

# Arab Practicum Guides Code-switch to Hebrew: Attitudes, Factors and Reasons

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**Abstract**—This study tries to investigate the code-switching behavior of Arabic native speakers who live in Israel. Another objective of this study is to reveal the participants' attitude towards this behavior and the reasons and factors that lead to code-switching. The research tools are audio-tape recording and an interview with the participants. 12 respondents participated in this study; their age ranges between 25 and 60. The findings show that the participants' attitude towards code-switching behavior is neutral. Another finding is that the guides' majors influence their code-switching behavior. The most important finding is that the most frequent reasons for switching from Arabic to Hebrew are: 'Technical or scientific term' that are usually used in Hebrew, 'intensive exposure to Hebrew native speakers' communities'. The factors of carelessness, frequency and easiness also play a major role; while the reasons 'prestige' and 'drawing attention' do not play any important role. Finally, the researcher recommends that a further research on code-switching behavior of Hebrew native speakers should be conducted.

**Index Terms**—codeswitching, bilingualism, practicum, guides

## I. INTRODUCTION

Kamwangamulai (1992) states that language alternation is commonly observed phenomenon with bilingual speakers, which is rule, governed and represents shift to another language within or across a sentence boundaries. He divides language alternation into three categories: Code Switching (CS), Code Mixing (CM) and borrowing. The earliest definition of codeswitching dates back to Weinreich (1953), who defines bilingual people as individuals who switch "from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in speech situations. Muysken (2000) defines code switching as "the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event, however, code mixing is defined as" All cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence. Bentahila and Davis (1983) claims "the act of choosing one code rather than the other must be distinguished from the act of mixing the two codes together to produce something which might itself be called a third code". One aim of the recent study is to check if the Arab native speakers' lecturers code-switch to Hebrew during their every day conversations. Another objective of this study is to investigate the reasons and attitudes of code switching to Hebrew by Arab lecturers at an Arabic college in Israel.

### A. Review of Related Literature

Two types of code-switching have been recognized by most researchers (Reduane, 2005; Naseh, 1997; Musken, 2000): Intra-sentential code-switching used for switches within sentences, and Intersentential code-switching for switches between sentences. Researchers first dismissed Intrasentential code-switching as random and deviant (e.g. Labov, 1972; Lance, 1975; Weinreich, 1953). But now unanimous in the convection is that it is grammatically constrained. The basis for this convection is the empirical observation that bilinguals tend to switch intra-sententially at certain syntactic boundaries and not others (Poplack, 1980).

Heller (1988a) defines code-switching as "The use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode". Auer (1984) refers to code-switching (CS) as alternating use of more than one language, while Myers- Scotton (1993) mentions the use of two or more codes (languages) in the same discourse or conversation. Gumperz (1982) mentions "conversational code-switching can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 59).

According to Clyne (1972) code-switching is a change by a speaker from one language to another. It can also take place in a conversation when one interlocutor uses one language and another answers in different one. Speakers may also begin with one language and then alter to another one in the middle of their interlocution, or sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. Wardhough (1986) defines code-mixing as mixing of two codes usually without a change of topic. This is common in bilingual or multilingual communities and is often a mark of solidarity.

Another aspect of code-switching is borrowing. Abalhasan and Alshalawi (2000) assert that borrowing is simply taking a word or a phrase from one language and using it in another language. This is also called "loan words". A borrowed unit can be pronounced according to the sound system of the original language or the host one.

Davies (1992) thinks that most code-switching studies has focused on the syntactic dimension of code-switching, treating it as structural phenomenon, however, he believes that social and psychological dimensions have also an effect.

Hudson (1980) distinguished between code-switching, borrowing and code-mixing. He believes that code-switching is 'the inevitable consequence of bilingualism' that leads speakers to choose a code which the other conversant can understand. Code-mixing, however, is when a fluent bilingual changes languages without any change at all in the situation. Borrowing according to Hudson is simply when an item is borrowed from one language to become part of the other language.

Another type of language alternation is code changing. Lipski (1985) asserts that code changing is characterized by fluent intra sentential shifts, transferring focus from one language to another. It is motivated by situational and stylistic factors, and the conscious nature of the switch between two languages is emphasized.

Bloom and Gumperz, (1972) claim that there are two general kinds of code-switching. One, conversational switching, is used to convey a speaker's attitude towards the topic of the conversation, while the other, situational switching, is used to convey a speaker's attitude towards the audience.

Hasselmo, (1972) and Valdes (1982) define code-switching as "the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act". Moreover, Auer (1999) claims that cultural background, events of conversations and social events must be taken into account to better understand how and why speakers codeswitch. While some interlocutors have been found to switch code to add emphasis and highlight particular aspects of their talk.

Bentahila (1993) states that code-switching, is so much used, may be seen as a remarkable in view of the fact that it is apparently very unfavorably viewed by the speakers who switch themselves. In an investigation described by him 77.2% of sample of bilinguals questioned about their attitudes of such language mixture were strongly disapproved of it. Their comments suggest that they associated it with a lack of education, carelessness, affection and a lack of identity, allowing bilinguals to use the vocabulary which they find available or most appropriate, emphasizing a point or highlighting a contrast and a power instrument in a conversation.

Crosjean (1982), remarks that there is a negative attitude towards code-switching. This attitude has been adapted by many bilinguals. Most of the bilinguals he has questioned made remarks such as "switching is done out of laziness, "it is embarrassing", it might be dangerous if it becomes common" and "I try not to code switch.

### *B. Studies on Codeswitching*

Most researchers who have examined code-switching in Arabic have focused on diglossia, where switch occurs between formal Arabic and some vernacular form of the language (Eid, 1988). Others have investigated code-switching between various vernacular forms of the language with reference to social prestige associated with a particular form (Abed-el-Jawad, 1981).

In a study conducted in a Turkish secondary school, Eldrige (1996) concludes that code-switching appears to be natural and purposeful phenomenon which facilitates both communication and learning.

Hussein (1999) conducts a study that investigates Jordanian university students' attitudes towards CS and CM; the findings show that the students have both negative and positive attitudes towards code-switching to English in Arabic discourse. The most important reason for switching to English is the lack of Arabic equivalent for English terms or expressions and there is a frequent use of many English terms such as ok, thank you, sorry and please.

Baily (in Alanzi, 2001) found that participants use code-switching in order to draw the boundaries of their ethnic group. He also found that code-switching is a tool that can signal a speaker's affiliation with certain sociolinguistic communities, but not others.

Ruan (2003) reports interesting findings concerning code-switching behavior. The findings suggest that CS was used as a communicative device used by children participated in the study, participant switch languages during their speech to realize social, pragmatic and meta-linguistic functions.

Murad (2006) finds that Arab speakers living in rural communities in Israel code-switch to Hebrew as a matter of exposure to Hebrew native speakers' communities during the work and in official offices where Hebrew is frequently used. He also finds that men codeswitch to Hebrew in their daily conversations more than women. This is attributed to the fact that men have more exposure to Hebrew communities than women, also women at rural communities have more solidarity to their L1 (Arabic).

To conclude, language alternation is done when two languages are coming into contact in the same region or geographical areas where speakers of two languages are coming into contact in the same place. Language alternation has different types such as code-switching, code-mixing, code changing and borrowings. In this study all the types are considered code-switching. Attitudes toward code-switching are varied from one person to another. It could be positive or negative. Finally and according to the reviewed literature different guides are associated with code-switching. This study attempts to check, either Arab learners code switch to Hebrew or not. What are their attitudes and reasons toward this behavior?

## II. METHODOLOGY

Two languages are coming into contact in Israel: Arabic and Hebrew, therefore, the speakers of the two languages shift from one language to another in their daily conversations. The Haaretz article (2008) commented on the phenomenon of using Hebrew by Arabs who live in Israel. The Israeli Arab citizens who have increasingly identified politically with their Palestinians brethren on the other side of the 1967 board, and less inclined to accept the idea of

Israel as a Jewish state, have been incorporating more and more Hebrew into the Arabic they speak with each other. In any conversation between Arabic speakers, you will hear a string of words in Arabic and then, suddenly a familiar word in Hebrew. Sometimes the Hebrew may consist of a whole phrase and sometimes, even, of one complete sentence. And it is all done entirely un-self-consciously.

The Hebrew words, used by Arab speakers, are expressions of social and educational intercourse on the one hand, and words for things or situations that are associated by Arabs with Israeli culture on the other. Haaretz lists some words that belong to the second category, such as *ramzor* (traffic light), *mahsom* (checkpoint), *glida* (ice –cream), *lahmaniya*, (bakery-roll, *beseder* (okay) and *meanyen* (interesting. Other educational Hebrew word used by the Arab participants in the current study: *moreh miamen* (training teacher), *madrikh pedagogie*, (pedagogical supervisor), *hadrakha* (guidance), *minaheil bet sefer* (school principal) and *tofes* (form) and many others.

### Subjects

The participants of the recent study are 12 practicum supervisors and lecture from mathematics, English, Arabic, Special education and early childhood departments at Sakhnin College for Teacher Education in northern side of Israel. The practicum supervisors are Arabic native but they also master Hebrew very well. They switch to Hebrew in every day conversations. The students are also Arabic native speakers and do their training in Arabic schools in the north. The participants are second and third degree holders from Israeli universities. The language of teaching in these universities is Hebrew. Their age ranges between 25 to 60. The subjects are 6 males and 6 females. Their function is to guide students from the college in nearby schools where the students practice their teaching with cooperation of the training teachers from the schools. In other words the supervisors are responsible for the theoretical material which should be taught to the students teachers; moreover, these supervisors are the college representative at these schools.

### III. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The data were collected during one-hour meeting of twelve pedagogical supervisors at Sakhnin College. The meeting topic is about practicum at schools in which the supervisors discuss the students' matters such as lesson plans, students' observations, reflections and feed-back.

The respondents are six males and six females whose command of Hebrew is excellent. They are from different majors (none of them is specialized in Hebrew), and they are from different localities in the northern side of Israel. Ten minutes of the Meeting were taped-recorded and reviewed. Only the salient selections where code-switches found where transcribed and translated into English.

An interview was also conducted with the participants to investigate the respondents' attitudes and reasons for code-switching. The interview questions were presented to a panel of experts in the field from Sakhnin College. The panel included lecturers from the departments of English, Arabic and Education. Their comments and remarks were taken into account. The following data profiles the respondents:

TABLE1:  
DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS BY GENDER, AGE, MAJOR, DEGREE AND UNIVERSITY

Respondent	Gender	Age	Major/ Degree	University
1	Male	40	Mathematics/ Phd	Haifa/ Israel
2	Male	42	Education/Phd	Haifa/Israel
3	Male	55	Education/ Phd	TA/ Israel
4	Female	47	Education/ Phd	Haifa/Israel
5	Female	30	Early childhood/ MA	Jerusalem/IL
6	Male	56	Arabic/ linguistics/Phd	Haifa/ IL
7	Male	25	Mathematics/ MA	Haifa/IL
8	Female	44	English literature/ Phd	Jerusalem/IL
9	Female	35	Education/ Phd	TA/IL
10	Male	35	Special Education/ Phd	Bar-Ilan/ IL
11	Female	60	Linguistics/ MA	Ben-Gurion/IL
12	Female	40	Special Education/ MA	TA/ IL

The taped data were transcribed to check the number of occurrences of code-switching made by the participants during the 10 minutes that were audio-taped and then transcribed. The language that is used in the meeting is Arabic because all the participants are Arabic native speakers but they have an excellent command of Hebrew. The teaching language in the College is also Arabic because the students are all Arabic native speakers but they also speak Hebrew to a certain extent.

The topic of the meeting is "practicum supervision", and the participants discuss the pre-service teachers' performance at the training schools. The participants' switches are mostly words and phrase that are related to the field of teacher training. These switches have equivalent words in Arabic, but the Hebrew words or phrases are more frequently used in the speech of the participants. Some of these switches include:

*Madrikh Bedagogy* (Pedagogical supervisor), *Moreh Miaamin*, (training teacher) *Minahel Beit sefer*, (school principal), *Tofis* (form), *Tasbit*, (observation), *maarakh shior* (lesson plan), *hadrakha* (guidance), *hikshev* (listen), *beseder* (alright), *nakhon* (correct), *mianyen* (interesting), *hashov miod* (very important), *makhhlala* (college),

*oneversitah* (university), *makhlaqa or khog* (departmet), *mataim* (suitable), *lishalem* (to pay) and many other expressions and words that are used in the field of teacher education or training.

All types of language alternation are considered code-switching in this study. Some examples of code-switches that are performed by some of the participants which consist of switches are:

1. a. *Elmadrikh* el *bedagogy* beghdarish yzoor kul al *bate-sefer*. (Literal translation)
- b. The *pedagogical guide* cannot visit all *schools*. (English- translation).

The underlined words in 1.a are Hebrew (L2) while the others are Arabic (L1). The underlined words in 1.b are English translation of the switches. While the others are English translations of Arabic words.

In this sentence the speaker uses Hebrew words and phrases in the same sentence; moreover he code-changes Hebrew words into Arabic such as *al b âe- sefer*. (*al* is Arabic word for definite article, *the*, whereas *b âe-sefer* is the Hebrew word for schools). One can also notice that the alternation in this case is intra-sentential; that means the speaker uses Hebrew and Arabic words and phrases in the same sentence. The speakers' claims that he switches to Hebrew because he studied these concepts in Hebrew in the university, and it will be strange for him and his students if he uses the equivalent words in Arabic. Another occurrence of code-switching for other respondents:

2. a. talabit minhin *maarakh sheor*, walkinu ma kanish mianyen batatan. (literal- translation)
- b. I asked a lesson *plan* from them, but it was not *interesting* at all. (English-translation)

The participant uses the Hebrew word for *maarakh- sheor* (lesson-plan), the Arabic equivalent is **taqyeem dars**. The speakers know the Arabic word for 'a lesson plan', but he used the Hebrew word. When the speaker was asked about the reason of using the Hebrew word, he replied that the Hebrew word is more acceptable and appropriate while the Arabic word is 'strange' for him in this context. Another example for another respondent:

3. a. qulit lal *morem miamen* ymali *eltofes* bas makinblish laenu fish endu *zman*.
- b. I told the *training teacher* to fill the form, but he did not agree because he has no *time*.

Although the Hebrew words used in this sentence have Arabic equivalents, the speaker uses the Hebrew words; when asked about the reason, he answered that the Hebrew words are more frequently used in this context. Another example of another participant:

4. a. bil awal, *tsfiya bisheor* baadeen baamalu *sihat mashov* baed ma ykhlis.
- b. at first, *lesson-observation*, then I do a *feed-back* after he finished.

The Arabic equivalent for lesson observation is **moshahadat-dars**, and the Arabic word for feed-back is **Taghthiya mortada**. The participant uses the Hebrew words spontaneously because he believes that the Hebrew words are easier to use and they are memorized before the Arabic equivalents. Another example of another speakers' codes-witching is:

5. a. *zeh lo maanyeen elstudentem* laenu *kasha* elhin yafhamoha; hashan heka fish *nokhahot*.
- b. *This does not interest the students*, because it is *hard* for them to understand, therefore there is no *attendance*.

The underlined words are Hebrew words. The speaker is excessively switching to Hebrew, when asked if he feels prestigious while switching to Hebrew in his Arabic conversation, his answer was negative and attributed his excessive switching to the fact that he is also teaching at a Hebrew college. He claims that his switches are attributed to his excessive exposure to Hebrew native speaking communities.

The following table illustrates the frequencies of code switching done by each participant during the ten-minute transcription of the audio-taped meeting.

TABLE 2:  
THE NUMBER OF SWITCHES MADE BY EACH PARTICIPANT

Respondents	Gender	Frequencies
1	M	14
2	M	16
3	M	20
4	F	17
5	F	18
6	M	4
7	M	22
8	F	10
9	F	19
10	M	21
11	F	12
12	F	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>193</b>

Table Two shows that the participants switch to Hebrew in their conversations, the total number of code-switching to Hebrew made by the twelve participants is 193. The frequencies do not show any gender differences, because the occurrences of switches to Hebrew by the six male participants are 97. Whereas the switches which were done by the six female's respondents are 96. The participants are practicum guides for students from different majors at the college, Arabic, English, Education, Early-childhood and Special-education.

Respondent 6 makes only 4 switches to Hebrew because her major is Arabic and he uses Arabic language in her teaching in the college. she does not have any exposure with Hebrew except some technical terms that are spontaneously used during the meeting. While respondent 7 switches to Hebrew 22 because his major is mathematics

which is usually taught in Hebrew in the College. Moreover he is teaching at a Hebrew college where he has an intensive exposure with Hebrew native speakers' community.

According to the frequencies, the major has an effect on code switching.

Participants whose majors are Education or math (R3, R7, R9, R10, R12) have more code-switching occurrences than the respondents whose majors are English or Arabic (R6, R8, R11). This may be attributed to the fact that the participants use Arabic in teaching Arabic and English in teaching English. The respondents whose majors are either Arabic or English switch to Hebrew when they use the technical terms of teacher education such as *moreh meamen* (training teacher) and *madrikh* (guide).

The respondents were also asked about their attitudes toward code-switching from Arabic to Hebrew. The question: Was what is your attitude to code-switching? Is it positive, negative, or neutral?

Their answers are illustrated in following Table.

TABLE 3:  
THE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODESWITCHING

Respondent	Gender	Attitude
1	M	Neutral
2	M	Neutral
3	M	Neutral
4	F	Neutral
5	F	Positive
6	M	Negative
7	M	Positive
8	F	Negative
9	F	Neutral
10	M	Positive
11	F	Neutral
12	F	Neutral

Table Three shows the respondents' attitudes frequencies towards codeswitching to Hebrew. The frequencies show that the participants' attitudes towards code-switching are almost neutral. This result contradicts Crosjean's (1983) findings that there is a negative attitude towards code-switching. The respondents do not feel embarrassed. While code-switching for them is a natural, acceptable and unavoidable phenomenon all over the world. They switch spontaneously to Hebrew without care. When asked about language and identity, they responded that the nature is stronger than any other factor. They added that the language of education in Israel is Hebrew; therefore, it is easier for them to use the scientific concepts in Hebrew rather than Arabic. They also claim that all the Arabs in Israel, either educated or not, switch to Hebrew in their every day conversations. This is due to the fact that the official language of this state is Hebrew.

R6 attitude is negative. This may be attributed to the fact that he is teaching Arabic in the college; he believes that the language should be a part of one's identity, but when asked about the technical terms that are used to be used in Hebrew, He replies that there are equivalent terms in Arabic and they should be taught to the other respondents. He adds that he feels embarrassed while switching to Hebrew since Arabic is a great language.

Participants, whose attitudes were neutral, responded that they do not care for switching; the use of the words either in Arabic or Hebrew is acceptable as long as they understand the message. For them communication is more important than form.

The participants were also asked about the reasons behind their switches. The question was: "Why do you code-switch to Hebrew language"? Their responses were categorized into the following categories:

1. "Technical or scientific term". It includes terms that are related to teachers' training, and they are usually used in Hebrew such as *maarakh- sheor* (lesson plan). The respondents used to say it in Hebrew.

2. Intensive exposure to Hebrew speaking communities. Some respondents attributed switches to Hebrew to the fact they teach in a Hebrew college.

3. Prestige: Few participants feel prestigious while they switch to Hebrew because Hebrew is the official language used in this country.

4. The equivalent words in Arabic seem strange: some words seem strange if they are used in Arabic, because the people used to hear them in Hebrew, such as *madrikh* (guide).

5. The first to memorize: Some answered that the Hebrew word comes first, therefore, they use it.

6. More acceptable, frequent and easier: One respondent's claim that the code-switched word is easier and is more frequently used in this field.

7. Drawing attention: One of the respondents' replies that they switch to draw the others' attention to their point of view. The following Table illustrates the number and frequencies of the reasons of codeswitching. Some participants mention more than one reason for code-switching during the interview.

TABLE 4:  
THE FREQUENCIES OF THE RESPONDENTS' REASONS FOR CODESWITCHING

No	Category	Frequencies
1	Technical or scientific term	12
2	Intensive exposure to Hebrew speaking communities	11
3	Prestige	1
4	The equivalent word in Arabic seems strange	9
5	The first to memorize	11
6	More acceptable, frequent and easier	9
7	Drawing attention	3
Total Frequencies		56

Table 4 represents the reasons for code-switching performed by the participants. The total number of the reasons given by the 12 respondents is 56. This shows that the each respondent mentions more than one reason for switching. The most frequent reason is 'the use of technical term'. Every participant mentions this reason. This confirms Hussein (1999) findings that the category of 'scientific terms is one of the reasons for Jordanian students switching to English.

11 respondents mention 'Exposure to Hebrew speaking communities'. This finding confirms Murad' findings (2006). He finds that one of the factors for Arab speakers' switching to Hebrew is 'exposure to Hebrew native speakers during the work or in the official places. Moreover, the majority of the participants claim that their switching behavior is connected with the frequent use and the easiness of the switched words. Others claim that the word if used in L1 seems strange .However; the participants do not feel prestigious while switching.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The participants in this study speak Arabic but switch to Hebrew with a varying degree. The participants' major have an effect on the frequency of switching; for examples guides whose majors are education and mathematics make more switches than their counterparts whose majors are English or Arabic.

The subjects do not feel prestigious while switching, however, their attitude is almost neutral; they have neither negative nor positive feelings towards their code-switching behavior; this finding contrasts Bentahila's (1993) findings that the bilinguals questioned about their attitudes of such language mixture were strongly disapproved of it.

Analysis of the results of the interview reveals that the most frequent factors for the participants' code-switching behavior are 'technical or scientific terms', 'intensive exposure to Hebrew speaking communities', the words in L1 seem strange and that the switched words are easier, more frequent and acceptable.

'Prestige' and 'drawing attention' were the least frequent factors for code-switching behavior of the respondents in the interview.

Finally, this study investigates the practicum guides' codeswitching to Hebrew; it is recommended to conduct another research to investigate the codeswitching behavior of Hebrew native speakers' respondents.

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