

## **Anglicising the Egyptian song: Arabic-English switching in Egyptian Arabic**

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## **Anglicising the Egyptian song: Arabic-English switching in Egyptian Arabic**

**Abstract:** In light of the presence of English in the Egyptian everyday life activities on various syntactic levels, this study is an attempt to approach borrowing and code-switching in Egyptian music from the dominance of linguistic system perspective. The study aimed to determine whether the Arabic-English switching instances in Egyptian music are borrowed forms or code-switches. In addition, it is an attempt to investigate the syntactic categories and types of switches to English as well as the contextual and functional reasons behind the switches through the observation of the relationship between the switches and the theme/situation/context where they appeared in the corpus. The data selected for the quantitative and qualitative analyses constituted a sample of five Egyptian songs that tackle youth-related themes and issues, not addressed in the mainstream music. The instances of borrowing the corpus provided indicated that the phonological and morphological adaptation to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic patterns occur across a continuum (from full integration to no integration) in the form of three strategies: “direct insertions”, “indirect insertions” and “light borrowing”. Two types of code-switching (“inter-sentential code-switching” and “intra-sentential code-switching”) were employed in two songs out of the five selected. The analyses indicated that English continues to serve as a source language for technology, social media and fashion-related diction that have found their way towards playing a vital role in everyday life communication among young Egyptians, including monolinguals and less proficient bilinguals.

**Keywords:** Egyptian Arabic, English Loanwords, Arabic-English Code-Switching, Egyptian Music, Linguistic Adaptation Strategies

### **Introduction**

#### **Purpose**

In light of the presence of English in the Egyptian everyday life activities on the level of words, phrases and sentences, it is noticed that English has begun to serve a function in Egyptian contemporary music where the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) generally holds the status of the Matrix Language (“the language whose grammar is used, that of bound and system morphemes such as inflections, determiners, possessive adjectives and

intensifier adverbs”; Abdo, 2015: 10) while English is the Embedded Language whose content words (e.g. “nouns, descriptive adjectives and most verb stems”, Abdo, 2015: 10) are used. Generally speaking, English in Egypt is used mainly by the younger generations who tend to believe that the use of English marks them as more outward-looking and more detached from whatever is labeled as “local” including language, seeking a more prestigious social status through its use.

Despite the number of studies of Arabic relevance on borrowing and code-switching, to the best of my knowledge, no studies have been conducted to investigate the use of English in Egyptian songs. Therefore, this study is an attempt to determine whether the Arabic–English switching instances in Egyptian music are borrowed forms or code-switches. In addition, it is an attempt to investigate the syntactic categories and types of switches to English as well as the contextual and functional reasons behind the switches.

### **Definitions and types**

Most literature on borrowing and code-switching involving Arabic does not differentiate between the two phenomena, considering all the English items that are not established loanwords in Arabic as instances of code-switching (Kniaż, 2017: 192). However, in switches such as English verb stems inflected with Arabic affixes (e.g. bitride “she rides”; binuse “we use”; Atawneh, 1992: 233), and English nouns preceded by the Arabic definite article al-/il- “the” (a bound morpheme) (Kniaż, 2017: 192), or the use of the plural morpheme -āt (also a bound morpheme in Arabic similar to English plural -s; e.g. kursāt “courses”; Kniaż, 2017: 199) where the switches are adapted to the recipient language, it is not an easy task to determine whether the switches are cases of borrowing or of code-switching. Although such cases are not established loanwords, according to Poplack (1980), they are examples of borrowing, not code-switching. Moreover, Kniaż (2017: 191) states that in case of borrowing (in contrast to code-switching) there is one dominant “linguistic system” to which the foreign lexical items are morphologically, syntactically and/or phonologically integrated. Likewise, Hamed et al. (2018: 3805) define “borrowing” as “having the whole sentence in one language except for words which are borrowed from the secondary language”.

Wohlgemuth (2009: 293) classifies loanword integration strategies into four main types: Direct Insertion, where the stem of a borrowed word is used as it is in the native language without any morpho-syntactic adaptation; Indirect Insertion, where a loanword

can be inflected; Light Strategy, where a borrowed word is used as a “non-inflected part of a complex predicate” of the recipient language; and Paradigm Transfer, where the word’s “inflectional morphology of the donor language is borrowed along with it, introducing a new inflectional paradigm into the recipient language” (Hassan, 2018:163). Concerning the types of code-switching, Hamed et al. (2018) identify two broad types: inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching. Inter-sentential code-switching is defined as “switching languages from one sentence to another” (e.g. كان عاجبني. It was very interesting. “I liked it. It was very interesting.”) (Hamed et al., 2018: 3805). Intra-sentential code-switching (sometimes referred to as “code-mixing”) is defined as “using multiple languages within the same sentence” (e.g. implement a semantic search engine إحنا كنا بن “We were implementing a semantic search engine.”) (Hamed et al., 2018: 3805).

### **Reasons/Functions/Motivations behind language alternation**

Finegan (2008) states that the use of a language or a variety is determined by the context, even if the same expressions exist in the languages or language varieties involved, which suggests that language choice is “not arbitrary” (cited in Abdo 2015: 1). According to Hamed et al. (2018: 3805), multilingualism is a product of several factors and motivations such as globalisation, immigration, international communication, colonisation, education and global business and trading. Kniaż (2017: 187) argues that the categorical and functional switching between Arabic and English is resulted from “the linguistic situation in the Arab world”. She elaborates that English is the only means of communication in many aspects of life for bilingual speakers in Arab diglossic communities, receiving English-medium instruction in schools and lacking the proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (Kniaż, 2017: 187). As a result, the English words, phrases or expressions integrated should be regarded as instances of borrowing as the daily language use marks their establishment in the speaker’s “mental lexicon” even if they are not established in the linguistic system of the Arabic language/variety under study (Kniaż, 2017: 190).

Wardhaugh (2006) and Milroy and Muysken (1995), have differentiated between two main reasons for code-switching: the situational code-switching and the metaphorical code-switching (cited in Abdo, 2015: 5). The situational code-switching occurs when people switch between languages according to the situation (Abdo, 2015: 5). Regarding the metaphorical code-switching, in Milroy and Muysken (1995), it is referred to as an

“addressee-based” type of code-switching while Auer (1998) defines it as language switching in the same situation (in Abdo, 2015: 5). However, by switching codes, the speaker “redefines the situation; from formal to informal, official to personal, serious to humorous, politeness to solidarity”, etc. (Mazraani, 1997, cited in Abdo, 2015: 6). Bassiouney (2009) states that the reasons why speakers switch between languages or language varieties are context-based and/or speaker-based. For example, interlocutors can switch for implying, emphasising or decreasing a certain “social gap”, for including or excluding specific interlocutors, for clarification or when lacking adequate levels of proficiency required for running “an appropriate monolingual conversation” (Bassiouney, 2009, cited in Abdo, 2015:1).

In addition, there are other conversational functions influencing language choice in code-switching. For instance, according to Gumperz (1982), people can switch codes to insert “interjections”, “direct quotations” or “reported speech” from another language or for addressee specification (cited in Abdo, 2015: 6). Speakers can also employ “reiteration” in code-switching, which occurs when a message is addressed in more than one code for clarification or emphasis (Gumperz , 1982, cited in Abdo, 2015: 6). Gumperz also defines “personalization versus objectivization” as other reasons behind code-switching pertaining to how far a speaker identifies themselves with a situation, aiming to express “personal opinions or knowledge”, reflect a “generally known fact” or refer to “specific instances” (cited in Abdo, 2015: 6).

### **Research questions**

The study aimed to answer the three following questions:

1. Are the English items in Arabic–English switching in Egyptian songs borrowings or code-switches?
2. What are the types of borrowings and/or code-switches employed?
3. What are the contextual and functional reasons behind the switches?

### **Method**

The data comprise a selected sample of five Egyptian songs that tackle youth-related themes and issues, not addressed in the mainstream music, in a comical and/or satirical way (details on the songs, contexts and themes presented in them are given in the following section, and English translations of the full songs are provided in the Appendix pp. 24-28). Songs that portray everyday life situations trigger the real-life use of language, and the sarcastic representation of everyday situations utilised in such songs appeals to

teenagers and young adults who tend to be critical and rebellious, and by whom English in Egypt is mainly used. Moreover, despite the great debate over language choice with respect to expressing emotions (Grosjean, 2011), I chose to exclude mainstream songs (e.g. romantic, patriotic, etc.) from the corpus for the noticed preference for using ECA. Mainstream songs do not seem to be triggers for language choices other than the native tongue, and this can be attributed to the tendency for most late bilingual individuals to have more psycholinguistic “affective ties” with their first languages (Pavlenko, 2002, cited in Grosjean, 2011).

## **Sample**

### **Facebooky “My Facebook (Account)”**

(Mekky Music, 2011)

“Facebooky” was released in 2012 by Ahmed Mekky, the Egyptian-Algerian comedian, rapper, director and scriptwriter. The hit came as a reaction to the many fake Facebook accounts and pages created in Mekky’s name. As a result, he decided to take a stand announcing in a song that he does not own any account or website, and warning his fans against the lies and all the fake enthusiastic “exclusive” news of art, personal life, religion and politics spread on the internet in his name.

### **Konty Fein “Where have you (female) been?”**

(As’ad Allah Masa’akom 2014, أسعد الله مساءكم)

“Konty Fein” is a parody of a romantic classic (by the well-known Egyptian singer Abdel-Halim Hafez) in the sketch comedy show “As’ad Allah Masa’akom” Good Afternoon/Evening (in classical Arabic) by the Egyptian comedian Akram Hosny. The parody is a sarcastic criticism of screen-time forms and practices that threaten family bonds. The protagonist blames his wife who is deeply engaged in online activities, resorting to every available electronic device and application in an attempt to reach her through such digital solutions as the only means of communicating with her.

## **Call me Ziko**

(Takh 2015, طاخ)

“Call me Ziko” is by a band named “Takh” (“Bam!” sound effect) that started in 2015. What makes the band’s work unique is that the songs are delivered through sketches that can be easily visualised by the audience (Al-A’sar, 2018). The sketches are based on story narrations that engage the audience by making them eager to know what is happening next as they listen, and present characters that a wide range of teenagers and youngsters can relate to (Al-A’sar, 2018; Identity Magazine, 2015). The listeners identify themselves, people they know or fellow members of their community in everyday life situations with the story and its characters, a characteristic which drove some music critics to believe that the songs “create a state rather than an art” (Al-A’sar, 2018). Takh’s work is characterised by the incorporation of English words and expressions; as stressed by Yosra Gendy (the main founder, writer, composer and singer) in one of her interviews “that’s probably because my generation and the younger generation speak this way” (Al-A’sar, 2018).

Seham, a young Egyptian lady who resides abroad and visits Egypt only during feast (Eid) holidays, happens to encounter Ziko during one of her visits and like him, and Zakareyya (Ziko), a typical “funky” young man who claims heroism and brags about his wealth and possessions, are the only two characters of “Call me Ziko”, in addition to a chorus having the role of a narrator. When the song was released, teenagers and youngsters thought of its lyrics as “creative” for the “mind game” Seham has to play on Ziko when, in her conversation, she disguised her phone number she wanted Ziko to have without having to directly do that (Identity Magazine, 2015).

## **Marboot Be Astek “Tied with a Rubber/an Elastic Band”**

(CairokeeOfficial, 2015)

"Marboot Be Astek" was released in 2015 by the Egyptian rock band Cairokee. The song is a criticism of a shallow reality depicted through the description of whom the protagonist referred to in the song as nas plastic “plastic-made humans/fake or unreal humans” and Mr Bombastics who give themselves exaggerated importance for artificial reasons. More specifically, the male protagonist, who is also the story narrator, sees a

woman being verbally and sexually harassed by men at a night club and condemns their behaviour until he approaches the woman and realises that he too is merely another Mr Bombastic who is not any different from the harassers, a fact that confirms he is part of the same dull reality he is criticising.

### **Salmonella**

(Tameemyouness, 2020)

“Salmonella” was released early 2020 by the commercial director Tameem Younes who started his career as a graphic designer and a YouTuber (Al-Seyoofi, 2020). Through the use of humour and sarcasm, “Salmonella” highlights fragile and immature masculinity in its portrayal of a man who meets rejection with toxicity, aggression and even violence. The story revolves around a man who sees a girl at a café, and insists on stalking her and getting her number. He starts out making powerful promises of planning a fancy wedding, buying her jewelry, a luxury apartment, flowers, cinema tickets, luxury club membership, cooking for her, drawing a portrait of her and offering his jacket when it is cold as gestures of affection and care upon acceptance. However, in the other scenario where she would turn him down, he insults her, prays for her failure in her future romantic endeavours, hopes she becomes Salmonella infected, vows to destroy her reputation in front of every young man in pursuit of his romantic interest. In a sarcastic manner, the hit aims to raise awareness of how foolish, idiotic and immature it is to hold such an attitude towards rejection.

### ***Approach***

The current study approached borrowing and code-switching from the dominance of linguistic system perspective suggested by Kniaż (2017) and Hamed et al. (2018). The data were analysed in terms of borrowing and code-switching according to the definitions, types as well as the functions of the switches mentioned in the introductory section, highlighting some new types and functions that appeared in the analysis. The switches are phonetically transcribed and presented in bold and/or italics. Translations for the Arabic items are also provided in quotation marks in the analysis below.

The data were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis was used for specifying the occurrences of borrowings versus code-switches and

the types they represent, while the qualitative analysis was employed for highlighting and interpreting the functional and contextual motivations behind the switches through the observation of the relationship between the switches and the theme/situation/context where they appeared.

### Data analysis

Tables I-IV below show the syntactic analysis of loan items and code-switches along with their translations and the phonetic transcriptions of the morphologically and phonologically adapted items.

**Table 1.** Direct Borrowings (the English stem of a borrowed word is used without morpho-syntactic adaptation)

Song	No adaptation	Phonological adaptation
Facebook	<i>Fan</i> <i>page</i> <i>lady</i> <i>man</i> (2 occurrences) <i>account</i> <i>site</i>	
Konty Fein	<i>Hashtag</i> <i>retweet</i> <i>click</i> (selecting an option on an electronic interface) <i>seen</i> (message “seen” status) <i>tab</i> (tablet computer)	[ <b>lasti si:n</b> ] (last seen) [ <b>basswo:rd</b> ] (password) [ <b>nitt</b> ] (net)
Call me Ziko	<i>OK</i>	[ <b>su:barmān</b> ] (Superman)
Marboot Be Astek		[ <b>belastik</b> ] (plastic) [ <b>mistar bombastic</b> ] (Mr Bombastic)
Salmonella	<i>baby</i> “(someone’s) beloved” <i>hop</i> “in a blink of an eye” <i>lenses</i> “(contact) lenses”	[ <b>salamonella</b> ] Salmonella (the bacterial infection)

**Table 2.** Indirect Borrowings (the English word is inflected with ECA affixes)

Song	Mixed verbs (English noun stems and Arabic affixes)	Mixed Adjectives (English verb stems and Arabic affixes)	Nouns inflected with the Arabic definite article <i>il-</i> prefix “the”	Nouns inflected with prepositional prefix <i>l-</i> (of/to/for) + definite article <i>al-/il-</i> (prefix)	Nouns inflected with the definite article <i>il-</i> (prefix) + plural suffixes – <i>āt/ah</i>	Nouns inflected with the dual suffix – <i>ein</i>	Nouns inflected with possessive suffixes
Facebook y	<p>بنتتوا [yi-nattit-u]</p> <p>(stem “net” + present simple prefix for third person “ye-” + third person plural “-u”)</p> <p>“use the net” (third person plural)</p> <p>تترستا [tit-rastaʔ]</p> <p>[feminine present simple prefix <i>tit-</i> + stem “rest” + syllable (vowel + glottal stop [ʔ])</p> <p>“to achieve permanent recognition (feminin</p>	<p>متفبرك [mit-fabrik]</p> <p>(stem “fabricate” + adjectival prefix “mit-“)</p> <p>“fabricated”/“fake”</p>	<p>النت [in-nitt]</p> <p>“the net”</p>	<p>للبوست [l-il-bost]</p> <p>(prepositional prefix “of” <i>l-</i> + stem “post”)</p> <p>“of the post” (post on social media networking sites”</p>	<p>الدولارات [id-dolārāt]</p> <p>(assimilated <i>il-</i> + stem “dollar” + - <i>āt</i> noun plural suffix)</p> <p>“the dollars”</p> <p>النتية [in-natteeta]</p> <p>(assimilated <i>il-</i> + stem “net” + agentive noun suffix <i>-eet</i> + <i>-ah</i> plural suffix)</p> <p>“the net users”</p>		<p>موبايلك [mobail-ik]</p> <p>(stem “mobile” + <i>-ik</i> second person feminine singular suffix)</p> <p>“your (female) mobile phone (number)”</p>

Song	Mixed verbs (English noun stems and Arabic affixes)	Mixed Adjectives (English verb stems and Arabic affixes)	Nouns inflected with the Arabic definite article <i>il-</i> prefix “the”	Nouns inflected with prepositional prefix <i>l-</i> (of/to/for) + definite article <i>al-/il-</i> (prefix)	Nouns inflected with the definite article <i>il-</i> (prefix) + plural suffixes – <i>āt/ah</i>	Nouns inflected with the dual suffix – <i>ein</i>	Nouns inflected with possessive suffixes
	e subject)”						
Konty Fein	<p><i>بتويت</i> [ba-twi:t]  (stem “tweet” + present simple prefix for first person “<i>ba-</i>”)  “(I tweet” (on Twitter)</p> <p><i>ماشنتك</i> [maʃɲɪntɪk] (stem “mention” + past simple prefix for first person “<i>-t</i>” + direct object suffix for second person feminine “<i>-ik</i>”)  “(I mentioned you (female addressee))”</p>		<p><i>النت</i> [in-nitt] (assimilated <i>il-</i>)  “the net”</p>				

Song	Mixed verbs (English noun stems and Arabic affixes)	Mixed Adjectives (English verb stems and Arabic affixes)	Nouns inflected with the Arabic definite article <i>il-</i> prefix “the”	Nouns inflected with prepositional prefix <i>l-</i> (of/to/for) + definite article <i>al-/il-</i> (prefix)	Nouns inflected with the definite article <i>il-</i> (prefix) + plural suffixes – <i>āt/ah</i>	Nouns inflected with the dual suffix – <i>ein</i>	Nouns inflected with possessive suffixes
Call me Ziko			<p>الليب جلوس [il-lip gla:s] the lip gloss</p> <p>الفان [il-fan] “the fan (appliance)”</p> <p>الزيرو [iz-zi:ru] (assimilated <i>il-</i>) “the zero-cut (hair)”</p> <p>الهيرو [il-hi:ru] “the hero”</p>				
Marboot Be Astek		<p>متشن [mi-tanʃin] (stem “tension” + adjectival prefix <i>mi-</i>) “tense (adjective, masculine)”</p>				<p>شوطين [shott-ein] (stem “shot” + dual suffix – <i>ein</i>) “two shots (of alcohol)”</p> <p>لايينين [lain-ein] (stem “line” + dual suffix – <i>ein</i>) “two lines (of</p>	

Song	Mixed verbs (English noun stems and Arabic affixes)	Mixed Adjectives (English verb stems and Arabic affixes)	Nouns inflected with the Arabic definite article <i>il-</i> prefix “the”	Nouns inflected with prepositional prefix <i>l-</i> (of/to/for) + definite article <i>al-/il-</i> (prefix)	Nouns inflected with the definite article <i>il-</i> (prefix) + plural suffixes – <i>āt/ah</i>	Nouns inflected with the dual suffix – <i>ein</i>	Nouns inflected with possessive suffixes
						drugs)”	
Salmonella		<p>مسكبة</p> <p>[mi-sakkib-ah] (stem “psychopath” + adjectival prefix <i>mi-</i> + feminine gender marker – <i>ah</i>)</p> <p>“psychopathic (female)”</p>	<p>السينما</p> <p>[is-sinima] (assimilated <i>il-</i>)</p> <p>“the cinema”</p>				

**Table 3.** Light Borrowing Strategy (the English word is not inflected and constitutes a part of an ECA predicate)

Song	Light Borrowing Strategy
Facebooky	<p>عمل لك <i>add</i></p> <p>عمل لنا <i>add</i></p> <p>عمل لي <i>block</i></p>
Konty Fein	<p><u>عاملة</u> <i>check-in</i></p> <p>خدمت <i>selfie</i></p> <p>عملتم <i>share</i></p> <p>عملت <i>delete</i></p> <p>دوست “try again”</p> <p>أعمل <i>update</i></p> <p>معمول له <i>lock screen</i></p> <p>أعمل <i>share</i></p>

**Table 4.** Types of code-switching

Song	Inter-sentential code-switching	Intra-sentential code-switching
Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Are you ready?</i></li> <li>• <i>Oh!</i></li> <li>• <i>That's right y'all!</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>damn you</i> <b>هتقولني عندك فيسبوك هاقولك</b> [hatʔolli ʃandak feisbuk haʔollak dæm yu:] So if you ever say “you own a Facebook page”, I’ll say ‘damn you’ (I’ll curse/insult you)!</li> <li>• <i>good night</i> <b>لو قابلك أي مكى ع ال net قل له</b> [lʷ ablak aii Mekki ʃannit ʔollo gud nait] If you come across any Mekky on the internet, say to him “Good night!” (kiss him goodbye/ignore him)</li> <li>• <i>Go shawty</i> <b>برضه الشبوكتشي</b> (Chorus phrase borrowed from 50 Cent + برضه “one more time”/ “again” + surname [Eʃ-ʃibokʃi])</li> </ul>
Call me Ziko	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Thank you for your sincerity!</i></li> <li>• <i>Call me Ziko</i> (phonologically adapted: [col mi ziiko])</li> <li>• <i>Ziko, Egyptian businessman</i> (phonologically adapted: [ziiko iʒibʃan biznismān])</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>What is what is what is your nationality?</i> <b>قال لها: "nationality?"</b> [āl laha wet iz wet iz wet iz ju:r naʃonaloti:] (Phonologically adapted) He asked her, “What is your nationality?”</li> <li>• <i>Excuse me, I don't understand what you're saying to me!</i> <b>قالت له: "Excuse me, I don't understand what you're saying to me!"</b> [ālīt loh ikskju:z mi: ai don ʌndərstænd wa:t jur sei-ɪŋ tu mi:] She said to him, “Excuse me. I don’t understand what you’re saying to me”</li> <li>• <i>Wait! Hold on!</i> <b>قالت له: "Wait! Hold on!"</b> [ālīt loh weit hoold a:n] She said to him, “Wait! Hold on!”</li> <li>• <i>My name Zakareyya.</i> <b>دخل عليها وقال: "My name Zakareyya."</b> [daxal ʃaleiha w-āl mai nem zakariyya] (phonologically adapted) and (grammatically adapted: no copula as in Arabic) He approached her and said, “My name is Zakareyya.”</li> </ul>

## Results and Discussion

### Borrowings

The direct borrowings found in the corpus (with or without adaptation) have become part of the Egyptians’ “mental lexicon” (in the terminology of Kniaż, 2017: 190) and they have replaced their ECA and MSA counterparts in the daily spoken ECA. Words like نفرة “click”, كلمة سر “password”, حظر “block”, موقع “site”, شبكة “net”, حساب “account”,

“last seen” آخر مشاهدة , “lipgloss” ملمع شفائيف/ملمع شفاة , “shot” كأس/كاس , “line” سطر , “lenses” “man” سيدة , “lady” تغريدة , “tweet” محمول , “mobile” معجب/مروحة “fan” , “zero” صفر , “hero” رجل , “baby” حبيبي/حبيبيتي and “page” صفحة are used more frequently than their ECA or MSA equivalents. Romaine (1989: 65) believes that borrowed items that have active equivalents in the recipient language (“gratuitous loans” in her terminology) occur to establish prestige and/or to emphasise the speakers’ language competence rather than for a necessity (cited in Hafez, 1996: 17). Interestingly, the word “page” appeared interchangeably with its Arabic equivalent “صفحة” in the same song. These switches, referred to as “free switches”, occur for no specific purposes (Montes-Alcalá, 2007).

Other “Direct Insertions” are exemplified in borrowings established in ECA, MSA or in both systems. “Salmonella” and “hashtag” have MSA equivalents: بكتيريا تسمم (Almaany Arabic-English Dictionary, 2020c) and رمز أكثر الكلمات تداولاً (An-nahar News, 2016), respectively; however, they are rarely used and even sound strange to the ears when heard. Borrowing in such instances is referred to in the literature as “switching for the principle of economy” where the users prefer to use shorter language productions (Halim & Maros, 2014; San, 2009). In addition, borrowings like “cinema” سينما and “plastic” بلاستيك have no Arabic equivalents and are in a status of full-integration in both ECA and MSA (Almaany Arabic-English Dictionary, 2020a & 2020b; Lisaanmasry, 2020a & 2020b). As stated in Romaine (1989: 55), such loan items are “used by monolinguals who may or may not be aware of their foreign origin” and “probably not even perceived as foreign by the majority of speakers” (cited in Hafez, 1996: 2).

Regarding the “Indirect Insertions”, morphological integration was depicted through the inflection with various ECA affixes such as the definite article il- “the” (e.g. [in-nitt] “the net”), the prepositional prefix li- “of” (e.g. [l-il-bost] “of the post”), the adjectival prefix mi(t)- (e.g. [mi-tanʃin] “tense” masculine singular adjective; [mi-sakkib-ah] “psychopathic” feminine singular; [mit-fabrik] “fabricated” masculine singular adjective), verbal prefixes exemplified in the present simple ba-, yi-, ti(t) (e.g. [ba-twi:t] “(I) tweet”; [yi-nattit-u] “(they) use the net”; [tit-rast-a?] “to achieve permanent recognition”, from the stem -rest-), the possessive suffix -ik “your” (feminine singular) (e.g. [mobail-ik] “your mobile phone number”), and the feminine singular suffix -ah (e.g. [mi-sakkib-ah] “psychopathic” feminine singular).

Concerning the inflection for number, the analysis showed the presence of two suffixal plural inflections for nouns: -āt and -ah. The suffix -āt (termed “Feminine Sound Plural”; Hafez, 1996: 14) is used in الدولارات [id-dolārāt] “the dollars”. According to Smeaton (1973: 36), “Feminine Sound Plural” is common in the “pluralization of nouns of foreign origin which have not been assimilated into Arabic beyond the phonological stage” (cited in Hafez, 1996: 14). Furthermore, what is known as the “Broken Plural Inflection” (the type involving omission, insertion, and vowel change, and viewed as “an indication of maximal integration of a word into the language”; Hafez, 1996: 14); is employed in the studied corpus. “Broken plural” is seen in the use of the suffix -ah as in الننتية [in-natteeta] “the net users”. Moreover, the verbal plural marker -u (e.g. ينتتوا [yi-nattit-u] “use the net”, third person) and the dual suffix -ein (e.g. شوطين [shott-ein] “two shots”; لاينين [lain-ein] “two lines”) were also found in the data.

In his investigation of the processes of English loan verbs integration into ECA, Hassan (2018: 164) states that some verbs are inserted into the system as “non-inflected parts of complex predicates” (in which an English verb joins an Arabic one that is inflected according to the grammatical and morphological norms of ECA), a strategy known as Light Verb Strategy (LVS). The way loan verbs are integrated in the present data go in line with what came in Hassan (2018: 164&165). However, some adjectives in the corpus were found to be formed in the same way; hence, the strategy is referred to as “Light Borrowing Strategy” here to include other parts of speech in the category. The most common Arabic native verb employed in the songs of focus is the stem [ʕamal] “to do” or “to make” and its derivatives:

عمل [ʕamal]: e.g. block عمل لي [ʕamal li blok] “(he) blocked me”

عامل [ʕamel]: e.g. Mr Bombastic عامل فيها [ʕamel fiha mistar bombastic] “acting like Mr Bombastic”

عاملة [ʕamla]: e.g. check-in عاملة [ʕamla tʃik in] “checked-in” (female)

اعمل [eʕmel]: e.g. add لنا [eʕmel lena ād] “add us” and اعمل share [eʕmel feir] “share” (imperative form)

عملتم [ʕamaltom]: e.g. share عملتم [ʕamaltom feir] “you (plural) shared”

أعمل [aʕmel]: e.g. update أعمل [aʕmel ubdeit] “I update”

عملت [ʕamalti]: e.g. delete عملت [ʕamalti dileet] “you (female) deleted”

معمول [maʕmool]: e.g. lock screen معمول له [maʕmool loh lok iskreen] “(it is/was) screen-locked”

Other less common examples in the data were the verb stems خَدَّ /xad/ to take, and داس /dās/ to press (an occurrence each): e.g. خدتم [xadtom]: selfie خدتم [xattom silfi] you (plural) took a selfie; دوست [dust]: try again دوست [dust trai agein] “(I) clicked ‘try again’”. The data also highlighted a instance of foreignisation or anglicisation rather than borrowing in the sentence: كبر جيھڪ روق ديھڪ [kabbar zi:hak rawwa? di:hak] (literally: “have a big G and clear your D” “chill out”). “G” refers to جمجة [gomgoma], the ECA word for “skull” and “D” refers to دماغ [dimāy] the ECA word for “head”; both referring to “brain” or “mind” (representing a metonymic container-content semantic relationship). The English initials “G” and “D” for the ECA words are inflected with the Arabic possessive suffix –ak “your” (masculine singular) resulting in an unusual borrowing pattern.

It is also worth noting that English names of brands and social networking sites appeared in the corpus; all were adapted to the ECA forms on the morphological and/or the phonological levels. Some words were phonologically adapted (e.g. [wetts] “Whatsapp”, [tuwi:tar] “Twitter”, [feis] “Facebook”, [inistagrām] “Instagram”), some were morphologically adapted (e.g. inflected with: the ECA definite article prefix il- “the”: [il-feisbok] “Facebook”, [il-hai-faiv] “Hi5” (chatting app) [il-ai-si-kju:] “ICQ” (chatting app), [il-aifoun] “The iPhone”; the first person singular possessive suffix –i: [feisbokk-i] “my Facebook (account); the third person masculine singular possessive suffix –oh: [feisbokk-oh] “his Facebook (account)”), and some were both morphologically and phonologically adapted: (e.g. [il-āibād] “the iPad”; [il-watsāb] “Whatsapp”).

Regarding borrowings from other languages in the studied corpus, Italian appears to serve as a source language for loanwords in food-related dictionary of ECA: the word فينو [fi:nu] from Italian “fino”/“fine (Italian bread)” (United States, 1993), used in ECA to refer to long baguette-shaped type of bread, and لاتيھ [lateih] for “latte”. The word بيتزا [betza] for “pizza” and its morphological variants البيتزا [il-betza] “the pizza”, inflected with the ECA definite article il-, and بيتزايتي [betzaiti] my pizza. Generally speaking, as ECA nouns are inflected for number and gender, one way some speakers of ECA integrate words such as “pizza”, “cans” and “USB flash memory stick” in their speech is by adding the ECA diminutive feminine suffix –āya (بيتزايه [betzāya], كنزايه [kanzāya] and فلاشايه [felashāya], respectively) when used as singular nouns. Then they can be further inflected for possession. Therefore, the word بيتزايتي [betzāiti] used in “Salmonella” comprises three

parts: the stem noun [betza] (the ECA variant of /pitʂə/), the diminutive feminine singular suffix [-āya] (altered to [-āit] here as it is inflected for the genitive) and the first person possessive suffix [-i] “my”).

In addition, words from French appeared in the corpus. The word *أستك* [astik] “a rubber/an elastic band” from the French “*élastique*” that has the same meaning, with the first syllable “*él*” deleted due to its phonological similarity with the ECA definite article *il-*. Such homonymy makes it sound logical for the word user to omit the syllable “*él*” when the target form is an indefinite noun (“a rubber band”) (Hafez, 1996: 8). These words are fully established loanwords with no equivalents in ECA. Other examples from a French noun stem “*jaquette*” /zakett/ “jacket” are *جاكيتتي* [zakettiti] “my jacket” (inflected with feminine singular suffix -a) and *والجاكيتة* [wiʒ-zaketta] “and the jacket” inflected with the Arabic preposition “and” prefix *wi-* followed by the ECA definite article *il-* prefix (assimilated with the following consonant) as well as the feminine singular suffix -a. Moreover, the French word “*numéro*” number, modified to *نمرة* [nimra], has been established for a long time now and used in free variation (both in the corpus and in ECA in general) with its Arabic equivalent *رقم* [raqam]. The gender marking employed in the borrowings from Italian and French seems to support Hafez’s (1996: 14) argument that inanimate noun loanwords (regardless of the number) reveal a tendency for feminine suffix inflection.

The instances of borrowing in the corpus indicated that the phonological and morphological adaptation to ECA patterns occur across a continuum (from full adaptation to no adaptation). The corpus provides many “indirect insertions” where the adapted loanwords are fully integrated on various levels to the extent that identifying their source items can be challenging for many advanced bilingual speakers, especially in the first encounter (e.g. *ينتتوا* [yi-nattit-u] (verb) and *النتيتة* [in-natteeta] (noun) from “net”, *متفبرك* [metfabrik] (adjective) from “fabricate”, *تترستا* [titrastaʔ] (verb) from “rest”, *مسكبة* [mi-sakkib-ah] (adjective) from “psychopath”). As came in Hafez (1996), when a borrowed item goes through many phonological and morphological changes as a result of full adaptation in a system of another language, it can occur in any words classes, following the derivational and inflectional morphological paradigms of the recipient language. Consequently, speakers may fail to make connections between what they hear and what they already know. Through word formation processes such as backformation, words like *ينتتوا* [yi-nattit-u] (verb) and *النتيتة* [in-natteeta] (noun) (derivations from “net”), language

users integrate the words into the system of ECA according to its paradigms by generating more words from the same stems.

Drawing on the examples of borrowing mentioned above, it can be said that English continues to serve as a source language for technology, social media and fashion-related diction that have found their way towards playing such a vital role in everyday life communication. All borrowed items that appeared in the corpus are utilised (or at least understood) by young Egyptians, including monolinguals and non-proficient bilinguals.

### **Code-switches**

Two types of code-switching instances (inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching) were employed in two songs out of the five selected, “Facebooky” and “Call me Ziko”. On the inter-sentential level of code-switching, “are you ready?” and the interjection “Oh” are employed in “Facebooky” as opening phrases while “that's right y'all” is used in both opening as well as closing to establish the music style (rapping) as phrases of frequent occurrence in rapping. Regarding the expression “damn you”, it is a euphemism that serves as a substitute for an avoided harsher/more offensive Arabic phrase.

Concerning the Intra-sentential Code-switching in “Facebooky”, the use of good night in good night لو قابلك أي مكّي ع النّت قل له “If you come across any Mekky on the internet, say to him ‘Good night!’” (kiss him goodbye/ignore him) is an indication that whoever pretends to be Mekky would be in an unconscious state of mind, lacking sleep; thus, they had better go and have some rest/sleep. Such a meaning is not conveyed in ECA through expressions like good night; therefore, the proposition here is that this instance of code-switching is employed mostly for a rhyming effect (with site in the preceding line). In addition, the phrases Go shawty, it’s your birthday, are quotations borrowed from the chorus of 50 Cent, the American rapper and actor, in his well-known track “In da Club”. However, in “Facebooky”, it’s your birthday is realised as [Eʃ-ʃibokʃi], a surname/family name, to add a humorous effect, especially for the audience familiar with the context of the original phrase. The code-switches closely support Bassiousney’s (2009) context-based and speaker-based as well as Gumperz’s (1982) “quotation” and “personalization” functions of code-switching (cited in Abdo, 2015: 6) and indicate the influence of American rap on Mekky’s musical style and his well-produced rap tracks appealing to Egyptian and Arab teenage and youth.

Similarly, in “Call me Ziko”, code-switching occurred inter-sententially and intra-sententially. On the intra-sentential level, the Arabic turns are given through the narrator’s voice (exemplified in narration interjections such as: قالت له “she said to him”; قال لها “he said to her”; دخل عليها وقال “he approached her and said” that serve as triggers for the switching). On the other hand, the English turns are given in a form of quoted speech by Seham who appears to be more fluent in English than in Arabic (bearing in mind she is an Egyptian living abroad), and by Ziko who seems to refrain from using Arabic in his conversation with Seham and shows a tendency for communicating with her through his phonologically and grammatically adapted English, in an attempt to sound as “foreign” and “trendy” as possible and to show off his “modest” knowledge of English to the less competent user of Arabic. Ziko’s grammatical adaptation of his English utterances can be seen in the absence of the copula in My name Zakareyya; in Arabic, the copula is usually omitted in present tense.

Therefore, code-switching in both hits is speaker-based and addressee-based, and it appears to be a product of other non-linguistic factors such as speakers’ attitudes towards the language, themselves or their own addressees and frequency of use of the English items in similar contexts. Moreover, as suggested by Hafez (1996: 18), the use of foreign items without morpho-syntactic adaptations is mainly an issue of prestige and also implies a higher degree of bilingualism. A language user with a positive attitude towards a language views it as “prestigious” and shows a tendency for relating to it to mark himself/herself as socially distinguished, well-educated, more international, outward-looking and highly exposed to the foreign language and culture (Hafez, 1996: 17).

### **Commentary on the phonological adaptation in borrowing and code-switching**

The phonological adaptations of borrowed items and code-switches in the data represent very typical features of English spoken by Egyptians in general. First, the failure to realise the voiceless quality of the bilabial plosive /p/ is found in words like [basswo:rd] “password”, [su:barmān] “superman” and [bost] “post”. In ECA and MSA, [b] and [p] are allophonic or “submembers of the same phoneme” when perceived and pronounced (Nasr, 1997: 24); /p/ does not exist on its own as a separate phoneme in the system of Arabic (Swan & Smith, 2001: 197). A similar feature found is replacing the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ with the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ] in the word [izibʃan] “Egyptian”. The /dʒ/ does not exist in the system of ECA as an individual consonant or

in combination; thus, there is a tendency to reduce it to the closest phoneme available [ʒ]. Second, the pronunciation of English words is greatly influenced by its spelling: (1) the consonant /s/ is doubled (geminated) in the articulation of [basswo:rd] simply as it shows twice in script; (2) schwas are given more stress and length in pronunciation and influenced by how it is spelt in words (e.g. [basswo:rd] “password”; [mistar] “mister”). Third, concerning consonant clustering, the maximum number of consonants in a final or medial cluster is two in all varieties of Arabic. Therefore, when a speaker is faced with a phrase such as “last seen” that requires the pronunciation of a three-consonant cluster in connected speech, he or she tends to declusterise, in an effort to facilitate cluster pronunciation, through the insertion of short vowels producing new syllable divisions [lasti si:n].

Moreover, initial consonant clusters do not exist in Arabic, which explains why “plastic” is realised in the corpus as [belastik]. The assimilation of the letter ﺝ/l in the definite article il-, as in words like [iz-zi:ru] “the zero” and [in-nitt] “the net”, is a phenomenon in Arabic named “sun-letters assimilations” where “sun letters” ([z] and [n] in the examples mentioned) suppress the preceding [l] in il- and assimilates it (as opposed to “moon letters” that are pronounced as separate phonemes after [l]). Furthermore, in the verb [tit-rast-aʔ] (stemming from “rest”), a syllable consisting of a short vowel and the glottal stop [ʔ] is added to the verb to preserve the ECA verb weight cvc-cvc-cvc as a form of full adaptation. Many borrowings in the corpus (including [tit-rast-aʔ]) also involved vowel alteration marking a higher degree of adaptation (e.g. [manʃint-ik] stemming from “mention”; [mi-tanʃin] stemming from “tension”; [mi-sakkib-ah] stemming from “psychopath”). Other deviations from native or near native English pronunciation that cannot be explained through a contrastive observation of English and Arabic are examples like [wet] for “what” and [naʃonaloti:] for “nationality”. Such cases are mainly caused by lower language proficiency and are considered less prestigious.

## **Conclusion**

Language use is dynamic and more English words are integrated every day on different levels and in various aspects of modern Egypt. The current study is an attempt to provide an in-depth investigation on the presence of borrowings and code-switching in ECA, highlighting modes (phonological and morphological) as well as degrees of adaptations and integrations of English words into the Arabic system. The integration of English borrowings and code-switching into ECA reflected the linguistic dynamics and influence

of English in Egypt. English code-switching in the Egyptian music appears to be a speaker- and context-based phenomenon, used for stylistic and/or humorous effects. Such linguistic practices, influenced by both language proficiency and prestige, are prevalent in contemporary Egyptian colloquial language, especially among young speakers.

With the increasing number of English users, today's "foreign" items, subject to familiarisation and adaptation, may form the base for tomorrow's "established loans" as English continues to preserve its importance in the forms of Egyptian communication. Therefore, there is a need to develop databases to document and trace the etymological history of borrowed items (into the standardised dialects of Arabic) as well as the ways, processes, types and degrees of integration. This is a suggestion that has long been called for by researchers in the field of borrowing in Arabic (Hafez, 1996: 19) and is still relevant to today's sociolinguistic situation in Egypt. The availability of such databases would facilitate the research on borrowing into Arabic so that borrowings can be regularly documented, revisited and studied.

### **Avenues of Further Research**

To achieve better understanding of the studied phenomena and obtain more representative and generalisable data, the researcher's suggestion for further research would be including a larger corpus of songs (and probably other genres of art and literature). It would also be beneficial to investigate other factors influencing borrowing and code-switching such as age and exposure to the source language. Commenting on the influence of age on language use, it has been established that younger and older generations differ in how they use the same loanwords; such a difference is resulted from the variation in "the extent of phonological and morphological importation" (Haugen, 1950: 222). In addition, exploring the attitudes and views of users and their target audience would also help in capturing the complexity of both phenomena in Egyptian music and arriving at more conclusive qualitative results. Future research may also conduct a comparison between the sociolinguistic situation of Egyptian music and the music of other bilingual communities, where any dialect of Arabic is used as the Matrix Language, in terms of: the amount, forms, types and functions of borrowing and code-switching.

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