CODE ALTERNATION
AMONG ARAB SPEAKERS
IN AMERICA

Dr. Kamel Abdelbadie Elsaadany

Dr. Kamel A. Elsaadany
- Assistant Professor of
  linguistics, department of
  foreign languages.
- Faculty of Education,
  Tanta University, Egypt.

CODE ALTERNATION AMONG ARAB SPEAKERS IN AMERICA

Dr. Kamel Abdelbadie Elsaadany

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the phenomena of code-mixing and code-switching among different Arab speakers. Among the questions addressed are: which codes do Arab speakers use when they engage in intragroup informal discussions? which codes do Arab speakers choose when they engage in informal discussions with Egyptian speakers? and do code-mixing and code-switching in Arabic abide by the so-called universal constraints on code-mixing and code-switching?...etc. The results show that code-mixing and code-switching in Arabic and English do not abide by the so-called universal constraints. Only the System Morpheme Constraint proves to explain better the code-mixed data in Arabic/English. The results show that different Arab speakers change their code according to the topic and the context of situation, and not necessarily resort to MSA in cross-dialectical conversations. The study proves that code-mixing and code-switching are not always used to enhance communication; rather, they may be used to making fun at other dialects that may not be very popular or refined. Finally, code-mixing and code-switching in Arabic and English occur as a continuum.

Dr. Kamel Abdelbadie Elsaadany

تغير استخدام اللغة بين المتحدثين بالعربية في أمريكا

الملخص

تناقش هذه الدراسة ظاهرة استخدام دمـج لغـتين والتحـول مـن لغـة إلى أخـرى أثنـاء التحـدث مـن قبـل متحدثين عرب ذوي لهجات مختلفة . ومن بين التساؤلات التي ناقشها هذا البحث ما يلي : مـا هي اللغة التي يستخدمها المتحدثون العرب ذوي اللهجات المختلفة عنـدما يشـتركون في محادثـات غير رسمية مع المتحدثين باللهجة المصرية ؟ . هل يتمشى التحول من لغة إلى أخـرى أو دمـج اللغـتين معـاً أثنـاء التخاطب مع ما يطلق عليه بالمبادئ أو المحددات ذات الصفة العالمية بين اللغات المختلفة ؟ ... الخ .

أظهرت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن تغيير استخدام اللغة (سواء مـن العربيـة إلى الإنجليزيـة أو العكس) أو دمجها معـاً في نفس الجملة لا يتمشى مع ما يطلق عليه بالمبادئ أو المحـددات ذات الصـفة العالميـة بـين اللغـات المختلفة ، غير أن مبدأ System Morpheme Constraint قد أثبت أنـه يفسـر وبطريقـة أفضل عمليـة دمـج أو خلـط اللغة العربية الإنجليزية أثناء التحدث في نفس الجملة .

كذلك أظهرت نتائج هذه الدراسة أن المتحدثين العرب يغيرون اللغة الـتي يسـتخدمونها أثنـاء التحـدث (سواء من العربية إلى الإنجليزية أو العكس أو دمجها معـاً) وذلـك طبقـاً لموضـوع وسـياق الحـديث نفسـه ، ولـيس ضرورياً أن يلجئوا إلى استخدام اللغة العربية الفصحى وذلك عندما يشتركون في مناقشات تضم عربا ذوي لهجـات مختلفة . كذلك أثبتت الدراسـة أن اللجـوء إلى اسـتخدام تغـيير اللغة لا يسـتخدم دائمـاً لتـدعيم الاتصـال بـين المتحادثين . وأخيراً أثبتت الدراسة أن عملية استخدام التحـول مـن اللغة العربيـة إلى اللغة الإنجليزيـة أو دمجهـا معـاً إنما يحدث كمنظومة متصلة .

1. Introduction

Many recent studies conducted on Code-Mixing (hereafter CM) and Code-Switching (hereafter CS) such as those of Timm (1975), Sridhar (1978), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980; 1982), and others have concluded that CM and CS are used in most speech situations among bilinguals as well as among monolinguals in terms of style shifting. Some other studies such as Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) and Woolford (1983) have discussed the fact that if the bilingual speaker is able to use different codes in a given speech situation, then, there must exist what is called "the bilingual's grammar". This means that the grammars of at least two language systems of a bilingual are working simultaneously. The idea of the bilingual's grammar is a controversial issue among linguists. These studies have also illustrated that CM and CS are manipulated by bilinguals in order to achieve different goals and functions such as emphasis, effective communicative goals, solidarity, sociocultural authenticity, friendliness, warmth, and so on.

There are also some other studies that are conducted on CM and CS in Arabic/ English. Atawneh (1992) reports on a study on CM manipulated by three Arabic children who were learning ESL. He concluded that the use of only a single noun in English is the most common one, while mixing of just a functional word such as a preposition or a morpheme is rare. He also concluded that the so-called constraints on CM are not entirely

satisfactory. Abu-Melhim (1991) concluded that in cross-dialectal situations, Arabic speakers resort to a number of communication strategies such as CS to another dialect, to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and to English (if the speakers are bilinguals). Eid's (1988) paper examines the syntactic aspects of CS of radio and television interviews and panel discussions in Egypt where the speakers alternate in their use of the two varieties (Egyptian Arabic (EA) and MSA) switching from one to the other across sentence boundaries and within the same sentence as well.

The present study will address this topic in a different way. It investigates the phenomena of CM and CS among a number of different Arab speakers, Egyptian, Sudanese, Saudi Arabian, Jordanian and Moroccan, who speak different varieties of Arabic, speak English and live in the USA. The study also investigates the process of CS and CM used by speakers of the same Arabic variety when they talk to each other. The context of all the data is in the USA.

2. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF STUDY

This study addresses the following questions:

1. Which code(s) do Arab speakers of different varieties use when they engage in intragroup informal disc-ussions?

2. Which code(s) do Arab speakers of different dialects choose when they engage in informal discussions and

conversations with Egyptian speakers?

3. Which code(s) do Egyptian speakers use when they converse with each other?

4. What are the sociocultural factors behind CM and CS used among Arab speakers of different/same varieties?

5. Why do Arab speakers switch or mix codes? And

6. To what extent do CM and CS in Arabic abide by the so-called universal cons-traints on CM and CS?

A point that is worthy of mentioning here is that the linguistic repertoire and competence of the Sudanese, Saudi, Jordanian and Moroccan speakers include their own specific dialect, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Egyptian Arabic (EA) and English. MSA is the main variety used in formal situations such as in the media, education and formal talks. It is the written language all over the Arab countries. Dialects such as EA are not written and are used by their speakers in informal situations, at home and in the street. The relationship between MSA and EA is the same between MSA and other Arabic dialects. The difference is that EA is more popular and refined than other dialects due to some socio-cultural factors that will be explained later on. For the Egyptian speakers, their linguistic repertoire and competence include their own specific dialect, Modern Standard Arabic, English and possibly other Arabic dialects used in this study. The general point is that all the subjects of this study understand Modern Standard Arabic, but do not necessarily speak it. There are also some lexical, phonological and structural differences among the different varieties spoken by the subjects of this study. Finally, it should be noted that there is a diglossic situation in the Arabic countries. Modern Standard Arabic is used in books, press, media, education and formal lectures. Other than that, the different dialects are spoken, but not written, at home, in the street, among friends, and in informal social gatherings.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data of this study have been gathered from telephone conversations between Arab speakers of different dialects and varieties including Jordanian, Saudi, Sudanese and Moroccan on the one hand and Egyptian speakers on the other. The context of the data is in the USA. The number of subjects examined is seventeen, nine males and eight females. In most cases, the speakers do not know that their conversations and discussions are being tape-recorded. Even if some of them knew that his/her conversation was tape-recorded s/he did not know the purpose of these recordings. This is to make sure that the conversations are natural and spontaneous and are not affected by the speakers' perception that their speech is being tape-recorded, the thing which may make these speakers alert and conscious to what they are saying. By doing this, the investigator's activity to collect the data will not be, as Labov (1978: 340) puts it, an artifact of the investigator. All the data in this study have been gathered from natural and real life settings (e.g. social activities and gatherings, discussions ...

etc.). This in its turn reflects the language as it is used in every day life. Also included in this study are data (not tape-recorded) gathered from informal discussions, e.g. in the shopping Mall, picnics and ethnic gatherings.

After gathering the data, the researcher listened to all the recorded materials and made a phonetic transcription and transliteration. For ease of recognition, the CM and CS utterances are highlighted in both the English translation and in the transliteration.

4. DEFINITION OF BASIC TERMS

In the current sociolinguistic studies, there is a problem of defining the basic terminology since scholars use diverse terms to refer to the same phenomenon. The definition of CM and CS is not exceptional. In this study, I am going to adopt Kachru's (1983) definition of CM as the "intrasentential" use of linguistic units from two or more languages by a bilingual speaker in the same speech situation. In code-mixed speech, the code-mixer may make use of morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, or even sentences of the matrix language. CS, on the other hand, as Kachru (1983) puts it, is "intersentential", i.e. in a code-switched speech, the sentence-units are drawn from one or the other languages used by the code-switcher. Mayers-Scotton (1997; 1993; 1990) uses "codeswitching" as a cover term for both CS and CM. She (1990: 85) defines codeswitching as "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same

conversation. It can be intra- or extra-sentential and also intra-word". She also refers to the dominating variety used in the conversation as the "matrix language" and the other variety as the "embedded language". I will adopt Kachru's definition because I want to refer to CM and CS as two separate, yet related, processes. In Kachru's definition, there is no mentioning of the notion "matrix language" as in Mayers-Scotton's. The notion of the "matrix language" can be seen in Kachru's definition of CM but not in CS.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of the present study is based on the assumption that language is best interpreted in its sociocultural context. In sociolinguistic literature, Firth (1957), Hymes (1977), Halliday (1978) and others use the idea of social context, or to put it differently, context of situation. Kachru (1981) discussed in detail the Firthian model under what he called "socially-realistic linguistics". With respect to the notion of the "Context of Situation", Kachru (1981: 93) observes that

> The Firthian use of Context of Situation is an abstraction from situation, it is as abstract as the grammatical, lexical, phono-logical, and other categories that are relevant to interpretation of transactional linguistic behavior; it is not in a par with say, phoneme realizations of phono-logical categories.

The data in this study will be meaningful if interpreted in terms of context of situation. For Firth, Kachru (1981) argues, language is considered to have a function, effect or a "meaning" in the context of situation: an utterance or a part of an utterance is meaningful only if used in some actual context. Related to this theoretical approach that will be also used as a framework of interpreting the data in this study is the "systemic" model developed by Halliday (1978). The focus of this model is on the functions of language in society and culture. Language is considered as a tool or instrument which can be used to perform many tasks or functions, in Halliday's words, "meta-functions"; and the analysis of language is best done in terms of the tasks or uses in which language is put. Halliday's approach to linguistics expresses his view that language is explicable only as the realizations of meanings which are inherent in the social system, and at the same time, constitute the culture or social value of the society. Halliday's approach represents the British school of thought whose cardinal principle, at least in Great Britain, is that language must always be studied as a part of social process and social activity; and every utterance must be considered as understood within its context of situation. It is the contextual function alone that constitutes and guarantees linguistic meaning.

Related to the above linguistic approaches is Hymes (1974) who approaches language in terms of the theory of ethnography of speaking/ communication where he focuses on the context, community, communication, or patterns of use in general. Hymes' theory of ethnography of speaking is not so different from the above theories. He, like Firth and Halliday, maintains that language is part and parcel of the community where this language is spoken for it is that community that set the patterns and rules according to which language is used.

The use of the above approaches to language as the theoretical framework for this study stems from the fact that CM and CS are used by bilingual speakers in context-bound situations and are best interpreted in terms of the sociocultural context in which they are used. These theoretical models will help in understanding the sociocultural and situational context of the data.

6. THE STUDY
6.1 Data

The conversations in Arabic of the following different groups have been discussed. The subjects of this study have at least the degree of B.A. or B.S. Some of them have M.A./M.S, others are working toward their Ph.D. degrees.

- Group # 1: includes a conversation between an Egyptian woman and a Saudi woman (Example # 1).
- Group # 2: includes a conversation between an Egyptian man and a Saudi man (Example # 2).
- Group # 3: includes a conversation between an Egyptian woman and a Sudanese woman (Example # 3).

- Group # 4: includes a conversation between an Egyptian woman and a Jordanian woman (Example # 4).

- Group # 5: includes a conversation between two Egyptian women and an Egyptian man (Example # 5).

- Group # 6: includes a conversation between an Egyptian man and an Egyptian woman (Example # 6).

- Group # 7: includes a conversation between an Egyptian man and a Moroccan man (Example # 7).

- Group # 8: includes a conversation between two Egyptian men (Example # 8).

- Group # 9: includes a conversation between an Egyptian woman and a Saudi woman (Example # 9).

- Group # 10: includes a conversation between an Egyptian man and a Jordanian man (Example # 10).

- Group # 11: includes a conversation between an Egyptian woman and a Jordanian woman (Example # 11).

In these groups, one can notice that, most of the time, women are talking to women and men to men. This is because of the traditions and culture of some Arab speakers, such as the Sudanese, Saudi Arabian and Jordanian, who, when they get together in some occasions, males and females do not converse with each other and sit in different places. This phenomenon might also be interpreted according to some Islamic beliefs that enhances the separation between the different sexes. However, in Group number 5 (Example 5), the speakers are all Egyptians whose culture and traditions do not prohibit mixing with the different sexes. This does not mean that if the speakers are of the same ethnic group, then, mixing between the sexes is allowed. For example, if two Saudi families get together for any occasion, then males and females do not converse with each other in most cases.

6.2 DISCUSSION ON CODE-SWIT-CHING AND CODE-MIXING IN ARABIC

6.2.1 Switching from Saudi Arabic to Egyptian Arabic

The following is a transliteration[1] of an excerpt from a conversation between an Egyptian woman (hereafter EW) and a Saudi woman (hereafter SW). The Egyptian words used by the SW will be highlighted.

EXAMPLE (1):

1 EW: Hadaxal-i
        will-you-enter-2nd-P-sg-F
        wilaadik fi madaaris xaaSa
        sons-your in schools private

2 SW: ? aywa 9ašaan humma
        yes because they
        bi-y9alim-u delwa?ti
        M-teach-3rd.P.PL now
        luGaat ? agnabiyya
        languages foreign
        ?ingliizi wi-faransaawi
        English and- French.

3 EW: bi-zzaat ?in huwwa mi9aah
        especially that he has
        LuGa wi-xsaara ?inik
        language and-loss you-2nd-P-sg-F
        ti-Daya9iha minu-h

make it lose from him

4 SW: wi-bizzaat ? ana ?akuun

and espeically I am

muTma?ina 9alei-hum ?aktar

confident-F on-them-3rd-M more

lamma ?adaxal-hum

when I-enter-them-3rd-PL-M

madrasa xaaSa li?an

school private-sg-F   because

fi-ha 9inaya ?aktar

in-it care much

w-il-baaS biyaxud-hum

and-the-bus take them-3rd-PL-M

wi-yraga9-hum,

wa-?akuun

and-return-them-3rd-PL-M and-I

am

mirtaH-a li?an muHammad

comfortable-sg-F because

Muhammad

biyitkalim kitiir

speaks-3rd-sg-M more

TANSLATION

EW: Are you going to enter your sons in private schools?

SW: Yes, because they teach now foreign languages English and French.

EW: Especially he has a language and it is a loss if you make him lose it.

SW: And especially, I will be more confident about them where there is much care and the bus take and return them and I will be comfortable because Muhammad talks a lot.

In this excerpt, the most noticeable feature of the Saudi woman's speech is the use of Egyptian Arabic. In exchange (2) the SW says: ?aywa, 9ašaan, delwa?ti, ?agnabiyya and ?ingliizi. Had she used her own dialect, she would say na9am, li?anna, ðelwaqti, ?ajnabiyya and ?injliizi respectively. The researcher has been informed that the pronunciation of ?ingliizi and ?injliizi may be pronounced as such by Saudi women who are from Makkah or Jeddah. In terms of the lexicon, she is using a completely different word from her dialect for the word "yes", ?aywa. Also in terms of phonology, she replaces [q] and [j] of her dialect with [?] and [g] of Egyptian Arabic. Likewise in Exchange (4), the SW adopts the Egyptian phonology when she says: ?aktar, kittir, biyaxud-hum, yiraga9-hum replacing [θ], [ð] and [j] of her own dialect with the Egyptian [t], [d] and [g] respectively.

Another example of code-switching from Saudi Arabic to Egyptian Arabic is found in the following excerpt. We notice that the Saudi man (SM) is code-switching to Egyptian Arabic. This excerpt is an invitation to dinner and is a part of a telephone conversation. The SM's switched utterances are highlighted.

EXAMPLE (2):

1. EM: baHib ?a?ulak ?innina

I like tell-you-2nd-sg-M that we

9aamliin ?ifTaar fi l-masgid

making   breakfast in the mosque

yom il-?arba9   wi9awzinkum

day the-Wednesday   and want

you tišarafuna honor us.

2. SM: yom il-?arba9   il-gaay dah!

day   the-Wednesday next this

bas mumkin tidini   *ra?am

but possible give me   number

tilifonak 9ašan law
telephone-your because if
Hadas Haaga ?a?ulak
happen something tell-1st-sg
you.

3. EM: talaata ?arba9a ?arba9a
three four four

4. SM: talaata ?arba9a ?arba9a
three four four

5. EM: kamaan ?arba9a
and also four

6. SM: tamania ?arba9a
Eight four

7. EM: ba?ulak kaman ?arba9a
I tell you-2nd-sg-M also four
ya9ni humma talat ?arba9aat
I mean they are three fours

8. SM: ?aywa! talat ?arba9aat
yes three fours

9. EM: tamania talaata sab9a
Eight three seven

10. SM: tamania talaata sab9a Taab
eight three seven then
leih 9indi-kum
why for-have-you-2nd-PL-ACC
talaaat ?arba9aat
three fours

Translation

EM: I would like to tell you that we will make a breakfast in the mosque on Wednesday and want you to honor us?

SM: This coming Wednesday! But is it possible to give me your telephone number so if something happens , I tell you.

EM: Three, four, four

SM: (repeats) three, four, four

EM: Also another four

SM: (repeats) *eight, four

EM: I am telling you another four; I mean they are three fours.

SM: Yes, three fours

EM: Eight three seven

SM: (repeats) Eight three seven, why do you have three fours.

Again, this excerpt teams with examples of code-switching from Saudi Arabic to Egyptian Arabic. The switching is again not only at the phonological level but also at the lexical level. At the lexical level, in Exchange (2) the SM says: il-?arba9, il-gaay, dah, bas and tidini which are exclusively used by Egyptians. Had the SM used the same words in his dialect, he would say: ?arrubuu9, il-qaadim, haδa, lakin and ti9Tiini respectively. In the same exchange, the SM adopts the Egyptian phonology when he says: Hadas, Haaga, and ?a?ulak. In his dialect, these will be Hadaθ, Haaje, and ?aqulak respectively; thus changing [θ], [j] and [q] of his dialect to their Egyptian counterparts [s], [g] and [?]. Furthermore, the adoption of the Egyptian phonology is fully adopted when the SM repeats the telephone number of the EM when the latter dictates the number to the SM. The obvious example is the replacement of [θ] of the Saudi dialect with [t] in the Egyptian dialect. For instance, the SM repeats: talaata, and tamania, as exactly said by the EM. Had he said them in his dialect, he would have said θalaaθe and θamaanie, again replacing [θ] with its

Egyptian counterpart [t].

What is more interesting here is that in Exchange (6), the SM overgeneralizes the switching form of [q] of his dialect to its Egyptian counterpart [?] in *ra?am, which cannot be pronounced this way by the EM. The reason for this is that when the [q] is word medially, it is pronounced [q] and not [?]. Instances of these are: ?alqahira, 'Cairo' and ?alqari?, 'the reader'. In raqam 'number', though it is not pronounced by Egyptians as *ra?am, some dialects in Lebanon and Syria may produce such pronunciation; i.e. /q/ is pronounced /?/, the thing that is not produced by most Egyptians. In this study, this kind of switching is done on the part of the SM as an accommodation strategy to adopt the EM's dialect to show friendliness.

6.2.2 Switching From Sudanese Arabic to Egyptian Arabic

A third example that shows code-switching to Egyptian Arabic is the following part of conversation between a Sudanese woman (Sud.W) and an Egyptian woman (EW). The code-switched utterences of Egyptian Arabic on the part of the Sud.W are highlighted.

EXAMPLE (3):

1.EW: eih   ma-gitiiš   ?imbaariH
      why not-come-3rd-sg-F
      yesterday

2.Sud.W: maa-?idirt   ?aruH ?imbaariH
      not be I able I go   yesterday
      il-masgid   bas   ruHt
      the mosque but   went-I
      yom il-Had   wi-?inti

      day the-Sunday and-you-2nd-sg-M
      magitiiš
      not-come-not-3rd-sg-F

3.EW: maa-fiiš   Had ?ali   bas
      no there one tell-me but
      miš9awzaki tiTaniši
      not want you-2nd-sg-F to forget

4.Sud.W: laa wallahi   maHaTaniš
      no by God   not forget-1st-sg-M
      lakin   gozi   Ha-yruuH
      but my husband will go-3rd-sg-M
      ?ila šikaaGo wi-law la?eit
      to   Chicago and-if find-1st-sg-F
      Had yi9Tiini   rayid   someone
      give-3rd-sg-M-me a ride
      Haagi ?in šaa?allaah   I
      come if   God wills

Translation

EW: Why didn't you come yesterday?

Sud.W: I was not able to go to the mosque yesterday, but I went there on Sunday and you didn't come.

EW: No one told me but I don't want you   to forget.

Sud.W: By God I won't forget but my husband will go to Chicago and if I find someone to give me a ride I will come , God-willing.

Code-switching from Sudanese Arabic to Egyptian Arabic is also obvious from the above example. The Sud.W is trying to accommodate to the Egyptian dialect. In Exchanges (2) and (4), she says: ?idirt, "be able", la?eit "found" replacing [q] of her dialect with the Egyptian [?]. Likewise, she replaces the [j] of her own dialect with the Egyptian [g] when she says: masgid

"mosque", magitiiš "didn't come", gozi "my husband", and Haagii "will come". At the lexical level, the Sud.W is completely switching to Egyptian Arabic by repeating the exact words used by the EW. For instance, she says: ?imbaariH "yesterday", bas "but" and ma-HaTaniš "I won't forget". To say these items in her dialect, she will say: ?ams, lakin, and ?ansa respectively.

6.2.3 SWITCHING FROM JORDANIAN ARABIC TO EGYPTIAN ARABIC

A fourth example also shows code-switching from Jordanian Arabic to Egyptian Arabic. The switches are highlighted.

EXAMPLE (4):

1. EW: wi-?eih   ?axbaar   yaasmiin?
   and what   news   Jasmin

2. JW: ?aHyanan bit9ali Sot-haa
   sometimes raise-3rd-sg-F voice-her
   lakin ta?riban ka?in
   but   perhaps   as if   ?asnaanha
   ibiti9rifi teeth-her   you know-2nd-
   sg-FbitHukhaa   9ambitGalibni
   haal?ayaam itching she annoys me
   these days

3. EW: mumkin tikuun   bitsaanin.
   it's possible be   grow teeth

   4. JW: ?aluli   mumkin they told-
   3rd-PL-M- me possiblebas hiyya
   bitiDaayi?   minhum but she
   annoyed-2nd-sg-F   of   them
   li?anahum biyaaxdu because they
   take-3rd-PL-M   wa?at   lamma
   yiTla9uu time   when   they grow-
   3rd-PL-M 5. EW: dii xalaas kibirit

ba?ah   so finally grown yes

6. JW: ma-hiyya bitaakul halla dilwa?at
   she eats-3rd-sg-F now   now
   fil-ma9la?a   šiwaya in-the-spoon
   a little

TRANSLATION

EW: And what's the news about Jasmine?

JW: Sometimes she raises her voice but perhaps, as her teeth you know are itching her and annoys her these days.

EW: Perhaps she is teething.

JW: They told me that's possible but she gets annoyed with them because they take time when they appear.

EW: So, she is growing up.

JW: She is eating now with the spoon, a little.

In this example, the Jordanian woman is code-switching to Egyptian Arabic when she says: ta?riban "perhaps", ?aluli "they told me", bitiDayi? "annoyed", wa?at "time" and dilwa?at "now". In all these words the JW replaces the Jordanian pronunciation of [q] with the Egyptian [?]. Also, she uses the Egyptian lexicon for "but" bas and "spoon" ma9la?a. She also says biyaxdu "they take", replacing [ð] with [d]. Had she used her own dialect, she would have said 9ambiyaxuðhum. Again the most distinguishing feature in this excerpt is that the Jordanian woman is adopting the Egyptian phonology and lexicon.

In the previous four examples, we see instances of code-switching from Saudi, Sudanese and Jordanian Arabic to Egyptian Arabic. One can say that the purpose of this code-switching to Egyptian Arabic is that the speakers use it as an accommodation framework to the Egyptians. Giles et al. (1987: 14) points out that .

The central notion of the frame work is that during interaction individuals are motivated to adjust (or accommodate) their speech styles as a strategy for gaining one or more of the following goals: evoking listeners' social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities. In addition, it is the individual's perception of the other's speech that will determine his or her evaluative and communi -cative responses... Convergence to another dialect can lead persons to attribute to the converger the traits of friendliness, warmth, and so on.

Likewise, the speakers code-switch to Egyptian Arabic as an attempt to maintain a positive relation with the Egyptians as well as to show intimacy and friendliness. In all the previous taped conversations, the Egyptian speakers do not code-switch to the other Arabic dialects because they do not have the need to converge to the Saudi, Sudanese, or Jordanian dialects. The reason for this is that the Egyptian

dialect, particularly the urban dialect spoken in Cairo and other big cities in Lower Egypt, is considered to be a more popular dialect among the different Arabic dialects spoken throughout the whole Arab world. Mitchell (1986:12) also explains this in the following words:

Egyptian films are seen and the Egyptian radio heard in every Arab country and Egyptians teach in schools from Kuwait to Libya; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Egyptian colloquial is much better known than any other. In addition, it has advanced further than other colloquials along the road to linguistic independence, for there exists a clearly recognizable norm to which educated Egyptian usage conforms.

For these reasons, it is not surprising to find that the Saudi, Sudanese and Jordanian speakers code-switch to the Egyptian variety. By doing this, those speakers are trying to bridge the gap between their respective local dialects and the Egyptian dialect, which puts them at ease.

6.3 Code-Switching from one Variety to another within the same Language

In this section, code-switching is illustrated among Egyptian speakers. The following conversations between those Egyptians who live in different parts of Egypt occurred at the Urbana-Champaign campus.

6.3.1 Code-Switching from Upper Egyptian Dialects to Lower Egyptian Dialects

The first example is between two Egyptian families who met each other at the Mall. The Upper Egyptian family (UE) has been to the Urbana-Champaign campus for two years; the Lower Egyptian family (LE) for one year. The reader is to be reminded that "Lower Egypt" and "Upper Egypt" correspond to northern and southern parts of Egypt respectively.

EXAMPLE (5) :

1 LEW: ?ismii   jaakliin min TanTaa
            name-my Jacklyn from Tanta

2 UEW: ?ahlan   yaa madaam gakliin
            welcome O' madame   Gackliin

       3 LEM: ma-šuftuš zogtii don't you
            see-2nd-PL-M   my wife jaaklin
            ?abl   kida Jacklin before   now

4 UEW: laa wa-llahi   ?iHna   lissa
            no by God   we   just
            rag9iin min   tarjet coming back-
            1st-PL-M from Target
            wi-HanruuH el-ai _gi_ eih and-we'll
            go   the IGA

5 LEM: wi-?eih   ?axbaar target
            and-what news Target wil-ai-ji-eih
            and the IGA

TRANSLATION

LEW: My name is Jacklyn from Tanta.

UEW: Welcome Madame Gackliin

LEM: Haven't you met my wife Jacklyn before now.

UEM: No, by God. We are just coming

back from Target and we will go to the IGA.

LEM: And what's the news in Target and the IGA.

From the above conversation, one can see that the Upper Egyptian family (living in south Egypt) is trying to accommodate to the dialect spoken by the Lower Egypt family (living in Tanta, north of Egypt). But in the process of accommodation the UE family overgeneralizes the pronunciation of [j] as [g] in LE dialects, the thing which makes them to mispronounce words like: gakliin, tarjet, and ai gi eih instead of jakliin, target, and 'ai je eih' respectively. What is significant to be noticed here is the attempt from the LEM (Lower Egyptian man) to repronounce in an indirect way these words in their correct pronunciation in order to give the UEM/W (Upper Egyptian man and woman) some hints to the correct pronunciation of those words. The UEM code-switches to the LEM's dialect when the former says rag9iin. Had the UEM said this word in his dialect, he would have said: raj9iin. This example shows that code-switching may occur even within one language. The UE family are code-switching to accommodate to the LE dialect which is considered as more prestigious and civilized than theirs in Egypt. At the same time, adopting the LE dialect may enhance the communication between the two families as well as show intimacy and positive attitudes towards the LE family. As Giles et al. (1987:15)

points out that this may "attribute to the converger the traits of friendliness, warmth, and so on".

6.3.2 Switching from Lower Egyptian to Upper Egyptian Dialects

In the following example, there is a conversation between the same UEM and another Egyptian woman (LEW) who is a visiting professor at the Collage of Commerce at UIUC.

EXAMPLE (6):

1 UEM: ?eih illi-xalakii ti-taqii fi
    what make you-2nd-sg-F hit in
    naafuxik wit-jibii your brain
    and bring-2nd-sg-F
    ?ibnik hina
    your son here

2 LEW: ?illi-xalani ?ataq fi
    what make me hit in
    naafuxii wi-xalaanii ?ajibuh my
    brain and make me bring him
    hiyya diraastuh
    is his studying.

Translation

UEM : What has hit your brain and
    makes you bring your son here?

LEW: What has hit my brain and makes
    me bring him is his studying.

In this example, the UEM does not code-switch to the LEW's dialect, but the reverse is true. The LEW code-switches to the UEM's dialect. This does not mean that the LEW code-switches to that dialect because of its popular status but because she is not satisfied with the way the UEM

addresses her. The switch here is used to make fun with the UEM's dialect and to show her dissatisfaction of the way the UEM speaks to her. This is particularly important because the LEW is a professor and the UEM is a graduate student who, due to the LEW's high social status, should not speak to her in that way. If the LEW has to use her own dialect, she would say: ?ata? "hit" and ?agibuh "bring him" instead of ?ataq and ?ajibuh respectively. Here, the sociocultural factors as age, status, level of education, position, class, etc., are very essential in the interpretation of this sort of CS.

One can conclude from this example that code-switching or the convergence to another variety does not mean to enhance communication all the time but it may be used as a strategy either to make fun of the guest dialect or to give the interlocutee a hint that the interlocutor is not happy with the way or with the choice of lexicon when the interlocutee addresses the interlocutor.

7. CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING TO ENGLISH
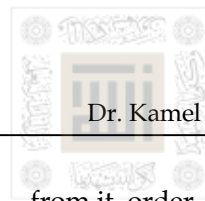
In this section, I will illustrate another kind of code-switching as well as CM from Arabic to English. This code-mixing and code-switching will be illustrated from the conversations between the same speakers in Section 2.2 as well as from other speakers of Arabic who live in the Urbana-Champaign community.

7.1 CM and CS in Arabic and English

The following example is an excerpt

from a conversation between a Moroccan professor (MM) and an Egyptian (EM) graduate student at the UIUC. The CS to English is highlighted.

EXAMPLE (7):

1. MM: 9awziin nixtaar   mini
    we want select-1st-PL-M   from
    l-text books   diy lildraasa   fi
    the text books this for-studying   in
    li-spring   bigaanib kitaab 9abuu
    the spring beside   book   Aboud

2. EM: bas dah Ha-ykun kitiir
    but this will-be   more
    9alei-hum   mumkin
    for-them-3rd-PL-M   can
    nuHutu-hum   fil-modern
    we put-them   in   the   modern
    languages library   wi-humma
    language library   and they-PL-M
    y-ruHu wi-ySawar-u   ya9ni they
    go-they and copy-they   mean they
    have the option to do that.
    have the option to do that.

3. MM: Taab which one   bi-t-faDaluh
    so   whcih one   you prefer-it

4. EM: huwwa da   kiways bas
    it is   this good but
    muškiltuh ?inu   voweled
    problem-its that it   is voweled
    wiHnna bin-darris unvoweled
    and we   we-teach unvoweled
    texts
    texts

5. MM: ?iðan mumkin nuHut a copy in
    so   can   we put a copy in
    the Asian library
    the Asian library

    wi-waHda   fil-modern   library
    And-one in-the modern library

TRANSLATION

MM: We want to select from these textbooks for studying in the Spring besides Aboud's book.

EM: But this will be too much for them. We can put them in the Modern Languages Library, and they can go and copy. I mean they have the option to do that.

MM: So which one do you prefer?
This one is good but its problem is that it is voweled and we teach unvoweled texts.

MM: So, we can put a copy in the Asian library and one in the modern library.

In the above transcript, both the Moroccan man (MM) and the Egyptian man (EM) code-mix Arabic and English. The mixing here is done at both single-word categories and phrasal categories. For instance, the most common switch or mix here is the NP category. The MM says in exchanges (3) and (5): which one, a copy in the Asian library and fil-Modern Languages Library. The EM also code-mixes English and Arabic when he says: Modern Languages Library, voweled and unvoweled texts. He completely code-switches to English when he says: they have the option to do that. At the single-word level, both of them code-mix to English when the MM says fil-Spring.

    This sort of code-switching and mixing between languages is common among

bilinguals. Bokamba (1988: 24) defines this sort of switching or mixing as the embedding of a linguistic unit or units from one language into another within the same sentence. The MM and the EM code-switch and code-mix from Arabic to English frequently and as Sridhar (1978) points out, this switching is done "unconsciously" on the part of the code-mixers. Because the two speakers discuss the plans of choosing different textbooks to be taught to non-Arabs, the switch is natural and justified because both of them teach Arabic to non-Arabic students as well as they have been in the United States for more than eight years. These speakers are aware of their educational back-ground, particularly their knowledge of English. They also know that they will understand each other when they mix Arabic and English.

7.2 Code-Switching to English among Egyptian Speakers

Another example that illustrates code-switching to English is the following excerpt from the conversation between two Egyptian men.

EXAMPLE (8):
1.EM1: il-mawrid   very   expensive
    Al-Mawrid   very   expensive
    wi-9aadatan da   biykun
    and usually this is
    fi taani   ?aw taalit sana
    in second or   third year
2.EM2: fi minu pocket mawrid saGiir
    from it pocket mawrid small
    wi-mumkin ni9mil
    and can   we make-1st-PL-M
    minu order bas from Lebanon

    from it order but from Lebanon
3.EM1: ?ana 9aadatan fi taani sana
    I usually in second year
    kul Haga badihal-hum
    all thing I give-them-3rd-PL-M
    are articles from magazines and
    are articles from magazines and
    newspapers
    newspapers

TRANSLATION
EM1:   Al-Mawrid (name of a big English-Arabic dictionary) is very expensive and this can be used in second or third year.
EM2:   There is a small pocket Mawrid and we can make an order but this will be from Lebanon.
EM1:   Usually, in the second year all the things I gave them are articles from magazines and newspapers.

What is interesting in this example is that although the two Egyptian men speak the same language and the same variety, both of them code-switch to and mix with English. It is normal for a graduate student from Egypt in the United States to code-switch back and forth from Egyptian Arabic to English. For instance in (1) and (3) EM1 code-switches from Arabic to English when he says very expensive and are articles from magazines and newspapers. While he could have used the Arabic expressions Gaali giddan and maqaalaat mini l-magalaat wil-gara?id respectively, he uses English phrases. Also, the EM2 code-switches to English in (2) when he says pocket Mawrid, an order and from Lebanon. One can say that the

two speakers use total code-switching to English when they replace the Arabic expressions with English ones. This type of code-switching may be said to facilitate understanding between the two speakers since the use of Arabic words may (or may not) cause some confusion. This total code-switching to English can also emphasize the importance of these expressions particularly when the two speakers talk about dictionaries, books and ordering books. Thus, the choice of English expressions shows accuracy, emphasis and clarity. What is also interesting in this example is the EM2's use of "pocket Mawrid SaGiir", which violates and, simultaneously, keeps the relation between adjectives and their head nouns both in Arabic and English. In Arabic, the head noun is to be stated first followed by any number of adjectives that qualify this noun and agree with it in person, number and gender. In English, however, adjectives precede their head nouns. Thus, pocket Mawrid goes with the English structure where an adjective-'pocket', precedes a noun-'Mawrid'. But at the same time this NP is followed by an adjective SaGiir "small" and thus corresponds to Arabic structure and violates English where adjectives should precede nouns. Despite this violation in code-mixing, the two speakers completely understand each other. This violation in code-mixing leads some linguists including Kachru (1978), Poplack (1980), Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) and Bokamba (1988) to consider what grammar of code-mixing might be and

what constraints are to be imposed in code-mixing in order to prevent certain structures from being mixed. Bokamba (1988) and Pandharipande (1990; 1998) among others review these constraints and find many counterexamples from the Bantu languages and Marathi respectively, thus challenging the universality of these constraints. Atawneh (1992) has also confirmed this conclusion.

Related to this kind of discussion is the following example of a conversation between an Egyptian woman (EW) and a Saudi woman (SW) where we find a similar violation in code-mixing in Arabic and English.

EXAMPLE (9):
1.EW: wallahi ?inti bi-ti-study-ii ?
  O God you are studying-2nd-sg-F
2.SW: ?aywa badris art

  yes I study-1st-sg art
3.EW: rasm ba?a wala ?eih
  drawing yes or what
4.SW: rasm wu-taqriban taSmiim
  drawing and possibly design
  art and design
  art and design
5.EW: Taab wi-?ibnik bi-ti9mili
  so and son-your you-do-2nd-sg-F
  fiih ?eih
  with-him what
6.SW: kunt it-term ?ili faat
  I was the term the past
  batruk-u 9ind waHda
  I leave-him with one
  Amirican lakin fi
  American but in

l-weekend bi-y-kunn ma9-i

the -weekend he-is with-me

TRANSLATION

EW: O'God! You are studying?

SW: Yes, I study art.

EW: Drawing or what?

SW: Drawing and nearly design, art and
       design.

EW: And what do you do with your son
       when you are studying?

SW: I used in the last term to leave him
       with an American lady but in the
       weekend, he stays with me.

The EW in (1) mixes Arabic and English in the same verb. She says bi-ti-study-ii "you are studying". She affixes certain Arabic prefixes and suffixes to the English verb study. The prefixes {bi-} and {-ti-} indicate the present progressive tense and second person singular feminine respectively. Likewise, she adds the suffix {-ii} that indicates feminine gender to the English verb study. What is amazing here is that the SW completely understands the EW's question by replying: ?aywa "yes". The SW also code-mixes Arabic and English. She completely code-switches to English when she says in (2), (4) and (5) art, art and design and American. Also she code-mixes Arabic and English when she adds, for example, the Arabic definite article to ?il-term "the term" and ?il-weekend "the weekend". When the EW mixes English and Arabic she is aware of the fact the SW will understand her. Also when the SW says art and design in English instead of Arabic is because of the

fact that these expressions in English have definite and specialized meanings. Again, there is some violation of the constraints on code-mixing and still the conversation is completely intelligible to both speakers.

The following example between a Jordanian man (JM) and an Egyptian man (EM) also shows that both of them switch to English. The JM also switches to Egyptian Arabic but this will not be discussed here for similar analysis for switching from JA to EA is studied in the previous section. What concerns us here is the complete and partial code-mixing of Arabic and English in the conversation between them.

EXAMPLE (10):

1.JM : 9at-tilifuun   il-application fi
        on the-telephone   the-application in
        9ašar da?aayi?   we-btiHki
        ten   minutes and speak-2nd-sg-M
        ma9a-hum   wu-bitguul
        with-them   and-you say-2nd-M
        I want to fill this application
        I want to fill this application
        wi-bti9Ti-hum   ?ismak
        and-you give-them   name-your
        wi-9inwanak   wi- fi two weeks
        and-your address   and in two
        weeks yib9aθ-ha   ?ilik
        he send it   to you2nd.FEM:
        humma kaanu ba9atuu-haali
        they   were send-it-to me
        marra min   three weeks
        once   from three weeks

3.JM: quluhum 9indi Citibank Card
        tell them have-I Citibank card
        bas ?ariid J.M. Card

but I want J.M. card

4.EM: maa fi   annual fee   walaa Hagah
        no there annual fee   or something

5.JM: no annual fee ?ana ?ijaat-li
        no annual fee   I   it-comes-to me
        l-faTuura ?awal   iš-šahr
        the-bill   beginning   the-month
        bimi?at dularaat wi-l-minimum
        hundred dollars and-the-minimum
        payment 9ašra dular
        payment   ten   dollar
        ya9ni tištiri   bi-?arba9mi?at
        I mean you-buy with-four-hundred
        dular tikun   9ašar dulaaraat
        dollar becomes ten   dollars
        li?an   two percent   mini-
        because two percent   from
        l-whole   purchase ka-minimum
        the whole purchase as as minimum
        payment
        payment

TRANSLATION

JM: On the telephone you can fill the
       application in ten minutes and you
       speak to them and say I want to fill
       this application and give them
       your name and address and in two
       weeks they will send it to you.

EM: They sent me once from three
       weeks JM: Tell them I have
       Citibank Card but I want J.M.
       Card.

EM: There is no   annual fee or
       something?

JM: No annual fee. The bill came to me
       at the beginning of the month of
       one hundred dollars and the

minimum payment is ten dollars, I mean, you buy with four hundred dollars becomes ten dollars because the two percent from the whole purchase as a minimum payment.

The JM and the EM are discussing the possibility as well as the advantage of having a credit card. Because this is an important issue for both of them, there are many instances of CM and CS from Arabic to English. Most of the examples are complete code-switching instances to English. Also, the word tilifuun in Exchange (1) is a borrowed word from the English word "telephone" and undergoes the Arabic system of voweling and morphology. If the JM wants to say the same word in Arabic he will say haatif "telephone". In (1) also the JM code-mixes Arabic and English when he says il-application and we notice here that he prefixes the definite article [il-] to the English word application. In the same exchange, he completely switches to English when he says I want to fill this application and two weeks. Here the JM wants to be accurate in telling the EM what the latter should do when he fills an application by telephone. Because the two speakers live in the United States and because in their home countries they do not have this kind of credit cards, the switch from Arabic to English is natural and unconscious on the part of the speakers. The complete switch to English is also found in (2) and (4) when the EM

says three weeks and annual fee. Because the phrase annual fee is very important to the speaker he says it in English in order to be fully understood by the other speaker who also repeats the same phrase in English, in (5), to assure the EM that he understands what this phrase means. To explain the advantage of having a credit card, the JM in (5) code-mixes to English and prefixes to the English phrases some Arabic conjunctions and connectors. For instance, he says wi-l-minimum payment and ka-minimum payment prefixing the conjunction {wi-}'and', the definite article {l-}'the' and the connector {ka-}'as' to English phrase "minimum payment ". Likewise, the JM code-switches to English when he says two percent and code-mixes in il-whole purchase, and prefixes the Arabic definite article {il-} to the last phrase.

Now, consider the following example between an Egyptian woman (EW) and a Jordanian woman (JW).

EXAMPLE (11):

1.EW: Taab   ?eih   il-[b]roblem-aat
       so   what is the-problem-F.pl.
       illi   bit?ablik
       that   it-encounter-you F.sg.

2.JW: wallahi ?inti   9arfa
       By God you F.sg. know2nd.F.sg.
       ?in   il-[b]rofessors
       that the-professors-M.pl.
       w-il-[b]rofessor-aat   fi-
       and-the-professor-F.pl. in-
       l-university   diy
       the-university   this-F.sg.
       9ambiydarrisuu-na   ?iktiir

       are teaching-us   much

3.EW: bein-i   wi-bein-ik
       between-me and-between-you-F.sg
       illisstudying hina difficult jiddan
       the-studying   here difficult   very
       wi-bizaat   ?iHna   talaba
       and-especially we are   students-M.pl.
       foreigners
       foreigners-M.pl.

4.JW: manti   9arfah   inni
       you-F.sg. know-2nd.F.sg. that
       diy   university mašhura
       this-F.sg. university famous
       wi-lazim   il-foreigners
       and-must   the-foreigners
       yi-dfa9uu   iθ-θaman law
       PRES.pay-3rd.M.pl. the-price   if
       yi-bGuun
       PRES-wish-they-M.pl.
       yi-t-learn-uu
       PRES-CAUS-learn-They-M.pl.SUBJUN.

TRANSLATION

EW: So, what are the problems you encountering?

JW: By God! You know the professors (M & F) in this university teach us much.

EW: Between you and I, the studying here is very difficult especially we are foreign students.

JW: You know that this university is famous and the foreigners must pay the price if they wish to learn.

In this example, the EW and the JW are talking in Arabic and both code-mix

Arabic and English. In Exchanges (1) and (3), the EW uses the following English words: il-[b]roblem-aat, il-lisstudying, difficult, and foreigners. As concerns the first word, the EW inflects the English word problem as if it is an Arabic word. The two Arab speakers substitute the voiceless English phoneme /p/ by the voiced /b/ because the former Arabic does not include such phoneme in its phonemic inventory. To that word, the EW adds the definite article {il-} as well as the feminine plural morpheme {-aat} to the same word. In il-lisstudying, the EW adds the definite article {il-} to the English verbal noun studying. In the process of doing that, she doubles the /s/ phoneme as she does with any Arabic verbal noun that starts with {s} morpheme, such as i(l)-ssafar, "the traveling". At the same time in Exchange (3), she qualifies the English noun studying with an English adjective, difficult and an Arabic adverb, jidan "very". In this, she is violating the English structure which should be:

Adverb + Adjective + Noun
'very   difficult   study'

I will discuss that in the next section. As for the JW, she code-mixes Arabic and English also. In exchange (2), she says: il-[b]rofessors "the Professors", wil-brofessor-aat "and the professors(F), and fil-university di. In exchange (4), the JW also says: di university mašura and yit-learn-uu. Again, the JW inflects the English word "professors" in order to satisfy the Arabic structure. In il-[b]rofessors, the JW attaches the bound morpheme {il-} 'the' to the English word. She pronounces the English phoneme /p/ as /b/. So, the JW unconsciously pronounces the word as if it is an Arabic word with the phoneme /b/. By the same token, the JW feminizes the English word "professors" by adding to it the Arabic feminine plural morpheme {-aat} in addition to the definite article prefix {il-}. What is interesting here and sheds some lights on the nature of CS and CM is that the JW did not add the masculine suffix pronoun {-uuna NOM} and {-iina ACC} to the English noun il-professor. Had she done so, she would have said *il-professor-uuna (NOM masculine Pl. noun). The explanation may be that the masculine suffix pronoun is more marked in Arabic than the feminine plural suffix. The masculine suffix pronoun is to be added only to masculine human nouns whereas the feminine plural suffix {-aat} is to be added to either feminine human nouns or to feminine and masculine non-human nouns. Besides, the JW follows the Arabic structure in which the demonstrative word this can follow the noun. When she says fil-university di "in-the-university this" instead of the English word order in this university. The demonstrative this - whether masculine or feminine - makes the head noun definite. This is why the definite article {il-} is added to the word university. In Exchange (4), the JW uses the demonstrative {di} "this (F)" in front of the same word.

Finally, the JW also inflects the English verb learn to match the verb paradigm in Arabic when she says: yit-learn-uu "they are learning (M)". More interestingly, she puts the English verb in the subjunctive mood because the Arabic structure necessitates this after certain verbs as yibGuun "want to; wish".

8. A Formal Discussion of Postulated Universal Constraints on CM

In the following discussion, I will illustrate that the so-called universal constraints on CM and CS are not adequate to explain the Arabic data of CM to English. These constraints that are proposed by Poplack (1982) and Sridhar and Sridhar (1982) will be examined. Pandharipande (1990) and Bokamba (1998) have already showed the inadequacy of these constraints to explain the data from Marathi, in India and Bantu languages in Africa respectively. Let us consider some of the postulated constraints on CM. Let me start with what is called "The Free-Morpheme Constraint". Poplack (1980) defines this constraint as follows:

No switch is allowed between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the former.

The examples in the above section (2.4) show that this constraint is not satisfied in the mixing of the Arabic and English codes. Some of these examples are repeated here for convenience.

1.a ?inti   bi-ti-study-ii (Section 7 Ex. 9)
   You are PROG-2nd sq.F-study-F.sg.
    'Are you studying ?'
1.b bi + ti + study + ii
    Arabic(prog.) + 2nd.f.sg + English + feminine suffix:
    'are studying'
2.a ?eih   il-problem-aat   illi
   What the-problem-F.pl.   that
   bit?ablik   (Section 7 Ex. 11)
    it-encounter-you F.sg.
    'What are the problems that you are encountering ?'
2.b il + problem + aat
   Arabic (the) + English + Arabic plural suffix (F)
   'The problems'

In examples (1) and (2) above, the switch from Arabic to English takes place between the bound morphemes {il-} and {-aat} and the lexical item. As one can see in (1a), the English verb study takes the Arabic progressive prefix {bi}, the second person feminine singular prefix {ti-} and the feminine marker suffix {-ii}. In example (2a), the English noun problem takes the Arabic definite article prefix {il-} "the" and the Arabic feminine plural morpheme {-aat}. This is a violation of Poplack's (1980) constraint of the Free Morpheme Constraint because his constraint does not allow such mixing in (1) and (2).

A stronger form of the Free-Morpheme Constraint is proposed by Wentz and McClure (1976: 245) and Wentz (1977: 237)

under the heading of "The Bicodal-Word Constraint " which stipulates that

> No word can exist in natural language which contains mor-phemes from two codes identified as distinct by the speaker.

Like the Free-Morpheme Constraint, the Bicodal-Word Constraint would erro-neously not allow items such as those highlighted in (1) and (2) above, because they are each made with morphemes from distinct languages, namely Arabic and English.

The next constraint to be considered is what Sridhar and Sridhar (1980:209) called "The Dual-Structure Constraint" which says:

> The internal structure of the guest constituent need not conform to the constituent structure rules of the host language, so long as its placement in the host sentence obeys the rules of the host language.

The following examples from the data under focus illustrate some violation of this constraint.

3.a   illi-sstudying   hina   difficult jiddan.
       the-studying here difficult very
       'the studying here is very difficult'
          (Section 7 Ex. 11)

3.b   *illi-studying hina *jiddan
       the-study   here   very
       difficult
       difficult
       'The studying here is very difficult'.

4.a   di university mašura
        this (F.sg) university   famous (F.sg)
       'This is a famous university'
        (Section 7 Ex. 11)

4.b   di *mašhura   university
       this (f.sg.) famous   university
       '*this famous university'

Given the Arabic word order (5a) and the English word order (5b), one can say that according to the data in examples (3) and (4), the internal structure of the guest English constituent has to conform to the constituent of the host language, i.e. Arabic.

5.a   Arabic: NP   Adj   Adv
       e.g.   'jaami9a   mašhura jiddan

5.b   English: Adv   Adj   NP
       e.g.   'very   famous   university

In (3) and (4), the English constituent structure very difficult and famous university are not allowed (notice that (3b) and (4b) are ungrammatical). Instead, the constituent structure of the host language, i.e. Arabic, as shown in (5a), is obligatory where the Arabic Adverb jiddan and Arabic adjective mašhura must follow their head adjective and noun res-pectively. If Sridhar and Sridhar's (1980) Dual-Structure Constraint were correct, one should expect (3b) and (4b) to be grammatical, but they are not.

Mayers-Scotton (1993) proposes some other universal constraints. She (1993:83) suggests a constraint called "The System Morpheme Principle" which says

In ML [Matrix Language] + EL [Embedded Language] consti-tuents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the ML.

In CM in Arabic and English, this constraint is sometimes satisfied and sometimes is violated. It is satisfied for instance in examples (1) and (2) of this section but it is violated in example (3.a) in illi-study-ing where the morpheme {illi-} is a system morpheme from ML (Arabic) whereas the morpheme {-ing} is from EL (English). In example (11), this constraint is also satisfied in some instances but not in others.

6.a   il-professor-s
        'the professors' (M.)
6.b   il-professor-aat
        'the professors' (F.)

In (6.b), the System Morpheme Principle is satisfied. Both the {il-} and the {-aat} are system morphemes from ML (Arabic). In (6.a), however, the system morpheme {il-} is from ML whereas the system morpheme {-s} is from EL (English), thus, this constraint is violated. Therefore, it is difficult to formulate a purely structural

universal constraint that can be applied to all cases without exceptions, although this constraint accounts for most of the CM utterances in Arabic and English.

To conclude this section, one can say that the postulated universal constraints on CM do not hold true all the time. There seems to be no consensus at all regarding the application, characterization, function and quantification of such constraints. I do not imply that there are no constraints at all. What I am saying is that there are some constraints that govern the code-mixed utterances but more in depth studies are actually needed before having a consensus on the universality of such constraints.

9. RESULTS

The results of this study answer the proposed questions mentioned at the beginning. For the first and second questions that read respectively: which codes do Arabic speakers of different varieties use when they engage in intragroup discussions? and which codes do Arabic speakers of different dialects choose when they engage in informal conversations with Egyptian speakers? the study shows that Arabic speakers of different varieties rather than Egyptian Arabic use Egyptian Arabic when they engage in conversations with Egyptians. They codeswitch to Egyptian Arabic mostly often at the lexical and phonological levels. This result does not confirm Abu-Melhim's (1991) conclusion that Arabic speakers in cross-dialectical situation resort to Modern Standard

Arabic which is the written language of all the speakers and which is used in the media, books and education. Being bilinguals, these speakers also codeswitch to English. The switch depends on the situation and topic of the conversations. For instance, the switch is very obvious when the speakers choose topics such as invitations, discussion of a study program, or talking about specific subject in English.

The answer for the third question which says: which codes do Egyptian speakers use when they converse with each other? is that they use their own variety. If the speakers speak different dialects, then the switch is from the less popular, in this case the Upper Egyptian variety, to the more popular and refined, in this case Lower Egyptian variety of big cities. Egyptians, being bilinguals, also codeswitch to English. The switch depends upon the subject matter, purpose, and situation of the conversation.

In answering the fourth and fifth questions which say: what are the socio-cultural motivations behind CM and CS used among Arabic speakers of different/same varieties and why do Arabic speakers switch or mix codes? respectively, this paper illustrates that speakers of different as well as same Arabic dialects use CS and CM as a framework to enhance communication and to accommodate each other in informal conversations and discussions. The most common context in this study is the switching from different Arabic dialects such as Saudi, Sudanese,

Jordanian and Moroccan Arabic to Egyptian Arabic. As shown in this study, CS occurs essentially from different and diverse Arabic dialects to Egyptian Arabic which is a prevalent dialect among all Arabic speakers and which is considered the most popular dialect throughout the Arabic speaking world. Also, CS did occur among the speakers of the same community, in our case Egypt. However, in some cases within the same dialect, the occurrence of CS, for example from LE to UE (Lower and Upper Egyptian respectively), was not used to enhance communication between the two speakers in Section 6.3.1, Example (5), or because the UE dialect is prestigious, but the LE speaker tries to ironically imitate the UE dialect for she is not happy with the way the UEM addresses her due to the socio-cultural considerations on the mind of the LEW. It is very important here to know the underlying sociocultural factors behind these switches.

Likewise, CS and CM did occur from all different Arabic dialects to English. The switch to English is like a continuum that ranges from using partial to complete lexical items, phrases or complete utterances in English. This switch also undergoes the Arabic inflection paradigm either for nouns, adjectives or verbs. The motivations behind the different speakers' frequently use of CS and CM especially to Egyptian Arabic or to English may (as Grosjean (1982:148-9-155) has noted) be used from different reasons:

Code-switching not only fulfills a momentary linguistic need, it is also a very useful communication resource ...[Speakers'] main concern is with communicating a message or intent, and they know that the other person will understand them whether they use one or two languages... Code-switching can also be used for many other reasons, such as quoting what someone has said (and thereby emphasizing one's group identity), specifying the addressee (switching to the usual language of a particular person in a group will show that one is addressing that person), qualifying what has been said, or talking about past events.

This study also shows that sometimes overgeneralization in CS to some dialect may lead to some unacceptable pronunciation as shown in sections 6.2.1. example (1) and 6.3.1 example (5).

This study also shows that the postulated universal constraints on CM and CS do not satisfy the code-mixed utterances in Arabic and English. I have illustrated that The Free-Morpheme Constraint (Poplack 1980), The Bicodal-Word Constraint (Wentz (1977) and Wentz and McClure (1976)), The Dual-Structure Constraint (Sridhar and Sridhar (1980)), and The System Morpheme Principle (Mayers-Scotton (1993)) could not explain the code-mixed data from Arabic and English. This means that there must be some other explanations for the code-

mixed material. I am not saying that the codemixed and codeswitched material in Arabic and English are random or not rule-governed. What I am saying is that the universality of the postulated universal constraints do not account for CM and CS in Arabic and English. There must be some local constraints that are at work since CM and CS in Arabic and English follow certain structural constraints. More studies are needed to define the nature of such constraints.

10. CONCLUSION

This study shows that speakers of different Arabic dialects code-switch to Egyptian Arabic when they speak to Egyptians, particularly at the lexical and phonological levels. These speakers code-switch to Egyptian Arabic in order to facilitate comprehensibility and to show friendliness and intimacy. They also code-switch to Egyptian Arabic to show accuracy when they quote or repeat the utterances made by an Egyptian. What is also noticeable is that the Egyptian speakers never code-switch to the other Arabic dialects either consciously or unconsciously.

Besides, the different Arabic subjects of this study code-switch to English either partially or completely. In most cases, the switch to English is used to emphasize accuracy of the usage of the English words or phrases as well as in reporting what the other speaker said and thus, the switch provides emphasis. Gumperz (1982: 75-6, 78) has noted that

In many instances the code switched passages are clearly

identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech... Frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message.

The claim that CS among the different dialects in the same language and in the same speech community is to enhance communication and to show warmth and friendliness as suggested by Giles et al (1987) is not always true because some of the subjects of this study use CS to make fun of the other code as well as to give hints to the other speaker that the code-switcher is not happy with the way s/he is addressed particularly when the other code or variety is not a prestigious one.

Finally, overgeneralization in CS and CM sometimes leads to some mispronunciation on the part of the code-switcher/mixer. Also, although the so-called universal constraints on CM and CS explain some code-mixed data in some languages, still, they cannot be considered universally enough to account for the code-mixed data cross-linguistically. As this study shows, CM of Arabic and English does not abide by those postulated constraints. Only Mayers-Scotton's (1993) System Morpheme Constraint explains best the Arabic-English CM than others. Still, the System Morpheme Constraint is not universal enough to account for all the data. Pandharipande (forthcoming) also tested the universality of the same

constraint on mixing Marathi-Sanskrit and Marathi-English and pointed out that the Marathi-Sanskrit CS differed regarding the System Morpheme Principle. She also concluded that it has difficult to formulate a universal yet purely structural constraint that will be applicable to all cases. The major claim is that CM is *functionally* motivated. Therefore, the constraints should also refer to the function of CM and not be restricted to structures alone.

I conclude this study by evoking the following questions not addressed in this study:

- What code would speakers of different Arabic dialects use when they speak to each other if Egyptian speakers are there? Would they use Egyptian Arabic?

- What code would the same speakers use if there are no Egyptians involved in the conversation?

- Can we really suggest universal constraints on CM and CS? If yes, what will the nature and form of these constraints be? Are they structurally, functionally or situationally dependent

Endnotes

[1] The following phonemic symbols will be adopted in the transliteration of Arabic words:

a) Emphatic vs non-emphatic consonants:

/ T / as in *Taaba* 'he recovered'   *vs*

/ t / as in *taaba* 'he repented.'

/ D / as in *Dalla* 'he went astray'   vs

/ d / as in *dalla* 'he guided'

/ S / as in *Sayf* 'summer'   vs

/ s / as in *sayf* 'sword'

/ δ̠ / as in *δ̠alla* 'he remained'   vs/ δ

/ as in *δalla* 'he became despised'

b) Glottal Stop (hamza) / ? /: as in

?abb 'father'; *sa?ala* 'he asked'; *samaa?* 'sky'; *su?aal* 'question'

c) Back consonants:

i) Velar Fricatives / x /, / G /

/ x / as in *xadd* 'cheek'

/ G / as in *Gadd* 'tomorrow'

ii) Pharyngeal Fricatives / H /, / 9 /

/ H / as in *Haddada* 'he specified' vs

/ h / as in *haddada* 'he threatened'

/ 9 / as in *9addada* 'he enumerated'

iii) Glottal Fricative / h / as in

hunaa 'here'; *huwa* 'he'; *haam* 'important'

d) Vowels: Arabic has three pairs of short and long vowel phonemes that are shown in Table (1).

Table (1): Arabic Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ii [Long] i [Short]		uu [Long] u [Short]
Low		aa [Long] a [Short]	

REFERENCES

Abu-Melhim, A. (1991). "Code-switching and linguistic Accommodation in Arabic", in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics III: Papers from the Third Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, *Vol. 80*, ed. by B. Conrie and M. Eid, 231-250.

Atawneh, A. (1992). "Code-Mixing in Arabic-English Bilinguals", in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics IV: Papers From the Fourth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, ed. by E. Broselow, M. Eid & J.

McCarthy, vol. 85, 219- 241.

Bokamba, E. G. (1988). "Code-mixing, Language Variation and Linguistic Theory: Evidence from Bantu Languages", *Lingua 76,* 21-62.

Eid, M. (1988). "Principles for Code-switching between Standard and Egyptian Arabic" in *Al-Arabia: Journal of the American Association of Teachers of Arabic. Vol. 21, 1 & 2,* 51-79.

Firth, J.R. (1957). "The Techniques of Semantics", in *Papers in Linguistics: 1934-1951.* London: Oxford University Press.

Giles, H. et al (1987). "Speech Accommodation Theory: the first decade and beyond". *Communication Yearbook 10,* edited by Margaret L. Mclaughlin, 13-48. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publishers.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with Two Languages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as Social Semiotics.* Baltimore, MD, University Park Press.

Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, B. B. (1978). "Toward Structuring Code-Mixing: An Indian Perspective", in *Aspects of Sociolinguistics in South Asia,* edited by B.B. Kachru & S. N. Sridhar, 27-58.

_____, (1981). "Socially-realistic Linguistics: The Firthian Tradition", in *Studies in the Linguistics Sciences, 10, 1*, 85-111.

_____, (1983). "On Mixing". In *The Indianization of English: the English Language in India.* New Delhi, Oxford University Press. 193-207.

Mayers-Scotton, C. (1990). "Codeswitching and borrowing: Interpersonal and macrolevel meaning". In R. Jacobson (ed.) *Codeswitching as a Worldwide Phenomenon.* New York: Peterlang, 85-110.

_____, (1993). *Dueling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Code-swtichging.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

_____, (1997). *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mitchell, T. F. (1986). "What is Educated Spoken Arabic". *International Journal of the Sociology of Lan-guage 61*, 7-32.

Pandharipande, R. (1990). "Formal and functional constraints on code-mixing". In R. Jacobson (ed.) *Codeswitching as a Worldwide Phenomenon.* New York: Peter Lang, 15-31.

_____, (1998). "Is Genetic Connection Relevant in Codeswitching: Evidence from South Asian Languages". In R. Jacobson (ed.) *Codeswitching Worldwide.* New York: Mouton de Grueter.

Poplock, S. (1980). "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en espanol: Toward a typology of code-mixing". *Linguistics 18*, 581-618.

_____, (1982). "Bilingualism and the Vernacular". *Issues in International Bilingual Education: the Role of the Vernacular*, ed. by B. Hartford, A. Valdmau & C. Foster, 1-23. New York: Plenum Press.

Sridhar, S. N. (1978). "On the Functions of Code-switching in Kannda", in *Aspects of Sociolinguistics in South Asia*, ed. by B. B. Kachru & S. N. Sridhar, 109-117. (= *International Journal of the Sociology of Language ,16*) the Hague: Mouton.

Sridhar, S. N. and K. Sridhar (1980). "The Syntax and Psycholinguistics of Bilingual Code-Mixing". In *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, 10, 1,* 203-215.

Wentz, J. (1977). *Some consideration in the development of a syntactic description of code-switching.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, UIUC: Department of Linguistics.

Wentz, J. and McClure, E. (1976). "Monolingual 'code'". In *Papers from the 13th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society.* UIC, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society 13, 706-713.

Timm, L. A. (1975). "Spanish-English Code-Switching: El porque y how-not-to". *Romance Philosophy 28*, 473-482.