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The Linguistic Hegemony of English over Arabs' Speech: A Case Study of Borrowing and Code-Switching in MBC's *Project Runway Middle East 2*

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	ABSTRACT

Owing to its dominance over the domains of business, education, and media, English is becoming the first language in the world. As a result, many Arab countries have worked on promoting the English language, which is deemed as a passport to employability and opportunity. Such English promotion endeavors have highly affected the speech of young Arabs. Using Gramsci's linguistic hegemony theory, the current paper combines the quantitative and qualitative methods of research to study the second season of MBC's *Project Runway Middle East*. Through a conversational analysis of three selected episodes of this reality program, the study at hand seeks to prove the rise of English words and expressions in the speech of Arabs through the techniques of borrowing and code-switching. By canvassing the instances of borrowings and code-switches used by the participants, hosts, judges, and even guests of *Project Runway 2*, the present paper has revealed the most frequent types and syntactic categories of borrowing and code-switching and has studied the usage of these two techniques in relation to gender, age group, and geographical belonging.

1. Introduction

Arabic is the language of 330 million speakers Al Huri, (2015) who reside in areas stretching from the Gulf to Egypt, the Levant, and the Maghreb. In the past, the Arabic language was deemed as the symbol of Arab nationhood and unity Ech-Charfi, (2010, p. 5) due to the tight link between the Arabic tongue and "Arab culture, history, tradition and Islam, the religion of the vast majority of Arabs,'' according to William Rugh quoted in (Nassif, 2013, p. 22). Unlike the rest of world languages, Arabic is marked by its diglossic nature, a characteristic coined by the American theorist Charles A. Ferguson to refer to the Arabic language's possession of two varieties: a higher variety used in schools and official settings and a lower colloquial variety used in the daily conversations of Arabic speakers Kniaz, (2017, p. 188). Colloquial Arabic includes about five different dialects, that range from the Egyptian to the Iraqi, Gulf, Levantine, and Maghrebi ones Mohammed, (2009, p. 5).

Such a diglossic situation is seen as the main cause behind the gradual decrease in the status of Arabic. Reiterating this point, Ahmad Al-Issa, the Professor at the American University of Sharjah, notes that a "reason for the possible loss of Arabic is the nature of the language itself. Arabic does not have one dialect that everybody uses on a daily basis" Al-Issa and Dahan, (2017, p. 10). Such lack of constant daily usage gives way to the increase of foreign languages in the speech of Arabs. The language that is incorporated most in the oral communications of Arabs is English, which is evident through the growth in the volume of English borrowings and code-switches employed by Arabs. The study at hand seeks to address the gap in the literature of the topic by providing an analysis of both borrowing and code-switching in selected episodes of *Project Runway Middle East 2*, the Arab version of an American reality format. The main objective of the current paper is to investigate the instances of English borrowings and code-switches present in the reality show understudy and to canvass the most frequently-used English loanwords, the most common types of code-switches, and the distribution of the two techniques of borrowing and code-switching across gender, age, and geographical region.

2. Literature Review
Given the importance of the two techniques of borrowing and code-switching, several researchers have bent on analyzing them. While some researchers focus on defining these linguistic terms and explaining their nature, others try to analyze the borrowings and code-switches between Arabic and English in different conversational situations.

2.1 Borrowing
Borrowing is referred to by the German linguist John J. Gumperz as:

> The introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other …[borrowings are] incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics, and enter into the syntactic structures quoted in (Al-Rowais, p. 3-4).

borrowing is characterized by the introduction of single words or short frozen phrases that are marked by some forms of adaptation to make them fit into the linguistic structures of the host language. Thanks to the various incorporation techniques, borrowings sometimes become part of the lexicon of the matrix language and it becomes hard to identify them as they can be used by monolinguals who have no mastery of the new language Bassam (2010, p. 33).

Myers-Scotton classifies borrowing into two different types, which are cultural borrowings that "stand for objects or concepts new to the culture" and core borrowings that are "taken into a language even though the language already has lexemes of its own to encode the concepts or objects new to culture" quoted in (Bassam, p. 32). Hence, what can be understood from Myers-Scotton's explanation is that while cultural borrowings are employed to fill a gap in the mother language and are driven by the desire for efficiency, core borrowings are not triggered by any linguistic need. Despite achieving different functions, borrowings share a feature in common in that they tend to appear in "repeated forms" and have a high frequency compared to code-switches Al Rowais (2020 p. 14).

The increase in the usage of borrowing by Arab speakers has led many researchers to bend to investigating this linguistic phenomenon. A study of the impact of English loanwords on the standard Arabic or MSA is provided by Anwar A. H. Al-Athwary (2017) who analyzes about 300 English borrowed words and unveils the phonological modifications applied to them to make them part of the Arabic linguistic system. Unlike Al-Athwary, some other researchers focus on canvassing the instances of English borrowings in the colloquial Arabic dialects from the Iraqi variety Msalman and Mansoor, (2017) to the Egyptian Yacoub, (2016) and Jordanian Guba, (2016) dialects, to name a few.

2.2 Code-switching
Shana Poplack, the Professor at the University of Ottawa, defines the term code-switching as "the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance" quoted in Kniaz, (2017, p. 190). In other words, when code-switching, speakers have to exhibit mastery of two linguistic systems rather than one. Therefore, the practice of code-switching is the privilege of bilinguals, who are able to speak two languages to be able to move at ease between them Al-Rowais, (2012, p. 5). Indeed, Lotfi Sayahi, the Tunisian Professor at the University of Albany, considers code-switching as "an indicator of the degree of bilingualism that exists within a certain community and, by extension, the degree of access speakers have to the source language Sayahi, (2011, p. 114).

Since code-switching involves the use of two languages, the American linguist Carol Myers-Scotton developed the Matrix Language Frame, which serves to compare the use of the two languages incorporated in the switches. For her, the "matrix language" is the dominant language into which the code-switches from the "embedded" or "guest language" are inserted quoted in (Al-Rowais, p. 17). In the case of Arabic speakers, the matrix language is supposed to be the Arabic language while the embedded language is the English one.

Albtool Alhazmi states that the two main types of Linguistic code-switches are intrasentential and intersentential code-switching Alhazmi, (2016, p. 184). While intersentential code-switches occur between sentences and imply joining two sentences that belong to two different languages, intrasentential code-switching occurs within the sentence level. The Egyptian researcher Menna Allah Aboelnabial thinks that the intrasentential type of code-switching is more complex and difficult than the intersentential one "because it requires knowing the grammars of the two languages and how to use them together correctly Aboelnabial, (p. 974). Yet, despite their varying degrees of complexity, both types of code-switching are perceived by Myers-Scotton as "the gate by which content morphemes as core B [borrowed] forms enter the ML Matrix language" quoted in (Kniaz, p.192)." Hence, it can be suggested that code-switches are the means by which foreign language words enter into the dominant language and become established borrowings.

In recent years, the technique of code-switching has drawn the attention of Arab scholars. The Lebanese scholar Loubna Bassam (2017) analyzes a corpus of 1680 SMS messages written by 58 male and female Lebanese undergraduate students and uncovers the English-Arabic code-switching filling them and the gendered preferences for the code-switching technique. Ahmad Alkhawaldah (2019) employs a multi-method approach combining the qualitative and quantitative methods of research to study the phenomenon of code-switching at the Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University. After conducting a questionnaire with 70 students, Alkhawaldah manages to discover the most common code-switching types and the main reasons behind Saudi learners' resort to code-switching, which include the desire to project a modern identity, express solidarity with the addressee, and fill a linguistic gap in the mother language.

While the studies of Bassam and Alkhawaldah are interested in the written and oral communication of some Arab learners, other researchers shed light on code-switching in various media productions. The Egyptian scholar Abdelhamid Hamouda (2015) chooses the Egyptian talk show *Shabab Beek* (Young by You) as a subject of study and canvasses the different instances of Arab-English code-switching and the functions achieved by this linguistic technique. A similar study is carried out by Menna Allah Aboenabial (2017), the Egyptian researcher at Menoufia University, who after analyzing 15 Egyptian talk shows aired on different Egyptian channels comes to the conclusion that Egyptians code-switch for various "persuasive techniques" and that code-switching behavior is tied to several factors, including "education, occupation, social class, gender, age, religion and ethnicity" (p. 971). Interest in talk shows is similarly shown by Hania A. M. Nashef (2013), the Professor at the American University of Sharjah, who relies on the theory of Post-colonialism to study the instances of code-switching in popular Arab television programs aired on popular pan-Arab channels such as MBC, LBC, DMI, and ADTV. In her concluding remarks, she states that the main reason behind the abundance of code-switching in Arab programs is granting "empowerment to the person, creating barriers between those who are or appear to be bilingual and those who are not" (p. 14). Though the three above-mentioned media studies deal with code-switching in different programs aired on multiple Arab channels, they all investigate talk shows and lifestyle programs. None of them focuses on reality TV. Additionally, all these media research papers deal only with code-switching and give no attention to borrowing which is an equally important linguistic technique used by Arabs.

3. Theoretical Framework
Since the present paper studies, the increase of English words and expressions in Arab speech through the techniques of borrowing and code-switching, Gramsci's linguistic hegemony theory appears as the most pertinent theoretical framework.

3.1 Gramsci's Linguistic Hegemony
Linguistic hegemony is a theory that was coined by the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci. A good definition of the theory is provided by Peter Ives as he writes:

> Gramsci's significant exposure to the concept of hegemony was in the field of linguistics, where it was used to describe how a given population would adopt a particular linguistic form, parts of a language, or an entire language from another group of people. The mechanisms of this adoption were not physical coercion but were related to cultural prestige as well as economic, political, social, and even at times military power Ives, (2004, p. 47).

According to this definition, linguistic hegemony could be understood as a given group's adoption of the tongue or dialect of another group of people. The linguistic adoption could range from the embrace of an entirely foreign language to the use of words, expressions, or sentences of another language. The main characteristic of linguistic hegemony is its predication on consent and attraction rather than force.

According to Gramsci, the dominant group within a society succeeds at promoting its language thanks to its control of the civil society institutions that range from education to the church and media (ibid). These hegemonic institutions often try to present the hegemonic language positively to render it attractive in the eyes of the dominated groups Suarez, (2002, p. 514), who, then, feel a desire and need to acquire the language of the leading group to be able to get integrated within society and achieve success Ives, (2009, p. 670). Hence, it can be suggested that a language becomes hegemonic when growing numbers of people feel attracted to it and express a desire to learn it to improve their lives and achieve better status, which applies well to English.

The Anglophone tongue is gaining global recognition and prestige thanks to its dominance over the domains of science, technology, and business (Al-Issa and Dahan, p. 14). A pertinent depiction of the hegemonic position of English over the world stage is provided by George Pilard, the research editor at the University of Oxford, (2002) in the following words:

> English has indisputably become the world's international linguistic currency, a lingua franca which people all over the world are eager to learn as an instrument of empowerment, in order to become part of the global village, be it in commerce, science, or entertainment industry (p. 429).

This statement reveals the global power and prestige enjoyed by the English language, which has become the tongue of increasing numbers of people around the world owing to the opportunities it can offer to its speakers in almost all the life domains.

3.2 The Hegemony of the English Language on the Arab World

The prestige of the Anglophone tongue is equally acknowledged in the Arab world where many Arab countries have tried to increase the inclusion of English in their educational systems. In the Gulf countries, the English language is taught at all levels of education and is becoming the Gulf residents' basic educational medium Guttenplan, (2012). In the rest of the Arab world, English is scoring increasing presence at universities where "computing degree courses ...are routinely taught in English- most up-to-date textbooks are in English, imported from USA, UK, and other English-speaking countries," according to Eric Atwell, Serge Sharoff and Latifa Al-sulaiti (2009, p.1). Such focus on teaching English to young Arabs is triggered by the belief that English is the language of success and opportunity. This view is not restricted to Arab educational policymakers but is also shared by the majority of Arab youth who are cultivating a growing attachment to the Anglophone language and considering it as the language that best serves their interests (Al-Issa and Dahan, p. 14). Consequently, increasing numbers of Arabs are becoming open to the linguistic possibilities of English and many are resorting to borrowing English terms, especially scientific words, and incorporating them into the Arabic lexicon Omar, (2018 p. 116). In addition to linguistic borrowing, the prominent status of English in the Arab world has provided a suitable precondition for the emergence of code-switching as large numbers of young Arabs are heard alternating between English and Arabic in their speeches. The increase in the volume of English code-switches and borrowings is not only spurred by the use of English in Arab education.

Media do equally play a major role in the promotion of English. Hania Nashef believes that "the pervasiveness of American programs and films is ...another reason why American English has become so widespread in the Arab World" (p. 6), a point that is supported by the Saudi researcher Khlood Alshammari (2019). In her article "Role of Social and Mainstream Media on Learning the English Language in Saudi Arabia," Alshammari stipulates that American media productions serve as educational tools for Saudi learners, acting as a pronunciation guide for them (p. 17). Though Nashef and Ashammari have acknowledged American media's contribution to boosting the linguistic hegemony of English in the Arab world, few researchers have attempted to canvass the hegemonic status of English in local adaptations of American reality formats, which will be carried out in the present study that seeks to apply the theory of linguistic hegemony to a reality TV program. This paper is interested in the study of English borrowings and code-switches, linguistic techniques that introduce parts of the English language into the speech of Arabs willingly, without any degree of coercion, which goes in line with the premises of the linguistic hegemony theory.

4. Methodology

To carry out the analysis of borrowing and code-switching in *Project Runway Middle East 2*, this study relies on a multi-method approach that combines both the qualitative and quantitative methods of research. The qualitative approach consists of a conversational analysis of the speeches of the different individuals present in the three selected episodes of the reality program, which aims at identifying the instances of code-switching and borrowing and their syntactic categories. Concerning the quantitative method, it involves the use of frequency distribution, which is defined as "an organized tabulation of the number of individuals located in each category on the scale of measurement" (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2008, p. 37). The purpose behind the reliance on frequency distribution is to find out the frequency of the usage of code-switching and borrowing as well as the distribution of these two linguistic techniques across age, gender, and regional belonging.

4.1 Data Sampling

The data used for the research at hand are compiled from three selected episodes of the second season of the Arab version of the American Reality format *Project Runway*. The choice of this program is triggered by its wide appeal. *Project Runway* is one of the most popular US formats. It won several Emmy, guild, and GLAAD awards Zalaznick, (2014) and has clones all over the world from *Project Runway Israel* to Filipino, Malaysian, and Korean Project Runways. MBC, the Arab world's first broadcaster Aliouat et al, (2016, p. 129), brought this reality program to the Arab world in 2016, under the name of *Project Runway Middle East*. The success of this fashion reality program in the Arab world spurred MBC to produce another season of it in 2017. This second season is the study subject of this research due to the observable increase in the use of English in season two compared to the first season. Given that *Project Runway Middle East 2* has about thirteen episodes, which is a relatively large number of episodes to analyze, only three episodes are selected for analysis, which include episode two, episode seven, and episode twelve. The three episodes under study are chosen from the beginning, middle, and end of the program, which aims at checking whether there is an increase in the number of code-switches and borrowings throughout the season. To reach the best results possible, the speeches of all the individuals appearing in the selected episodes are studied, from the participants to the hosts, judges, guests, and makeup artists. When the guest of the episode is foreign and English is used as a lingua franca, the conversation is excluded from the analysis. Actually, in the study at hand, all the English-only utterances are not considered for analysis. Only the speeches and conversations that involve borrowing and code-switching are coded and included in the sampling of the present paper. A description of the speakers whose conversations are studied in this research is provided in the following table.

Episode 2			Episode 7			Episode 12		
Name	Country	Age	Name	Country	Age	Name	Country	Age
-Abdelhanin Raouh	Morocco	33	-Abdelhanin Raouh	Morocco	33	Abdelhanin Raouh	Morocco	33
-Ahmad Amer	Lebanon	23	-Ahmad Amer	Lebanon	23			
-Abrar Hassen	Saudi Arabia	24	-Dana Alzaman	Saudi Arabia	22	-Dana Alzaman	Saudi Arabia	22
-Dana Alzaman	Saudi Arabia	22	-Mikhail Chamoun	Lebanon	27			
-Ishtar Al-Saibani	Iraq	34	-Mohamed Salaheldin	Egypt	28	Mikhail Chamoun	Lebanon	27
-Malek Gheni	Tunisia	23	-Rim Abdulghani	Saudi Arabia	30s	-Saher Okal	Palestine	29
-Mikhail Chamoun	Lebanon	27	-Saher Okal	Palestine	29	-Zoubeida Akkari	Lebanon	28
-Mohamed Salaheldin	Egypt	28	-Zino Taouafik	Algeria	31			
-Noura Alabdullah	Kuwait	29	-Zoubeida Akkari	Lebanon	28	-Afef Jnifen (judge)	Tunisia	54
-Rim Abdulghani	Saudi Arabia	30s	-Afef Jnifen (judge)	Tunisia	54	-Elie Saab (judge)	Lebanon	53
-Saher Okal	Palestine	29	-Elie Saab (judge)	Lebanon	53			
-Sarah Lasheen	Egypt	27	-Yosra (judge)	Egypt	62	-Yosra (judge)	Egypt	62
-Zino Taouafik	Algeria	31				-Valerie Abu Chakra (host)	Lebanon	25
-Zoubeida Akkari	Lebanon	28	-Valerie Abu Chakra (host)	Lebanon	25			
-Afef Jnifen (judge)	Tunisia	54	-Rim Alfaysal (mentor/host	Saudi Arabia	30s	-Elie Saab Jr (guest	Lebanon	25
-Elie Saab (judge)	Lebanon	53	-Dana (makeup artist)	Lebanon	30s	-Rim Alfaysal (mentor/host	Saudi Arabia	30s
-Yosra (judge)	Egypt	62				-Dana (makeup artist)	Lebanon	30s
-Valerie Abu Chakra (host)	Lebanon	25	-Assia Farraj (guest)	Kuwait	28			
-Rim Alfaysal (mentor/host	Saudi Arabia	30s						
-Dana (makeup artist)	Lebanon	30s						

The above-mentioned table shows that while some participants score presence in the three episodes under the study, others disappear due to the nature of the program which involves the weekly elimination of one participant. Therefore, the number of participants decreases across the episodes, from fourteen on the second episode to nine on the seventh episode and five on the twelfth episode. The consistent members are the judges, hosts, and makeup artists. Despite its inconsistency, the studied population comes from different Arab countries, belongs to different age groups, and represents both the male and female gender, which offers the opportunity to study the use of code-switching and borrowing across different categories in order to provide the suitable frequency distribution.

4.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected after viewing three episodes of *Project Runway Middle East 2* that range in length from fifty-two minutes to one hour and eighteen minutes. After three hours and twenty-one minutes of successive viewing, the conversations of the different participants are identified and the extracts containing borrowing and code-switching are sorted out. After that, the conversations are transcribed. While the English passages are transcribed using Roman letters, Brill's Simple Arabic Transliteration System is used for the transcription of the Arabic parts of speech. Later, all the transcribed passages are coded and analyzed by means of MAXQDA, qualitative analysis software that also contains some features that allow for quantitative study and frequency distribution.

5. Results and Discussion

5.1. Borrowing

The technique of borrowing is highly present throughout the three selected episodes of *Project Runway Middle East 2*. In episode 2, the number of English loanwords is 244, a figure that jumps to 411 words on episode 7. The lowest number of English borrowings is registered on episode 12 with 167 words, which is revealed in figure 1.
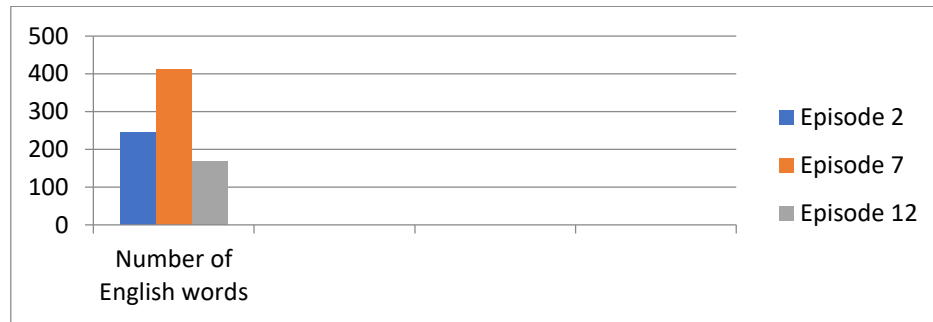

Figure 1: The Number of English Words in Three Episodes of Project Runway Middle East 2

Figure 1 proves well that from episode 2 to episode 7, there has been a gradual increase in the number of English borrowed words. Yet, this trend does not continue on episode 12, which witnesses a decrease in the number of English loanwords, probably due to the decrease in the number of contestants, which falls to five by the twelfth episode.

An analysis of the nature of borrowings shows that the majority of the English borrowed words in the episodes under study belong to the category of core borrowings. Figure 2 unveils that the most common English words are either words reflecting the terminology of the *Project Runway* format, such as "runway," "team," "designer" "design," "look," "model," "challenge," "makeup," or loanwords related to the fashion lexicon, like "shoes," "denim," "collection," "sleeves," "fabric," etc. The only cultural borrowing is the word blogger, which does not exist in the Arabic language and is used to fill a linguistic gap in the mother language. The other core borrowings, on the other hand, have equivalents in the Arabic language. They are only used to express prestige, which is one of the motives behind the utilization of English by Arab speakers Alnamer and Alnamer, (2018, p. 158).

Figure 2: the Most Frequently-Used Words in three Episodes of Project Runway Middle East 2

Arabs' admiration of the prestigious nature of English loanwords echoes well the ethos of Gramsci's linguistic hegemony given that the prestige of a given language serves as the attraction factor in the adoption of a given language, in Gramsci's theory. Another possible reason behind the use of cultural borrowings is to echo the most widespread terminology and lexis used in the American *Project Runway*, the original version of the format. Hence, it can be suggested that the reality program *Project Runway* serves as the tool used by the US to drive the hegemony of its language, English, since the Arabs who take part in *Project Runway Middle East 2* seem to be attracted to the English words included in the American version and tend to replicate them. The host Valerie Abu Chakra, for instance, adopts the prepositions "in" and "out," which are constantly reiterated by the host of the American *Project Runway* and considered as part of Klum's catchphrase "Are you in or are you out" (Boston, n.d).

In terms of syntactic categories, nouns represent the most common borrowed category with a percentage of 89,5% followed by adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and finally verbs as shown in figure 3.
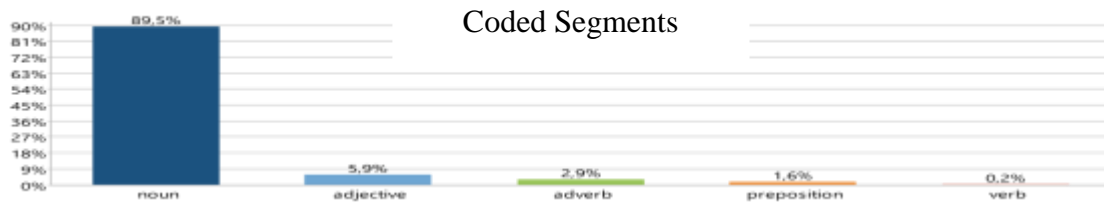

Figure 3: The Syntactic Types of Borrowings

Borrowed nouns are preponderous in the three episodes under study and they tend to be used by almost all the participants, regardless of their age, gender, region, or the degree of their mastery of English. Examples of English nouns incorporated in Arab speech on episodes two, seven, and twelve include:

- Episode 2: ḫalina nisma' il **message** taba' Elie Saab 'ašan ni'raf il **challenge.**
- Episode 7 : kil waḥad minkun raḥ yiḫtar **product** w yalli yitla'lhun il **products** il m'ala'in raḥ ykunu hinė il **leaders**.
- Episode 12 : bi'almu il **marketing** w kil ši ilu 'ala'a bil **fashion**.

The emergence of nouns as the most frequently-used syntactic category in the present paper goes in line with the findings of Malgorzata Kniaz who, after studying the English loanwords in Egyptian Arabic, reveals that nouns are the most prevalent category (71, 51%) (p. 197). Just like in this study, the other syntactic categories of verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions, mentioned in Kniaz's research, are less frequent compared to nouns. Instances of the use of the above-mentioned syntactic categories in the three selected episodes of *Project Runway Middle East 2* involve:

- Adjective: Ana ma 'am šufu **trendy** (episode 7).
- Verb: **Focus** inu ykun fi ḥaja ṭaniya taḥt (episode 12)
- Adverb: Tala'ni min ili **automatically** fakart fih (episode 2)
- Preposition: waḥad minkun raḥ ykun **in** w waḥad raḥ ykun **out** (episode 12).

Given that nouns are the most prevalent syntactic category, the majority of the borrowed nouns are adapted into the Arabic language through the insertion of the definite article [il] or [al], which is one of the most common ways of incorporating English nouns into the speech of Arabs (Omar, p. 131). In *Project Runway Middle East 2*, the definite article [il] is attached to singular as well as plural nouns. The word "shoes" is the word mostly combined with [il] (forty times). Other words that are frequently attached to [il] include "denim," design," "runway," "jean," etc, which is quite discernible in table 1.

Combinations	Frequency

il shoes	40
il denim	22
il design	22
il runway	15
il jean	12
il collection	11
il team	10
il dress	9
il pants	8
il top	8
il girl	7
il leader	7
il look	7
al runway	6
il challenge	6
il model	6
il ruffles	6
al shoes	5
il models	5

Table 1: The Most Frequently-Used Words with [il] and [al]

Though the use of the definite article [il] serves to incorporate the English words into the Arabic language, this adaptation technique does not alter much the English words attached to it and thus fails to mitigate the degree of foreignness of the borrowed items as they maintain the phonological features of the English language. Hence, borrowing can be considered as a practice that leads to increasing the linguistic hegemony of English over Arab because it implies introducing parts of the Anglophone language, words in this case, into the speech of Arabs.

5.2 Code-switching

The other technique that increases the use of the English language is code-switching, which is highly present in *Project Runway Middle East 2* in its two types. As figure 4 suggests intrasentential code-switching largely exceeds intersentential code-switching (66,7% versus 33,3%).
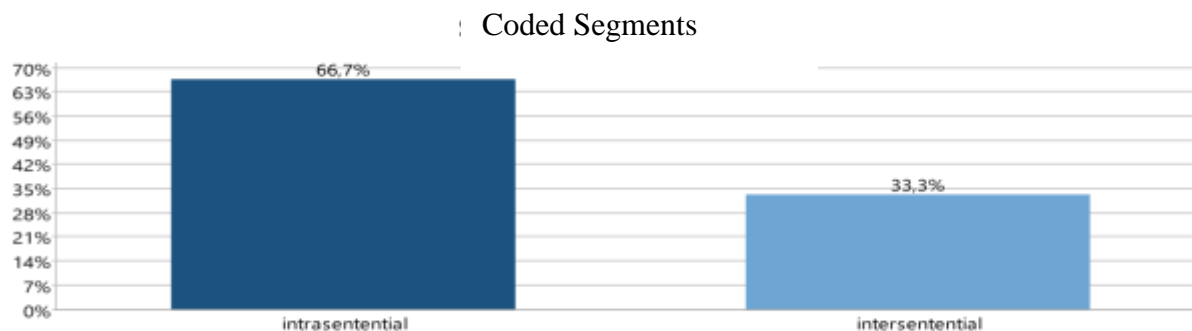

Figure 4: The Types of Code-switching

Instances of the two types of code-switching include:

- Intrasentential code-switching: atmana inu ḫitamaha misk zay mayguly w inu **you're saving the best for last** (episode 12).
- Intersentential code-switching: intu 'am tlaḥzu inu Maha mana hun, **every week one of us is gonna leave** (episode 2)

The results of this study concerning the types of code-switching come to back the findings of Arab researchers such as Al Rowais whose analysis of code-switching between Arabic and English reveals a discrepancy in the use of the two code-switching methods (nine for intersentential compared to 208 intrasentential ones). According to Al Rowais, the shortage of intersentential code-switching reflects Arabs' lack of proficiency in their mother tongue, which is Arabic (p. 41).

The limited use of intersentential-code switching in *Project Runway Middle East 2* and the reliance on intrasentential code-switches impact not only the lexicon of the recipient language but tend to interfere at the structural level as well Sayahi, (p. 114), which might result in altering the grammar of Arabic. Given that Gramsci believes that the inclusion of the "normative grammar" of a foreign language could be "an impediment to progressive social change," (quoted in Ives, p. 663) the use of intrasentential code-switching by Arab speakers could be seen as a sign of linguistic hegemony. The hegemonic aspect of English is also quite evident in some participants' intrasentential code-switches that are marked by the use of English as a Matrix language instead of Arabic. Though in Myers-Scotton Matrix Language Framework, the mother tongue is supposed to be the matrix language, this rule is contradicted in the speeches of several Arab contestants such as Zoubeida, from Lebanon, Dana, and Rim, from Saudi Arabia. In episode 2, Zoubeida describes her design saying "at the same time il shoes mbayna very clearly." In this utterance, English words outnumber the Arab ones (7 versus 2), which makes English serve as the Matrix language in her utterance. Such tendency is equally reflected in the comment of the Saudi contestant Dana when she notes on episode 12 "ba'din I'm gonna play with the details to make it like modern and cohesive with the other look." Just like Dana, the other Saudi contestant Rim uses more English than Arabic, which is apparent in episode 7 when she states "gasamna il collection based on the personality." All these examples show that Arabic is no longer considered as the matrix language or the expected language of choice in the code-switches of Arab speakers. It is relegated to a second language and overtaken by the hegemonic English, which seems to gain increasing dominance over Arabs' speeches. The impact of code-switching on the recipient language is well documented by Kimmo Veinakken who states that "once the switching becomes more frequent, it is the normative way to refer to some specific concepts or ideas, and can then gradually turn into a borrowing and finally an established loanword" Veinakken, (2014, p. 41).

5.3. Code-switching versus Borrowing

A comparison between code-switching and borrowing unveils that in *Project Runway Middle East 2*, there is more recourse to borrowing than to code-switching. Figure 5 shows that while borrowing is employed 61,5% of the time, code-switching is used about 38,5% time due to the fact that code-switching requires proficiency in the English language while borrowing does not.
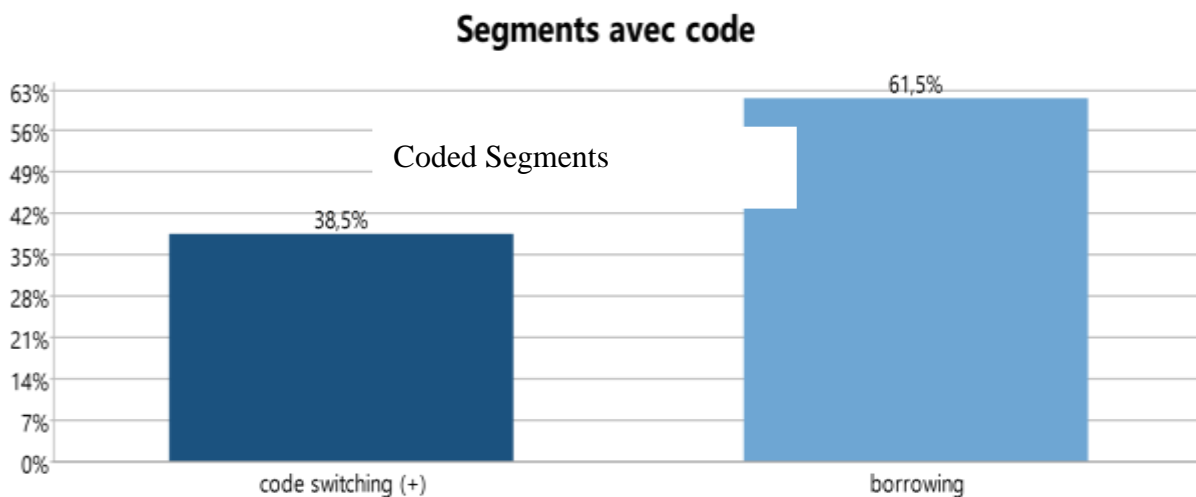

Figure 5: Borrowing versus Code-switching in Project Runway Middle East 2

Yet, a closer reading of the use of the two techniques in the single episodes of *Project Runway Middle East 2* pieces of evidence that there is increasing reliance on code-switching from episode 2 to episode 12, which is discernible in tables 2 and 3.

	Frequency	Percentage
borrowing	135	68,18
code switching	63	31,82
Total	198	100,00

Table 2: The Use of Borrowing and Code-switching on Episode 2

	Frequency	Percentage
code-switching	100	50,76
Borrowing	97	49,24
Total	197	100,00

Table 3: The Use of Borrowing and Code-Switching on Episode 12

These two tables elucidate that the utilization of the technique of code-switching jumped from 63 instances (31, 82%) on episode 2 to 100 ones (50, 76%) on episode 12. The increase in the number of code-switches on the twelfth episode echoes the reality program's promotion of the English language. While on the earlier episodes, the themes of the challenges are expressed in terms of single loanwords, consisting of "shoes" (on episode 2) and "denim" (on episode 7), on episode 12, the challenge is to create a personal conception of "the girl of now." Therefore, throughout episode 12, there is a focus on the dissemination of the above-mentioned English noun phrase, which is cited 19 times on that episode.

Apart from comparing the use of code-switching and borrowing, this study also investigates the sociolinguistic features that seem to affect speakers' choice of the phenomena of borrowing and code-switching, especially that aspects such as gender, age-group, and region are important factors in determining the linguistic choices of speakers Aboelnabial, (p. 977).

When it comes to gender, this study reveals that in *Project Runway Middle East 2*, borrowing is preferred by males more than females. Yet, as shown in figure 6, there is a slight variation in the use of borrowing between Arab men and women (10,90 versus 10,18), which proves that resorting to English loanwords is popular among all Arabs, whether they are male or female. For code-switching, it is quite apparent that there is a wide gap in the use of this technique across genders. Figure 6 elucidates that women show a higher preference for code-switching compared to males (8,46 versus 2,20), a finding that supports the claims of several Arab researchers who found out that Arab females code-switch more than males Bassam; Alsbiai, (2011).
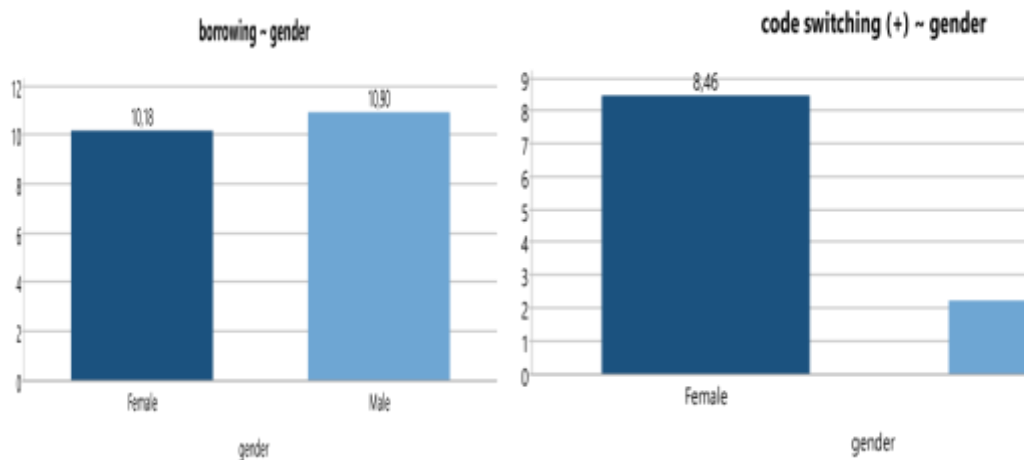

Figure 6: The Use of Borrowing and Code-switching According to Gender

The second sociolinguistic variable studied in relation to borrowing is the age group. Figure 7 proves that in the episodes under study, although borrowing is mostly used by the young, who are in their twenties and thirties, the older generations, especially the fifty-year olds, do resort to this linguistic technique as well. On the contrary, code-switching seems to be excessively employed only by the young. The older generations in the programs under study are not quite fond of code-switching. The combined use of code-switches by the speakers who are in their fifties and sixties does not exceed 2, 3% of the code-switching instances, which suggests that the younger generations in the Arab world are more proficient at the English language, a fact that makes them use code-switching more often.
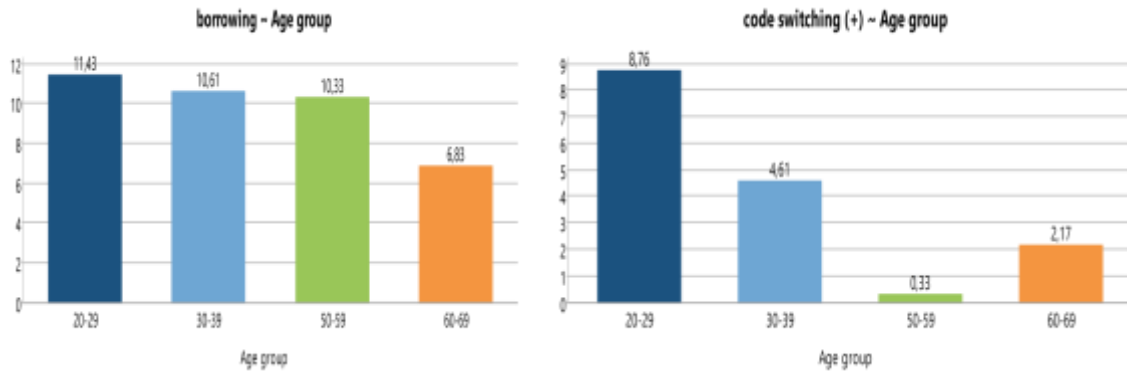
Figure 7: The Use of Borrowing and Code-switching according to Age Group

The generational gap in the use of code-switching and borrowing is well echoed through the speeches of the Lebanese designer Elie Saab and his son, Elie Saab Jr, on episode 12. The utterances of Elie Saab are marked by the incorporation of English loanwords. When addressing the designers before the runway he says "mšawaʻ la šuf il collection kilha w la šuf kil designer šu raḥ yʻadmilna." Then, he criticizes Dana's look noting "Dana muš mwafaʻa bi hal mission tabaʻ hal jimʻa." what can be noticed from Elie Saab's comments is that Arabic dominates over his speech and that he just sticks to borrowing. Unlike his father, Elie Saab Jr. likes to code-switch much in his speech. Remarking on Dana's first look, he states "the pants and the top bitḥishum aktar mitrabtin" and concerning her second look, he argues "fajʻatan tlaʻiha dahra bi fistan ʻasir dayaʻ even though there is a cape, it's a bit difficult." The discrepancy in the usage of the linguistic techniques of borrowing and code-switching proves well that the linguistic choices of the younger and older generations of Arabs are totally different. The young are growing more proficient at and more fond of the English language, which justifies their recourse to code-switching because it enables them to increase the use of English items in their speeches compared to borrowing that only allows for the inclusion of single words.

The last sociolinguistic determinant included in the analysis of borrowing and code-switching in *Project Runway Middle East 2* is the regional belonging of the Arab speakers. Given that Arab regions have various linguistic influences, speakers' choice of borrowing and code-switching varies according to the area they reside in. Figure 8 indicates that Khaleeji speakers constitute the majority of the users of code-switching and borrowing. In the case of code-switching, Khaleejis' contribution to the practice is 11,27 %, more than the combined percentage of the speakers of the three other regions. The Levantine speakers come second in the use of borrowing and code-switching with 11,45% and 5,64% respectively. Egyptians hold third place in the usage of both practices while the Maghrebi speakers come last, especially for code-switching with 1,33% of the total of coded instances.
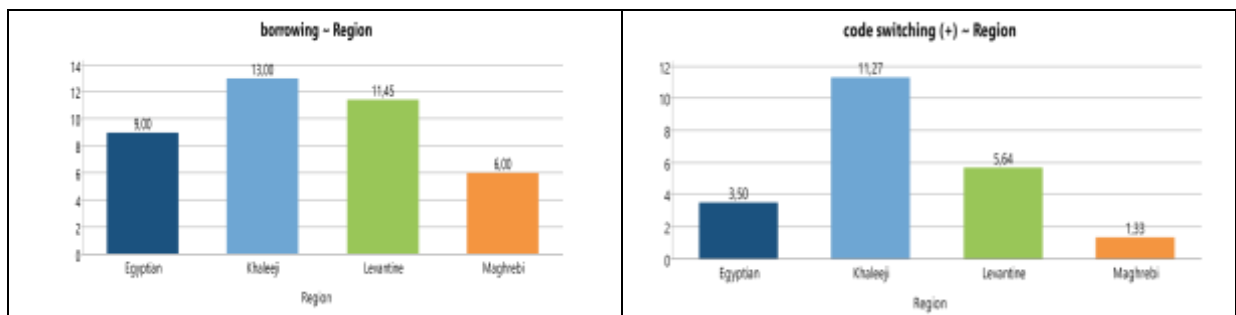

Figure 8: the Use of Borrowing and Code-switching according to Regional Belonging

The results of this study in relation to the use of the practices of borrowing and code-switching are totally reflective of the linguistic strategies and policies adopted in the regions under study. In the Gulf, English is the language of education and communication with the expatriates working in the country (Guttenplan), which accounts for Gulf speakers' ease with the English language that is seen through their massive reliance on borrowing and code-switching. In the Maghreb, on the other hand, French is the language mostly spoken by Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians due to the French colonial influence (Amazouz, Adda-Decker, and Lamel, 2017, p. 63), which explains well Maghrebi speakers' limited recourse to English. Since code-switching requires mastery of English, it is totally logical that Maghrebi participants do not code-switch from Arabic to English. Even when it comes to borrowing, the speakers, from the Maghreb, often use the loanwords that are frequently employed during the given episode. For example, in episode 2, themed around shoes, Abdelhanine, from Morocco, uses only one English borrowed word, which is shoes, as he says "jatni cohérence bin il shoes wil fistan." Similarly, the Algerian designer Zino uses the English noun "shoes" three times. In one

instance, he notes "wiš daḫl il ḏakira fil shoes." Zino's and Abdelhanine's inclusion of the word "shoes" in their speeches shows that Maghrebi participants sometimes resort to English borrowings to keep up with the Anglophone trend that is dominating the program.

6. Conclusion

By investigating the prevalence of the techniques of borrowing and code-switching in the reality TV program *Project Runway Middle East 2*, the present study has contributed to filling a gap in the literature on Arabic-English code-switching and borrowing. The study of borrowing has shown that nouns are the most widespread borrowed syntactic form and that the majority of borrowed words belong to core borrowings. They are included in the utterances of the speakers in the program to show prestige or to maintain the fashion lexicon and terminology that are present in the original American format. Concerning code-switching, the paper at hand has supported the claim of several Arab researchers and revealed that Arab speakers prefer the use of intrasentential code-switches, which proves the decreasing mastery of their mother tongue, Arabic. In relation to the sociolinguistic factors that affect the use of borrowing and code-switching, this study has demonstrated that females, the young and Gulf speakers are the ones who are most attracted to the techniques of borrowing and code-switching. Young Arabs' fondness of incorporating parts of the English language in their conversations is boosting the hegemony of English over Arabs' speeches and threatening the future of Arabic.

Conflicts of interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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