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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
Faculty of Humanities



**A Study of Lexical Borrowing and Occasional Code-switching  
Amongst Young Middle-Class Syrians in Saudi Arabia and  
Syria**

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of  
the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

Faculty of Humanities

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**Declaration**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: 

Signed by candidate
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 Date: 15 May 2009

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## List of Abbreviations

KSA	The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
SAR	The Syrian Arab Republic
ESL	English as a Second Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CS	Code-switching
NP	Noun phrase
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Com	Compound word
PN	Proper noun
Pro	Pronoun
V	Verb
Aux	Auxiliary
Prep	Preposition

Cont	Content word
Func	Function word
T	Technical
-T	non-technical
F	Frequent
R	Rare
N	None
L1	First language
L2	Second language

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## Abstract

In this study, I examine language contact phenomena exhibited by two groups of young middle-class Syrian citizens. Members of one group were born and have been living with their families in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They however, have maintained strong relations with their extended families in Syria and visit them regularly. Because of this they are considered mobile and more exposed to other cultures and environments in which communication in English is prevalent. Contrastively members of the second group were born and have been living in their homeland Syria, so they did not have the exposure to other cultures that members of the first group had.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a developing country that has opened doors and job opportunities for millions of foreigners whose main medium of communication is English. This means that members of the first group who are resident in Riyadh have experienced more cross-cultural influences than their less mobile peers in Damascus.

I set out to examine the impact of the mixed culture on the sociolinguistic repertoire and behavior of the Riyadh-based Syrians as compared to their less mobile Damascus-based peers. In particular, the study aims to demonstrate the influence of language contact as reflected in code-switching and lexical borrowing. I conducted 20 interviews in the summer of 2008 in Syria. Both groups included an equal number of male and female participants. All interviews were conducted in friendly congenial settings which allowed participants to converse naturally. All instances of lexical borrowing and code-switching were catalogued.

After analyzing data from the two sets of speakers, it was found that whilst borrowing was prevalent in both groups, code-switching tended to be minimal. This shows that the degree of contact was not very intense. The difference in mobility, between the two groups, however, was reflected in their respective repertoires. In fact, mobility and exposure to other cultures was a major distinguishing factor between the participants. Members of the mobile group used more English lexical items than the less mobile group.

The analysis was also done taking into account the participants' work experience. It was found that equal work experience resulted in similar findings across the gender line. The exposure to the world of work demanded higher levels of proficiency in English, since it was the language mostly used in the industrial-commercial environment. The use of English was also necessitated by computer programs and access to other technical and scientific information which was in English.

The study also, showed that speaker's attitudes played a significant part in forming their linguistic behaviour albeit consciously or unconsciously. Speakers with a more accommodating attitude towards English tended to have more loanwords in their speech, across the two groups.

Such code-switching as does occur in both groups shows no clear pattern that is linked to the type of schooling, mobility, or attitude, between the switcher participants, it was found that other personal experiences play a role. Personal experience that varies from individual to another according to their unique exposure to English media and other pleasure facilities, can be salient in strengthen one's English competence. Thereby, it gives the individual the ability to use the lanaguge more often and on a larger scale.

Finally the study demonstrated that sociolinguistic repertoire was, to a large extent, a product of mobility and cultural exposure.

## 1. Introduction

This research project examines the phenomenon of language contact between Arabic and English in two groups of young middle-class Syrians who are bilingual in Arabic and English. The aim is to find out the extent to which this phenomenon has affected the two languages of these two groups and to discover the social and linguistic factors behind it. The project focuses mainly on the social factors that differentiate speakers in the two countries. One group is highly mobile. Its members are Syrian citizens who are permanent residents in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). The other group is less mobile and has always been based in the Syrian Arab Republic (SAR). Chambers argues (1995: 54) that this type of analysis dealing with social mobility as a factor of language change can only be achieved by a comparative study of at least two different societies. I examine whether the speech style of KSA residents differs from that of their peers who are less mobile and who have been living in their homeland, SAR. The goal is to see whether as a result of being highly mobile and being in contact with a new society, an individual may develop a new sociolinguistic repertoire which is different from the one of his/her less mobile peers. Pennycook (1994: 1) claims that English has become the global and universal language of our planet today. Many other linguists assert that English has become a marker of high mobility in the world. For example in the South African context McCormick (2002: 103), citing Watson (1970:22), O'Ttoole (1973:23) and Ridd (1981:197) claims that in Cape Town, English is undoubtedly the language associated with upward mobility and that in many countries it has become essential in order for an individual to gain the desirable employment that he/she is looking for.

It has been argued that the contact between different cultures and languages often results in the diffusion of some features from one language to the other, and/ or from one culture to the other. Usually the power relationship between different cultures and languages does not only play a role in deciding which language is the one exerting that linguistic influence, but it may also influence the way these linguistic behaviors will be received by the host culture and language, the time needed for adapting these new behaviors and the extent to which they will replace the originals and become the more prestigious ones. Pennycook (1994:

14) adds that English has become “a crucial distributor of social prestige and wealth”. Thereby, English has become a necessity in the new industrialized world. Thomason (2001:24) claims that English will continue to be in contact with most of the world’s languages for the foreseeable future as it has become one of the basic elements in acquiring higher education. This study investigates the influence of the English language on Arabic amongst two groups of young Syrian citizens.

## **1.1 Bilingualism and language contact situations**

One of the common phenomena that characterizes most bilingual societies is the use of more than one language in the same conversation by the same speaker. Some bilingual people in a community might over-use the two languages until this behavior characterizes their speech and becomes their normal speech style. A typical example of situations where this phenomenon occurs frequently is the multilingual African continent, where English is taught as a second language (ESL) and not as a foreign language (EFL). More details about both models will be given in section 1.2. In her study of languages in contact in Africa, particularly in Kenya and Zimbabwe, Scotton (1993: 2) notes that knowing and using more than one language every day is very common in Africa. Bilingual people elsewhere may stick to one language in one conversation and use only their second language in a different conversation. Nonetheless, switching between languages is considered a central part of bilingual behaviour and not an isolated phenomenon (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 117).

Thomason (2001:1) discusses this ‘language contact phenomenon’ involving the use of two or more languages in the same place at one time. She elaborates on the various situations where this behaviour may take place in a community, resulting in the transformation of the community into a multilingual one. Some of the various situations Thomason (2001: 16-24) mentions are wars, immigration of individuals to new territories, relationships between the subordinate groups and dominant groups in a particular community, endogamy, education, colonization, importing of a specialized type of immigration ‘labor force’ via slave trading, and finally the immigration of small groups or scattered individuals who join the host country’s preexisting population because they seek work in the host country. According to Thomason (2001: 19) members of the last mentioned category are often euphemistically called ‘Guestworkers’.

This study, however, examines two categories of people, only one of whom falls in the ‘Guestworker’ category. The Syrian citizens who are living in KSA believe that they are temporary residents there for work purposes, motivated by the economic situation which is more promising in KSA than in SAR. Their temporary residence is however considered to be an extended one since they have been in KSA more than 20 years and they have not obtained Saudi citizenship, either because they are not qualified to gain it or because they intend that sooner or later they will go back to their homeland. It is worth mentioning that ‘immigration’ as a significant factor in language contact and change, often involves a group of people who have immigrated to a country whose native people speak a different language than the immigrant’s mother tongue. In this study, both countries, KSA and SAR have Arabic as their officially spoken language and English is taught as EFL. Therefore, this dissertation focuses on the cultural and socioeconomic differences that may be essential in distinguishing the linguistic repertoire of the mobile Syrians from their peers who are less mobile.

## **1.2 English as a Second and Foreign Language**

English has become the global medium of communication as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, models of teaching English vary internationally according to the way English was introduced to each country and the way it is looked at. For example, Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 5) say that typically, English is considered a second language when it is introduced in a colonial era like Kenya and Nigeria. In this case, English grows up from face-to-face communication and from being the medium of the educational system of the country. Thus, people would use it in their literature and creative writing. On the other hand, in EFL countries there was no involvement with British colonialism, education and literature. Usually, such countries are influenced externally by English via the various global media. Thus, English plays major role in inter-national rather than intra-national communication such as China and Brazil (Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008: 5). However, are countries necessarily either using EFL or ESL?

Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 9) believe that there are territories which have an intermediate status between ESL and EFL. They refer to Egypt and the southern African kingdom of Lesotho as examples of this situation. The question now is to which category do both, SAR and KSA belong? It can be said that (technically), English is taught in both countries as EFL.

However, and as a result of the new trends of modernization that favour and spread English all over the world, it is on the way of transforming into a second language. Therefore, I believe, both countries are, like Egypt, in an intermediate status between the two models of English. A precise categorization might even involve the term ‘first foreign language’, which is used by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 212) to describe the situation of English in some European countries like Norway, Sweden and Holland. According to Mesthrie and Bhatt, when English plays an internal role in the country, being used in certain domains, it is not really considered ESL in the usual sociolinguistic sense. In this study, both countries are still in a transformational stage. Perhaps in KSA, English plays a greater role in the cultural domain than in SAR affected with the western newly acquired lifestyle as I will show in the next chapter. In spite of being able to refer to the situation in both countries as either ESL or EFL, I will refer to the situation by the traditional label of EFL.

### **1.3 Mobility**

It is important to note that the term ‘mobility’ in this dissertation does not exactly refer to mobility that involves the meaning of ‘immigration’. It is not for example like *el bloque* i.e. New York Puerto Rican (NYPR) children studied by Zentella (1997). Zentella (1997) focused on the second generation of Spanish immigrants who grew up bilingual in USA and who have been socializing with Americans as well as with their immigrant Spanish peers there. In this study, I am using ‘mobility’ to refer to a group of people who are mobile in the sense that they are not living in the country of origin while at the same time they have not cut themselves off from it. Rather they frequently move back and forth between the two places. The time they spend in the host country is definitely longer than the time they spend in their homeland. Added to that, they socialize with their Syrian peers living in KSA more than they do with the host country’s members. However, more details about ‘Arab nationals’ lifestyle will be given in section 2.3.3.1. Therefore, their cultural views and traditions are neither the same as their peers’ who have never been outside of SAR, nor completely changed towards the host country’s culture. They are influenced majorly by the different lifestyle of the host country more than by the host’s original members. A major characteristic of KSA’s lifestyle is the wide use of English in the various public settings. More light will be shed on the historical and social background in the next chapter.

Of course the nature of contact taking place in a community plays a major role in determining how prominent language contact results are in that community. When the contact is unstable and short-termed (Thomason, 2001: 21) the results will not be as prominent as they are in a more stable and a longer term contact situation. Thomason (2001: 23) mentions long-term trade relationships as an example of stable contact situations, where one group of traders regularly gather in a trading location to meet other neighboring traders who have maintained their own languages. Moreover, Donald Winford (2003: 10) claims that “differences in the social setting lead to differences in the outcomes of contact”. The three types of contact situations of Wackernagel (1904) were cited by Winford (2003: 10), situations resulting from conquests, i.e. when a conquered group adopts the language of their conquerors and vice versa and when mutual influence takes place resulting in the emergence of a mixed language. Therefore, Winford believes that each type of those contact situations is a unique one shaped and associated with the special circumstances that accompany it. Speaker’s attitudes are also salient in the resulting form of contact. For example as language is often a symbol of ethnicity (Thomason, 2001: 22) speakers who have a strong sense of ethnic identity are less likely to use another language at the same time. Winford (2003: 25) agrees on the factor of speaker’s attitude adding the degree of multilingualism, history and length of contact and the power relationships which I mentioned earlier.

#### **1.4 Some Multilingualism Cases**

Multilingualism is an old phenomenon in history since there are languages that have been in contact for thousands of years (Thomason, 2001: 6). Therefore, multilingualism - with its various forms - has attracted linguists’ attention all over the world, and has become one of their investigation areas, where they seek answers to a variety of sociological and linguistic questions. Numerous studies in the field of sociolinguistics have looked at Code Switching (CS) and lexical borrowing - which will be examined in depth soon - from different perspectives. First, these phenomena were viewed as easily identifiable phenomena. Recently, however, linguists are still debating and arguing over the two phenomena trying to reach a clear-cut division between them.

Thomason believes that one can find monolingual territorial divisions in officially multilingual countries (2001: 48). Therefore, it is important to distinguish between two types of multilingualism: multilingualism at the individual level and multilingualism at the national level. The numerous situations that lead an individual to learn a second language are given by Thomason (2001: 48- 51). One of them is when group norms require and favour bilingualism. In this case, bilingualism is seen as a prestigious sign that indicates full group membership. In this study, the two countries and the two groups fall in this category. Neither countries are considered bilingual, as bilingualism is not exactly the norm. Nevertheless, a good number of Syrians are bilingual in Arabic and English or in some cases Arabic and French or Arabic and the ethnic language of the speakers if he/she has originated from other backgrounds e.g. Kurdish or Armenian. Most of English-based bilingualism (i.e. involving English as L2/ foreign language and another language as L1) is motivated by the prestigious status of English, especially as it is an important element for getting a desirable job.

Studying language contact in two countries that have Arabic as official language raises many questions. Are these countries bilingual? If not, what has motivated the people to learn a foreign language there? And why is it specifically the English language? To answer these questions, I offer some historical discussions about what kind of circumstances have brought Arabic and English into contact in the two countries.

Both countries are located in the heart of the Middle East and are not neighbors to any English-speaking country. According to Thomason (2001:1) language contact does not require a particular level of proficiency or fluency in the two languages, but a certain level of communication between bilingual speakers of two different languages. She argues (2001: 3) that language contact most often involves a face-to-face interaction amongst two groups of people. By 'two groups of people' Thomason really means 'two groups of people who speak two different languages'. Thereby, she counts adjacency- between countries or certain geographical localities where at least some of the citizens speak more than one language - as a factor of language contact. She mentions as an example Switzerland, which is home to four European languages (French, Italian, German, and Romansh), which share a national-language status. It can be noticed that Thomason's factor of face-to-face contact is absent in the two Middle Eastern countries of this study. Thomason asserts (2001: 2) that "millions of non-English speakers have come into contact with English through radio, television and Hollywood films". Such a factor might play a major role in the Middle Eastern area; hence, I

will investigate how effective this element is on the participating informants of this study. Winford (2003: 31) mentions exploration and the exposure to the mass media of the donor language along with other elements such as travelling, categorizing them as marginal type of contacts. Throughout the brief historical and social background, I will draw on types of contact taking place in the two countries highlighting some aspects of the educational and economical situations in each country.

The study further examines the influence of English on Arabic. For this purpose it is useful to ascertain whether the influence taking place today on Arabic is similar to the well-known foreign influences under which the English language has gone throughout history. Of particular relevance is the large number of loanwords that English had borrowed from different languages in previous times. Some of these influences are very old, affecting the Old English form of language of over 1000 years ago. Other influences are more recent ranging from Middle English of 5 to 8 centuries ago and modern English of the last 300 years ago or so. In their review of the foreign influences on English, Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable (2002) mention many influences on both Old and Middle English. They start (2002: 77) from the influence of Celtic which they have described as being slight due to the relation between the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon, which was a submerged culture so that the Celt was not in a position to make a notable contribution to Anglo-Saxon civilization. Baugh and Cable also discuss Latin influences, influence from Christianity, Scandinavian influence, the Norman Conquest and then the French influence. The last influence was very strong on the lexical level, resulting in a much changed Middle English vocabulary at a time of great social and political change (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 158). Duplications however, have characterized the English at those periods, two words were used to refer to the same thing until either both words survived and differentiated in meaning or one eventually got lost. In some cases the French was the one to get lost and most of the times the eventual loss used to happen to the Old English word rather than the French. Foreign influences on modern English are also significantly based on the forces of trade, exploitation and colonisation. Overall, the effect was not only on the syntactic or morphemic levels, but it had reached the phonological level as well (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 158). Borrowing, especially lexical borrowing, has changed the nature of English that it is as much Romance (based on Latin and French) as Germanic (based on the descendants of Proto Germanic) in its lexicon. This transformation is an important one to keep in mind in assessing the political of current

switching and borrowing to influence languages like Arabic, which are under the sway of English.

## **1.5 Language contact results**

Thomason has argued (2001:10) that when two languages are brought into contact with each other in a society for a long period of time they will start affecting one another. In other words, there will be some convergence between them. This convergence may take different forms and levels, depending on how intense the contact is between the two languages. The intensity depends on duration of contact and the numbers of people who are in contact i.e. the longer the contact, the more bilingual features occur (Thomason, 2001: 66).

Typically, there are three main phenomena associated with language contact: language maintenance, language shift, and the emergence of new contact languages (Winford, 2003: 11). Language maintenance refers to the situation where a community preserves its native language in one generation after the other. Language shift according to Winford (2003: 15) implies a partial or total abandonment by speakers of the native language to the language they are in contact with. Numerous factors may influence language maintenance and shift. For example, the economic and social status of a certain language like English as a dominant language of modern technology, and the status of the language itself e.g. Arabic as a high status language since it is the language of Qur'an (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 34). Mass media and demographic factors are also effective elements that reinforce language maintenance and/ or shift. The last aspect of contact involves the emergence of new languages in situations of intense language contact.

### **1.5.1 Code-switching**

According to Appel and Muysken (1987: 118) there are three types of CS. The first type is tag-switching, which occurs when a speaker switches to another language to utter an exclamation or a tag. This type is believed to serve as an emblem distinguishing between bilingual speaker and monolingual speaker (Appel and Muysken, 1987:118). It was called emblematic switching by Poplack (1980). The second type is the intra-sentential switching and it is also known by linguists as code mixing, in which the switches between the two

languages occur within the same sentence. The third type is inter-sentential switching, which is called code-switching, where switches from one language to the other occur between sentences. Thomason (2001:133) distinguishes the ‘receiving language’ where the code-switches and interference features appear from the ‘source language’. Thomason (2001: 132) asserts that both categories of CS (inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching) serve many conversational functions like to fill in a lexical gap in the other language or to identify something or some one who is already identified in that language. Nevertheless, CS can mainly be distinguished from borrowing according to whether speakers have access to the syntactic apparatus of both languages or not (Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan, 1990: 72). However, such gap-filling in one’s language opens doors for speakers to eventually adopt these items as part of their own lexicons. In other words, they might become part of the established borrowing of that language. South Africa is a good example of a territory whose indigenous languages have borrowed lexical items that had no equivalent from the colonial languages namely, English and Afrikaans (Slabbert and Finlayson, 2002: 239).

### **1.5.2 Lexical Borrowing**

To understand the nature of borrowing, it is important to distinguish nonce borrowing from historical established loanwords and from CS. According to Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990: 71, 73) this distinction relies on a number of criteria. One of which, is the extent to which a lexical item from the donor language has been integrated into the host language on many levels, the syntactic, phonological, and morphological. Another criterion is how familiar the item is to monolinguals of the host language. Nonce borrowing is not necessarily widespread and familiar to the host language monolinguals, whereas loanwords are definitely used by the monolinguals of the language. Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990: 71) assert that both, however, share the property that they are integrated in the host language morphologically and syntactically. In this way, it can be noted that established borrowing occurs amongst both monolingual and bilingual speakers of the host language, whereas nonce borrowing is a phenomenon that is more likely to occur in the speech of bilinguals. Moreover, Muysken (2000: 79), cited by Clyne (2003: 72), categorizes ‘nonce borrowing’ structurally as a category smaller than a full determiner phrase like a NP.

Haugen (1950: 212) claimed that linguistic borrowing is a process that involves reproduction. Therefore, in order to characterize the phenomenon fully one should compare the original

pattern with its imitation. He called the original pattern the *Model* to which the loan might be either more or less similar. The more similar the loan is to the original, the more recognizable it becomes to the native speakers of the language. In this case, the borrowing situation is called importation where the speaker is believed to have imported the model into his own language. The less similar a loan is from its model, the less recognizable it becomes to the native speakers. In this case Haugen (1950: 212) claimed that the imitator has substituted the model with the most similar pattern from his language. An example for this is the established loanword *film* which is pronounced in English as [fɪlm] but most Arabs phonologically integrate it to Arabic by pronouncing it using two syllables as in: [fɛləm].

Daher (2003: 1) states that the mismatch between sounds of two languages causes speakers to adapt and not adopt borrowed items. He adds that the number of Arabic sounds which are not in English are greater than English sounds that do not exist in Arabic. Therefore, Arabic loans in English are more prone to adaptation than vice versa. Daher asserts (2003: 5) that this Arabic characteristic when borrowing from foreign languages e.g. French or Italian has resulted in introducing new sounds to Arabic. On the other hand, Daher claims (2003: 5) that “there is no indication that Arabic has been responsible for the introduction of any new sounds into English”. In this dissertation, loans will be tested from a phonological integration perspective with the expectation that little integration into Arabic will be found in the data.

Not only are content words subject to transfer between languages that are in contact, but the various aspects of language structure can be borrowed as well (Thomason, 2001: 11). A borrowed item thus could be a content word or a function word. According to Gee (1999: 100) content words, which are sometimes referred to as ‘lexical words’, belong to the major parts of speech like the nouns, the verbs, and the adjectives of a language. Function words, which are some times called grammatical words, belong to smaller categories such as determiners e.g. *the*, *a*, and *an*; articles such as *the*, *that*, and *these*; pronouns e.g. *he*, *she*, and *it*; prepositions for example *in*, *on*, *of*; and quantifiers like *some*, *many*, and *none*. Gee (1999: 100) added that the first category, content words, is an ‘open category’ because it can be expanded through borrowing or even through the invention of new words.

Given that vocabulary is borrowed before structure, Thomason (2001: 69) claims that it is possible to find lexicon borrowed without structure, but not vice versa. She proposes a scale of borrowing made up of four major levels. The first is casual contact where borrowers do not

have to be fluent in the donor language as in this level it is only non-basic vocabulary and content words that are subject to borrowing. Clyne (2003: 94) describes this stage as an early stage of change which involves little bilingualism on the part of the borrowers. The next level according to Thomason (2001: 69-71) is a slightly more intense contact and here borrowers must be fluent in the donor language to be able to borrow function words and minor structural elements as well. The third level is when the contact is more intense in a way that enables the speaker to borrow various kinds of words and more significant and moderate structural features with the ability to use derivational affixes. The fourth and final level is the intense contact where heavy lexical and structural borrowing occurs. Moreover, Thomason (2001: 69) claims that intensity of contact interacts with other factors such as speakers' attitudes and the level of fluency of borrowers. Throughout this thesis, the level of intensity between the use of English and Arabic amongst Syrian citizens in both settings will be looked at.

## **1.6 How Isolated Are the Two Phenomena**

Thomason (2001:10) believes that the contact does not necessarily result in both languages being influenced by each other, but she says that at least one language affects the other in at least one or two aspects. Lexical borrowing however, has proved to be a strong marker of languages in contact throughout history. It is defined by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". Thus, the native language, 'the host language', is maintained in spite of some changes caused by new features come from the other language, 'the source language'.

Code-switching on the other hand occurs when two languages or more are used in the same conversation by the same speaker. Thomason (2001: 132) clarifies that 'in the same conversation' does not only refer to the one speaker but actually to all other participants in that conversation, i.e. all other participants should at least understand both languages. Scotton (1993: 2) argues that the linguistic variety that belongs to code-switching does not always refer to two languages, some times a switch may occur between two dialects or two styles of a certain language. The main concern of this dissertation is to study the various aspects of language contact between Arabic and English on two groups of Syrians; and to discover which is more frequent and why, code-switching or lexical borrowing.

## 1.7 Aims and Objectives

Chambers (1995: 54) states that so far little research has looked at social mobility as a factor influencing language change in a society. Chambers's belief makes studies such as this significant, especially since the Middle East region has not been studied much by linguists. One can barely find a research project examining sociolinguistic Middle Eastern phenomena. Added to that, many linguists have looked at situations of language contact where English is taught as ESL, whereas this study is looking at an intermediate model that combines EFL and ESL. Therefore, I think that this study will not only address many questions about how effective mobility is as a factor in the sociolinguistics of language change in general, but it will also open up a new field of knowledge by shedding some light on the Middle Eastern sociolinguistic repertoire in particular.

This was one of the reasons this topic and this region in particular have interested me and became the investigation area of my dissertation. Added to that, I am familiar with both countries as I have originated from SAR and spent my life in KSA so I have had access to both during different stages of my life. Thus, I share the same ethnic and social identity with most of the participants of the study, especially the highly mobile ones. This 'insider' status (Milroy, 1980: 41) enabled free and relaxed conversation with informants, despite the use of a voice recorder.

In the next chapter, I will give a brief historical background of language contact in the two countries reflecting on the importance of the Arabic language there. The third chapter will be about the methodologies I used in this research. I will give descriptions of the processes that the study has been through, beginning from sample selection stage to the data analysis stage. The fourth chapter contains the actual analysis. The fifth and final chapter will discuss the results and state the findings.

## 2. Historical and Social Backgrounds

In this chapter I will focus on the circumstances that have brought English and Arabic into contact in both SAR and KSA, particularly in the capitals of both countries: Damascus and Riyadh. I will reflect on each city's urban culture, discussing the motivations behind the contact of the two languages and exploring when and how the contact has happened. Besides highlighting the teaching-learning model, I will also reflect on the economic and political status, business practices and other factors that may be relevant to this sociolinguistic study. As we know, the field of sociolinguistic is a very wide one, where different sub-fields overlap in many aspects with each other e.g. psychological, geographical or historical factors are in many cases relevant to the study of language variation in society.

### 2.1 The importance of the Arabic language

Arabic is the mother tongue of more than 200 million speakers in the world. It can be characterized phonetically as a 'pharyngeal language' which belongs historically to the Semitic family of languages. Its script is written from right to left. Its written form consists of 28 phonemes, all of them are consonants. However, three of them can also be used as long vowels. Arabic short vowels are not represented by letters, but by diacritical points that identify the three cases: nominative, accusative and genitive (Classe, 2000: 62). The Arabic world stretches from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Sea in the east, and from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean in the southeast. Coulmas (2005:149) states that Arabic is ranked as one of the world's top ten languages in terms of demographic strength and that it is widely spoken in twenty-three countries today. There are two distinct varieties of Arabic as far as status is concerned. The high (H) status variety is called classical Arabic and is considered to be the language of religion, education and any formal book or magazine. The other is a vernacular variety which is of low status (L), and is the spoken language used for everyday communication. Classical Arabic serves as a lingua franca between the different Arabic and Islamic countries. The vernacular variety has many dialects that vary from region to region. According to David Palfreyman and Muhamed al Khalil (2003) there is the Levantine or Mediterranean dialect

which is spoken in Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Lebanon, the Egyptian Arabic which is used in Egypt, and the Gulf Arabic which is mainly used in Southern Iraq and the Gulf region. KSA is, however, a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), whose people speak the Gulf Arabic dialect. Palfreyman and al Khalil (2003) claim that in spite of rapid urbanization, most of the Gulf Arabic Dialects still reflect some Bedouin characteristics. Some other linguists have divided the Egyptian Dialect into three different dialects (El-Baz, 1968: 1) the Northern Nile Valley Dialect which is known as 'Cairo dialect' and used in Lower Egypt, the Southern Nile Valley Dialect which is similar to 'Cairo dialect' but closer to the classical language, and the North African Dialect for countries like Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, which is distinguished by incorporation of Romance and Berber terms.

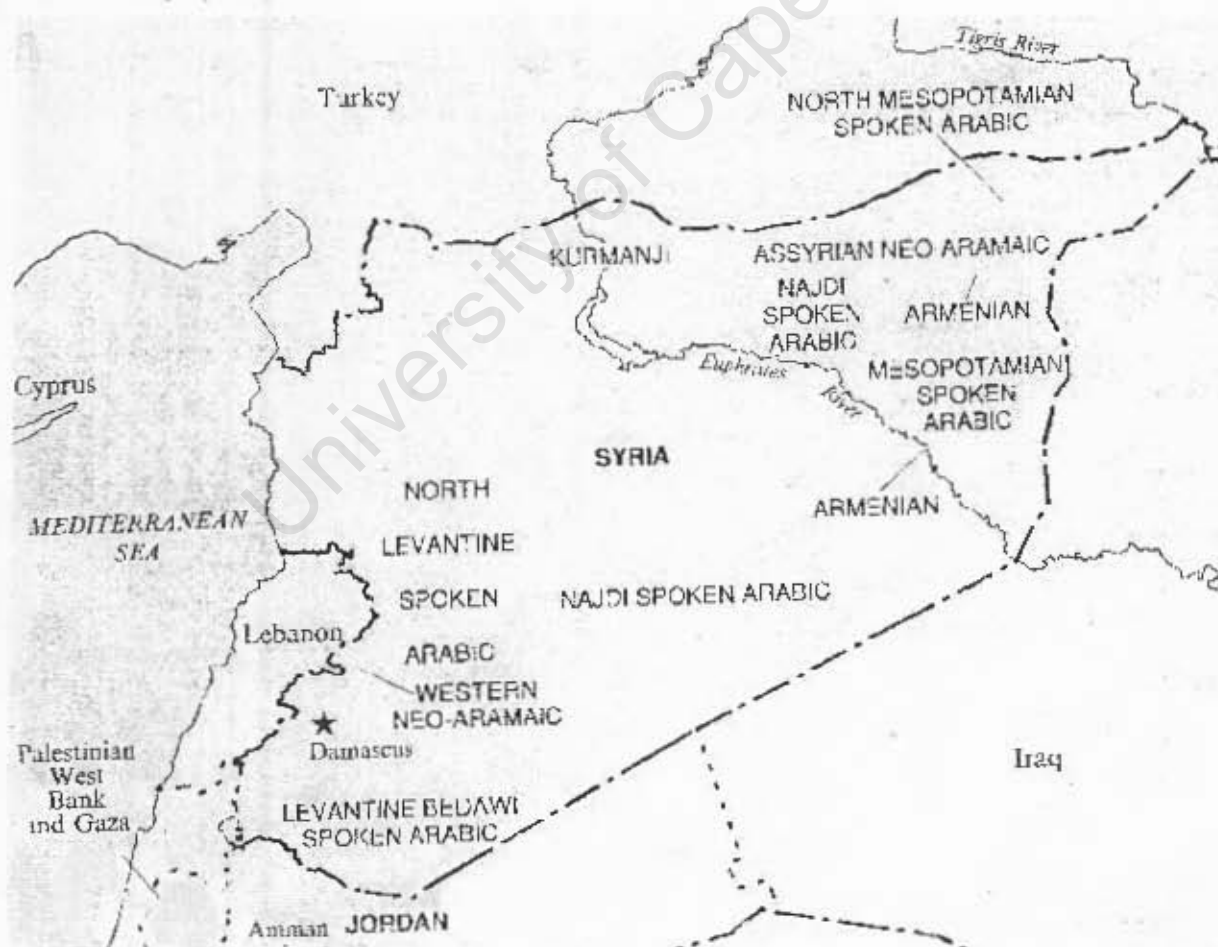
It is believed that religious dimensions have an influence on the degree of language shift and/or maintenance of a particular language (Clyne, 2003: 51). Whenever the Arabic language is mentioned, the rise of the religion of Islam will come to mind as well as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Islam first emerged in the Arabian Peninsula about 1400 years ago, where Muhammad, the messenger of God (peace be upon him), was obliged to call people to follow it. Muhammad's message relied on the Qur'an (the holy book of Islam) which is considered by Muslims the actual words of God. The Qur'an is written in the Arabic language and regarded by its speakers as one of God's miracles. Therefore, Arabic is considered the language of religion and from here it gained its special status in any Muslim community, being a strong marker of Muslim identity.

## **2.2 The Syrian Arab Republic**

The official language in SAR is Arabic, but a number of dialects and languages are also used there, since the citizens originate from different ethnic groups with different religions and languages. The population in SAR is of 19,989, 814, consisting of: 86 % Muslims, 10 % Christians, 3 % Druze and 1 % Jewish (Denise, 2009). The colloquial Syrian Arabic is characterized differently according to the area where it is spoken. For example, North Levantine Arabic which is also spoken in Lebanon is mainly the local dialect of Damascene people, while Najdi Arabic is the dialect of the people in the Syrian desert and it is very similar to the one spoken in Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia (Battenburg, 2006: 438). Due to the diversity of the population, a number of languages are used in SAR. Of these the Indo-

European language, Kurdish is spoken by the Kurdish community, which according to Battenburg (2006: 438) is considered the largest language minority community in the area with a base of 1.5 million speakers. Armenian is spoken by about 350 000 people mostly living near Aleppo. Assyrian (Assyrian Neo-Aramaic) the East Semitic language which is lexically influenced by Akkadian, the ancient language of Assyrians and Babylonians is the language of 45 000 in 35 villages along Khabur River, a tributary of the Euphrates River. It is also known as (Neo-Syriac) and shares a considerable similarity with Aramaic (Western Neo-Aramaic). Aramaic is spoken by 15 000 speakers although it was the language of Christ and the lingua franca of the Holy Land 200 years ago (Battenburg, 2006: 438). Aramaic however, is still used in liturgies in Syrian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, though in decreasing numbers. A language map is given below in figure 1 (Brwon, 2006: 104).

Figure 1: Language map of Syria



### 2.2.1 **Damascus, the Oldest Inhabited City in the World**

The Syrian capital, Damascus, is a very ancient city. Bernstein (1939: 95) proposed that Damascus was the oldest continuously inhabited city in the history of human beings. Damascus is mentioned in the Old Testament and was known since the days of Ibrahim (Hopwood, 1988: 6). In the eighth century BC it was a dependency of the Assyrians. Then in 333BC Alexander the Great conquered the area, so it became Greek until 64 BC. At this time Pompey proclaimed Syria a Roman province with Antioch to the north (now in Turkey) as its capital. Christianity flourished in the city under the Byzantines until AD 643, when invading Arab armies from central Arabia conquered the city. SAR has been an Islamic country ever since. Damascus however, lived its golden age in 661 AD as it became the capital of the Arabic Islamic Amway Country, stretching from Andalusia (Spain) in the west to the Indian country in the east. Obviously, language contact in Damascus started long ago, about 4000 years ago, due to its strategic demographical location.

### 2.2.2 **History of Language Contact in SAR**

Families of early times spent much effort in cutting trees, building homes, milking and working on a piece of farm for food. In other words, old civilizations are all based upon agriculture, grazing and craft skills. Frederick M. Lorenz and Edward J. Erickson (1999) have claimed that for more than 4,000 years, history has been shaped by geography and by having access to water. Having three different rivers namely Dijla (Tigris), Al furat (Euphrates), and Al a'assi (Orontes) in SAR has attracted many countries to colonize it in the new era. Thus, it was fought for by various countries throughout history, e.g. Crusaders' campaigns, the Mongols' invasion, and the Ottoman occupation, which lasted for four centuries. Finally it fell under the French Mandate; then there was the revolution which started in 1925 and was ended by the Syrian Autonomy in 1946.

In every phase Syria had gone through, it came in contact with a new language. For example, during the Ottoman rule (Hopwood, 1988: 15) Turkish became the language of administration while Arabic remained the language of the Syrian people and religion. Moreover, and according to a study about Syria which was done for the Library of Congress (Thomas Collelo, 1987), during the French mandate the French language was compulsory in

schools, and pupils were required to sing the ‘Marseillaise’. In other words, almost every aspect in the Syrian lifestyle was under French control.

French came into contact with the Syrian culture sometime before English did. Nevertheless, an observer nowadays can notice that English is more popular than French in SAR in terms of usage and the preferences of studying at schools as a foreign language. This is probably due to the fact that all private universities in Syria teach mainly in English while none of them teaches in French, as part of the general trend towards the dominant language of knowledge today. Battenburg (2006: 439) states that English is spreading in SAR due to modernization and privatization and that French is decreasing and is not used as widely as in neighboring Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arabic world.

### 2.2.3 Syrian English

The French influence had not only affected the Syrian lifestyle and language but it also affected the other foreign language they acquired nowadays, English. Yost (1959: 109) who was a visiting professor of English literature at Syrian University in Damascus claimed that his American ear heard in the classes “a brogue compounded of Arabic, French, and British sounds”. He depicted the written language of Syrian students as follows: “the result to the American eye was written English that abounded in Arabisms and contained at least an occasional French usage” (1959: 109). One of the examples of the features of Syrian English Yost gave is the idiomatic use of *al* and its English equivalent *the*. Yost (1959: 111) claimed that the usage of *al* resembles the definite article in French and therefore Syrians tend to put *the* where it is sometimes not needed. The similar way of using the partitive construction in both Arabic and French, is further evidence of Arabic influence reinforced in Syria by French (Yost, 1959: 111). Therefore, one can hear a sentence like: *Some merchants used to import these*. Moreover, Yost compared structural and syntactic differences between native English and colloquial Syrian Arabic causing Syrians to oddly structure their English sentences. For example, he argued (1959: 111) that unlike English, Arabic may have the main verb in the past and the subordinate verb in the present or future e.g. *They saw the people are coming in the door*. Another example is the use of the past tense in colloquial Arabic where English uses present perfect e.g. *I did not forget yet*.

In his study of phonological and morphological changes resulting from influences of the lexical borrowing between American English and Syrian Arabic, Daher (2003: 6) noted that some borrowed words in Arabic have been assimilated and become productive by following morphologically native Arabic. He gives evidence as follows:

Thus, we see, for example, English nouns being used with Arabic plural or possessive suffixes, and English words being put to use as verbs and conjugated like Arabic verbs, with prefixes and suffixes to indicate person, number and gender. Examples include the verbal forms *narfaz*, “he became nervous”, *narfazu*, “they (m/f) became nervous”, *narfazna*, “we became nervous, and the adjectival form, *mnarfziin*, “we/ they/ you (m/f dual /pl) are nervous,” in addition to the nominal form *narf(a)zi*, “nervousness” (all from the English “nervous”). The same morphological rules have created forms like *talfan*, “he telephoned,” *tilifooni*, “my telephone,” and the like.

#### 2.2.4 The Education System in SAR

Education in SAR has been mainly in the Arabic language. Government schools used to teach one language as a foreign language (either French or English) starting from grade seven, while private schools started from the Kindergarten level (KG). In 2006 however, the education system was changed, to make both languages compulsory. Government schools therefore now teach English and French as foreign languages, the former starting from grade three and the latter starting from grade five. While private schools start teaching English early in KG and French starts from grade three. Nevertheless there are a number of private schools offering education either in French or English. For example, one of the well-known semi-private schools (Lesch, 2005: 11) is Laique which was established by the French in 1912. According to Lesch (2005: 11) this school embodies the French influence upon the Syrian educational system in the country.

## **Higher Education**

Like the schooling system, Syrian higher education varies between the government universities/ institutions and the private ones. The majority of the new generation prefers private universities since they teach in English due to the dominance of English all over the world. Nevertheless, all government universities in SAR insist on teaching in Arabic in the various fields of knowledge. Hence, all books are translated into Arabic. Obviously a translated book has a different value from the book it was translated from. In addition, most students who decide to go abroad for work or to pursue further study, struggle in the field's specific terms, e.g. engineering/ medical terms and so forth. However, the decision whether a student will undertake higher education in a government or a private university depends on his/ her marks and economic and financial situation.

### **2.2.5 Glimpses of Syrian lifestyle**

Syria does not have many foreign labourers. Most workers like taxi drivers, waiters and company employees' are usually Syrian. Moreover, Western and American fast food restaurants e.g. McDonalds and KFC are very rare in SAR. Summers in Syria, become somewhat crowded with tourists from all over the world, mostly from Europe and Gulf regions. This time of year is the most significant time for language contact between Syrians and foreigners. Many sales people have become motivated by Syria's crowded summer tourists to develop their communicative skills in English, which they usually gain from private institutions in addition to the basics that schools give. Therefore, face-to-face language contact between English and Arabic in SAR is generally not a prominent feature that characterizes Syrian lifestyle, except in brief transactions with tourists. This feature distinguishes the lifestyles between SAR and KSA, as I will discuss next.

## **2.3 The Arabian Peninsula's Capital, Riyadh**

Unlike SAR which has been in contact with different languages throughout history, - especially ancient history - KSA's contact with other languages, especially western ones, has started very recently. A sketch of the Saudi historical and social background pointing out

similarities and differences in the lifestyles and amount of language contact among the two countries is given below.

### 2.3.1 Historical Background

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was founded by the Al-Saud house in 1902. However, it was not called 'The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia' until 1932, when King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud united it after many wars with different tribes. The tribes he fought intended to conquer the peninsula and to bring down Al- Saud's authority. KSA had never had any form of contact with the western world. It had never been colonized or even inhabited by westerners until oil was discovered in 1936 during the rule of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (1932–1953). According to Georg and Alkhayyal (2002: 322), citing Barth and Schliephake (1998), after oil was discovered in the middle of the 20th century, Saudi Arabia underwent a rapid modernization process. The capital, Riyadh, started to grow in prosperity after having been a small town inhabited by not more than 20 000 people at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In describing this modernization process, Elyas (2008) claims that, "This new trend of modernization required a transfer via western cultures and values where English served as the medium of communication and carrier of the wave". The Saudi state however, has used the income derived from oil for two purposes. On the one hand, it has grown individual prosperity of Saudi citizens; on the other hand, it has developed a modern infrastructure e.g. transport, supply of water and electricity, health care, and education (Georg and Alkhayyal, 2002: 322). Language contact between English and Arabic in KSA can therefore be seen to be of recent date.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has had to put in place a long term plan for the economic development processes. The first step was to get assistance from developed countries, so a lot of western companies were established. This has resulted in jobs and leadership opportunities for those who are experts from all over the world. Actually, not only western employees get attracted to such a chance, but also non-Saudi Arabic-speaking people have found a chance to put their skills and knowledge into good employment. Georg and Alkhayyal (2002: 323) cite Barth and Schliephake (1998: 37) and Meyer (1991) that the employees in KSA vary in terms of place of origin and skill levels. Georg and Alkhayyal stress the fact that there are groups of employees from the West as well as from the East. However, those from the East outnumber

those from the West, as the development of infrastructure entail a demand for unskilled workers and domestic servants, and this is met by foreigners from Southeast Asia who number around 1.6 million servants. There is a continuous demand for the tens of thousands of professional employees from the Levant and the Western world. By 'Levant' i mean: Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, the Sinai Peninsula and Jordan (Maisels, 1999: 80). Georg and Alkhayyal (2002: 322) state that in 2002 when their study was written, there were five million foreign employees in KSA as guest workers. More than two million of these originate from different Arab countries that have lower wage levels, and they work chiefly as semi-professionals. However, the population in KSA is of 28, 146, 656 according to the CIA's survey (Central Intelligence Agency, 2009). A map of KSA is provided below in figure 2.

Figure 2: A map of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia



### 2.3.2 Situations of Language Contact in KSA

The first field for Saudi Arabia to start with was oil and petrol development so it has had to establish petroleum production and refining operations for oil stations. According to the Arabian American Oil Company (Arameco), Saudi Aramco has about 51,000 people from 66

different countries, which illustrates the extent of foreign presence in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the company stated (1961: 3-7) in the printed edition of *Saudi Aramco World* that at the end of year 1961, the company had 14,834 employees in Saudi Arabia, 11,149 of whom were Saudis, and 2,180 were Americans while the rest were of many other nationalities. Most big companies tend to send elite students to study overseas, obtain degrees and to return and supervise in the original company. According to Saudi Aramco's statement (1961: 3-7) by the end of 1961, 29 Saudi Arab employees were sent for advanced, specialized training to colleges and universities outside Saudi Arabia at Aramco's expense, 17 of them to the United States. Obviously, Aramco is just an example of the many foreign companies that were established in the last 3 decades in KSA. The existence of Aramco and other similar western companies is one of the important factors that has contributed in forming a mixed community that contains people from all over the world, who have various religions and languages. The most wide spread language amongst all the different tongues used in the business sector in KSA is English, after becoming the dominant language all over the world. And this is how the contact between Arabic and English started in the Saudi community.

Having a lot of westerners in KSA entailed having to institute English translation beside the Arabic on most of the printed formal papers, street signs etc. According to Elyas (2008) although Arabic is the only official language of Saudis, English translations alongside Arabic words in road signs and names of shops are frequent.

### **2.3.3 The Saudi Lifestyle**

In this section I discuss aspects of the sociological and cultural life style in Saudi Arabia. KSA has distinctive features which differentiate it from other countries. Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world where women are not allowed to drive! This issue has entailed a sequence of changes making the Saudi lifestyle a very unique one. Given that women cannot drive, each middle-class house needs one or more drivers. Most of the drivers and other labourers are from south and south-east Asian countries e.g. Pakistan, Philippine, Indonesia, Bangladesh and other countries. Some of the workers have learnt English in their own countries, so it has become the medium of communication between them and their employers. However, as not all labourers speak English, they find themselves needing to learn either Arabic or English to cope better. Most outdoor labourers learn English. These

include waiters in restaurants, receptionists in hotels, taxi drivers, factory workers and salesmen at shops. Whereas indoor labourers i.e. those working as private drivers or maids - who usually live in a separate section in the same house of the family they are hired by - pick up the language in which they are addressed, depending on whether the employer family's members are educated and bilingual or not. Bilingual families normally use English to communicate with their maids/drivers, while monolinguals use Arabic. Mahdi reported on the 17th of January 2008 in the weekly business magazine *Arabian Business* that the Saudi Minister for Labor Dr. Ghazi bin Abdul-Rahman Al- Qusaibi reported on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 2008 that 1750 000 labourers came to Saudi Arabia in 2007 of which 500 000 males and females are indoor labourers, keeping in mind that the population in KSA is of 28, 146, 656 as mentioned earlier. It is worth mentioning here that some mixes between the grammar of the labourers' mother tongue and the newly acquired language commonly characterize the labourers' speech.

Many international restaurants and American fast-food chains have opened branches in KSA during the last 2 decades. Starting this type of restaurant where a lot of non-Arabic speaking employees work has opened up new lifestyles for Saudis. English language proficiency has become a prior requirement for a person to fit in to this 'modern' lifestyle in Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, Elyas (2008) asserts that up to this point, not all the population in KSA is able to speak English.

#### **2.3.3.1 Non-Saudi Arab Nationals in KSA**

Syrian group in KSA, like other Arab nationals from neighbouring countries who are usually referred to as 'foreigners', are not necessarily living all aspects of the Saudi lifestyle. Such foreign nationals don't find themselves needing to change many of their own cultural traditions. In addition to keeping their own identity, they maintain links with their country of origin by visiting it frequently. Moreover, the relationship between Saudi citizens of Riyadh and the other Arabic people is not strong enough to enable new hybrid identities. On the contrary, each society tends to socialize with peers of the same ethnic origin. For example, Saudis tend to have their own private houses with using their own private facilities as well, e.g. sports and Braai. On the other hand, a lot of Arab nationals, including Syrians, share one neighbourhood with sharing the Braai, sports and other facilities that may be offered with

their residence. Moreover, Saudis tend to send their children to either private or government schools, while other Arab nationals tend to send their children to private or international schools to socialize with other Arab children. In this way, it is worth mentioning that Arab national guests are actually exposed to a greater possibility of being in contact with non-Arabic speakers than Saudis. This is because the number of western and non-arabic speaking foreigners working in private sectors, where most Arab nationals guests work, outnumber those in government sectors. Hence Syrians, being mostly employees in the private sector come into daily face-to-face contact with their foreign colleagues at work.

#### **2.3.4 The Education System in KSA**

As in SAR, English as a foreign language is taught in Saudi schools which offer education mainly in Arabic. Government schools, however, start teaching English from the intermediate stage, specifically from grade seven. Private schools, on the other hand, start to teach English from the kindergarten stage (KG). Elyas (2008) claims, that most of the students in private schools belong to the upper middle class, since this class is associated with the high status and privilege assigned to English today. The only schools that offer education in English are the international schools, which are usually used by westerners and non-Saudi Arabic people, but never by Saudis. This situation – as mentioned above – has exposed Syrian students to greater chances of being in contact with foreign and non-Arabic speaking people, since a lot of westerners send their children to this type of school. Moreover, the numbers of western teachers who teach in international schools outnumber those teaching in other schools. Most non-Saudi Arabic guests send their children to do their higher education in their homelands, or they approach some of the private colleges that have opened very recently.

## **2.4 Conclusions**

After this brief background about both countries' lifestyles, I conclude that mobile Syrians living in KSA are definitely more influenced by the newly acquired American lifestyle of Saudi Arabia. Accordingly, their English competence might be stronger than the other group's. Less mobile Syrians in SAR are not exposed to the same amount of contact with the western culture and language. The younger ones especially have not been directly influenced

by any of the European cultural aspects, such as the French mandate. I set out now to study differences in the speech style of the two groups of Syrians, taking mobility and the two distinctive lifestyles into account. I hypothesise that English preference will occur much more in the speech of the Syrians living in KSA rather than in SAR, along with a small amount of integration in both groups.

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### **3. Research Methodology**

In order to successfully achieve this analysis, a number of formalities should be taken into consideration. This chapter describes the different steps that this study has been through, from the moment of choosing the topic, the motivations and goals, passing over the sequence of observations that were necessarily made when framing the work and setting the suitable criteria of selecting the samples and collecting the data. Finally, the chapter will provide a summarized depiction of the methodological process used to analyse the data.

My 2008 mid-term holiday in both countries mainly SAR during the formal 2008 summer vacation for both, KSA and SAR, gave me the chance to visit the countries and conduct the interviews in the most relaxed time of the year. I took the opportunity of selecting informants who live in KSA and went to SAR to spend their summer vacation in their homeland for one of the groups. Thus, all informants were relaxed and free from the different commitments and duties they have to perform during different times in the year. All the interviews were recorded in Damascus, Syria between 24 June and 26 July 2008.

To ensure the aims of the study were met, certain criteria had to be set regarding the selection of informants. Once criteria were set, it was easier to start selecting the informants for the interviews.

#### **3.1 Sample Selection**

The study sample comprised bilingual Syrians whose first language is Arabic and second language is English. As mentioned earlier, given that this study examines mobility as a factor in language change, a comparative study between two different societies is needed (Chambers, 1995: 54). Therefore, informants were in two groups: firstly, informants of Syrian nationality who were born and have been living in KSA thus considered the highly mobile people, since they have been exposed to other cultures and have been in contact with other languages. The second group comprised those who were born and have been

permanently living in SAR. They were considered the less mobile as they have not had the same chances of exploring other languages and cultures. Hereafter, I will refer to the first group as: group A and to the second group as: group B.

The sample had to be controlled to meet important criteria that the study requires. Therefore, a judgment sample (Chambers, 1995) were the most suitable framework for the study. According to Chambers (1995: 38) judgment samples are constituted by dealing with restricted samples in a framed setting, i.e. when the analyzer chooses the participants based on a predetermined social criterion or a number of criteria. The informants chosen for this study are Syrian participants who:

- a) Are first language speakers of Arabic.
- b) Are between 16 and 36 years old.
- c) Have studied English at school.
- d) Belong to the middle class.
- e) Are Syrian passport holders.
- f) Were born in KSA (group A) or in SAR (group B).
- g) Are either school students aiming for higher education or postgraduate degree holders.

#### **A) Social class**

In order to rank my informants in a social stratification hierarchy, I followed Chambers's criteria (1995) according to which any society will be stratified into three major classes: Upper Class, Middle Class, and Working Class.

Chambers (1995: 7) believes that the social class that one belongs to imposes certain behaviors on him/her in the way they deal with different people within the society. Education, occupation and type of housing usually play a role in determining the sub-elements of social classes assigned to a society. The class to which a person belongs, is usually a vivid element of other social dimensions such as level of education and economic situation. Of course

sociolinguists insist that it is the economic structure that really determines social class groupings. As one moves down the social stratification of a given society, this entails moving down on other levels too. It has that domino effect where belonging to say the working class, correlates with having a low economic status and less education. Working class people of necessity tend to focus on basic education and financial survival and are often forced to accept the first random job opportunity.

Given that in SAR the numbers of non-Arabic speaking foreigners are less than in KSA, one can actually survive with one language only. Therefore, being a working class labourer in SAR usually means being less proficient in the English language. Accordingly, working class people were not the focus of this study, which concentrated on participants who belong to the various levels of the Middle Class. Chambers (1995: 37) classifies the different levels of Middle Class as: Upper Middle Class (UMC), Middle Middle Class (MMC), and Lower Middle Class (LMC).

Social class according to Chambers (1995: 36) is inherently fuzzy. Nevertheless, he claims that it is fairly easy to judge the major class to which an individual belongs, whether it is upper, middle or working class depending on the way an individual earns his living. There are two types of workers, the 'blue collar workers' and the 'white collar workers' (Chamber 1995: 37). The former earn their living by working with their hands and the latter earn their living by "pencil-work" and other services. In this study I used type of work as the major stratification device of my informants. I was not able to visit all my informants' houses to judge their type and it was not appropriate to ask them about their income or what type of house they lived in.

## **B) Level of Education**

Level of education is one of the crucial factors today in acquiring a prestigious foreign language, especially in a monolingual society where an individual can survive with one language. Usually, highly educated people have better access to up-to-date knowledge from their own and (especially) other societies. Thus, using English words is more likely to occur amongst the highly educated people rather than the less educated ones. Accordingly, and to ensure to uniform groups, all informants participating in the study were university/ institute

educated, or still in the middle of the education process as with 16 year olds still at school. In the latter case, I chose students whose parents were educated, to make sure that we would be dealing with middle-class home background. By 'educated' here I mean that the informants or their parents were all post-secondary school educated either from high academic institutions i.e. universities and faculties or lower academic organizations that offer a lower recognized high education certificates such as institutions which offer diplomas.

### **C) Religion**

I deliberately selected participants from different religions. Therefore, I intended to choose Muslims as well as Christians to participate in the study, especially since this dissertation is meant to be as objective and neutral as possible from a religious perspective. And to ensure that it reflected the various parties and different religions that SAR has amongst its Syrian citizens. But due to the limited amount of time I had during my visit, I could not find an equal number of Christian and Muslim informants. Hence, I had only two Christian informants while the rest were Muslims. Of the Christian informants, one was female and the other was male and both belonged to the less mobile group who basically lived in SAR. Because the sample is skewed, and the number is very small, it will not be accurate to make linguistic judgments relying on it, so religious differences will be ignored.

### **D) Age**

Chambers (1995: 172) claims that "young people are exposed to a greater inventory of linguistic variants because they are exposed to a wider circle of acquaintances". In this study I intended that all my participants' should be between 16 and 36 so as to include a range of the various stages that an individual goes through in life until he reaches the stable adulthood stage. This age group provides the main possibility of finding bilingual people who have been exposed to the English language and culture. Older participants are less likely to reflect the recent changes that are taking place in the Middle East. Nevertheless, old, young, mobile and less mobile people must have been equally exposed to the indirect contact situations with the West. By indirect contact I mean that even the less mobile and/ or old group can achieve a degree of contact with the West through the various technological media, e.g. western music

or American movies that have recently spread amongst young and adult people all over the world.

## E) Gender

While choosing informants, I made an effort to have a one-to-one correspondence of male and female informants in each group. Therefore, I made each group consisting of 10 informants 5 males and 5 females. It is believed that gender is a major influence in language change. Many linguists have argued that women usually take the lead in linguistic change in a society. For example Milroy (1980: 112) claims that men seem to be more conservative than women who tend to abandon conservative linguistic features very easily. Moreover, according to Chambers (1995), Labov (1972b) and Milroy (1980) women's speech is usually closer to the prestigious patterns as they are less likely to use stigmatized forms than men do. If we agree that using English words in one's speech has become one of the signs of prestige, then a reasonable hypothesis to pursue is that female informants will use more English than males in the interviews undertaken.

### 3.2 Collecting the data

The data were collected from the interviews which I conducted with an MP3 voice recorder after asking the permission of the participants and assuring them that the reason for recording the interviews was purely for academic purposes. Using such a digital tool gave me good voice-quality interviews, later enabling me to control the volume of the informant's voice, and thus to overcome the constraint resulting from holding some interviews in public settings which had some background noise. Since this is not a phonetic study and the transcription was transliterated into English script, such background noise did not affect the quality of these recordings. The interviews were not transcribed in full. I listened to all the interviews in their entirety and then selected for transcription those parts in which borrowed words occurred in the informants' speech.

I initially intended to have between 20 to 24 informants for the study. Given that the study is a sociolinguistic one looking at a social phenomenon, I believe, the bigger the sample, the

better the conclusions. I managed to interview 27 people in all, 17 females, and 10 males. For analytic purposes, especially to keep a gender balance I chose 10 female informants according to the length of the interview, ending up with 20 informants. I can divide the interviewees into two main categories, first those with whom I have a personal relationship e.g. my relatives counting 4 male and another 4 female informants, and my friends counting 4 females and one male. Secondly, the category of unfamiliar informants whom I first met at the time of the interview were 5 males and 2 females. This diversity was very necessary to the study since the sample group should consist of a wide community and not merely the small circle of friends and relatives (Milroy, 1980:40). On the other hand it is an advantage to interview people familiar with me as a researcher and supportive to my studies in a foreign country.

All the participating informants - at the time of recording - were aged between 16 and 36 years old. 10 of the interviews were held individually i.e. the informant was alone, while the other 10 interviews were held in the presence of some of the interviewees' relatives and/or friends, which additionally contributed in keeping the interview's atmosphere casual and relaxed. In 5 of these group interviews the relative and/or friends did not participate in the conversation flow at all. In the other 5 interviews, the relative and/or friends participated in the conversation. Such participating relatives helped me unconsciously to keep the interviewee engaged more in the interview maximizing the chances for me to gain a more casual and less observed style. I then distanced my self by minimizing my role as an interviewer and was content to listen and record their active discussions on certain topics. In both cases, I continued to focus on the speech of the intended informant, disregarding the speech of his/her friends; especially that these friends knew that the focus was on their friend's speech so their participation was not as long as that of the intended informant. Some of the friends' and/ or relatives' participation was in question form so as to help me open up new topics which they knew were interesting to their friends. Other participation was in the form of sparkling comments and jokes leading their friend to be more active and relaxed. After analyzing the interviews, and as loanwords tables in the following chapter show, the presence of the relatives and friends had not really affected the use of loans by informants. It only added a more casual atmosphere to the interviews making the interviewees more enthusiastic.

Why would I, however, be more interested in the informants' casual style? (1972b: 85) highlighted that an interviewer must witness the speech with which the informant argues with his wife or her spouse and uses with their friends. In addition, Labov achieved recording what he called 'the language of the streets' where he acted as an anonymous bystander for some street games that children were playing. He asserted that if the interviewee showed a marked shift between the formal style and the casual style during the interview, the goal of gaining the most casual behavior is achieved (Labov, 1972b: 86). According to Labov (1972b: 86) casual speech refers to the everyday speech style which is used in informal situations where a speaker pays little or no attention to his/her language. Labov further distinguished between two levels of formal speech, one is the careful and the other is spontaneous linking the latter with the excitement and emotional phrases an individual may utter after overcoming the formal situation's constraint.

The informal setting I chose was one of effective elements to elicit this very colloquial style from the informants. Labov claimed (1972b: 86) that gaining the most casual and spontaneous speech style entails the interviewer pursuing and constructing his interview in a place where everyday language is more likely to occur. Thus, interviews were held either at the informants' homes, my home or at the most suitable public setting that was chosen by the informants such as their work office/classroom or a quiet corner of a café or a restaurant. 8 interviews were held at the informants' house, 2 at my house and the rest 10 were held at various public settings. 4 of these interviews were held at the computer training and language learning center, *New Horizons* in Syria, Damascus. The informants were 2 teachers and 2 students who I met through a friend teaching there. 3 interviews were held in an empty classroom and one was held at a quiet corner of the cafeteria at the center. Having a teacher there as my contact person helped me to find the type of informants I wanted by recommending the most talkative students and/or colleagues. It is worth mentioning here that my friend (the teacher) was present during two of the interviews but he never participated in the conversation flow of the interviews. The other 2 interviews were held in a quiet corner of different restaurants, one in a café, one in the hall of the university where the informant studied and the last 2 interviews were held at the work office of their colleague who was my relative's friend. They work at a trading company which imports goods from different parts of the world, mainly from Germany. The colleague was present in both of the interviews, she casually joked once in the one interview, while she participated shortly in the other interview. Her participation however, was not a major one as she shortly gave her opinion on one topic

that interested her, and it did not have an effect on the informant in terms of using loanwords during the interview.

With these considerations in mind, the interviews began in the formal style with the interviewee introducing him/herself. As time went by, I tried to get the informants to shift between their most formal styles to their least formal ones. Labov (1972a) argued that the type of questions play a major role in determining the informants' style, therefore, the danger of death or physical injury (1972a: 370) was one of the preferred questions in Labov's question list. He believed that when narrating such stories the narrator will be under the social pressure of convincing the listener that the event was truly dangerous and unusual (Labov, 1972a: 370). In my question list, I focused mainly on the unusual or rare events generally, e.g. I asked about the funniest, sad, weird events that the interviewee has faced in his/her life. Their childhood memories, their futures plans and dreams, their studies and why they chose them, their hobbies and so forth. What foreign languages did they speak and where did they get them from. One of my preferred questions was: what type of music did they listen to and whether they listen to western music and watch Hollywood movies? My aim was to gain information on the types of communication with the West that is taking place in the Middle East. What countries had they been to and what were the countries that they wish to visit one day? What sort of jobs did they have and why did they choose to work there? I asked also about their beliefs toward different concepts in life e.g. love, war, friendship. I kept in mind McCormick's (2002: 72) case study while tape-recording the people of District Six by encouraging my informants to talk in greater detail about the topics in which they were really interested. All these strategies led to an informal and casual a style as possible. Besides that, as McCormick noted, digressions on topics are very helpful in such interviews.

All my interviews were held in Arabic - except for the occasionally borrowed/switched items from English. The form of Arabic used was the Syrian vernacular, the most natural choice and in keeping with Labov's recommendation (1972b: 208). I deliberately used some English words before I started recording, when explaining to my informants about the interview and in some of the conducted questions during the interview as well. I made sure to do so naturally without forcing it into the conversation or avoiding it completely. My main goal was to show the interviewee that it was fine not to stick to Arabic during the interview. At the stage of analysis I was able to classify the interviewees' use of English according to whether

their use of English words increased in response to my use of English in the conducted question or not.

I was prepared to explain the motivations for these interviews to the participants. This step was very important, in order to prepare them to cooperate with me and talk freely without being worried about ulterior motives. Few of them, however, asked about my motivations for the recording. Most did not and they merely asked how they should behave during the interview so as to aid the goal of the study. In these cases, I asked them to be themselves and treat me exactly as a friend. The few who did ask for motives, asked about the aim of the study, what it was about, at which university I had been studying and why I was recording the interviews. My answer had to be faithful on the one hand, without exposing the core of the study on the other hand; following the fieldwork ethics mentioned by Wolfram and Fasold (1997). An ethical linguist should reach a compromise answer that does not mislead the participants and does not include all the boring details that might be irrelevant to the informants at the same time (Wolfram and Fasold, 1997: 101). Thus, my answer went along my informants' questions: the study is about a comparison between two groups of Syrians and I am looking mainly at the style of the language between them e.g. the type of vocabulary, the accent used by both groups and so on. I did not spell out the exact core of the study which is specifically on the use of English loanwords and possible switches.

Generally my informants were *friendly* and talkative. I decided to make each interview last between 20 to 30 minutes, so most of the interviews' length were something around that, the longest was about 31 minutes, and the shortest was about 20 minutes. Females were more talkative than males in general, and they enjoyed topics such as fashion, food and shopping. Males on the other hand, enjoyed talking about general concepts in life, sports and about their work. Some topics were preferred by both categories, like their travelling, education, and their best songs and singers. All interviews were smooth and casual. Interviewing some of my own relatives and friends who I had not seen for a long while, made it hard to avoid talking about some personal events and recounting some emotional details. This was an additional helpful element in gaining longer and more spontaneous conversations with less effort. Some of these interviewees raised their eye brows at the end of the interview –when I switched my recorder off- realizing that they unintentionally had talked about their own personal life. Nevertheless, they gave permission for the recording to be used for research purposes. Thereby, differences between the interviewees I had known and stranger interviewees were

not crucial since type of topics and lengths of interviews were the two variable aspects. Otherwise, and as summarized data in Table 3, section 4.2. show casual style and use of loans were not subject to change and were not affected by how I related to the informants.

### **3.3 Method of analysis**

After carefully listening to the recorded interviews, I transcribed the parts where English words occurred, counted the number of words and then get them ready for the analysis. The analysis was done on many levels as shown below:

1. The type of the phenomena:
  - a) Code-switching: Code mixing versus Code-switching
  - b) Borrowing: Established borrowing versus Nonce borrowing
2. The type of the switch/ borrowing:
  - a) A compound switch/borrowing (Com) word or in some cases one bound morpheme).
  - b) A single switch/ borrowing (i.e. one word or in some cases one bound morpheme).
3. The type of the word:
  - a) 1. Content word (C) versus Function word (- C). See section (1.5.2, Lexical Borrowing, p: 11).
  - b) 1. Technical word (T) versus Cultural word (- T). See section (the English items p46)
4. How frequently it occurs in the speech of bilinguals:
  - a) Frequently (F)
  - b) Rare (R)
  - c) None (N)
5. Knowing how frequent the English items occurred in the speech of informants and the extent of their integration in the host language i.e. whether they are recognized by monolinguals or not, this will allow me to reach the suitable categorization:

*Easily identified switch < nonce borrowing < becoming established < established traditional borrowing*

5.1. To which level an item is integrated in the host language:

- a) Phonologically      b) Morphologically      c) Syntactically

5.2. I will also check if there is a Syrian colloquial Arabic equivalent, mentioning the extent of its frequency amongst Syrians:

- a) Frequently (F)      b) Rare (R)      c) None (N)

6. The semantic field:

- a) Cultural      b) Entertainment      c) Food      d) Education  
e) Occupation      f) Music      g) Travelling      h) Other.

In this way, all grammatical loans that mainly related to CS will be placed under 'other' category. 'Food' category will contain all items that related to food and drinks. 'Music' will refer to the items that informants used while talking about their favourite songs or singers, in addition to types of music. 'Entertainment' will mostly have all items used by informants when they talked about their hobbies and pleasure time. Whenever informants used a specific entertainment word, i.e. names of games, e.g. basketball or so, i will add this specification as well. 'Education' and 'Occupation' will mostly contain technical items according to whether informants mentioned the item in their educational or occupational field. 'Travelling' will contain items used by informants when they talked about their travellings and trips. Finally cultural items will be the category for items used generally in the interviews e.g. city center.

7. The type of borrowed items in terms of their grammatical and structural function:

- a) Nouns b) Verbs c) Adjectives d) Adverbs e) Other parts of speech

Appel and Muysken (1987: 170) cite the work of the Sanskritist, William Dwight Whitney (1881); Haugen (1950) and a number of linguists like Muysken (1981, 1987) in concluding

that nouns come on top of the borrowing hierarchy, followed by other parts of speech i.e. verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions in this order.

### **3.4 Examples and further discussion**

In their case study of Tamil, Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan (1990: 80) found that borrowing generally occur as single words but sometimes compound borrowings occurred such as the adjective-noun pairs *educational system*, *Indian women*. They argued that (1990: 80) such sequences might be considered full NPs (i.e. one unit) rather than two individual items, but in their case they treated them as compound borrowings, as the function words typical of English NPs, (e.g. a determiner) never co-occur with them. In my data such a case rarely occurs e.g. *open minded* and I will provide the full analysis in the next chapter.

Haugen (1950: 212) - as I mentioned earlier - argued that the borrowing process involves reproduction and that any attempt to analyze its course would necessarily involve a comparison between the original pattern and the adopted one. Hence I deemed it necessary to examine in detailed tables English words used by the informants compared to the original words that native speakers of English would use. Therefore, it is important to look at the way the informants pronounce English items in the interviews.

Looking at how frequently borrowed words occur in the speech of the informants is an important dimension to the study since - as I mentioned above - Thomason (1997: 191) argued that a code-switched item can with frequency of use, become a loanword either with or without phonological integration into the host language. This thesis will classify English items occurring in the speech of the informants according to certain relevant categories, i.e. whether these borrowed items are integrated into the host language (Arabic) on the various levels, namely the phonological, morphological and syntactic level. My hypothesis is that the greater the knowledge of English, the less the phonological integration of Arabic. Besides that, knowing the frequency of usage of both English items and their Arabic equivalents will show how integrated the adopted word is in the host language, and the extent to which monolinguals can identify it. Furthermore, it will help us distinguish between three adopting situations. First, when the receiving language adopts a new lexical item from the donor language while there is a used equivalent in the latter. Second when the equivalent exists but

for some reason it is not used amongst the host language speakers anymore. Third when the host language has no equivalent for the loanword, which is therefore used to fill in this gap.

Given that the interviews were mainly held in colloquial Syrian Arabic, all transliterations are done in the colloquial Syrian Arabic as well. Thus, in tables where I give the Arabic equivalent, it is particularly the Syrian colloquial Arabic equivalents, not the classical one. Sometimes an English word has a literal Syrian equivalent that is not used in Syrian Arabic in the same context of English. In this case I don't give the literal Syrian equivalent but the parallel Syrian equivalent that is used in that context. An example is the English word *subtitles* which in Arabic is *anaween farei'a* but in the context where it occurred the (Syrian) was *al tarjama*. Thus, I entered the equivalent used in the appropriate column. Another example is the English word *top* when referring to the item of clothing used to cover the upper part of the body. However, there is a literal Syrian equivalent for the general word *top* but not for the specific item of clothing. Therefore, I consider that there is no Syrian equivalent for the word so I use (N) for none in the column of the Arabic equivalent.

In frequency lists, especially with compound borrowing, I indicate whether the Syrian Arabic equivalent is frequent or not in that particular context. Sometimes there are equivalents for the two words that an English compound consists of, but these equivalents are not used in Arabic as a compound for the same English referent. In such a case, I consider the equivalent as (Rare) or (None) depending on whether it can be used syntactically in Syrian Arabic or not. An example of this, is the English compound *supermarket* where there are equivalent for both words: *super* is equivalent to *dakm* and *market* to *souq*. However, these two are very frequent as isolated words but not very frequently used together to refer to the English 'supermarket'. As long as both can be syntactically structured in the Arabic language, I consider the Syrian Arabic equivalent rarely (R) frequent.

While analyzing CS and borrowing, I need to distinguish the English proper nouns from borrowing and/or switching phenomena. A number of the English items that have occurred in the speech of the informants are actually proper nouns e.g. restaurants' names, novels' titles and movies' names. Although these words are used by monolinguals, they are not established borrowings by their very nature as proper nouns. Most monolinguals do not know the meaning of these words and they only use them to refer to that particular restaurant or referent. Therefore, I will place them in the English word list but I will not examine them

from a switching/ borrowing perspective. In other words, I will exclude them from the final calculation and will list them in a separate section under the heading of *Proper nouns*.

Technical and cultural words will also be looked at and distinguished systematically. By technical words (T) I mean all words that are used to refer to recent technology or the business world. So they will include computer terms, educational subjects, equipment names, and terms of imported technology. While non-technical items (- T) will include words referring to traditional games, pleasure, sport and music.

Each borrowed item - including repeated items - will be analyzed distinctively, i.e. for each occurrence I will look at the item's equivalent, level of integration and level of familiarity by monolinguals. I will also distinguish the situation when one switches or borrows to fill in gaps in his/her mother tongue (Thomason, 2001: 133) from other situations. Finally, the data will be categorized according to when switches occur in the speech of informants. In other words, I will see if it is linked to a particular topic on the one hand and if it is influenced by my switches as an interviewer on the other hand i.e. does it increase and/ or decrease when I switch. Appel and Muysken (1987: 23) have stated different factors involved in the language choice: group membership, situation, and topic. Since the study is framed and the informants were chosen according to the mentioned criteria, the two former factors may not be relevant here because all interviews were held in equally casual situations with all the informants.

By juxtaposing all tokens from each group, I will be able to compare and contrast the number of English words existing in the linguistic repertoire of each group. Thus I can ultimately judge how strong the mobility factor is in language change, and to what extent it may have an influence on one's speech distinguishing him/her from their peers with whom they share the same ethnic and social identity and background. Additionally I will have given an idea about some Middle Eastern linguistic features and phenomena.

## 4. Analysis of the Effects of Language Contact in an EFL Setting

### 4.1 English loanwords

I begin the analysis by listing all English items that were used by the informants, pointing out to which part of speech they belong. Next, I give the Syrian colloquial Arabic equivalent that could be used in that particular context, referring to how frequently it is actually used by Syrians in that particular context. I will list all English items in this table including switches and CS which will be marked by a \*. The table starts with group A then group B. In the table, I list all the responses of the male informants followed by those of the females'. All the informants' abbreviated names appear in italics at the top of their loans. For example the first informant is a male who belongs to group A, his abbreviated name is A.B and he used 74 English loanwords. The complete table is given in appendix 1 due to its length and to save some space. Here are two examples presented only.

Table 1: borrowing and switching by 2 speakers and their characteristics

Cont = content word    Func = function word    Com = Compound borrowing/switching    R = rare  
N = none    F = frequent    T = technical borrowing/ switching    T- = non technical borrowing/switching

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	cont/func	technical	Arabic equivalent	Frequency	Semantic field
<i>Group (A):</i>							
<i>A.B. (male)</i>							
computer	2	n	cont	T	<i>hasoub</i>	R	education
programs	1	n	cont	T	<i>baramij</i>	F	education, occupation
el - chemistry	3	n	cont	T	<i>kemya</i>	F	education
el - physics	3	n	cont	T	<i>fezya</i>	F	education
computer programming	2	n	cont	T	<i>barmajit computer</i>	F	education
el - biology	3	n	cont	T	<i>ahya</i>	F	education
drop	2	n	cont	T -	<i>hadf</i>	F	education
business	4	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
economics	2	n	cont	T	<i>iqtisaad</i>	F	education
accounting	2	n	cont	T	<i>hisaab</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	cont/func	technical	Arabic equivalent	Frequency	Semantic field
math	1	n	cont	T	<i>reyadeiaat</i>	F	education
basic	2	adj	cont	T	<i>assasi</i>	F	education
Islamic	1	n	cont	T	<i>islamy</i>	F	education
el - basketball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al salla</i>	F	entertainment, games
swimming	1	n	cont	T	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
ping pong	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment, games
tennis	1	n	cont	T	<i>tennis</i>	F	entertainment, games
weight lifting	1	n	cont	T	<i>raf'e athqa'al</i>	F	entertainment
reading	3	n	cont	T	<i>qira'a</i>	F	entertainment
Hamlet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Hamlet</i>	F	education
novel	2	n	cont	T	<i>rewaya</i>	F	education
vocabulary words	1	n	cont	T	<i>hasilat el mufradat</i>	F	education
Romeo and Juliet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Romeo wa Juliet</i>	F	education
scary novels	1	n	cont	T	<i>rewayat mokifih</i>	F	education
techno	2	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
music	1	n	cont	T	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
rap	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
hip-hop	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
moods	1	n	cont	T	<i>miza'aj</i>	F	music
volleyball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al ta'era</i>	F	entertainment, games
el - basics	1	n	cont	T	<i>assasiyat</i>	F	entertainment
club	1	n	cont	T	<i>nadi</i>	F	cultural
wine	1	n	cont	T	<i>nabeith</i>	F	cultural
control	2	n	cont	T	<i>saytara</i>	F	cultural
engineering	2	n	cont	T	<i>handasa</i>	F	education
civil	1	n	cont	T	<i>madani</i>	F	education
mechanical	1	n	cont	T	<i>mekaniky</i>	F	education
University of Toronto	1	n	cont	T	<i>jame'a toronto</i>	F	education
business studies	1	n	cont	T	<i>dirasit ama'al</i>	F	education
business management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarit ama'al</i>	F	education
finance	1	n	cont	T	<i>tamweil</i>	F	education
marketing	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasweeq</i>	F	education
el - masters	2	n	cont	T	<i>majisteir</i>	F	education
open minded	1	adj	cont	T	<i>mutafattih aqleian</i>	F	cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	cont/func	technical	Arabic equivalent	Frequency	Semantic field
culture	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafah</i>	F	cultural
traditions	1	n	cont	T	<i>ada'at</i>	F	cultural
el - cultures	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafat</i>	F	cultural
Shakespeare	2	PN	cont	T	<i>Shakespeare</i>	F	cultural
1984	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Alf o tesmeia o arba otmaneen</i>	F	education
George Orwell	1	PN	cont	T	<i>George Orwell</i>	F	education
Great Gatsby	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Gatsby el azeim</i>	R	education
Totaled terrorism	1	n	cont	T	<i>Majmoo' el irhab</i>	N	education
	74						
A.K. (female)							
business	5	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
Cham city center	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>markaz madina al cham</i>	N	cultural
MBA	5	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	education
masters	3	n	cont	T -	<i>majesteir</i>	F	education
management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarat monsha'at</i>	F	education
four*	1	number	func	T -	<i>arba'a</i>	F	other
point*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>fasila</i>	F	other
thirty five*	1	number	func	T -	<i>kamsa o talateen</i>	F	other
English	1	n	cont	T -			
el - English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
el term	1	n	cont	T -	<i>term</i>	F	education
touch	1	n	cont	T -			cultural
PhD	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	F	education
maximum	1	n	cont	T -	<i>had aqsa</i>	F	cultural
internet	1	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	entertainment
chatting	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dardasha</i>	R	entertainment
tanning	2	n	cont	T -	<i>dibagh al jild</i>	N	entertainment
shopaholic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>modminat tassawaoq</i>		entertainment, shopping
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
el - top	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
jeans	2	n	cont	T -	<i>jeans</i>	F	cultural
ok	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	R	cultural
King Saud University	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>jami'at al malik soud</i>	F	education
KSU	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
in*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>fee</i>	F	other
business*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	cont/func	technical	Arabic equivalent	Frequency	Semantic field
administration*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ldara</i>	F	education
make up	6	n	cont	T -	<i>makyaj</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
style	2	n	cont	T -	<i>osloob</i>	F	cultural
occasion	1	n	cont	T -	<i>monasaba</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
mix	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>moktalat</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
free	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>horr</i>	F	cultural
cheesecake	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cake al jibnih</i>	R	food
Tiramisu	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>tiramissu</i>	N	food
Cinnabon	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cinnabon</i>	F	food
think*	4	v	cont	T -	<i>bfakkir</i>	F	other
positive*	6	adv	cont	T -	<i>iejabeian</i>	F	other
you*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>anta</i>	F	other
can*	2	aux	func	T -	<i>yastateo'</i>	F	other
control*	2	v	cont	T -	<i>yosayter</i>	F	other
your*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>taba'ak</i>	F	other
destiny*	2	n	cont	T -	<i>qadar</i>	F	other
I*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
not*	1	neg	func	T -	<i>ma</i>	F	other
it*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>howa</i>	F	other
thank *	1	v	cont	T -	<i>shokran</i>	F	other
you *	1	pro	func	T -	<i>laka</i>	F	other
the secret	2	PN	func	T -	<i>al sirr</i>	F	cultural
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	entertainment
	81						

The total number of distinct English items that occurred in all the 20 interviews including proper nouns is 443 and with the repeated items is 669. The mobile group A with 397 items within total interviews of 239 minutes scored higher than the other group B with 272 items within 272 minutes interviews.

The loanwords that occurred were categorized according to their semantic field. However some words were categorized into more than one semantic field, e.g. *swimming* is categorized into: entertainment and games, while other words were categorized into one semantic field

such as: *vocabulary words*, both words were categorized into education. Thus, i give the hierarchy below to show how many times each category occurred.

Table 2: Number of occurrences of semantic fields

semantic field	no. of times
Education	109
Cultural	76
Other	74
Entertainment	66
Music	42
Occupation	18
Games	9
Food	8
Shopping	4

## 4.2 Familiar versus unfamiliar informants

As mentioned earlier, informants can be categorized into two main categories: those with whom i have a personal relationship counting 4 male and another 4 female relatives, and my friends counting 4 females and one male. Second, informants whom I first met at the time of the interview, counting 5 males and 2 females. Knowing whether the way i related to each informant affected their use of loanwords is important to the study. Therefore, I give the borrowing hierarchy below, explaining the way I related to each informant on the left column, showing amounts of borrowing in the middle, and on the right column, I give interviews' lengths.

Table 3: A summary of loanwords according to the way i related to the informants

My relation to the informants		Amount of borrowing	Length of interview
<b>Relatives</b>			
males:	A.B.	90	24 min
	K.M.	40	23 min
	A.M.	30	25 min
	O.K.	3	26 min
females:	A.K.	89	30 min
	S.K.2	42	23 min
	S.K.	24	20 min
	R.B.	1	31 min

My relation to the informants		Amount of borrowing	Length of interview
<b>Friends</b>			
males:	A.S.	104	30 min
females:	L.S.	50	23 min
	S.Z.	49	31 min
	R.A.	9	22 min
	R.Z.	3	25 min
<b>Unfamiliar informants</b>			
males:	N.S.	48	31 min
	M.S.	32	28 min
	F.K.	24	20 min
	M.G.	2	20 min
	B.N.	0	31 min
females:	L.T.	14	21 min
	F.A.	10	30 min

As table shows the amount of loanwords according to the length of the interviews does not really affected by the way i related to my informants. At first glance, amount of loans seem generally more with those i knew, but comparing interviews' length shows an unclear pattern since patterns differ considerably within each group, i.e. while both R.B. and A.K. are relatives of mine, and their interviews were similarly long (31 and 30 minutes), R.B. used only one loanword and A.K. used 91 loans. Knowing that A.K. belongs to the mobile group A and R.B. to the less mobile group B makes interpretation easier. Accordingly, mobility seems to play the major role in this diversity rather than my relation to the informants.

### **Informants who used 10 items as a minimum**

Before discussing patterns by gender or analyzing results for all the 20 interviews, it is important to make a distinction between informants who frequently use loanwords from those who do not. A single loan is not adequate for this purpose. Hence, I chose 10 as a cut-off point to distinguish high from low loanword users. Accordingly, 8 members in group A (4 males and 4 females) and only 5 members in group B (3 males and 2 females) made use of more than 10 loanwords. This indicates no gender differences amongst participants in the first group. On the other hand, it shows some variations between the two genders in the other group. See appendix 2 for a complete list of all items used by these informants. More details on gender pattern will be discussed later. In section 4.8 i discuss the frequency of each category of function words.

### 4.3 Analyzing the data

As shown in Table 1 a number of nouns are morphologically integrated to Arabic by being structured according to the Arabic syntax. The Syrian Arabic definite article *el* precedes numerous English items e.g. *el writing*, *el critical thinking*, *el shopping*. However, there was no clear pattern found on when an informant precedes a noun with the Arabic definite article and when they do not, especially that some informants use the same nouns over and over again, and every time it is used differently, one time it occurs preceded by *el*, other times not. For example, A.B. used *chemistry* 3 times, once with *el* preceding it, and twice without. A.K. used *make up* 6 times, 3 times it was preceded by *el* and 3 times not. Moreover, the informants did not only use the Syrian Arabic definite article *el* which is pronounced in the classical Arabic as *al*, but they also used the Syrian Arabic suffix *at* which indicates plural with an English origin word. For example, instead of using the English *s* to indicate plural form of nouns e.g. *malls*, they have added the Syrian *at* at the end of the loan e.g. *mall-at*, *café-iat*. Unlike the random use of the definite article, informants' usage of Syrian plural was fixed, i.e. every time a noun is used in plural form, the Syrian plural suffix was the only option that informants chose. This process is called assimilation by Daher (2003: 6) where he talks about English nouns being used according to Arabic morphology.

Repeated items and how frequently they occurred amongst all speakers are two important dimensions since they offer clues as to which item is likely to be or become an established borrowing (Thomason, 1997: 191). Therefore, a frequency list of borrowed and switched items is given below indicating the number of speakers who share same items. The list starts with most frequent to less frequent words ending with items that occurred 2 times only.

Table 4: A frequency list of borrowed and switched items.

Word	Nu. Of times used	Nu. Of speakers in		Total of both groups
		Group A	Group B	
business	24	6	3	9
english	17	5	4	9
design	12	2	2	4
listening	12	0	2	2
professional	11	1	1	2
music	10	3	4	7
movie	8	2	2	4
mall	7	3	2	5
novel	6	1	1	2

Word	Nu. Of times used	Nu. Of speakers in		Total of both groups
		Group A	Group B	
american	6	3	1	4
database	5	0	1	1
net	5	2	1	3
teacher	4	1	0	1
think	5	2	0	2
Masters	5	2	2	4
computer	5	2	1	3
physics	4	2	0	2
graphic	4	1	1	2
shopping	4	2	0	2
swimming	4	2	1	3
center	4	3	1	4
basic	4	2	1	3
internet	4	2	1	3
fastfood	3	1	0	1
slow	3	1	2	3
art	3	1	1	2
fashion	3	2	0	2
vocabulary	3	1	2	3
reading	3	1	0	1
grade	3	2	0	2
british	3	1	1	2
program	3	1	0	1
skill	2	0	1	1
vocab	2	1	1	2
rap	2	1	1	2
photoshop	2	0	2	2
subtitle	2	1	1	2
jazz	2	0	1	1
techno	2	1	0	1
conversation	2	0	2	2
tradition	2	1	1	2
culture	2	1	0	1
mood	2	2	0	2
math	2	2	0	2
university	2	2	0	2
economic	2	1	0	1
open minded	2	2	0	2
school	2	1	1	2
romantic	2	2	2	4
action	2	1	1	2
café	2	2	0	2
standards	2	1	1	2

Word	Nu. Of times used	Nu. Of speakers in		Total of both groups
		Group A	Group B	
basics	2	2	0	2

As Table 4 shows, *business* and *English* are the most frequent items and they were paralleled with the highest number of speakers, 9. The pattern after these two items is hardly paralleled i.e. the next two items that were used by more speakers are *music* and *mall* and they do not follow the same pattern.

#### 4.4 Borrowing and Code-switching

I now identify types of borrowing / CS that occurred. As I mentioned previously, I mainly rely on how frequent each item is used by informants in the interviews, how they are identified by monolinguals and on my own estimations being an insider who has closely observed the phenomena. I will start horizontally by giving the CS in the left column, then nonce borrowing arranged by frequency of usage followed by becoming-established borrowings, reaching gradually at the traditional established borrowing. Vertically I will start with most frequent to less frequent items. In this way I will have given an insight into the informants' linguistic repertoire in general. Haugen (1950: 212) distinguished two different types of borrowing, importation and substitution. The majority of loanwords were imported, few of them were substituted and thus phonologically integrated. Most integrated items were proper nouns such as, names of cars, restaurants and so forth. These items are widely used by Syrian monolinguals who do not necessarily know their meaning or are able to use them as English words. Hence, not all proper nouns are included in the category of nonce borrowing, only imported items are.

Easily identified switch => nonce borrowing => becoming-established => established traditional borrowing.

Table 5 : Code-switching and borrowing

Easily identified CS ==>>>	Nonce borrowing ==>>	Becoming-established ==>>	Historical est. borrowing
Thank you	Business	business	Computer
	English	masters	Tennis

Easily identified CS =====>	Nonce borrowing =====>	Becoming-established =====>	Historical est. borrowing
very much	Design	music	Bye
	Listening	China	Film
Masters in business administration	professional	movies	Classic
	Music	mall-at	Cheesecake
it is ok	Movie	on line	Cinema
	Mall	games	Jeans
think positive	Novel	Access	Drama
	American	action	Dollar
four point thirty five	Database	American school	
	Net	AutoCAD	
I did	Teacher	hi	
	Think	adobe administrator	
I can't control it	Masters	best friend	
	Computer	café-iat	
I enjoyed it	Physics	cassette	
	Graphic	CDs	
by coding	Shopping	course	
	Swimming	DVD	
I like it very much	Center	best	
	Basic	fashion	
looking back I enjoyed it	Internet	fast food	
	fast food	football	
You can control your destiny	Slow	Google	
	Art	group	
Two words together	Fashion	guitar	
	Vocabulary	I.T.	
	Reading	internet	
	British	make up	
	Program	movie	
	Skill	ok	
	Vocab	sauce	
	Rap	web	
	Photoshop	club	

Because the list of nonce borrowings is very large, I now supply the less frequent nonce borrowing, (i.e. items that were used only once) in a different format for ease of presentation and to save space.

Table 6: Remaining nonce-borrowing of less frequency

Nonce-borrowing of less frequency				
Photoshop	School	American school	I.T.	Industrial
subtitle	Romantic	applications	looking	Interior
jazz	Action	Arabic	make up	interior design
techno	Café	mechanical	man	International
conversation	Standards	back street boys	management	international school
tradition	Basics	Ball	marketing	Jazz
culture	Movies	Cappuchino	max	Jeans
mood	grade eleven	basket	maximum	Language
math	African-American	basketball	MBA	Lebanese
university	Already	Best	Totaled terrorism	top
economic	Active	Free	accent	Lighting
level	Administration	DVD	accounting	Like
biography	Destiny	Friend	basic information	Literature
biology	Developer	Guitar	chatting	computer programming
wine	Drama	hamlet	cheesecake	Control
words	Drop	Hi	chemistry	critical thinking
writing	Duplex	history	China	Economics
chapter	Freeze	Body	Chinese writing	Engineering
character	graphic's design	boring	church	English skills
cultures	hip-hop	Boulevard	city center	Enjoyed
database	Group	British council	civil	Experience
design	Finance	Great Gatsby	class one	fashion design
no	fine art	King Saud University	classic	fast food
noun phrase	Football	KSU	club	Field
novel	Four	minimum	coding	out lines
novella	Four Seasons	Mix	collocation	Over
novels	France	moods	pop	Park
nuts	Gemini	morphology	positive	Pause
occasion	George Orwell	motive	priority	PhD
office	Google	Much	product	ping pong
on line	Grammar	Music	quality	Plot
option	Grammars	networking	quiz	Point
oracle database	Teachers	two	realistic	Rock
semester	Techno	University of Toronto	responding	Romance
seven years	Tennis	Venecia	standards	Romeo and Juliet
Shakespeare	Textile	Very	street	Rules
shopaholic	Thank	Vocab	style	Sauce
shopping	Think	vocabulary	subtitles	Scary
short story	Thinking	vocabulary words	supermarket	scary novels
skills	thirty five	volleyball	suspense	School
slow	Ticketing	walking	swimming	Science
South Africa	Together	Web	syntax	1984
speaking	Cham city center	weight lifting	tables	Trust

Nonce-borrowing of less frequency				
train	Touch	Yeah	tanning	Twelve
translation	Tower	Years	tea boy	Tradition
transport	town center	travelling	teacher	Traditions
business management	business studies			

## 4.5 Proper nouns

In Table 7, I list all proper nouns highlighting in the left column to which semantic field each item belongs.

Table 7: List of proper nouns

Semantic field and numbers of item	Proper noun
cars (2)	BM
	Mercedes
restaurants (2)	Boulevard
	Gemini
formal institution (3)	British Council
	American School
	New Horizons
computer programs (13)	Access
	3 d
	AutoCAD
	CAD
	Computer Aided Design
	Excel
	Oracle
	Oracle Data Base Administrator
	Oracle Data Base Developer
	Photoshop
music bands (2)	Back Street Boys
	Evanescence
malls (2)	City Center
	Cham City Center

Semantic field and numbers of item	Proper noun
food and drinks (4)	Cinnabon
	Tiramisu
	cheese cake
	Cappuchino
cafés (2)	Costa
	In House
certificates (1)	Farm D
hotels (1)	Four Seasons
novels (4)	Hamlet
	Romeo and Juliet
	1984
	Great Gatsby
person (1)	George Orwell
countries and cities (2)	Venecia
	South Africa
movies (1)	I Captured the Bastard

Comparing Table 5 and Table 6 with Table 7 shows items that were integrated to Arabic and items that were not. *Gemini* and *Four Seasons* for example were imported since participants made some efforts to make them similar to their English models. They were pronounced as [ʒəmənɑɪ] and [fɔr sisəns]. Whereas *Mercedes* which is pronounced by American English native speakers as [mərʃeɪdɪz] was substituted by the informant i.e. the informant substituted the most similar sounds of her native language for the original model of English so it was pronounced as [mɑrsidɛs]. Thus, it is less similar and may not be recognized by native speakers of English. Therefore, proper nouns were not included in the nonce borrowing category but in the general lexical borrowing only. Such cases of phonological integration resemble Weinreich's claim (1953) cited in (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 82) that one's first language influences second language acquisition.

## 4.6 Patterns by gender

Grouping the loanword data according to gender of the informants, the result is as follows:

- a) Males from both groups used a total of 373 words.
- b) Females from both groups used a total of 296 words.

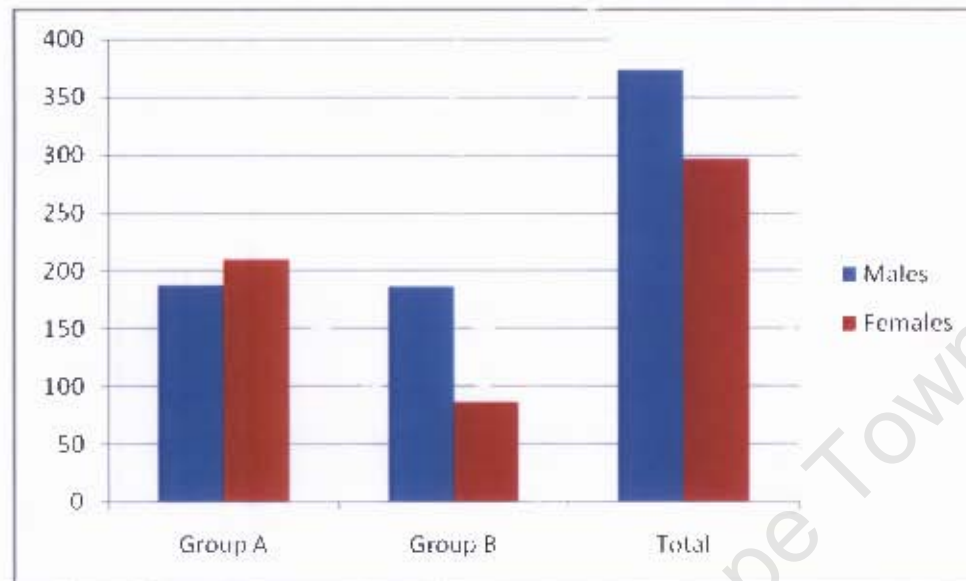
This shows that males scored higher than females which is considered an unexpected result since we agreed that women tend to use more prestigious forms than men. This is especially true if we believe that borrowing from English is considered a prestigious behavior and a mark of privilege due to the dominant situation of English all over the world nowadays. The table below shows the numbers between the two genders within each group, and the results are also shown in chart in figure 3.

Table 8: Totals of loanwords by gender.

	Males	Females
Group A	187	210
Group B	186	86
Total	373	296

So females within the mobile group (group A) scored higher than males but the females in the less mobile group scored less than their male peers. This can be interpreted from two points, first mobility factor and second the type of the new lifestyle and culture that individuals are exposed to. Since KSA is more influenced by the American lifestyle, and individuals (from both genders) are equally exposed to this sociolinguistic behavior which has become prestigious, educated females respond to changes more than males do.

Figure 3 : Totals of loanwords according to gender within each group



#### 4.7 Functionality and prestigious borrowing

Analyzing borrowing from the perspective of functional borrowing (when borrowing is necessary and have no Arabic equivalent) versus prestigious borrowing (when Arabic equivalent is available, but not always used) across the gender line, seems a good area for investigation. Nonetheless, it is not a feasible study here, because there are very few items that don't have Arabic equivalents. Most of these items are technical terms. Therefore, I will instead analyze items in respect to technical and non-technical loanwords.

#### 4.8 Technical loanwords

I assume that males used more technical words than females due to the fields of work/study of my informants and due to the psychological and natural differences between the two genders. As I mentioned earlier, most males enjoyed talking about their own jobs which most of times included dealing with computer programs and using more technical loans than females. Females however, enjoyed talking about various social topics. Thus, I now exclude

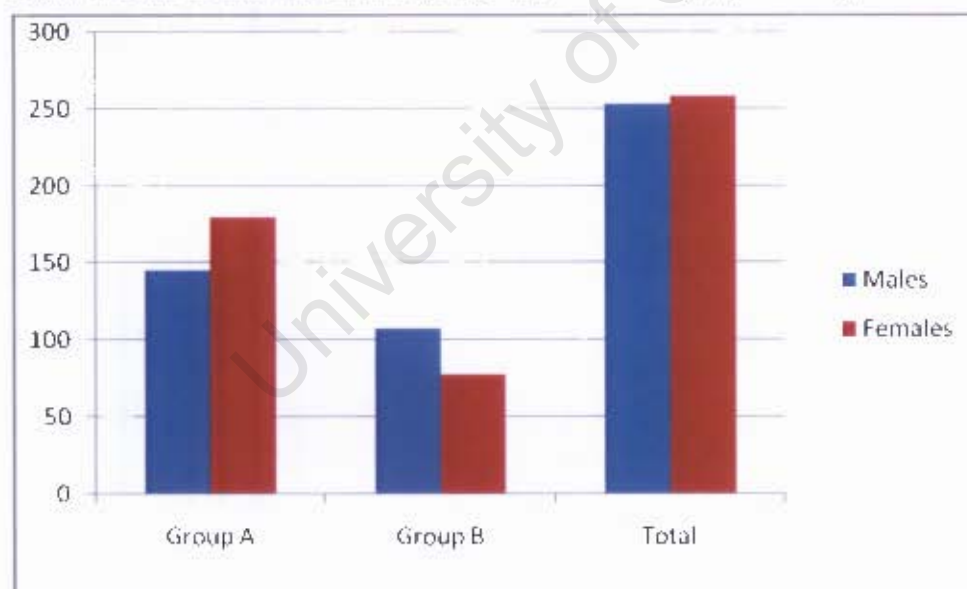
all technical words from the total of both genders, and compare and contrast from this perspective again. The results are shown in the next table.

Table 9 : Totals of loanwords by gender excluding technical terms

	Males	Females
Group A	145	180
Group B	108	78
Total	253	258

In this formula, females scored higher than males between the two groups but not within both groups. The females in the mobile group are still higher than their male peers, whereas females in the less mobile group scored less than males. Thus, my assumption that technical terms might be a crucial element that may change results between the two groups is borne out. Below in Figure 4 is a chart indicating the difference after excluding the technical terms.

Figure 4: Totals of loanwords according to gender within each group excluding technical terms.



I interpret the result in group B in the light of work experience. Possibilities of using and practising English are greater when an individual is employed, especially that most of today's jobs require dealing with computers and thereby using good English. Unlike the equal case of Group A where only one male has a permanent job, 4 out of 5 males belonging to group B have permanent jobs while only 2 females out of 5 have stable jobs. Therefore, work

experience is not crucial in Group A but it is so in Group B and this made a difference to the patterns of borrowing.

#### 4.9 Borrowing by function

In Table 10 I lay out the total of borrowed items, indicating their structural function, excluding grammatical items that occur only in larger CS units, such as articles, prepositions, numbers and auxiliaries. Proper nouns and abbreviated nouns are all included in the noun column. Below is a hierarchy of borrowings which are scaled by frequency, starting from most frequent to less frequent items:

N > Adj > V > Pro > Adv

Table 10: Borrowing by function

Type of word	Group A		Group B		Total of both groups
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Noun	130	127	149	57	463
Adjective	9	22	9	5	43
Verb	4	9	0	1	14
Pronoun	5	7	0	1	13
Adverb	1	10	0	0	11

As Table 10 shows, nouns come at the top of the borrowed items, followed by adjectives and then verbs, as suggested by most linguists (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 170). Function words are however present and used by a number of informants. Thereby, I can categorize the type of contact between Arabic and English amongst the Syrian sample of this study as belonging to the second level according to Thomason's (2001: 68) scaling. Thomason believes that when function words and minor structural elements are borrowed, this indicates that speakers are fluent in the donor language and the contact is slightly intense between the two languages. However, NPs like: *city center* and *best friend* are quite prominent in my informants' speech, and mostly they prefer international short expressions such as *fast food* and *networking*.

## 4.10 Code-switching

According to Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990: 72) CS assumes an access to the syntactic apparatus of more than one language. It is not necessarily that a switched item is a complete sentence. CS can involve the switching between the host's language syntax to the syntax of donor language for constituents smaller than a sentence. The times that my informants switched were less than expected. Of the five informants who switched, 3 belonged to group A consisting of a male and 2 females and a male and a female belonged to group B. Two informants switched when I deliberately switched in the directed question. Nevertheless, as detailed analysis shows only one of them seemed to be really affected by my switching while the other was not. The full analysis is provided later.

Switchers gave either a full sentence or a short phrase. Some of the switches belong to inter-sentential code-switching, other switches are of intra-sentential type. In Table 119, I lay out all the switches indicating in the second column whether the switch is a sentence or a phrase. All switches are analyzed in details in Table 12.

Table 11: Number of switches per speaker

Speaker	No. of times ( phrase or sentence)
<b>Group A</b>	
A.M. (male)	3 sentences
A.K. (female)	4 sentences and 2 phrases
L.S. (female)	1 phrase and 1 sentence
<b>Group B</b>	
S.Z. (female)	1 phrase and 1 sentence
A.S. (male)	1 phrase

In the next table however, I analyze the full switches by all participants. The table is divided into two columns. In the left column I give the switch and in the right column I give the whole sentence where the switch occurred. To ensure that the meaning is clear, I give the question that was directed at the informant and then the answer including the sentence of the CS followed by about three sentences of the context if possible. The full table is given in appendix 3, I give here one informant's switches as an example.

Table 12 : Code-switching analysis

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Group A</p> <p>1) A.K. (female)</p>	<p>Interviewer: bithibby el <i>reading</i>, bte'ri?</p> <p>'Do you like reading, do you read?'</p> <p>A.K. eh</p> <p>'Yes'</p> <p>Interviewer: sho bte'ri?</p> <p>'What do you like to read?'</p> <p>A.K. walla kent zaman i'ra rewayat, a'reit Romeo o Juliet, a'reit dahaba ma'a el reih, a'reit ahdab Notre-Dame ya'any hay el rweayat el alameia kter kent rooh ala jarir o ishtereia o i'raha. halla fe ktab jdid biddy e'era iismo <i>the secret</i> iza sama'ani feh?</p> <p>'I used to read novels a long time ago. I read 'Romeo and Juliet', I read 'Gone with the Wind', I read 'The Hunchback of Notre-Dame' and other international novels. I used to go to <sup>1</sup>Jarir and buy them from there. I have heard recently of a new book called 'The secret' I wonder if you ever heard of it?'</p> <p>Interviewer: lameen ?</p> <p>'By whom?'</p> <p>A.K. <i>the secret</i> ma barif la meen bas kter inshahar, howeh mawdo'o inno <i>think positive</i> betseer el ashya ma'ak <i>positive</i>, ana ma iqtanait be hal fikra bas falaoolny feh kil ma shof hada be 'lly lazem te'rih.</p> <p>'It is called 'the secret' but I don't know by whom, however, it has become very famous. It is basically about: think positive, positive</p>

<sup>1</sup> Jarir is one of the famous big bookstores in Riyadh.

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>a) Think positive</p> <p>You can control your destiny</p> <p>I can't control it</p>	<p>things will happen to you. I do not actually believe in that but people have been killing me with talking about it and every time I talk to some one he advises me to read it.</p> <p>Interviewer: O fe'lan athar be hayaton ?</p> <p>'And did the book really have an effect on its readers' lives?</p> <p>A.K. la, ya'anny ma barif wala hatta ana betwaqa ye'ather be hayati sho hay <i>'think positive'</i> inno ya'any ala mabda' inno <i>you can control your destiny</i>. Ana ma andy hada ell shy <i>destiny</i> aslan maktub <i>I can't control it</i> taba'an fee Hadeeth be o'ol inno tafa'alo bel kair tajidoh o geir heik inno el wahid iza sar shaglih yedii aliha yedii aliha o men alb mahroo' momken alla yegaier el qadar inchalla, addowa' yaroddo al qada bs ladarajit inno <i>think positive</i> bitseer yan'ny masalan iza jiddik ta'ban la tfakkri ino haymoot ma be moot !</p> <p>'no, it did not. And I really do not expect that it will affect my life either. I mean what 'think positive!' Like those people who believe that you can control your destiny but I don't believe in this, destiny is already written so I can't control it. Of course there is a<sup>2</sup>Hadeeth</p>

<sup>2</sup> Hadeeth means the actual words that Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) uttered. However, the informant here was talking casually and she did not give his (pbuh) actual words but she stated the meaning in her own words, and then she stated the meaning of a famous story about Prophet Moses may be pleased by God which is believed to be mentioned by Muhammad (pbuh) and Muslims use it widely to indicate the same theme but actually it is not a Hadeeth. Therefore, I can't put her words between parentheses. Here are the two Hadeeth that she referred to followed by the story she has mentioned:

1) Anas may be pleased by God reported that prophet Muhammad (pbuh) said: 'no infection, no pessimism, I admire optimism'. He was asked: what is optimism? (pbuh) replied: 'A good word' (Riyad Al Saliheen min kalam sayd al mursaleen lil imam Al Nawawi. 740/ 1672)

2) 'Nothing changes destiny except prayers, and nothing increases one's life except birr' (Al Tirmithy, Bab Al- Ama'an 2065/22094)

2) Prophet Moses was the only prophet who had the ability of talking to God, a sterile woman once asked him to talk to God to ask him to grant her with good children, she kept asking him every year and he kept answering that God had told him that she was written a sterile. One day she came to Prophet Moses with a baby in her arms, the prophet asked: whose baby is this? She replied that it was her baby which God had granted her. When Moses asked God, God told him that every time he writes her as a sterile, she calls: merciful God, merciful God, until God's mercifulness preceded the destined fate and granted the woman that baby.

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>2) Masters in business administration</p> <p>Four point thirty five</p>	<p>saying that you should be optimistic, and good things will happen to you. And another one saying that when something unpleasant happens to some one, he should keep praying and praying to God faithfully, if he does so, Alla may change what was destined. Prophet (pbuh) taught us that continuous prayers change what was destined but I think there is an extent to this and it won't reach to the point that think positive, positive things will happen to you e.g. if your granny is sick then do not think she will die so she won't !!</p> <p>Interviewer: sho naweih titkassasi?  'What are you willing to specialize in?'</p> <p>A.K. halla ana aslan takassosi bel jama'a <i>management</i> idarit monsha'at. Biddu a'mil MBA, el MBA bitkoon a'am mafyiha takassoss.</p> <p>'well, my field of study at the moment is management which is management. I would like to do an MBA, an MBA is a general certificate so there are no subfields in it'</p> <p>Interviewer: Heii be'ti'd /</p> <p>' I think it is/'</p> <p>A.K. Heii Masters in business administration.  ' it is called Masters in business administration'</p> <p>Interviewer: emm <i>good</i>  'emm, good'</p> <p>A.K. ma barif ba'a badin sho , heii ay shi ya'any ammeh  'so I don't know if there will be any sub major after it, but it is a general certificate actually'</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
	<p>Interviewer: emm <i>good</i> o keef mla2ei halik bel far' nafsu maslan? Sho el mawad elly btedrsiha? 'emm good and how are you doing in that field? What type of courses are you taking?</p> <p>A.K. halla el far' nafsu ya'anny ana mla'eia hali kter kter tfawaqt bel far' 'I believe that I am doing quite well in this major'</p> <p>Interviewer: aha <i>bravo</i> 'aha bravo'</p> <p>A.K. la'it hali emm ya'nny habit el mawad. Ma' inno awal shy kent kter mistat'lih damma o ma biddy o wala be ay shakl bas habbita kassatan masaln el reyadeyat, iqtisad ketr habito. Yemken mawad el idara elly ma 'dirt ihdima la'inno killa hifz o dash ma 'dirt kteer bas iqtisad, reyadeyat, malleia idara malleia hay killa feha hall o reyadeyat ana bhibb hal ashya. Fa el hmdilla o halla hada el <i>term</i> rafat mu'addali/ 'I really like the courses, although at the beginning I had not liked them at all and I had not liked the whole major but later I liked it especially mathematics, economics which I really liked. I think I still don't like management courses since they require memorizing a lot and they are full of information. But as I told you economics, mathematics, financial management all these courses require a lot of problem solving and mathematical thinking and I really like these things. And thank God I have managed to lift up my GPA this term/'</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>bravo</i> o adey sar? 'Bravo and how much has it become? A.K. sar <i>four point thirty five</i>. 'It has become now arba'a faslih kamsi o tlateen'</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
Thank you	<p>Interviewer: <i>bravo bravo</i> bidna helwan!  ‘bravo bravo, shall we expect a party soon?’  A.B. eh yallaa  ‘yaaa, soon’</p> <p>Interviewer: Shokran la wa’tik  ‘thank you for your time’  A.K. ahlan ahlan (laughter) <i>thank you</i>.  ‘welcome welcome, (laughter) thank you’</p>

#### 4.10.1 A closer look at switchers’ profiles and their switches

Looking at characteristics that distinguish switcher from non-switcher informants is crucial in reaching more accurate findings. Hence, I provide this brief background:

##### Group A

##### 1) A.M.

A.M. was 26 years old at the time of the interview. He is a computer engineer. He had spent all of his life in Saudi Arabia except for one year which he spent in Syria when he was in grade 11. After that year, he came back to KSA where he finished his Bachelor degree. At the time of the interview, he was working in an American company in Riyadh. A.M. had been to a public school as a child and only went to a private school in grade 7. The participant’s family and one of his friends attended the interview. The friend participated during the interview, his participation was helpful in opening some good topics and adding a spontaneous flavor to the interview. At the end of the interview the mother of the participant participated occasionally when A.M. and I were discussing differences between Syrian and Saudi educational systems. The interview lasted for about 25 minutes excluding the mother and friend’s parts. He used 22 loans including three switches. The setting was the informant’s home in Damascus.

By looking precisely at the part where A.M. switched, it can be noticed that his switches are of the inter-sentential type of switching. He switched at sentence level as he gave full sentences in English. The sentences consist of:

1. Pro + V ==> I did
2. Pro +V + Pro ==> I enjoyed it
3. V + Particle + Pro + V + Pro ==> looking back I enjoyed it

Examining the structural circumstances of the switching, I believe, is very important in this study. Therefore, at first glance I thought that I might have affected that switch since my question was directed to the informant in English. But knowing that the informant had preceded my question with the loan *boring* and that he had answered the other question in English as well - when I asked him whether he regretted studying computer engineering (COE) or not - led me to eliminate this option. Especially that I used Arabic in my second question while my informant answered again in English repeating the same sentence with confirmation. See appendix 3 for the full part.

## 2) A.K.

This informant was 21 years old at the time of the interview. She was in the fourth year of study in KSA. She was doing a Bachelor degree in business administration in King Saud University (KSU) where they teach in Arabic. She was never employed. The interview lasted for 30 minutes where she used 47 English words including six switches. The setting: at a quiet corner in a restaurant in Damascus. A.K. studied in private schools since childhood, she spent all her life in KSA except for two years when she was in grade five and six as she studied them in Syria at a private school as well. Her switches vary between inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential one and consist of:

1. V + Adv ==> Think positive
2. Pro + Aux + V + Pro + N ==> You can control your destiny
3. Pro + Aux + Neg + V + Pro ==> I can't control it

4. N + Prep + Comp [ N + N] ==> Masters in business administration
5. V + Pro ==> Thank you
6. Functional numeral ==> Four point thirty five

A.K. switched between the two languages keeping their original phonological features, i.e. no phonological integration was found in her speech. This matches Daher's (2003: 6) claims which I referred to earlier about Syrians adopting English sounds affecting the Arabic phonological sound system. On the other hand, morphological integration occurred like with most other informants who used *mall-at* and *el- English*. Moreover, she gave a sentence that violates both Arabic and English since she left the sentence without any possessive pronoun from either language. Here is the part I am referring to:

Interviewer: O fe'lan athar be hayaton?

'And did the book really have an effect on its readers' lives?

A.K. la, ya'anny ma barif wala hatta ana betwaqa ye'ather be hayati sho hay *think positive!* inno ya'any ala mabda' inno *you can control your destiny*. Ana ma andy hada ell shy *destiny* aslan maktub *I can't control it ...*

'No, it did not. And I really do not expect that it will affect my life either. I mean what think positive! Like those people who believe that you can control your destiny but I don't believe in this, destiny is already written so I can't control it....'

### The analysis:

Ana ma andy hada el shy, destiny aslan maktub *I can't control it*  
 I neg have this the thing destiny originally write + pp I can't control it  
 I don't believe in this, destiny is already written, I can't control it.

However, this sentence violates Arabic and English grammars, because it does not have a possessive pronoun before *destiny*. However, the sentence can still be considered as integrated to Syrian Arabic because in order to refer to something you own in the colloquial

Syrian Arabic, you add [i] at the end of the word indicating that you possess that thing. For example:

1. Qalam ==> qalamy
2. kitab ==> kitaby
- Pen ==> my pen
- book ==> my book

Given that the English word *destiny*, [dɛstəni] already ends with [i], it was impossible to apply the exact rule. It could have been an option to stress it saying *desteneyy*, [dɛstənnii]. A.K. did not use this hard-to-pronounce choice deciding not to use any possessive pronoun as the word has a natural equivalent that implies the possession situation.

### 3) L.S.

L.S. is a female who was 19 years old at the time of the interview. She lived most of her life in KSA, moving to SAR when she was 18. She had been to private school in Riyadh. At the time of the interview, she was doing her Bachelor degree in decoration engineering at a private university in SAR. She was never employed. The interview lasted for 23 minutes where she used 24 loans including two phrases. The setting: at the interviewee's home in Damascus. L.S.'s switches consist of:

1. Adv + adv ==> Very much
2. Pro + V + Pro + Adv + Adv ==> I like it very much

As seen L.S. gave me a short phrase in English when I asked her whether she liked her major or not, answering *very much*. Apparently, she realized that gave a short phrase so she repeated the answer in full immediately forming a full meaningful sentence.

### Group B

#### 1) S.Z.

This informant was 28 years old when the interview was held. She already has a diploma in English language from a local institute in Damascus. She was doing a bachelor's degree in Arabic/English - English/Arabic translation and was in the third year of study. She had studied at a government school before going on to a government university. As she said in

her interview, she was an employee for a company that offers business services. The interview lasted for 31 minutes and she used 23 English words including two switches. The setting: in a quiet restaurant in Damascus city. The switches consist of:

1. Pro + Aux + Adj ==> It is okay
2. N + N + Adj ==> two words together

Like most of the informants, S.Z. gave a short phrase that functions as a full sentence while describing the meaning of *collocations* and one full sentence describing that she felt content about her current job.

## 2) A.S.

This participant was 36 years old. He is a civil engineer originally but he had changed his major later after realizing that he would prefer the field of technology rather than his original field. He had been to a government school as a child and to a government university as an adult. At the time of the interview, he had been working at New Horizons Center as a teacher. The interview lasted for 30 minutes, with 83 loanwords (including a phrase) being used. Most of the loans were technical proper nouns that related to his work field. The setting: in the open area of the *New Horizons'* café after he had finished teaching. The phrase consists of:

1. Prep + verbal N ==> By coding

### 4.10.2 Some informants' views towards using English

One of the frequent questions I asked my informants was how and where did they learn English? It is interesting to note that their personal views towards borrowing phenomenon were paralleled with the use of English in their speeches. The more positive they were, the more the loans occurred in their speeches. This takes me back to Thomason's belief (2001: 22) about speaker's attitude and how strong their sense of ethnic identity is. For example, F.K., who belongs to group A and was studying at an international school in Riyadh, used only 14 English words in an interview of 20 minutes. He was planning to do his bachelor's degree in business in USA. During the interview while we were talking about teaching in English, he showed his attitude towards people who switch to English while using Arabic as the main

medium. F.K. believed that this behavior is a reflection of being snobbish and that it is more popular in Syria than in KSA. He said:

F.K. ....ya'any sahi nihna *international school* bas ma bhib inno ana o'od bein ref'ati ihki *English*, bhissa shofit hal, ya'anny halla hon bitrohy bitshofy bil souq killo beihki *English!* tayb o nihna mnihky *English* leih btihko *English* ya'any? Leih shofit el ha'l, ya'anny saert el *English* moda hon.

'Although I study at an international school but I do not like to talk to my friends in English, I feel it is a snobbish thing, I mean if you go here and look at the way people talk to each other in shops, you find them talking in English ! Ok we can also speak English why do you speak English? Why being so arrogant? I mean English has become a fashion here!'

Hence, F.K. believed that switching to English is a conscious behavior that marks one as an arrogant person who wants to show others that he/she can speak the language. This attitude explains the small number of loans that occurred in his speech. It further reflects his strong sense of identity. It also shows that although he himself was a student at an international school, he did not favour using English at all times, like with friends outside school or at home with the family. The fact that F.K. used 10 + loans (e.g. *English* and *international school*) in spite of his negative attitude towards this behavior indicates the unconscious side of this phenomenon. In other words, this behavior is located somewhere between one's consciousness and unconsciousness since it does not exactly operate from merely one direction. Rather, it results from some give-and-take between one's beliefs and the dominant beliefs of the society. This may also indicate that those who used more loans were unconsciously motivated by their own admiration of this behavior and they wanted to fit in with the new social trends. However, F.K. claimed that this behavior is more obvious in Syria than in KSA, I think, his claim comes from his own personal experience and it does not really match the results in this study which I will discuss in the next chapter. The rest of the informants, when I asked about teaching in English, did not offer their personal opinions regarding the borrowing phenomenon. All of them however, encouraged teaching in English especially for post-school education.

After this background about switchers' profiles, apparently, they do not share the same type of schooling. For example, 2 switchers went to private schools, the other 2 went to government schools and 1 went to both types. This last person had been in a government school as a child and in a private school as an adult. Non-switchers diverge in terms of schooling system as well. Four of them went to private schools, 3 went to international schools while the rest 8 went to government schools. Thus, I believe that there is no clear pattern distinguishing switchers from other non-switcher informants that is related to their schooling system or degree of mobility. Therefore, they must have various personal experiences that distinguish their English competence from each other, giving the ability to some of them to use both languages back and forth freely and often than others.

#### **4.11 Conclusions**

At this stage, I believe, using English amongst the young generation of Syrian citizens is considered a prestigious behavior. In addition to having positive attitudes, informants who are employed seem to have stronger English competence and motivation that enables them to practice the language and get familiar with its usage more often than non-employed informants.

Since CS occurred in both groups, by those who went to government schools as well as those who went to private schools, I believe, CS is mostly affected by individual exposure and other personal experiences such as their access to Hollywood movies and internet. In other words, all participants' practices that may get them in contact directly or indirectly with English like reading English materials and communicating with non-Arabic speaker friends and so forth.

## 5. Conclusion

This study aimed to shed light on the various types of language contact phenomena taking place in the Middle East between Arabic and English amongst two groups of middle-class Syrian citizens. This situation comprises mostly EFL which differs noticeably from the more famous ESL situation in Africa popularised in Myers-Scotton's research. The first group A is more mobile than group B, keeping in mind that mobility here does not involve the meaning of absolute immigration but of having been in contact with other cultures and explored other traditions besides one's origin. The result then is having mixed views and cultures that may affect one's sociolinguistic repertoire. I then studied the impact of this cultural mixing on the sociolinguistic behaviours of its members, finding out whether it is enough to distinguish them from their less mobile peers. Pennycook's (1994: 14) claim about English being "a crucial distributor of social prestige and wealth" proved its validity. Some estimations have been made on gender differences, types of language contact results that occurred and their characteristics within each group. The findings are discussed below from various perspectives according to the given factors.

The analysis of the examined sample shows that the contact between English and Arabic amongst young middle-class Syrians is not very intense. It can be categorized in the second level of the four major levels discussed in section 1.5.2 and proposed by (Thomason, 2001: 69 -71). Thomason believes that in this level, borrowers are fluent in the donor language and they borrow function words and minor structural elements. Syrian citizens learn English motivated by the desire for the secure economic status that seems to accompany it. Mass media plays a major role in facilitating acquiring and listening to English discourses, thus reinforcing one's competence of using the language appropriately.

The use of English occurred more often in the mobile group rather than the less mobile one. Accordingly, mobility turns out to be an effective element in language contact, especially since it has exposed informants to more direct contact situations with English speakers who are mobile as well. Both groups however, are equally exposed to indirect situations since informants have access to Hollywood movies and western music, keeping in mind that the

amount of one's making use of such availability stays, to a large extent, a personal preference.

Most loans occurred when informants were talking about topics that are linked to their jobs, fields of study or the recent technology. Males used more loans than females in general, due to the unequal situations between males and females in respect to work experience. Gaining and using more technical items is directly linked to being an employee. When the two genders have equal work experience, results become different and females use more loans than males.

A speaker's attitude proved to be a salient underlying element in the degree of borrowing and switching. There is a parallel between how often one uses loanwords and his personal attitude towards this behavior. Borrowing occurred more often than CS in both groups, since CS takes place on advanced stages of language contact phenomena that require strong communicative skills in the second language, i.e. ESL more than EFL context.

Findings show no clear patterns that distinguish switchers from non-switchers. I observed that this issue depends mainly on how strong English competence each informant has, besides his/her attitude. English competence grows stronger when an individual is employed. Obviously, most jobs today involve dealing with computer programs and recent technology which is presented mainly in English. In this way, an individual finds a natural environment to practise his/her language. Accessing actively the various English facilities, programs, books and internet adds credits to one's competence as well.

At this point, it is safe to conclude that the degree of borrowing in the two Middle Eastern countries seems not as vast and major as in ESL bilingualism. For example, Zentella's (1997) study where the focus is on the second generation of Spanish immigrants whose English is their L2 and who have been socializing with Americans as well as with their immigrant Spanish peers. Moreover, Myers-Scotton whose work is on the multilingual African society where English is used everyday in the written literature and regarded as L2. Arabic, on the other hand, seems to be 'holding its own' against the invasion of English. This can mainly be interpreted by knowing that the situations of English in the two Middle Eastern countries are still in a transmitting stage which has not reached its final destination yet.

## 5.1 Future research suggestions

The mobile group of this study has been exposed to a mixed culture from the beginning of their lives. Although they live in KSA, they have been exposed to an American lifestyle which characterizes the country, besides being influenced by the Syrian culture from their parents and their regular contact with their extended families in SAR. On the contrary, their parents had been constantly exposed to the mother culture for about 25 years. Then, subsequently they were exposed to another 20 years to a different culture during their stay in KSA, despite the intention of returning home. Unlike their children who have been in contact with two cultures at one time from the beginning, the parents' generation is the one which has experienced direct change between two different cultures through two transitional periods. Haugen (1972: 1) said that an immigrant cannot reshape his or her speech overnight, for speech habits are rooted very deeply in one's emotional and intellectual life. Again the parents' generation cannot be considered an immigrant generation since they kept themselves in regular contact with their roots. But they have experienced different linguistic circumstances in the last two decades that may have affected their sociolinguistic repertoire. Therefore, it would be interesting to compare differences/ similarities between the two generations; to find out the degree of influence of the mother culture that was kept and transmitted to the second generation on the one hand, and the amounts of penetration of the mixed or foreign culture on both generations on the other hand. This is given the fact that the young generation's members still identify themselves as Syrian citizens just like their ancestors.

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## 7. Appendices

### 7.1 Appendix 1 English items and their features

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
<i>Group (A):</i>							
<i>A.B. (male)</i>							
computer	2	n	cont	T	<i>hasoub</i>	R	education
programs	1	n	cont	T	<i>baramij</i>	F	education, occupation
el - chemistry	3	n	cont	T	<i>kemya</i>	F	education
el - physics	3	n	cont	T	<i>fezya</i>	F	education
computer programming	2	n	cont	T	<i>barmajit computer</i>	F	education
el - biology	3	n	cont	T	<i>ahya</i>	F	education
drop	2	n	cont	T -	<i>hadf</i>	F	education
business	4	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
economics	2	n	cont	T	<i>iqtisaad</i>	F	education
accounting	2	n	cont	T	<i>hisaab</i>	F	education
math	1	n	cont	T	<i>reyadeiaat</i>	F	education
basic	2	adj	cont	T	<i>assasi</i>	F	education
Islamic	1	n	cont	T	<i>islamy</i>	F	education
el - basketball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al salla</i>	F	entertainment, games
swimming	1	n	cont	T	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
ping pong	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment, games
tennis	1	n	cont	T	<i>tennis</i>	F	entertainment, games
weight lifting	1	n	cont	T	<i>raf'e athqa'al</i>	F	entertainment
reading	3	n	cont	T	<i>qira'a</i>	F	entertainment
Hamlet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Hamlet</i>	F	education
novel	2	n	cont	T	<i>rewaya</i>	F	education
vocabulary words	1	n	cont	T	<i>hasilat el mufradat</i>	F	education
Romeo and Juliet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Romeo wa Juliet</i>	F	education
scary novels	1	n	cont	T	<i>rewayat mokifih</i>	F	education
techno	2	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
music	1	n	cont	T	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
rap	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
hip-hop	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
moods	1	n	cont	T	<i>miza'aj</i>	F	music
volleyball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al ta'era</i>	F	entertainment, games
el - basics	1	n	cont	T	<i>assasiyat</i>	F	entertainment
club	1	n	cont	T	<i>nadi</i>	F	cultural
wine	1	n	cont	T	<i>nabeith</i>	F	cultural
control	2	n	cont	T	<i>saytara</i>	F	cultural
engineering	2	n	cont	T	<i>handasa</i>	F	education
civil	1	n	cont	T	<i>madani</i>	F	education
mechanical	1	n	cont	T	<i>mekaniky</i>	F	education
University of Toronto	1	n	cont	T	<i>jame'a toronto</i>	F	education
business studies	1	n	cont	T	<i>dirasit ama'al</i>	F	education
business management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarit ama'al</i>	F	education
finance	1	n	cont	T	<i>tamweil</i>	F	education
marketing	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasweeq</i>	F	education
el - masters	2	n	cont	T	<i>majisteir</i>	F	education
open minded	1	adj	cont	T	<i>mutafattih aqleian</i>	F	cultural
culture	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafah</i>	F	cultural
traditions	1	n	cont	T	<i>ada'at</i>	F	cultural
el - cultures	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafat</i>	F	cultural
Shakespeare	2	PN	cont	T	<i>Shakespeare</i>	F	cultural
1984	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Alf o tesmeia o arba otmaneen</i>	F	education
George Orwell	1	PN	cont	T	<i>George Orwell</i>	F	education
Great Gatsby	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Gatsby el azeim</i>	R	education
Totalled terrorism	1	n	cont	T	<i>Majmoo' el irhab</i>	N	education
	74						
O.K. (male)							
China	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al sein</i>	F	cultural
el - dollar	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>dollar</i>	F	cultural
	3						
A.M. (male)							
computer	1	n	cont	T	<i>hasoub</i>	R	education
boring	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>momill</i>	F	education
I*	3	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
did*	1	v	func	T -	<i>amila</i>	F	other
enjoyed*	2	v	cont	T -	<i>istamta't</i>	F	other
it*	2	pro	func	T -	<i>fiha</i>	F	other
looking*	1	v	cont	T -	<i>ittala</i>	F	other

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
back*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la wara</i>	F	other
el - basics	1	n	cont	T -	<i>assasiyat</i>	F	education
movies	1	n	cont	T -	<i>afflam</i>	F	entertainment
el - mood	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mizaj</i>	F	entertainment
business man	1	n	cont	T -	<i>rajul ama'al</i>	F	occupation, cultural
max	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>kahad aqsa</i>	F	cultural
free	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>horreia</i>	F	cultural
rock	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>		music
level	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mostawa</i>	F	cultural
standards	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasafat</i>	F	cultural
el - mall-at	2	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
cinema	3	n	cont	T -	<i>cinema</i>	F	entertainment
center	1	n	cont	T -	<i>markaz</i>	F	other
professional	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>ihtirafy</i>	F	cultural
	28						
<i>K.M. (male)</i>							
American	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>amreki</i>	F	education
grade eleven	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al hadi ashar</i>	F	education
Guitar	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
football	1	n	cont	T -	<i>korat el qadam</i>	F	entertainment
Ball	1	n	cont	T -	<i>korat</i>	F	entertainment
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
el - math	1	n	cont	T	<i>reyadeiaat</i>	F	cultural
el - critical thinking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al tafkir al naqdi</i>	F	cultural, education
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizy</i>	F	education
el - rock	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	muisc
el - slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
experience	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kibra</i>	F	education
teachers	3	n	cont	T -	<i>moallimein</i>	F	education
teacher	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moallim</i>	F	education
international school	1	n	cont	T -	<i>madrasa alameia</i>	R	education
biography	1	n	cont	T	<i>ahya</i>	F	education
open minded	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mutafattih aqleian</i>	F	cultural, education
chemistry	1	n	cont	T	<i>kemya</i>	F	education
physics	1	n	cont	T	<i>fezya</i>	F	education
literature	1	n	cont	T	<i>adab</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
grammar	1	n	cont	T	<i>qawa'id</i>	F	education
vocab	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
already	1	adv	func	T -	<i>al a'an</i>	F	entertainment
South Africa	1	n	cont	T -	<i>janoub afregeia</i>	F	other
city center	1	n	cont	T -	<i>markaz al madina</i>	F	cultural
	28						
<i>F.K. (male)</i>							
grade twelve	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al thani ashar</i>	F	education
grade eleven	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al hadi ashar</i>	F	education
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
seven years	1	n	cont	T -	<i>sab' snin</i>	F	cultural, education
international	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dowali</i>	F	education
English	5	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
games	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al'ab</i>	F	entertainment
on line	1	adj	func	T	<i>tale' al kat</i>	R	other
swimming	1	n	cont	T -	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
	14						
<i>S.K. (female)</i>							
internet	1	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	entertainment
drama	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>al masraheia</i>	F	entertainment
romance	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansseia</i>	F	entertainemnt
action	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
el - shopping	1	n	cont	T -	<i>tassawaoq</i>	F	entertainment, shopping
field	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majal</i>	F	occupation
romantic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansseia</i>	F	other
African-American	1	n	cont	T -	<i>afreqi ameriki</i>	F	other
Lebanese	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>libnaniyat</i>	F	other
American	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>amrikeiyat</i>	F	other
el - English	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
café-iat	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maqahi</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
option	2	n	cont	T -	<i>kayar</i>	F	cultural
Venesia	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>al bondoqeia</i>	R	cultural
Gemini	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
Boulevard	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	etertainment

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
Costa	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
In house	3	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
	22						
<i>S.K. 2 (female)</i>							
movies	1	n	cont	T -	<i>aflam</i>	F	entertainment
café-iat	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maqahi</i>	F	entertainment
interior design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim dakili</i>	F	education
graphic's design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim grafeek</i>	R	education
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	entertainment
hi	1	n	cont	T -	<i>marhaba</i>	F	cultural
body	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jasad</i>	F	cultural
business man	1	n	cont	T	<i>rajul ama'al</i>	F	other
friend	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sadeiq</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
shopping	3	n	cont	T -	<i>tassawoq</i>	F	entertainment, shopping
el - best friend	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al sadeiq al afdal</i>	R	entertainment
fast food	3	n	cont	T -	<i>al akl al saree'</i>	R	food
el - basket	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sallih</i>	F	entertainment, games
subtitles	1	n	cont	T -	<i>anaween</i>	F	education
British council	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al majlis al britani</i>	R	education
British	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>britani</i>	F	education
American	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>amriki</i>	F	education
accent	1	n	cont	T -	<i>lahjih</i>	F	education
Cappuchino	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	food
bye	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ma assalama</i>	F	cultural
ok	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	R	cultural
thank	1	v	cont	T -	<i>shokran</i>	F	other
you	1	pro	func	T -	<i>laka</i>	F	other
	32						
<i>A.K. (female)</i>							
business	5	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
Cham city center	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>markaz madina al cham</i>	N	cultural
MBA	5	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	education
masters	3	n	cont	T -	<i>majesteir</i>	F	education
management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarat monsha'at</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
four*	1	number	func	T -	<i>arba'a</i>	F	other
point*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>fasila</i>	F	other
thirty five*	1	number	func	T -	<i>kamsa o talateen</i>	F	other
English	1	n	cont	T -			
el - English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
el term	1	n	cont	T -	<i>term</i>	F	education
touch	1	n	cont	T -			cultural
PhD	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	F	education
maximum	1	n	cont	T -	<i>had aqsa</i>	F	cultural
internet	1	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	entertainment
chatting	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dardasha</i>	R	entertainment
tanning	2	n	cont	T -	<i>dibagh al jild</i>	N	entertainment
shopaholic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>modminat tassawaoq</i>		entertainment, shopping
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
el - top	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
jeans	2	n	cont	T -	<i>jeans</i>	F	cultural
ok	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	R	cultural
King Saud University	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>jami'at al malik soud</i>	F	education
KSU	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
in*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>fee</i>	F	other
business*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
administration*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ldara</i>	F	education
make up	6	n	cont	T -	<i>makyaj</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
style	2	n	cont	T -	<i>osloob</i>	F	cultural
occasion	1	n	cont	T -	<i>monasaba</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
mix	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>moktalat</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
free	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>horr</i>	F	cultural
cheesecake	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cake al jibnih</i>	R	food
Tiramisu	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>tiramissu</i>	N	food
Cinnabon	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cinnabon</i>	F	food
think*	4	v	cont	T -	<i>bfakkir</i>	F	other
positive*	6	adv	cont	T -	<i>iejabeian</i>	F	other
you*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>anta</i>	F	other
can*	2	aux	func	T -	<i>yastateo'</i>	F	other
control*	2	v	cont	T -	<i>yosayter</i>	F	other
your*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>taba'ak</i>	F	other

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
destiny*	2	n	cont	T -	<i>qadar</i>	F	other
I*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
not*	1	neg	func	T -	<i>ma</i>	F	other
it*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>howa</i>	F	other
thank *	1	v	cont	T -	<i>shokran</i>	F	other
you *	1	pro	func	T -	<i>laka</i>	F	other
the secret	2	PN	func	T -	<i>al sirr</i>	F	cultural
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	entertainment
	81						
<i>L.S. (female)</i>							
very*	2	adv	func	T -	<i>kter</i>	F	education
much*	2	adv	func	T -	<i>jiddan</i>	F	education
I*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
like*	1	v	cont	T -	<i>habbit</i>	F	other
it*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ha</i>	F	other
realistic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>waqi'i</i>	F	education
fashion design	2	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim azya'</i>	F	education
interior design	4	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim dakili</i>	F	education
interior	3	adj	cont	T	<i>dakili</i>	F	education
nuts	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mukassarat</i>	F	food
sauce	1	n	cont	T -	<i>salsa</i>	F	food
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
history of art	1	n	cont	T	<i>tarik al fan</i>	F	education
textile	1	n	cont	T -	<i>nasij</i>	F	education
lighting	1	n	cont	T -	<i>inara</i>	F	education
industrial	1	adj	cont	T	<i>sina'y</i>	F	education
el best	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>al afdal</i>	F	other
train	2	n	cont	T -	<i>qitar</i>	F	other
tower	1	n	cont	T -	<i>burj</i>	F	other
park	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mawqef</i>	F	other
group	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majmoa'a</i>	F	other
semester	1	n	cont	T	<i>fasl</i>	F	education
quiz	3	n	cont	T -	<i>imtihan</i>	F	education
tea boy	1	n	cont	T -	<i>walad al shay</i>	F	cultural
supermarket	1	n	cont	T -	<i>baqqalah kabeera</i>	F	cultural, shopping
four seasons	1	n	cont	T -	<i>el fosol el arba'a</i>	R	other
duplex	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>muzdawaj</i>	F	cultural
	39						

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
<i>R.Z. (female)</i>							
fashion	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moda</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
over	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>kteer</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
make up	1	n	cont	T -	<i>makyaj</i>	F	entertainment
	3						
<i>Group (B):</i>							
<i>M.S. (male)</i>							
el - movie	5	n	cont	T -	<i>film</i>	F	education
no	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la'a</i>	F	music
slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
course	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dawra deraseia</i>	F	education
el - vocab	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
vocabulary	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
el - writing	1	n	cont	T	<i>al kitabah</i>	F	education
el - listening	11	n	cont	T	<i>al istima'a</i>	F	education
el - speaking	2	n	cont	T	<i>al tahaddoth</i>	F	education
film	1	n	cont	T -	<i>film</i>	F	entertainment
music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
English skills	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maharat iglizeia</i>	R	education
conversation	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muhadatha</i>	F	education
interview	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muqabalah</i>	F	cultural
	30						
<i>N.S. (male)</i>							
skills	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maharat</i>	F	education
cassette	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shareit</i>	F	education
CDs	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	cultural, education
el - listening	1	n	cont	T -	<i>istima'a</i>	F	education
el - movies	2	n	cont	T -	<i>aflam</i>	F	entertainment
el - music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
el - English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
el - subtitles	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ana'ween fareia/al tarjamah</i>	R	education, cultural
DVD	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
Arabic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>araby</i>	F	entertainment, music
swimming	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
pop	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
el - slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - jazz	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - rap	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
new horizons	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>al afa'aq al jadedda</i>	R	occupation
Photoshop	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	occupation
el - graphic	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasameim</i>	R	occupation
graphic's design	2	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim grafeek</i>	N	occupation
3 d	1	PN	cont	T	<i>tlatit amya'al</i>	F	other
el - language	1	n	cont	T -	<i>logha</i>	F	cultural
responding	1	n	cont	T -	<i>istijabah</i>	F	cultural
professional	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>ihtrafy</i>	F	cultural, education
active	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>hayawi</i>	F	cultural
business	6	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	cultural
motive	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>anda dafi'</i>	F	cultural
freeze	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>jamideen</i>	F	cultural
transport	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasalat</i>	F	cultural
travelling	1	n	cont	T -	<i>safar</i>	F	cultural
applications	1	n	cont	T -	<i>tatbeiqat</i>	R	cultural, occupation
quality	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>naw'</i>	F	cultural
France	1	n	cont	T -	<i>faransa</i>	F	cultural
	44						
<i>M.G. (male)</i>							
el - town center	1	n	cont	T -	<i>markaz al madina</i>	F	entertainment
	2						
<i>A.S. (male)</i>							
CAD	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
computer aided design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim bemosadat el computer</i>	R	other
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
trust	1	n	cont	T -	<i>thiqa</i>	F	occupation, cultural
new horizons	8	PN	cont	T -	<i>al afa'aq al jadedda</i>	R	occupation
standards	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasafat</i>	F	occupation, cultural
el office	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maktab</i>	F	occupation
design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim</i>	F	occuaption
AutoCAD	1	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
Photoshop	1	PN	cont	T	N	N	other
adobe administrator	1	PN	cont	T	N	N	other
oracle data base administrator	1	PN	cont	T	<i>mudeer qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
oracle data base developer	1	PN	cont	T	<i>mutawwer qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
oracle database	1	n	cont	T	<i>qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
el - database	4	n	cont	T	<i>qaidat bayanat</i>	F	other
Oracle	9	PN	cont	T	N	N	occupation
developer	1	adj	cont	T	<i>mutawwer</i>		other
Access	5	PN	cont	T	N	N	other
el - wizard	1	PN	cont	T	N	N	other
tables	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jadwal</i>	F	other
by*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>be</i>	F	other
coding*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al barmajih</i>	F	other
SQL	1	n	cont	T	N	N	other
PLSQL	2	n	cont	T	N	N	other
web	1	n	cont	T	<i>web</i>	F	other
internet	2	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	other
Google	2	PN	cont	T -	<i>google</i>	F	other
basic information	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maloma assasseia</i>	F	other
networking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shabakat</i>	F	other
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	other
music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
English	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	music
priority	1	n	cont	T -	<i>awlaweia</i>	F	music
walking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mashy</i>	F	entertainment
tradition	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ada'at</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
class one	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al sinf al awal</i>	F	entertainment
group	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majmo'a</i>	F	entertainment
excel	2	PN	cont	T	N	N	occupation
I.T.	14	n	cont	T	<i>teknologeiate al malomat</i>	R	occupation
out lines	1	n	cont	T -	<i>anaween</i>	F	cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
pause	1	n	cont	T -	<i>iqaf moaq'at</i>	R	cultural
classic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>klasekeia</i>	F	entertainment, music
	83						
<i>B.N. (male)</i>	0						
<i>L.T. (female)</i>							
fine art	2	n	cont	T	<i>fonon</i>	F	education
level	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mostawa</i>	F	education
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	cultural
romantic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansl</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
action	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
English	1	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
mall	2	n	cont	T -	<i>souq</i>	F	entertainment
I captured the bastard	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
	10						
<i>R.A. (female)</i>							
maximum	1	n	cont	T -	<i>had aqsa</i>	F	cultural
minimum	1	n	cont	T -	<i>had adna</i>	F	cultural
British council	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al majlis al britani</i>	R	education
American school	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al madrasah al amerikeia</i>	R	education
	5						education
<i>F.A. (female)</i>							
ticketing	2	n	cont	T -	<i>tazakir</i>	F	occupation
suspense	1	n	cont	T -	<i>tashweeq</i>	F	entertainment
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment
pop	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
evanescence	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
product	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muntaj</i>	F	cultural
quality	1	n	cont	T -	<i>naw'</i>	F	cultural
BM	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
Mercedes	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	other
	10						
<i>R.B. (female)</i>							
farm D	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	other
<i>S.Z. (female)</i>							

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
el - business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	occupation
conversation	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muhadathi</i>	F	education
linguistics	2	n	cont	T -	<i>logaweiat</i>	F	education
it *	1	pro	func	T -	<i>howa</i>	F	other
is*	1	v	func	T -	<i>N</i>	N	other
okay*	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	F	other
syntax	3	n	cont	T	<i>al naho</i>	F	education
chapter	2	n	cont	T -	<i>fasl</i>	F	education
morphology	1	n	cont	T	<i>ilm al sarf</i>	F	education
grammars	1	n	cont	T	<i>al qawa'id</i>	F	education
novel	2	n	cont	T -	<i>rewaya</i>	F	education
novella	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
short story	1	n	cont	T -	<i>qissa qasera</i>	F	education
plot	1	n	cont	T -	<i>habka</i>	F	education
character	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shakseia</i>	F	education
no	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la'</i>	F	education
church	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kanisa</i>	F	occupation
Chinese writing	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kitabih seneia</i>	F	cultural
hi	5	n	cont	T -	<i>salam</i>	F	other
vocabulary	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
noun phrase	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shibh jumla ismeia</i>	F	education
two*	1	number	func	T -	<i>itnen</i>	F	education
words*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kalimat</i>	F	other
together*	1	adj	func	T -	<i>ma' ba'd</i>	F	other
yeah	1	n	cont	T -	<i>eh</i>	F	other
Science of Translation	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
collocation	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kalimat tosta'amal ma ba'd</i>	N	education
Back Street Boys	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
rules	1	n	cont	T -	<i>qawa'id</i>	F	cultural
	39						
All:	54						
	7						

## 7.2 Appendix 2 Loanwords used by informants who borrowed 10 +

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
<i>Group (A):</i>							
<i>A.B. (male)</i>							
computer	2	n	cont	T	<i>hasoub</i>	R	education
programs	1	n	cont	T	<i>baramij</i>	F	education, occupation
el - chemistry	3	n	cont	T	<i>kemya</i>	F	education
el - physics	3	n	cont	T	<i>fezya</i>	F	education
computer programming	2	n	cont	T	<i>barmajit computer</i>	F	education
el - biology	3	n	cont	T	<i>ahya</i>	F	education
drop	2	n	cont	T -	<i>hadf</i>	F	education
business	4	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
economics	2	n	cont	T	<i>iqtisaad</i>	F	education
accounting	2	n	cont	T	<i>hisaab</i>	F	education
math	1	n	cont	T	<i>reyadeiaat</i>	F	education
basic	2	adj	cont	T	<i>assasi</i>	F	education
Islamic	1	n	cont	T	<i>islamy</i>	F	education
el - basketball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al salla</i>	F	entertainment, games
swimming	1	n	cont	T	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
ping pong	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment, games
tennis	1	n	cont	T	<i>tennis</i>	F	entertainment, games
weight lifting	1	n	cont	T	<i>raf'e athqa'al</i>	F	entertainment
reading	3	n	cont	T	<i>qira'a</i>	F	entertainment
Hamlet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Hamlet</i>	F	education
novel	2	n	cont	T	<i>rewaya</i>	F	education
vocabulary words	1	n	cont	T	<i>hasilat el mufradat</i>	F	education
Romeo and Juliet	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Romeo wa Juliet</i>	F	education
scary novels	1	n	cont	T	<i>rewayat mokifih</i>	F	education
techno	2	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
music	1	n	cont	T	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
rap	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
hip-hop	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	music
moods	1	n	cont	T	<i>miza'aj</i>	F	music
volleyball	1	n	cont	T	<i>korat al ta'era</i>	F	entertainment, games

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
el - basics	1	n	cont	T	<i>assasiyat</i>	F	entertainment
club	1	n	cont	T	<i>nadi</i>	F	cultural
wine	1	n	cont	T	<i>nabeith</i>	F	cultural
control	2	n	cont	T	<i>saytara</i>	F	cultural
engineering	2	n	cont	T	<i>handasa</i>	F	education
civil	1	n	cont	T	<i>madani</i>	F	education
mechanical	1	n	cont	T	<i>mekaniky</i>	F	education
University of Toronto	1	n	cont	T	<i>jame'a toronto</i>	F	education
business studies	1	n	cont	T	<i>dirasit ama'al</i>	F	education
business management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarit ama'al</i>	F	education
finance	1	n	cont	T	<i>tamweil</i>	F	education
marketing	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasweeq</i>	F	education
el - masters	2	n	cont	T	<i>majisteir</i>	F	education
open minded	1	adj	cont	T	<i>mutafattih aqleian</i>	F	cultural
culture	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafah</i>	F	cultural
traditions	1	n	cont	T	<i>ada'at</i>	F	cultural
el - cultures	1	n	cont	T	<i>thaqafat</i>	F	cultural
Shakespeare	2	PN	cont	T	<i>Shakespeare</i>	F	cultural
1984	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Alf o tesmeia o arba otmaneen</i>	F	education
George Orwell	1	PN	cont	T	<i>George Orwell</i>	F	education
Great Gatsby	1	PN	cont	T	<i>Gatsby el azeim</i>	R	education
Totaled terrorism	1	n	cont	T	<i>Majmoo' el irhab</i>	N	education
	74						
A.M. (male)							
computer	1	n	cont	T	<i>hasoub</i>	R	education
boring	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>momill</i>	F	education
I*	3	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
did*	1	v	func	T -	<i>amila</i>	F	other
enjoyed*	2	v	cont	T -	<i>istamta't</i>	F	other
it*	2	pro	func	T -	<i>fiha</i>	F	other
looking*	1	v	cont	T -	<i>ittala</i>	F	other
back*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la wara</i>	F	other
el - basics	1	n	cont	T -	<i>assasiyat</i>	F	education
movies	1	n	cont	T -	<i>aflam</i>	F	entertainment
el - mood	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mizaj</i>	F	entertainment
business man	1	n	cont	T -	<i>rajul ama'al</i>	F	occupation, cultural
max	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>kahad aqsa</i>	F	cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
free	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>horreia</i>	F	cultural
rock	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>		music
level	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mostawa</i>	F	cultural
standards	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasafat</i>	F	cultural
el - mall-at	2	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
cinema	3	n	cont	T -	<i>cinema</i>	F	entertainment
center	1	n	cont	T -	<i>markaz</i>	F	other
professional	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>ihtirafy</i>	F	cultural
	28						
<i>K.M. (male)</i>							
American	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>amreki</i>	F	education
grade eleven	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al hadi ashar</i>	F	education
Guitar	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
football	1	n	cont	T -	<i>korat el qadam</i>	F	entertainment
Ball	1	n	cont	T -	<i>korat</i>	F	entertainment
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
el - math	1	n	cont	T	<i>reyadeiaat</i>	F	cultural
el - critical thinking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al tafkir al naqdi</i>	F	cultural, education
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizy</i>	F	education
el - rock	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
experience	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kibra</i>	F	education
teachers	3	n	cont	T -	<i>moallimein</i>	F	education
teacher	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moallim</i>	F	education
international school	1	n	cont	T -	<i>madrasa alameia</i>	R	education
biography	1	n	cont	T	<i>ahya</i>	F	education
open minded	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mutafattih aqleian</i>	F	cultural, education
chemistry	1	n	cont	T	<i>kemya</i>	F	education
physics	1	n	cont	T	<i>fezya</i>	F	education
literature	1	n	cont	T	<i>adab</i>	F	education
grammar	1	n	cont	T	<i>qawa'id</i>	F	education
vocab	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
already	1	adv	func	T -	<i>al a'an</i>	F	entertainment
South Africa	1	n	cont	T -	<i>janoub afreqeia</i>	F	other
city center	1	n	cont	T -	<i>markaz al madina</i>	F	cultural
	28						

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
<i>F.K. (male)</i>							
grade twelve	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al thani ashar</i>	F	education
grade eleven	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al saf al hadi ashar</i>	F	education
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
seven years	1	n	cont	T -	<i>sab' snin</i>	F	cultural, education
international	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dowali</i>	F	education
English	5	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizy</i>	F	education
games	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al'ab</i>	F	entertainment
on line	1	adj	func	T	<i>tale' al kat</i>	R	other
swimming	1	n	cont	T -	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
	14						
<i>S.K. (female)</i>							
internet	1	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	entertainment
drama	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>al masraheia</i>	F	entertainment
romance	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansseia</i>	F	entertainemnt
action	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
el - shopping	1	n	cont	T -	<i>tassawaoq</i>	F	entertainment, shopping
field	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majal</i>	F	occupation
romantic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansseia</i>	F	other
African-American	1	n	cont	T -	<i>afreqi ameriki</i>	F	other
Lebanese	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>libnaniyat</i>	F	other
American	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>amrikeiyat</i>	F	other
el - English	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
café-iat	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maqahi</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
option	2	n	cont	T -	<i>kayar</i>	F	cultural
Venesia	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>al bondoqeia</i>	R	cultural
Gemini	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
Boulevard	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	etertainment
Costa	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
In house	3	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
	22						
<i>S.K. 2 (female)</i>							
movies	1	n	cont	T -	<i>aflam</i>	F	entertainment
café-iat	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maqahi</i>	F	entertainment

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
interior design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim dakili</i>	F	education
graphic's design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim grafeek</i>	R	education
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	entertainment
hi	1	n	cont	T -	<i>marhaba</i>	F	cultural
body	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jasad</i>	F	cultural
business man	1	n	cont	T	<i>rajul ama'al</i>	F	other
friend	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sadeiq</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
shopping	3	n	cont	T -	<i>tassawoq</i>	F	entertainment, shopping
el - best friend	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al sadeiq al afdal</i>	R	entertainment
fast food	3	n	cont	T -	<i>al akl al saree'</i>	R	food
el - basket	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sallih</i>	F	entertainment, games
subtitles	1	n	cont	T -	<i>anaween</i>	F	education
British council	2	n	cont	T -	<i>al majlis al britani</i>	R	education
British	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>britani</i>	F	education
American	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>amriki</i>	F	education
accent	1	n	cont	T -	<i>lahjih</i>	F	education
Cappuchino	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	food
bye	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ma assalama</i>	F	cultural
ok	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	R	cultural
thank	1	v	cont	T -	<i>shokran</i>	F	other
you	1	pro	func	T -	<i>laka</i>	F	other
	32						
<i>A.K. (female)</i>							
business	5	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
Cham city center	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>markaz madina al cham</i>	N	cultural
MBA	5	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	education
masters	3	n	cont	T -	<i>majesteir</i>	F	education
management	1	n	cont	T	<i>idarat monsha'at</i>	F	education
four*	1	number	func	T -	<i>arba'a</i>	F	other
point*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>fasila</i>	F	other
thirty five*	1	number	func	T -	<i>kamsa o talateen</i>	F	other
English	1	n	cont	T -			
el - English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
el term	1	n	cont	T -	<i>term</i>	F	education
touch	1	n	cont	T -			cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
PhD	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	F	education
maximum	1	n	cont	T -	<i>had aqsa</i>	F	cultural
internet	1	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	entertainment
chatting	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dardasha</i>	R	entertainment
tanning	2	n	cont	T -	<i>dibagh al jild</i>	N	entertainment
shopaholic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>modminat tassawaoq</i>		entertainment, shopping
music	1	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
el - top	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
jeans	2	n	cont	T -	<i>jeans</i>	F	cultural
ok	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	R	cultural
King Saud University	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>jami'at al malik soud</i>	F	education
KSU	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
in*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>fee</i>	F	other
business*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	education
administration*	1	n	cont	T	<i>ldara</i>	F	education
make up	6	n	cont	T -	<i>makyaj</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
style	2	n	cont	T -	<i>osloob</i>	F	cultural
occasion	1	n	cont	T -	<i>monasaba</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
mix	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>moktalat</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
free	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>horr</i>	F	cultural
cheesecake	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cake al jibnih</i>	R	food
Tiramisu	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>tiramissu</i>	N	food
Cinnabon	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>cinnabon</i>	F	food
think*	4	v	cont	T -	<i>bfakkir</i>	F	other
positive*	6	adv	cont	T -	<i>iejabeian</i>	F	other
you*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>anta</i>	F	other
can*	2	aux	func	T -	<i>yastateo'</i>	F	other
control*	2	v	cont	T -	<i>yosayter</i>	F	other
your*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>taba'ak</i>	F	other
destiny*	2	n	cont	T -	<i>qadar</i>	F	other
I*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
not*	1	neg	func	T -	<i>ma</i>	F	other
it*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>howa</i>	F	other
thank *	1	v	cont	T -	<i>shokran</i>	F	other
you *	1	pro	func	T -	<i>laka</i>	F	other
the secret	2	PN	func	T -	<i>al sirr</i>	F	cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	entertainment
	81						
<i>L.S. (female)</i>							
very*	2	adv	func	T -	<i>kter</i>	F	education
much*	2	adv	func	T -	<i>jiddan</i>	F	education
I*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ana</i>	F	other
like*	1	v	cont	T -	<i>habbit</i>	F	other
it*	1	pro	func	T -	<i>ha</i>	F	other
realistic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>waqi'i</i>	F	education
fashion design	2	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim azya'</i>	F	education
interior design	4	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim dakili</i>	F	education
interior	3	adj	cont	T	<i>dakili</i>	F	education
nuts	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mukassarat</i>	F	food
sauce	1	n	cont	T -	<i>salsa</i>	F	food
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
history of art	1	n	cont	T	<i>tarik al fan</i>	F	education
textile	1	n	cont	T -	<i>nasij</i>	F	education
lighting	1	n	cont	T -	<i>inara</i>	F	education
industrial	1	adj	cont	T	<i>sina'y</i>	F	education
el best	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>al afdal</i>	F	other
train	2	n	cont	T -	<i>qitar</i>	F	other
tower	1	n	cont	T -	<i>burj</i>	F	other
park	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mawqef</i>	F	other
group	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majmoa'a</i>	F	other
semester	1	n	cont	T	<i>fasl</i>	F	education
quiz	3	n	cont	T -	<i>imtihan</i>	F	education
tea boy	1	n	cont	T -	<i>walad al shay</i>	F	cultural
supermarket	1	n	cont	T -	<i>baqqalah kabeera</i>	F	cultural, shopping
four seasons	1	n	cont	T -	<i>el fosol el arba'a</i>	R	other
duplex	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>muzdawaj</i>	F	cultural
	39						
<i>Group (B):</i>							
<i>M.S. (male)</i>							
el - movie	5	n	cont	T -	<i>film</i>	F	education
no	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la'a</i>	F	music
slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
course	1	n	cont	T -	<i>dawra deraseia</i>	F	education
el - vocab	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
vocabulary	1	n	cont	T	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
el - writing	1	n	cont	T	<i>al kitabah</i>	F	education
el - listening	11	n	cont	T	<i>al istima'a</i>	F	education
el - speaking	2	n	cont	T	<i>al tahaddoth</i>	F	education
film	1	n	cont	T -	<i>film</i>	F	entertainment
music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	music
English skills	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maharat iglizeia</i>	R	education
conversation	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muhadatha</i>	F	education
interview	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muqabalah</i>	F	cultural
	30						
<i>N.S. (male)</i>							
skills	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maharat</i>	F	education
cassette	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shareit</i>	F	education
CDs	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	cultural, education
el - listening	1	n	cont	T -	<i>istima'a</i>	F	education
el - movies	2	n	cont	T -	<i>aflam</i>	F	entertainment
el - music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
el - English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	education
el - subtitles	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ana'ween fareia/al tarjamah</i>	R	education, cultural
DVD	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
Arabic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>araby</i>	F	entertainment, music
swimming	2	n	cont	T -	<i>sibaha</i>	F	entertainment, games
pop	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - slow	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - jazz	2	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
el - rap	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
new horizons	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>al afa'aq al jadeda</i>	R	occupation
Photoshop	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	occupation
el - graphic	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasameim</i>	R	occupation
graphic's design	2	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim grafeek</i>	N	occupation
3 d	1	PN	cont	T	<i>tlatit amya'al</i>	F	other
el - language	1	n	cont	T -	<i>logha</i>	F	cultural
responding	1	n	cont	T -	<i>istijabah</i>	F	cultural
professional	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>ihtrafy</i>	F	cultural, education
active	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>hayawi</i>	F	cultural

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ- ency	Semantic field
business	6	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	cultural
motive	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>anda dafi'</i>	F	cultural
freeze	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>jamideen</i>	F	cultural
transport	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasalat</i>	F	cultural
travelling	1	n	cont	T -	<i>safar</i>	F	cultural
applications	1	n	cont	T -	<i>tatbeiqat</i>	R	cultural, occupation
quality	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>naw'</i>	F	cultural
France	1	n	cont	T -	<i>faransa</i>	F	cultural
	44						
A.S. (male)							
CAD	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
computer aided design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim bemosadat el computer</i>	R	other
English	2	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
trust	1	n	cont	T -	<i>thiqa</i>	F	occupation, cultural
new horizons	8	PN	cont	T -	<i>al afa'aq al jededa</i>	R	occupation
standards	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mowasafat</i>	F	occupation, cultural
el office	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maktab</i>	F	occupation
design	1	n	cont	T	<i>tasmeim</i>	F	occuaption
AutoCAD	1	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
Photoshop	1	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
adobe administrator	1	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
oracle data base administrator	1	PN	cont	T	<i>mudeer qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
oracle data base developer	1	PN	cont	T	<i>mutawwer qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
oracle database	1	n	cont	T	<i>qaidat bayanat Oracle</i>	R	other
el - database	4	n	cont	T	<i>qaidat bayanat</i>	F	other
Oracle	9	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	occupation
developer	1	adj	cont	T	<i>mutawwer</i>		other
Access	5	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
el - wizard	1	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
tables	1	n	cont	T -	<i>jadwal</i>	F	other
by*	1	prep	func	T -	<i>be</i>	F	other
coding*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al barmajih</i>	F	other
SQL	1	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
PLSQL	2	n	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	other
web	1	n	cont	T	<i>web</i>	F	other
internet	2	n	cont	T	<i>internet</i>	F	other
Google	2	PN	cont	T -	<i>google</i>	F	other
basic information	1	n	cont	T -	<i>maloma assasseia</i>	F	other
networking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shabakat</i>	F	other
business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	other
music	2	n	cont	T -	<i>moseqa</i>	F	entertainment, music
English	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	music
priority	1	n	cont	T -	<i>awlaweia</i>	F	music
walking	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mashy</i>	F	entertainment
tradition	1	n	cont	T -	<i>ada'at</i>	F	cultural, entertainment
class one	1	n	cont	T -	<i>al sinf al awal</i>	F	entertainment
group	1	n	cont	T -	<i>majmo'a</i>	F	entertainment
excel	2	PN	cont	T	<i>N</i>	N	occupation
I.T.	14	n	cont	T	<i>teknologiate al malomat</i>	R	occupation
out lines	1	n	cont	T -	<i>anaween</i>	F	cultural
pause	1	n	cont	T -	<i>iqaf moaq'at</i>	R	cultural
classic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>klasekeia</i>	F	entertainment, music
	83						
<i>L.T. (female)</i>							
fine art	2	n	cont	T	<i>fonon</i>	F	education
level	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mostawa</i>	F	education
mall-at	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mojamma'at tassowqeia</i>	R	cultural
romantic	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>romansi</i>	F	entertainment, cultural
action	1	adj	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
English	1	n	cont	T -	<i>inglizi</i>	F	cultural
mall	2	n	cont	T -	<i>souq</i>	F	entertainment
I captured the bastard	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	entertainment
	10						
<i>S.Z. (female)</i>							
el - business	1	n	cont	T	<i>ama'al</i>	F	occupation
conversation	1	n	cont	T -	<i>muhadathi</i>	F	education
linguistics	2	n	cont	T -	<i>logaweiati</i>	F	education

English item	no. of times	Part of speech	Cont /func	Tec- hnic	Arabic equivalent	Frequ-ency	Semantic field
it *	1	pro	func	T -	<i>howa</i>	F	other
is*	1	v	func	T -	<i>N</i>	N	other
okay*	2	adj	cont	T -	<i>jayd</i>	F	other
syntax	3	n	cont	T	<i>al naho</i>	F	education
chapter	2	n	cont	T -	<i>fasl</i>	F	education
morphology	1	n	cont	T	<i>ilm al sarf</i>	F	education
grammars	1	n	cont	T	<i>al qawa'id</i>	F	education
novel	2	n	cont	T -	<i>rewaya</i>	F	education
novella	1	n	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
short story	1	n	cont	T -	<i>qissa qasera</i>	F	education
plot	1	n	cont	T -	<i>habka</i>	F	education
character	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shakseia</i>	F	education
no	1	n	cont	T -	<i>la'</i>	F	education
church	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kanisa</i>	F	occupation
Chinese writing	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kitabih seneia</i>	F	cultural
hi	5	n	cont	T -	<i>salam</i>	F	other
vocabulary	1	n	cont	T -	<i>mufradat</i>	F	education
noun phrase	1	n	cont	T -	<i>shibh jumla ismeia</i>	F	education
two*	1	number	func	T -	<i>itnen</i>	F	education
words*	1	n	cont	T -	<i>kalimat</i>	F	other
together*	1	adj	func	T -	<i>ma' ba'd</i>	F	other
yeah	1	n	cont	T -	<i>eh</i>	F	other
Science of Translation	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	education
collocation	1	N	cont	T -	<i>kalimat tosta'amal ma ba'd</i>	N	education
Back Street Boys	1	PN	cont	T -	<i>N</i>	N	music
rules	1	N	cont	T -	<i>qawa'id</i>	F	cultural
	39						

### Appendix 3 Code-Switching

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>1) A.M.</p> <p>I did</p> <p>Looking back I enjoyed it</p> <p>I enjoyed it</p>	<p>Interviewer: Sho daris?</p> <p>‘What is your qualification?’</p> <p>A.M. Handasit <i>computer</i></p> <p>‘computer engineering’</p> <p>Interviewer: Kam sini kanet?</p> <p>‘How long did you study for?’</p> <p>A.M. Kams sinin</p> <p>‘five years’</p> <p>Interviewer: Keef kanet ri7latha?</p> <p>‘How do you describe it?’</p> <p>A.M. <i>Boring</i> [laughter]</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>Did not you enjoy it ya’any? Hal hassit halak mabsoot fiha?</i></p> <p>‘So did not you enjoy it? Don’t you feel happy that you have studied it?’</p> <p>A.M. Walla <i>I did</i></p> <p>‘Actually I did’</p> <p>Interviewer: Nadman aliha?</p> <p>‘Do you regret studying it?’</p> <p>A.M. <i>Laa I enjoyed it, looking back I enjoyed it</i></p> <p>‘Nooo I enjoyed it, looking back I enjoyed it’</p> <p>Interviewer: O keef hasseit? Inno faditik yany o inno kan lazem tedros hal shy walla laa?</p> <p>‘Do you think it was worth studying and that it was useful for you? Do you believe it is the most suitable branch for you to study or not?’</p> <p>A.M. Akeed tab’an bta’aty el <i>basics</i> lal wahid hatta ye’der yaballish</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
2) A.K.	<p>el shilghl”</p> <p>‘Yes, sure it gives the basics for a person to be able to start working later on</p> <p>Interviewer: bithibby el <i>reading</i>, bte'ri?</p> <p>'Do you like reading, do you read?'</p> <p>A.K. eh</p> <p>'yes'</p> <p>interviewer: sho bte'ri?</p> <p>'What do you like to read?'</p> <p>A.K. walla kent zaman i'ra rewayat, a'reit Romeo o Juliet, a'reit dahaba ma'a el reih, a'reit ahdab Notre-Dame ya'any hay el rweayat el alameia kter kent rooh ala jarir o ishtereia o i'raha. halla fe ktab jdid biddy e'era iismo <i>the secret</i> iza sama'ani feh?</p> <p>‘I used to read novels a long time ago. I read ‘Romeo and Juliet’, I read ‘Gone with the Wind’, I read ‘The Hunchback of Notre-Dame’ and other international novels. I used to go to <sup>1</sup>Jarir and buy them from there. I have heard recently of a new book called ‘The secret’ I wonder if you ever heard of it?’</p> <p>Interviewer: lameen ?</p> <p>‘By whom?’</p> <p>A.K. <i>the secret</i> ma barif la meen bas kter inshahar, howeh mawdo'o inno <i>think positive</i> betseer el ashya ma'ak <i>positive</i>, ana ma iqtanait be hal fikra bas falaoolny feh kil ma shof hada be ‘lly lazem te’rih.</p> <p>‘It is called the secret but I don’t know by whom, however, it has become very famous. It is basically about: think positive, positive</p>

<sup>1</sup> Jarir is one of the famous big bookstores in Riyadh.

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Think positive  You can control your destiny  I can't control it</p>	<p>things will happen to you. I do not actually believe in that but people have been killing me with talking about it and every time I talk to some one he advises me to read it.</p> <p>Interviewer: O fe'lan athar be hayaton ?</p> <p>'And did the book really have an effect on its readers' lives?</p> <p>A.K. la, ya'anny ma barif wala hatta ana betwaqa ye'ather be hayati sho hay '<i>think positive!</i>' inno ya'any ala mabda' inno <i>you can control your destiny</i>. Ana ma andy hada ell shy <i>destiny</i> aslan maktub <i>I can't control it</i> taba'an fee Hadeeth be o'ol inno tafa'alo bel kair tajidoh o geir heik inno el wahid iza sar shaglih yedii aliha yedii aliha o men alb mahroo' momken alla yegaier el qadar inchalla, addowa' yaroddo al qada bs ladarajit inno <i>think positive</i> bitseer yan'ny masalan iza jiddik ta'ban la tfakkri ino haymoot ma be moot !</p> <p>'No, it did not. And I really do not expect that it will affect my life neither. I mean what '<i>think positive!</i>' Like those people who believe that you can control your destiny but I don't believe in this, destiny is already written so I can't control it. Of course there is a Hadeeth saying that you should be optimistic, and good things will happen to you. And another one saying that when something unpleasant happens to some one, he should keep praying and praying to God faithfully, if he does so, Alla may change what was destined. Prophet (pbuh) taught us that continuous prayers change what was destined but I think there is an extent to this and it won't reach to the point that think positive, positive things will happen to you e.g. if your granny is sick then do not think she will die so she won't !!</p> <p>Interviewer: sho naweih titkassasi?</p> <p>'What are you willing to specialize in?'</p> <p>A.K. halla ana aslan takassosi bel jama'a <i>management</i> idarit monsha'at. Bidy a'mil MBA, el MBA bitkoon a'am mafyiha takassos</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Masters in business administration</p> <p>Four point thirty five</p>	<p>takassoss.</p> <p>‘Well, my field of study at the moment is management which is management. I would like to do an MBA, an MBA is a general certificate so there are no subfields in it’</p> <p>Interviewer: Heii be’ti’d /</p> <p>‘ I think it is/’</p> <p>A.K. Heii Masters in business administration.</p> <p>‘ it is called Masters in business administration’</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>emm good</i></p> <p>‘emm, good’</p> <p>A.K. ma barif ba’a badin sho , heii ay shi ya’any amneh</p> <p>‘so I don’t know if there will be any sub major after it, but it is a general certificate actually’</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>emm good</i> o keef mla2ei halik bel far’ nafsu maslan? Sho el mawad elly btedrsiha?</p> <p>‘emm good and how are you doing in that field? What type of courses are you taking?’</p> <p>A.K. halla el far’ nafsu ya’anny ana mla’eia hali kter kter tfawaqt bel far’</p> <p>‘I believe that I am doing quite well in this major’</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>aha bravo</i></p> <p>‘aha bravo’</p> <p>A.K. la’it hali emm ya’nny habit el mawad. Ma’ inno awal shy kent kter mistat’lih damma o ma biddy o wala be ay shakl bas habbita kassatan masaln el reyadayat, iqtisad ketr habito. Yemken mawad el idara elly ma ‘dirt ihdima la’inno killa hifz o dash ma ‘dirt kteer bas iqtisad, reyadayat, malleia idara malleia hay killa feha hall o reyadayat ana bhibb hal ashya. Fa el hmdilla o halla hada el <i>term</i> rafat mu’addali/</p> <p>‘I really like the courses, although at the beginning I had not liked</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Thank you</p> <p>3) L.S.</p> <p>very much</p> <p>I like it very much</p>	<p>them at all and I had not liked the whole major but later I liked it especially mathematics, economics which I really liked. I think I still don't like management courses since they require memorizing a lot and they are full of information. But as I told you economics, mathematics, financial management all these courses require a lot of problem solving and mathematical thinking and I really like these things. And thank God I have managed to lift up my GPA this term/'</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>bravo o adey sar?</i></p> <p>'Bravo, and how much has it become?</p> <p>A.K. <i>sar four point thirty five.</i></p> <p>'It has become now arba'a faslih kamsi o tlateen'</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>bravo bravo bidna helwan!</i></p> <p>'Bravo bravo, shall we expect a party soon?'</p> <p>A.B. <i>eh yallaa</i></p> <p>'Yeea, soon'</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>Shokran la wa'tik</i></p> <p>'Thank you for your time'</p> <p>A.K. <i>ahlan ahlan (laughter) thank you.</i></p> <p>'welcome welcome, (laughter) thank you'</p> <p>Interviewer: <i>Sho am tedrsi?</i></p> <p>'What are you studying?'</p> <p>L.S. <i>am idros handasit decor beljam'a el arabeia el oroepia be gabagib</i></p> <p>'I am studying decoration engineering at the Arabic European University in Ghabagib'.</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Group B</p> <p>4) S.Z.</p> <p>It is okay.</p>	<p>Interviewer: O ay sinih?</p> <p>‘Which year of study are you in?’</p> <p>L.S. Sini awla kalsa, o najha al taneia</p> <p>‘I have finished the first year and now I will start the second’</p> <p>Interviewer: o keef ya’any? <i>Do you enjoy it?</i></p> <p>‘And how is it? Do you enjoy it?’</p> <p>L.S. <i>very much, I like it very much</i></p> <p>‘very much, I like it very much’</p> <p>Interviewer: keef dawamik?</p> <p>‘How does your study schedule look like?’</p> <p>L.S. dawami jiddan taweel ya’any she tlateen sa’a bel osbo’ be zarf kams ayam o ya’any betitfarra’ she sit sa’at sab’ sa’at bel youm ya’any kil marra shikl</p> <p>‘I have very long studying hours, the total is about 30 hours a week, I mean within 5 days. And they vary, some times I have 6 hours a day, other times I have 7 so it really varies, every day is different’</p> <p>Interviewer: sho am teshtigli halla’?</p> <p>‘What type of work are you doing currently?’</p> <p>S.Z. Am ishtigil be maktab ismo Al Dowalleia li kadamat al ama’al ilo alaqa bel <i>business</i> ya’any malo alaqa bel tarjamih wala heik. Fa shghly mirtaha feh haleian ka talibih <i>it is okay</i>, bas inno ba’ad el takarruj habbi ishtighil be iktissassi</p> <p>‘I am working at the moment for a company called Al Dowalleia for business services. It deals mainly with businesses, and it has nothing to do with translation or so. I am doing well in this job at the moment as I am still a student so it is okay. But once I have graduated I would prefer to work in a relative field to my study</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
<p>Two words together</p> <p>5) A.S.</p> <p>By coding</p>	<p>S.Z. o fe anna madih isma <i>linguistics</i> logaweiaty, hay el maddeh sa'bih</p> <p>'I also have a course called linguistics which means linguistics, this is one of the hard courses'</p> <p>Interviewer: sho btdrso fiha?</p> <p>'What do you study in this course?'</p> <p>S.Z. mnidrus fiha inno <i>collocations</i></p> <p>Interviewer: <i>collection!!</i></p> <p>S.Z. <i>collocations</i></p> <p>Interviewer: o sho ya'anny?</p> <p>'So what does this mean?'</p> <p>S.Z. ya'any mtl inno <i>two words together</i> , <i>noun phrase</i> o heik sha'la'at</p> <p>'it is something like two words together, noun phrase and things like that'</p> <p>Interviewer: mitl <i>el morphology</i> hay</p> <p>'So it is very similar to morphology!'</p> <p>Interviewer: killo Kaman sar marbut be ba'ado, ya'any lamma tita'alm shy o badeen tdif alih shy ma ad tibda men el <i>zero</i> la'inno killo sar benaffid ala bado.</p> <p>'Yea actually all fields of I.T. nowadays are connected to each other. I mean when one has already learned something in one field and he wants to learn a new thing, he is not practically starting from zero, because all the fields in this major are closely connected to one another'</p> <p>A.S. tamamen tamamen, birja bihky shway an <i>Oracle Database</i>, anti andik fekra an baramij <i>Access</i> tab'an?</p> <p>'Exactly, exactly', but let me here go back and tell you something about <i>Oracle Database</i>. I think you have an idea about <i>Access</i> tools</p>

Switched item	The Context where it occurred
	<p>about Oracle Database, I think you have an idea about Access tools, right?</p> <p>Interviewer: eh eltilak ana nafs <i>Excel</i> o <i>Aaccess</i> o hadol</p> <p>‘Yea, so I guess it is something very similar to Access and Excel tools?</p> <p>A.S. ahha <i>Access</i> tahdedan, o laken sho el far’a ben <i>Access</i> o <i>Oracle</i>? El ha’e’a qaeidat bayanat <i>Access</i> totabar la a’maal sagera la motawasetat el hajm walaken qaeidat bayanat <i>Oracle</i> el ha’e’a tostakdam be shakl asasi la a’maal dakmih la sharikat kberih. El far’ ben el tenteen bel imkaneiat o bel ada’a o el si’aat al takzeneia el dakmih elly betwaffera qaeidat bayanat <i>Oracle</i>. El mafaheim el raesseia elly el shaks betkon mawjodeh ando be qaeidat bayanat <i>Access</i> rah tfedo kter be qaeidat bayanat <i>Oracle</i> walaken tare’it el istekdam muktalifih tamamen iza btitzakari be <i>Access</i> fe anna ashya jahzih ta’reeban ala sabeel el missal el <i>Wizard’s</i> wa mashabah inno el tables saheeh ana bsammimmha walaken bel <i>Oracle</i> kil shy biddy ebnieh <i>by coding</i> ya’anny killo biddy iktboh barmajeian an taree’ lugit barmajih</p> <p>‘Ahh, I particularly I mean Access tool, but what is the difference between Access and Oracle? Actually access data bases are normally used for small to medium sized tasks, whereas Oracle data bases are basically used for large tasks by big companies. The differences then are in abilities, performance and the huge storage facility that is only available in Oracle data bases</p>