Some Characteristics of Codeswitching to Arabic Among non-English Foreign Nationals in Jordan

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Abstract

This paper discusses the phenomenon of codeswitching to Arabic in the speech of a number of French, Italian and Russian nationals living in North Jordan when they use English or French to communicate. It analyzed the nature, categories, and functions of codeswitching, the strategies employed by these foreign nationals when resorting to codeswitching, and the reasons motivating this kind of behavior. Heavy codeswitching to Arabic is noticed, for example, when the subjects talk about local festivities and religious occasion and in greetings and inquiries about health conditions. In addition, certain linguistic peculiarities (like lexical reduplications or spontaneous translation) of the codeswitching done by these foreign nationals are analyzed. The study highlights certain violations of Poplack's (1980) "Equivalence" and "Free Morpheme" constraints, especially when the subjects use an Arabic adjective to modify an English noun in a typical adjective + noun English structure and when they attach a French bound morpheme to Arabic word. The study, finally, uncovers great similarities between the switches made by these nationals and English native speakers living in Jordan (Bader and Mahadin 1996) in the categories and functions of code switching; the differences between the two groups mainly concern syntactic strategies.

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1. Introduction

In addition to borrowing in all its forms (Appel and Muysken 1987; Scotton 1987), the mixing of two codes or languages, i.e. codeswitching, is the most natural outcome of bilingualism or languages in contact (Weinreich 1968; Grosjean 1982; Eid 1988; Hamers and Blanc 1989). Appel and Muysken (1987) reject the idea that code mixing is "a sign of linguistic decay, the unsystematic result of not knowing at least one of the languages involved very well. The opposite turns out to be the case" (p. 117). Prior to that, Swain (1971) had affirmed that mixing "is a manifestation of a creative process used in the acquisition of language" (p.36). Later on, Hamers and Blanc (1989) asserted that mixing is "an integral part of bilinguistic development" (p.35). For this part, Bokamba (1988) affirmed that mixing and switching are extremely common and natural phenomena in any bilingual or multilingual speech community" (p.23).

Views on the differences between codeswitching and code-mixing abound, but they are not of great concern to us here. For more details, the reader is referred to works by Hoffman (1991) and Jacobson (1990). The term 'codeswitching' is used in this study to refer to the mixing of words or phrases from two or more languages when two people converse with each other. This mixing may be done intrasententially or intersententially (see Pandit 1990).

Many scholars have tried, on the other hand, to distinguish between borrowings switchings. According to most scholars (Grosjean 1982; Hamers and Blanc 1989; Pandit 1990; Jacobson 1990; Hoffman 1991), if an item has been phonologically and morphologically integrated in the language, it should be considered a borrowing; otherwise, it is a case of switching. For her part, Scotton (1987) contents this view and claims that the criterion of integration cannot be reliable because "not all borrowings are so integrated" (p.71). Instead, she invokes the criterion of frequency as a means to distinguish between borrowings and switchings. Borrowed forms, she insists, "should be distinguishable set from the embedded language which speakers know in some abstract sense, borrowings are available to many (or all) speakers, while embedded forms in switching are not" (p.70). In this study, we shall consider both criteria of integration

and frequency as important in drawing a line between loanwords and switches.

Most linguists agree that switching is not a haphazardous phenomenon but that it is rather governed by rules or syntactic constraints. In order to account for English-Spanish switching, Poplack (1980) proposed the well-known "Equivalence" and "Free Morpheme) constraints. The first stipulates that "Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtapunction of L1and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other" (p.587). The second states: "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (p.589). However, several works (e.g. Bentahila and Davies 1983 for Arabic-French switching, Berk-Seligson 1986 for Spanish-Hebrew, Bokamba 1988 for African-French/English, Bader 1995 and 1998 for Arabic-English) contested the universality of these constraints. They found that subjects were most often not restricted by these constraints and switched freely. Bader (1998), for example, gave examples of how an Arabic-English child attached English morphemes to Arabic lexical items and vice-versa. Back in 1983 already, Woolford had challenged the Equivalence constraint and proposed instead an overlap for the two grammars at the level of phrase-structure rules. According to her, when constructing a phrase-structure tree, the speaker draws from the P-rules of either language; when the rules are the same in both languages, then the categories (NP, VP, etc.) may be filled freely from either lexicon. However, when the categories are created by a rule that exists in only one language, they must be filled from the lexicon of that language.

Although many "situational variables" (Hamers and Blanc 1989) like the topic of conversation, the participants, the setting, and the affective aspect of the message, seem to affect the type and frequency of codeswitching, yet most scholars agree on the basic functions of this phenomenon. Appel and Muysken (1987) sum up the six major functions served by switching as follows:

1) The "referential" function when it involves "lack of facility" in one language on a certain subject (p.118); 2) the "directive" function when it intends to involve the hearer only, excluding certain persons from

a conversation; 3) the "expressive" function "emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse" (p.119); 4) the "phatic" or "metaphorical" function "to indicate a change in tone of the conversation" (p.119), e.g., when a comedian switches from one variety to another; 5) the "metalinguistic" function, e.g. to impress other participants with a show of linguistic skills, common among performers, circus directors, and markets salespeople (p.120); 6) the "poetic" function involving switched puns puns and jokes (p.121).

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the phenomenon of codeswitching in the speech of a number of non-English foreign nationals living in Jordan, where Arabic is the spoken language. The focus of the study will be on the nature of codeswitched items, the function served by codeswitching, the strategies employed by these nationals when code-switching to Arabic, and the reason for this kind of behavior. The study will also tackle certain linguistic, especially syntactic, pecularities of the codeswitching under consideration. It will especially highlight the strategy of lexical reduplications and the violations of Poplack's (1980) constraints stated above.

This study will undoubtedly complement other studies (especially Bader and Mahad in 1996) in the field of mixed discourse and will again underscore the fact that Arabic can influence a Western language. Previous studies (see Bentahila and Davies 1983, Abu-Haidar 1988, Bader 1995) have focussed on codeswitching to English or French when conversing in Arabic. This study attempts to do just the opposite, i.e., investigate codeswitching to Arabic when nonnative speakers of this language converse in English or French. It will highlight the fact that these speakers had to resort to Arabic, even when talking to each other, to denote certain cultural, religious, or even physical entities. The study will, finally, fill in a gap in the field of code mixing in Jordan and the rest of the Arab World, which is largely underresearched.

2. Sample and Method

The sample of the study consisted of 10 native speakers of French, Russian and Italian. All of them lived in North Jordan. Five of them (four men and a woman) were employed by Yarmouk University or Jordan University for Science and Technology. The remainder of the sample were five housewives married to Jordanian national. Five were French,

three were Russian, and two were Italian. Their ages ranged between 27 and 50 years. At the time their speeches were analyzed for codeswitching, they had spent between one and ten years in Jordan. None of them had any kind of formal instruction in Arabic. However, their knowledge of Spoken Arabic varied form minimal to fair, depending on the length of their stay in the country and the extent of their exposure to Arabic.

The subjects normally used only English to communicate with people from a nationality other that theirs, including local Jordanians. Occasionally, French was used with a French or a Jordanian interlocutor. Only conversations in English or French were observed for analysis in this paper. An obvious strategy of codeswitching was quite noticeable in the speech of all of them. However, little codeswitching was observed in the speech of two persons, a Frenchmam and a Russian woman who rarely mixed with native Jordanians. The reason for that may have been their low exposure to Arabic.

There foreign nationals' talks and conversations with each other and with native Jordanians were monitored for a period of five months. All instances of codeswitching were recorded by the researcher and a helper. Indeed, a large number of Arab words and phrases occurred frequently in their speeches. Nevertheless, the frequency of codeswitching varied form one person to another and from one situation to another. For example, those people with a longer stay in Jordan codeswitching more often than those with a shorter stay. In addition, conversants with different mother tongues codeswitching more often than with the same native language.

In section 3 below, we analyze codeswitches to Jordanian Arabic (JA), the local variety of Arabic spoken in Jordan, emphasizing their nature and categories as well as some syntactic structures which seem to violate certain constraints on codeswitching, such as Poplack's (1980) "Equivalence" and "Free Morpheme" constraints. The study will mainly complement Bader and Mahadin (1996) who analyze codeswithcing to Arabic in the speech of English native speakers living in North Jordan, focussing in the similarities and differences between the swithches of both groups.

3. Codeswitching

Although some scholars (e.g. Scotton 1990) distinguish between codeswithching and code mixing, the latter being limited to intrasentential switching, the term 'codeswitching' will be used here to refer to any mixing of two or more codes in one stretch of speech (see Pandit 1990 anmd Hoffmann 1991).

3.1 Greetings

There were numerous instances of codeswitching in the speech of the subjects referred to above. Nevertheless, certain categories of switches were more represented than others. Among the most commonly used Arabic words/phrases were those related to greetings and inquiries about health conditions (see Bader and Mahadin 1996 for a similar phenomenon in the speech of English native speakers living in Jordan). Indeed, Arabic is well-known for the abundance of words and expressions related to these two fields. In addition, it seems that they were deemed more semantically and culturally appropriate than their English equivalents (serving a referentila function in the sense of Appel and Muysken 1987). Such words and phrases include? Assalaamu 9alaykum 'peace be upon you' (all-time greeting), wa9alaykum? asslaam 'and peace be upon you' (answer greeting to the preceding one), marhaba 'hello', marhabteen 'two hellos', hellos', keef el-haal 'how are you?', l-hamdulillah 'praise be to God', i.e. "I am fine', bixeer 'good', etc..

A conversation between a Frenchman and a Jordanian national went as follows (switches to Arabic are underlined):

A: Hi!

B: Hi! How are you?

A: maaši el-haal (it is going. i.e. it is OK)- And you?

B: I'm fine. Only a lot of things to do.

As we see, speaker A (Frenchman) initiated codeswitching to Arabic. For reasons which may range from wanting to emphasize mixed identity to willing to show Arabic knowledge (an expressive or metalinguistic function in the sense of Appel and Muysken 1987), he answered in Arabic, but then right after switched back to English. Speaker B (Jordanian National) spoke English only, probably thinking that his interlocutor's Arabic was not that good or wanting to show his fluency in English.

In another conversation between one Russian native speaker and a Jordanian female national, almost the whole dialogue was in Arabic, notwithstanding the fact that the Jordanian speaker was fluent in English and that the Russian was more fluent in English than in Arabic. This may be due to the Russian's willingness to become part of the local society (an expressive function) and to practice his Arabic and to the will on the part of the Jordanian native to make the Russian national feel part of the society. The conversation began as follows:

A: marhaba (hi), UZ (B's compound first name initials).

B: marhaba (hi), I (A's first name initial). Keefak? (how are you?)

A: l-hamdulillah (praise be to God). keefik inti? (how are you?)

B: kul ši tamaam (everything is OK). Thanks.

A: I'm very busy today. Walaakin dayman fi waqt? Ilik (but there is always time for you).

B: šukran (thanks), how nice!

As we see, there was heavy codeswitching in this particular dialogue. It seems that the Russian national (A) felt at ease with his interlocutor and employed many Arabic expressions. Appel and Muysken (1987:118) call this kind of codeswithching 'referential'. For her part, the Jordanian national (B) wanted to encourage the Russian to feel part of the Arabic community and resorted very frequently ot codeswitching although she could express herself very well in English.

The following is a conversation between a French speaker and a Jordanian interlocutor conducted in French:

A: Bonjour! (good day)

B: Bonjour, M (A's first name initial). Comment ca va? (good day, M. How is it going?)

A: kwayyis (exellent). Et vous, comment ca va (and you, and how is it going with you?)

B: maaši el-haal (it is going, i.e. it is OK)

A: je voudrdais aller au suuq (I would like to go to the market)

B: 9assuuq (to the market?), maaši (OK).

As we see, four Arabic words were used in the French conversation; they were kwayyis, maaši el-haal, and maaši (health condition words) and suuq market, considered a local cultural term). Such codeswitches highlight once again the frequent occurrence of greetings and health condition words in the speech of foreign nationals living in Jordan. What makes the above exchange especially interesting is the fact that the speakers used different preposition + definite articles constructions before the word suuq. Speaker (A), the Frenchman, used the French structure au "to the", which suggests that he used the word suuq as a borrowing. As it looks, the word was employed as a fully morphologically nativized French word. The Jordanian speaker (B), on the other hand, used the JA structure 9assuuq 'to the market', 9a 'to' and ?as (from ?al by assimilation) 'the' (both contracting into contracting into 9as) being bound morphemes. This may suggest that its use in the Jordanian speaker's exchange is a case of switching. What is worth nothing also here is that speaker (B) in this instance at least abode by Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint.

3.2 Religious Occasions

Like in the case of English native speakers living in Jordan (see Bader and Mahadin 1996), another area where codeswitching was heavy was that of greetings and wishes exchanges during religious holidays such as 9iid il-fitr (Moslem holiday marking the end of Ramadan, the fasting month), 9iid il-aDha (Feast of the Sacrifice, marking the end of the pilgrimage season to Mecca), Christmas, Ester and New Year's Day. In these holidays, code-switching was the norm rather than the exception, as Arabic wishing expressions were, as it looks, deemed more appropriate than their English correspondents, especially during Moslem holidays (referential function in the sense of Appel and Muysken 1987). However, English expressions also occurred, especially during Christian holidays, as we will see in the excerpts below.

Arabic expressions used included kul 9aam winta/winti bixeer (a general wishing expressions literally meaning '(I hope) you masc./fem. will be all right every year, i.e. every time (this holiday comes around)', winta/winti bixeer (usual answer to the preceding expression, literally meaning 'and you be all right masc./fem.', kul sanah winta saalim/winti saalimeh (also a general wishing expression especially used by women

and having a meaning similar to that of the first expression, i.e. '(I hope) you will be safe masc./fem. every year, i.e., every time (this holiday comes around)', winta saalim/winti saalimeh (answer expression to the preceding one, meaning 'and you be safe too masc./fem.', and happy 9iid 'happy feast'. In the last expression, the mixing of an English word with an Arabic, 9ii, which by the way could be considered a case of borrowing, is all too clear.

Here is an excerpt from a conversation between two female interlocutors (A, a Christian Italian, and B, a Moslem French woman) on the occasion of 9iid il-fitr:

A: Hello! kul sana winti saalmeh (see paragraph above for meaning)

B: winti saalimeh. Thank you!

A: How was the 9iid?

B: It was great. l-hamdulillah (praise be to God)

A: Did you make any sweets?

B: Yes. I made some ma9muul (I made some cookies stuffed with nuts or dates).

The following is an excerpt from a conversation between the same conversants on the occasion of Christmas, this time B initiating the dialogue:

B: Hi! Merry Christmas

A: Thank you

B: Was it a happy 9iid?

A: Oh, yes, it was wonderful. Thanks.

B: I have to go now. Au revoir (French 'see you later')

A: Au revoir. Ciao (Italian 'bye-bye').

Comparing the two excerpts above, we notice heavy code-switching in the first one, i.e., when the occasion was a Moslem holiday, Islam being associated with Arabic (the vast majority of Arabs are Moslems). In the second excerpt, however, light codeswitching was limited to the word 9iid, which could be considered a loanword. In this instance, the occasion was Christmas, a holiday not associated with Arabic as only a small fraction of Arabs are Christians.

Notice also in the second excerpt codeswitching to French (au revoir) by the French speaker and to Italian (ciao) by the Italian interlocutor. Although these two words/phrases are known by many people worldwide, yet their use here may be an attempt by the speakers to assert their national identity in the midst of speaking a language foreign to both.

The following is an excerpt from a dialogue between a female Russian (A) and a male Jordanian native (B) one the occasion of the Moslem holiday of 9iid il-aDha:

A: salaam (peace). kul 9aam winta bixeer, A Y (B's compound nickname initials)

B: hala (welcome, a common answer to salaam). winti bixeer. keef haalik? (how are you?)

A: I am OK. Maaši (it is going)

B: Are things going kwayyis (good)

A: Oh, yes. I'm fine. Thanks.

The same two people had the following brief dialogue on Easter:

B: Hi, T (A's first name initial). Happy Easter.

A: Thanks. How are you?

B: I'm fine. Thanks. keef il 9iid? (how is the feast?)

A: maaši il-haal (it is going fine). It is OK. Thanks.

In the first excerpt, A addressed her Jordanian acquaintance with an Arabic wishing expression on the occasion of a Moslem religious holiday. In the second excerpt, the Jordanian native addressed his Russian acquaintance with an English expression. Again here, there was heavy switching when thew occasion was a Moslem festivity, but when the occasion was Christian one, switching was limited to two items (9iid and maaši il haal). This confirms the claim by manty a linguist (e.g. Appel and Muysken 1987; Hoffman 1991) that situation and occasion greatly affect the extent of switching. This also shows the association, in the minds of foreign nationals and Christian festivities with English.

3.3 Social Occasions

Like in the case of English native speakers (see Bader and Mahadin 1996), a lot of code-switching occurred during social occasions, e.g. births, birthdays, engagements, weddings, recovery from an illness, surviving an accident or a surgery, returning from a long journey or from pilgrimage, graduation, winning a prize, acquisition of something new like a car, an apartment, or a house, and deaths. Countless Arabic words/phrases were noticed in the speech of French, Russian and Italian nationals, probably due to the fact, again here, that Arabic expressions were judged more appropriate in these occasions (a referential function). Such code-switched expressions included mabruuk (a general congratulatory term literally meaning 'blessed'), ?allah ibarik fiik/fiiki (answer expression to the preceding one, literally meaning 'may God bless you'), mabruuk ?il-fustaan 'congratulations on the dress', mabruuk il-xuTuubeh/iz-zawaaj 'congratulations on (your) engagement/wedding', kuul sanah winta saalim/winti saalmeh (expressions used on birthdays, in addition to religious holidays (see above), literally meaning '(I hope) you will be safe masc./fem. every year, i.e. every time (this occasion comes around)', winta saalim/winti saalmeh (answer to the preceding express, meaning, 'and you be safe too masc./fem.'), hajj mabruur 'holy pilgrimage' (said to a person who just returned from pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca), lhamdulillah 9ala ssalaameh 'praise be to God for your saety', a very common expression used on various occasions like recovery from an illness, surviving an accident or a surgery, and safe return from a journey or pilgrimage, ?allah isalmak/isalmik 'may God keep you masc./fem. safety', said to a person still suffering from an illness or an injury caused by an accident, sallamit raasak/raasik' (may God) keep your head masc./fem.safe', said to a person who lost a relative to death, and ?allah irhamu/irhama 'may God have mercy on him/her, i.e. his/her sour'.

The following is an excerpt from a conversation in French between two French speakers (A being a male and B a female), following B's return from hospital and recovery from sickness:

A: Bonjour (good day), J (B's first name initial)

B:Bonjour (good day), E (A's first mane initial). Comment ca va? (how is it going?)

A: Ca va (it is going) lhamdulillah 9ala ssalaameh (praise be to God for your safety)

B: Thanks. ?allah isallmak (may God keep you safe too).

As we see, A congratulated his acquaintance on her recovery by using an Arabic expression, and B responded by using an English expression (thanks) and an Arabic one, which immediately followed.

Here is another excerpt from a short talk between a male Italian and a female Russian after the latter gave birth to new baby:

A: Congratulations. mabruuk on the new baby (congratulations on…)

B: Thanks. ?allah ibaarik fiik (may God bless you).

A: Did you give him name?

B: Yes, Saamir.

A: mabruuk. What a nice name!

Notice that the speaker A used both the English congratulations and its Arabic equivalent mabruuk to congratulate B on her new baby. B responded by also using appropriate English (thanks) and Arabic (?allah ibaaric fiik) expretions. Hamers and Blanc (1989) call this "lexical reduplications" or spontaneous translations", i.e. a translation equivalent is supplied as a synonym. The authors believe that lexical reduplications might suggest that the speaker "is aware of the mixing and is deliberately usingit as a communication strategy" (pp. 35-36). At the end , however, A congratulated his interlocutor on the name the baby was given by using only the Arabic word mabruuk. What this indicates is that foreign nationals residing in Jordan have assimilated the Arabic congratulatory term mabruuk into their active vocabulary and have deemed it more proper to use on different occasions than its English equivalent.

3.4 Cultural Terms

Words/phrases that normally occur quite frequently in conversations among Jordanians were the subject of codeswitching in the speeches of foreign national being studied here. They include words and phrases like allah 'God' and ismallah (9aleek) 'God's name (on you)' (both expressions are used to invoke God's protection in case of expected danger or risk), raa?i9 'marvelous/great', istanna šwayy 'wait a minute', mamnuu9 'forbidden', šuu ismuh 'what its name?' (kind of parenthetical

expressions), 9an jaad 'are you serious', Tab9an 'of course', ya9ni 'I mean' (kind of parenthetical expressions) yasalaam 'wonderful' (lit. 'oh peace'), na9am/?awah 'yes', laa 'no', wallah 'by God'.

Most of these words/expressions convey meanings and connotations that are characteristic of the Jordanian society and culture; consequently, their frequent use in the speeches of foreign nationals (including English native speakers, as Bader and Mahadin 1996 affirm) is only natural. Codeswitching here also serves a referential function (Appel and Muysken 1987).

3.5 Quoting Somebody

Moreover, codeswitching to Arabic occurred when foreign nationals quoted something a native Jordanian said to them in Arabic or when they quoted themselves saying something in Arabic to someone, a strategy which Hoffman (1991) finds common on code-switching. Here is an excerpt from a conversation that went on between a French woman (A) and an Italian man (B):

A: I was talking to a student and he said: "?inti jamiila" (you are beautiful)

B: And what did you say?

A: All I said was "šukran" (thanks). I didn't mind it.

One Russian man mentioned switching to Arabic when talking to a Jordanian acquaintance to exclude another Russian national newly arrived in Jordan from the conversation. This is what Appel and Muysken (1987:119) call the 'directive' function of switching.

3.6 Syntactic Switching

At the syntactic level, certain interesting mixed English/French-Arabic structures occurred, which may represent violations of Poplack's (1980) Equivalence constraint. For example, an Italian woman modified an English noun with an Arabic adjective in a typical Adjective + Noun English structure (naa9im sugar 'small-grain sugar', lit. 'soft sugar'). As is well-known, in an Arabic noun phrase consisting of a noun + adjective, the only word-order). A similar phenomenon frequently occurred in the speech of an Arabic-English bilingual child (see Bader and Minnis, to

appear). The structure above clearly then violates the equivalence constraint.

Sometimes also the Free Morpheme constraint was not observed, as when a French woman said: "J'ai katabé trois lettres" 'I have written three letters'. Here the speaker used French past inflection é with the Arabic verb katab 'to write'. Obviously, é is a past participle bound morpheme suffixed to all French verbs that end in –er (class one). Another instance where the free morpheme constraint was violated was the use of the French negative prefix in (a bound morpheme) with an Arabic adjective (šaaTir 'clever') to form the word inšaaTir 'unclever'. The use of such a word may be explained by the fact that the Frenchman, who uttered it at while conversing in English, did not know or could not remember the English word stupid or its Arabic equivalent Gabiy, and resorted to such an unfamiliar process of word-formation. In any case, inšaaTir represents a violation of the Free Morpheme constraint.

4- Conclusion

This study has revealed the occurrence of numerous instances of codeswitching to Arabic in the speech of the French, Russian and Italian native speakers living in Jordan when they conversed in English or French. It has shown that word/phrases related to daily greetings, health conditions and greetings during religious festivities as well as certain expressions frequently used in conversations (e.g. some transitional or parenthetical expressions) were the most widely codeswitched. In general, codeswitching in these speakers' conversations served either a referential, directive, expressive, or metalinguistic function (in the sense of Appel and Muysken 1987). At the social level, codeswitches were often resorted to in order to make or allow the speaker to feel part of the willingness of the speaker to associate himself/herself with the Jordanian environment codeswitched more often than those who did not or could not adapt to Jordanian lifestyle. This is quite in agreement with Scotton (1987) who maintains that "while conveying referential information is often the overt purpose of conversation, all talk is also always indexical of the social relationships between speaker and addressee. That is, […] speakers make to negotiate relationships". (pp. 62-63).

At the stylistic and syntactic levels, the study has revealed the occurrence of lexical reduplications or spontaneous translations in the

speech of the subjects under scrutiny as well as frequent violations of the Equivalence and Free Morpheme constraints. These violations are most noticeable in the premodification of an Arabic adjective to an English noun in a typical English structure incongruent with Arabic grammatical norms, and in the attachment of French bound morphemes to Arabic stems.

The paper has also demonstrated the existence of great similarities between switched made by English native speakers (Bader and Mahadin 1996) and those made by French, Russian and Italian nationals (this study) in the categories and functions of codeswitching. It has, however, shown some differences between the switches made by the two groups at the stylistic and morphosyntactic levels.

More research is still needed in the area of code mixing in general and in the field of codeswitching to Arabic among foreign nationals in the rest of the Arab countries, in specific. It might be important to see whether the results obtained in this study match or contradict others that may by future studies in other parts of the Arab World.

Note

In transcriptions of Arabic forms, the following special reading conventions were used:

?	glottal stop
T	voiceless, dento-alveolar, emphatic plosive
D	voiced, dento-alveolar, emphatic plosive
q	voiceless, uvular plosive
0	voiceless, dental fricative
S	voiceless, dento-alveolar, emphatic fricative
š	voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative
x	voiceless, uvular fricative
G	voiced, uvular fricative
h	voiceless, pharyngeal fricative
9	voiced, pharyngeal fricative
j	voiced, palato-alveolar affricate
cc	geminate consonant
vv	long vowel

All other symbols are standard.

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