identity Construction

Egypt is a diglossic country (Ferguson, 1959), where there are at least two different varieties of Arabic used in communication. In addition to Standard Arabic (SA) that is shared by all Arab countries, each country has its own vernacular (Bassiouney, 2010; Bassiouney, 2015). In Egypt, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) is the language of communication among Egyptians. ECA is also used in films, TV drama, talk shows and many social media blogs. Therefore, it is associated with closeness, solidarity, friendliness, and informality (Bassiouney, 2009, 2014). Many researchers have pointed out that for most speakers, there is "a prestige variety of L, the identity of which depends on many geographical, political, and social factors within each country and which may, in certain circumstances, influence speech. In Egypt, for non-Cairenes, it is the prestige variety of Egyptian Cairene Arabic (Bassiouney, 2014). Moreover, English is widely used in Egypt:

[I]t is taught from grade one, while in private and international schools, it is taught from kindergarten and on a deeper level than public schools. English is also evident on television, as Channel Two and Nile TV broadcast news and programs in English. There is also Nile FM (104.2) radio station that is always in English and receives phone calls that are conducted in English. Moreover, English is widely used in the streets and on shop signs.

(Mohamed, 2017, p. 162)

Similarly, Pimentel (2000) states that in Egypt media and advertising are immersed in foreign borrowings, especially from English.

Hence, as Bassiouney (2014) points out:

...code-switching is obviously a social process, and, indeed, many works on code-switching reference identity construction directly as a motivation for code-choice and code-switching. One can argue that it is part-and-parcel of language as a social practice. On the

other hand, code-switching is manifested in phonological, structural, or lexical variation. (p. 66)

Language can be employed "as an instrument for communication, but it can also be used as a symbol of one's identity. If we just think of language as a means of communication, then we underestimate its power" (Bassiouney, 2020, p. 199). In addition, Bassiouney (2014, p. 40) argues that "linguistic form is continuously linked to linguistic ideology and practice—that is, to our view of the outside world in relation to the self". Thus, in public discourse, "[w]hen individuals use a linguistic resource, such as pronouns or tense markers, they do so in order to take a stance, while simultaneously appealing to linguistic ideologies and practices that reflect identity" (p. 40). Language ideologies, as a term, "refers to the belief system that is prevalent in a specific community about language and language use.... These beliefs influence language practices and motivate them" (Bassiouney, 2020, pp. 201-202).

When discussing Identity construction in relation to media, the data for the present study, Androutsopoulos (2007, p. 215) states that "media performers use language to stylize an array of social identities, relying for this purpose on the cultural and sociolinguistic knowledge they assume to share with their audience." According to Androutsopoulos (2007, p. 215), the identities constructed and assumed by media performers may be claimed by the performers themselves and also projected to their audience. It may also be ascribed to social types in the bilingual community. That is, it may reflect a social stereotype prevalent within a particular community. Similarly, Bassiouney (2014, p. 22) stresses that in media production, "construction of identity is intentional and premeditated. Linguistic resources, including code choice and code-switching, are built not just on linguistic realities, but on ideologies and attitudes." Along the same lines Stadlbauer (2010) states that:

Moment-by-moment language use often involves innovative and imaginative employment of language features. Speakers in the Arabic diglossia build on their own and their audiences' understanding of language ideologies associated with each variety.... Although there are pre-determined domains in which CA, MSA, EA, and English could be expected...people tap into the communicative power of language ideologies in numerous ways. Speakers not only use the language variety appropriate for a given situation, but they appropriate various language features for communicative effect. (p.16)

Moving on to social identity, Turner and Onorato (1999, p. 18) define it as “a person’s definition of self in terms of some social group membership with the associated value connotations and emotional significance”. According to Edwards (2009, p. 27) social identity rests on the idea that “we can maintain and enhance self-esteem through valued social affiliations.” In public discourse, code-switching is used as a reflection of "how one positions her or himself in relation to others: as an insider or an outsider, as an Egyptian or as a foreigner, as an Egyptian with no affiliation to Egypt or as a loyal citizen, as a typical man in the street or as an Egyptian who does not share the same characteristics that unify Egyptians, and so on" (Bassiouney, 2014, p. 41). It is used as a marker of "inclusion and exclusion", as a unifying factor as well as a classification tool (p. 41). Moreover, Wodak (1999) explains that social identity is also assigned from the outside, by assigning individuals social features, such as age, sex, class, and so on, and outsiders would then form a set of expectations from these groups. Thus, Social identity is related to patterns of behavior or actions (Tabouret-Keller and Le Page, 1985).

This leads us to positioning theory which advocates that speakers produce different descriptions of their identity, in which some aspects of identity are highlighted and others discarded (Bamberg and Andrews 2004; Davies and Harre 1990). This theory mainly analyses the construction of identity between speaker and audience. For speakers usually position themselves and others as particular kinds of people, almost stereotypes. This positioning can then accumulate into a larger entity that we may call an identity (Bassiouney, 2014, p. 56). For instance, "a speaker may communicate in a way that portrays him or her as overtly male. By doing so, this speaker is then evoking the associations attached to this particular gender, including toughness, for example, and thus acquiring a specific stance related directly to identity" (Bassiouney, 2014, p. 58). Johnstone et al. (2006) explain that social meaning includes *register*, which refers to situational appropriateness; *stance*, which includes certainty and authority; and *social identity*, which includes, class, ethnicity, and interactional role which can be understood with reference to a socio-demographic identity. Hence, the social class the speaker belongs to is an integral part of identity. However, social class is a very complex notion which is very difficult to measure. Wardhaugh (2006, p. 148) argues that nearly all scales of measuring social class take into account matters such as educational achievement, professional training, occupation (parental occupation as well), gender, salary or income level, age, residential area, race and ethnicity. Weights are then assigned to each of these and some

kind of unitary scale is created so that individuals can be fitted into slots carrying such designations as 'upper class,' 'middle class,' 'lower working class,' and so on.

After having discussed Code Switching and its relation to identity construction in general, and its usage in media, I now move to the discussion of the features of 'Egyptian English' being one of the codes used in the song.

4. 'Egyptian English'

English is the most widely used foreign language in Egypt. However, Arabic as a mother tongue affects English pronunciation resulting in a unique Egyptian accent. Avery and Ehrlich (1992) point out that the learners' L1 (first language / mother tongue) sound patterns are transferred to L2 (second language), resulting in a foreign accent similar in some ways to their native language.

Comparatively, English has far more vowels than Arabic (Kenworthy, 1987). Vowels cause a great difficulty for Arab learners of English. In Arabic there are three short vowels which accompany a consonant and are marked by corresponding diacritical marks to be distinguished. These three vowels turn into long vowels if they are lengthened. On the other side, English contains 20 vowels; 12 long and short vowels and 8 diphthongs (Roach, 2009 and Rogerson-Revell, 2011). The schwa /ə/ and the diphthongs do not exist in Arabic pronunciation as individual vowels. However, the "schwa is the most occurring vowel in English, and its role in the English stress system is considerable" (Chouchane, 2016, p. 209). Since it "is a reduced vowel in unstressed syllables and appears in weak forms where vowels are pronounced /ə/ (Chouchane, 2016, p. 210). Thus, many Arab speakers fail to use the schwa sound because they do not know the sound combining rules and because in Arabic, speakers tend to articulate all words fully, in addition to the fact that Arabic pronunciation and spelling are consistent, where each sound corresponds to a letter (Avery and Ehrlich, 1992; Kenworthy, 1987).

Consonant clusters are also problematic for Arab learners of English since clusters of more than two consonants do not occur in Arabic. Consequently, Arab learners frequently break clusters by inserting the short vowel /i/ (Aziz, 1974; O'Connor, 1980; Kenworthy, 1987; Roach, 2009). Such differences cause the special Egyptian accent of English. English

specific consonant such as /p/ is frequently mispronounced as /b/ because in Arabic these two sounds are considered as allophones (Hassan, 2014).

Stress is another major area of difference in pronunciation between English and Arabic. Unlike English which has no fixed stress rules and stress varies from word to word, Arabic has a regular stress, which tends to be slightly on either final syllables or on the syllable containing a long vowel, (Rogerson-Revell, 2011; Aziz, 1974). That's why many Arab speakers stress the final syllable of the words like Manchester and yesterday (Chouchane, 2016). According to Chouchane (2016), the reason behind this phenomenon is that speakers do not know the rules of connected speech stress; hence, "[t]hey pronounce both functional and lexical words equally in their strong forms (p. 213). Kharma and Hajjaj (1997) list English word stress forms as follows:

- (i) All one-syllable words, spoken in isolation, are stressed.
- (ii) A two-syllable word has one stressed syllable, on the first as in '*study*, or on the second as in *be'lieve*.
- (iii) Prepositions, like verbs, often have stress on the second syllable, e.g., *a'bove*.
- (iv) If a word has a diphthong or a tense vowel, the stress often falls on it, e.g., *ho'rizon*.
- (v) If there is no tense vowel or diphthong, stress often falls on the third short vowel from the end or the second from the end if followed by two consonants e.g., '*cinema*, *hori'zontal*.
- (vi) In words of three or more syllables there is usually one stressed syllable, but occasionally there may be two, e.g. *ex'cessively* or '*over'esteimate*. (pp. 24-25)

In addition, Kharma and Hajjaj (1997) classify the Arabic word stress patterns into four categories:

- (i) A word of one syllable whether short or long, takes a primary stress, e.g., '*min* (from), '*bard* (cold).
- (ii) A word of two or three syllables takes a primary stress on the first syllable, e.g., /ʔbædæn/ (never), /kætæbæ/ (he wrote).
- (iii) A multi-syllable word takes the primary stress on the last syllable if it is long, e.g. /yæktu'bu:n/ (they write).
- (iv) If the last syllable is not long, the primary stress falls on the last long syllable, e.g., /ʔihti'mæmuhu/ (his interest). (p. 26)

Accordingly, El Zarka (2013) sums the problems occurring to stress-pattern differences as follows:

As a result, the native speakers of Arabic might have difficulties stressing the right syllable or adopt some repair strategies such as vowel insertion or stress shift depending on their competence of the Arabic syllable structure and stress patterns. (p. 32)

Moving on to structural problems, Alkhateeb (2016) lists some of the common grammatical errors made by Arab speakers of English. Indefinite articles, for example, are deleted as "Arabic does not have indefinite articles. There is another tendency, though; they tend to insert definite article 'the' whenever it is omitted in English, e.g., "at dawn" will be "at the dawn" but "in the evening" will be "in evening" (p. 100). Another problem is the deletion of verb 'to be' because it is not present in Arabic. A third area of difficulty is the confusion between the tenses; Arabs find it difficult to differentiate between the past simple, past progressive and present perfect tenses. Hence, "Arabs tend to say the same: 'He was drink coffee' for 'He was drinking coffee' when they wish to refer to an action at a point of time in the past" (p.100).

After reviewing differences between Arabic and English linguistic systems, I move to discuss the song within the context of modern Egyptian pop songs.

5. Call Me Ziko and Modern Egyptian Pop Songs

'Call Me Ziko' is one of the most popular songs for the band, released 2015. The video on YouTube received 5.1 million views over 5 years: Everything about this band is unique, from its name to the music, to the lyrics, even to the music videos. They are best known for their catchy hit 'Call Me Ziko'. <https://identity-mag.com/call-us-takh/>

In their interview with Identity Magazine, the founders of the band commented on the popularity of the song by saying:

We did not think it was a hit until someone told us that everyone had been talking about it. Apparently, what happened was that someone posted it on his page and it got a million shares or something like that. Then someone shared it on Sound Cloud and then it was everywhere. <https://identity-mag.com/call-us-takh/>

The uniqueness of the band and its songs springs from the fact that they represent characters that are found everywhere in our society, as Yousra El-Gendy puts it: "[for] example, Ziko was based off the typical rich guy in a club." <https://identity-mag.com/call-us-takh/>.

As for code switching to English in modern Arabic songs, it has become common for new pop bands to mix between Arabic and English in their songs. Several bands employ this technique in their lyrics. The phenomenon is growing in song writing in Egypt. For instance we have Cairokee's song / marbooT be?stik / [Tied with a Hairband] released in 2015. Cairokee is an Egyptian rock band that was officially launched in 2003 but came to prominence with its revolutionary music following the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 due to its politically inspired lyrics and protest songs released following the uprising. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairokee>.

In Cairokee's song, marbooT be?stik, the song discusses the theme of pretentious society where a unique modest girl walks into a party with her hair tied with a hairband. The only English words in the song are 'Mr. Bombastic'. The words run as:

[Same place..new day

Same party, and I am lonely as usual

Same girls..same stories..with different names

Dancing music..suffocating crowd]

And the song goes on to introduce the unique girl who is not pretentious:

[...a girl who does not look like them walked in

Clearly she does not belong to them

The prettiest one without overdoing it

Ordinary clothes..tied hair

Tied with a hairband among artificial/showy {plastic}) people

All acting as {Mr. Bombastic}]

These last two lines are repeated at the end of each stanza. The English words are used to refer to pretentious society and 'bombastic' is used because it rhymes with 'plastic' people which is used to describe showy people. The repetition of the lines stresses the main theme of the song.

'Sharmoofers' is another Egyptian popular band that was founded in 2012

https://www.facebook.com/pg/Sharmoofers/about/?ref=page_internal

Sharmoofers' songs 'Easy Money' released 2017 and 'Single' premiered 2020 are Arabic ones with English titles. Easy Money discusses money that is earned illegally, whether through drugs, gambling...etc. In Easy Money, few rhyming English words are used in the lyrics. For example, we have:

[{Easy Money ..Easy Money} Tahini tastes like {honey}] which is repeated several times in the song.

&

[Life is biscuit /baskoot/ and {honey}]

&

[{Hustling ..Hustling} he sells and buys
His breakfast is {caviar}, cheese and {bloody Mary}]
The song is in the third person, so the English words reflect and symbolize the wealth of the characters. They do not differentiate between the pronunciation of Egyptians and native speakers of English.

Single, on the other hand, discusses the idea of relations and how males prefer to be single while girls like to be committed in a relation. Similarly, families encourage young gentlemen to get engaged and married. The song is in the first person, and it has several English words in the lyrics. The words reflect Western ideas about relationships. The lyrics run as follows:

[Peace be upon you .. Our music is {groovy}

It was a normal {random} day]

The song goes on describing a normal day where the protagonist received a word about work, he saw a young lady passing by so he decided to ignore work and to introduce himself to her:

[Let's go .. I'm {single} free to /?/ {mingle}

Just got out of a {break up}

I don't care about the looks

Having her hair done nor wearing {makeup}

They made their hair {curly}..they made it {liss}

They colored it to make me put on the groom's suit

But I want to be {single} to be free to /?-/ {mingle}

Though in any {relation} I'm always responsible

And try to let the relation be quiet and {cool}

But I worry about any {commitment}.....]

As clear from the lyrics, the English words are used to reflect the theme of foreign lifestyle and to rhyme with the Arabic words. For example, we have 'liss' pronounced as /lees/ that rhymes with /3arees/ [groom] and /mas?uul/ [responsible] rhyming with 'cool'. Throughout the song the line, [I want to be {single} to be free to /?-/ {mingle}] is repeated at the end of each stanza, highlighting the main theme of the song. The /?-/ morpheme representing the speaker in Arabic is added to the English verb 'mingle', which is a common feature in code switching in Egypt. This is also used frequently in other songs as the discussion below shows.

Massar Egbari [Compulsory Detour] is another Egyptian Rock band that was officially launched in 2005 from Alexandria, Egypt. The band consists of 4 musicians: Ayman Massoud, Hany El Dakkak, Ahmed Hafez, and Tamer Attallah. Mahmoud Siam joined the band in 2008. Massar Egbari does not usually employ English words in their songs. However, they released one song with English title 'Cherophobia' in

2016. This song is about a young man who messed up a relationship because he was afraid to be happy. In the song he is apologizing to his girlfriend for doing so. The song does not include any English words; English is used in the title only 'Cherophobia' which diagnosis the young man's case which is fear of being happy. <https://www.healthline.com/health/cherophobia-causes-and-treatment>. It is not a commonly used or understood term and the relation between the title and the song is not obvious as is the case in other songs.

Takh band, on the other hand, uses English words in almost all their songs as a reflection of the linguistic phenomenon of code switching that is prevalent in the Egyptian society especially among young generations born to upper middle-class parents in general. This is the case in their songs /leeh ya pakina:m/ [Why (did you do it) Pakinam?] /abo galambo el baHr/ [Sea Crab] and 'Call Me Ziko'.

In [Why Pakinam?], Pakinam plays a prank on a friend of hers 'Hisham' to tease his girlfriend- 'Hend', by laughing loudly while 'Hisham' was in the toilet. Hend thought that Pakinam and Hisham are together and are enjoying themselves, though in fact Pakinam was hiding behind the juice bar. Hisham came out of the toilet to find Hend very upset with no clue whatsoever why, and by the end of the song she broke up with Hisham. The English words in the song include: {slow motion}, {scan}, {zoom in .. zoom out}, {Oh my God!}, /el-/ {juice bar}, {you don't love me anymore .. you changed}, {they even think I look like Miley Cyrus .. ask around} and {We're over}.

[Sea Crab] song discusses the pretentious actions of young people during summer at the beach. Young people care very much about appearances and peer judgement. The title refers to the advice presented in the song simply saying, 'Don't overdo it or you'll look like a sea crab (not natural)'. In this song, the English words are integrated into the sentences and are morphologically adjusted by adding Arabic definite and possessive morphemes. For example, we have the gate of /el-/ [the] beach, his /-oh/ shorts – using Egyptian structure and pronunciation where shorts are presented as singular word /ʃortoh/, my /-i/ cloud and your /-ak/ drink, among others.

The above-mentioned songs insert English words in the lyrics that either rhyme with Arabic words or other English words without any reference to the various identities of the characters in the song based on their pronunciation of the English words. In [Why Pakinam?], the English sentences are pronounced in native-like American English; however, they are not contrasted with Egyptian pronunciation of English. 'Call Me

Ziko', on the other hand, uses code switching in a unique way as will be shown in the analysis below.

6-Analysis & Discussion

The title, 'Call Me Ziko', is in English which highlights the important role of code switching in the song. Interestingly enough, the switches in the song are not simply between English and Egyptian Arabic. They follow a special pattern reflecting the theme and the social background of the depicted characters in the song's narrative. The codes include American English, Egyptian English (English as a foreign language as pronounced by EFL learners in Egypt) and Native Egyptian Arabic (spoken Cairene Arabic). In addition, there is interplay between third person narrative and direct speech in the conversations taking place.

The song begins with the voice of the female performer telling the story in the third person, where the main character, Siham, comes to Egypt during holidays. The scene was set in Egyptian Arabic, where she went out with her friends, met a young rich man (Zakariya) and started flirting with him. There is no plot in the narrative; it simply presents a snapshot of the different stereotypes and classes in society. All social background information is presented through code switching and reflected in the pronunciation.

The song starts in Egyptian Arabic, then the main character uses some borrowed words such as 'ok' and 'lip gloss'; however, the pronunciation of both words are almost native which implies that the speaker is a migrant to the United States. The action begins when Siham spots a handsome young man and asks about him. Her friends didn't know him, so she decides to do the famous trick to introduce herself to him. She moves towards him and drops her lip gloss, upon which he bends and picks it up for her. The narrative mode shifts to first person and the code switches to American English as Siham thanks the gentleman. Siham's pronunciation presents her as belonging to upper middle class who received an international education. The introduction itself implies that she is a migrant who visits her home country during holidays.

Once more the narrative switches back to third person where the female performer reports Zakariya's reaction, shifting code into Egyptian English imitating his pronunciation: stressing 'is' instead of contracting it as 'what's', pronouncing 'your' as /ju:r/ and 'nationality' as /,næʃjə'næli/, stressing every syllable and replacing the schwas with short fully articulated vowels. The switch to Egyptian English depicts 'Ziko' as a lower-middle class young man whose school was not international. The

narrative continues in third person, reporting what Siham said but in American English. As a result, Zakariya was about to leave as he did not understand what she said. In this part, the narrator shifts from direct speech to direct thoughts now in Egyptian Arabic:

[The young man is about to leave...it seems he did not understand]

Consequently, she tries to stop him and shifts from American English to Egyptian Arabic:

[She told him] {wait! hold on!}

[Tell you what]

As she switches to Arabic, Zakariya stays and switches to Arabic and Egyptian English as the conversation goes on. For the first time, we hear Zakariya's voice (the male performer) saying a phrase in Arabic that literally means [That's it. Straighten your tongue] which reflects his attitude towards her native pronunciation being 'crooked'. This phrase is sometimes used to express that a person does not like what is said or that a person is trying to show off by using foreign languages. The chorus introduce Zakariya's direct speech in Arabic by saying: [he told her]. The narrator (female lead singer reports what Zakariya said in Egyptian English:

{My name} Zakariya

As clear from the structure Zakariya omits verb 'to be', which is a very common error performed by Arab learners of English because of the mother tongue negative transfer. Once more, we hear Zakariya's voice when the male performer continues the utterance in Egyptian English as well:

{Call me Ziko}

His pronunciation of 'call' with a clear /l/ instead of dark /l/ marks the Egyptian English variety.

The rest of his speech is provided by the narrator (the female lead singer) in Egyptian English, followed by Arabic with borrowed words for brands.

Ziko {Egyptian businessman}

[My villa is 90 acres big]

[My car is {Porsche Cayenne}]

The Egyptian English pronunciation is clear in businessman, where the schwa in the unstressed syllable 'man' is replaced by the full vowel /æ/. Similarly, the car brand is pronounced as /bɔːrʃ/ instead of /pɔːrʃ/- following the English pronunciation- or /'pɔːrʃə/ - following the German pronunciation. This is because in Arabic, both /p/ & /b/ and /ɔː/ & /ɔ/ are considered allophones.

The narrative is shortly interrupted by Zakariya's direct speech in the voice of the male performer in Egyptian Arabic:

[I switch on the AC]

Then the chorus comment on his utterance in Egyptian Arabic with a borrowed word in the middle:

[He does not know the {fan}]

/majeʃraf el fæn/

/el/-the Arabic definite article- is added to the English word 'fan', mixing both codes.

Then, [she gets out (her) {iPhone}] and asks Ziko if he [has what's]. Both utterances are in Arabic with borrowed brands and applications pronounced in American English. At this moment, Ziko responds in the voice of the male performer that he has Twitter, Facebook & Instagram. Ziko pronounces these applications in Egyptian English, velarizing some consonants, elongating some vowels, and replacing some diphthongs and unstressed vowels with fully articulated vowels: /twi:Tar/, /fe:s/ & /inistagræm/. He also inserts a short vowel in 'Instagram' because consonant clusters are very difficult for Arab learners of English, as Arabic does not allow except for two consonants in a row and in final position only.

He then took out his Samsung mobile out and asked Siham for her mobile number. Again, the narrator uses the Egyptian style of mentioning brand names; Egyptians tend to clip the long brand names. So as Facebook is usually referred to in Egypt as 'Face', Samsung mobiles are referred to as 'Sam' sets. Hence, the narrator says [he takes out the /el-/ {Sam} set] and asks Siham for her mobile number. Siham, then, tries to give him her mobile number in a playful way. She goes on:

[I like {zero} hair (very short hair)]

Oh my God! It's 12 o'clock

You look like a hero

You're 27 years old

We're in the end of the 11th month (November)

You're a full moon (the moon of the 14th night of the lunar month)

Remember on your way home it ends in two]

Ziko could not grasp that this was Siham's mobile number, so he went on bragging that he is a Superman using Egyptian pronunciation /Su:barmæn/ instead of /su:pəman/. Thus, he articulates all vowels fully, replaces /p/ with /b/ and pronounces the /r/ sound though it is followed by a consonant. Siham realized that Ziko has low IQ since he did not

understand what she was trying to tell him. The song ends with Siham repeating her mobile number in the same playful way.

[I like {zero} hair (very short hair)]

Oh my God! It's 12 o'clock

You look like a hero

You're 27 years old

We're in the end of the 11th month (November)

You're a full moon (the moon of the 14th night of the lunar month)

Remember on your way home it ends in two]

Clearly, the storyline of the song does not have a plot, just a setting and characters. It is a sketch that presents different people in the Egyptian society. The basic technique employed by the song writer and the singers to construct the identities of Siham and Ziko is code switching between Cairene Spoken Arabic (CSA), American English (AE) and Egyptian English (EE). CSA is the unmarked commonly used code in Egyptian songs. However, few songs employ other dialects. As for the two varieties of English used in the song, they represent a whole set of attitudes and characteristics of the speakers. EE is frequently used in media to create humorous effects. This variety is associated with lower middle class and a type of education that does not offer foreign languages at an early age. The fact that Ziko uses EE or CSA in the song implies that he did not learn English at an early age; whereas, Siham uses AE and CSA reflecting her international education. In Egypt, there is a wide range of educational systems, the degree of exposure to foreign languages differ, and the result is various levels of proficiency and numerous traces of mother tongue negative transfer. There are public schools where all subjects are taught in Arabic in addition to basic English language that is practiced only inside the classroom for a limited time. In addition, there are national language schools where Mathematics and sciences are taught in English. Also, more hours are dedicated to English language classes. Finally, there are international schools where all subjects are taught in foreign languages following foreign curricula. Hence, the switches in the song reflect the social background of both Siham and Ziko. My initial intuitive supposition and the detailed analysis of the switches including the Mother Tongue-Arabic-negative transfer instances are verified through the survey I conducted on random audience.

Attempting to verify the results of the analysis, I conducted a survey about the reasons of the popularity of the song and the impressions the audience get about the main characters. I used Google Forms to circulate

the survey. The link was sent to random respondents of varying gender, age and social background through WhatsApp. Based on 89 responses 64 % of the respondents like the song. The reasons for the decision about whether people like it or not were the lyrics (47.2 %), characters and storyline (44.9 %), and finally music (43.8 %). Other reasons were insignificant as each accounted for 1 % to 2 %. 70.8 % of the respondents are females and most respondents are between the ages 15-25 (73 %) and 26-35 (20.2 %), which falls under teenagers and young adults. This could be because young people are more active or are more acquainted with the new technology.

As for the impressions about the main characters (Siham & Ziko), regardless of gender or age of the respondent, the majority (78 %) guessed Ziko's school to be a public one. The follow-up question as to how they came to this decision received several answers almost all commenting on his language such as 'he couldn't understand her when she (Siham) was talking in English, his horrible language, from his conversation, [from his bad pronunciation of English words], from his accent...etc. All comments revolve around his language, his pronunciation and his lack of understanding of English. One interesting response to explain the idea of mispronunciation was 'What is' written in Arabic with velarized consonants as *وايط ايظ* /waT iZ/. On the other hand, respondents guessed Siham's school to either an international school (55.1 %) or a national language school (34.8 %). Responses about how they decided include several comments about her language and pronunciation as well. Among the responses, we have 'she speaks English fluently, English accent, language and IQ, she uses English as a first language, so she speaks it better than Arabic, her pronunciation, her attitude, accent and language, her language, and talking style'.

When it comes to identifying the social class Siham belongs to, the majority of respondents (75.3 %) stated that Siham belongs to upper class (41,6 %) or to upper-middle class (33.7 %). However, there was no consensus about Ziko's social background. 30.3 % of the respondents said Ziko belongs to middle class, followed by 24.7 % saying he belongs to working class. 17 (19.1 %) respondents out of the 89 were not able to choose and 16 subjects (18 %) chose upper-middle class.

When asked to describe Siham's personality, respondents replied saying, 'smart...arrogant...cool...confident...funny...sassy...shallow...intelligent...materialistic...fashionable...classy...witty...impulsive...open-minded...imprudent... interested in appearances ...bold...sexy...etc.' As for Ziko's personality, respondents say, 'attractive...chatty...blunt...conceited...over-

confident...friendly...easygoing... not so smart ...idiot...stupid...low class...uncivilized...cares about appearances... “nouveau riche”... sleazy...unsophisticated...showy... weird... gentle ...cool ... straight forward...etc.’

The responses, in general, stress the idea that the language employed in the song reflects the education and social background of the main characters. Code-switching is extensively used to reflect how different young people in the Egyptian society interact and talk; the effect is a funny sketch.

7-Conclusion

The previous analysis shows that the codes in the song comprise Egyptian Arabic, Egyptian English, and American English. The interplay between the three codes results in a funny amusing sketch that is liked by young generations. The song presents authentic characters that we meet every day in society. Code switching in the song is uniquely employed to reflect the social identities and backgrounds of the main characters. The song does not have a plot; the main focus is on the characters and how they interact together, portraying stereotypes and eliciting reactions and attitudes towards them as exemplified in the respondents’ replies. The song is an evidence of how code switching is prevalent in the linguistic landscape in Egypt within the conversations of middle, upper-middle and upper classes as well as in media and shop names.

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APPENDIX A
Transcription Key

| | |
|-----|---|
| { } | English word in the middle of the song |
| [] | Translation of the Arabic words |
| () | Explanation and literal translation of some Arabic words or expressions |
| / / | Phonemic Transcription |

Phonemic Key

| | |
|-----|----|
| ا | a: |
| ب | b |
| ت | t |
| ث | θ |
| ج | dʒ |
| ح | ħ |
| خ | x |
| د | d |
| ذ | ð |
| ر | r |
| ز | z |
| س | s |
| ش | ʃ |
| ص | S |
| ط | D |
| ظ | T |
| ع | Z |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ك | k |
| ل | l |
| م | m |
| ن | n |
| ه | h |
| و | w |
| ي | j |
| ء | ʔ |
| أ | a |
| إ | i |
| و | u |
| اِي | a: |
| ي | i: |
| و | u: |

APPENDIX B
The Transcribed Song

بتيجي مصر فى العيد
/beti:gi: mʌSr feʕi:d/
خرجت مع صحابها و شافت واد
حلو بعيد
/xaragit maʕa Suħabha w ʃafit wa:d ħilw biʕi:d/
سألت صحابها دة مين ؟
/saʔlit sħabha dah min/
قالوها مش عارفين
/?alulha miʃ ʕarfi:n/
قالت {OK}
/?alit / /'ou'kei/
سابتهم و اتمشت ليه
/sabithum wetmaʃʃit lji:h/
وقعت الlipgloss
/waʕit el lipgləs/
وطى.. وطلع بيه
/waTTa w Tiliʕ bi:h/

{Thank you for your sincerity}

/θæŋk ju fər jər sɪn'serəti /

قالها وات ايز وات ايز
{your nationality}

/?alaha wʌT ɪz wʌT ɪz ju:r næʃjə'næli/

قالتله

/?alitluh/

{Excuse me i don't unerstand what are you saying to me?}
/ɪk'skjuz mi aɪ doʊnt ʌndər'stænd wʌt ər ju 'seɪɪŋ tə mi ?/

دة الواد شكله هيمشى
اصله مافهمشى

/dah elwad ʃakluh haji:mʃji:
ʕsʕluh mafhimʃji:/

{Wait hold on}:قالتله

/?alitluh weɪt həʊld ɒn /
بقولك ايه

/baʔullak ejh/

ايوه ادلي لسانك كده
/ ajwah iʔdili: lisanik kidah/

دخل عليها و قال
/daxal ʕalaija w ʔal/
ماي نيم زكريا
كول مي زيكو
زيكو ايجيبيشان بيزنس مان

/maɪ neɪm zakarija
kɔl mi 'ziku
ziku ɪ 'ʒɪpʃən 'bɪznɪsmæn/

فيالتي تسعين فدان
/viliti: tisʕji:n fadan/

و عربيتي بورش كيان
/wʕarabi:ti: pɔrʃ kajan/
وبشغل التكييف
/w bafayyal ettakji:f/

ما يعرفش ال
{ fan }
/majiʕrafʃ el fæn/

تعبير وشها مبهور
مبهور بجان
/taʕbi:r wiʃʃha mabhu:r mabhu:r bigna:n/

طلعت ال
{ I Phone }
/talʕit el ʔai fəʊn/

عندك واطس ؟
/ ʕandak wʌts/

تويتر.. فيس.. وانستجرام
/'twi:Tar fe:s w mistagram /

طلع العدة السام
/ Tallaʕ el ʕiddah issæm /

وسألها موبايك كام
/ws?alha 'mubarlik ka:m/

ردت
/raddit/

بموت ف الشعر الزيرو
/bamu:t fi ʃʃaʃr ezzi:rwu/

يانهار الساعة اتناشر
/janha:r essaʃah etna:ʃar/

شكلك زى الهيرو
/ʃaklak zaj elhi:ru/

27 سنك
/sinnak sabʃah w ʃifri:n/

11 دة احنا فى اخر شهر
/daħna f ?axir ʃahr ħeda:ʃar/

يا قمر اربعتاشر
/ja ?amar ?arbaʃta:ʃar/

افتكر وانت مروح
2 اخرها

/iftikir winta mrawaħ ?axirha itne:n/

زيكو ملحقش بجمع ان دى نمره سهام
/ziku mal ħi?ʃjgammaʃ in di nimrit siham/

ف اتكلم تانى عن نفسه و قال
/faitkallim ta:ni ʃan nafsuh w?a:l/

دة انا سوبر مان
/dana 'su:barma:n/

تلاقيني ف اى خناقة بولع المكان
/teala?i:ni f ?ai xna:?ah bawallaʃ elmaka:n/

مسيطر اه دانا جامد
و ف نفس الوقت جان
/mSaiTar w fnafs elwa?t za:n /

بصت له باستحقاقاااااار
/baSSitlu bestiħqa:r/

وف بالها..الواد دة حمار
الواد دة حمار!
/w fbalha elwa:d dah ħma:r/

بما ان الواد دة حمار
/bima ?in elwa:d dah ħma:r/

عادت له تانى الارقام
/ʕa:ditluħ ta:ni el?arqa:m/

افهم
/ifham/

بموت ف الشعر الزيرو
/bamu:t fi ʃʃaʕr ezzi:rwu/

يانهار الساعة اتناشر
/janha:r essaʕah etna:ʕar/

شكلك زى الهيرو
/ʃaklak zaj elhi:ru/

27 سنك
/sinnak sabʕah w ʕifri:n/

11 دة احنا فى اخر شهر
/daħna f ?axir ʕahr ħeda:ʕar/

يا قمر اربعتاشر
/ja ?amar ?arbaʕta:ʕar/

افتكر وانت مروح
2 اخرها

/iftikir winta mrawaħ ?axirha itne:n/