ARABIC WITH ENGLISH:
BORROWING AND CODE-SWITCHING IN IRAQI ARABIC

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Abstract

This paper discusses the widespread occurrence of English words and phrases in Iraqi Arabic (IA) discourse. The first part distinguishes between borrowing and code-switching, and gives examples of current English loanwords in IA. In spite of the social stigma frequently attached to the use of non-Arabic loanwords assimilated to IA, borrowings from English seem to be a common feature of the spoken Arabic of most Iraqis. The second part of the paper gives an account of the Arabic-English code-switching practices of Iraqis, describing the extralinguistic factors triggering code-switching, as well as the linguistic constraints prohibiting inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching. It concludes that a switch can occur at a number of points in a sentence or discourse, provided that there is no violation of the syntactic structure of either language.

Theoretical Background

Arabic-English interaction in Iraq dates from the first decades of this century. The teaching of English was introduced into the Iraqi school curriculum as early as 1918, and before long English gained ground as the second language in the country, after Arabic. Up until 1918 Turkish had been the main foreign language taught in Iraqi schools. Under Ottoman occupation IA had borrowed extensively from Turkish, and to a lesser extent from Persian. These borrowings are still current in the language of older people, although they are gradually dying out. Turkish and Persian loanwords are ordinarily associated with everyday topics, like food and clothing. Contact with English, however, has brought into the language more abstract concepts, as well as a number of scientific terms. While some items of clothing are referred to by Turkish loanwords, and floral terminology by Persian loanwords, the terms for the different parts of a car are nearly all borrowings from English. Thus, we have gir "gear", breek "brake", klaaç "clutch", hoorin "horn", saaakinsoorba "shock absorber", baak "reverse", etc.

Arabic-English code-switching is becoming commonplace among Iraqis. This is largely due to the increasing accessibility of English. With a number of Iraqis receiving higher education in English-speaking countries, like Britain, the United States and Canada, and some Iraqis settling in those countries, there are now large communities of Arabic-English bilingual Iraqis. Code-switching is a common feature of the speech of these people. Arabic-English switching occurs also in some circumstances within Iraq. Modern science and medical education being mostly in English, both teachers and students often switch from Arabic to English, and vice-versa, in the course of seminars and lectures. Code-switching, therefore, seems to occur in the spoken Arabic of most Iraqis who have access to English.

The Sample

For this particular investigation I collected as much data as I could. Quantitative data allow an investigator to apply the Labovian method of analyzing the relative
Farida Abu-Haidar

frequencies of variables in a speech community. Thus an investigator can avoid as much as possible inventing examples and asking informants to evaluate their acceptability, a form of investigation thought to be inconclusive by Gumperz (1971), but still applied by him (1976), and by other linguists (Gingrás, 1974; Timm, 1975).

As an in-group member it was not difficult for me to have access to different network situations, like social gatherings in people’s homes, or outings with informants to places of mutual interest. In this way I was able to have informal conversation with a number of monolingual and bilingual Iraqis of various ages, and from different socioeconomic backgrounds. I used a tape-recorder whenever I could. I was also able to collect further data through one-to-one telephone conversations when the conversant was not aware his/her speech was being monitored. This method yielded worthwhile results in practically all situations.

All my monolingual informants were interviewed in Baghdad. I took care to select people who did not have access to English to see how far borrowings from English had penetrated into their everyday conversation. These findings were later noted down. In all, forty monolinguals were interviewed. I also interviewed twenty-two Iraqi bilinguals in both Baghdad and London. Of these, five could be called Arabic-dominant, six English-dominant, and eleven balanced bilinguals. The Arabic-dominant, three men and two women, were all elderly people who had lived in Britain at one time where they had picked up a fair amount of English. The English-dominant, three men and three women, were young Iraqis, below the age of thirty-five. These informants felt more at home with English than with Arabic, and spoke English without a trace of a foreign accent. Two women and one man had been born in England where they had received all their education. Their knowledge of Arabic was restricted to 1A which they had picked up from their families in England. Although their spoken Arabic was very good, the influence of English intonation could be detected, particularly during long stretches of spontaneous speech. The other three informants had received primary education in Iraq, and had gone to England to continue their education at the ages of ten, twelve and thirteen respectively. Unlike the three who were born in England, these informants could read Arabic fluently, but were hesitant to write it. The eleven balanced bilinguals, five men and six women, whose ages ranged from twenty-two to sixty-three, were equally fluent in Arabic and English. They had all been educated up to secondary school level in Iraq, and three of the older informants had attended colleges of further education in Baghdad, before going to England to resume their studies. These three informants spoke English fluently but with a marked Iraqi accent. A slight Iraqi accent could also be detected in the speech of three other balanced bilinguals, while the remaining five spoke English without a trace of an Iraqi accent.

The six English-dominant and the eleven balanced bilinguals had all received higher education in England. Of the Arabic-dominant, only two men had gone to university in the Arab world. Nine of the balanced bilinguals spoke other languages besides Arabic and English. Seven spoke fluent French, and two had near native knowledge of Turkish, having grown up in an Arabic-Turkish speaking environment. Of the remaining two in the sample, one had a smattering of German. At no point during the interviews and recordings was any interference from these informants’ other languages detected.
From the data collected, it was discovered that those monolinguals who had little or no formal education tended to use English loanwords fairly frequently. Some informants hesitated before using a loanword, while others, once they had realized they had used a loanword, immediately followed it with the equivalent Arabic form, as will be shown in the examples below.

Bilingual informants used loanwords even less frequently. Instead of using a word borrowed from English and assimilated to IA, they often seemed to switch to English. Of the three groups of bilinguals interviewed, it was found that balanced bilinguals code-switched more frequently than their Arabic-dominant and English-dominant counterparts. The balanced bilinguals used an Arabic or English base interchangeably. The Arabic-dominant tended to use an Arabic base and switch to English, while the English-dominant used an English base and switched to Arabic as the context demanded. It was found in this investigation, moreover, that a speaker’s sex did not influence his/her code-switching behaviour.

My findings of code-switching behaviour among Iraqis tallied with those of other investigators, (Fishman, Cooper and Ma, 1971; Gumperz and Hernandez-Chaves, 1975), who found that speakers switched to the native language whenever they spoke about home, the church, etc. In my data conversants spoke English when talking about work, education, politics and generally abstract concepts. They switched to Arabic when dealing with topics concerning the home, religion, Iraqi culture and way of life.

1. BORROWING

Much has been written concerning borrowing vs. code-switching, (Gingrás, 1974; Gumperz, 1976; Pfaff, 1982; Bentahila and Davies, 1983; Berk-Seligson, 1986). Gingrás’s view that borrowing refers to a single item in one language occurring in a sentence or discourse in another language, while code-switching refers to longer stretches of language, has been refuted. There are a number of instances where single items are code-switched rather than borrowed, as I found in my data.

Thus compare:

1. *aku 3idna alkuular ib-xubt il-ga3da* (borrowing)
   "We have an air-cooler in the sitting-room."

2. *sayyaaratna panêrat wiCTarreena njîb waahîd ûqayyîlna l-taayar* (borrowing)
   "Our car had a puncture so we had to get someone to change the tyre for us."

3. *tariq il-mafiwar hassa ahsan gabul ûaan kull a roundabouts* (code-switching)
   "The road to the airport is better now, previously it was all roundabouts."

4. *sta3malit il-vacuum cleaner 3az-zuuliyya 3-jidliida* (code-switching)
   "I used the vacuum cleaner on the new carpet."

In the first two examples, which are taken from the recordings of monolinguals, the loanwords *alkuular* in (1), and *panêrat* and *taayar* in (2), have been phonologically and morphologically assimilated to IA. In examples (3) and (4) the two items, "roundabouts" and "vacuum cleaner" respectively, are code-switched.
These latter examples were provided by bilingual speakers. In (3) the informant opted for the English word rather than the usual IA word *filka* (pl *filak*). In (4) the informant switched to English to give "vacuum cleaner" instead of the IA compound form *muknaasa kahraba*; or the loanword *hoobar* (> Eng. Hoover). Borrowed items, therefore, can be distinguished from code-switched ones in that borrowings are ordinarily assimilated to the base languages, whereas code-switched items tend to occur in the donor language. This distinction has also been posited by Poplack (1980), Berk-Seligson (1986), and Bentahila and Davies (1983), who add that one can easily tell from the pronunciation whether someone is using a loanword or a code-switched one.  

In her study of Spanish-English code-switching, Pfaff (1982) says that code-switched items are distinguishable from loanwords in that they are often preceded by a hesitation, immediately before the switch. This finding does not apply to Arabic-English code-switching, because, as I found in my data, informants sometimes hesitated before using a loanword, as can be seen from the following examples:

(5) *bas šift il-walad giddaami disit ʾal .... breek*  
"As soon as I saw the boy in front of me, I pressed (my foot) on .... the brake."

(6) *šīreena balam jidiid bii .... maatōor*  
"We bought a new boat with an .... engine."

(7) *keeka umm il-ʾasal līsadd irīdīlha .... pakin pawdar*  
"How much .... baking powder does a honey cake need?"

In the above examples the informants used the loanwords after some hesitation because they could not provide equivalent Arabic forms. Non-Arabic loanwords are overtly stigmatized in IA because they occur more often in the speech of illiterate and semiliterate people. It should be pointed out, however, that no such stigmatization applies to the use of code-switched items, since these latter are seen as proof of a speaker’s bilingual ability. IA speakers, on the whole, try to avoid using loanwords whenever they are able to supply an equivalent Arabic form.

Hesitation is usually more common after the use of a loanword than before it. In the following examples each speaker hesitated after using a loanword (*_*), but then immediately supplied its Arabic equivalent (A):

(8) *istiʾmaal il-freezar .... il-mujammida ysaḥhil il-umuur*  
"The use of a freezer (L) .... a freezer (A) makes matters easier."

(9) *ltswawagit iswayya w baʾdeen marreet ʾal-bang .... aqṣud il-mašraf*  
"I did a bit of shopping, and then I passed by the bank (L) .... I mean the bank (A)."

(10) *b ingilīra li-steerin .... il-sukkaan ʾal-yamiin*  
"In England the steering-wheel (L) .... the steering-wheel (A) is on the right."

(11) *šīn raqim talifoonkum .... aqṣud raqim il-haṭātī*  
"what is your telephone (L) number .... I mean the telephone (A) number?"
The majority of loanwords in IA seem to be nouns. Verbs are rare, and adjectives do not seem to occur. Other investigators have come up with similar findings. Mosha (1971) says that most loans in Luganda, a language spoken in Uganda, are nominal. Sobin (1976), discussing lexical borrowings in Texas Spanish, divides items borrowed from English into three major categories, nouns, verbs and adjectives, claiming that nouns are the largest group of borrowed items, outnumbering borrowed verbs by about two to one, while adjectives are rare. Scotton and Okeju (1973) have found that in Ateso, a language spoken in Kenya and Uganda, the largest number of borrowings are nouns for objects or concepts new to the Ateso culture. This is also Karttunen’s (1977) view. In her investigation of English loanwords in Finnish, as spoken by Finns in America, she found that borrowings were restricted to nominal forms that were alien to Finnish culture. In IA some loanwords do refer to objects or concepts that are not part of Iraqi culture. More often, however, they are synonymous with, or act as alternatives to Arabic forms.

The following sentences and phrases show the occurrence of some loanwords in IA. They are all taken from recordings of monolingual speakers:

(12) štreenaala paaystikil
    “We bought him a bicycle.”
(13) ma tidrus bass ingaablal t-talafizyoon
    “She doesn’t study, she just sits there watching television.”
(14) nirkaal taksi lūo paas
    “Shall we go by taxi or bus?”
(15) lamman wastaw al-šaart c gaamat il-looriyyaat tista d imla
    “When they widened the road lorries started using it.”
(16) qindak vitza l-ameerka
    “Have you got a visa for America?”
(17) jaboolna kampyuyutar fidid lil-maktaba
    “They brought us a new computer for the library.”
(18) il-talafizyoon il-yoom ila ša biyya azyad min il-raadyo
    “Television nowadays is more popular than the radio.”

Conclusion

English loanwords are a common feature of IA. In spite of the fact that they are stigmatized and consciously avoided by some speakers, English loanwords often fill a lexical gap in IA. Their introduction into the language frequently precedes the coining of corresponding Arabic terms. The loanwords talifoon “telephone”, bang “bank” and paaystikil “bicycle”, for example, are more common in everyday conversation than their Arabic equivalents haatif, maṣraf and dirraja respectively. Other loanwords, like taksi “taxi”, loori “lorry” and raadyo “radio”, occur in the written as well as the spoken language far more frequently than their Arabic equivalents. Some loanwords, like talafizyoon “television”, kampyuyutar “computer” and alaktroon “electron”, were assimilated to IA without corresponding terms being coined for the objects they refer to. Nearly all loanwords in IA are nominal, verbal forms being rare.

II CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching tends to occur in situations of bilingualism. It is particularly widespread among communities of minority languages in a country where the official
spoken language is that of the majority. The minority languages can be native, as, for example, Welsh and Gaelic in Britain, Breton and Alsation in France, Catalan and Basque in Spain, Kurdish and neo-Aramaic in Iraq; or non-native, like Spanish, Italian and German in the United States, Hindi, Greek and Italian in Britain, Armenian, Persian and Turkish in Iraq. These are just a few random examples. If one were to look at the world situation as a whole, one would find that "bilingualism is present in practically every country of the world, in all classes of society, and in all age groups"; and that it "has existed since the beginning of language in human history", (Grosjean, 1982: 1).

The phenomenon of code-switching has interested linguists for more than two decades. In the early stages of research into code-switching behaviour, it was thought that switching from one language to another within a sentence or discourse was idiosyncratic, and that there were no syntactic restrictions on where it could occur. Lance (1975), analyzing Spanish-English code-switching in America, claimed that code-switching was random. Since then a number of linguists, among them Gingras, Gumperz, Lipski, Pfaff, Poplack and Tilm, have refuted this claim, stating that code-switching is rule-governed and subject to linguistic constraints. Several investigators have also dealt with extralinguistic factors triggering code-switching. Valdes (1982: 213), for example, has found twelve factors triggering switching in her sample. Jacobson (1982: 195), on the other hand, enumerates six types of "sociologically conditioned" switches reflecting "responses to certain cues in the social environment." These he classifies as "code", "domain", "culture", "interpersonal relations", "topic" and "metaphor."

From the data collected for this study, it was found that Arabic-English code-switching falls roughly into four categories: contextual, situational, functional and prestigious. These categories are not always clear-cut, and occasionally some overlap tends to occur.

i) Contextual switching

A contextual switch occurs when the context within the discourse refers to a particular idea or topic that can best be expressed in one language to the exclusion of the other, as, for example,

(1) He died in London *bos il-faatha bil-*iraqaq
    "He died in London, but the funeral will take place in Iraq."

(2) *rihna tsawwana w ba-deen waddeena hana* to the Tower of London.
    "We went shopping, and then we took Hana to the Tower of London."

In (1) the sentence starts in English, but the idea of an Iraqi, Muslim type of funeral can best be expressed in Arabic. In (2) the sentence starts in Arabic and a switch is made to English when the Tower of London is mentioned, so that the phrase is introduced by an English particle, "to".

ii) Situational switching

A situational switch is usually motivated by the situation the conversant is in, and by the age, sex and social rank of his/her interlocutor, as for example,

(3) I'll take the job *ya'ni loo qibloon*
ARABIC WITH ENGLISH: 
BORROWING AND CODE-SWITCHING IN IRAQI ARABIC

"I'll take the job, that is if they accept me."

(4) guumu da-nruuh ill-sinama if you're feeling up to it that is
"Let's go to the cinema, if you're feeling up to it that is."

In (3) the conversant is speaking English casually before she checks herself to sound more modest in the presence of an elderly male relative, and switches to Arabic to finish her sentence. In (4) a balanced bilingual man is addressing five people, among them his wife who is English-dominant. Since the people he is talking to, other than his wife, are also balanced bilinguals like him, he starts the sentence unconsciously in Arabic, but then, addressing his wife exclusively, he switches to English.

iii) Functional switching

A functional switch occurs when a speaker is short of a word or expression in one language, and resorts to the other language for the appropriate term, as, for example,

(5) sallamit "alee w sawwa nafsa he hadn't seen me, the sod
"I greeted him, and he pretended he hadn't seen me, the sod."

(6) I hope he'll recover alla ċibïr
"I hope he'll recover, God is great."

In (5) the conversant is a young, balanced bilingual, woman. She is addressing a group of contemporaries in Arabic before she switches to English to express her indignation, and use an English swear word. Swear words and expressions of contempt and indignation are not as offensive in a foreign language. Perhaps the young woman at the time also wanted to give full vent to her feelings, and thought an Arabic swear word might be too unladylike. In (6) the speaker is talking to the relatives of a sick man in English when she switches to Arabic for the invocation one is expected to utter on such occasions.

iv) Prestigious switching

A prestigious switch occurs when someone who is speaking IA uses an English scientific term or abstract concept, as, for example,

(7) aani ka individual laazim abayyin ra'yi
"I, as an individual, must express my view."

(8) hal-su'aal jiddan hypothetical
"This question is very hypothetical."

(9) il-insaan laazim ikuun sufficiently bilingual da yqaddir il-
complexities maal il code-switching
"A person must be sufficiently bilingual to be able to appreciate the complexities of code-switching."

Constraints on switching

Poplack (1978, 1980), has advanced two rules concerning linguistic constraints on Spanish-English code-switching which she calls "the free morpheme" and "the equivalence" constraints. The former maintains that code-switching cannot occur within a bound morpheme, and the latter claims that for code-switching to take place the grammatical rule of one language must be shared by the other language. Both the bound morpheme and equivalence constraints apply to Arabic-English code-switching.
The bound morpheme constraint

What Poplack means by the bound morpheme constraint is that no switching can take place within an affixed word. She cites as a made-up example "eat-lendo" which does not occur in Spanish-English code-switching. In Arabic-English the idea can be expressed either by the Arabic da aakul or the English "I am eating", but not by a mixture of the two. Poplack also includes, under this same constraint, idiomatic expressions which have to be uttered in one language only. In other words, taking an example from Arabic-English, no switching occurs in the Arabic expression inša'allā, or in its English equivalent "God willing." Each expression has to be either entirely in Arabic, or entirely in English.

The bound morpheme constraint applies also to the following:

a) A subject pronoun and a verb, as, for example,
   anni aakul "I eat"
   huwwa saqfar "he travelled"
   intu triidum "you (pl) want"

b) A verb and its verbal (subjunctive), as, for example,
   gaam yiški "he started to complain"
   ridna nzuuqum "we wanted to visit you"
   jatt tguulli "she came to tell me"

c) An interrogative particle and a verb, as, for example,
   minu galtak "who told you?"
   ween waddeeta "where did you take it to?
   šgadd irriid iltuus "how much money do you want?"

d) A negative particle and a verb, as, for example,
   la tgulla "don't tell him"
   ma naam "he didn't sleep"
   ma šīftaha "I didn't see her"

e) A construct phrase, as, for example,
   beet "ammi "my uncle's house"
   šībbaač gubtak "your bedroom window"
   mudīl r madrasatham "the headmaster of their school"

Code-switching does not occur in any of the above categories.

The equivalence constraint

The equivalence constraint, as postulated by Poplack (1978, 1980), is applicable to Arabic-English code-switching. That is to say, switching can occur at any point in a sentence or in discourse, provided there is no violation of the syntactic structure of either language, or as Woolford (1983: 521) has put it, where "the fragments in each language appear phonologically, syntactically and semantically just as they would if the entire sentence were in that language." Unlike Arabic-French, however, where "switching is freely permitted at all boundaries above that of the word" (Bentahila and Davies, 1983: 329), and Hebrew-Spanish in which violations of Spanish syntax occur (Berk-Seligson, 1986: 328), Arabic-English code-switching is subject to some constraints, as will be set out below.
Switching frequently occurs between a determiner and the noun/noun phrase it introduces. Unlike Arabic-French, however, where the switch is possible in both directions (Bentahila and Davies, 1983: 316), in Arabic-English code-switching it is in one direction only. Thus, it is possible to have an Arabic determiner introducing an English noun/noun phrase, but not an English determiner introducing an Arabic noun/noun phrase. Consider the following examples:

*il*-kitchen "the kitchen"
*il*-tennis club "the tennis club"
*il*-code-switching behaviour "the code-switching behaviour"

There are no examples of the type "the *matbayt*," "the *naadi l-tanis*", etc. Consider also:

fad gentleman "a gentleman"
*hal*-community leader "this community leader"

A switch cannot occur in a phrase where an English interrogative particle introduces a noun or noun phrase. It can occur, however, in a phrase or sentence where Arabic interrogative particle introduces a noun or noun phrase, as, for example,

(10) *sloon il*-sleeping arrangements *bil-markab*  
"How are the sleeping arrangements on the boat?"

(11) *bees il*-asparagus these days *bil-suug*  
"How much is asparagus these days in the shops?"

(12) *ween il*-holiday apartment *illi ajartiwuha*  
"Where is the holiday apartment you have rented?"

Although a switch between a verb and the adverb modifying it is rare, there are examples in the corpus where an English adverb or adverbal phrase modifies an Arabic verb, as, for example,

(13) *la txaaf aani asuug* very carefully  
"Don’t worry, I drive very carefully."

(14) *haal-ibnayya tidrus* conscientiously  
"This girl studies conscientiously."

(15) *lamman yil*cab tanis yil*cab* with determination  
"When he plays tennis he plays with determination."

Adjective placement rules differ in the two languages. In Arabic the adjective follows the noun (NA), whereas in English it usually precedes it (AN). It was found from the examples in the data that the Arabic placement rule, NA, applied throughout, and that the adjective could be either in English or in Arabic. Consider the following Arabic-N-English A nominal sentences:

(16) *beethum* beautiful "Their house is beautiful."

(17) *ibinhum* brilliant "Their son is brilliant."

(18) *asjaar il*-Eucalyptus lovely *riti`atha* refreshing  
"Eucalyptus trees are lovely, their smell is refreshing."

In the following phrases also, an Arabic noun is qualified by an English adjective:

(19) *badla corduroy* "a corduroy suit"

(20) *"idkum karaasl* canvas "Have you got canvas chairs?"
(21) ga'dlin ib-beet detached "They are living in a detached house."

There are also examples in the corpus of an English noun qualified by an Arabic adjective, as, for example,

(22) ǧidhum cottage bil-rif bii barn čibīr
"They have a cottage in the country with a large barn."
(23) šṭirātīha fad dressing-gown azrag
"She bought her a blue dressing-gown."
(24) ib-bistanna aku Judas tree mẓakṛa
"In our garden there is a Judas tree in flower."
Switching frequently occurs in conjoined sentences. Consider the following examples:
(25) waddatni lil-beet and then she went to fetch Muna
"She took me home, and then she went to fetch Muna."
(26) ma qibloo bil-jaami‘a because he didn’t have the right grades
"They didn’t accept him at university, because he didn’t have the right grades."
(27) We had a very pleasant evening bas ma laḥḥaṣna ʕala aaxır qiṭaar so we had to take a taxi home
"We had a very pleasant evening, but we couldn’t make it to the train, so we had to take a taxi home."

As can be seen from the above examples, the conjoined sentences are in the same language as the conjunctions introducing them. In (25) "and" introduces an English sentence, just as in (26) "because" introduces an English sentence also. In (27) where there are three conjoined sentences, the switch to Arabic is introduced by the Arabic particle bas, and then the next switch back to English is introduced by the English particle "so". That a phrase or sentence should always be in the same language as the conjunction preceding it, tallies with Gumperz’s view (1982: 88), but conflicts with that of Bentahila and Davies (1983: 310), and Pfaff (1982: 290).

Conclusion

Arabic-English code-switching appears to be a common feature of the speech of most bilingual Iraqis when in the presence of ingroup members. Four types of switches, namely, contextual, situational, functional and prestigious, characterize Arabic-English code-switching. Much in keeping with the rules advanced by Poplack (1978, 1980), a switch cannot occur within a bound morpheme, nor between a subject pronoun and a verb, a verb and its verbal (subjunctive), an interrogative or a negative particle and a verb, and the two elements of a construct phrase.

An Arabic determiner or interrogative particle can introduce an English noun or noun phrase, but an English determiner or interrogative particle cannot introduce an Arabic noun or noun phrase. According to the adjective placement rule in Arabic, an adjective, in either language, always follows the noun it qualifies. In conjoined sentences a clause must be in the same language as the conjunction introducing it.
ARABIC WITH ENGLISH:
BORROWING AND CODE-SWITCHING IN IRAQI ARABIC

Apart from the linguistic constraints set out above, Arabic-English code-switching can occur at any point in a sentence or in discourse, as long as there is no violation of the syntactic structure of either language.

Footnotes

1 This information was provided by Mrs Renée Elkebir, one of the first group of Iraqi schoolchildern to be taught English.

2 I am indebted to Dr Nimat Wajdi, Professor of Medicine at the University of Baghdad, for her illuminative information on Arabic-English code-switching among teachers and students at the Faculty of Medicine.

3 Poplack (1980) and Berk-Seligson (1986) found in their data that women code-switched more frequently than men.

4 Bentahila and Davies (1983: 320) give the following examples of borrowing vs. code-switching:

bisri (borrowing); épicerie (code-switching) "grocery store".

5 This rule also applies to Greek-English code-switching where it is possible to have a Greek determiner preceding an English noun, but not an English determiner preceding a Greek noun. I am grateful to both Mrs Anna Michaelides and her daughter Gabriella for the many examples they have given me of Greek-English code-switching, a common feature of the speech of the Greek Cypriot community in London.
Bibliography


