

EGYPTIAN ARABIC-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING IN PRODUCT REVIEW VIDEOS IN EGYPTIAN FEMALE VLOGS

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Abstract. This paper explores the phenomenon of code-switching between Egyptian Arabic and English in vlogs published by young Egyptian women. Based on evidence from a total of 5 hours of recordings, language choices of female vloggers in product review videos were observed and analysed. Primarily, Muysken's typology of code-switching (subdivision into insertion, alternation, congruent lexicalization) was used to classify the tokens. Secondly, all of them have been analysed from a usage-based perspective. All types of CS were attested in the material, the prevalent one being insertions. Lastly, an attempt was made to find patterns similar for some of the participants or all of them.

Keywords: code-switching, bilingualism, language contact, vlogs, female speech, Egyptian Arabic, English

1. Introduction

This study is concerned with code-switching (CS) between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) and English in lifestyle vlogs created by five Egyptian women. Samples of their video materials were analysed using Muysken's (2000) typology, which distinguishes between insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. All three types were attested, with a prevalence of insertions. As will be shown, the difference between insertions and alternations is not always clear,¹ which may lead to an assumption that another or additional approach to the problem would be needed. Secondly, the material was analysed from a usage-based perspective, making it possible to look at both lexicon and syntax in order to provide a unified account of code-switching, structural borrowing and loan translations (Backus 2014).

Arabic Colloquial Speech is a dynamic research object with as many possible research directions as a scholar would wish to investigate. Being mostly a spoken language, it undergoes constant changes in a much quicker manner than any written language does. Speaking of Arabic, it would be misleading to claim that there

¹ A similar observation was one of the claims in studies on Estonian-English CS in blogs (Verschik 2019) and Dutch-Turkish CS (Demirçay, Backus 2014).

is only one language to refer to under this name. Therefore, it is crucial to specify that this article concerns ECA and this is also what should be understood as Arabic later in the text unless specified otherwise. The terms ECA and Arabic in sections 3–6 are both used to describe the language spoken by the participants. While vlogging as a form of expression grows more and more popular among content creators and influencers, the current study will fill an important research gap and hopefully inspire further discussion. The research questions of this study were as follows.

1. What types of switches according to Muysken's typology were found in the material?
2. What parts of speech are subject to code-switching from Egyptian Arabic to English in the material under analysis?
3. What are the common language use patterns for all five participants and what are the differences among them?

The article is organised as follows. In the second section, after the introduction, Muysken's typology is described, further on the usage-based perspective is introduced, followed by literature review on code-switching in the language pair that the article is concerned with. The third section provides an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Egypt. In the fourth section, data and methodology are presented, followed by analysis, discussion and final conclusions.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Muysken's typology of code-switching

The first research question refers to Muysken's (2000) typology where the author distinguishes three forms of code-switching²: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization.

Insertion means a word or short fixed expression in L1 inserted into an otherwise monolingual sentence in L2, e.g. *šaklu **chic** 'awī* ('it is very chic'). As shown below, examples from the material may contain multiple insertions per utterance³.

- (1) *mā gibrš **notebook** es-sana dī wa lā gibr ayy **agenda** gāda lainnanā **already** kunt fī-l-**event** illī huwa btā' Meta* (P3)
 'I didn't bring a notebook this year, nor any new agenda because I already attended the event by Meta'

A sentence where alternation occurs cannot be classified as monolingual, as the input from two languages is more or less equal and it cannot be determined, which language is the dominant one, as shown below (2).

- (2) *aḥiss innu hiya **missed the point*** (P4)
 'I feel that she missed the point'

The switch between languages in the middle of a sentence occurs without notice and seems to be completely natural for the speaker. As observed by other scholars already, the difference between insertions and alternations is not always clear, and there may be intermediate types⁴.

² Also called code-mixing there (Muysken 2000); here, however, only the term code-switching is to be used.

³ It is important to note that the informants are talking freely in their recordings, it is not always obvious where a sentence ends and where the next one starts.

⁴ For non-prototypical insertion and alternation, as well as classical and complex insertion and alternation, see Demirçay 2017.

Congruent lexicalization was proposed as a type occurring only between two typologically similar languages, since it involves mixing the two languages within one grammatical framework. As claimed by Demirçay and Backus (2014) in a study on Dutch-Turkish CS, this type was also attested in a pair of typologically different languages. The evidence from my study shows that congruent lexicalization is present also in this language pair, e.g. *ša'rk el-curlly* ('your curly hair' – the English adjective *curly* is adapted into Arabic structure meaning literally "your hair the curly"), *el-alwān el-cute dī* ('these cute colours'). Moreover, I will claim that every example of combining the Arabic definite article (occurring in the material as *el/il*) with an English noun, such as *il-foam*, *il-charger*, is already an example of this CS type, as well as *iḏāfa* (genitive possession construction, known also as *status constructus*) made out of two English nouns and the Arabic definite article *el-*: *palette el-eyeshadow* 'eyeshadow palette' (lit. "palette of eyeshadow").

2.2. Usage-based approach in code-switching studies

Usage-based (UB) approaches in code-switching studies are applied in order to combine general, socio- and psycholinguistics in a unified study of language change. This allows one to investigate mental representations, usage and general human cognitive properties within the same framework. According to UB approach theory, a native speaker's competence is subject to constant change. This opens a research window for code-switching studies of individual language use, being of interest for the current paper. Investigating both lexicon and syntax allows an overview of a linguistic unit as whole, with its form, meaning and function (see Backus 2015).

The main motivation behind applying a UB approach to the current study was to get a deeper understanding of the language choices made by the vloggers during their oral performances. The structural approach (Muysken's typology; see subsection 2.1) used as the first step seemed not to allow a sufficient exploration of the material to answer all of the research questions, therefore the second step was added.

Although not a novelty in language studies, UB approaches can be still considered relatively new when it comes to bilingual and multilingual studies. Examples of studies concerning two or more typologically different languages that were conducted using UB approach are Verschik (2019) on Estonian and English, Bone (2021) on Estonian and Latvian, and Kilp (2022) on English, Estonian and Japanese.

2.3. Literature review on Egyptian Arabic-English code-switching

Studies concerning Arabic (not only specifically Egyptian Arabic) and English CS have thus far relied primarily on grammatical constraint theories. As this study focuses on Egyptian Arabic specifically, only papers regarding the same language pair are mentioned in this section. Kniaż and Zawrotna (2018, 2021) used Muysken's typology of code-switching as a base and detected four different types of CS: insertions, alternations, discourse marker switchers and congruent lexicalizations. It was claimed that the latter type is the least frequent one due to morphological differences between the two languages. Hamouda (2015) used Gumperz (1982) functions of

code-switching in order to analyse the speech of an Egyptian talk show's participants and hosts. Among the code-switches found in the material the most common were nouns. The study distinguishes a total of eight reasons for CS: difficulty retrieving an Arabic expression, quotation, euphemism, reiteration, message qualification, academic or technical terms, association with certain domains, and objectivization.

A research on verb loans in Egyptian Arabic was conducted by Hassan (2018), showing the significant influence of the English language on social media in Egypt. Four types of verb loans from English into Egyptian Arabic, as distinguished by Wohlgemuth (2009), were found in the material coming from Facebook posts and their use was illustrated with various examples.

To the best of my knowledge, no study on code-switching between Egyptian Arabic and English in vlogs has been conducted yet, nor has there been one applying the usage-based approach for this language pair.

3. Sociolinguistic situation in Egypt and diglossia

Although the study concerns Egyptian Arabic specifically, a closer look at the general linguistic situation in Egypt is needed. What must be explained before analysing contacts between Egyptian Arabic and English is the phenomenon of diglossia in the Arab world in general and in Egypt specifically. The official language of all the Arab countries is called Arabic, which refers to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the vehicular written and official spoken communication language in the Arab world. MSA is a modern version of Classical Arabic, the language of the Quran. While used for communication on the official level and as the language of media, MSA is not the mother tongue of any person claiming to be an Arabic native speaker. All native speakers of Arabic use a dialect as their first language, whereas MSA may come as the language of instruction in school or at the university.

According to Ferguson (1959), **diglossia** is a language setting in a society where two varieties of the same language are used in different situations. There is a High and Low variety where the first one is for official use, as written language or spoken in formal situations, whereas the second one is used for informal, everyday communication. In Arab countries the High variety is Standard Arabic and the Low variety is a local dialect. While this might seem uncomplicated at first, there are also several subtypes among these two varieties and there is no official typology, although there have been attempts to classify it. Aside from subtypes of both High and Low variety, it has been noticed that there is a specific variety called Educated Colloquial Arabic – Badawi (1973) describes it as a dialectal speech highly influenced by MSA which is used for serious discussions – it may be worth mentioning that the technical or scientific vocabulary used in dialectal speech is not different from the Standard one. It should also be noted that in every country there is a prestigious variety among the Low ones, usually the dialect and accent of the capital.

The language spoken in Egypt is Egyptian Arabic, occurring in many regional varieties, urban and rural, male and female speech. There is also a difference between the varieties of different socio-economic groups, which comes as a result of a strong social class division in Egypt. While there were several studies showing

that women use less MSA than men in their speech due to limited access to education, a case study on Egyptian TV shows by Reem Bassiouney (2009: 160–161) suggested that women may be more likely to use more MSA in their speech than their male interlocutors.

It is important to point out that the lack of exposure to MSA during school years due to attending a private or international school with another language of instruction may result in higher proficiency in English (if that was the school's language of instruction) than in MSA; however, the native language of such a person, unless stated differently, remains the vernacular variety of spoken Arabic. Thus, bi- or, in some cases, multilingualism has been present in Arab countries for centuries (in the case of Egypt, the main foreign languages used before English were French and Ottoman Turkish) and does not constitute a novelty for the speakers.

Investigating the phenomenon of CS between Egyptian Arabic and English, it is crucial to understand the role of English in contemporary Egypt. During the years of British colonisation (1882–1956) English was, next to Arabic, one of the two official languages. Around twenty years after regaining its independence, with the beginning of Anwar el-Sadat's presidency and its open-door policy, English started gaining popularity which continues to the present day. Its knowledge guaranteed much better paid jobs than the positions with "only" MSA. Regarding the education system, it should be taken into consideration that it is not homogenous. There are public, religious, private and international schools. In private and international ones English may be the language of instruction (other options are French and German). In public and religious schools Arabic is the language of instruction and English is one of the subjects. This touches the topic of the level of English proficiency among Egyptians, which greatly depends on one's exposure to the language. Some children may attend international kindergarten with "instructions" in English, to say nothing of family language policies.

The present paper on Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), as this is the language used by the influencers whose videos are going to be analysed. In order to avoid any misunderstandings it seems reasonable to emphasize that this is the Lower Egypt variety of Arabic and not the Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īdī) one. One important characteristic of contemporary ECA are many borrowings from English as well as adapted nouns and verbs. Therefore it might not always be clear whether the speaker is code-switching or simply using the dialect that prefers the foreign borrowing over a "purely" Arabic word., i.e. it is often impossible to determine what linguistic background the informant has.

4. Data and methodology

4.1. Material

The material for this study comes from a total of 5:05:33 hours – approximately 1 hour per vlogger – of videos uploaded on YouTube by the informants. All videos have been published in 2022 and contain authors' reviews of such products as books, films and cosmetics. The material is publicly available and the authors have not been contacted for the purpose of this study. In this article the terms informant and participant are used to define vloggers whose content has been analysed.

The selection process of the videos to be analysed had the following criteria: published in 2022, containing a review of a product (it was not necessary that the video be fully dedicated to the review, it could also be an inside advertisement/product of collaboration, for example a review of a hair oil in a travel vlog). There were initially more candidates than finally chosen; an important factor was also to collect an hour of this kind of videos, so if a vlogger had only one video of the kind, they could not qualify.

4.2. Vloggers' profiles

All participants are young women of Egyptian origin, most of them (excluding one – P2) living in Egypt. Their levels of education, linguistic competence and international experience vary, as does the number of their followers. The aim of the study was to investigate the speech of each of them and try to see whether the results can be put in one picture. The participants' names are not being revealed in the article, even though their profiles are public. The numbers of followers for their channels were recorded on April 3, 2023, therefore they may have changed by now.

The table below presents all five participants. The number of followers is given to illustrate different levels of vlogging experience among the informants, as well as possibly different audience targets – participants with larger numbers of followers might be more likely to enter commercial collaborations on social media (here: YouTube). This might be affecting their language choices in sponsored or co-sponsored videos.

Table 1. Participants of the study

Participants	Recording time	Number of CS tokens	Number of followers (3.4.2023)	Remarks
P1	1:03:53	197	1 080 000	Some of her videos host guests; international experience within the Arab world
P2	47:13	100	12 400	International experience (Canada)
P3	1:04:58	245	1 890 000	–
P4	1:04:28	107	379 000	Knows P2 personally (mentioned in one of the videos); has lived in Saudi Arabia
P5	1:05:01	311	376	–

4.3. Method

The corpus for this study comes from around five hours of videos published by the participants on their publicly available YouTube channels. The main aim being a separate analysis of every speaker's speech and language choices, a comparative analysis of the results was also attempted. A separate file has been created for each informant that contains transcriptions of utterances where code-switching appears. At the drafting stage, a simplified transcription was applied. Only the parts of vlogs containing CS were transcribed. A total of 715 English tokens were found, all repetitions were counted as separate tokens. As P1 had guests in her videos, it is important to underline that their utterances were not taken under analysis. Manual transcription was performed, no supporting software was used during the analysis. Here, however, the transcribed fragments appear in accordance with ISO guidelines for academic Arabic transliteration (ISO 233-2). These guidelines being meant for MSA, any deviations from them in the examples presented in the next section are due to Egyptian Arabic phonetic features (such as different vowel distribution). As the corpus is relatively small, qualitative analysis was conducted, investigating individual language choices of the informants, with an attempt to recognize possible patterns among their language use.

5. Analysis

All three CS types within Muysken's framework were attested in the material. Insertions as such are undoubtedly the most frequent type, and they often appear repeatedly throughout one video. There are instances however, where the difference between insertion and alternation is disputable (3).

- (3) **subscribe** *bi-balēš*, *a'milū* **subscription** (P1)
subscribe for free make subscription
'subscribe for free, subscribe'

Bearing in mind that in the case of alternation it is not clear which language dominates in the sentence, this type of CS is rarely found in the material. (4) and (5) are examples of rather rare evidence of alternation in the material. (4) comes from one of P1's recordings, where she dines out with her friends; (5) was uttered by P4 during a film review.

- (4) *Ana I want food [...] ṭayyib I want food* (P1)
I I want food fine I want food
'I want food [...] fine, I want food'
- (5) *wa-lākin ahiss fī awqāt uḡra inn hiya missed the point* (P4)
but I feel in times different that she missed the point
'but I feel that in other instances she missed the point'

All five participants use Arabic (ECA, however P4 shows a tendency to switch between MSA and ECA) as the base of their utterances. It is also important to note that the language choices differ between the participants themselves; for example, P3 is the only one using the Arabic word *ta'liq* ('comment', here as the followers' comments on the YouTube videos) while the others use English *comment*.

It was noticed that in videos featured with other content creators or guests being the author's friends, English was used by the guests when addressing the audience.

English however plays an important role when it comes to **topic-related vocabulary**. While Arabic terms are used to describe types of skin and its possible irritations, the names of product types and their ingredients appear mostly in English. Some words occur in both English and Arabic version, e.g. *oil-zayt*. When discussing beauty topics (P1, P3, P5), single words or whole expressions related to hair- or skincare, as well as names of products occurred in English in otherwise monolingual ECA sentences (6–12). The examples show that the ECA definite article (*(i)l-/(e)l-*) is being attached to English nouns and adjectives as it would have been if they had been given in ECA, e.g. *ša'rk el-curlly* [hair DEF-curlly] (6). All English nouns with the Arabic definite article attached, as well as tokens like *kull brand make-up 'anā garrabta-hā* [every-QUANT brand make-up tried-PAST-1-SING-her] (7) and *istaḥdimtuh ka-blush* [use-PAST-1-SING as-blush] (12) are examples of congruent lexicalization, while single nouns may also be perceived as insertions. The construction of *kull brand make-up*, consisting of the Arabic quantifier *kull* ('every') + singular noun in English, functions in the same form in Arabic. The Arabic prefix *-ka* means 'as/like/such as' and indicates similarities between two entities. Example (12) shows its compatibility with English nouns describing make-up cosmetics, which is another evidence of congruent lexicalization in the material.

- (6) *'ašān ša'rk el-curlly yikūn sayīd, lāzim yikūn metraṭṭeb* (P1)
because your hair the curly is happy need is moisturised
'because in order for your curly hair to be happy, it needs to be moisturised'
- (7) *law habbeyna 'amilukum mufaḍḍalātī min kull brand make-up 'anā garrabta-hā* (P5)
if we want I make you my favourites from every brand make-up I tried her
'if you want I will make a video about my favourite ones from every make-up brand that I have tried'
- (8) *'indukum naḥs el-technique dī bas el-ša'r esma-hā hair-slugging* (P1)
at yours same the technique this but the hair her name hair-slugging
'you've got the same technique here with hair, it's called hair-slugging'
- (9) *b-ya'ti volume šwayy* (P1)
he gives volume a bit
'it gives a little bit of volume'
- (10) *il-eyeliner da waterproof* (P5)
this eyeliner waterproof
'this eyeliner is waterproof'
- (11) *fākrīn yā 'aḥabbā' bta't el-face slugging illī huwa bḥuṭṭ el-cream 'alā waghukum wa bḥuṭṭū ktīr 'abl mā tanāmū* (P1)
remember lovelies at the face-slugging that he puts the cream on your face and you put a lot before you sleep
'do you lovelies remember the face-slugging trend which was about putting a lot of cream on your face before you go to sleep'

- (12) *istaḥdimtuh ka-blush, istaḥdimtuh ka-eyeshadow, [...] istaḥdimtuh ka-lipstick* (P3)

I used it as blush, I used it as eyeshadow, I used it as lipstick
 ‘I used it as blush, I used it as eyeshadow, [...] I used it as lipstick’

Example (13) shows not only the use of *make-up* as insertion (which perhaps could be perceived as an established borrowing already), but also the Arabic possessive pronoun *ī* attached to the English noun *style*, which is another example of congruent lexicalization:

- (13) *da miš style-ī ḥālis fī-l-make-up* (P3)

this not my style at all in the make-up
 ‘this is not at all my make-up style’

In material coming from P1, P3 and P5, who talk about cosmetics and beauty products, inserted switches containing numbers (mostly referring to colours and shades of cosmetic products) and colours occurred, e.g. *zero zero ḥamsa* ‘zero zero five’ (P5), *hiya dī raqm-ha one, nude* ‘this is number one, nude’ (P5), *raqmuh zero nine* ‘its number is zero nine’ (P5), *daraga zero two* ‘shade zero two’ (P5). Analysing the language choices of P5 regarding numbers, it has been noticed that English equivalents for one-digit numbers are used simultaneously with the Arabic ones, while bigger numbers (such as products’ prices) are always given in Arabic.

Especially P3 and P5 prove to be CS-productive when it comes to describing different shades of products in question. The names of colours used in her recordings occur both in English and Arabic; it is noticeable however, that Arabic is used rather for naming basic colours like red, black, and white (14), while English is used for more specific shades (mauve, lavender, peach, etc.; 15–19). When describing something as blue, however, P3 uses both the English *blue* and Arabic *’azraq*.

- (14) *kuntu ’uwarrikum innu ’abyaḍ wa grey wa ’aswad* (P5)

I was I showed you that he white and grey and black
 ‘I showed you, it was white, grey and black’

- (15) *wa mā garrabtš minnu el-lōn el-purple da w-el-lōn el-pink* (P5)

and no did not bring from him the colour the purple this and the colour the pink
 ‘and I didn’t try the purple colour and the pink colour from it [the brand]’

- (16) *wa fī minnu el mauve fātiḥ miš lavender huwa ’aḡmaḍ min lavender wa ’aftaḥ min mauve* (P5)

and there is from him the mauve light not lavender he darker than lavender and lighter than mauve
 ‘and there is the light mauve one, not lavender, it is darker than lavender and lighter than mauve’

- (17) *wa el-lōn da huwa baby blue* (P5)

and the colour this he baby blue
 ‘and this colour is baby blue’

- (18) *il-krīm bta’ loreal wa huwa-l-gold* (P5)

the cream of loreal and he the gold
 ‘the cream from loreal, the gold one’

- (19) *waḥī daraga keda ʿana miš fākra raqmha bas ismha **vintage red** helwa giddan barḍu elli huwa l-**orange** ʿala l-ʿaḥmar šwayy* (P5)
 and there is degree that I not remembering her number but her name
 vintage red cute very also that he the orange on the red a bit
 ‘and there is this shade, I don’t remember its number but it’s called vintage red, this one is also very nice, it’s kind of orange-reddish’

Further evidence of congruent lexicalization may be observed in examples (20). While talking about skin-care products, P5 uses an adjective composed of an English noun (*sugar*) and the Arabic *nisba*-adjective ending:

- (20) *w-el-tālī el-lōn-u **pink** ellī ana garrabtu kān **cotton candy** fa bardu rīhtu **sugarī*** (P5)
 and the following one the colour his pink that I tried him was cotton candy
 and also his smell sugary
 ‘the other one that I tried, the pink-coloured one, was a cotton candy and its smell [was] also sugary’

While giving her opinion on a film she had recently watched, P2 uses two-word expressions of *film critic* and *low-production* in otherwise monolingual sentences, suggesting that the vocabulary concerning film reviewing was introduced to her in English, fostering its influence on her output when discussing this topic. English nouns were attached to the Arabic definite article as seen in examples (21) and (24).

- (21) *il-**rating** btāʿ il-film* (P2)
 the rating of the film
 ‘the rating of the film’
- (22) *innī miš **film critic*** (P2)
 indeed me not film critic
 ‘I am not a film critic’
- (23) *wādih innu **low-production*** (P2)
 clear that he low-production
 ‘it is clear that it [the film] is a low-production one (low-budget production)’
- (24) *mā yusammā bi-l-**production value*** (P2)
 what called by the production value
 ‘what is being called “production value”’
- (25) *kān ʿindī **attitude**...* (P2)
 was at mine attitude
 ‘I had the attitude...’

The following are examples of insertion tokens found in P4’s book review video. An attempt to fill a lexical gap in Arabic seems to be the word *cringe*, used multiple times in the material (27–28) and not easily translatable into Arabic.

- (26) *raḡm innanā miš dāʿ iman yaʿnī baḥiss ʿannanā **related** bi-qiṣṣa btāʿ thā* (P4)
 in spite of us not always it means I feel that we related by story of her
 ‘even though we don’t always feel that we are related to her story’

- (27) *bidūn mā bḥassasak innak ya'nī raḡm innū l-qīṣṣa nafsahā mumkin tkūn **cringe*** (P4)
 without what you feel that you it means despite that he the story herself maybe is cringe
 'without you feeling that, you know, even though the story itself might be cringe'
- (28) *bas 'uslūb el-kitāba muš bḥiss innū **cringe*** (P4)
 but rules the writing not feel that he cringe
 'but the way of writing doesn't feel like cringe'
- (29) *wa-lākin hiya bitrūḥ bta'amil **mix** keda* (P4)
 but she goes makes mix that
 'but she goes on making this mix'
- (30) *ya'nī **overall** kān tagruba gamīla* (P4)
 it means overall was experience beautiful
 'so overall it was a nice experience'

Among the participants, there are certain similarities regarding their language choices. P2 and P4 tend to keep long parts of their speech exclusively monolingual (ECA) while also pronouncing the consonant ق [Qāf] in the Standard Arabic way, which does not occur in any variant of Egyptian Arabic dialects. At the same time, they keep the ج [ḡīm] as typical for ECA [gīm]. P2 and P4 use significantly less English than the others, which might be because of the topics discussed and stylizing the pronunciation towards MSA might be an effect of the possible willingness to sound more professional. It was noticed that although less frequent, their use of English seems to be more aware and is likely to occur in order to fill a potential semantic gap, as in examples (5) and (31). Although *missing the point* could be translated into Arabic in a descriptive way, there is no equivalent expression and the literal translation would not be understood. As for the verb from example (31) *to sexualise*, it does not appear in Arabic as a one-word verb, and again a descriptive translation would be needed, hence it seems logical to use the English one. An English verb is adapted with the Arabic imperfective prefix *yi-*: **yisexualise** [PRESENT-3-SING-MASC-sexualise].

- (31) *ḥāṣṣatan innu 'ana 'insān ya 'īš fī muḡtama' il-muḡtama' da yišūf innu tabī'ī wa fiṭrī inna rāḡil **yisexualise** es-sitt 'uddamu* (P4)
 especially that I human lives in society the society this sees that he natural and natural that man sexualises the woman in front of him
 'especially because I am a person living in a society that regards it as natural that a man sexualises the woman in front of him'

6. Discussion

When discussing language choices of the informants, be the unpredictability of speakers in general should be taken into account. Speakers' attitude may just as well be a barrier as a promoter of change and especially in qualitative studies, where the number of informants is relatively small, the goal is not to provide statements about the whole population using the language under investigation. That being said, this study focuses on young women's speech in their video performances that are

addressed most probably to their compatriots, in some cases rather to women than men, which may also affect certain language choices.

Among the code-switches detected in the collected material there are examples of both basic and non-basic vocabulary. Basic vocabulary is understood as words that, presumably, should already exist in every language, and refers to Swadesh's lists of basic vocabulary that was thought to be hard to borrow. Here examples of basic vocabulary were first of all numbers and colours that, as was indicated, have sometimes been borrowed from English, even though they exist in Arabic. There may be various reasons for borrowing basic vocabulary items, and it should be remembered that 'basic vocabulary' itself is a vague term and may not mean the same in every language.

It is clear that certain items or terminology are introduced to the language users already in embedded language – in this study these are items such as beauty products and terminology concerning cosmetics ingredients, literature and film production. The participants are very likely to have learnt these words in English only. Even if all of them are present in Modern Standard Arabic dictionaries, they may either exist in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic as borrowings from English or they exist as such in speakers' idiolects.

The majority of tokens detected and classified as code-switches could have been replaced with Arabic words – coming either from MSA or existing in ECA. While examples of semantic gaps were attested, most of the English or English-based tokens may easily be translated into Arabic, both MSA and ECA, yet the participant(s) decided to use the English version.

7. Conclusions

As shown in the analysis section, all three types of switches distinguished by Muysken were attested in the material, which answers research question 1. When analyzed within the framework proposed by Muysken, the collected material contains multiple examples of insertions and congruent lexicalizations. Alternation hardly seems to occur at all, which may be due to aware language choices of the speakers, as well as to other reasons; one of these may be the lack of sufficient fluency to freely switch between the two languages. Another motivation might be the idea of keeping languages apart, especially when using a more formal version of the language (there were noticeably less English tokens in the material of participants switching between standard and colloquial versions of Arabic).

The parts of speech that are the most common code-switches in the analysed material are nouns and adjectives, which answers research question 2. Although every participant has her own way of approaching the audience, there are several similarities among all of them, as well as between two or three of them: P2 and P4 seem to share common features when it comes to language choices, while in the material of P1, P3 and P5 similar constructions have been found. These observations provide an answer to research question 3.

P1's videos provide an insight into her community, which is not visible in other participants' content; the presence of other individuals in her recordings may also affect her own language choices.

It could be stated that the code-switches in the material “compete” with native equivalents – however, it should also be considered that the MSA words may not necessarily be closer to a young Egyptian’s mind than the English ones. This depends in every individual case on the speaker’s background and exposure to both languages.

Abbreviations

CS	code-switching
DEF	definite article
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
ISO	International Organization for Standardisation
MASC	masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
P	participant (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5)
PAST	past tense
PRESENT	present tense
QUANT	quantifier
SING	singular
UB	usage-based

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EGIPTUSE ARAABIA JA INGLISE KEELE KODIVAHETUS EGIPTUSE NAISVLOGIJATE TOOTEVIDEOTES

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Artikkel käsitleb noorte Egiptuse vlogijate keelevalikuid ning Egiptuse araabia ja inglise keele koodivahetust. Viie sisulooja videomaterjali analüüsitakse Muyskeni (2000) koodivahetuse tüpologia ja kasutuspõhise meetodi abil. Analüüsile eelneb Egiptuse sotsiolingvistilise situatsiooni kirjeldus, mis loob konteksti tulemuste paremaks mõistmiseks. Analüütilises osas selgitatakse näidete varal koodivahetuse eri tüüpe. Analüüsitakse mitte ainult iga informandi individuaalseid omadusi, vaid tuvastatakse ka nendevahelisi ühiseid mustreid.

Võtmesõnad: koodivahetus, kakskeelsus, keelekontaktid, vlogid, naiskõne, Egiptuse araabia keel, inglise keel

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