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***Sociolinguistic Dimensions of Code switching:
the Role of Social Factors in its Occurrence
in an Algerian Context, Tlemcen Speech Community***

*Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English
in Candidacy for the Degree of "Doctorate" in Sociolinguistics.*

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this university or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Amina BENGUEDDA

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Abstract

The present study tries to investigate code switching behaviour of Tlemcen bilinguals, mainly from the micro-sociolinguistic perspective. The basic assumption being to consider it as a strategic tool that bilinguals possess to create social conventions, and effective conversational functions emphasising the messages conveyed. This sociolinguistic perspective, the core of this work, relies on the sociolinguistic and pragmatic approach of code switching as speakers select their codes according to the context. This work aims at discerning the main sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors that affect the use of code switching in Tlemcen speech community. In other words, the study investigates the occurrences of code switching between Algerian Arabic and French in daily conversations, attempting to study the circumstances and the factors that may have an impact on the future of the French language in Algeria. The survey incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methods using recordings, notes taking, questionnaire, and interviews. This dissertation is based on three models: that of Gumperz (1982) which relies on conversation analysis and contextualisation cues; that of Myers-Scotton (1993) which will guide our analysis of code switching in conversations in terms of marked or unmarked code; and that of Holmes (2013) for a functional analysis of code switching. The results of the study revealed that there are circumstances which can influence the respondents to codeswitch, in particular, the interlocutors, the setting, the psychological state of the speaker and change of topics.

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Acronyms

MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
AA	Algerian Arabic
1,3sg	First, Third person singular
Neg	Negative
V	Verb

Long vowels: are formed by adding a colon (:) to the short vowels.

Gemination: is shown by consonant doubling.

Nasalization: is shown by putting (̃) on the vowel.

Symbols and abbreviations

Phonetic symbols

ء	ʔ	ق	q
ب	b	ك	k
ت	t _s	ل	l
ث	θ	م	m
ج	ʒ, dʒ	ن	n
ح	ħ	هـ	h
خ	χ	و	w
د	d	ي	j
ذ	ð		
ر	r		
ز	z		
ڙ	ʒ		
س	s		
س	ṣ		
س	ɖ		
ط	ṭ		
ط	ʈ		
ع	i		
غ	ɣ		
ف	f		

Symbols and abbreviations	Significance
[]	Narrow phonetic transcription
//	Broad Phonological transcription
(...)	Utterance of speaker not included in the transcript
(xxxx)	Parentheses with four x indicate overlapping speech
[laughter]	May refer to non-speech element, such as laughter, a cough, etc.
~	Nasalised vowels
()	Unintelligible speech
CA	Classical Arabic
CS	CS
EL	Embedded Language
ML	Matrix Language

General Introduction

All human beings are genetically endowed with the ability to acquire a language in an extraordinarily easy way thanks to God. People can learn more than one language and, therefore, use them for communication. As human beings, we tend to express our thoughts, ideas, and emotions through language. However, we do not always live in a society, which uses only one particular language to communicate. Thus, speakers brought up in different areas and cultures tend to acquire and learn their languages, through travelling across countries and pursuing further education. Consequently, they use them differently within a specific context and for various purposes. Accordingly, sociolinguists seek for the different factors that may affect language use.

When studying language contact situations, it is important to investigate the context from various angles. As Clyne (2003: 1) states, “... language contact is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary field in which interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use languages the way they do”. Moreover, many factors shape a bilingual’s level or degree of linguistic proficiency. It is difficult to determine which ones may contribute, or to what degree they contribute to the general competence of one’s linguistic abilities since these factors can change from one context to another.

A bilingual speaker has the ability to use more than one language at his disposal. Therefore, in contact with others, he may use his languages and shift from one to another in the same conversation under some social and/or linguistic conditions to fulfil certain social functions. This phenomenon, called Code Switching (hereafter CS), has been studied from different theoretical perspectives, employing various levels of analysis. CS can be seen in three broad fields: Sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and linguistics and all of them are complementary. In the present research work, the dominant perspective is a sociolinguistic one. The way people use language and the way they communicate differs from one speaker to another according to linguistic and social factors, which

can affect language use. Furthermore, the investigation of CS in a bilingual conversation has evolved in two distinct but linked orientations: structural and sociolinguistic. The structural approach of CS is mainly concerned with its grammatical aspects and its fundamental interest is to identify syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on CS. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, views CS mainly as a discourse phenomenon, focusing its attention on questions, e.g. how social meaning occurs with the use of CS and what specific discourse functions it serves. In other words, the structural approach focuses on the structural aspects of morphosyntactic patterns underlying the grammar of CS while the sociolinguistic one tries to explain why bilingual speakers talk the way they do, i.e., switching from one code to another.

Nowadays, CS is investigated in several bi/multilingual communities all over the world such as Myers-Scotton in East Africa, Clyne in Australia, Holmes in New Zealand, Pfaff, Poplack, and others in the United States, Blom & Gumperz in Norway, Romaine and others in Europe. The research on this linguistic phenomenon continues in bilingual communities and other places of language contact.

This research work aims at investigating language alternation and how several social factors influence the way people codeswitch. The intention is to explore naturally occurring conversations in Tlemcen speech community in speakers' daily conversations. Myers-Scotton (1993b: 1) uses CS as a cover term and defines it as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation". Correspondingly, with the exclusion of borrowings, the term CS is used as a cover term in this work to include all the phenomena of alternating between two genetically unrelated languages within the same conversation.

In fact, we have already dealt with this linguistic phenomenon in a previous work (Benguedda 2010; Magister dissertation) and now we are motivated to continue the investigation in the speech community of Tlemcen as it is characterized by the alternation between Algerian Arabic (AA hereafter) as the mother tongue and French as a second language. This alternation between these two

languages occurs in daily life and in informal situations as opposed to formal ones where the switch occurs between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA hereafter), the official language, and French. In addition to this, it is interesting to account for another type of alternation in which MSA and AA are used in a diglossic relation.

As aforementioned, the main concern of this study is a micro-sociolinguistic investigation of the occurrences of code switching at an interactional level. CS is a common linguistic behaviour in bilingual speech and its use appears to be rooted in psychological development since it occurs frequently without conscious awareness of the speaker. People may shift from one code to another, either intentionally or unintentionally and it can be from one style to another, from one dialect to another or from one language to another, for various reasons such as showing solidarity, reflecting social status, topic, or persuading the audience expressing affection (happiness, excitement, anger, sadness and other feelings). The bulk of this study seeks to achieve objectives, namely:

1. To identify the different social factors and the role they play in determining CS behaviour in Tlemcen speech community.
2. To establish a sociolinguistic profile of Tlemcen speech community and identify, particularly, the social motivations behind CS and their socio-pragmatic functions.
3. To foresee the future of the French language in Algeria in the short term.

People, who have command over more than one language, can generally switch back and forth between languages they use and they are equally aware that in some contexts one code will serve their needs better than another. This may lead them to change the code they use depending on where they are. Shifting from one code to another is regarded by monolinguals and balanced bilinguals as the result of incomplete mastery of the two codes.

However, CS is no longer considered as a sign of linguistic deficiency, but rather as a linguistic resource to achieve certain goals within social interactions. Of course, there are many other explanations as to why CS occurs. Basically, the following research questions need specific considerations:

1. To what extent do social factors affect the use of CS, and which ones trigger its occurrence?
2. Which specific discourse functions does CS serve in everyday conversations?
3. To what extent and in what ways has CS in Algeria changed half a century after independence? What is the future of French?

Indeed, under the problematic of the present study, a range of hypotheses can come out in respect to possible interpretations and suggestions related to the aim of the research work and that may partly respond to the number of questions introduced above. It is, then, postulated that the various occurrences of CS are related to the following hypotheses:

1.
 - Gender: women codeswitch more than men.
 - Age: old speakers codeswitch more than young ones.
 - The level of education: educated people codeswitch more than less-educated ones.
2.
 - It is a language practice that facilitates speech and conveys a variety of messages.
 - To show one's identity and social status.
 - To achieve certain pragmatic functions.

3.

- Young bilinguals use more and more AA than French as opposed to older ones who use more French.
- For future generations, French will only remain in rather formal discussions and talks related to medical, scientific, and technological domains for which AA is not appropriate and MSA is not used.

Language researchers appear to steadily admit that many studies need to be accomplished in different contexts and that a variety of different approaches are required to gain a deep understanding of the complexity of the nature of CS. Therefore, in this study, the contexts, different domains of CS are described. In other words, this work tries to investigate how language behaviour is controlled by the contexts of speech, how it varies from one context to another, how the language varies when the topic changes, etc. The change of setting and the change of topic influence the language use and thus, they control the CS process.

This study also concentrates on the reasons for CS, the context of CS, and various domains of CS etc. Therefore, it relies on the frameworks of Gumperz (1982) 'contextualization cues', Myers-Scotton 'the Markedness Model' and the claims of Holmes (2013) social factors and social dimensions of language use. Holmes highlights that bilinguals are conditioned to select a particular code under the influence of some social factors of language use. For instance, the way people speak is affected by specific social aspects related to specific situations where they are speaking. In other words, speakers are influenced by their addressees, the purpose of the conversation.

The present dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first one, which is devoted to the literature review; represents the most prominent works of CS that have been done in the field of sociolinguistics. It also aims to provide the present study with a better understanding of CS in Tlemcen, and its different approaches. This work focuses mainly on the sociolinguistic approach, that is, we investigate the

socio-pragmatic functions of CS and the different factors that may affect on such as age, gender, and level of education.

Moreover, the second chapter describes the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It also investigates the occurrence of CS in this country, specifically, the case of Tlemcen speech community. In this chapter, CS is shown to differ from one case to another according to several social aspects. CS is, then, used for many reasons as it fulfils different socio-pragmatic functions in Algeria.

For the clarity and better understanding of this research work, the third chapter elucidates the methodology of the present research work. It gives a description of the informants regarding the main social factors that may affect CS such as age, gender, and level of education. It also explains the different approaches and techniques used to collect reliable data free from bias and the way they were handled, in addition to the way instances were selected among others with respect to the aim of the study. Besides, this chapter expounds the way data will be analysed to achieve the objectives set in this work.

The fourth chapter attempts to analyze instances of CS from data gathered with concluding remarks and results in a way to respond to the set of research questions, exposed in the general introduction, among the main issues of the present study. We shall explain the socio-pragmatic functions of CS following Holmes (2013) and Gumperz (1982). It also sheds light on the socio-pragmatic intentions of the individual speech.

The last step provides the present work with a general conclusion, which summarizes the major findings obtained from the present investigation related to our objective. Accordingly, it also suggests the future lacked investigations in the same field that, to some extent, have not yet gained a large area of interest in the field of sociolinguistics.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical considerations of the study

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1.1. Introduction

Language contact phenomena have been analysed from a variety of perspectives and have also been widely discussed in the literature of sociolinguistics, among these phenomena, the occurrence of CS (sometimes written, code-switching or codeswitching in other studies). Before defining CS the term code here refers to two languages genetically unrelated, Algerian Arabic, and French. However, in other studies, the term code refers to either speech varieties or dialects in a language or even languages.

By 1970's on, CS attracted the attention of several researchers from different broad disciplines and different theoretical views employing various levels of analyses such as psychology, linguistics, anthropology, and sociolinguistics. However, since all these interdisciplinary approaches are used for the investigation of CS, it is not surprising that there is no consensus among scholars as to what CS is, and what it refers to. In other words, there is no clear-cut definition and related terminology to this phenomenon.

Additionally, the ample studies and literature on CS from several fields of inquiry make it impossible to include all CS linguistic aspects (i.e., sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and grammatical) within a single study and it is even hard to give a complete review of all the literature. This study deals mainly with the socio-pragmatic dimension of CS. Nevertheless, a brief overview of the structural aspects is necessary in order to understand better the nature and origins of CS. Therefore, in the present research work the dominant overview of the study of CS is a sociolinguistic one.

CS is, then, seen not only as a conversational means but also as a way to establish, maintain and identify social group boundaries and identities. Therefore, bilinguals or people having more than one language may shift from one code to another, either consciously or subconsciously, to achieve their own linguistic or social goals within certain contexts and especially when conditioned by social factors such as context, age, gender, and level of education.

This chapter begins, first, with a literature review of the studies of CS which have been most significant in the field of language contact phenomena and tries to distinguish this phenomenon from others, namely borrowing. Indeed, our objective in this work is to investigate when and why a speaker chooses one language rather than another and this can be explained as a ‘metaphorical CS’ (Gumperz, 1982) where factors such as the interlocutor, domain, topic, and type of interaction play an important role.

Indeed, in each speech community, there is more than one way of speaking and expressing one’s thoughts. In other words, no community has less than two different speech styles, and in several communities, more than one dialect or one language are spoken, even if monolinguals speak only one dialect of one language. In this regard, Myers-Scotton (1998: 18) asserts that more than one way of speaking can be noticed in every speech community, and no community is without at least two different speech styles.

In many communities, more than one language are spoken and often more than one dialect of a language are spoken. As far as dialects and languages are concerned, they can be associated with distinct social groups; this means that not everyone has command of all the codes in use and not all speakers use the codes he or she knows with the same frequency. That is, not everyone in the community has complete command of all the varieties in the community’s linguistic repertoire, and not everyone uses the varieties with the same frequency (ibid: 18).

In this respect, this study attempts to explain the main social and pragmatic reasons for which Algerian speakers with different levels of bilinguality codeswitch frequently, in their daily conversations, between Algerian Arabic (mother tongue) and French (second language). To do so, we will use some prominent criteria that are proposed in the literature and try to apply them to our AA/French CS corpus. In fact, since Algeria is considered as a multilingual country having Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) / Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) /Berber/ French, the use of CS can be done

through the alternation of MSA/AA (diglossic CS), MSA/French, Berber/MSA and Berber/French, but this is not our interest in this study.

Not having arrived at an agreement on the definition of CS and what it refers to, many linguists suggest a definition and conception according to their field of inquiry. Indeed, the definition of CS varies from one linguist to another, and thus this study will present several definitions and perspectives that were set by many sociolinguists.

1.2. Various Perspectives on CS

CS is a widespread phenomenon in bilingual speech and the first scholar who introduces the term CS is Hans Vogt (1954) in his work done in *Language Contacts* (Auer, 1998; Nilep, 2006).

Gardner-Chloros explains that in order to define CS, it is important to understand what the code means, as she says (2009: 11): “code is understood as a neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles/registers, etc”. She explains (1991) that CS may refer to the alternation between languages, dialects, and styles as the term code is used to include the whole. Jakobson (1990: 1) states in this vein that:

The notion of alternation between varieties is not conceived of in a homogeneous way, but, rather, that different investigators examine the phenomenon in ways that elude the possibility of providing a definition of code-switching that all will subscribe to.

However, in this research work, the term code refers to two different languages genetically unrelated and CS refers to the use of these (Algerian Arabic and French) within the same conversation. Gumperz (1982: 59) refers to the term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Later on, other researchers define CS as a linguistic phenomenon in which speakers shift

from one language or language variety to another within the same conversation; Myers-Scotton (1993b:1) mentions that code switching consists of “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”. Subsequently, Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) state that CS occurs when bilinguals alternate, in the same conversation, between languages. Therefore, the definition of CS is differently viewed as it may include the shift either between two different varieties or two different languages.

Auer (1995), too, uses the term code-alternation to refer to CS, but it is used to a certain extent in that sense. Alternation in CS refers to the long instances of one language or variety that were substituted for other ones from other varieties and languages. On the other hand, insertion in CS occurs when just one lexical element of one language is found inserted within a long stretch of another language. Therefore, Muysken (1995, 2000) argues that the two concepts are distinct although they are interrelated. Moreover, CS is also viewed as intersentential switching as opposed to intrasentential CS, also referred to as code mixing (CM) (Kachru 1983; Singh 1985; Sridhar & Sridhar 1980).

As far as the structural constraints are concerned, they can well make the intrasentential vs. Intersentential distinction. The term intrasentential is used to refer to switching within one sentence, in contrast with the term intersentential where switches are used between sentences as the relevant unit for analysis. Still, other scholars like Muysken (2000) prefer not to use the term CS as a cover term as they think that switching is not appropriate and it means alternation, e.g., the case of switching between utterances or turns, but not in the case of an insertion. They rather prefer, to use ‘code mixing’ as a term to cover both intrasentential CS and borrowing (e.g., Pfaff, 1979).

Another distinction is made by Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1980) between CS and borrowing. They argue that this issue is more complex than the distinction between CS and code mixing.

Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7) predict that “perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research is code-switching”. As a matter of fact, a great deal of research on bilingualism focuses on this topic since there is much evidence that bilinguals tend to codeswitch between their languages during the conversation. In fact, various definitions of CS have been discussed by a number of scholars, each with their own views since CS at an early stage did not have a common meaning.

The earliest studies of CS presumed that non-systematic switching was an indicator of language confusion (e.g., Labov 1971), and it was widely stigmatized in a bilingual community since it was considered as an imperfect way of speaking, and lack of mastery in both languages. Besides, CS indicated a deficiency of language knowledge in bilingual speakers and lack of competence in speaking one or both languages. Contrary to the first assumption this concept as well as its definitions has gained great advance through time as it began as an aberrant and random behaviour, and that it was not worth investigating (Bloomfield, 1927: 395).

However, the first one to claim that language mixing should not be regarded as a deficit, and hence should no longer be stigmatized is the psycholinguist Gumperz, (1976, 1982). Besides this, recent studies (Auer 1998; Gumperz, 1982; Li & Milroy, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Shin & Milroy, 2000) have shown that the occurrence of CS is due to certain social, linguistic and/or psychological factors. Hudson (1996: 53) defines CS as the “inevitable consequences of bilingualism, as anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances.” Crystal (1995) states that: “Code or language switching occurs when an individual, who is bilingual, alternates between two languages during his or her speech with another bilingual person.”

Additionally, the frequent use of CS often reflects the social or cultural identities of the bilinguals (Foley, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Siegel, 1995). Besides the sociolinguistic approach, another approach to code switching has been discussed by Clyne in a number of his works (e.g. Clyne 1967, 1991, 2003).

According to him, CS is “psychologically motivated” and can be studied from the psycholinguistic point of view since bilinguals frequently codeswitch not by their intentions, but rather by certain specific conditions of language production related to the cognitive processes happening in the speaker’s mind. In this case, CS is not discussed through the use of language, i.e., sociolinguistically and not through its structural or grammatical approach, but instead the focus of discussion is on the processes taking place in the speaker’s brain.

As we can notice here, both interests of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches target the speaker who uses different codes, whereas the structural one focuses on the language systems. Vogt (1954) also considers codes switching as a psychological phenomenon whose causes are “obviously extralinguistic”.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish two types of CS, ‘situational CS’ and ‘metaphorical CS’. The former refers to a change in the situation, for instance, a change of setting or when a young speaker joins the conversation. On the other hand, the latter is often used to achieve special communicative effects or conversational strategy as to enhance speech acts such as requests, denials, topic shifts, or clarifications. Gumperz (1982) later on names “metaphorical code-switching” as “conversational code-switching”.

Another important study that investigates CS is the approach of Auer (1984), which criticized the interactional paradigm of Gumperz. Auer argues that the functions of CS suggested by Gumperz are inefficiently defined because linguistic structures and pragmatic or conversational functions are not distinguished. He also emphasizes that speakers do not produce their utterances based on the given situation as suggested by Gumperz, but rather create situations through interactions. Later on, Myers-Scotton (1993: 4) studies this linguistic phenomenon and defines it as follows:

Code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation.

She (1993) also focuses on the social motivation of CS and shows that this linguistic phenomenon can occur either as ‘unmarked’ or ‘marked’ choice of language. By these two concepts, she refers to the way linguistic choices are selected in a speech community. For instance, Myers-Scotton views that the unmarked code is expected by the audience and that a speaker uses a particular code under certain specific social and situational factors of the speech community. However, the marked code occurs when the shift from one code to another is unexpected and does not take into consideration any social or linguistic factors.

Myers-Scotton states the effectiveness of CS through the existence of social Rights and Obligations (RO) in interactions (in East Africa) and suggests that linguistic choices can be explained in terms of speaker’s motivation. According to her, a speaker is a social member of his multilingual speech community and has the capacity to select the right code rather than the other and is conscious about the underlying set of rules that determine his choice. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (1993: 88) states that: “As speakers come to recognize the different RO sets possible in their community, they develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets”. In recent article (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001), Myers-Scotton develops her Markedness model into a “Rational Choice Model”, based on available resources other than the social context and situational factors. She regards the speakers’ experiences of linguistic choice and rationality as both a mechanism and an explanation of CS.

In fact, this Rational Choice Model aims at considering the speakers’ own ‘subjective motivations and their objective opportunities’ (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001: 5) in their language choice. This model assumes that speaker’s choice of one language over another is an individual decision which is rationally based (Ibid: 5).

Moreover, Wardhaugh (1998) defines the use of CS as conversational strategies to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke

interpersonal relation with their right and obligations. The psycholinguist Grosjean states that CS is regarded as a complete switch from one language to another, either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence (1998: 137). He argues that the two languages are used in the case where a bilingual is speaking with other bilingual. Nevertheless, if a bilingual is speaking to a monolingual, the state of activation of the two languages will differ. As Wardhaugh (2008: 119) states:

In their everyday lives, bilinguals find themselves at various points along a situational continuum which induce different language modes. At one end of the continuum, bilinguals are in a totally monolingual mode in that they are speaking (or writing) to monolinguals of one or the other of the languages. At the other end of the continuum, they find themselves in a bilingual language mode, which means that they are communicating with bilinguals who share their two languages and with whom they normally mix languages.

Grosjean, consequently, names the two languages used in a bilingual conversation as ‘the base language’ and ‘the guest language’. The former refers to the language which receives (recipient) foreign components, word or sentence; from another language which refers in turn to the latter. He (2008) also proposes the ‘language mode’ by which he refers to the way bilinguals select their languages in specific contexts, and then to use one or two of them. In this respect, Grosjean (2008: 36) says:

Language mode, which is the state of activation of the bilingual’s languages and language processing mechanisms at any given point in time, has a very real impact on the bilingual’s everyday behavior.

He adds that if speakers codeswitch in a monolingual context, this shift is unacceptable. But if they are in a bilingual situation, CS will be perfectly acceptable. In this respect, Grosjean (1998: 138) points out that “to have any chance of identifying interferences correctly one needs to be sure that the data collected come from a truly monolingual mode”. Thus, the way CS can be analysed depends on the language mode established between two speakers. In other words, the speaker has to know more about his listener/audience in order to

facilitate the selection of the right code, to better his conversation and to ensure the transmission of the message.

Scholars (Gumperz 1964b; Pfaff, 1979; Poplack 1980, 1988) investigate another approach of CS describing the structural and grammatical analysis of sentences containing elements from more than one language.

Poplack et al. (1988) and Weinreich (1966), for instance, notice that one way of using two languages together is to borrow a lexical item from the guest language and to integrate it phonologically and morphologically into the base language. For instance, an Arabic-French bilingual might say to another bilingual: rani mæʃi nrɛpōde ʔliha (I'm going to answer her). Here, the French verb "répondre" 'to answer' is adapted to Arabic morphology, i.e., it is pronounced as an Arabic word.

Another way of switching languages, the one that is of interest to us in the present research, is to shift totally to the guest language, and this is known as CS. In this case, we can often hear a bilingual saying: ana **j'ai l'habitude de faire** kulʃi hna (I have the habit of making everything here). In fact, in this sentence, the speaker starts his sentence in Arabic and codeswitches to French and then he finishes in Arabic. The use of the two languages here may be done under certain social, psychological or linguistic factors; however, these cannot be determined without investigation and without searching for the right reason.

By the 1970s, two main studies were conducted. First, research conducted on the syntactic phenomena of CS, focusing on the rules that determine how words are combined into phrases and sentences (Poplack, 1979). A second research was conducted on the sociolinguistic phenomena of CS focusing on the relation between linguistic variation and social structures (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

1.2.1. Sociolinguistic aspects of Code switching

In addition to the linguistic approach, another one was conducted on the sociolinguistic phenomenon of codeswitching focusing on the relation between linguistic variation and social structures (Blom & Gumperz, 1972), and as Wei (2002: 162), in this respect, says:

Traditionally, the sociolinguists examine key social variables such as the identity of the speaker (gender, age, occupation, etc.), his or her relations with the other participants in a conversation (e.g., whether they are friends or distant acquaintances), or the formality of the context.

1.2.1.1. Discourse Analysis and Code switching

Gumperz (1982: 89) argues that although CS is influenced by some syntactic constraints, “data suggest, however, that such syntactic constraints are in turn motivated by underlying factors which depend more on certain aspects of surface form or on pragmatics than on structural or grammatical characteristics”. In conversation, speakers are preoccupied with the communicative effect of their utterances and they attempt to convey metaphoric information about how their words should be interpreted (Gumperz, 1982: 61).

Blom & Gumperz (1972: 421) suggest that social factors restrict the selection of linguistic variables in speech events in the same way as syntactic environments determine grammatical variables. They introduce two different types of CS, as mentioned above: ‘metaphorical CS’, in which bilinguals switch from one language to another according to the topic of discussion, to quote, to give emphasis to their utterances or to joke (Auer, 1984: 4). This type of CS has also been described as an attempt by speakers to give ‘a certain socially pre-determined ‘flavour’ to their discourse’ (Esdahl, 2003: 78). The meaning conveyed by metaphorical CS is heavily dependent on the ‘societal evaluation’ of the various languages and whether they largely function as ‘we codes’ or ‘they codes’ (ibid: 78). ‘situational CS’ occurs where bilinguals change the code as a

result of changes in the situation. Yet, in his analysis of conversational CS, Gumperz (1982: 66) draws on the concept of identity and makes also a distinction between ‘we code’ and ‘they code’, the former usually denotes the use in family, home, and peer groups and implies values of solidarity. While, the latter denotes the dominant and more formal majority language, used adequately with strangers and outsiders to imply, rather, power and authority.

Moreover, Gumperz studies CS from an interactional perspective as he mentions the use of more than one language in the same interaction as a ‘communicative resource’ rather than a ‘communicative deficit’ (ibid: 89). Similar to other actions such as gestures or prosody, CS, therefore, functions as a meaningful signalling device helping speakers to convey meaning and listeners to understand the intended meaning (Shin & Milroy, 2000: 352).

Gumperz (ibid: 131) introduces the notion of CS practices in terms of ‘contextualization cues’; these are defined as ‘surface features of message form’ which act as “the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows”.

Because of several shortcomings of the main approaches employed in both Gumperz’s and Myers-Scotton’s work, other researchers focus on another approach in their analysis of bilingual interactions. Auer introduces a major theory that attempted to analyze the social implications behind the act of CS. The so-called *Conversational Analysis* (CA) emphasises on the ‘sequential implicativeness of language choice’ (Auer 1998: 162). The main interest of CA in comparison to the other approaches is that it does not examine CS in general, but it attributes to each occurrence different characteristics and considers it as unique.

Auer (1984: 3) argues against the use of extra-linguistic macro-social categories such as speaker’s identity, for example, age, gender, ethnicity etc, in the interpretation of bilingual conversations, and instead (ibid: 4) focuses on the

fact that language alternation must be investigated from an interactional perspective which should employ a Conversation Analysis. This approach denotes that the linguistic code selected by the speakers influences subsequent interactions and their linguistic choice. In addition to that, in the CA approach, there is no influence of the context, i.e., it is not given a priori, but it is rather created from the interaction and the interlocutors. Therefore, CA analyses each CS occurrence separately in terms of the different speakers participating in it. Three most significant aspects of the CA approach are mentioned by Wei, “relevance, consequentiality and balance between social structure and conversation structure” (Auer 1998: 162).

Scholars in favour of CA approach argue that it is not interested in general assumptions or guesses of the reasons for CS, but rather it investigates the specific reasons for which CS occurs in each case and it attempts to analyse it within the interaction. In other words, it attempts to attribute to each one its unique characteristic rather than attaching the same specific macro-social aspects to all of them.

Another theory, not less important than the previous one, introduced by Giles (1970) on the social implications of language choice and CS is the Accommodation Theory. Its main assumption relies on the fact that speakers change their code in order to be perceived in a more favourable way by their audience. Giles suggested that speakers tend to accommodate their language choice towards that of other people because they like them, or because they want to be liked by them or in order to please them, and they diverge from the code of people they dislike. Other reasons for the divergence are to emphasize distinctiveness or to shape addressee’s feelings (Romaine 1995: 162, Sachdev & Giles 2004: 358-9, Myers-Scotton 2006: 131). This theory tends to be similar to Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model since both of them emphasize the speakers’ intentions and goals. Speakers accommodate or diverge their codes according to the intentions they want to achieve. Notwithstanding, there should be other

reasons that lead speakers to converge or diverge in their linguistic choice from those of others that have not been taken into consideration by Giles.

The research investigates, mainly, occurrences of CS and how one or several languages function and are practiced. Therefore, one of the main issues that should be discussed when dealing with CS involves the functional and pragmatic aspects of its use. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is regarded by bilinguals as a sign of expressive and pragmatic abilities beyond those of monolingual speakers.

At first glance into our data, some switches are linguistically motivated since speakers switch to French when they lack an Algerian Arabic lexical item or the opposite when they lack a French lexical item. The former is frequently used by educated speakers and francophone ones. On the other hand, the latter is used by those speakers with less competence in French or the ones who prefer using their Algerian Arabic dialect. Some switches are usually, but not always, marked by pauses and hesitations.

The French idiomatic expression adds a loving tone to what has been said in Algerian Arabic and make the other participants laugh. When discussing communicative functions and the discourse function of CS Gumperz (1982: 144) suggests a list of situations created where bilinguals codeswitch to convey meaning as given below:

1. To appeal to the literate

This case occurs in Tlemcen speech community when the speaker starts his conversation or sentence in Algerian Arabic and then switches to French to attract the hearer's attention, especially when he is bilingual; e.g. *ħna li kæjən hædæk huwa **mais maintenant il faut que la personne soit diplomate*** 'we are naïve, now the one has to be diplomat.'

2. To appeal to the illiterate

This case occurs, as opposed to the previous one, in Tlemcen speech community when the speaker starts the conversation, sentence, in French and then he switches to Algerian Arabic translating the same utterance when he recognizes that the hearer does not understand, e.g. **ça dépend du jour** hi ja wənnhar ‘It depends on the day.’

3. To convey precise meaning

A third case occurs when the speaker says for example: **Deux pour le prix d’un, c’est-à-dire** hædæk li tɔʃri waħad tɔʃri zawdʒ ‘Two for the price of one, that is, instead of buying one you buy two.’

4. To ease communication, i.e., utilizing the shortest and the easiest route

This case occurs when the speaker wants to express his/her idea with a minimum of syllables that is ‘law of least effort’, as one says in French: rah **hyper-tendu** ‘He is hypertensive’ instead of: **La tension** reha t_sɛtlaʃlu in Algerian Arabic, and uses Algerian Arabic ri t_ssalli ‘She is doing her prayer.’ instead of **elle fait la prière** which contains five syllables in French as opposed to three in AA.

5. To negotiate with greater authority

Following these examples from everyday life, the speaker seeks to persuade or impose their views on others, ana rajit_s alik **et comme on dit il y a que les imbeciles qui ne changent pas d’avis.** ‘I’ve given you advice and as it is said only stubborn people never change their minds.’

6. To capture attention, i.e., stylistic, emphatic, emotional

Another case occurs in our speech community when the speaker starts in one language and then switches to another language to attract the audience's attention as in exclamatory tone, the rhythm is increasing, and loudness rises, e.g. rani ʔil nsaʔaf fik **et ben mince alors!** 'I'm tolerant with you... Damn it!'

7. To emphasize a point

This case is frequent when the speaker, for instance, says something in one language and wants to insist using the other language e.g. saħit_s **merci beaucoup.** 'Thank you too much.'

8. To communicate more effectively

This case occurs when the speaker considers the use of one of the two languages to be more effective than the other one e.g. hædik ʔla dwæm taʔmal l'avocat des pauvres. 'She always stands up for somebody.'

9. To identify with a particular group

This case happens when the speaker is educated and wants to show his mastery of French, e.g. smaʔt_s ʔæssəm ʔælət_s la commissariat! 'Have you heard what she said? The police station.' In this case, the speaker misuses the French article and it is noticed by a woman who wants to show her level of education through this remark.

10. To close the status gap

This case occurs when the speaker is a foreigner and does not know which of the two codes is appropriate, therefore he codeswitches.

11. To establish good will and support

In our speech community, a last case occurs when the speaker wants to create a sign or link of friendship or to maintain an affinity with someone saying for example: *ijla tahtaɣ ʃi hadɣa ɕa sera avec plaisir*. ‘If you need something it will be with pleasure.’

1.2.1.2. Reasons of Code switching

The study of language has a direct relation with social factors such as; age, gender, ethnic origin, educational level, social status and social class as well as sequencing of utterances, language planning, language attitudes, etc. In addition to these social features, we can mention psycholinguistic, linguistic and pragmatic ones.

In fact, there are multiple factors for which bilingual speakers find themselves socially, psychologically or linguistically conditioned to shift from one language to another and especially when they want to convey the exact meaning. Sociolinguistics deals with the relationship between the language and the context in which it is used (Holmes, 2001). Consequently, among the factors that may affect the way of speaking, we can mention social, linguistic and psychological ones. For instance, switching might occur because of lack of knowledge of words in the base language, i.e., the language the speaker is switching from (Grosjean, 1982). Spolsky (1998: 49) also summarizes some reasons that lead bilinguals to codeswitch:

For a bilingual, shifting for convenience [choosing the available word or phrase on the basis of easy availability] is commonly related to topics. Showing the effect of domain differences, a speaker’s vocabulary will develop differentially for different topics in the two languages. Thus, speakers of a language who have received advanced education in a professional field in a second language will usually not be able have the terms in their native language.

Crystal (1987) explains the possible sociolinguistic reasons for using CS such as the inability of the speaker to express himself/herself in one language as a result of emotional state, his desire to show integrity within a certain group, and to communicate his attitudes toward a listener. He lists six functions of CS including *quotation* meaning a codeswitched quote, *addressee specification* meaning a codeswitched message, *interjection* meaning a codeswitched interjection, *repetition* used to repeat what has just been said, *message qualification* to enhance what has just been said, *personification or objectification* meaning a codeswitched message to point out a personal idea or objective.

Gumperz (1982), too, considers the different uses of CS as special discourse strategies which bilinguals usually use for different purposes during their communications. To illustrate this in the Algerian society, we can give the example of native Arabic speakers who may consciously choose to insert French words into their utterances, in order to maintain their conversation and to transmit the meaning they want to convey.

(1) ʔælli ʔamlət_s lbarasjun t_saʔ **les ovaires** lbarəħ. ‘He told me that she had an operation of ovaries yesterday.’

Another case in which bilinguals might codeswitch from one language to another occurs when there are no exact words in one of the two languages. For example, the bilingual codeswitches from French to Algerian Arabic because there is lack of availability specific to religion domain, such as the French equivalent of the word /ʔaʃur/ ‘the day of Ashura’ saying:

(2) **Je donne l’argent** fəl ʔaʃur ‘I will give alms the day of Ashura’

Scholars have noted that the shift between languages can be rule-governed in the sense that syntactic rules and basic grammatical structure are typically well preserved. Gumperz (1982) supports the idea that CS is influenced by some

syntactic constraints and the same process tends to be different in different linguistic situations, i.e., the same rules apply in certain contexts and not others. He (1982: 89-90) writes:

Our data suggest, however, that such syntactic constraints are in turn motivated by underlying factors which depend more on certain aspects of surface form or on pragmatics than on structural or grammatical characteristics as such.

Bilinguals usually codeswitch because they think that some concepts are simply easier to express in one language than in another. In many contexts, CS is seen as the best way to facilitate communication and to overcome the lack of some lexical items or expressions in a language. CS can also be used for various sociolinguistic reasons: to show one's identity, to indicate solidarity with another speaker; for humour; to signal a change of attitude or relationship; or to include or exclude someone from the conversation, etc. However, CS may also occur in other cases: to continue in speech in case speakers are unable to express their thoughts. It can also occur in a variety of degrees, whether it is used at home with family and friends or with superiors at the workplace (Lipski, 1985: 23).

In certain communities, those with different ethnic groups, CS may be used to express solidarity and share relationships with groups of people from different ethnic groups. Holmes (2001: 35) mentions that "a speaker may...switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee."

In other cases, people tend to shift from one language to another to imply a specific social status or to be distinctive from other social statuses or even to belong to a certain social class. Additionally, Sgall, Hronek, Stich & Horecky (1992) argue that the linguistic behaviour of speakers depends on their relation to the audience, i.e., speakers may use a different linguistic code when communicating with relatives and close friends, but they switch in the presence of strangers. Moreover, CS has another effective function where the speaker codeswitches so as to amuse the hearer or to express approval or disapproval.

Besides, in cases where two codes, French as a formal code and AA as an informal one, participate in CS, speakers switch from one to the other in order to signal the status of their relation or the degree of formality or informality of the interaction. In the case of Algeria, Tlemcen speech community, there is no ethnicity, but rather, in some situations, speakers codeswitch and use particularly the French language on purpose so as to project themselves as classy or elitist. Auer (1998: 221) says that “Code-switching carries a hidden prestige which is made explicit by the attitudes.” Moreover, in a research conducted by Al khatib (2003), CS may also be used “to show power over less powerful.”

Myers-Scotton (1993b: 75) also claims, on the one hand, that the use of CS may be unconscious because speakers can use available languages without a real awareness to choose one in particular. She adds that speakers do not always use the unmarked choice. On the other hand, she mentions later on (1998:19) that within the Markedness Model, code choice is intentional in that it occurs to achieve specific social ends. Speakers select these choices with the expectations that the addressee will recognize a choice with a particular intention. The aim of the speaker under this model, as aforementioned, is to enhance the reward and to minimize the cost. Therefore, the goal of the speaker is to optimize any chances of gaining some form of reward from the interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 19); that is to say, speakers will choose one code over another because its use is more effective than the other one.

Bullock and Toribio (2009) state that CS, in general, can be influenced sociolinguistically by three types of factors:

1. Independent factors of certain speakers and the contexts can also affect the way people speak, e.g. Bourdieu (1991) describes the economic forces in certain circumstances as “market”. Overt prestige and covert prestige (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974).

2. Factors directly related to the speakers: the relationship of speakers, their social networks, their attitudes, their self-perception and the one of others. (Milroy and Gordon 2003).

3. Factors related to the conversations, i.e., where CS takes place and according to Auer (1998) CS is namely a conversational resource for speakers which may provide speakers with tools to structure their speech beyond the ones available to monolingual. Scholars tend to explain and set out the whole social factors affecting CS. However, there are many overlaps and interrelationship between the three sets of factors.

In fact, during any communicative speech event there are six elements or factors involved, according to Jakobson (1960: 353), which have to be taken into consideration to better understand the way bilinguals select their codes:

- Context: the social and physical aspects in which the messages interchangeably take place.
- Message: the subject or topic of the conversational event.
- Addresser: the person involved in sending the verbal message (sender)
- Addressee: the person on the receiving end of the event (receiver)
- Contact: the link and connection between sender and receiver through which the message is channelled.
- Code: common language or agreed upon code of communication between participants.



Figure 1.1. Jakobson's communication model (Jakobson 1960: 353)

Grosjean (1997: 227) tries to explain bilingualism in relation to certain social factors that may affect bilinguals, he states that:

[B]ilinguals find themselves in their everyday lives at various points along a situational continuum that induces different language modes. At one end of the continuum, bilinguals are in totally monolingual language mode, in that they are interacting with monolinguals of one-or the other-of the languages they know. At the other end of the continuum, bilinguals find themselves in

a bilingual language mode, in that they are communicating with bilinguals who share their two (or more) languages and with whom they normally mix languages (i.e., code-switch and borrow). These are endpoints, but bilinguals also find themselves at intermediary points, depending on such factors as who the interlocutors are, the topic of conversation, the setting, the reasons for exchange, and so forth.

Under the Markedness Model, the speaker in the interaction may accommodate his way of speaking, which language to use, according to the hearer, or may even use politeness strategies, or refrain from using them. The speaker will select his code depending on the strategy which will be the most optimal for him. This often means that the speaker needs to put a few combinations of choices together and to take all available evidence into account regarding the best possible strategy for the specific interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 20). For instance, when two speakers are arguing, then both may switch to the appropriate language so as to feel more confident and proficient in their argument and hence to minimize the costs of losing the argument and to obtain the rewards.

1.2.1.3. Sociolinguistic factors affecting Code switching

This section deals with issues most relevant to the study, such as the social factors that motivate a bilingual speaker to produce CS. Sometimes the use of CS is fluid, unmarked, and uneventful since it is perceived as the norm and where it is the exception it will be perceived as marked, purposeful. Bilinguals with negative and positive attitudes towards CS tend to use their languages differently.

i. Attitude towards Code switching

People have different attitudes towards CS, as those with neutral and positive attitudes regard it as a natural linguistic phenomenon used to convey messages. However, the ones with negative attitudes view it as a lack of knowledge or inability to speak two different languages properly (Coulmas 2005:

109). Furthermore, in the 1970's Gumperz explains that bilinguals use CS as a communicative strategy; therefore this linguistic behaviour starts to be acknowledged as an advantage.

However, CS may also have negative attitudes as it is viewed as a lack of competence in one of the two languages and that speakers are unable to continue the conversation in only one language. In a more specific context and in some bilingual communities the use of more than one language in the same conversation is often stigmatized especially when speaking to monolinguals. Nevertheless, these negative attitudes have changed mainly when CS starts to be considered as rule-governed and its use is mainly related to the strategy of communication.

ii. Factors Motivating Code switching

CS is an effective strategy and switches occur in daily conversations, especially in informal situations where speakers are, to a certain extent, free to express themselves the way they want. Basically, certain linguistic constraints and social aspects are usually the motivating factors in the bilingual acts of selecting a particular language, and hence CS. Linguistic factors refer to the grammatical structure and constraints of the languages used in CS. However, Gumperz (1982: 72) pointed out that “motivation for Code Switching seems to be stylistic and metaphorical rather than grammatical”.

On the other hand, contextualization factors are determinant elements for the choice of a particular language code rather than another. Blom and Gumperz (1972: 421) state that social events, defined in terms of participants, setting, and topic, “restrict the selection of linguistic variables” in a manner that is somewhat related to syntactic or semantic restrictions. In other words, in particular social situations, some linguistic forms may be more appropriate than others.

According to Scotton and Ury (1977), there are three main social arenas behind code choice and CS: identity, power, and transaction: ¹

1. Identity: the switch occurs to select the appropriate code according to the identity of the listener or to show one's identity.
2. Power: it depends on the power dynamic of the interaction, i.e., to show who is weak and who is powerful.
3. Transaction: CS occurs according to the purpose of the interaction mainly when speakers ignore the identity of their audience.

However, speakers might not be conscious about their linguistic behaviour since CS is, in some cases, perceived as a natural way of communicating. People have various intentions that lead them to codeswitch. Gumperz (1982: vii), for example, views CS as a discourse strategy when he says:

Detailed observation of verbal strategies revealed that an individual's choice of speech style has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories.

a) To reflect one's identity and social status

Language use plays an important role in understanding the norms of interaction (Gumperz, 1982). Gumperz also (ibid: 39) claims that "language differences serve primarily to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions". Bilinguals may use different languages in their conversation in a specific situation to imply a certain social status or to distinguish themselves from others. Therefore, switching from one language to another conveys certain meanings or attitudes of the speaker (Ibid: 62). Choice of code is widely determined by the identity of the participants McClure (1988). Subsequently, the debate continues to extend the understanding of the term (Auer, 1998). A set of publications appeared in the 1980s and 1990s, which expanded the concept of CS and Auer (1998:1) linked it to important

¹ Cited in Bassiouney, 2014: 62

“linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior”.

For bilinguals, the most significant intention is to identify themselves within a community. In this regard, Coulmas (2005: 121) states that CS can be “a way of creating a unique language variety suitable to express the dual identity of these groups”. On the other hand, speakers might tend to codeswitch when they want to express distance from somebody else. Furthermore, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 5) affirms that when participants of a specific community use two languages in the same conversation, it is because they are “expressing group identity”. Auer (2002) says that “Code-switching carries a hidden prestige which is made explicit by attitudes”.

Al Khatib (2003) too says that speakers may use CS “to show power over the less powerful”. According to Myers-scotton (1988), code choice is important to serve as a marker of group identity and by choosing a code the speaker can choose an identity. Furthermore, she argues that CS may be used to show solidarity, authority, or social status, and also for asserting a range of identities. For example, in Great Britain, the use of RP alludes to the status and education of speakers as belonging to the upper class.

b) To show solidarity

CS is used for more than a means of communication, thus balanced bilinguals and even dominant bilinguals in certain conversations adapt their way of speaking and select a language so as to create group membership. In this respect, Holmes (2013: 35) states that:

A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity within an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose.

Furthermore, Fishman (1965) highlights that group membership can have an influence on the language selection and can be associated with the linguistic choices that speakers make based on the people they talk to (for example, a Black

who prefers to use AAVE (African American Vernacular English) when speaking with other Black people.

c) Topic

Holmes (2000) mentions another factor leading bilinguals to shift from one language to another, and according to her, the topic is a major factor for which speakers codeswitch to express and transmit their ideas and thoughts. In this respect, she says that “people may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic”. People sometimes prefer to talk about a particular topic in one language rather than in another. For instance, often a speaker may feel free and more comfortable to express his/her emotions and feelings in another language the mother tongue. The topic as a social factor indirectly influences speaker’s preference in one linguistic system when addressing certain topics in conversation. As Fishman (1965: 92) says, “the implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts”.

As aforementioned, Blom and Gumperz (1972: 474-475) refer to this case as metaphorical switching. They found that the official code was supposed to be used in formal contexts and the local code was used when speakers wanted to express their local identities, values, and attitudes. In other words, Blom and Gumperz argue that a majority language can serve as a ‘they’ code, used to imply authority and objectivity whereas a minority language serves as a ‘we’ code to imply privacy and subjectivity (Gumperz 1982). In our community, the topic of conversation is fundamental and plays an important role in the selection of the language: religious conversations are most of the time carried in Arabic whereas medical ones are carried in French or both.

Undeniably, in Algeria, the influence of the topic on the conversation is frequently noticed, especially when speakers discuss and exchange views on the religion where the Arabic language is favoured. On the other hand, scientific and medical topics are rather discussed and debated in the French language because

some concepts may be well expressed in the French language rather than in Arabic and sometimes speakers do not have in their repertoire words in a given language and this lead them to codeswitch.

d) Affection

CS can be used by speakers to express certain feelings and attitudes. Speakers may switch codes when expressing happiness, excitement, anger, sadness, and other feelings. Holmes (2000) also illustrates a case of CS to express affection:

In the town of Oberwart two little Hungarian-speaking children were playing in the woodshed and knocked over a carefully stacked pile of firewood. Their grandfather walked in and said in Hungarian. ‘Szo! Ide dzuni! Jeszt jeramunvi mind e kettutoko, no hat akkor!’ “Well Come Here! Put All This Away, Both of you, Well Now.” When they did not respond quickly enough he switched to German: ‘Kum her!’[Come Here]”

In Oberwart a switch to German changes the mood and adds force to a statement since the grandfather, used the German language to express a more straight and angry attitude to express his irritation of the behaviour of the children. In Haiti, patois (French Creole) is used to express intimacy, Standard French to create social distance. In Paraguay, people use Guarani for jokes and insults rather than Spanish.

e) To persuade Audience and to be emphatic

CS is often used in a rhetoric speech on purpose to attract the attention of the listener or to persuade an audience. Another case where speakers resort to CS is for example when they are talking using a language that is not their native language and suddenly they want to be emphatic about an idea, and they either intentionally or unintentionally codeswitch from that language to their mother tongue. The phatic function can be observed in greetings and casual discussions on the weather, particularly with strangers as shown in the example:

(3) lhæɫ rah mliħ **il fait très beau** ‘The weather is nice. The weather's fine’

f) Interjection

Interjections consist of words or expressions used or inserted into a sentence to convey surprise, strong emotion or to gain attention. In our case this can be illustrated by the following French words used with a different rate: bon!, ah bon!, eh bien!, comment!, bien!, zut!, mince!, diable!, enfin!, bref!, voyons!, tant pis!

g) To quote fixed patterns

A speaker codeswitches to quote a famous expression, proverb or saying of some well-known figures. As illustrated in Tlemcen speech community, these French sayings, expressions are often used as follows to express certain thoughts:

(3) kima jʔul lgawri: **les bons comptes font les bons amis**

‘As the French says: Good accounts make good friends.’

(4) kima jʔul lgawri: **mieux vaut tard que jamais**

‘As the French sasy: Better late than never.’

(5) kima jʔul lgawri: **bon débarras**

‘As the French says: Good riddance!’

iii. Diglossic Code switching

Diglossia is a linguistic phenomenon that is socially constrained as opposed to CS which is regarded as an individual product where bilinguals have the freedom to choose and select their codes (Bullock and Toribio, 2000: 6).

Charles Ferguson is most often known as the first to have introduced the notion of classical diglossia (1959) in sociolinguistics as the use of a “high” (H) and a “low” (L) variety of the same language for two different sets of functions (1964 [1959]). In 1930 the French term diglossie was introduced by the Arabist William Marçais (Marçais, 1930). The gist of his widely influential essay was to demonstrate that the choice of which language would be used is not free; in

contrast, it is governed by social rules and the idea of H and L varieties can be best explained through the use of distinct observable linguistic codes according to contexts. Moreover, the use of the two varieties in certain speech communities concerned the strict complementary distribution of formal vs. informal usage. As Ferguson (1959: 336) says;

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is very divergent highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.

However, in certain cases of diglossic settings, this complementary distribution of the two codes is not respected for some communicative strategy. As mentioned by Sayahi (2014: 82) “Ferguson (1959a) argued that sermons in mosques are a typical context where the H variety would be used exclusively, but in reality, this is rarely the case.” He (ibid) disagrees with Ferguson and argues as follows:

In the Friday sermon, the Imam addresses both theological issues and aspects of daily life. At the linguistic level, the tendency is to read aloud or recite excerpts from the religious texts, especially the Quran and the Hadith, which formally anchor the treatment of the issue before switching to colloquial Arabic in order to explain and elaborate it.

Another case of Algerian diglossic CS occurs when a political leader uses Modern Standard Arabic to emphasize his social status and his role as an educated politician. Standard Arabic reflects the social distance and the referential information of the ‘business world’. He may use his dialect to explain and transmit the message; the dialect can also be used as a symbol of solidarity and to express friendly feelings. As far as Algeria is concerned, the high variety is Modern Standard Arabic and L is the spoken Algerian Arabic (AA), used in informal settings, e.g. at home, street, market, and sometimes on radio and TV, whereas the former is used in formal settings such as, sermons in mosque,

political speeches, university lectures, and poetry. Indeed, Standard Arabic is recognized in formal situations and it is highly esteemed by people because of its inherited status from the Quran and Classical Arabic, whereas the Vernacular variety is not prestigious (Sridhar, 1996: 55).

Moreover, other linguists like Fishman who (1972 in Sridhar, 1996: 55) has extended the term diglossia to include two different languages and bilingual communities. In other words, H and L varieties can also occur in bilingual speech communities. For instance, in Zaire, the French language is regarded as a prestigious language as it is used in domains such as education, law, and administration whereas Lingala and other native languages on the other hand are less prestigious and thus are considered as low prestige languages.

The occurrence of diglossic CS refers to the juxtaposition of both H and L varieties in the same speech or conversation and it differs from Ferguson's functional separation of the two codes. In practice, especially in the Arab world, both varieties may overlap within the same context, leading to diglossic CS. As Sayahi (2014: 80) states:

Even in such domains where MSA is expected to be the unmarked choice, once speakers move from a read-aloud mode to a free communication mode, the switch to the vernacular becomes very probable. Inter-sentential code-switching between the two takes place as speakers resort to the vernacular to elaborate on what they had just read in a highly formulaic language as will be shown ...in the case of religious sermons.

Besides, studies have shown that the structural level of diglossic CS between MSA and its vernacular remains governed by the same principles as the one governing bilingual CS. (Sayahi, 2014: 82). Myers Scotton (1986) concludes that diglossic CS is similar to bilingual CS on several levels. She argues that the only difference between the two is that diglossic CS occurs as an overall unmarked choice as is expected in cases of CS where there is a marked choice.

1.2.2. Pragmatic and functional aspects of Code switching

As the main concern of this work is to analyse communicative functions and the speaker's intent of individual instances of CS in conversation, pragmatic aspects of CS are central to be investigated.

Some scholars, like Gumperz, put their focus on CS away from its structural aspects. Gumperz (1982: 90) then suggests that constraints on where CS can occur depend on pragmatic aspects rather than on grammar by saying: "Switching is blocked where it violates the speaker's feeling for what on syntactic or semantic grounds must be regarded as a single unit". This method of pragmatics involves studying actual language in use, especially when sentences are, to a certain extent, ambiguous. Pragmatics is studied to understand and explore speakers' implying and how meaning is conveyed in interaction. The early study of pragmatics goes back to the 1930's where Morris (1938), Carnap and Peirce devoted their works to this field during the 'philosophy of language'. Influenced by Peirce, Morris (1938: 6-7) divided semiotics into three parts: the first is Syntax which studies the formal relation of signs with each other. Second, semantics focuses on signs and to what they refer and third pragmatics which relates signs to their users and interpreters. Carnap (1942), then, classifies them in terms of their level of abstractness, that is; the syntax is the most abstract and followed by semantics and then pragmatics at the end.

Bilingual speakers codeswitch in various ways for several purposes, and to select one code over another is not just a matter of social identities and social factors influencing (Blom and Gumperz 1972) but rather a means to convey intentionality, speakers want to alternate languages to "...convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 57). These alternations are termed by Gumperz himself as 'discourse strategies' (1982). Consequently, sometimes people are not actually conditioned by social factors, age, level of education, gender, origin, but because of other factors linked to socio-pragmatic functions like showing off, showing solidarity and power.

As far as the socio-pragmatic competence of CS is concerned, Poplack (1985) mentions that “true” CS is void of pragmatic significance. As opposed to this McConvell (1988) proposes a linguistic or social meaning to each case. Another view in between these two positions is the one of Gumperz (1982) who argues that not because CS conveys information that every switch can be assigned a single meaning. In this section, CS is studied in relation to the contexts and situations where it is used. For instance, people may identify the relationship that becomes established in a community between a linguistic variety and who uses the variety, and where and how it is used. According to Meisel (1994: 415), bilinguals should be competent in their languages, both grammatically and pragmatically as he says, in this regard:

Code-switching is the ability to select the language according to the interlocutor, the situational context, the topic of conversation, and so forth, and to change languages within an interactional sequence in accordance with sociolinguistic rules and without violating specific grammatical constraints.

Along with the Gumperz’s explanation of CS as being a contextualization cue, Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1999: 1260) is greatly determined by Rational Choice Models which was explained by Elster (1989: 22) as follows: “When faced with several courses of action, people usually do what they believe is likely to have the best overall outcome”

Leech (2014) takes the example of *the pragmatic of politeness* and explains that pragmalinguistic politeness, as opposed to sociopragmatic politeness, is determined on the basis of the meaning of the utterance neglecting the context where it occurs. On the other hand, sociopragmatic politeness is a matter of judging politeness in context. In this respect, he illustrates the point (2014: 17) saying:

Consider the case where A has lent B something of little value—say, a pen to write a signature—and the contrasting case where A has lent B something of great value—say, a holiday home where B’s family can stay for a month. In the former case, *Thanks* would be considered an adequate expression of gratitude, whereas in the latter it would not. By contrast, in the same case

Thank you very much indeed would be considered overpolite in the former case, but not so in the latter case.

‘Thanks’ is somewhat less polite than Thanks a lot, ‘Thanks a lot’ is somewhat less polite than ‘Thank you very much’. Certainly, this occurs in our speech community when people say *saħit_s* ‘Thanks’ which is less polite than *saħit_s merci beaucoup* or *merci beaucoup lah jaħafdak* ‘Thank you very much’. However, sociopragmatically, in some contexts, even ‘Thank you very much’ can be used impolitely when it is intended ironically, e.g. a complaint against someone who injures somebody’s feelings or who caused offense, for instance when someone says to another: *makunt_ʃ ħasbək égoïste*; the other one may reply ironically saying: *saħħit_s merci beaucoup* ‘Thank you very much’, or *saħħit_s c’est gentil* ‘Thank you it’s very kind’. To sum up, if we consider the sentence ‘Thank you’, semantically, it amounts to an expression of gratitude and when we add ‘very much’, an intensification of meaning is expressed; therefore, linguistically and semantically, the meaning of ‘Thank you very much’ is more polite than that of ‘Thank you’ which tends not to be the case sociopragmatically.

CS is seen from another perspective, as a complex phenomenon that should distinguish it from others.

1.2.3. Psycholinguistic aspects of Code switching

Three types of bilingualism are classified according to Weinreich (1953/1968) which are related to the way bilinguals store languages in their brains:

1. Coordinate bilingual: the speaker has acquired two languages in two separate contexts and the words are stored separately.
2. Compound bilingual: the speaker has acquired two languages in the same context. In this case, a word has a single concept, but two different labels from each language.

3. Subordinate bilingual: the speaker has acquired a language first and another language is interpreted through the stronger language.

Vogt (1954: 368) mentions for the first time “code-switching” and in this respect, he suggests that “Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic”. Green’s (1986/2000) model accounts for both behaviours of normal bilinguals and pathological ones. He argues that the language selected depends on such factors as the amount of contact with the language activated, the level of proficiency of the bilinguals, the way of their instruction, and age of acquisition. In other words, if a bilingual uses a language, the latter is selected and the other one is inhibited.

Clyne (1991: 193) argues that bilinguals are “psycholinguistically motivated” to codeswitch because of certain trigger words which he defines as “words at the intersection of two language systems, which, consequently, may cause speakers to lose their linguistic bearings and continue the sentence in the other language.”, i.e., these words may consequently cause speakers to lose their first linguistic items, the ones which come first to mind, and continue the sentence in the other language since these trigger words are similar in, and belong to, both languages of bilingual speech communities. Accordingly, Clyne’s hypothesis of triggering (1980-2003) tends to facilitate bilinguals’ speech and to smooth and soften CS, i.e.; Clyne’s approach claims that triggering is the central notion to CS. That is triggering can cause bilingual speakers to switch between their languages. He also distinguishes between externally and internally conditioned CS. The former CS depends on external factors, such as setting, participants or topic, whereas the latter refers to CS as a useful term to describe other types of codeswitches that are determined psycho-linguistically.

Myers-Scotton (1993) also argues that CS helps bilinguals enhance the flexibility of expression. Her Markedness Model also considers speakers’ socio-

psychological motivations when they engage in the linguistic behaviour of CS. The model is based upon a common theme of disciplines including the sociology of language, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and social anthropology (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 75). The main purpose, here, is that a speaker who is engaged in a conversation “knows” at some level that they enter into a conversation with similar expectations, whether about unmarked code choices or about unmarked communicative intentions (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 75). The Model emphasizes that a speaker is a creative actor and that linguistic choices are accomplishing more than just conveying referential meaning.

1.2.4. Linguistic aspects of Code switching

CS has been studied since the 1950s. Although, early studies reported upon it rather negatively, later on, other works have led most researchers to agree that CS has an important role in bilingualism rather than being just a random, stigmatized phenomenon. During the 1950s and 1960s, the interest of CS was merely linguistic as it was based on the language structure of the utterance.

Although the present work does not focus on the linguistic approach to CS, we feel it necessary to take an overview about it in this section to show the way certain structural theories apply in instances of AA/ French codeswitching.

1.2.4.1. Code switching Theories

CS has long been investigated by scholars who focus on its structure description and analysis. They aim at providing models and theories to see whether there are grammatical rules for CS or not and to identify constraints on where CS can occur in a particular sentence.

i. The free-morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint

CS was investigated from a syntactic point of view, focusing on the rules that determine how words are combined into phrases and sentences (Poplack, 1979). In this regard, researchers have attempted to establish a universal syntactic

constraints theory of CS such as the free morpheme constraint (Poplack, 1980), the government constraint (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986), and the Minimalist approach (MacSwan, 2000).

Poplack developed two constraints on the basis of English-Spanish data gathered from Puerto Rican speakers. She (1980) suggests that two syntactic constraints govern CS: *the free-morpheme constraint* and *the equivalence constraint*. The free morpheme constraint states that switches are restricted and a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme, as in ‘flipeando’, but not in ‘runeando’ (Clyne, 2000). There are many examples with the free morpheme constraint in AA and most of them involve French verb stems inflected with AA inflections as follows:

(6) nrediʒiwlu le memoir t_{sa}ʔu

‘We will write to him his draft’

(7) n-rekuper-ih

‘I will get it back’

The second constraint is the equivalence constraint which predicts that switching is free to occur only where elements of both languages are equivalent, that is, they continue each other in surface trees (Poplack, 1980). Therefore, the juxtaposition of the lexical elements do not violate a syntactic rule of any of the languages and these two languages share the same surface structure, as there are points where CS is acceptable. In this respect, she (1980: 586) says:

Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other.

Poplack argues that this equivalence constraint can function in the use of various languages. In the structural order of AA, the verb may precede or follow the subject, but in French the verb must follow the subject. The following example illustrates the case of the equivalent constraint taken from the data of the present work AA/French CS:

(8) Je pense que ħfad l**cour** lbarəħ

‘I think that he learned the lecture yesterday.’

(9) ʃrits **une maison** tħamma? **avec un jardin**

‘I bought a house that gets you crazy with a garden.’

The structure and word order of this sentence (9) follows Algerian Arabic (Tlemcen) since it is the base language. This case, **une maison** tħamma? ‘a house that gets you crazy’, contradicts with Pfaff’s claim (1979: 306) where the switch “... must match the surface word order of both languages of the adjective and the language of the head noun”. The French word order is that the adjective precedes the noun (Une belle maison), but here it is not the case. Subsequently, Poplack (1993: 282) describes *Smooth CS* as a ‘real’ or ‘true’ CS at equivalent sites as “the only mechanism which does not involve insertion of material from one language into the sentence of another”

ii. The Functional Head Constraint

Belazi et al, suggest that f-selection, a special relation between a functional head and its complement, is one member of a set of *feature-checking processes*. Belazi et al (1994) also state that the relevant constraints on CS should be formulated in hierarchical terms and should exploit distinctions and relations already present in the grammar. Therefore, they proposed *The Functional Head Constraint* (FHC).

The FHC predicts the role of functional categories in CS. “Language feature²” does not allow a switch if it is ungrammatical, i.e., a functional head requires that the language feature of its complement must match its own corresponding feature. If the features do not agree, then the code switch is blocked and the utterance does not occur. According to FHC, a switch between a functional head (i.e., Determiner, Inflection, Complementizer, Quantifier, and Negation) and its complement (e.g. Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, and Inflection Phrase) is not permitted as cited in Ouahmiche (2013: 64). To illustrate we provide the following sentence:

(10) Algerian Arabic-French

* ana ma l'écrite-ʃ.

1sg neg 3sg-V- neg

I do not it write not ('I do not write it')

According to the Functional Head Constraint theory, switching at a DET and its complement is not permitted. This should apply to both demonstrative and definite determiners, as both are heads. This is seen in the following two examples:

(11) hæd **façon** 'This way'

(12) **Cette** triʔ 'This road'

Moreover, even the Free Morpheme Constraint Poplack's (1980) can be subsumed under the Functional Head Constraint if inflectional morphemes are treated as functional heads. Belazi et al (1994: 231). To illustrate this analysis, we provide that in the Algerian Arabic sentence ʃrit maʃina-s, bought-I maʃina-PL 'I bought machines', the Algerian Arabic word maʃina “machine” cannot occur with the French plural-s as switching between the French inflectional morpheme-s, a bound morpheme, and its head, ‘machine’, is

² “The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head”. (Belazi et al 1994: 228)

unacceptable since this French inflectional –s for the plural form is not cliticized with Arabic nouns in the Algerian Arabic. Instead, usually speakers may say [ʃrit_s maʃinæt_s] using the Arabic inflectional morpheme [æt_s] {ات}.

The following examples indicate that only adapted French words can be used with the Algerian Arabic bound morpheme as in [telefonit_s] ‘I phoned’; this word is composed of the French stem taken from the verb ‘téléphoner’ and the Algerian Arabic bound morpheme, a suffix refers to the first person singular, ‘ت’ [t_s]. Even in the noun [taburijjæt_s] ‘stool’, the lexical word is formed with the French stem ‘tabouret’ and the Algerian Arabic bound morpheme, a suffix refers to the plural form, [æt_s] {ات}. Accordingly, these words are regarded as *well-formed* according to Hamers and Blanc (2000: 261). However, this rule is not applied to all French words, especially those which are not integrated phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically, e.g. we do not say in Algerian Arabic [lavet_s] ‘I washed’ or [kwijæræt_s] ‘spoons’. In fact, most of the French words used in Algerian Arabic have been borrowed in Tlemcenian dialect by necessity, i.e., verbs, and nouns that were not in Algerian Arabic e.g [dimarit_s] ‘to start’ were not used in this speech community, just because it came to Algerian Arabic with the concept related to cars or engines made by the French e.g [trakturæt_s]. So, there was no reason for those Algerians to drop the Arabic verb [χsal_s] and replace it with [lavet_s].

Moreover, inflections of singular nouns into plural occur when nouns inflect according to various ‘frames’ called in Modern Standard Arabic ‘*awzan*’. However, there are other forms, which are irregular, what we call in Arabic ‘*dʒamʕ taksir*’. In fact, many borrowed words form their plural according to Arabic morphological frames. As an illustration, we provide the following list:

Table 1.1. Plural form of French borrowings according to MSA morphology

French word	Transcription	Plural in fem. {-æt _s }	English gloss
Stylo	stilo	stilojæt _s	Pen
Bracelet	brasle	braslijæt _s	Bracelet
Loto	loto	lotojæt _s /lwata	Car
Manteau	māto	mātojæt _s	Coat
Tabouret	taboure	tabourijæt _s	Stool
Villa	vila	vilæt _s	Villa
Tableau	tablo	tablojæt _s	Board
Machine	maʃin	mæʃinæt _s	Machine
Pièce	pjæs	pjæsæt _s	Part (Engine)
Rideau	rido	ridojæt _s	Curtain
Calendrier	kalēdrije	kalēdrijæt _s	calendar
Tapis	tapi	tapijæt _s	Carpet
Marteau	marto	martojæt _s	Hammer

As shown above in the table, borrowings are somewhat moulded in the morphophonological system of Arabic; that is, the pronunciation of French loans is altered to fit the Arabic morphological patterns. The Arabic plural is then formed by adding the Arabic feminine suffix morpheme {-æt_s} to French transcribed-words ending with a consonant as in [maʃinæt_s], and {jæt_s} to French transcribed-words ending with a vowel, as in [stilojæt_s].

iii. The Markedness Model

Another issue of great importance which has gained significant attention is whether one of the two languages used in CS has a structural dominance over the

other one. Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) introduces the notions of ‘matrix language’ and ‘embedded language’ within the so-called Matrix Language Frame Model where the two participating languages are in an asymmetrical relationship, one being the matrix language (ML) and the other one as embedded in the base language. Moreover, this model concerns only and investigates intrasentential CS because intersentential CS occurs only as full sentences in each language.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) also mentions the notion of *congruence* within the Matrix Language Frame. She argues that the Matrix language provides a certain word order of the sentence called “the Morpheme Order Principle” and the grammatical frame called “the System Morpheme Principle”. On the other hand, the Embedded Language provides that the content morphemes are adequately congruent with the Matrix Language. To illustrate the function of ML in certain cases is not easy, especially where the surface structure follows the rules of a particular language, but the structure of the lexical meaning belongs to another, as observed in the following sentence where the speaker uses an utterance entirely in French. The morphosyntactic structure of the sentence is AA makkænʃ **problème** and because the French well-formed construction is normally as follows: “Il n’ ya pas de problème”.

(13) pa problem 'There's no problem.'

However, the notion of congruence still remains unclear and needs further development for making it sufficient to allow mixing. Consequently, Myers-Scotton has developed a set of other more helpful principles to explain this model. The combination of these principles may be too complex and descriptive; however, the MLF model remains one of the most effective CS theoretical developments.

Scholars have also focused on the social motivations, attitudes and social correlates of CS. Within this perspective, many theories and models have been proposed and among them the most significant one which is the Markedness

Model of Myers-Scotton which focuses on the social indexical motivation for CS. This model refers to the choice of one linguistic variety over another. The Markedness Model uses the marked versus unmarked distinction as a theoretical construct to explain the social and psychological motivations for making one code choice over another. Therefore, all people have the competence to access linguistic codes in these terms (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 6). Likewise, bilinguals have the possibility to choose what may be considered as a marked choice to convey certain messages of intentionality and unmarked choice as it conveys no surprise because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship (Myers-scotton 1998: 4). Besides, in the case of the Markedness Model, the main premise is *negotiation*, which is summarized in her principle (Myers-Scotton 1998: 21) which states the following:

Choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange.

According to Myers-Scotton (1998: 18), the Markedness Model mentions that individuals have the ability to notice that there are relationships that become established in a community between a linguistic variety and those who use it, especially when an individual selects a language over another. Additionally, the Markedness Model is based on the premise that all speakers possess an innate ‘markedness evaluator’ which enables them to evaluate which of the two codes can be used as marked or unmarked in any given conversation. She adds (1998: 18), in this respect, that speakers are, then, able to create their conversational contributions with their addressees in mind, as well as base their particular conversational patterns that are associated with a specific social group of speakers. In other words, Myers-Scotton (2006: 159-61) considers the use of CS as a negotiation for solidarity and power.

Myers-Scotton, (1998: 5) argues that what community norms would predict is unmarked and what they would not predict is marked. For her (1993b: 75),

markedness has a normative basis within the community, and therefore speakers also know the consequences of making a marked or unexpected choice. In other words, people know the importance of markedness and consider the linguistic codes available for any interactions and they will choose their codes based on the person and/or the relationships which they wish to have in place.

Furthermore, the Markedness Model is affected by the work of Jon Elster (1989), the philosopher who argues that individual activities are filtered by two distinct processes before they happen. During the first filter, the speaker's opportunity set is formed. The second filter makes the moment in time where the individual consciously selects between various options. Myers-Scotton (1998: 22) states that all speakers possess a 'markedness evaluator' that includes a cognitive capacity to assess markedness. To be able to conceptualise markedness, speakers have to develop two abilities:

1- The ability to recognize that linguistic alternatives or choices fall along a multidimensional continuum from more unmarked to more marked and that according to the particular discourse type their ordering will vary;

2- The ability to recognize the fact that marked choices receive various receptions from unmarked choices (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 22).

Speakers achieve this capacity of selecting the right code in order to distinguish between marked and unmarked codes (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 22). Thus, people with more than one code have to learn within a particular speech community which of the two codes is likely to be used regarding certain circumstances. In other words, unmarked choices remain unrecognized in an interaction as speakers act in accordance with the social expectations related to the various codes. On the other hand, marked choices violate these social expectations and can then be used strategically by speakers (Milroy and Gordon, 2006: 213).

To show the quantitative amounts of which codes are marked or unmarked is an important step in analysing CS, especially when it is based on the Markedness Model. The marked code refers to the language less commonly used in a speech community, whereas the one often used is the unmarked code (Myers-Scotton, 2002a: 206). Moreover, bilinguals in certain conversations may select the marked code according to their rational decision to achieve a particular intention (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 218).

Myers-Scotton analyzed English-Chichewa CS in a Malawi family living in the United States. Chichewa is usually considered as the parents' unmarked code during home interactions as it is the most frequently spoken language by the parents. According to her, only 6% of the father's and 7% of the mother's utterances are English only (2002: 210). She also mentions this recognition of Chichewa since the parents wanted to inculcate their native language to their children by using it frequently. The children, however, generally use 70% of English at home.

Besides, a speaker who codeswitches has a large amount of lexical terms and phrases that enable him to change his codes freely for different reasons at distinct points in their speech. Therefore, CS has different types some of which are mentioned in the following section.

1.3. Types of Code switching

CS is a phenomenon which occurs in multilingual communities where two or more languages or language varieties are used within a single conversation or even within a sentence. It is usually present in various bilingual contexts and sometimes it is not easy to classify.

However, scholars name different types and degrees of CS which have been observed in different cases. Blom and Gumperz (1972) identified two types of CS: situational and metaphorical. The former can be influenced by situation change in a conversation or discourse such as the change of participant, topic or

setting, i.e., it varies depending on the situation in which bilinguals are involved. On the other hand, the latter refers to the conversational where CS may also change within a conversation to assist conversational acts such as request, refusal, complaint or apology. Besides, under the metaphorical category, CS varies according to discourse function, e.g. to exclude or include someone from a conversation, to show intimacy, or to emphasize an idea.

Other explanations, provided in Wardhaugh's work (1998), state that situational CS occurs when the languages used change according to the situations where the bilinguals decide to do so. They speak one language in one situation and another in a different setting. No topic change is involved. For Wardhaugh (1998), metaphorical CS occurs when the speakers codeswitch to show their identities or a change of relations in the roles of the participants in the conversation. He argues that metaphorical switching is influenced by the topics of the conversation, not by the social situation. He also explains that metaphorical CS has an affective dimension. He adds that speakers may change the code according to the situation, i.e., serious to humorous, official to personal, formal to informal, and politeness to solidarity.

However, metaphorical CS occurs to show how speakers use certain codes to convey information that goes beyond their real vocabulary, especially to define the social situation. Besides, it is used when a change of topic requires a change in the language used. On the other hand, if the speaker switches within a single sentence, one sentence is expressed in one variety and the next sentence in another variety. Gumperz (1986) mentions this type as conversational CS. Moreover, Hudson (1980) states that conversational switching occurs when the codes are distinct languages.

From another perspective, the linguistic one, Poplack (1980) classifies the occurrence of CS into tag-switching, intersentential switching, and intrasentential switching. When considering intrasentential switches, the first question to ask is whether a combination of two languages is random or grammatically constrained.

According to her, fluent and balanced bilinguals in both languages tend to be better at alternating and switching between languages. As she also mentioned in her study of New York Puerto Rican, speakers who use intrasentential CS were balanced bilinguals i.e., those who were practicing intrasentential CS have the ability and strong knowledge about the grammar of the two languages being switched. She also states that bilinguals who lack mastery of the grammar of the two languages cannot use this type of switching.

However, Tag-switching is used frequently by speakers where they can insert short tags containing few syntactic restrictions which do not violate syntactic rules of the base language. Common Arabic tags such as /jæk/ meaning ‘ok?’ /wəla la/ meaning ‘or not?’, /wallah/ meaning ‘I swear by God’ etc... Intrasentential CS involves a switch within the clause or sentence boundary, e.g. ?ana wallah **je m’en fous** ijla il n’a pas compris ‘I swear I do not care if he did not understand’. On the other hand, Intersentential CS involves a switch at sentence boundary (Romaine, 1989), e.g., hadik riha tahdar mʔaha **elle lui explique la méthode**. ‘She is speaking with her, she is explaining the method.’

Muysken (2000) distinguishes three different processes in the study of code mixing: *insertion*, *alternation*, and *congruent lexicalization*. *Alternation*, first, is used in the literature to refer, in fact, to instances of one language being replaced by the other in halfway of the sentence. Second, the term *insertion*, in contrast, takes place when occurrences of one lexical item from one language are inserted into a structure of the other language. For instance, commonly inserted French items may include ‘mais’ meaning ‘but’, ‘jamais’ meaning ‘never’, ‘toujours’ meaning ‘always’, ‘surtout’ meaning ‘especially’, adapted phonologically in Algerian Arabic and imply somehow a distinct pragmatic function.

This phenomenon occurs in the speech of a large number of bilinguals and even monolinguals in Algeria. Besides, it is worth to mention that The French

guttural /ʀ/ is pronounced ‘rolled’ [r], particularly by uneducated speakers and men. The guttural [ʀ] and alveolar [r] tend to be alternative pronunciations of the same phoneme.

Moreover, the French expression [sajɛ], for example, occurs frequently in Algerian Arabic as it is adapted phonologically by uneducated and old people who are not actually aware that they use a French expression within their Algerian dialect because this one has no current equivalent in our dialect and it is used as a borrowed expression [sæjɪ] (Benguessa 2010). In this case, the terms represent two different, but generally accepted processes in CS utterances (Muysken, 1995, 2000). According to him, *Alternation* is the only case that can be regarded as CS since only here are both languages truly alternated. In these types of alternation, words from one language are not just inserted into another (base) language, but involve both grammar and lexicon, and the result is a “true switch from one language to the other” (2000: 5). Third, *congruent lexicalization* occurs when “the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages *a* and *b* are inserted more or less randomly” (Muysken, 2000: 8). This type of mixing requires not only a high level of bilingual competence, but also that the two languages in contact be structurally congruent.

In addition to defining CS, another work that is of interest to scholars and researchers is to distinguish it among other language phenomena particularly borrowing and code mixing. Basically, it is fundamental to say that although there are conflicting accounts of the structure of codeswitch utterances, all these accounts still maintain that CS is not free and random but structured and constrained.

1.4. Code switching and other linguistic phenomena

CS, code mixing and borrowings, considered as communicative strategies, are widespread in bilingual communities and studied mainly in relation to the degree of proficiency in bilingualism. Although Eastman (1992: 1) notes that urban language contact studies do not distinguish code mixing, CS, and borrowing, other scholars state that not all cases of alternation of languages are cases of CS. Accordingly, some researchers have tried to distinguish CS from other language contact phenomena, such as code mixing and borrowing, to show what exactly CS is, and which chunks of words should be considered as CS. First, we start by the distinction between CS and code mixing then between CS and borrowing.

1.4.1. Code switching vs. code mixing

Hudson (1999: 53) defines code mixing as “a kind of linguistic cocktail- a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on”. In fact, some scholars like Kachru (1983), Halmari (1997), Bokamba (1988), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Muysken (2000), Bhatia (1992) and Poplack (1980) treat these phenomena as distinct processes. Some other scholars like Eastman (1992) and Scotton (1992), however, consider that there is no distinction between them.

There are different views about the distinction between code mixing and CS. Some linguists have used CS as the cover term to refer to these two phenomena. For example, Scotton (1992) uses these terms interchangeably. Bhatia (1992) too, uses code mixing as a cover term for code mixing and CS. In this respect Clyne (2003: 75) distinguishes between the processes and says:

We should reserve CS for transference of individual lexical items through to whole stretches of speech; but we should adopt different terms like transversion for cases where the speaker crosses over completely into the other language.

There are others like Muysken (2000) who uses CS for alternation, i.e., when speakers alternate between languages in the same conversation. CS, as Gardner-Chloros (2009) mentions, has gained larger investigation in the language interaction phenomenon, among most of the linguists, there are no general consensuses or agreements on maintaining or not the distinction between the language contact phenomena. Other scholars like Hill and Hill (1980: 122) reject the distinction between CS and code mixing and use the terms interchangeably without seeing any difference between them. The discussion that follows further elaborates this.

1.4.1.1. Against maintaining distinction

According to Scotton (1992), the borrowed and codeswitched forms behave in the same way morphosyntactically in the matrix language, for this, they should not be seen as distinct processes. Eastman (1992: 1) claims that “efforts to distinguish CS, code mixing and borrowing are doomed”. After all, there are more similarities than differences between the two concepts.

1.4.1.2. Pro maintaining distinction

Several sociolinguists distinguish first between CS and code mixing. For example, in several studies (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Halmari, 1997), CS and code-mixing refer to intersentential and intrasentential language alternation, respectively. In other words, code-mixing can be understood as the switching of languages that occurs within sentences.

Muysken (2000: 4) claims that CS should be distinguished from code mixing because he states that the latter consists of three types of processes (insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization), and the former refers only to alternation where elements from one language might be alternated with others from another language respecting rules of both grammars. As he puts forward;

Switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing. The term code-switching is less neutral in two ways: as a term it already suggests something like alternation (as opposed to insertion), and it separates code-mixing too strongly from phenomena of borrowing and interference.

According to Muysken, *insertion* refers to the occurrence of a single lexical item such as a nominal phrase from one language into the structure of another language. *Alternation*, then, refers to elements of one language being replaced by the other and sometimes related to long stretches of CS. *Congruent lexicalization* is a situation, where two languages share a grammatical structure while lexical elements come from either language. The latter is similar to Clyne's (1991) idea of lexical triggering. The similarity between the two ideas is the fact that a word used from one language may easily trigger the use of other words in the same language either before that word or subsequently.

Among the other linguists in favour for the distinction between CS and code mixing, Kachru (1983: 193) sees that,

There is a distinction between code mixing and CS, though they have been treated as the language contact phenomenon. The CS entails the ability to switch from code A to code B. The alteration of codes is determined by the function, the situation and the participants. It refers to categorization of one's verbal repertoire in terms of functions and roles. The code mixing, on the other hand, entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another.

Bokamba (1989) notes three points while making the difference between code mixing and CS:

1. The aforementioned phenomena must be differentiated, since each one makes a distinct linguistic and psycholinguistic claim. For example, CS does not require the grammatical rules of the two languages involved in the speech event, whereas code mixing does.

2. code mixing refers to the most advanced degree of bilingualism to the extent that it requires considerable competence in the simultaneous processing of the grammatical rules of both languages [cf. Kachru (1978, 1982 a), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Poplack (1990), Sankoff and Poplack (1981) and Bokamba (1988)]. Only highly proficient speakers can be well engaged in code mixing

production and this refers to the degree of bilingualism involved in the production of code mixing sentences.

3. Code mixing is the use of two languages at the same time. Regardless of the number of languages involved in the discourse, the language that provides the grammatical structure into which elements are inserted is referred to as the host while the other is termed the guest language. (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980).

However, code mixing must also be distinguished from borrowing in that the latter can be used to fill lexical gaps by speakers, while code mixing is employed at every level of a lexical and syntactic structure by bilinguals (McKay & Hornberger, 1996). Moreover, borrowings are completely assimilated to the borrowing language, whereas mixed elements often retain features of the donor language (Gibbons, 1987). In the Algerian speech community, both CS and code mixing are evident in a conversation between bilingual speakers. The switching occurs frequently in balanced bilinguals while mixing appears in non-balanced bilinguals. The mixing is highly motivated by the need to fill gaps in the linguistic competence of the speaker, for instance: *ijwa à part ça rik xa ja* ‘Well, apart from that, you’re doing well’ in this sentence we can notice that the speaker uses the French expression ‘à part ça’ which is frequently used in AA and therefore the speaker perhaps does not find an AA equivalent.

1.4.2. Code switching vs. Borrowing

Another distinction is of great importance in addition to the previous one, made between CS and borrowing. Several linguists have also proved that both are very distinct, although they are often debated as having similarities. Distinguishing CS from borrowing is still an obstacle in any research. Accordingly, Eastman (1992: 1) argues that we “free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch”. A lot of studies reported no distinction to be made between borrowing and CS since it is a difficult enterprise, (cf. Romaine 1995).

In fact, the question of where to draw the line between these two terms has not been answered. The debate is still going on and there is no consensus on such a distinction. The question raised is which of the foreign words in code switched utterances constitute CS as such and which ones constitute lexical borrowing. This issue can go back to what Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) called transition problem as they think that language change is a diachronic process, and one cannot really determine at what point in time a particular lexical item gained the status of a loanword in the recipient language, in addition to this, it is even more difficult to study variation synchronically.

Hence, contrariwise to other language contact phenomena, borrowing refers to the items from one language, being part of another language system by being integrated phonologically, morphologically, and even syntactically. Moreover, Poplack & Meechan (1995: 2000) establish a continuum of lexical borrowing on one scale where loan words “typically show full linguistic integration, native-language synonym displacement, and widespread diffusion even among recipient-language monolinguals”. Paradoxically, the other scale is for nonce borrowings which are integrated at the phonological, morphological, and syntactical level without widespread acceptance in the speech community. According to them, single-item insertion is borrowing and should be differentiated from longer amounts of switches, which are regarded as CS. These scholars suggest that if a lexical item is morpho-syntactically integrated into the recipient language, it is a case of lexical borrowing. If not, it is a case of CS.

On the other hand, Gumperz (1982) studies CS from an interactional perspective and describes the use of multiple languages in the same interaction as a ‘communicative resource’ rather than a ‘communicative deficit’ (Gumperz, 1982: 89; Shin & Milroy, 2000: 352). He claims that the borrowing phenomenon happens at word and clause level and requires the morphological and syntactic rules of another language while CS occurs at syntax level and involves sentence fragment that belongs to one language. In this respect, he says (1982: 66):

The borrowed items are fully integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated as if they are part of lexicon of that language and share the morphological and phonological systems of that language. Code-switching by contrast relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speaker must process as strings formed according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems.

It was not just Gumperz who distinguished these phenomena; but others like Sankoff and Poplack (1981: 5) mention the point where CS can occur, as they say: “A switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical item unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme.” Poplack (1981) notices that when items are phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme they are considered rather as borrowings, and not as CS items. Poplack (1980) used in the analysis the criterion of *frequency* to distinguish borrowings from switch items. She defines switches as linguistically unintegrated, unlike borrowings and hypothesises that borrowings will be more frequent in use than switches. Later on, she (2000) asserts that it is important to bear in mind that CS is not equal to lexical borrowing, although both are manifestations of language contact. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton shares the same opinion with Poplack and sets out that borrowings may differ from switches in terms of their degree of frequency in the recipient language, but this is a hypothesis for her, unlike Poplack, rather than a way to define the difference between the two concepts. Myers-Scotton (1993b) focuses on frequency as the single best criterion to link borrowed forms more closely with the recipient language mental lexicon.

Therefore, though both of them share some similarities, they disagree on the way of defining and hypothesising on the two categories. In other words, what is considered as a definition for Poplack is a hypothesis for Myers-Scotton and what is considered as a hypothesis for Poplack is a definition for Myers-Scotton. Myers-Scotton (1993) adds that CS essentially involves bilingualism while borrowing does not. She explains this, especially with reference to the single insertions. Her claim is that if a lexical element is inserted and carries a

specific social meaning which remains available to the bilingual register only, then it should be classified as a CS lexical element.

Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993a) argues that morphosyntactic integration differentiates between CS and borrowing since according to her the two linguistic phenomena are universally related processes and both concepts can be part of a single continuum. She shares the same opinion with Haugen's (1953: 373) comment: "borrowing always goes beyond the actual 'needs' of language", she then adds that a distinction need not be made and draws a distinction between what she calls 'cultural borrowings' and 'core borrowings'. The former refers to those new lexical elements brought abruptly to the culture of the base language, and which can be used even by monolinguals. However, the latter refers to words that already have an equivalent in the recipient language and, as opposed to cultural borrowing, they penetrate gradually. (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 41)

Moreover, she argues that not all established borrowings actually occur due to the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language and she rejects the idea of those researchers (e.g., Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Bentahila & Davies, 1983) who argued that one of the main characteristics of borrowed items is to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language.

Bentahila and Davies (1983: 302) claim that such borrowings are motivated by the inexistence of equivalent words in their language:

French words which are regularly used by Arabic monolinguals must be recognized as borrowing which have become parts of the competence of the Arabic speaker. It is usually easy to see the motivation for such borrowings, for a word from one language is usually introduced into another to fill a lexical gap in the second, which may process no simple term for the concept represented by the borrowed word. Code-switching, on the other hand, need not be motivated by the need to fill such a gap; on the contrary, a bilingual may switch from one language to another even though he is perfectly able to convey the whole of his message in the first language, and may in fact sometimes demonstrate this by making a switch and then returning to his original language and providing a translation of the switching material.

Bentahila and Davies (1983) suggest two criteria for distinguishing CS from borrowing. First, borrowing can be used by both monolinguals and bilinguals since borrowed items have become part of the lexicon of the recipient language, whereas, CS occurs only in the speech of bilinguals. Second, borrowing requires both phonological and morphological adaptation of the lexical items into the recipient language while CS does not. However, this criterion has been criticised since other works have shown that switched elements can have a phonological and morphological adaptation into the base language (cf Pfaff 1979, Bentahila and Davies 1983, Obiamalu and Mbagwu 2007). In addition to the aforementioned criteria for the distinction between borrowing and CS, Haugen (1956: 40), tried earlier to differentiate between the two concepts and described borrowing as “the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is no longer either switch or overlapping except in a historical sense”. However, he describes CS as a situation “where a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech”.

One of the controversies in the study of CS is the identification of a single-item insertion. In fact, the distinction between CS and borrowing, especially between single word switches on the one hand, and loanwords on the other, is not always clear. Muysken (1995: 189) refers to borrowing as “the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language”. According to him (1995: 190), the process contains three levels which can be distinguished. Firstly, a fluent bilingual spontaneously inserts a lexical element X from language A into a sentence in language B. Through time, the insertion of lexical element X becomes frequently used in a speech community and then the so-called “conventionalised CS” occurs (Muysken 1995: 190). Thirdly, X becomes adapted phonologically, morphologically and syntactically to the rules of language B and is fully integrated into the lexicon being recognised as a lexical element of language B by all speakers.

Another category of borrowing, according to Poplack (1990) is nonce borrowing; where an element, single lexical items or bound morphemes, from

one language to the other is integrated syntactically, morphologically but not necessarily phonologically.

Therefore, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) try to distinguish between two types of borrowing, specifically established loans and nonce loans, both being different from single word code switches. The former differs from the latter in being restricted to a single speaker in a specific context, and not necessarily recognisable by monolingual speakers (cf. also Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan 1990). In other words, nonce borrowings do not require a widespread and recurrent use in the recipient language as opposed to established borrowings.

According to Poplack et al. (1988: 93), both established and nonce borrowings involve a lexical item from language A occurring in language B, and fundamentally submitting to the morphological and syntactic rules of language B. Single word CS, on the other hand, occurs when each monolingual fragment is lexically, morphologically, and syntactically grammatical in that language. Such a distinction, however, may be difficult to apply in certain cases, such as when the morphological and syntactic rules of the two languages overlap. Nonetheless, the assumption that CS involves two grammars, whereas borrowing only involves one (Poplack et al. 1988: 93), remains a useful distinction.

In the same line of thoughts, Holmes (2000: 42) mentions that: “Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker’s first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker’s first language”. Another way to differentiate between the two phenomena is that lexical borrowing is related to the question of how bilinguals manage two grammars, as they must when switching languages intrasententially. Gardner-Chloros (2008: 60) states that “it is the nature of the sociolinguistic contact which prevails at the time when an element is switched or borrowed which determines in what manner it is adapted or altered”. Later on, he (2009: 73) adds: “The researcher transcribing and analysing code-switched data therefore inevitably has to face the problem of drawing the line between the two categories.” Accordingly, to draw a

distinction between CS and borrowing, Poplack (1980) explains definitely that CS and borrowing are considered as two different phenomena, based on different mechanisms, whereas Muysken (2000) considers single-item *insertion*, and multiple-item *alternation*, occurrences as two forms of CS.

Consequently, Poplack (1980) proposed three types of criteria to check whether or not single lexical items from a donor language in codeswitched utterances are phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into what she calls 'base language'. If the integration is at the three levels, then, it is considered as a borrowing, on the other hand, if there is no adaptation at all, it is considered as CS, and if the integration is at one level only, it is also considered as CS. In this respect, Poplack adopted a table showing that when the lexical elements integrated only syntactically or only phonologically or no integration at all, they are considered as real switches. As indicated in the following table:

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			CS?	Example
	Phon	morph	syn		
1	✓	✓	✓	No	Es posible que te MOGUEEN. (They might mug you.) (002/1)
2	-	-	✓	Yes	Las palabras HEAVY·DUTY, bien gran des, se me han olvidado. (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words.) (40/485)
3	✓	-	-	Yes	[da 'wari sel (58/100)
4	-	-	-	Yes	No ereo que son FIFTY· DOLLAR SUEDE ONES. (I don't think they're fifty- dollar suede ones.) (05/271)

Figure 1.2. Identification of CS Based on the Type of Integration into the Base Language. Poplack (1980: 584)

As shown in the table, type 1 is integrated into the base language phonologically, morphologically and syntactically, thus it is not a case of CS and the word *mogueen* is taken from the English word ‘mug’. On the other hand, CS takes place if the lexical forms are not integrated at all or just syntactically and phonologically, as shown in the three other types (2.3.4). According to the author, type 3 is integrated into the base language only phonologically and, therefore, it is considered as CS element but recognised as “Foreign accent”.

In our speech community, to illustrate the use of borrowing, let us consider the following examples from Algerian Arabic / French CS:

(14) r fədna **les vacances** ‘We took holidays’.

(15) **Verser** draham. ‘Pay money into an account.’

We noticed that bilinguals use a French borrowing to refer to something, and its equivalent in Algerian Arabic to refer to something else. For instance, people usually say **la glace** for ‘ice’, and /mraja/ for ‘mirror’, although in the French language the word ‘la glace’ can be used for both meanings.

Moreover, the French borrowed word /patisri/ ‘pastry’ is used in AA as its equivalent in plural form /ħalawijjæt/ is not used and in singular /ħalwa/ meaning ‘sweet’ and not pastry. Therefore, this French word is phonologically adapted in AA as /batisri/ particularly for uneducated and less educated people who realize the French phoneme /p/ as the Arabic voiced [b].

Another example is the case of the French word /kotō/ ‘cotton’ used for some purposes, e.g. asking for the material of trousers hæd əsrawəl **cent pour cent coton** : ‘Are these trousers a hundred per cent cotton?’ and its adapted form /ʔtɔn/ or /qtɔn/ is used to refer to medical cotton³.

³ It is worth mentioning that ‘cotton’ had long been borrowed into most European languages from Arabic قطن (pronounced [quṭn]).

Additionally, most people may use is the French word /pɛntɪr/ ‘paint’ with no phonological adaptation in sewing and dress-making, for example, *hæd lkaraku taʔ la peinture* ‘Is this dress made with watercolour’, and its adapted form /bɛntura/ refers to ‘wall paint’ as expounded by people.

Besides, the French word /kle/ ‘key’ is used as CS lexical element as its equivalent in AA /məftaħ/ is used, whereas the same French word is used as a borrowing in AA to refer to carpenter’s tool and with no equivalent in AA since people say /kle/ ‘wrench’ instead of /məftaħ/. Similarly, the French word /kadr/ ‘frame’ is considered as a borrowing since it has no AA equivalent whereas the same word is perceived as a CS lexical element when used to refer to someone with an ‘executive status’ saying for example /hædæk hədʒa/ or in MSA /hædæk ʃaxsi ja/ ‘He has an executive status’. The French word *rideau* /rido/ can be replaced by its AA equivalent /ħdʒæb/ to mean ‘curtain’, but only the borrowing /rido/ is used to mean ‘metal shutter’.

However, there is another type of borrowing which can never occur as a case of CS since their Arabic equivalents are not used in AA, such as /tablijje/ ‘kitchen apron’, /priz/ ‘socket’, /stilo/ ‘pen’, /volã/ ‘steering wheel’. Accordingly, we may assert that borrowings have a degree of use which changes from one word to another. As aforementioned, there are French words that have been borrowed 100% as they have no Algerian Arabic equivalents and the ones from MSA are not used. In contrast, other borrowings may be used in one context (first meaning) and their equivalent in AA are used for another, completely different, context (second meaning). Therefore, the use of borrowings or CS lexical words in our speech community, is not a stable phenomenon and may differ according to the contexts. In the next chapter, we focus on another objective of the present study to elaborate the area under investigation and its different codeswitching typologies.

1.5. Conclusion

Using more than one language within the same conversation is a phenomenon that characterises bilinguals, and can be found all over the world. Therefore, bilingual speakers do not only have to cope with two distinct language systems, but also with other phenomena arising from the complementary use of two languages.

This chapter has introduced the theoretical background to the study, presenting a literature review of CS and its related phenomena and also trying to elucidate the variability characterising bilinguals across the use of two genetically unrelated languages, within the same conversation. The aim is to discern the main sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors that may affect the use of CS. Other definitional issues are important, namely, the types of CS and their occurrences in the data, the distinctions between CS and other phenomena, and the major linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic theories advocated in the understanding of CS.

This phenomenon is frequent in our speech community and has a range of different communicative functions. It serves as contextualisation cues to fill gaps as it can be considered as a desire to switch between the two languages and then to create new eloquent conversations. It may also have the function of facilitating and supporting thinking and communication, i.e., used as a strategy to communicate and negotiate meaning effectively. In addition, the mood of the bilingual is also another contributing factor for CS because sometimes the switch occurs subconsciously and with no apparent reason and no obvious social factor.

Pragmatic aspects of CS are fundamental to this work since the main concern is the analysis of communicative functions and the speaker's intent of individual instances of language alternation in conversation. In other words, the special focus of this study is to describe, among Tlemcen speakers, bilinguals' behaviour and to analyse the use of different CS functions in various instances.

Thus, for the achievement of the present study, it seems necessary to provide in the following chapter, an overview of the linguistic geographical area where this phenomenon is investigated. Moreover, aspects of both bilingualism and diglossia prevail in the Algerian context. The impact of French led to the Arabisation policy which aimed at erasing all the remnants of the colonisers both culturally, in mentalities and behaviour, and sociolinguistically with the generalisation of MSA and its substitution for French. Thus, the next chapter will outline the historical and linguistic situation in Algeria focusing on its sociolinguistic profile, mainly on the various occurrences of CS. We will also look at a range of different functions of CS in an Algerian context: Tlemcen.

Chapter Two

The Occurrence of Code switching in
Algeria: Case of Tlemcen.

Chapter Two: The occurrence of CS in Algeria: case of Tlemcen

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2.1. Introduction

This chapter endeavours to give a brief description of the historical facts of Algeria. The latter received heavy colonial impact not only in its educational policy, but also in its linguistic system. In other words, this chapter aims to introduce first the history of Algeria, to highlight the different periods which marked the history of the various invaders, the Arabisation process, and to delineate a presentation of the linguistic situation in this country as it expounds the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, particularly the use of CS in Tlemcen, which is the core of the present research. The following sections are devoted to illustrating and elaborating this claim.

Algeria is an appropriate country where linguistic complexity and linguistic diversity are the results of geographical, social, and historical aspects. It is regarded as a multilingual country where different languages are highly amalgamated in its society. Consequently, CS occurs because of the coexistence of more than one language. In fact, French colonialism has left very strong linguistic impacts on the way Algerians speak. This, undoubtedly, led to the spread of the CS phenomenon. Arabisation was the only process to be established as the legitimate choice to repossess the fundamentals of the original culture and identity. Although it is officially stated in the Constitution that Arabic is the official language of Algeria and Morocco, higher education, and the sciences are still taught in the French language

This country belongs to the North African countries where diglossia is one of the most significant linguistic phenomena, among others, which can be investigated. It offers a rich linguistic panorama as it is considered as a multilingual country. Modern Standard Arabic is the official language used for formal purposes; Algerian Arabic, with its different varieties, is regarded as a variety of Arabic used in less formal contexts. French is the foreign language brought by the French colonialism and which is still used in different fields. Berber, on the other hand, is the indigenous variety of North African inhabitants

and nowadays it represents the natural language of a large group of Algerians mainly the ones living in Tizi ousou, Bejaia, Batna, Ghardaia.

2.2. Historical background and Arabisation

In sociolinguistics, it is fundamental to describe the historical background and the different policies established of the studied area as they may have an effect on language policy and language use.

2.2.1. Historical background of Algeria

Algeria has always been in contact with other civilisations and countries thanks to its strategic position in the Mediterranean Sea. Consequently, this shaped its linguistic and culture and led to the appearance of a mixture of languages used in the Algerian society.

The history of Algeria is one of the repeated invasions. Algeria suffered from several invasions through time, starting from the Vandals in the 5th century invasions till the French colonisation in 1830 which lasted more than 130 years in which Algeria witnessed significant changes at many levels during this period. According to Queffélec et al. (2002: 11-13), Algeria was invaded by many colonisers and it was deeply influenced by their civilisations. Consequently, a historical overview of Algeria is fundamental because the historical background had certain influences on its current linguistic situation and for this; we give a glance of its history to show its different colonisers and their impacts.

In the seventh century, the Arabs conquered Algeria for nine centuries. Afterwards, it was ruled by Ottomans Turks in 1518 who coined the name of ‘Algeria’ to describe the territory controlled by the regency of Algiers, initially a Turkish colony. The Turkish language does not affect the Arabic language except for about a hundred words, some of which are related to food like “Baklawa” a cake with walnuts and almonds, “Bourek” a piece of dough stuffed with meat (Bencheneb, 1992: 96). Turkish colonisers were in Algeria till the French

conquest in 1830. Later on, the country was under the French rule, despite intense popular resistance, until 1962 when Algeria gained its independence. However, when France took over the whole country, French became the only language of administration and instruction (Queffélec, et al. 2002:19). As a matter of fact, the French authorities aimed at eliminating and destroying the Algerian culture to have ‘French Algeria’.

This heterogeneity gave birth to specific situations of languages in contact, namely Arabic (with its varieties), Berber (with its varieties) and French. Consequently, the Algerian government undertook the Arabisation policy for independent Algeria.

2.2.2. Reasons for the Arabisation Policy

French colonisation in Algeria lasted one hundred and thirty-two years. Algeria suffered from a very long period of colonisation in which Algerians personality was denied because of that, officials decided to establish a language that expressed their real identity. The Arabic language was negatively affected and witnessed a low frequency of use. The French Government object was to deprive Algerians of their culture and replace it by French civilisation. In other words, the French imperialism aimed at establishing the policy of removing Algerian cultural identity and language and moulding it along with French ones. They decided to impose their language as “the only official language of civilisation and advancement” Bourhis (1982: 44).

As a feedback, although the French rulers imposed their language, Arabic was intended to replace French. Subsequently, the elite, who asked for independence and who were in turn educated in French, asked “to Arabise” the country as it was decided to replace the French language by Standard Arabic in all domains such as schools, media. Besides, there were many laws insisting on the Arabisation policy and the status of the Arabic language. One of these laws, the last one of 16 January 1991, aims to exclude the use and practice of French from public administration, education, and economic sectors. Thus, Arabic was

declared as the national and official language in all the domains starting from education, political administration, cultural manifestation, and others. However, the government allowed industrial and economic institutions to carry on using French to achieve economic modernisation as there was a lack of potential specialists in Arabic (Ahmed Sid, 2008). Urbanization in Algeria was necessary after independence, although it was not an easy task to achieve. After gaining independence, Arabisation started to take place progressively and there were decisions establishing it, aiming at developing the educational system, and training teachers to teach the Arabic language starting from the first two years of elementary school by 1966.

The first president of independent Algeria (1963-1965) was Ahmed Ben Bella, who incited just after independence “the policy of linguistic arabisation in primary schools.” (Benrabah, 2007: 229) and later he stated that “Literary Arabic was to be introduced to the educational system” (Grandguillaume, 2004: 27).

Houari Boumediene (1931-1978), was the Second president of Algeria, who during his presidency (1965-1978), achieved great attention towards Arabisation. This first attempt was not done with a certainty of success as it is well declared by the first Minister of Education, Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi: “This [arabisation] will not work, but we have to do it...” (Grandguillaume, 1995: 18). During the process of urbanization, however, the degree of using MSA has developed excessively, especially those educated in the Arabised School who preferred using MSA in all situations.

However, in the period of Mostefa Lacheraf who was selected as the Minister of Education, the Arabisation process (1977) was progressively circumscribed. According to him: “French could serve as a ‘reference point’, a ‘stimulant’ that would force the Arabic language ‘to be on the alert’” (Berri, 1973: 16). Subsequently, in 1979 Mohamed Cherif Kharroubi, Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, wanted to restore French as the first foreign language in the fourth primary school grade.

Despite the fact that Arabic continues to be the medium of instruction and several other sectors including government administration by 1970, two main changes were obtained: one towards Arabisation and the other towards bilingualism. The first aimed at keeping the Arabic and the Islamic identity, and the second, which did not reject the French language, aimed at giving Algeria access to modernization because French has a prestigious place of openness (Lakehal-Ayat, 2008). Many Algerians were Francophones and bicultural especially the ones who were against the Arabisation policy and against choosing Arabic as the national language. According to them, returning to the Arabic language education equals the return to a backwards and an underdeveloped past, as they consider French as the only means for the country to advance into modernity (Ahmed-sid, 2008).

2.3. Linguistic Profile in Algeria

The results of the colonial policy continued to pervade even after independence and till nowadays. They are regarded as the most evident impacts on the current Algerian linguistic situation. Moreover, because of many historical, political, and socio-cultural factors, Algeria has become an intricate linguistic situation. The linguistic profile of Algeria is quite complex as it is a multilingual country where four languages are used: Algerian Arabic (AA) including its regional varieties with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as its official language, Berber with its varieties (Kabyle, Shawia, Mozabite, and Tamashekt) recognised as a national language (Algerian constitution 2002) and French. Consequently, a wide range of sociolinguistic phenomena can be observed in Algeria ranging from a diglossic situation to a bilingual one. Algeria is officially considered as an Arabic Muslim state whose official language is recognized by all members of the speech community. Conversely, sociolinguistically speaking, Algeria is a multilingual country where more than one code is used and as a result diglossia, bilingualism, CS, language choice and borrowing among others can be studied within the communities.

The Algerian speech community reflects the features of a classical diglossic situation where two varieties, MSA and AA, of the same language Arabic, are in a functional distribution (Ferguson, 1959). MSA, in Algeria, prevails as the language of the educational system, administrative institutions, the media, and writing. It is the language of all formal situations and official settings. On the other hand, dialectal Arabic is used in informal situations and settings. This functional distribution is demonstrated by the fact that MSA is regarded as the language of high prestige while AA is perceived as the variety of low prestige. Additionally, it is worth noting that AA, in turn, has several sub-varieties which are in a dialect continuum. In this respect, Dendane (2007: 69) says:

(...) the relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic has been described in terms of ‘diglossia relationship’ (Ferguson, 1959a, 1970), though a finer and more comprehensive analysis of today’s actual uses of Arabic reveals the existence of a continuum that may be better examined perhaps in terms of ‘multiglossia’.

Moreover, this multilingual country denotes another situation where the two codes, genetically unrelated, are in a specific relationship, that is, French as high and AA low, but in this case, the French language can also be used in everyday contexts. In fact, the Algerian bilingualism has its own characteristics which result from the long period of the French occupation. Actually, bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous as not all people are bilingual. There are those who are monolingual. During the colonisation and after independence periods, most Algerians were bilinguals whether they were educated or not because most of them were inculcated with a French culture learned in public schools. Indeed, what characterises bilingualism in Algeria is the fact that the Algerians are generally French speakers, but to different degrees, i.e., there are two types of bilinguals: active and passive. Active bilinguals are those speakers who really use French in their daily life, even those who do not know how to read and write. Passive bilinguals are those who understand French, but do not have the ability to speak it.

CS is a resulting linguistic phenomenon from bilingualism; therefore, it is a common behaviour that occurs in bilingual speech. For instance, in our speech community, speakers may switch between languages within the same conversation because certain topics are usually discussed in a particular language, e.g. this is the case when two Algerian doctors switch from Algerian Arabic to French in order to discuss a medical topic. This can also be the case of Morocco when some topics are usually discussed in a particular language, and thus, their introduction may provoke a switch (Ennaji 2005: 142). This is the case when two Moroccan engineers switch from Moroccan Arabic to French in order to discuss a technical topic.

2.3.1. Arabic

The Arabic language can be divided into three categories: classical, Modern Standard and Dialectal. In all Arabic countries, Modern Standard Arabic is used in formal settings. Dialectal Arabic is the predominant spoken language as it is used in everyday conversation and in informal settings.

2.3.1.1. Classical Arabic (CA)

Classical Arabic is the language of the Holy Qurʾan and Islam. It is very sacred and highly appreciated as it occupies a prestigious place in the hearts and minds of all the Arabs. Almighty God (in Yusuf sura 12 verse 2) says: **إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ** meaning “We have sent it down as an Arabic Qurʾan, in order that ye may learn wisdom⁴.” However, CA is considered as the language of Islamic religion used only in religious conversations as it lacks vitality because its grammar is very involved and complex and the vocabulary is quite difficult and highly contextualised, and, as a result, no one speaks it as his mother tongue.

⁴ Translation taken from: <http://www.oneummah.net/quran/book/12.html>

2.3.1.2. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Basically, Modern Standard Arabic has developed out of the classical language. This variety of Arabic was elaborated from the classical one to satisfy speakers' needs and demands. Ennaji (1991: 9) defines MSA as being:

Standardised and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghrib and in the Arab World at large. It has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture.

MSA is considered as High variety as it is considered as a dominant prestige language reserved for official functions and used by educated people since it requires correct usage of rules. It is generally taught in schools because it is thought to be more simplified in nature than Classical Arabic. As Cowan (1986: 20) claims that MSA is also the language of formality and written form:

Modern Standard Arabic is traditionally defined as that form of Arabic used in practically all writing (forms) of Arabic and the form used in formal spoken discourse such as broadcasts, speeches, sermons and the like.

Many intellectuals consciously use MSA nowadays because it is the marker of Arab-Muslim identity. Additionally, they inculcate the use of MSA to their children in order to facilitate learning at school and to reinforce their identity. Therefore, the French words 'cahier' /kaʒe/ (copybook), 'compas' /kōpa/ (compass), and 'trousse' /trus/ (pencil case), for example, have been replaced by the Arabic: /kurras/, /midwar/, and /miqlama / respectively. A considerable bulk of speech in MSA is noticed with educated speakers who use MSA in their work like religious men, lawyers and teachers, especially Arabic language teachers who switch to MSA, the language of instruction when interacting with colleagues, friends and even with family members.

2.3.1.3. Dialectal Arabic

In Algeria, it is also called Algerian Arabic (AA). It represents the vernacular Arabic and mother tongue of the vast majority of Algerians. This variety has only an oral form, and it is used in everyday conversations and in informal situations like the street, family. It is also known as ‘Deridja’. It has a much-simplified vowel system. Its vocabulary includes many words from Berber, Turkish and French which had left great amounts of lexis on the Algerian dialects such as ‘garage’ /garaʒ/ (parking), ‘stylo’ /stilo/ (pen), ‘jupe’ /ʒu:p/ (skirt) etc. Algerian people, in fact, regard these foreign words as part of their mother tongue as they are borrowings.

Algerian Arabic is the oral heritage of popular songs, stories and sayings. It is characterised by various urban and rural varieties. These are defined by Taleb Ibrahim (1995: 33) who says that they “... constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people... it is through it that the imaginary and affective universe of the individual is built up”.

2.3.2. Berber

The native people of North Africa were called Berbers. Their first language was Berber, which has several varieties. Berbers have the Tamazight language which gradually gave birth to the different Berber varieties present today in Algeria. As mentioned by Ennaji (2005: 72) who says, in this respect:

Berber is the mother tongue of the first inhabitants of North Africa. It is spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mauritania, Canary Islands, Mali, Niger, and Chad. It has been influenced chiefly by Arabic and African languages like Chadic, Kushitic, and Wolof.

According to Ennaji (2005: 72), the Berber-speaking population in Algeria represents more than 6 million speakers. Another estimate of the number of Berber speakers in Algeria is about 25% in addition to some other varieties of the

language. (Ulrich Ammon et al, 2006: 1942). Ennaji (2005: 79) states that the Berber language contains more than ten varieties⁵ in the Maghreb countries.

Nowadays, in Algeria, in addition to Algerian Arabic, there are four spoken dialects which are Kabyle in Kabylia i.e., East of Algeria; Shawia in Aures, South East of Algeria; Mozabite in the Mzab and Tamashekt in the Sahara (Taleb Ibrahim. K, 1994: 39-40). In fact, Tamazight was recognised as a national language in the *law of the 10th April 2002*, and the government demanded to promote its use in all Algeria's institutional sectors (Queffélec, et al.2002: 32). Indeed, the Berber language has gained a political status as it is learned in universities like Tizi Ouzou University, schools for teaching Berber, books printed in Berber, media, in TV, radio channels broadcast and advertising. Ultimately, many French words are used in all varieties of Berber and especially when there are no Berber equivalents.

Likewise, Moroccan Government adjudges that although Tamazight has long been denied, particularly with the strong presence of Arabic and French as the two official languages in the country (Bentahila, 1983), it has been officially recognised. As a consequence of this change, Tamazight becomes taught at primary schools and is widely used in the media (Ennaji, 2005).

To conclude, we may say that despite some language policies, minority groups may have an impact on language policy and planning in the nations they live in by claiming constantly for their linguistic rights.

2.3.3. French

The French occupation in Algeria lasted for a long period (1830-1962) and it was more aggressive than any other since the Algerian reaction was more furious than the other Maghreb countries. Nevertheless, the French language is the first prestigious foreign language in Algeria.

⁵ There are altogether ten major varieties of Berber in the Maghreb. (i) Tashelhit spoken in southern Morocco, (ii) Tamazight in the Middle Atlas in Morocco, (iii) Tarifit in northern Morocco, (iv) Kabyle in Tizi-Ouzou (Algeria), (v) Mzab in Ghardaia (Algeria), (vi) Shawiya in Aures (Algeria), (vii) Tuareg in the extreme south of Algeria, Niger and Mali, (viii) Tamashek in Niger, Mali and Nigeria and (ix) Tamahaq in Libya and Nigeria; (x) Tunisian Berber spoken in the West of Matmata and in the east of Gafsa (cf. Payne 1983). Cited in Ennaji (2005: 79).

After Algeria's independence, Arabic was declared the official language. Notwithstanding these governmental arabisation processes, French continues to have an important role in the country, it is used fluently mainly in scientific and technical fields since it has a fundamental role in the Algerian society mostly the economical, technological and educational levels. Queffélec et al. (2002: 118) argue that despite the fact that Algeria is the only country of the Maghreb which does not join the institutional Francophonie for exclusively political reasons; it is considered as the second Francophone nation in the world after France.

Indeed, AA is characterised by the use of French which remains noticeable among Algerian speakers and is deeply inculcated in both formal and informal contexts. French is used in daily life conversations and not restricted to the elite; it is not surprising to hear speakers using French loans in their interactions. According to many people, the French language is still regarded as more prestigious and a language of civilisation. Therefore, Algerian speakers, especially the ones living in the cities like Algiers, Oran and Tlemcen where the educational level is higher as opposed to the ones of the countryside, use this language consciously and purposefully to give the impression of being more civilised and educated than the people living in the countryside for example. In other words, the degree of bilinguality depends on the educational level of the bilingual, i.e., the higher educational level a bilingual has, the more frequency of French is.

However, nowadays another category of new words is widely used, mainly by youth speakers and teenagers. These new items have slipped into AA due to the technology development since they have no equivalent in AA like: biper 'to beep', chater 'chat', connecter 'to connect', site 'site', activer 'to activate', imprimer 'to print', taper 'to type', formater 'to format', etc. This daily excessive use of French items in AA variety created some new meanings different from the French words' meaning, i.e., the Algerian speaker may use a French word with distinct meaning to the French one used by native speakers. For instance, we noticed and heard people saying: /rik film/, /fɔ:r/, or /rik bumba/ from the

French words: ‘film’, ‘fort’, or ‘bombe’ respectively meaning: ‘you are so beautiful’.

2.4. Language contact in Algeria

A wide variety of outcomes occur when more than one language or varieties of a language are used in a particular speech community, as is the case in Algeria where Arabic and its dialects, Berber and its dialects and French are used on a daily basis and to various extents, depending on areas, groups and individuals. The co-existence of these codes has brought about at least two pervasive phenomena in the Algerian society: diglossia and bilingualism, which in turn result in various types of codeswitching.

2.4.1. Diglossia

Like all Arab countries, as aforementioned, Algeria belongs to the Arabic communities where two varieties of the same language fulfill different functions, that is, MSA regarded as high (H) and Algerian Arabic as low (L). This dichotomy invokes Ferguson’s classical diglossia (1959). Later on, diglossia was extended by Fishman (1972) to cover varieties genetically unrelated and having distinguished functions. Fishman’s further elaboration of this linguistic phenomenon was developed in relation to bilingual societies, and in this respect he says (1972: 92):

Diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which recognize several languages and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ several dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated varieties of whatever kind.

This type of extended diglossia (Fishman 1972) occurs in Algeria among speakers using French as (H) and Algerian Arabic as (L). It is also found in a few areas between French (H) and Berber (L) though the latter is a national language

and thus it can be a case of bilingualism. To illustrate the linguistic situation of Algeria the following figure 2.1 is used:

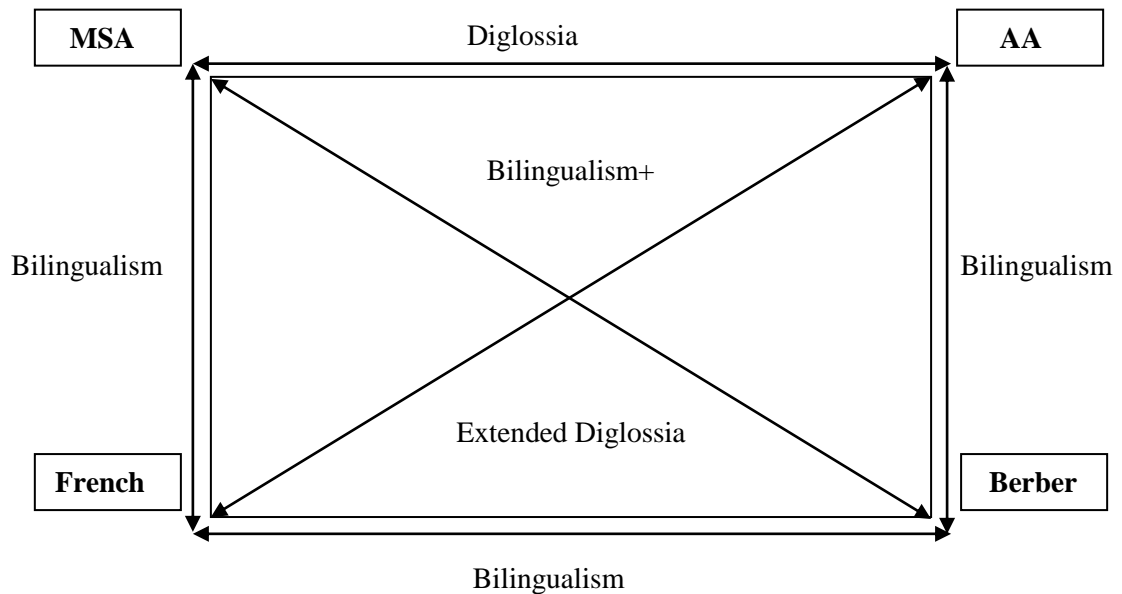


Figure 2.1. Characterization of linguistic situation in Algeria

On a more significant level, a brief distinction between diglossia and CS must be made in such a multilingual community. Indeed, speakers may codeswitch either consciously or subconsciously from one language to another in the same conversation, according to their intentions. For example, in situations where CS occurs, speakers switch from one language to another in the same conversation subconsciously. While in other diglossic situations, speakers switch from the high variety to the low one deliberately. In other words, when using switches they are aware of doing so (Sridhar, 1996). According to Sridhar (1996: 54), the keys of distinguishing diglossia and CS are as follows: diglossia involves little overlapping of codes, CS [...] involves quite a bit of overlap. Finally, the codes in CS situation are not necessarily sharply separated in terms of how they are attitudinally evaluated relative to one another. For instance, a bilingual in a conversation with an educated speaker or with a foreign person may use a high code. On the other hand, in some cases, when the speaker notices that his listener is socially lower in status he uses a low code such as AA.

Besides, in other Algerian situations, the opposite may occur as bilingual speakers use French purposefully with uneducated persons, unable to understand French, to sound incoherent and to exclude them from the conversation showing social distance such as antipathy, dislike and even anger in some cases.

However, Fishman determines the way bilingualism and diglossia are distinguished in all communities. He argues that the former is an individual product related to psycholinguistics and psychology while the latter is a social product as it carries social functions within a specific community. As an illustration, the two Arabic varieties in Algeria are kept separate, except for linguistic elements which have no equivalent in AA and thus speakers are constrained to switch from L to H to satisfy their expression of thoughts and linguistic communication. At another level, the Algerian society can clearly be considered as encompassing both diglossia and bilingualism recognised by Fishman (1967).

2.4.2. Bilingualism

Multilingualism/bilingualism has been defined as the ability to use two or more languages. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is usually the result of several factors, such as colonisation, intercultural marriage, cultural interaction, education, and many other reasons. Bilingualism is defined differently by scholars in a continuum ranging from Macnamara's (1967a) extreme position, arguing that a bilingual is someone who has at his disposal a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, in a foreign language. The other extreme description is reflected in Bloomfield's view that, as cited in Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6), the bilingual should have "native-like control of two languages" (1935: 56). Between these two extremes, there is a whole array of definitions as bilingualism is considered as "the practice of alternately using two languages" Weinreich (1953: 5). Others like Mackey (1957: 51) defined it as "...the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual..." Haugen (1981: 74), too, stated that bilingualism is "the knowledge of two languages". It is worth pointing out that

being bilingual does not mean that speakers have complete mastery of both languages. Consequently, a distinction is made between balanced bilinguals, the ones who use both languages equally in all contexts, and others unbalanced who do not have equal competence in both languages, that is, their competence is higher in one of the two languages.

In the same line of thoughts, measuring bilingualism remains a difficult issue since no scholar uses evident and satisfactory methods and techniques. Besides, all these definitions may be disputed on the basis that they provide less significance on the degree of the mastery of the two languages in use. Consequently, the competence and mastery of languages differ from one speaker to another as described bellow:

Active bilinguals: the ones with the ability to understand, speak, read and write both languages.

Passive bilinguals: the ones with the exclusive ability to understand both languages.

For instance, in Algeria, active bilinguals are those educated people or the ones who lived with the French colonisers, and thus they have complete ability to use this foreign language. These speakers have positive attitudes towards French so as to be considered as active, otherwise, they become passive. However, passive bilinguals in Algeria refer to speakers with no ability to use French or the ones having negative attitudes towards it.

Furthermore, the degree of proficiency in the French language depends on various sociocultural factors among which the influence of the level of education and the socioeconomic status is important (Benguedda 2010). Romaine (1995: 12) examines the degree of bilingualism and explains that the difference between bilinguals may rely on the following four factors: degree, function, alternation and interference. In this respect, she says:

The question of degree of bilingualism concerns proficiency. How well does the bilingual know each of the languages? Function focuses on the uses a bilingual speaker has for the languages, and the different roles they have in the individual's total repertoire. Alternation treats the extent to which the individual alternates between the languages. Interference has to do with the extent to which the individual manages to keep the languages separate, or whether they are fused.

Accordingly, these four factors should be examined in relation to each other. For example, speakers with certain knowledge of a given language will to some extent demonstrate the functions whereby it is employed and conversely, i.e., the situations in which bilinguals have the opportunity to practice a particular code will influence their proficiency. Likewise, competence and the way in which the languages have been acquired are linked to the type and degree of alternation involved. In turn, among languages and some types of switching, alternation plays a significant role in the linguistic repertoires of some speech communities. Mackey (1968) suggests that age, gender, intelligence, memory, language attitude, and motivation are the most important factors affecting the bilingual's aptitude⁶.

This issue can also be well illustrated in the table below, adapted from Baker (2006), who classifies bilingualism in terms of receptive and productive skills in relation to oracy and literacy:

Table 2.1. Classifying bilinguals according to the four language skills.

	Oracy	Literacy
Receptive skills	Listening	Reading
Productive skills	Speaking	Writing

The table shows the extent to which a certain speaker may be bilingual according to the four language skills. For example, there exist people who are able to speak a language but also have the ability to read or write it. Yet, others

⁶ In Romaine (1995: 12)

with the ability to understand perfectly and also read, but with no ability to speak or write in that language. These cases reveal that the four basic language modalities are very large and should be determined by more detailed dimensions so that one skill, for instance, may range from simple and basic to fluent and accomplished.

While Fishman (1971) argues that a bilingual has more than one language at his disposal, Downes focuses on society and defines societal bilingualism as “the situation in which two or more distinct languages form the repertoire of a community.”(1998: 46). This is another distinction not less important than the previous one and which can be made at this level: it is the one between individual and societal bilingualism. For example, Switzerland is the case of societal bilingualism where some individuals master only one language among other languages of the country. Hence, contrariwise to societal bilingualism, individual bilingualism occurs in the case of a monolingual country having bilingual speakers like immigrants or some educated speakers.

Algerian bilingualism is long-established from the wide influence of French colonialism which lasted exactly a whole century and thirty-two years. As a matter of fact, the frequent use of CS occurs between two different languages genetically unrelated, Arabic belongs to the Semitic family and French to the Indo-European one.

The Algerians were deeply linguistically influenced by the French occupation that there exists a type of bilinguals (Francophone) able to use the correct French in spite of their low level of education. These speakers were living with the French colonisers, having real contact with them and, therefore, they learned the French language which is still in use nowadays. This generation continues to read, write and speak this second language, in addition to the positive attitudes they have towards French. For instance, many people of the colonisation period prefer to read newspapers written in French and not in Arabic; they also prefer TV channels in this second language than the ones in

Arabic. Even in state places such as town hall, they prefer to fill in printed forms in French.

In sum, nowadays Algerian bilinguals' profile are those who went to school to learn this foreign language contrary to those Algerian bilinguals living during and after colonial period and whose levels of bilinguality remain high without mentioning their level of education and culture.

2.4.3. Borrowings

This sociolinguistic term is used to refer to loan words that slipped, integrally and permanently, in the recipient language. The Arabic language and all other languages throughout the world borrow items from other languages when they come into contact, mainly for the lack of these items in the recipient language. Therefore, the borrowing process is undertaken for a linguistic necessity.

Generally, Algerian speakers may use borrowed words subconsciously in their everyday speech interaction, that is, often ignoring the origins of those elements. Hudson (1996) mentions that borrowings are adapted in the recipient language so that they lose where these loans came from. As he (1996: 55) says: "that they are modelled on words in other language, which gives them a more or less foreign flavour". Besides, these loan words may become adapted phonologically and/or morphologically to make the pronunciation of the word appropriately similar to the native one.

The main concern of this work is neither to differentiate between CS and borrowing nor to delimit the two extremes. As there are degrees of use of borrowings, i.e., nonce and established borrowing, the French established widespread borrowings used by Algerian speakers may be adapted and are not considered as instances of CS since speakers do not actually consciously pay attention to their French origin. However, speakers usually use French words, idioms, expressions, or proverbs that may have a certain degree of borrowing,

i.e., the use of nonce borrowing and CS are in a continuum where there is no cutoff point to both phenomena.

In fact, AA is characterised by an excessive use of French words and expressions which can be even adapted phonologically and morphologically in some cases, and which may be used by all people, either educated, less educated or uneducated. These French words and expressions may seem to the listener, mainly uneducated ones, as items from the mother tongue Arabic because of their recurrent occurrences in AA. Thus, to illustrate this, a long list of French words and expressions, among many others, is provided from AA:

Table 2.2. French words and expressions as established borrowings in AA.

French words/ Expressions	Transcription	English gloss
ça y est	/sa je/	That is it
ça va	/sa va/	That is fine
C'est bon	/se bō/	It is alright
C'est trop	/se tro /	It is enough
C'est normal	/se normal/	It is natural
Grave	/gra:v/	Serious
Normal	/normal/	Normal
Déjà	/deʒa/	Already
Jamais	/ʒame/	Never
Surtout	/syrtu/	Especially
Sure	/syr/	Sure

2.4.4. Various Functions of Code switching in Tlemcen Speech Community

CS is the phenomenon that results from bilingualism and multilingualism. In Algeria, although AA is the structurally predominant language, it assumes the

functions of the Low code. On the other hand, French assumes the functions of the High code. In the Algerian sociolinguistic landscape, the AA-French occurrences, therefore, show the social statuses of these two codes.

After the Arabisation process, many speakers started using MSA, and, therefore, to switch code from AA to MSA and vice versa from MSA to AA. That is, the use of H and L in one conversation seems to disobey Ferguson claims that only H is appropriate in education, media, the court of justice, etc. As opposed, L is appropriate in other informal settings such as home, street, with friends and so forth. This is illustrated, for example, in Middle and Secondary School pupils when they switch from MSA to AA during a classroom interaction, and where only MSA is appropriate. Indeed, this linguistic behaviour, among Algerian pupils, is, according to them associated with facilitating speech and understanding. Therefore, it is common to hear people saying: /ana aṣlan manħobɣ lfiqra/ ‘I definitely do not like the paragraph.’ /salam/ ‘Hello’ and /lejla safiida/ or /lejla mabruka/ ‘Good night’ rather than: ‘Je n’aime le paragraphe’, ‘salut’ and ‘bonne nuit’. Nowadays, other words in MSA are used frequently such as /ɣahada /, and /qadija/ instead of the French words: ‘attestation’ and ‘affaire’.

Gumperz (1958, 1961, and 1964) mentions CS in a series of studies on the dialects of Hindi by linking it not only to context but also to social class relationships between speakers. In his study in Khalapur (north of India), he mentions that speakers alternate between village dialects, regional dialects, and standard Hindi in their speech. The village dialect is used with the local residents, they use the village regional dialects when speaking to people from outside and in small market centres, and standard Hindi in formal settings and in cities. The community is stratified socio-economically. As a result, the elite groups change features of their vernacular based on the formality according to the listener. For instance, speakers use one form of a particular vernacular “moti boli” with family members, friends, relatives, and servants, and use another “Saf boli” outside

these informal relationships and with elders. Even in a single setting, switching is sometimes motivated by social relationships between speakers. For example, speakers change their forms of address depending on the socio-economic or religious status of their interlocutors.

Unlike other bilingual circumstances, in Algeria, CS between AA and French is basically not governed by the context, speech events, speaker or listener, but instead by the functions and status of the code itself. CS, here, may serve as a regularization process through which sociolinguistic functions of varying levels of prestige, importance, complexity, and seriousness are encoded and indexed through the use of two codes, i.e., French code dedicated for important, serious, and complex issues, and AA designated for less formal, important, less serious, and simple issues. However, in a different context, CS also serves as a marker of the speakers' attitudes toward one of the two codes in the discourse, often in formal settings, indexing his/her positive attitudes toward French-related functions and negative ones related to AA. In other terms, bilinguals often shift to French to identify their 'bourgeoisie' affiliation. This suggests that French use here indexes their social identities.

As an illustration of daily AA/French CS, let us consider the following excerpts recorded from conversations among Tlemcenian speakers without being aware so as to get reliable spontaneous speech. The following conversation is held between two Tlemcenian women recorded:

A: Bonjour ça va? 'Good morning, how are you?'

B: ça va l'hamdullæ:h 'It's alright, thanks God'

A: ?ana fhæd lwa?ts des hauts et des bas lmaʃakil ma

jχalliwakʃ tranquille; 'Nowadays, too many problems that do not keep you quiet.'

B: ijwa c'est ça la vie ; 'Well, this is life.'

A: J'en ai marre, Je n'en peux plus, c'est plus fort, ana kraht_s
əllah ʔaləb ; 'I'm fed up, I'm exhausted, It's too much.'

Another conversation occurs between a group of four men who were discussing, in the street, a specific topic related to mechanical problems with cars, which requires the use of French words because either their AA equivalents are not used or do not exist at all. The following excerpt shows that the topic is closely related to the use of French because of mechanic terminology.

A:rani ʃaft_s mʔa **le mecanicien** wəʔla ʔsabu **la panne**
mæʒja m **la boite de vitesse.** 'I spoke with the mechanic and according to him the breakdown comes from the gearbox.'

B: ʔijla **la boite de vitesse, tu es obligé** t_sbaddəlha **sinon le**
problème jabʔa 'If the gearbox, you're obliged to change it otherwise the problem will persist.'

A: wallah mani ʔarəf ʔatt_{sa} **le prix** ʃhəl ʔla ʔsabu **a peu**
près deux millions 'I' really do not even know the price, According to him about two millions.'

C:lla **c'est trop maximum quinze mille** w **occasion** t_ssebha **moins.**
'No! It's too expensive maximum fifteen thousand, and bargain price, it's cheaper.'

D:kiʃ t_səddihalu fə **dépannage. Les pieces détachées** fwahrən
rʔa:ʃ 'How do you take it? With a breakdown service. The spare parts In Oran are cheaper.'

B: ana ʔədda nkun **sur Oran** jla t_sʔəb nʃuflək **la pièce** 'I will be in Oran tomorrow if you want I will bring you the part.'

Although CS is no more conceived as bilinguals' deficiencies in either language as it was before, still some people codeswitch when they lack the ability or proficiency in one of their languages. In other words, when speakers may not be able to express themselves in one language, they switch to the other to compensate for the deficiency. Accordingly, Brice (2006) mentions that in some cases CS and code mixing may occur due to lack of appropriate lexicon in the second language or even language attrition. For instance, speakers may codeswitch as they cannot find an appropriate vocabulary item or expression or sometimes when the language of the conversation itself does not have particular words needed to carry on the conversation smoothly especially in scientific fields.

Indeed, when Algerians do not know the terms in one of the two languages they will switch to the other language available to them. Hence, they use the French terminology that they are familiar with, mainly when speaking or discussing medical, technological and some other scientific disciplines, but they opt for Arabic when speaking about religion, traditions and customs. For instance, when speakers think that there are no exact AA equivalent to French words, the latter is used for compensating this deficiency in the mother tongue and in some other contexts the opposite is true.

2.4.5. Types of Code switching in Tlemcen Speech Community

Scholars have discussed different types of CS. Three switching types according to Poplack (1980) and Sankoff (as mentioned in chapter 1): tag switching, intersentential CS, and intrasentential CS. All these types of switching differ from each other according to the placement of switches and to the use of distinct constituents. Furthermore, their use and practice reveal the degrees of bilinguals' proficiency.

Tag switches occur in Algerian speech where elements from AA are inserted into an utterance in French as tags or set phrases of one language, e.g.

(16) **Le depart à dix heures** jæk ‘The departure at 10 pm, is not it.’

(17) **Il te reste dix minutes** mat_{səm}ʃiʃ ‘Ten minutes remain to you, do not you leave?’

In these two cases, the Algerian speaker selected French as a base language and AA as embedded inserting a tag switch to ascertain and make sure what has just been said in the first utterance. On the other hand, the opposite case occurs where French elements are inserted into an AA utterance as tags, e.g

(18) ana jbælli lbak duk jkun səhəl həd lɣam, **tu ne penses pas?**

‘I suppose the baccalaureat exam will be easier this year, do not you think so?’

Or

(19) ana jbælli lbak duk jkun səhəl həd lɣam, **non?**

‘I suppose the baccalaureat exam will be easier this year, no?’

In these two examples, the Algerian speaker selected the AA language as a base language and inserted in it tag elements from the French language (as an embedded one) maybe to make emphasis, to attract the hearer or it was done subconsciously.

Intersentential CS is the switching of languages at clause or sentence boundaries. This type requires speakers’ competence in both languages since they can utter, complete clauses or sentences in each language using the respective grammatical systems with different underlying rules, i.e., the grammatical rules of either language are not violated. This proficiency enables

bilinguals to blend languages smoothly. It is worth pointing out that intersentential and intrasentential CS may vary according to the degree of bilingualism of an individual, for example, the age of second language acquisition. (Montes, 2000: 219). Therefore, in the Algerian community, this type is frequently noticed among educated people or the generation who lived with French colonisers because both of them may have a high competency in the French language. To illustrate this, the following sentences are provided:

(20) **Il fera beau demain** nəχordʒu jla ħabbit_s ‘It will be fine tomorrow, we go out if you want.’

(21) **C’est pas la peine de l’appeler** hadæk ma řanduř lkəlma wduk jařħak řlik ‘it’s not worthy to call him, he cannot keep his word and he will laugh at you.’

(22) llah jħalli:k ařṭeni **la façon comment tu l’a fait le gâteau est très bon.** ‘God bless you give me the way you’ve made it, the cake is very delicious.’

(23) **Qu'est-ce que tu penses si on part à l'étranger** hæd lřam mřa drari ‘What do you think if we go abroad this year with kids.’

On the other hand, intrasentential CS is when the switching of phrases or smaller constituents of one language are found within a clause or sentence boundary of another language. This type is the most complex as it requires more competence and proficiency of bilinguals because for many language pairs it

usually does not violate the syntactic rules of either language (cf. equivalence constraint). It has also attracted the greatest attention of researchers.⁷

- (24) rwaḥ ngulək à **quelle heure** t_{skun} t_{samma} ‘Come, I will tell something: at what time you will be there.’
- (25) ma bʔat_s ʔraja **le système d’éducation c’est pas ça** raḥna ʔil nzidu ‘No studies remain, the educational system is not ok; it is going worse and worse.’
- (26) mæt_s flən məskin **il est jeune** allah jarḥmu ‘Mr x died, poor man, he is young, may God bless him.’
- (27) **On t’a invité** ləlʔors t_{saʔ} flən **mardi prochain** ‘Have they invited you to the wedding next Tuesday?’

As we can notice in the first three sentences, the intrasentential switching occurs by inserting elements from the embedded language (French) into the base language (Arabic), while in the last one it is quite the opposite because the embedded language is Arabic and the base language French.

Moreover, other types of CS identified by Blom and Gumperz (1972) are situational and metaphorical CS; these also occur in the Algerian speech community. Such a change from one language to the other happens according to the participant or the setting in the case of situational CS. While, metaphorical or conversational CS works as a conversational strategy to assist conversational acts such as an apology, request, complaint or refusal.

⁷ See in the first chapter, Muysken (1995) further mentions three separate patterns of intrasentential code switching: alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalisation.

2.5. French Functional and lexical elements in AA

This section is devoted to the main French syntactic categories that can be inserted in AA sentences. It aims at delineating and understanding the stimulating linguistic elements that arouse and incite bilinguals to codeswitch at a particular point in AA conversations and therefore it is a rule-governed phenomenon.

2.5.1. Determiners

2.5.1.1. French Articles and quantifiers

In French, nouns are usually preceded by articles. The definite French articles (le, la, l', les,) which are basically equivalent to English (the), and indefinite ones (un, une) used exactly like the English indefinite article (a). It is used when referring to a single instance that is a part of a group that consists of many entities. The plural indefinite article (des) is used when referring to more than a single entity.

These French articles are recurrent in Algerian daily conversations. They are used either subconsciously or consciously to fulfil an aim or to reach ones' linguistic or social intention.

Firstly, the masculine singular (le, l'), the feminine singular (la, l') and the plural (les) definite articles are used in our speech community as follows:

(28) $\text{ɣəppa nəmʃi ʔand le medecin}$ 'Tomorrow I will go to the doctor.'

(29) $\text{riha ʔandək la montre}$ 'Do you have the watch?'

(30) ʔrits l'article 'Did you read the (newspaper) article.'

(31) $\text{Les magasins rahum mballʔi:n}$ 'The shops are closed.'

Secondly, the masculine singular (*un*), the feminine singular (*une*) and the plural (*des*) indefinite articles are used in our speech community followed by French nouns and then (case of CS) by an Arabic adjective where the switch occurs and is accepted. The following examples are taken from spontaneous speech in Algeria:

(32) **Un tissu** ʔæli 'An expensive cloth.'

(33) **Une soirée** t_sħammaʔ 'A crazy party.'

(34) **Des pantalons** ʃæbbi:n 'Beautiful trousers.'

It is important to mention that in French there is what we call A partitive article. It consists of the preposition (*de*) followed by a definite article e.g (*du* = *de la*). It is frequently used before a singular noun that represents something that can be divided into smaller parts like liquids, wood, food, etc. e.g. in French: *du pain* 'the bread.', *du bois* 'the wood'.

(35) **Du thé** lah jħalli:k 'Some tea, please.'

(36) ʃri **du fromage** 'Buy some cheese.'

In French, most quantifiers are formed using a noun or an adverb of quantity and the preposition (**de** or **d'** when before a vowel). However, in the following examples, they are used without the preposition (*de*, *d'*) because the speaker switched to AA. For instance:

(37) **Deux kilos** t_saʔ lfarina 'Two kilos of flour.'

(38) **Cinq grammes** jəwzan 'It weighs five grams.'

(39) **Cent à l'heure** kæn 'He was driving at 100kms/h.'

2.5.1.2. French Possessive adjectives

Additionally, the masculine singular (mon, ton, son, notre, votre, leur), the feminine singular (ma, ta, sa, notre, votre, leur), and the plural possessive adjectives (mes, tes, ses, nos, vos, leurs) are also used before French nouns. They agree with the following noun. But in the plural, there is no difference between masculine and feminine.

In the case of CS, AA may occur at a point following the French noun. For example, the masculine singular possessive adjectives are used as follows with AA:

- (40) **Mon portable** rah maɥfə ‘My mobile is switched off.’
- (41) **Ton cadeau** rah wæzəd ‘Your present is ready.’
- (42) **Son cahier** t_s?aɥɥaɪ ‘His copybook is torn up.’
- (43) **Notre voisin** mæt_s ‘Our neighbour is dead.’
- (44) **Votre destin** hædæk huwa ‘That is your fate.’
- (45) **Leur voiture** reha fæzda ‘Their car is broken down.’

In the same manner, the feminine singular possessive adjectives are used as follows with AA:

- (46) **Ma chaine** masəbt_shæʃ ‘I did not find my chain.’
- (47) **Ta recette** bnina ‘Your recipe is delicious.’
- (48) **Sa robe** ʃæbba ‘Her dress is nice.’
- (49) **Notre rendez-vous** fawaʔ ‘When is our rendez-vous?’
- (50) **Votre journal** lah jχəlli:k ‘Your newspaper please!’
- (51) **Leur valise** nsawha ‘They forgot their suitcase.’

Likewise, the plural possessive adjectives are used as follows with AA:

- (52) **Mes cousins** nmʊt_s ɣliħum ‘I love too much my cousins.’
- (53) **Tes commentaires** majəslaħuɣ ‘Your comments are useless.’
- (54) **Ses papiers** ma səggədhumɣ ‘His papers are not in order.’
- (55) **Nos travaux** makəmluɣ ‘Our works did not achieve.’
- (56) **Vos habitudes** majəslaħuɣ ‘Your habits are bad.’
- (57) **Leurs investissements** mɣa ‘Their investment is misspent.’

2.5.1.3. French Demonstratives

This category of words substitutes the articles to indicate a specific noun. These words must correspond in gender and number with their following noun. For example, the masculine singular demonstrative adjectives are used as follows with AA:

- (58) **Ce prof** jəhdar bəzzæf ‘This teacher speaks too much.’
- (59) **Cet article** waɣər ‘This is a difficult article.’

Similarly, For example, the feminine singular demonstrative adjective In French, demonstrative determiners are followed directly by the noun they modify and are never followed by an article, and is used as follows with AA as seen in:

- (60) **Cette video** daħħak ‘This video is amusing.’

Corresponding, the plural demonstrative adjectives are used as follows with AA:

- (61) **Ces enfants** msəkən ‘These poor children!’

2.5.1.4. French Indefinite

Sometimes they are called affirmative indefinite adjectives. They are used to modify nouns in an unspecific sense, and these adjectives have to agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify.

Masculine singular indefinite adjective ‘chaque’ always takes a singular noun and the third person singular verb form. It is illustrated with a French/AA sentence as follows:

(62) χ ashum **chaque jour** ‘They want every day.’

In French, other indefinite adjectives always take a plural noun and the third person plural form of the verb. Besides, these indefinite adjectives can be used with French nouns and followed by AA, for example:

(63) **Quelques nuits** $k\ddot{u}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}l$ ‘Few dark nights.’

(64) **Plusieurs médicaments** $na\ddot{h}\ddot{h}awhum$ ‘several medicines have been dropped.’

2.5.2. Nouns

A noun is a word that represents a person, place, or thing, whether concrete (e.g., pen, cat) or abstract (feeling, enjoyment). In French, all nouns have a gender, that is, they are either masculine or feminine. Thus, it is very important to learn a noun's gender along with the noun itself otherwise one can be mistaken. To be acquainted with the French nouns, they must be learned with their gender, that is, one should learn his vocabulary lists with the appropriate definite article or indefinite article, eg., instead of learning (livre) ‘book’ alone, it is required to learn it (le livre / un livre) to know that this word is masculine.

French words are frequently used in the Algerian speech community. Hence, the following sentences show the use of this lexical category with AA:

- (65) **La montre** fəzdət_s ‘The watch is damaged’
 (66) **le rideau** ṭəħ ‘The curtain has fallen down.’
 (67) **la dent** t_sssawsət_s ‘The tooth deteriorated.’
 (68) **le feuilleton** kəmməl ‘The serial film is finished.’

2.5.3. Verbs

In French, verbs can be used in four moods, four simple tenses, and in six personal pronouns. Most of them belong to the regular verb conjugation. French verbs are used frequently in AA speech as borrowings and codeswitches elements. Therefore, the following examples show the AA/French intersentential CS:

- (69) **Insister** ɣliħ bæʃ jɔzi ‘Insist for him to come.’
 (70) **Négocier** mɣəħ əssuma ‘Negotiate the price with him.’
 (71) **Nettoyer** əddar ɣaja ‘Clean the house well.’
 (72) **Imprimer** kəməl lawraʔ ‘Print all sheets.’

2.5.4. Adjectives

A French adjective is a lexical word that modifies the noun by describing it in some way: shape, colour, size, nationality, etc. Adjectives in French agree in number and gender with the noun they qualify and they usually follow the noun they modify. Unlike French, English adjectives always occur in front of the noun and they agree neither with number nor with gender. To illustrate the case of AA/French CS, where French adjectives are used with Arabic nouns that follow the common syntactic order of both languages, we provide the following:

- (73) ləf̣ṭur **extra** ‘Excellent lunch.’

(74) hædi:k lamba **puissante** ‘The lamp is powerful.’

(75) χædma **rapide** ‘Rapid work.’

(76) marṭ **grave** ‘Serious disease.’

2.6. Sociolinguistic functions

Fishman (1965) entitled one of his articles “Who speaks what language to whom and when?” in which he describes the main interest of scholars towards codeswitching in relation to some social and linguistic factors. Their focus is mainly on multilingual societies and individual bilinguals. They analyse bilingual attitudes regarding the alternation between languages and search for factors determining CS. They also display reasons and strategies for this linguistic phenomenon. The switch between the languages may be interpreted to see if it achieves social intentions and meanings or not.

Moreover, the investigation of CS changes from one context to another and from one situation to another as there are major factors related to it. For instance, bilinguals may often codeswitch when they are tired or angry. Speakers in specific situations may be confused at the point of time of speaking and, therefore, they lose their vocabulary of the base language. However, when speakers are in a comfortable state of mind, they may use the right words of the base language and then CS will not take place. In other words, speakers may be more proficient in both languages and may use the appropriate word provided that they are not mentally disturbed and that such circumstances may put more hurdles in getting the suitable word for the speaker.

Furthermore, the use of such French elements may occur subconsciously because these embedded phrases are so common in Algerians’ daily speech. As illustration, daily French expressions and idioms, amongst others, are listed in the following table:

Table 2.3. French expressions and idioms used in AA

	English translation	Expression / Idiom
Bonjour/bonsoir/salut/ ça va.	Good morning / Good evening/ Hello, how are you?	Expression
Merci beaucoup.	Thanks a lot.	Expression
Bon appétit.	Good appetite.	Expression
Bonnes vacances.	Good holidays.	Expression
Bon voyage.	Have a good trip.	Expression
Ça m'étonne.	I'm surprised.	Expression
Il veut le beurre et l'argent du beurre.	He wants their cake and eat it too.	Idiom
Rira bien qui rira le dernier.	Who laughs last, laughs best.	Idiom
Les bons comptes font les bons amis.	Good accounts make good friends.	Idiom
Tel père tel fils.	Like Father, Like son.	Idiom
Il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu.	There's no smoke without fire.	Idiom
A force de forger on devient forgeron.	Practice makes perfect.	Idiom

Another significant type of this phenomenon is when CS is used as an interactional process (cf. García, 1983: 143ff.). In this case, the bilingual participants use different languages alternately, that is each speaker selects one language and thus the language of the conversation changes in turn. This behaviour is common in conversations between bilinguals and monolinguals or even between a balanced bilingual and a semilingual one: the former uses French while the latter prefers AA.

The motivations, functions and reasons of CS have been studied extensively by a number of researchers from various linguistic perspectives. Based on the concept of functional specialisation by Jakobson (1960) and Halliday *et al.* (1964), Appel and Muysken (2006) listed six main functions of CS:

1. Referential function:

CS is used as a communicative strategy. In other words, bilingual speakers codeswitch when they want to facilitate their expression of thoughts. The code is chosen because it is more appropriate or suitable to be used for a particular topic.

2. Directive function:

This case of CS occurs when the speaker aims to include or exclude a person from a conversation, as in excluding children from the conversation.

3. Expressive function:

Speakers may codeswitch consciously or subconsciously to express their thoughts, emotions and to show their identities in the conversation.

4. Phatic function:

CS may occur to attract listeners' attention by changing the tone and focusing on a particular part of a conversation that is of great importance.

5. Metalinguistic function:

Bilinguals choose one language to speak about another. Myers-Scotton (1979) attested this case of CS and considered it as bearing a metalinguistic function.

6. Poetic function:

This is another case completely different from the previous ones, as bilinguals use words, puns and jokes in one language within another language for the purpose of amusement or entertainment.

Additionally, in a more specific context, there are many different factors that stand behind the use of CS among which linguistic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic switches remain the most important ones. This phenomenon has several communicative functions among which ten have been listed by Malik (1994) and may be applicable to the Algerian context:

1. Lack of Facility

In the Algerian context, switching may take place when some lexical elements are not available in AA or when the bilingual speaker does not find the appropriate words in AA and thus uses French to express his/her ideas in order to avoid misunderstanding and loss of intended meaning.

2. Lack of Register

This case occurs in our community when the speaker lacks register competence and, therefore, finds difficulties in using the appropriate word in one of the two languages. For example, the fact of discussing certain specific topics, it may reveal that speakers have the ability to do so in French rather than in AA. Hence, this may be the case of medical topics, technological and scientific ones. However, in other cases where a discussion is related to religious topics, the language used will undoubtedly be AA and not French. Indeed, Algerian

speakers choose to switch back and forth between languages when they are not equally competent in the two.

3. Mood of the Speaker

The psychological and behavioural states of the speaker seem to have a direct effect on the way people interact, and the way they select their words. For instance, although the intended words are available in both languages for the speaker, he may shift to the other language when he finds that it will take less effort and time than searching for the appropriate one. This case is recurrent in Algeria when bilinguals are angry, anxious or nervous.

4. To emphasise a point

As noticed in our speech community, Algerian speakers may switch codes at a certain point of their conversations in order to strengthen and emphasise a point. That is to say, they ensure that listeners get a complete understanding of what they mean.

5. Habitual Experience

Common and fixed phrases mainly in French are used frequently in Algerian speech. Hence, speakers may codeswitch from AA to French using phrases such as greetings, commands, requests, apologies and discourse markers.

6. Semantic significance

Frequently, this way of switching occurs as a linguistic strategy to convey important and meaningful linguistic and social information, especially when the bilingual notices that the concept may be better explained only in one of the two languages.

7. To show identity with a group

Algerian bilinguals select a certain code and a specific way of speaking to show their values and experiences within a group. For instance, they may not use words and phrases in AA to represent a sense of belonging to a particular group or to share familiarity with the group.

8. To address a different audience

Like the other cases, this one happens in Tlemcen community when different languages are used in the same conversation to convey meaning with different listeners. This case involves the translation process, i.e., when the audience involves speakers of different languages.

9. Pragmatic reasons

Very often, the use of CS depends on the context where the conversation takes place. This case shows that the switch may target ironical purposes. Hence, CS may reflect a varied degree of speakers' involvement. This point will be extended further in the next section.

10. To attract attention

In our speech community, often bilinguals switch from one code to another to attract the audience's attention.

2.6.1. Pragmatic functions of code switching among Algerian speakers

Based on Gumperz's (1982) ideas, Auer (1984, 1998) further developed the pragmatic approach. For his model of CS, he relies on conversation analysis and Gumperz's theory of *contextualisation cues*. He analyses CS in conversation and presents various patterns of typical switching sequences.

Algerians in many situations may codeswitch using French in the same conversation for some ironical purposes. This remark supports the pragmatic and communicative functions of CS according to Gumperz (1982) ‘contextualization cues’. Pragmatic aspects of CS are central to this study since the main concern is the analysis of communicative functions and the speaker’s intent of individual instances of language alternation in conversation. In other words, instead of just identifying various aspects of CS, this section aims at developing models for its interpretation and to show the hidden meaning for which bilingual speakers may switch languages in an otherwise unchanged situation. We have noticed that Algerian speakers frequently say what they do not actually mean, that is, they say something ironically to imply the opposite or generally the negative intention. For instance, let us consider the following AA/French sentences in which Gumperz (1982) ‘contextualization cues’ are clearly displayed:

- (77) **J’emprunte de l’argent** bæʃ naʔt̪elək! ‘I borrow money to give you!’ hædi **c’est la meilleure!** ‘This is the best one.’

In this case, the utterance must not be interpreted literally as the speaker says what he does not really mean. He uses ‘the best’ to imply that this it is ‘the worse’ he is expecting, and that he cannot expect worse. Therefore, the utterance should be interpreted as sarcasm or irony and it can be seen as corresponding to Gumperz ‘contextualization cues’.

- (78) rik t̪səχd̪əm **pour ses beaux yeux** ‘You are working for her nice eyes.’

This is another context signaled by the speaker who says what he does not really mean: the French expression shows that the person the speaker is working for does not deserve that.

- (79) hædæk jbiʔ r̪χis? **Tu parles!** ‘He sells with good prices, you’re telling me! (You must be joking)’

This case, too, illustrates Gumperz ‘contextualization cues’ as the speaker says what he does not really mean and switches code using the French expression to show that the one with whom he was speaking was wrong.

(80) **Bien sûr** marikʃ ʔarfa ‘Of course you do not know.’

In this context, the speaker wants to mention indirectly that the one spoken to is lying by saying what he does not really mean.

(81) **Pas de café noir** lija? ‘No black coffee for me?’

A context that is different from what is expected is shown in this case as the speaker means exactly the opposite of what he says, that is, he does want black coffee!

(82) duk jdʒibhælək **tu peux attendre** ‘He will bring it to you. You can wait.’

Here, the speaker utters something to imply something else. He means that the listener can wait, but in reality, he will never get it.

(83) duk dʒi ʔandi. **C’est ça!** ‘You will come to my house. That is it.’

Likewise, in this case, the speaker uses irony to express the opposite of his intention so he says what he does not really mean.

(84) rani naʔmal hædəʃʃi bəlʔæni. **Ça va?** ‘I’m doing this on purpose, all right?’

In this example, the speaker addresses the interlocutor by using the French expression ‘Ça va?’ to harm, while it is normally used to inquire about someone’s health or problem.

(85) **C'est pas la peine de chercher midi à quatorze heures;** $\chi a\tau\grave{e}r \text{ mat}_{s}sebhaj$ 'There's no point looking for noon at 2 p.m.'

Similarly, the speaker shows, in this case, a sense of bet since he takes the gamble that the listener will never find it (solution) using the French expression.

All these switches, clearly corresponding to Gumperz 'contextualization cues', appear to reflect a strategy of CS to mean exactly the opposite of what is said.

2.6.2. Algerians' attitudes towards French and Code switching

Attitudes play a fundamental role in sociolinguistics as they might be responsible for the development or failure of certain linguistic systems. Therefore, these attitudes gain considerable attention from many scholars and sociolinguists. Scholars target to show their effect in many scientific fields, such as psychology, anthropology, ethnography, and education. Sociolinguists, on the other hand, assert that attitudes may affect either positively or negatively language learning and language use. In the same line of thought, Gardner (1985: 9) claims that "attitude is an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent".

CS was viewed negatively as lack of competence in both languages and the inability to continue a conversation in the opening language. Studying the phenomenon was not even worthy to be investigated by scholars. Previously, in many bilingual communities, the use of more than one language in the same conversation was often stigmatized, especially when it was within the same utterance. In this case of negative attitudes, several connotations are used to

describe this linguistic deficiency. In this respect, Milroy & Gordon say (2003: 212):

We find “Nuyorican,” “Spanglish,” “Tex-Mex” in the United States for Spanish/English mixes; “tuti futi” in Britain for Panjabi/English; “Chinglish” in Hong-Kong for Chinese/ English, and many more.

However, all studies done about CS show that viewing this phenomenon has changed, i.e., it becomes a rule-governed system used as a strategy of communication. Among various types of attitudes towards CS in Algeria, we can give the following ones to show its various assessments by Algerians:

- A speaker says that he codeswitches more to show off than to purposely communicate an idea; or to intentionally exclude lower-level speakers, to at least be noticed as a higher-level speaker.
- It happened to us (teachers of English) one day when we were talking to a friend of us in Algerian Arabic about some personal issues. Then, another person came to join us in our conversation and we did not want him to know what we were discussing, so we automatically switched to English, in order to exclude him from our conversation.
- Bilinguals shift from one language to another in relation to the context, language domain (for example, family, religion, and level of education,), the audience, and the topic.
- Speakers codeswitch for other reasons such as to clarify a point, to emphasise something, to reinforce a request, to substitute a word, or to use words with no equivalent in the other language.
- Another informant supposes that individuals’ behaviour reflects the way in which Arabic and French have come to symbolise different cultures and lifestyles

to the extent that many Algerians are of the staunch Francophone élite, and they look down to Arabic speakers.

- French is widely used even by uneducated Algerians. Indeed, they often switch to French when speaking amongst themselves. They could obviously speak Arabic, but their conversations would often go back and forth between Algerian Arabic and French. They are definitely comfortable using French for daily interactions.

- As an Algerian, I think we do not speak French all the time. However, we do include French words in our speech. We can notice that Algerian Arabic is associated with Algerian culture and way of life, i.e., identity and tradition while French is linked with modern and western values, i.e., modernity and advancement.

- I asked a friend of mine about the way Algerians speak, mentioning that sometimes it's impossible to carry a conversation in only one language and he told me that French is very widely used in our community and sometimes it is unconscious.

- I'm an Algerian doctor and all of my studies of medicine and my speciality were done in French. I work in the Algerian hospital, all of my conversations about patients, diagnosis etc. are in French. Algeria maintains the French language in higher education purposefully. French conversation is reserved for highly educated persons, especially when the conversation is fully in French.

- Some of my clients speak very good French, so I should speak it with some Algerian Arabic switches to converge with them. Of course, French is taught at school and Algerian TV has several French programmes available. Hence, it's not difficult for us to keep up with the language.

- In Algeria, it does not sound weird at all to hear people saying utterances where we find a great number of French words. This clearly results from the long-term-colonisation and then political decisions.

2.7. Conclusion

This work is an attempt to point out the socio-pragmatic reasons of CS among Tlemcenian speakers. We claim that the use of the French language often requires a certain degree of proficiency in this foreign language, in addition to speakers' positive attitude towards it. In this speech community, borrowing is used, along with CS, as a recurrent feature that characterises the speech of Algerians. This is somehow an ordinary linguistic behaviour and a predictable one in the sense that these speakers live in a bilingual society. All types of CS are found, mainly intrasentential ones. Besides, both situational and metaphorical CS (Blom and Gumperz 1972) occur depending on the context where speakers are with their sociolinguistic functions.

The Algerian linguistic and sociolinguistic situation is a specific one as it is characterised by both diglossic and bilingual situations where borrowing and CS are frequently used. The long-term French occupation of Algeria gave birth to bilingualism. It deeply influenced Algerians' mother tongue since even uneducated people codeswitch and borrow words from French in their daily conversations. Both Arabic and Berber varieties in Algeria are full of French words. Political reasons have designated AA and Tamazight as dialects and MSA as the standard language. In the case of our country, Arabic speakers switch between AA and French and use MSA to a lesser degree as it is the informal variety. However, the switch for Berber speakers in areas where they live occurs between Tamazight and French though their varieties display a great number of AA words and expressions. Therefore, the linguistic profile of Algeria is very complex sociolinguistically.

It is fundamental to mention the case of some uneducated Algerians with the ability to understand and speak the French language as a result of colonialism. These people of this generation are considered as ‘Francophones’ as they favour this foreign language in their daily activities such as reading newspapers, watching TV, debating an issue and writing letters. Besides, the majority of these speakers, if not all, have no basis in MSA, although it has been considered the official language of the country since independence. Consequently, these Francophones affect the Arabisation policy launched after independence and till now they affect their family members’ way of speaking and thus the Algerian as a whole.

This chapter has demonstrated that there are many reasons for which CS takes place in a particular social context. It is often used as a communicative strategy. On the other hand, whether it has a negative or positive effect on the communication, it aims at changing in accordance with whom and where the speaker interacts in a conversation. In addition, recent studies have shown that alternation of languages is a common linguistic process of developing languages in use as opposed to the first belief that CS results from confusion or language deficit. The aforementioned examples of CS show that it is used to negotiate meaning, facilitate speech, repeat ideas and to show one’s identity. Besides, in other cases, it is used for irony, humour and fun.

The linguistic behaviour of bilinguals varies from one context to another. The alternation of languages is influenced by many non-linguistic variables such as participants, topic, setting, or mood and so on. Thus, the aim of the next chapter is to describe the studied area where data have been collected and to explain the methodology of the present study. The questionnaire, recording and observation are the main methods used in an attempt to obtain reliable linguistic data.

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

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3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology design used in this study focusing on the participants, data collection and data analysis procedures. It also aims at describe the main sociolinguistic features that characterise the studied area. This will be undertaken by reflecting upon the database consisting of a questionnaire, observation with note taking, interviews and recordings of authentic conversations.

The focus is mainly on the social and pragmatic use of CS. To do so, the sample population is taken from an Algerian speech community, in which different dialogues, conversations and utterances produced are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Following Milroy (1980: 47) who states that the ‘friend of a friend’ approach can help the researcher “to obtain goods at cost price, to mediate in a brush with the authorities, or to secure the services of a handyman”, our informants were selected randomly, so that each member could have an opportunity to be selected through this procedure proved to be an interesting component of the social network approach. Moreover, the ‘friend of a friend’ approach is not appropriate only to this work, but also in other studies, and its usefulness has been invaluable (Tagliamonte 2006: 22). This technique will be clearly explained subsequently in note taking and interview technique.

Moreover, the aim of this research is to identify the socio-pragmatic motivations for the occurrence of particular codeswitched utterances. Hence, in accordance with the goals of this research work, both qualitative and quantitative research approaches are combined in an effort to analyse the collected data and to obtain accurate outcomes and sufficient information from the respondents. In order to depict the social functions of CS and the main reasons that lead people to codeswitch, data are gathered through recordings, questionnaires, interviews and note taking. In other words, it aims at covering social motivation of CS and its pragmatic functions among speakers of Tlemcen speech community. Moreover, the gathered data used in this work are analysed within the framework of Gumperz (1982) who introduced the interactional approach to CS arguing that contextualization cues should not be considered in isolation because their functions

derive from an interactive process. As research in CS has a pragmatic scope and contextualisation cues regard the implicit meaning as the most important characteristic. This work is also analysed within the framework of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993) holding that speakers negotiate language choice on a rational basis reflecting social position, and on Holmes' (2013) assertion that social factors are the most fundamental tools in delineating and explaining utterances of all types of social interactions.

3.2. Description of the Studied Area

The effect of any and all aspects of society on language use is of great interest in sociolinguistics which aims at showing the linguistic variation that may occur, particularly in relation to social and psychological factors in a specific area. Besides, one main concern of this work is the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions of CS in Tlemcen speech community, in particular when people say something which implies something else using CS. Therefore, as sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society, it is worth here to describe the area under investigation.

3.2.1. Geographical Overview of Tlemcen

Tlemcen is located in the extreme North West of Algeria. It has twenty districts (daïras) and fifty-three municipalities; it covers an area of 9 061 km². It has a population of 949 135 in (1998)⁸. It is bordered by several towns (wilayas); from the north the Mediterranean, from the west Morocco, from the south Naâma and from the east the two towns Sidi-Bel-Abbes and Aïn Témouchent. It is about 500kms far from Algiers.

Thanks to its geographical position, the town of Tlemcen has a valuable strategic location of several important wilayas and the far west foreign country. The ethnic ancestry of the population of Tlemcen is composed of Berbers, Arabs and

⁸ https://www.google.dz/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=S_phVaOZBoKR7AbvxoA4#q=tlemcen, accessed on 01-06-2015

other ethnic groups from different origins. Furthermore, Tlemcen is a historical area well known for its culture, traditions and mainly its unique dialect, in Algeria, which is characterised by the realisation of the MSA phoneme /q/ as a glottal stop [ʔ] which is used by Tlemcen inner-city people.

3.2.2. Tlemcen Speech Community

The main interest of the present work is to investigate the social and pragmatic functions of CS. However, it is significant to give a linguistic overview of the speech community of the studied area. In fact, just like other speech communities, Tlemcen people often codeswitch from AA to French to convey meaning, but particularly when speaking to foreigners who might not understand some words or expression typical of Tlemcen speech community.

One of the most conspicuous linguistic features which characterises Tlemcen speech community is the realisation of the phoneme /q/ of MSA as the glottal stop /ʔ/. This oft-cited phonological feature occurs as a realization of the phoneme /q/ in almost all words. Accordingly, it is part of the culture of only inner-city people. Its use refers to their origin and social identities, i.e., the ones who use [ʔ], without hypercorrection, are regarded as native speakers of Tlemcen speech community.

Moreover, though speakers of Tlemcen may have more than one linguistic variety, they all share norms of a common speech community to a certain extent. They may also have positive attitudes and/or negative ones towards language variation. In this respect, Ryan & Giles (1982: 1) say:

Whether speaking one or five languages, all individuals belong to at least one speech community, a community all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use. Language variation within and between speech communities can involve different languages or only contrasting styles of one language. In every society the differential power of particular social groups is reflected in the language variation and in attitudes toward those variations.

Besides, we can notice in the speech of Tlemcen native speakers that other Arabic consonants are realized differently in certain words; e.g. consonant /ḍ/ realized as [ṭ] especially by women as in /ṭħak/ ‘He laughed’, /mṛe:ṭ/ ‘sick’; also /ð̣/ is realized as [ṭ] in /ṭhar/ ‘back’, /ṭfar/ ‘nail’, and even the dental plosive ت is realized as affricated [ṭs].

Another salient distinction is observed, in Tlemcen speech community, at the lexical level. Speakers, particularly old women, may often use lexical items from other origins than French, and which do not exist in MSA such as words from Turkish origin like: /ʃadi/ ‘monkey’, /sukærdji/ ‘drunkard’, /gurḅi/ ‘shack’, /ṭəbṣi/ ‘plate’, /χurda/ ‘old-fashioned things’, and /zərda/ ‘feast’. Other words from Spanish origin like /bogador/ ‘lawyer’ from ‘abogado’.

Additionally, other words and expressions are typically used in Tlemcen speech such as /ənzdaḥ/ ‘Go to sleep!’ , /mzafkan/ ‘messy’, /ṭsṃərmi:d/ ‘disturbance’, /rah χajəṭ/ ‘he’s careless’, /mdəngər/ ‘sad’, /ṭsfiħḷəṭs/ ‘what a pity!’, and many others that we could not cite because it is neither the concern nor the objective of the present work. Accordingly, the French language may be used to explain and clarify such words, especially when used with a foreign audience that cannot understand specific terms related to Tlemcen speech community.

More often than not, speech acts signal the speaker’s social identity and may reflect relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Therefore, the speech of Tlemcen is characterised by the alternation between AA/French among other speech communities in the country. Thus, our interest in the present study is to examine the social and pragmatic functions of CS in this speech community. For instance, speakers may switch codes to share more social functions of emotions than just conveying messages, i.e., people may show intimacy, enjoyment, happiness, indulgence, pleasure, and satisfaction by switching back and forth to

French. In this respect, Hudson (2000: 122) relates such features to the term ‘solidarity’:

It concerns the social distance between people, how much experience they have shared; how many social characteristics they share (religion, sex, age, region of origin, race, occupation, interests, etc.); how far they are prepared to share intimacies, and other factors.

Aiming to achieve our goals, we attempt to select the right techniques, as there are various methods of data gathering, to get reliable data and to try to analyse them as objectively as possible.

3.3. Methodology and Data collection

This section provides the present study with rationales for selecting the reliable data, related to certain sets of pre-established criteria, i.e., socio-pragmatic functions of CS, and the methods employed for gathering and analysing the function of AA/French code shifts present in natural speech.

Undoubtedly, the effectiveness of the right methodology depends on first and foremost on the objectives of the present study. Therefore, it is fundamental to select properly the different tools through which linguistic data are collected. Besides, we should determine the right sample population achieving representativeness and effectiveness. To achieve the best possible understanding of the population under investigation, it is necessary to employ both quantitative and qualitative investigations. Therefore, questionnaire, interview, recording of spontaneous conversations and note taking are the main tools used to obtain data within a random stratified sample. Therefore, it seems fundamental to delimit our sample population in order to achieve the investigation of the aforementioned research questions.

3.3.1. Sample Population

The procedure which a researcher may select to obtain sample elements from a whole population is not an easy task. In this regard, Milroy & Gordon (2003: 26) mention that Gillian Sankoff (1980a) gives detail about three different kinds of decisions that the researcher must make about sampling procedures:

1. Defining the sampling universe. That is, to delineate, at least roughly, the boundaries of the group or community in which one is interested. An adequate sample frame to investigate group members may then be sought.
2. Assessing the relevant dimensions of variation within the community. This involves constructing stratification for the sample. Thus, we must ask whether ethnicity, gender, or social class of speaker might affect the kind of language used. Most studies so far have shown that to a very great extent they do, as does situational context.
3. Determining the sample size

Defining the universe of the sample as such a large group of people meant that sampling procedures had to be as random as possible. With this type of research goal, you cannot simply interview your own group of friends and acquaintances, or anyone else's, because such a selection would not be 'representative'. If you talked to people you knew, either directly or indirectly, you would get a very different view than if you had selected people randomly. When the goals of a study are to give a scale model of variation in a city as a whole, random sampling is the ideal.

(Tagliamonte, 2006: 19)

For the sample size, Lenth (2001: 188) attests the importance of determining it in a study. He says: "Sample size is important for economic reasons: An undersized study can be a waste of resources for not having the capability to produce useful results, while an oversized one uses more resources than are necessary."

Therefore, an important issue that arises when trying to take a sample is whether this will be done randomly or not. Thus, to reach the objective of the present study, the following section is devoted to depicting the appropriate sample population that may provide us with reliable data.

3.3.1.1. Random sampling

Milroy & Gordon (2003: 24) state that the random sample is the appropriate procedure when the researcher's aim is to accomplish *representativeness* and also to avoid any social bias. In this respect, they say:

The key to achieving a representative account of the language of a group of speakers is the avoidance of bias. Selecting speakers of a particular subgroup is an obvious source of bias if the goal is to describe the population in general.

Milroy & Gordon (2003) add that the random sampling endeavours to allow all the whole population to have a chance to be part of the investigation. They say that: "The guiding principle of random sampling is that anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected." (2003: 25). However, this type of sampling cannot be significant for the present study because such a sample would include unwanted informants who provide the present study with irrelevant data and thus may not be concerned with the main objectives of the research. Therefore, stratified random sample seems to be the most appropriate one for the investigation.

3.3.1.2. Stratified random sampling

Labov's work in English in New York City (1966) gave birth to a fundamental change in research methods. His description of urban speech was based on a study of 88 individuals from a socially stratified random sample, consisting of male and female speakers from three age groups and four social classes, identified on the basis of education, occupation and income. Labov explains that variation in the speech of the individual was a reflection of variation in the social group by illustrating how the most extreme case of stylistic variation in the use of /r/ by a single speaker was in conformity with the overall pattern exemplified in group scores of the different social classes (summarized in Chambers, 1995: 18-21).

This type of sampling achieves representativeness by stratifying the sample according to secondary variables which are suspected to be correlated with some aspects or other of linguistic variation, e.g. age, gender, level of education, social

status and origins. This method of sampling requires: “not that the sample be a miniature version of the population, but only that we have the possibility of making inferences about the population based on the sample.” Sankoff (1980a: 900). In other words, this method achieves representativeness by selecting informants from the whole target population using deductions and not just having a reduced version of the whole community.

Moreover, the researcher can obtain a stratified random sampling by stratifying the whole population commensurate with other variables, which are determined to be significant to language variation, such as age, gender, level of education, origin and so on. Therefore, this stratified sampling is opted for, in the present work to select and delimit a proportion of speakers who fit certain categories according to the main aforementioned issues and hypothesis. For instance, the questionnaire achieves to obtain only adult people of Tlemcen speech community. For the interviews, only eight informants are selected in relation to three social factors: age, gender and level of education. In other words, the sample is typically stratified on the basis of region, age, gender and level of education. In fact, these methods of data collection provide the researcher with more quantitative and qualitative reliable data associated with the way people codeswitch and their attitudes. Thus, this study opts for the second kind, i.e., the stratified random sampling. The types of speakers to be studied were identified in advance and a proportion of speakers delimited to fit the specified categories, according to the issue and the hypotheses. For instance, only those somewhat educated and educated adults living in Tlemcen may have an opportunity to answer the questionnaire or to be interviewed as uneducated people do not use French and the speech of younger generation is constantly in change and their socio-pragmatic functions are not yet developed.

3.3.2. Informants

The subjects of this study come from Tlemcen city for the interviews, questionnaire and recordings. However, for the note taking part, we take the whole

town of Tlemcen since some of the data is taken from Tlemcen radio, where all people from the whole town of Tlemcen and outside may make calls.

Furthermore, in all cases of the first contact with strangers, we can immediately develop certain beliefs and judgments just from their way of speaking. For instance, often phonological features or certain lexical elements are considered as linguistic detectors able to make the listener (researcher) identify speakers' origin, in particular the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] and the fortis velar plosive [k] which can be considered as a realization of the standard phoneme of MSA /q/, and, therefore these phonological features refer to Tlemcen and Ghazaouet speech communities respectively. Consequently, in conversations with strangers, it is not less recurrent that most people may have opinions about the speakers based only on inherent and ingrained prejudices.

Subsequently, whether people are conscious or not, they all develop certain "implicit personality theories" (Giles & Powesland 1975: 1), which help them to develop information and opinions about the speaker based on some linguistic elements which have been taken as keys to identify the speaker. One of the first things that attract the hearer and perception process, besides appearance, facial expression and body language, is a person's speech style.

Furthermore, the selection of our data is guided by the intention to study the speech of adults since children's language skills are still developing. Additionally, a pragmatic function of CS cannot be investigated at children's level as this function may not be developed at an early age. Moreover, the level of education, in the present research work, is determined by the success in the Baccalaureate exam, i.e., educated subjects are those who got their exam, whereas the less-educated are the ones who failed in the Baccalaureate exam or the ones who left school before reaching this level of qualification. On the other hand, uneducated ones are the ones who can neither write nor read.

As far as the eight interviewees are concerned, and for qualitative data, they were selected purposefully according to three social factors: age, gender and level

of education. In other words, we have interviewed four men and four women from Tlemcen with different ages and levels of education (educated and less-educated) so as to investigate their use of French, their CS, and then their attitudes towards the first foreign language and then to CS. The three social factors are selected on the basis that they can affect language use and particularly CS. For instance, through our observation and note taking we have noticed that in our speech community the use of French is related to the family environment, what we call ‘milieu’ since less-educated people in one family environment or family background may often use the French language correctly than the educated ones living in another family background. Thus, the level of education in our community may not affect the use of French objectively but may reveal unexpected results. Besides, age also plays a crucial role in the use of French as older people are noticed to codeswitch in spite of their low level of education resulting from their contact with French during the occupation. Subsequently, the children acquired this first foreign language at an early age from their next of kin who lived with French people. Gender, too, is a significant social factor that affects the way people speak when using French.

3.3.3. Qualitative and quantitative approaches

In almost all sociolinguistic investigations both qualitative and quantitative methods are required to achieve and accomplish representativeness. For instance, in the whole methodology of works approaching CS, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used, as in the most salient studies of Muysken (2000), Myers-Scotton (2002b), and Clyne (2003). The approach advocated in the study focuses on the socio-pragmatic approach of CS. This linguistic phenomenon has a number of functions which vary according to the topic, people involved in a conversation and the context where the conversation takes place.

Furthermore, this work contains both naturalistic and elicited data for examining the social and pragmatic functions of CS in Tlemcen speech community. Therefore, both methods are used so as to obtain reliable data and analysis. For this, the qualitative approach is done using interviews, note taking, and recordings while the quantitative method is provided using the questionnaire. The former also

provides our research work with the main reasons and functions of CS, whereas the latter rather gives numbers in relation to the different social factors that may affect the occurrence of CS.

3.3.3.1. Qualitative approach

Qualitative analysis of CS will provide us with functional, pragmatic aspects of the use of the two genetically unrelated languages, AA and French. As some scholars select both methods to achieve their goals, others like MacSwan (1999) and Ziamari (2008) have applied only the qualitative one which they found most appropriate to their studies. Furthermore, Mallinson *et al.* (2013) also prove that a qualitative method is used to identify language in use in relation to the locus. In this regard, they (2013: 14) argue:

The data for qualitative sociolinguistic research are of widely diverse types, but labelling qualitative data as “language in use” perhaps captures a coherent element in the diversity. There is much more concern about revealing the social context under which the data were produced: who was speaking to whom; what was the setting; what was the relationship between the interlocutors; what roles in the group do the interlocutors have; and any other aspects of the occurrence of the utterances that are considered to be relevant to the analysis. The data for the analysis are often taken from interviews, much as in the quantitative approach. However, in qualitative studies, extracts that have been taken (and usually transcribed) from the recorded interviews or from conversation between speakers, one of whom may be the investigator, are provided as evidence for the linguistic claim being made.

All of the gathered data have been transcribed using SILManuscript IPA93 but only for Arabic. The French language is written in bold type. This data serves as a basis for a detailed analysis of the socio-pragmatic functions of the alternation between the two genetically unrelated languages, Algerian Arabic and French.

Additionally, the fact that I belong to the community under study has many advantages. For instance, one of the advantages is to offer a comprehensive understanding of the cultural norms that may influence informants' CS of Tlemcen community. However, the drawbacks of the researcher, being a part of the studied area, is that the closer the researcher is to the group under study, the more myopic,

he or she may become about the significance of everyday acts that the group takes for granted (Zentella, 1997: 7). Consequently, we were careful when gathering and analysing data during the whole research work.

3.3.3.2. Quantitative approach

The quantitative data is provided in this study through the use of a questionnaire to explain the way social factors impinge on a linguistic choice to create stylistic, sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects. In this respect, Tagliamonte (2006: 12) states:

The advantage of the quantitative approach lies in its ability to model the simultaneous, multi-dimensional factors impacting on speaker choices, to identify even subtle grammatical tendencies and regularities in the data, and to assess their relative strength and significance.

Moreover, Guy (1993: 235) sets the objectives of a quantitative method and says that ‘The ultimate goal of any quantitative study... is not to produce numbers (i.e., summary statistics), but to identify and explain linguistic phenomena.’ Consequently, we provide our findings by using a quantitative type of research to attempt to explain the different socio-pragmatic functions of CS and to seek for the social factors that may affect this linguistic phenomenon.

3.3.4. Survey instruments

In the sociolinguistic literature, data are collected by using several and various types of techniques such as questionnaire, word list procedure, interviews and so many others like the following ones:

- ❖ Telephone polling techniques have also been widely used in sociolinguistic research (Labov, 1984; Milroy, 1987: 73).

- ❖ Postal questionnaires can also be used as an efficient method of collecting data, mainly when the researcher has to survey numerous speakers across large communities using the written medium.

❖ Social networks (Facebook, Twitter), e-mailing questionnaires, web-based surveys are often used as nowadays researchers regard them as methods of collecting reliable data.

Researchers working on phenomena like CS tend to select certain types of data rather than others, such as the case of Myers-Scotton (2006b) who argues that only naturalistic data can inform CS research, as it is the only type of data that occurs in everyday situations. However, this methodological technique has been subject to criticism. Indeed, Toribio (2001) criticises naturalistic data as she considers it as restrictive and lacking reliability. Later on, Toribio and Bullock (2009: 23) argue that naturalistic data has a number of drawbacks as follows:

(1.) Costs. Gathering and transcribing a large corpus of bilingual speech is complicated and costly.

(2.) Accountability. For various reasons (competition between researchers, the privacy of the bilingual speakers recorded, incomplete or fragmented transcription, negligence), virtually none of the bilingual corpora on which the CS studies are based are publicly available. It is therefore not possible to study the same materials in order to test the conclusions reached or explore other interpretations.

(3.) Inherent limitations. A corpus of naturalistic data has inherent limitations. Some questions are very difficult to answer on the basis of a corpus. These are not only questions that generative syntacticians might ask (e.g. Is it possible to switch in a clause with a parasitic gap?), but fairly standard research questions as well.

She also views interviews and self-reports as unreliable techniques of data collection of CS. In this regard, Toribio (2005: 406) says:

Interviews and self-reports about bilingual speech are unreliable. Bilinguals often find it difficult to remember which language was used in any particular speech exchange. Moreover, the problem of self-reporting is exacerbated in situations of social stigma, as a speaker may refrain from switching when being observed or recorded, owing to subjective factors such as the appropriateness of code-switching to the interview situation and the esteem in which the practice is held.

Furthermore, we agree with Nortier (2008: 35) who attests that “In general, there is not one single best way of collecting data. A combination of two or more data collection methods will give the finest results. The pros and cons of each method have to be weighed carefully”. As researchers, we argue that the best way to gather data is related to the research questions raised by a particular investigation, and mostly determined by the various methodologies and approaches. Thus, we rather use the following techniques and methods to gather data: anonymous observation of speech, questionnaires, interviews and conversation recordings have allowed us to collect various samples of data for the analysis of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen. This research work concentrates on the social and pragmatic use of CS and to achieve this goal the following four methods are used.

3.3.4.1. Interview

Almost the whole literature on sociolinguistic topics acknowledges that interview techniques tend to be an effective means of data collection. It attempts at eliciting linguistic data in investigations dealing with language use, and in sociolinguistic enquiries in different speech contexts. To illustrate this, Labov’s work in the Lower-East side of New York City developed this sociolinguistic interview, as he (1966) identified nine contextual styles from casual to formal. This method of gathering data is solicited by the researcher to obtain the maximum amount of information and reasons behind the use of CS that are relevant to the present study and that cannot be obtained through other methods. Using interviews, the researcher can ask specific questions to elicit more information about the reasons of CS and its socio-pragmatic functions.

However, in some other investigations concerning linguistic variation, it is difficult to obtain reliable data, especially with interview techniques, which are less significant in certain cases as it is often impossible to collect data, mainly when it concerns stigmatised sociolinguistic features. For instance, the vernacular form cannot be obtained through interviews, but instead, recordings of natural, spontaneous speech and note taking tend to be more appropriate; Milroy & Harris

(1980) described the study of Belfast inner-city speech where the distinction between the vowel of ‘meet’ and ‘meat’ occurs only in spontaneous speech. Besides, while interview techniques work well for small samples, broad-based samples are difficult to administer through sociolinguistic interviews. Moreover, Bryman (2004: 133) argues that interviews are extremely time-consuming and costly to administer. Therefore, when employing recorded interviews in research works the number of informants is often limited (Garrett *et al.*, 2003: 34) and the data obtained from interviews can be difficult to quantify or to analyse systematically (Codó, 2008: 158).

Moreover, when gathering data in natural conversations the researcher should take into consideration the observer’s paradox. Hence, to minimise the possibility that our subjects would be intimidated by the presence of a stranger interviewer, the data collected for this study are primarily done by the researcher and a family member of the informant, the procedure called *a friend of a friend*. As Tagliamonte (2006: 21) says:

An interesting component of the social network approach is the ‘friend of a friend’. These are people who play an intermediary role in the community. It is the ‘friend of a friend’ who helps you to get the things you want [...]

Consequently, although in our research work the interview is not the adequate technique to collect spontaneous data concerning pragmatic functions of CS, we include it to obtain more information about CS and its socio-pragmatic significance used by our interviewees. Moreover, the experimentally-elicited data is required to authenticate the observed facts and to test the extent to which people can be aware of such a linguistic phenomenon. Therefore, we include the semi-structured interview as a method of research to obtain more qualitative data related to people’s attitudes, mainly the ones with negative attitudes towards the French language. Speakers often claim that they speak only Arabic, but in reality, it is not the case since we have noticed that they use French quite a lot. For instance, in an interview broadcasted on Ennahar TV, the interviewer asked people on the street why Algerians use the French language with Arabic in daily life. Indeed, most people

being asked did a conscious effort to make a monolingual speech and to avoid French words and thus CS using hesitations, slips of the tongue, changes of structure in mid-utterance. Some of these people were speaking slowly in order to avoid any French word, and others consciously used one or two French words, saying that this has long been used since French colonialism.

In the present part of the research work, we will analyse the interviews realised with eight informants from Tlemcen city, among whom four are men and four women, with different ages and levels of education. As a matter of fact, we have selected age, gender and level of education according to our issues and hypotheses, as social factors regarded as affecting the use of CS. As far as age is concerned, we have related it to the Arabisation policy established after independence, the process that had influenced mainly people who were born after 1975, that is, almost a decade after the establishment of the policy. In this respect, Granguillaume (1977: 95-119) says⁹:

In the first years which followed independence, the impregnation of French was so heavy that this objective of Arabization was proposed only for a long term, so that no country set in this domain radical measures (which would have been perhaps the only opportunity to realize a fast arabization).

Consequently, the age of the informants is significant as people born between 1975 and 2000 (today aged 18 to 40 years old) were much more influenced by the Arabisation policy than the ones born between 1935 and 1974 (those aged 41 to 80). These were not able to adapt themselves to this policy as nowadays French is still present and highly regarded thanks to president Bouteflika. In other words, as today French is still present following President Bouteflika's political orientation and positive attitude towards an 'opening' to foreign languages, to French in particular and its culture. The Algerian Parliament adopted, in April 2002, a constitutional modification instituting the Berber as a national language. Besides, with this

⁹ My translation of the original text: « Dans les premières années qui suivirent l'indépendance, l'imprégnation du français était tellement pesante que cet objectif de l'arabisation n'était proposé qu'à long terme, de sorte qu'aucun pays ne prit en ce domaine de mesures radicales (qui auraient été peut-être la seule chance de réaliser une arabisation rapide). »

recognition of the Tamazight, we moved timidly to the pragmatic recognition of French, the speech of the president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, at the summit of the francophonie in Beirut (1999) is significant as he says ¹⁰:

Algeria is a country which does not belong to the Francophonie but we have no reason for having a hardened attitude towards the French language which taught us so much and which, in any case, opened the window of French culture.

The sample size is limited to only 8 persons for qualitative objectives only and due to the time constraint of the present investigation. For this procedure, the table below summarises the types of interviewees selected for the present investigation:

Table 3.1. Selected Interviewees according to age, gender and level of education.

Age	Gender	Educated	Less-educated
18 to 40	Male		
	Female		
+40	Male		
	Female		

Therefore, these interviewees are selected purposefully to investigate the way age, level of education and gender influence speech ways and speakers' attitudes toward French and CS. The semi-structured interview is realised between the informant and his/her close relative and the researcher so as to reach spontaneity, natural speech and to reduce unwitting anxiety. The Interview is prepared in order to gather maximum qualitative data. It is divided into two parts. The first one consists of interviewees' background questions such as age, origin, period of speaking French and attitudes towards this foreign language. The second one

¹⁰ My translation of the original text: « L'Algérie est un pays qui n'appartient pas à la francophonie mais nous n'avons aucune raison d'avoir une attitude figée vis-à-vis de la langue française qui nous a tant appris et qui nous a, en tout cas, ouvert la fenêtre de la culture française. »

includes questions that provide reliable information to establish the way respondents codeswitch. In other words, it consists of the main open-ended questions related to the factors that may affect the phenomenon of CS such as the topic of the conversation, age, level of education, etc. The informants were requested to narrate stories and to talk about their social problems and interests in various subjects i.e., about their day to day activities. We noticed that people answered spontaneously to questions related to the high costs of life, e.g. food prices, health prices (for those who need medical insurance), and energy prices etc.

Consequently, interviews, note taking, questionnaire and recordings are the main methods of collecting data in this study. The span of data collection, using note taking and recordings, is from July 1st, 2012 to the end of the year 2015. Note taking, interviews and recordings provide the present study with a qualitative analysis, i.e., to describe the social and pragmatic functions of CS. On the other hand, the questionnaire provides quantitative analysis aiming to show the social and linguistic background of the informants and their awareness of the use of the French language. Moreover, the questionnaire aims to show if social factors such as age, gender, level of education may affect language in use, particularly the pragmatic functions of CS.

As any research work, the present investigation has certain limitations, although it attempts to reach its aims. First, because of time constraint, this study was conducted on a small sample when collecting data, particularly when interviewing only eight respondents for qualitative purposes. Second, the research deals with a somewhat stigmatised topic as the investigation on the French language might actually be affected by the response of some people. Finally, the results of this study may not be completely generalizable because the sample was restricted to Tlemcen speech community.

3.3.4.2. Note taking

As aforementioned, note taking is the second method used to gather data for this study. This method aims to consider naturally-occurring speech of Tlemcenian

bilinguals. It provides us with access to several things that are not noticeable or directly reachable such as authenticity, feelings and intentions as well as spontaneity in responses since participants are not aware of the presence of the researcher. In this regard, Labov (1972: 209) describes his ‘observer paradox’ as follows:

... the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.

On the one hand, speakers usually codeswitch when they think that if they use both codes they will be commonly understood by a community, and then their meaning will be clearly conveyed. On the other hand, they may codeswitch to include themselves among speakers of a specific group.

During the whole study, we took notes from the radio station of Tlemcen, in addition to conversations in ceremonies (weddings, funerals, birthdays and parties), confabulations with colleagues (university teachers), students, friends, family members and foreigners. All data come from naturally-occurring situations where spontaneity of speech reaches its peak. In other words, the occurrence of CS was noted as they occurred in the spontaneous speech of different individuals on different occasions. All types of people were involved; young and old, educated and uneducated, male and female. The data were collected over the whole research work at different places. We always noted down instances of CS immediately after we heard them if pen and paper were available, or instances of CS were saved as messages on a cell phone.

Furthermore, to expand our data, two students of the English department living in Tlemcen were solicited to take notes of instances of CS during their summer holiday. Their work was done as objectively as possible since they gathered natural speech as it occurred. On the other hand, this method was used surreptitiously and without the knowledge of the speakers. The aim of this work is to focus on how people speak and not on what they say. In other words, using this

tool, data collection was free from informants' social identities or any other confidential information.

We present here a sample of codeswitched utterances from our large corpus of data. The gloss in English is written next to each utterance which is numbered for easy reference in the discussion. For instance, pragmatic functions of CS can be noticed in the sentences below:

- (87) $\gamma a j a$ **c'est bien.** 'It's good.' Meaning the opposite 'It's worse.'
- (88) $h a d a e k$ **vrai.** 'That man is very kind.'
- (89) **Il a un garçon** $j t e r$ **en informatique.** 'He has a son who 'flies' (is excellent) in computing.'

The following is a short conversation which occurred at a wedding between a group of speakers composed of two women of 45-60 years old and a girl of 4 years old. This conversation aims at showing that the French language may often be used to exclude a third party from the conversation as the mother uses French to mention that her little daughter was jealous of her cousin, and then the girl understands the French word replying that she was not jealous by switching code from Algerian Arabic to French.

- (90) **A:** $h a d i$ $b e n t s$ $m a n$? 'Whose daughter is she?'
- B:** $b e n t s$ $\chi a j$ $r i j j a d$ 'The daughter of my brother Ryad.'
- C:** $a n a$ $b e n t s$ $z a h i j a$ 'I'm Zahya's daughter.'
- B:** **Elle est jalouse.** 'She is jealous.'
- C:** $a n a$ $m a e s i$ **jalouse.** 'I'm not jealous.'
- B:** **Elle comprend très bien le Français.** 'She understands French very well.'

Another conversation was taken from a man, civil servant, talking on his mobile saying:

(91) **Téléphone** kæn **silencieux**. ‘The mobile was in silent mode.’

hæd **le procureur** ma jəfɦæmʃ **il n’a pas à**... ‘This prosecutor does not understand, he hasn’t got to...’

On the radio of Tlemcen, a listener calls the radio to give an advice to a girl who raised her problem. He says the following:

(92) llah jχalli:k ana bɾit_s naʃtə **un conseil** lhæd
lbənt ‘Please, I want to give a piece of advice to this girl.’

At the end of each year, a deliberation is organised to check students’ grades. In this meeting of teachers, a teacher enters the room asking if she can put her bag saying:

(93) llah jχali:k sake ʔəddæmæk nəmʃi nəʔlaʃ mʃa həl
məgluʃa ləl **quatrième étage**. ‘Please, my bag is next to you, I will go with a wicked person to the fourth floor.’

As mentioned by Grosjean (1982: 152), when bilinguals speak, there are words that trigger CS and in our speech community generally borrowed words are the trigger ones. Indeed, there are French words used in Tlemcen speech community that trigger CS and thus, speaker continues in the language of the switch. In Tlemcen speech community, many people consider the use of idioms as a tool of success mainly when used appropriately. Indeed, the Arabic and French idioms are often used when the speaker intends to express or emphasise his thoughts. In the same line of thoughts, Martin (1998: 178) claims about idiomatic expression saying that “it is one of the greatest joy of the French people, and, indeed, of many other cultures.” Consequently, Algerian speakers inherited many idiomatic expressions during the French occupation and they are still used today. As aforementioned in chapter two, there are French expressions which are recurrently used in Tlemcen speech community, particularly by educated speakers and which lead to trigger CS.

(94) **Coûter les yeux de la tête**, equivalent of ‘to cost an arm and a leg’, Means a price that’s very expensive. Eg bæʃ saggədnaha **ça a coûté les yeux de la tête**.

(95) **C’est dommage**. ‘It is a pity’. Eg: ma kuntʃ hæsəb həkda **c’est dommage**.

(96) **Etre bouche bée**. ‘To be open-mouthed’. eg ki ʔəlli **je suis restée bouche bée**.

(97) **C'est la goutte d'eau qui fait déborder le vase**. The equivalent of English ‘The straw that broke the camel's back.’ Eg: kæn ʔla səbba **c’était la goutte d'eau qui a fait déborder le vase**.

(98) **C’est une façon de parler**. ‘That is one way of putting it.’ Eg: **C’est une façon de parler** həkda makæn. ‘That is one way of putting it that is all.’

(99) **En principe** ‘As a rule.’ Eg: **En principe** reha msəggda. ‘Normally it is repaired.’

On the other hand, although this is not our concern in this study, it is important to be mentioned here. In fact, another case of CS is noticed, but less frequent than AA/French, in our speech community; it concerns the alternation between MSA and Algerian Arabic. A little boy of six years old tells his mother: lmoʔallima ʔtatna kurras lmurasala ‘the mistress gave us correspondence notebook.’ CS between MSA and AA happens mainly when the topic of the conversation is about schooling, justice, religion, and other fields directly related to MSA. This oft-repeated alternation AA/MSA is used in situations where the speaker knows or finds no equivalent of the word in MSA.

3.3.4.3. Questionnaire

As any study concentrates on quantitative data, written questionnaires are employed in order to collect large amounts of data from a large sample of informants during a small period of time. The structure of the questionnaire is an essential starting point. Thus, for the present study, the questionnaire aims to conceive attitudes, awareness, and the main social factors related the way CS is used. The combination of both closed-ended and open-ended questions, provides the researcher with a better understanding. Open-ended questions aim to gather data related to the informants' attitudes towards AA/French CS. In other words, the why-questions supply the present study with more qualitative data in order to successfully analyse attitudes. However, close-ended questions, such as yes-no questions, require a short answer, with no real need to expand. Accordingly, the answers that we will obtain through the close-ended questions comprise quantitative survey results and analysed using the SPSS software programme. Answers to open-ended questions comprise qualitative survey results. Social dimensions such as level of education, gender, and age were quantified and presented in bar graphs in percentages.

The questionnaire of this study contains two parts, the first part deals with the biographical profile of the participants. The second one consists of the main survey questions in Algeria, particularly the case of Tlemcen. The Informants are not made aware that their CS behaviour is the subject of investigation.

The questionnaire is administered to 100 respondents, 48 males and 52 females, fluctuating in age between 18 and 80 years and with different levels of education, occupation, and socioeconomic status. The participants were judiciously selected randomly to represent a stratified random sampling of the community. The researcher was present at the time of the completion of certain questionnaires so as to answer any potential question. Moreover, in the case of uneducated informants we administered the questionnaire orally using even the dialect to avoid misunderstanding. This methodological instrument is utilised for quantitative and qualitative analyses related to the main social factors that may affect CS.

However, as it is not efficient to gather data related to pragmatic functions of CS, that is, for a qualitative analysis, the questionnaire was first piloted to check its reliability. Attention was also paid to the density of the questionnaire and its appearance in order to ensure the respondents' willingness to invest time and effort into the completion of the questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2003: 19). To achieve this, ten people from different age, gender, education level, and who were not part of the main sample were selected to respond to the questionnaire. Therefore, the result of the pilot study reveals the ambiguity of some questions which lead us to make some changes by adding questions, omitting others, and modifying some concepts for more clarification. After that, the questionnaire was conducted again for the second time to the sample and the results showed coherence in the answers.

The questionnaire consists of two types of questions close-ended questions (Dichotomous Questions) and open-ended ones (Questions Based on Level of Measurement). Besides, the questionnaire had to be written in two languages to reduce any comprehension problems. As Codó (2008: 172) asserts, the translation of the questionnaire into the different languages spoken in the multilingual context under investigation constitutes a crucial step in the research design as it may lead to higher levels of participation. The respondents' real choice of language for the completion of the questionnaire also indicates clear language preferences and, thus, provides initial language behaviour data.

Therefore, the questionnaire was written in French and MSA and in other cases it was done as a semi-interview mainly for less-educated people. The first four questions broadly covered informants' biography such as gender, level of education, place of birth and age. The answers to the questions are related to the different uses of CS and how different social categories of people use this linguistic phenomenon. Then, the next questions aim at depicting the various socio-pragmatic functions that informants achieve through CS and their attitudes towards it.

The survey questionnaire includes the use of a Likert scale, in which 3 choices were given for some questions and 4 choices for others. According to Chua (2006), a Likert scale allows respondents to make choices. That is to say, the respondents

should be free in answering since a third choice is to be stated for any neutral opinion between the two extremes. For instance, four answers to a question may contain ‘yes / no’ as two extremes, ‘a little’, and ‘I do not know’ as a fourth neutral answer.

Moreover, other ways of collecting data are used to ascertain representativeness and reliability. Recordings in different settings of Tlemcen speech community turn out to be effective to obtain natural and spontaneous speech, mainly when the conversation is lengthy and it is hard to remember speech word for word. Therefore, the next section is devoted to the recording method which may provide the present work with naturalistic data. However, according to Bullock and Toribio (2009: 23-24), this method has a number of drawbacks, such as *costs, accountability, and inherent limitations*.

3.3.4.4. Recording

The American sociolinguist Labov (1972: 180) mentions, within a sociolinguistic investigation, that the researcher has to use “large volumes of well-recorded natural data”. In fact, the aim of using free recordings is to investigate all instances of CS from spontaneous and extempore speech. However, factual data may be fundamental to achieve the lacks of the recording procedure in studying the pragmatic and social functions of CS. As a result, not all the recorded conversations were relevant for the present study. Furthermore, aiming to avoid interviewees’ social constraints, we made the recordings longer so as to make them forget about the recording after a while. However, we noticed that people were unnatural and constrained with the tape recorder despite the fact that the recordings were long and despite the explanation given to the informant about anonymous recordings. Therefore, we apologise for the lack of ethical considerations as far as some recordings are concerned. However, many recordings were made on the basis of respondents’ permission.

This approach, socio-pragmatic functions of CS, requires that we record a bilingual conversation in a specific setting, such as family gathering (Sánchez,

1983), during radio broadcasts (Lipski, 1985), in the public domain (Callahan, 2009), etc. At this stage of data collection, the researcher has to assure for the suitable context to obtain reliable data. Besides, he has to make respondents free from anxiety or unnatural speech. For instance, Poplack (1980) asserts that the recording of naturalistic data should be in a variety of settings such as the public domain, peer group interactions, family gatherings, sociolinguistic interviews, classroom interactions, etc. Therefore, as a researcher, we have attempted to record people anonymously everywhere (in the street, on the bus, in the shops, at the dentist, at the market, in different ceremonies and so on.) but without their permission, as our objective was just their way of speaking without revealing their identities and without focusing on what they were saying. However, in other different cases we informed speakers, our distant and close relatives, that they were recorded without revealing their identities and thus after a while, they forget that they were being recorded and were speaking spontaneously without any apparent constraints.

While doing so, we noticed that even though this method of recording naturally occurring speech is effective in almost all cases, it has certain limitations and drawbacks. For example, apart from technical problems such as batteries of the tape-recorder running out and noise, there is the problem of bad recording arising from the fact that the tape-recorder might be hidden or in an inappropriate place. Therefore, there are problems to cope with the utterances themselves which have been omitted from our data.

The tool used in this method is the state-of-the-art Samsung tape-recorder that can be connected to our computer. The whole data gathered during three months with this recorder is put in the computer for better listening and analysis. In fact, we have recorded many informants and we decided to use *the friend of a friend* procedure in order to have more reliable data and to reach representativeness within the whole population of Tlemcen town. Besides, it is important to mention the length of the whole recordings as they vary from two minutes and twenty seconds (00:02:20) to twenty minutes and forty seconds (00:20:40).

As a researcher, we assert to obtain reliable data by recording speech at casual settings where the occurrence of CS is predominant. The data gathered was then transcribed and the transcription process was not simple, it was time-consuming as some sentences needed to be listened to several times to find out which part of the sentence was said in AA and which one was in French. We transcribed Arabic words as they occurred, that is, words were transcribed as they were pronounced by people and the French ones were written in bold type. Additional features like hesitations, laughs, and pauses were not displayed in all conversations unless they had a social meaning or interpretation. For example, in some cases, there seemed to be a hint of irony in speakers' voices and, thus, the laugh might prove that the speaker was using both languages to fulfil irony. Afterwards, for the whole relevant selected data in the present work, there was a translation to the English language.

3.4. Models to analyse Code switching

As CS practices and functions vary from one community to another, several approaches to its study depend on the conceptual framework underlined in each research work. It also depends on researchers' theoretical and methodological orientations, and the characteristics of CS in the specific community under investigation. In order to answer our research questions, this work focuses on the micro-level analysis, which is undertaken at an interactional level.

Consequently, in this section, we attempt to explain that different models of CS create different interpretations. For instance, for Wei¹¹(2005), CS is a tactic which speakers employ sub-consciously to achieve certain linguistic or social need. On the other hand, Blom and Gumperz's (1972) famous model of "situational switching" versus "metaphorical switching" was commonly used in the 1970s. Gumperz (1970) also notes that switching may emphasise varying degrees of speaker's involvement. Later, in (1982) he asserts that the speaker relies on the term *we-code* to express a set of attitudes such as subjective ones to create conversational

¹¹ Wei, L. "How can you tell?" Towards a Common Sense Explanation of Conversational Code-Switching," in *Journal of Pragmatics* 37: 2005, 276.

effect, whereas the term they-code expresses a set of completely different attitudes like objective ones.

Besides, Gumperz (1982) was the first to introduce *contextualization cues* (or contextualisation conventions), asserting that speakers in a conversation need to provide a context for the participants and that this context, including the intentions of how something is to be understood and interpreted, is signalled through contextualisation cues. In this respect, he says (1982: 130):

Any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and [...] people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction.

Subsequently, Martin-Jones (1995: 98) provides that the strategy of contextualization cues is “a means of conveying pragmatic information to interlocutors as to how a particular utterance is to be ‘read’ in context”. So, following Gumperz (1982) and Holmes (2013), we have searched for the pragmatic functions of CS. Our informants were asked about the main reasons that condition and lead them to CS. Besides, this condition, mostly triggers a recurrent manifestation of CS in their discourses. As expected, in some cases the interviewees were not even conscious that they did codeswitch.

Furthermore, as language switching is an important part of personal as well as group identity and because this research work focuses on the socio-pragmatic investigation of CS, we have to find out what goes on in such bilinguals’ behaviours when they codeswitch during their conversations, particularly when there is an alluded meaning; that is, when the meaning is not conveyed directly and requires socio-pragmatic interpretations. To achieve this, as a member of Tlemcen speech community, we have used the ethnographic approach ‘*participant observation*’ to observe and gather reliable data for the present work in addition to the interview, analysis of recorded bilinguals’ interactions, note taking and questionnaire. As Bazerman and Prior (2004: 105) state, “Ethnographic methods may include questionnaires about language use and social networks, observation with field notes

or mechanical recordings, and varied types of interviews.” Ethnography, therefore, reveals that our community values and uses both codes AA and French in all aspects of daily life.

At the qualitative level, we are going to give an illustration of the steps adopted to analyse our data. Firstly, there is a classification of the data according to their different functions. Then, the second step aims to analyze the data to prove that speakers codeswitch to reflect a specific pragmatic, social goal or to enhance interpersonal relations. Furthermore, to analyse our data gathered quantitatively, we have opted not to delve into the problem of distinguishing CS from code mixing or other linguistic phenomena except for borrowings, and particularly the established ones that have long definitely entered Algerian Arabic and people may not even be aware that they are French words. To make this distinction it is reasonable to state that it is easier said than done and it is not relevant, to a certain extent, for our present purposes. As aforementioned in chapter one, Eastman (1992: 1) claims that to distinguish codeswitching from other linguistic phenomena is doomed to failure. She adds that we have to “free ourselves of the need to categorize any instances of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch” (ibid).

As mentioned in chapter one, some researchers use CS and code mixing interchangeably particularly when they acknowledge that intrasentential CS is code mixing. Accordingly, the distinction between the two phenomena will not affect our findings of data analysis and seems to be less significant to the objectives set for the present study. Therefore, we would rather use the terms intrasentential CS and intersentential CS to refer to the use of codes within sentences and at sentence boundaries, respectively.

Hence, following Poplack (1980:584), French words that are integrated into AA community morpho-syntactically and phonologically are considered as borrowed items (either as *established* or *nonce*) but not as code-switched elements. As observed in the following figure of Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood (1989):

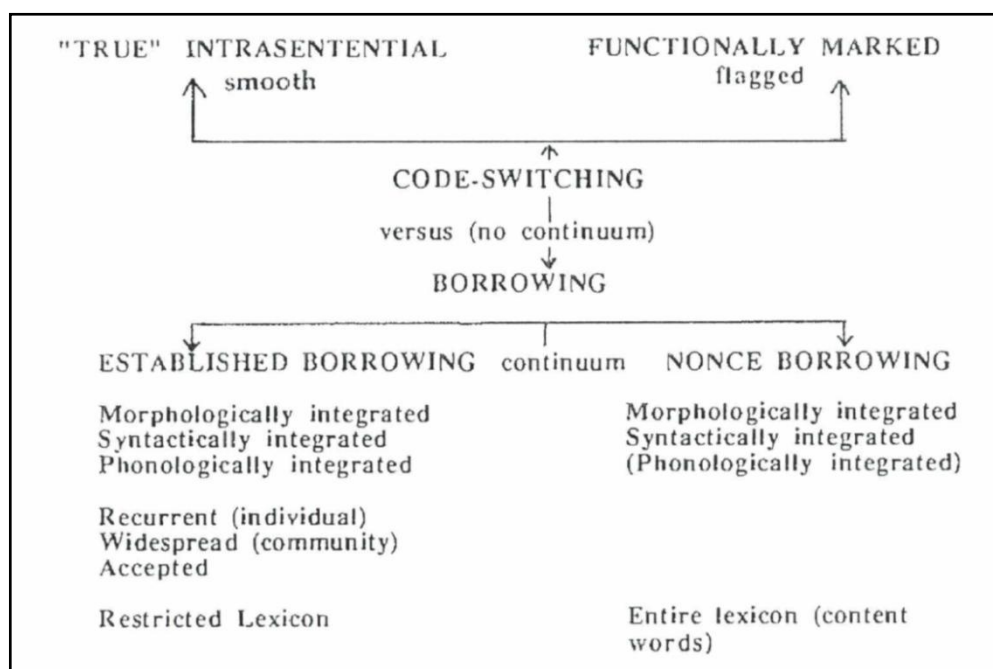


Figure 3.1. The continuum for levels of borrowing in code-switched utterances (Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1989: 403)

Besides, even Myers-Scotton's distinction is significant when she states that the distinction is clear only "if it is approached in terms of social content, not structure" (1988: 159). Indeed, the borrowed items are used by monolinguals and are repeated enough to be regarded as habituated lexical elements. Subsequently, she divides lexical borrowings into *cultural borrowings* and *core borrowings*. The former often fills gaps in the recipient language (1993a: 206) and may appear in the monolingual speech of either bilinguals or monolinguals, or in the CS of bilinguals (2002: 41). These are "words for objects and concepts new to the culture" (ibid.). On the other hand, 'core borrowings' are "words that more or less duplicate already existing words in the L1" (ibid.). Myers-Scotton argues that core borrowed forms typically enter the recipient language gradually through CS (ibid.), whereas cultural borrowed forms appear abruptly "for the obvious reason that they are needed to fill gaps" (1993a:206). As regards our community, vocabulary items are introduced as cultural borrowings such as the ones related to mechanic, health, and the spread of the new technology such as **mécanicien** 'mechanic', **la chaine** 'TV channel', **la tension** 'blood pressure', and **portable** 'mobile'. However, people may also use core borrowings despite the fact that they have their equivalents in AA, such as **cahier** 'copybook' instead of the AA /kurras/, **la brosse** 'hairbrush' instead of

/məʃt̩ə/, **la sauce** ‘the sauce’ instead of /lmərʔə/. Myers-Scotton also suggests *frequency* as the criterion for distinguishing between CS and lexical borrowings. She predicts that culturally borrowed forms will show high relative frequency as their equivalents in the base language are not used and this is not the case of core borrowed forms which show high frequency compared to CS forms.

There is no consensus among linguists on how to count CS in a specific conversation and there is no clear-cut way to do it. In this research work, turns of speakers were not counted as CS. For instance, if the first speaker uses AA and the second one uses French, then the first speaker uses AA again, this is not counted as a switch because the first speaker has not changed languages. Thus, it is counted as a CS when the same speaker changes languages. A particular attention is given to what type of CS occurs and specifically whether those distinct types of code-shifts are related to certain specific contexts or are dependent on some social factors. We regarded all switches in one turn, that is, both intrasentential switches (switching at the phrase and clause level) and intersentential switches (switching at the sentence level). Even single morpheme switches are counted. However, borrowings (established ones) which are normally used by monolingual speakers and whose equivalents in Arabic are not used are not counted as single lexical switches. For example, **garage** /garaʒ/ ‘garage’ or the word **portable** /portabl/ ‘mobile’ are not considered as codeswitched elements. Subsequently, we attempt to provide the functions of certain significant instances of CS.

3.5. Socio-pragmatic functions for Code switching

Several functions of CS can be found in different aspects when investigating this linguistic phenomenon in context. Therefore, it would be appropriate to investigate the occurrences of CS in its naturally different contexts. Huang and Milroy (1994a: 35) point out that there are two basic methods to study CS. They say that “...while some researchers are more interested in pragmatic functions and social meanings of code-switching, others are more concerned with linguistic constraints

on code-switching.” However, as pointed out repeatedly, this work focuses mainly on the pragmatic functions of CS, including emphasising or creating focus.

Bilinguals use all linguistic and communicative resources available to them, either consciously or subconsciously, just to help their addressee recover the intended pragmatic inferences. In an attempt to provide a coherent account for the distinct functions of CS, Chan (2003) argues that the concept of *contextualization cues* of Gumperz (1982, 1996) may not be adequate as they do not predict exactly what interpretations or inferences are intended.

According to Chan, the exact inferences to be drawn depend on the socio-cultural context which was missed in Gumperz’ framework “contextualization cue” and “we-code/they-code”. He, then, suggested the *relevance theory* claiming that certain “conversational functions” can be explained quite satisfactorily by contextualization cue, but others show that “entextualization” may be an essential pragmatic function which implies that CS denotes parts of discourse which make different contributions to the communicative process. Accordingly, Chan (2003) summarises the pragmatic functions of different CS patterns according to the Relevance Theory (RT):

Table 3.2. Chan 2003: 314, (74).

Types of code-switched items	Pragmatic functions of code-switching
Connectives	Cue for their procedural meaning in constraining implicatures
Performatives and discourse Markers	Cue for their role in constraining higher-level explicatures
Topic-comment, subordinate clauses, relative clauses	Cue for background information and foreground information in an utterance
Quotations	Cue for interpretive use

Scrutinised from a discourse analytical perspective, for some bilinguals, CS is an index of bilingual competence development. It can also be used to show either convergence or divergence with others through speech and to reflect a certain socioeconomic background, and solidarity, social status, topic, affection and persuasion. According to Myer-Scotton (1993: 475), the social forces of specific groups decide what linguistic codes are accepted and deemed appropriate in certain situations; another social function of CS is noticed in our speech community: it refers to the fact that this linguistic phenomenon may be triggered by the compulsion to express a certain idea, feeling or attitude as well as to persuade and convince the addressees and grab their attention. In the provided example, the young woman expresses her anger and dissatisfaction using first AA to ask for the thing she bought the day before then she switches to French to announce angrily to her family members the decision she will take:

(100) *vil lbarəh ʃrits waħda ʒdida fajərriha masəbtshəʃ*
dorénavant je ferme ma chambre à clé. ‘Only yesterday I bought a new one! Where is it? I cannot find it. From now on, I will lock my room.’

In a conversation between two colleagues, a woman has used the French sentence: *Tapez juste le mot et tu as ce que tu veux* ‘you type just the word and you will have what you want.’ thanks to the trigger French word: *tapez* ‘you type’ the speaker has used a whole sentence in French that could be used in AA.

According to Auer (2002), ‘Code-switching carries a hidden prestige, which is made explicit by attitudes.’ For example, in our community people may codeswitch from AA to French to imply that they are well educated and competent in the French language. Bullock and Toribio (2009: 10) hypothesised that ‘bilinguals only code-switch with other bilinguals with whom they share a dual language identity. For many, code-switching is a speech form that allows for the expression of their membership in two cultures: the dominant and the minority’.

Furthermore, in our speech community, we can notice that boastful and arrogant men and women, particularly, codeswitch from AA to French to show off

their mastery of the French language. Some others switch languages when they codeswitch from one language to another to comment on the language use itself or to show off their linguistic repertoire and this is the case of metalinguistic CS. In certain situations, some respondents view that the use of French among a group of people unable to understand and speak it seems pompous and rude, e.g in the following conversation there is a positive attitude towards French and then CS occurs to show off since the educated woman uses French with less-educated women who were unable to understand her and, then, she purposefully switches codes translating to AA:

(101) A: dərwa? χas le salaire du ménage dépasse dix fois le SMIG¹²

pour pouvoir vivre. ‘Now the wages of the couple should exceed ten times the SMIG to be able to live.’

B: kɪfæʃ χas ‘How should it be?’

A: χasʃʃahrija tsaɪ ləmra wərradzəl tskun ɪaʃra
tɪsaɪ əlmarrat **SMIG** bæʃ jʔaddu jʃiʃu ‘The wages of both
wife and husband should be ten times the SMIG so as they can live.’

As Myers-Scotton (1993: 478) claims, in the Markedness model, bilinguals often use their language choice to portray their identities, who they are, to the listeners. In this case, the use of CS, as ‘*marked*’, draws attention to the switch and affects the social distance between individuals. Therefore, it occurs to create social distance between the speaker and his audience. Scotton (1983: 116) asserts that speakers intentionally “choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it symbolises the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange”. The markedness model is used to explore speakers’ motivation for CS. It is based on the fact that people make a rational choice in determining the need or importance of the usage of a linguistic

¹² SMIG: Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel Garanti ‘Guaranteed Minimum Wage’

code or linguistic codes, in some cases. One of Scotton's famous examples¹³ takes place on a bus in Nairobi, where Swahili is the unmarked choice for interaction with the conductor. In the example below, however, the passenger in the final exchange switches into English:

- 01 Passenger: *Nataka kwenda posta.*
I want to go to the post office.
- 02 Conductor: *Kutoka hapa mpaka posta nauli ni senti hamsini.*
From here to the post office, the fare is 50 cents.
- 03 ((Passenger gives the conductor a shilling from which there should be 50 cents in change.))
- 04 Conductor: *Ngojea change yako.*
Wait for the change.
- 05 ((Passenger says nothing until a few minutes have passed and the bus nears the post office where the passenger will get off.))
- 06 Passenger: *Nataka change yangu.*
I want my change.
- 07 Conductor: *Change utapata, Bwana.*
You will get your change, mister.
- 08 Passenger: *I am nearing my destination.*
- 09 Conductor: *Do you think I could run away with your change?*

Indeed the selection of English in line 8 shows that this language was used as a rhetorical strategy by the passenger to renegotiate both his and the conductor's rights and obligations. The passenger wants to establish a hierarchical relationship with the conductor claiming superior status as English symbolised higher education. The conductor, then, responds by also switching into the 'power code', thereby maintaining a balance of rights-and-obligations, although these rights and obligations have changed now. The passenger wants to set rights-and-obligations to enact by switching into English, but it is not accepted by the conductor who insists on his authority and role-related professional integrity, and refuses to accept the hierarchical relationship which the passenger attempts to install.

¹³ (from Scotton and Ury 1977: 16-17, also reproduced in Myers Scotton 1988: 168) (Swahili-English code-switching, English underlined)

On the other hand, CS occurs as an *'unmarked'* code frequently and it is regarded as accepted switch between languages. Unmarked language switches conform to social norms and the language of the community. In a completely different situation in our speech community, CS occurs in an interaction as unmarked between two sisters the day of the Feast of Sacrifice. They were speaking about their brother who refused to help the father to take the sheep to the butcher.

(102) **A:** *ijwa majnutʃ jʃawənhum ʒa se fait pas!* 'Hey, doesn't he get up to help them? It isn't proper!'

B: *huwa ma ʃabbæʃ kəbʃu jət_sfəssal wəjnud jʃawənhum tu parles!* 'He has not taken his sheep to have it cut and he will help them? You must be joking!'

According to Baker (2006), CS may also occur in certain contexts to ease tension and bring humour into conversations. For example, in the following conversation the two speakers (A, B) were discussing a religious topic that concerned the prohibition of interest of banks. And then, a third person (C) joins the discussion to oppose the two speaker's point of view proclaiming the fact of taking or giving interest as one of the biggest sins in Islam, but if we just work in a bank and we are obliged to do so or when someone works with a bank this is not a sin and Allah knows everybody's thoughts and this is what counts. Speaker (B) is a quick-tempered person, he becomes furious and raises his voice to contradict speaker (C) saying:

(103) **B: Et oui** *taxir zzamæn min laħram wəlla ħlæl*

'The end of life as sins become allowed.'

C: *dərwag taxir zzamæn li xil rwaħ wəft_{si}, en plus rəbbi gəllək liddarurati aħkæm non?* 'The end of time when each one can analyse Koran. Besides, God told us that necessity knows no law.'

Speaker (A) intervenes, then, using AA at first and then French to soothe the choleric situation saying:

A: llaḥ jaḥdīna kəməl **il faut de tout pour faire un monde.**

‘May God lead us, it takes all sorts to make a world.’

The following conversation also occurs in a choleric situation between a mother (A) who gets angry with her son (B) and her husband (C) intervenes switching from AA to French to reinforce his authority and then making calm down the conversation:

(104) A:ʔadʒi drəbni **c’est ce qu’il reste.** ‘Come and hit me that is what remains.’

B: ça y est la prochaine fois maddaxalʃ rassək ‘That is it, next time, do not poke your nose!’

C:llaḥ jxallikum **un peu de silence et arrêtez de dramatiser les choses.** ‘Please, keep quiet and do not dramatize the situation!’

As several Algerian dialects may have certain social connotations as classy, prestigious, funny, etc., one can have negative or positive attitudes toward a specific variety of a specific region or social group. Consequently, another pragmatic function of CS which is noticed in our speech community and which is related to gender is that Tlemcenian women have no negative attitudes towards the use of the glottal stop but men do. Tlemcenian men usually codeswitch from AA to French in order to avoid the use of this glottal stop which is highly stigmatised, as it is regarded as a kind of weird pronunciation in the Algerian community, particularly when men are speaking to strangers. To illustrate this, the following sentence shows that the man, with negative attitudes towards the realisation [g], uses AA subconsciously and, then, suddenly he switches to French just for the same words in AA containing the glottal stop:

(105) ʔællək ʔullu... **il t'a dit de lui dire** ma jəmʃiʃ 'He told you to tell... he told you to tell him not to go.'

Indeed, when asking this speaker why he has changed from the first language AA to French, he replied that he was speaking to a stranger and did not want to show him that he was from Tlemcen. He told us the following:

(106) kunt_s nəhdar mfa waħəd barrani wma ħabbitʃ

jaʃrafni bellɪ tləmsəni 'I was speaking to a stranger and I did not want to let him know that I am from Tlemcen.'

A similar case as the one stated by Chung, (2006) is observed in our speech community; it refers to the occurrence of CS in a conversation where the concepts expressed are culturally identified through the appropriate language. For instance, idiomatic expressions and proverbs are influenced by the culture in a fundamental way which makes the task of translation more difficult, especially when the languages involved in translation are genetically unrelated such as the case of Arabic belonging to the Semitic language family and French to the Indo-European one. The following sentence shows that the speaker codeswitches from AA to French so as to use the well-known expression as follows:

(107) mʃæt_s **déjà c'est dommage de ne l'avoir pas vu**. 'She left! It is a pity not to have seen her.'

In this sentence, the intersentential switch occurs between an AA interrogative verb and a French utterance. The switch, here, from AA to French is motivated by the occurrence of the French trigger word **déjà** meaning 'already' and which is regarded, in our speech community, as a borrowed lexical element as it is even used by monolinguals. In other words, it is part of AA as it has no AA equivalent. This case of CS shows that the speaker subconsciously selects the language of the borrowed word to continue his/her speech. As stated by Clyne (1991: 193), in the first chapter of the present work, those lexical items can usually be identified as

belonging to more than one language kinds of lexemes are not the result, but the cause of CS (Clyne 2003: 162).

(108) maʕliʃ c'est pas grave. 'Ok! It does not matter.'

In the above-mentioned example, the speaker instead of carrying on with the same language AA saying, for example: maʕliʃ maʕi **grave** the speaker prefers rather to use the French utterance **c'est pas grave** 'It is not serious' either consciously or subconsciously because of the French word **grave** which is frequently used in AA. In this case, the Arabic equivalent /χaʕer/ خطير 'serious' of the borrowed word is not used in AA. Thus, French borrowings in AA may be considered as trigger lexical elements motivating people of Tlemcen, particularly, to code switch from AA to French.

CS can also occur when people get mentally or emotionally drained in particular situations. For instance, in cases where bilinguals are too tired to properly listen, they naturally choose the path of reducing syllables and follow 'the law of least effort'. The following conversation is between a daughter (A) and her father (B), who is dead tired after his work and replied to his daughter with the shortened form of the French sentence 'je ne sais pas' (to 'j n'sais pas' to 'j sais pas' and then) 'chais pas' an expression of only two syllables instead of the AA one /maniʃ ʕarəf/ which contains four syllables:

(109) **A: papa tu sais me faire ça?** 'Dad you know how to make me that?'

B: lla ʃepa. 'No, I do not know.'

In the same line of thoughts, another situation of CS occurs when the speaker selects a French word to substitute a whole sentence in AA. Therefore, the example below shows that the French expression 'C'est facultatif' is used instead of the AA one: tʃhob tsaʕʕamlu tʃhob ma tsaʕʕamluʃ

(110) laħlib c'est facultatif. 'Milk, it is optional.'

The same for the French word ‘exactement’ which is noticed to be used in AA to substitute a whole sentence that one speaker may avoid to agree on what has already been said or to facilitate speech.

- (111) **A:** jbənli makænʃ ʃandha əddraham ʃliha maʃrætʃ
 ‘I think she has not enough money this why she has not bought.’
B: Exactement ʰattsa ana jbəlli ‘Exactly, me too I think so!’

In other cases completely different from the previous ones, frequently bilinguals may switch to qualify or specify something that has been previously said in the other language. For example, in the next conversation the speaker switches from French to AA to interpret what was just said before:

- (112) **Tu manges maintenant?** t_sakul dərwa?? ‘Do you eat now? Do you eat now?’
 (113) ʔaʃtəni **donne moi** ‘Give me, give me.’

3.6. Tlemcen Speakers’ attitudes towards AA/French Code switching

In each bilingual community, the fact of using more than one language is either socially highly regarded or it is negatively viewed. In other words, bilinguals may have negative, neutral or positive attitudes towards one of the two languages or even towards the shift between them. As stated by Haugen (1956: 95-96);

Wherever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of *favour* or *disfavour* towards the languages involved. These can have profound effects on the psychology of the individuals and on their use of the languages. In the final analysis these attitudes are directed at the people who use the languages and are therefore inter-group judgement and stereotypes.

In fact, French language competence emerged as only one of many factors that influence language choice in multilingual contexts. Other factors such as attitudes

were also shown to significantly shape a speaker's language behaviour. In our speech community, there exist two types of speakers; these types are mainly related to two social factors; age and level of education. In fact, most people who lived with the French colonisers have positive attitudes towards French and prefer to use this first foreign language in their daily conversations with AA. This is also the case of Morocco since previously Ennaji (2005: 167) mentions:

Thus, the dichotomy between the Arabic-educated elite (*Arabisants*) and the French-educated (*Francisants*) in Morocco and Algeria is basically a conflict between two cultures, modern/Western vs. Traditional/Muslim. It is a struggle for ethnic identity and cultural authenticity.

Moreover, in the ethnographic investigation, we as a researcher and member of this speech community, noticed a close relationship that was established between Tlemcenian speakers with negative attitudes towards French and their low use of CS as opposed to the others with positive attitudes and their high use of CS. The less-educated people of Tlemcen, mainly the older ones who lived with French colonisers, are noticed to use French frequently as they have positive attitudes towards it. These people prefer reading French newspapers, watch French TV channels and some of them even use French to surf the net. In fact, the ethnographic approach, i.e., '*participant observation*', also shows that educated speakers with positive attitudes codeswitch more than the ones with negative attitudes although they all master this first foreign language. This means that although speakers holding high French language competence they do not use it because of their negative attitudes towards it. The ethnographic study also demonstrates that the pragmatic analysis of the occurrence of CS reveals that this linguistic phenomenon is heavily influenced by the topic of the conversation, audience, and the context.

Furthermore, when using the ethnographic approach, attitudes are investigated towards CS. It shows that people often judge our social status, group membership, intelligence, competence by the way we use language (Garrett 2010). For instance, respondents with positive attitudes may view CS as:

1. Being intellectuals and educated.
2. High level of language competency.
3. Facilitate communication.
4. Mastery of more than one language.
5. A technique to gain respect.
6. Facilitate employment.

On the other hand, the practice of CS is also often viewed negatively by monolingual and bilingual speakers alike. However, it is quite important here to mention, most of the respondents who have negative attitudes are contradictory, as they themselves codeswitch. These respondents with negative attitudes claim that speakers who codeswitch:

1. Master no language.
2. Have a lack of Arabic language proficiency.
3. Have a weak personality.
4. Pretend to be intellectual.
5. Sound boastful when using French.

Contrary to the above-mentioned attitudes, some other people with neutral attitudes towards CS claim the following:

1. It is just a habit, we follow our society.
2. CS is acceptable as long as it does not hinder the communication between speakers.
3. It is just the fact of adding another language to AA.
4. We are free to speak the way we want and CS is one of the ways.
5. It is an unconscious way of speaking and that is all.

Finally, the analysis of naturally-occurring interactions reveals that people when speaking achieve several social goals more than just conveying messages. It

also reveals that bilinguals do not only speak considerably more French in certain situations related to their listeners' high competency of the language, but that they also engage more extensively in interactions related to scientific or technological issues such as health problems or mechanical problems.

3.7. Conclusion

One objective of this chapter was to focus on the sociolinguistic aspect of CS. It also examines the methodology and research design that enabled us to highlight many social and pragmatic functions of CS. In this chapter, we elucidate the process followed to collect data and the methods selected to analyse and search for the various reasons that lead people of Tlemcen to codeswitch in different contexts.

It also deals with both qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate the use of CS in Tlemcen speech community. An ethnographic approach is used through the 'participant observation' technique to observe and analyse bilinguals' conversations in relation to their identity within a specific speech community as each of the two extremes may reflect the other. It contains the following four instruments to collect reliable data: the questionnaire, interview, recordings, and note taking. The questionnaire aimed to collect quantitative data related to sociolinguistic functions of CS in Tlemcen speech community. This method was used with stratified random sampling. The interview occurred with selected informants in order to investigate the role of age, gender and level of education in the use of CS. The recordings are also used, with stratified random sampling, as the main interest of this work is bilingual conversations of naturally occurring speech. It was done with random sampling as all people from Tlemcen could be recorded. The last but not least, is the note taking technique which provides the present work with reliable data free from any social, linguistic or psychological constraints. Furthermore, all data collection was first analysed so as to select only the one related to CS and the ones that might be relevant to the present research work.

This work has focused on the contextualization cues provided by Gumperz (1982) and the framework of Holmes (2013) to analyse the gathered data. The former denotes that a specific code is selected within specific contexts because the functions of contextualization cues derive from an interactive process. Additionally, as research in CS has a pragmatic scope, contextualization cues regard the implicit meaning in a discourse as the most important characteristic and react appropriately. The latter, on the other hand, claims that bilinguals may select a particular code under the influence of some social factors. These social factors have as the objective to delineate and explain utterances of all types of social interactions.

Despite the fact that this chapter attempts to provide particular theoretical models and analytical tools that are typically designed for CS, there are great challenges of bringing a common scholars' view of the socio-pragmatic functions of this linguistic phenomenon due to the previously various investigations of CS.

Throughout the different examples taken from naturally occurring conversations, it has been shown that Arabic/French CS serves different communicative functions among many others. Indeed, CS may be influenced by certain social factors such as familiarity with respondents, the setting, change of topics in discussion and their ages. It discusses the positive, negative and neutral attitudes towards CS in Tlemcen speech community.

Finally, as it will be seen in the subsequent chapter, we extract the relevant data from corpora according to research questions, and then we attempt to analyse and interpret it both qualitatively and quantitatively in situ. Qualitatively, we use the ethnographic approach searching for the main reasons that lead people to codeswitch, and then quantitatively we search for the fundamental social factors that affect CS. The next chapter also attempts to confirm or disconfirm the aforementioned hypotheses, related to the occurrence of CS, gleaned from the context of Tlemcen speech community.

Chapter Four

The Exploration of the Data Collected

Chapter Four: The Exploration of the Data Collected

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4.1. Introduction

Although linguistic or grammatical aspects of the two languages used to usually motivate the occurrence of CS, the present research work concentrates mainly on social factors due to the fact that the study is a sociolinguistic oriented investigation of CS.

This chapter seeks out to reveal the evidence that supports our claims and interpretations. For the sake of answering the projected research questions, we aim at sketching and analysing the data gathered by presenting the results and interpretation quantitatively and qualitatively. The chapter uncovers the results generated from the analyses of the selected data that concerned socio-pragmatic functions of AA/French CS that occurred in daily conversations and natural speech obtained from people in Tlemcen community. It also attempts to discuss the implications of the research findings with reference to relevant related literature for further insights towards the significance of AA/French CS.

A significant part of this chapter is devoted to analysing CS according to the contribution of Holmes (2013), Gumperz (1982) ‘contextualization cues’, and Myers-Scotton (1993b). Therefore, this study scrutinises social motivations and pragmatic functions of CS in the speech community. Thus, the collected data in the present study, as aforementioned, are analysed within the framework of Holmes (2013) who claims that social factors and social dimensions of language use usually influence bilingual CS in a specific speech community. She focuses on the social and discourse aspects of CS in talk between members of different ethnic groups in New Zealand where Maori is spoken in addition to English. She paid particular attention to the various types of socio-pragmatic meanings which CS can express.

Unlike Holmes, we focus in the present study on the origin of the participant rather than ethnicity as all respondents belong to the same ethnic group with no other ethnic group to be contrasted with, all active members of Tlemcen speech community for which we attempt to understand and analyse the socio-pragmatic functions of CS.

The data gathered will also be interpreted in the light of the predictions of Gumperz (1982) ‘contextualization cues’ as the presence of CS is mainly related to the implicit meaning, as the most important characteristic, that bilinguals may convey within an interactive process.

Furthermore, the findings of the present investigation will be in relation to the seminal work of Myers-Scotton on social motivations for CS. According to her, the markedness model explains the socio-pragmatic uses of CS since in each community there may be a dominant ‘unmarked’ choice which is expected and without surprise as it indexes a supposed selection of codes. On the other hand, the ‘marked’ choice may be less expected in a specific context or setting. The markedness used for the socio-pragmatic analysis consists of the three maxims: the Unmarked Choice Maxim, the Marked Choice Maxim, and the Exploratory Choice Maxim.

Moreover, we shall explain our results both qualitatively through the ethnographic approach depicting the main reasons for which people may codeswitch, and then quantitatively through tables and bar-charts to draw a hopefully comprehensible portrait of social factors that affect CS and the socio-pragmatic functions found amongst speakers of Tlemcen speech community.

4.2. Qualitative Analysis of Recordings and Notes taking

Aiming to explore what specific meanings CS can bear and for which reasons bilinguals engage in this linguistic phenomenon, we attempt to analyse qualitatively our data collected through recordings and note taking in different contexts in Tlemcen. Likewise, Holmes explains the role of language use in many distinct social contexts to signal and interpret various aspects of social identity. The data obtained through observation, note taking and recordings were reached after conducting five years of ethnographic research in different settings and contexts in Tlemcen speech community. It is worth noting that some recordings were set aside since they were done in the open and the noise prevented clear comprehension.

As one of the main focuses of the present work is to seek for the socio-pragmatic functions of CS, the following examples are taken from our data to provide a full explanation according to the context. Besides, we attempt to analyse cases of implicit meaning that one has to infer what the intentions of the speaker are. In this case, CS is dependent on the context as Gumperz (1982: 131) mentions that contextualization cues should not be taken in isolation since their functioning derives from an interactive process. For instance, the conversation below is between a less-educated 45-year-old woman (A) and her 50-year-old educated husband (B):

(114) **A:** namʃiw ləfrāsa **mais on n’achete rien** naklu wnəʃarbu w **ça y est**. ‘We’ll go to France, but we won’t buy anything; we just eat and drink and that’s all.’

B: saħħa namʃiw bəssaħ mʃæk manəʃriw walu? **c’est ça! je te crois!** ‘Ok! We’ll go but you won’t buy anything? That is it! I believe you!’

A: wallah manəʃri **à part un manteau** li rah ɣasni ‘I swear I won’t buy anything except a coat that I am really in need.’

B: ijwa duk nʃufu ɣaɤər **je te connais pas assez**. ‘Ok! We will see, as if I did not know you.’

In this conversation, the pragmatic function of CS is shown at the end of the conversation when the husband (B) uses French to imply the opposite of his intended meaning, as he says: **je te connais pas assez** ‘I do not know you enough’ meaning exactly the opposite, that he knows her very well. We notice, in this case, that the expression can be said in AA: /manaʃar fəkʃ ɣaja/ ‘I don’t know you enough’; so maybe the speaker has shifted to French subconsciously to use an eloquent expression.

Additionally, some other instances of CS, noticed in our recorded data, are related to the pragmatic functions of CS as noticed in a conversation between two women commenting about a house’s surface.

(115) **A:** əddar t̪əjjʔa bəzzæ:f ‘The house is too small.’

B: mma hədæk χəndεʔ lədʒnu:n **c’est trop grand.** ‘The house is too small.’

In fact, the pragmatic function in this conversation is noticed when one of the two women uses a typically Tlemcen expression /χəndεʔ lədʒnu:n/ ‘The trench of madness’, and then ironically says: **c’est trop grand** ‘It’s too big’, meaning the opposite **c’est trop petit**.

However, the interpretation of CS is fundamental to be discussed case-by-case because sometimes the speaker hints that his audience should interpret only one of his ideas differently from the rest of the conversation. For instance, CS can be the appropriate technique to highlight the significance of a particular piece of information. Thus, according to Chan (2004), this is no more the case of ‘contextualization cues’ but rather the case of ‘textualization cue’.

(116) **Changeons de sujet** kulʊ duk jəbrəd ‘let us talk about something else! Eat... it’s going to cool.’

(117) **C’était très bien,** ħal ʔors fæt_s jħammaʔ ‘It was very good, a very nice wedding.’

(118) lʔid t_saʔ həd lʔæm b^waħdu y a eu **aucun charme!** ‘The feast of this year was unique; there was no charm.’

Other functions than pragmatic ones were noticed when switching between AA and French. For instance, the next example shows that the use of French was because of the social distance that exists between the speaker (hairdresser) and her client. The 34-year-old less-educated woman (hairdresser) started speaking about death in AA and then switches to French, saying:

(119) jʔullək li ʔrib ləlmʊt_s lkbir ləmreʔ wlimsafər **et nul n’est à l’abri** ‘It is said that those who are closer to death are the old, the ill and the traveler and nobody is under cover.’

CS may be considered as a useful technique interaction, especially if the goal is to illuminate and convey the information to listeners in an efficient way, for emphasis or clarification. Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous chapters, some researchers (e.g. Li Wei & Milroy, 1995) have suggested that CS can serve functions such as emphasis and repetition. These two functions will be considered in the two sentences below produced by the less-educated women of 44 years old:

(120) dʒibhuli laʃʃija **je t'attends** saħħa 'Bring it to me this evening; I'll wait for you, OK?'

(121) T'es **sûre de l'avoir vue** rik mət_sʔækkda bælli ʃəft_{sha}/ 'Are you sure to have seen her?'

(122) mʃitlu læddar **pas mal de fois** wwalu 'I went to his home several times and nothing.'

CS also indexes rights and obligations (RO) set between participants in a given interaction type (Myers-scotton, 1993b). The same function of CS occurs in the next sentences when speakers switch to French to fulfil more significance and emphasis:

(123) ʔana mandʒijjəfʃ rasi ma naʃməʃ **la corde au cou** bæʃ hi ja t_{sə}fraħ 'I will not have my head in the noose for her satisfaction.'

(124) makæjən walu **y a rien de spécial**. 'There is nothing, there is nothing special.'

(125) rani fahhamt_su ʔaja **bien comme il le faut**. 'I explained to him well, well as it should be.'

(126) ʔana mæddit_{slək} ʔaʔər **je t'estime bien**. 'I gave you because I think highly of you.'

CS is noticed in certain contexts to serve the redefinition of the constellation; it favours a larger constellation due to the bystander who tries to engage in the conversation and not due to the current speaker. As mentioned by Auer (1984), the

participant constellation system is observed when a bystander, or a non-addressed participant, tries to get into the conversation. This shows in the next conversation where the current speaker A makes a remark to speaker B about her overweight, who in turn responds using AA; and then, speaker C intervenes shifting from AA to French to show her disapproval towards the remark of speaker A as follows:

(127) **A:** hædi ʃhæl maʃəft_səkʃ smənt_s ‘It’s been a long time I did not see you. You have put on weight’ 100% AA

B: **Ah bon!** ‘Oh really!’ 100% French

C: **Je ne pense pas qu’elle ait grossi** rəha ʔaja ‘I do not think she got fat; she is nice.’ 78% of French and 22% of AA.

The use of CS in Tlemcen speech community may vary from one bilingual to another, from one context or setting to another, and thus the reasons and functions of CS are very complex to exhibit. To illustrate the complexities of its functions, our data shows that the same utterance can serve more than one function. For instance, in the underneath sentence, the 50-year-old man switches to French to show his mastery of the language, but at the same time to exclude a third party and to reflect his social status because his interlocutor did not show him his misunderstanding of the French word ‘pilonnage’. By showing off one’s mastery of the French language, speaker A replies to his interlocutor B as follows:

(128) **A:** frāsa ʒassha t_saɪmal **le pilonnage en Syrie** ‘France wants to make bombardment in Syria.’

B: ʔæssəm t_saɪmal ‘What will they do?’

A: ijwa hædi mat_saɪrəfhæʃ **c’est connu** ‘Oh, you do not know this; it is well-known.’

Another completely different function of CS is sharing the same code as the one of the participants. We can see from the next example that the woman seller of 45 years old changes her code from AA to French in greetings when the buyer uses

French. She first welcomes the buyer in Algerian Arabic; then switches to French as a response to share a similar code because of her will and goal. For instance, In Tlemcen, we notice that sellers may consciously use the same code as their buyers so as to attract them and gain financial benefits. In the next conversation between a cosmetics seller and his client, we noticed that in the first turn of talk there is a full use of Arabic; but in the third turn the speaker codeswitches to share sympathy with his clientele and to attract more people.

(129) A: marḥba bikum ‘You are Welcome!’

B: **Bonjour** ‘Good morning!’

A: **Bonjour bienvenus** ‘Good morning! You are Welcome!’

This case is asserted by Myers-Scotton (2003) when she illustrates how a seller may use the customers’ language to signify politeness and to associate with them. However, in other cases, the seller may switch from AA to French to impress the customer, particularly the ones with higher social status, with his mastery of the French language.

In Tlemcen speech community, bilinguals often codeswitch back and forth according to the topic. For example, the French language is closely related to certain fields such as science, technology, health, economy, sport, etc., where discussions favour French to Arabic. However, Algerian Arabic is associated to other completely different topics, those related to religion, traditions, where people discuss issues in AA rather than in French. Following Holmes, CS is often influenced by the topic of the interaction, the situation in which it occurs as well as by the other participants as shown in the aforementioned examples.

On the other hand, regarding the influence of the topic on CS use, Holmes (2001:38-9) states that in certain communities particular linguistic varieties are associated with different topics or with different affective functions. In this respect, we provide other examples to illustrate the relation between CS and the change of topic as shown in the following sentences produced by the same speaker. This is

often noticed by many bilinguals. The first sentence is about blood analysis; the medical issue is closely related to French as Arabic medical concepts are not used, while the second sentence is about religion which is closely related to AA and often the switch occurs between the low variety and MSA.

(130) A: jadra dʒəbt_s **le résultat des analyses** ‘So; have you brought the test results?’

(131) ʔana **jamais** ma ʃəft_{sU} jməd lʃaʃu:r ləlmsækən hæda fard mina alɤaraʔid ‘I have never seen him giving alms to the needy. This is an imposition of the duties.’

CS also functions as an identity marker since a member of a speech community may similarly switch from French to AA as a signal of group membership and share ethnicity with the addressee. This often occurs when the speaker, particularly woman, uses the glottal stop to show his identity. Holmes (2001:34-44) states that interlocutors sharing a common ethnic background may codeswitch to their mother tongue so as to demonstrate their common identity or to express their solidarity towards their fellow addressee.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) also argues that bilinguals may have different indexical associations with a particular code, which they may select since it indexes a set of rights and obligations that apply to the present conversation. Extracts from our recorded data and note taking are analysed within a theoretical framework based on the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton. For instance, we noticed at the dentist’s surgery that a woman was speaking to her relative, and switches to AA to show her identity in front of the other strangers as shown in the following sentence:

(132) **Il faut juste faire le geste** kɔmma ʔæl kabbarni wkulni

ijwa kulʃi ʔælɤ:h mm^wali:n bəkri ‘You just have to make the gesture as everything was said by our ancestors.’

Unlike the above-mentioned situation, speakers in Tlemcen community often switch from AA to French especially when they discuss in formal contexts a particular topic related to French. Furthermore, they often favour French to avoid the stigmatised phonological feature [ʔ] with strangers as it characterises the typical speech of Tlemcen, considered as the speech of a minority of Algerians. Besides, they avoid even MSA as they often lack competence in this official language. In this case, MSA is widely the appropriate language, but often people, mainly francophones, find themselves more competent in French than in Arabic as shown in the following sentences:

(133) bæʃ nwaʔfiw ənnas **il faut le médiatiser** ‘To make people aware it should be mediatised.’

The next example is the case of the 51 year-old man who uses French words to avoid the glottal stop in /nʔʊləlɣum/ ‘I tell you’ and /jʔæd/ ‘he can’, as it is often stigmatised in Tlemcen:

(134) **Pour vous dire,** kəyən li **il peut acheter**
həd dwa wkəyən li **il peut pas.** ‘To tell you, there are those who can buy this medicine and others who cannot.’

Moreover, the use of proverbs and idioms is very frequent in our speech community as bilinguals often use AA to communicate and suddenly some French idioms come to their minds and the switch occurs, as in:

(135) ləblaxəm ɣashum lbærəd **il faut guérir le mal par le mal** ‘The sore-throat needs cool food; we must cure evil with evil.’

(136) smaʔ əssəm rah jʔʊl **la vérité sort de la bouche des enfants**
‘Listen to what he says, the truth come out of the mouths of children.’

(137) A:ʔælətli ʔlæʃ mamʃitʃ tssinji jæk mæʃi ħram ru:ħ
saʔsi limæm ‘She told me why you did not go to sign, it is not a sin you
can ask the Imam.’

B: En plus elle a le culot wət_sʔullək ruħ saʔsi limæm wkæn
mariʃ ʔarfa bælli ħram ijwa hædi **c’est la meilleure**. ‘Besides,
she has the nerve to tell you to ask the Imam if she did not know that it is a
sin, that it is the best.’

A:ijwa zid ʃuf! **Qui se sent morveux se mouche** hædi ħija.
‘As you can see, if the cap fits you should wear it! That is it.’

Besides, in other cases, CS is a habit, often used spontaneously for French has long become part of AA and thus in such situations, it is usually unmarked. As we can easily notice in our community, the unmarked switch refers mainly to borrowings which are related to specific domains as shown in the following sentences:

(138) ʔæssəm t_saʔməl **les mèches**? ‘What will you do? (Hair) locks?’

(139) **Dessert moyen** nħotto? ‘Do I serve the medium-sized dessert?’

(140) hædæk tbeb ʔandu **matériel sophistiqué**. ‘That doctor has sophisticated equipment.’

(141) bda jəsχon laʔsal əhh **plutôt** zzit_s ‘The honey starts heating əhh rather oil.’ CS is used to correct a tongue slip.’

Furthermore, CS may often have an affective function when people switch in order to amuse the addressee or in order to express approval or disapproval.

(142) rahum farħanin bresanhum **les imbéciles heureux** ‘They are happy with their selves, happy fools.’

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the next sentence the French word ‘sous-plat’ is a borrowed word as it has no AA equivalent, and thus French here may be used subconsciously.

(143) llaħ jχali:k **donne moi le sous-plat** ‘Please, give me the trivet.’

For this reason, the word ‘sous-plat’ is considered as a trigger word that motivates the less-educated woman of 45 years old to use the French verb and its complement **donne moi** /don mwa/ ‘give me’ rather than the AA verb /ʔaʔtene/. This case can be appropriate to Grosjean (1982) when he claims that there may be words that trigger CS and as the word ‘sous-plat’ is regarded in this community as a borrowing and because of such borrowings bilinguals often switch from AA to French, either consciously or subconsciously, and instead of using Arabic they use French.

In the same line of thoughts, Clyne (1991: 193), as aforementioned in chapter one, defined trigger words as those lexical items that are usually regarded as belonging to more than one language; the language of the bilingual and the one of the community. The effects of trigger words are seen to facilitate the transition from one language to the other at a given point in the conversation. Thus, it is up to the speaker whether he/she decides to continue the utterance in the first language or to switch to the other one. In our context, trigger words may function as in the underneath example:

(144) ʔandha χil laħʃu, **elle n’a pas de goût** ‘She has ugly clothing, she lacks taste.’

The French word ‘goût’ is a borrowed word in AA which is considered in the present sentence as a trigger word leading the speaker to codeswitch from AA to French. In fact, here the speaker could have used AA except for the French word ‘goût’ which has no AA equivalent as the Arabic word ‘ذَوْق’ /ðawq/ is not used. Therefore, the speaker could have said: ʔandha χil laħʃu ma ʔandħæʃ l**goût**.

Another case of CS occurs when the AA equivalent of the French expression is not used as we may see in the following sentence:

(145) bæʃ tɜəʃriha ɣassək taɪmal **promesse de vente** ‘To buy it you should make sales agreement.’

(146) L’**autoroute** riha ɣæda baɬəl **parce qu’elle n’est pas encore conforme aux normes** ‘The motorway is still free because it is not yet in accordance with the norms.’

Additionally, something worthy to be noted in our community is the fact that the French language may be used subconsciously by uneducated people as a consequence of the French colonialism. For instance, this occurs when people speak about some common streets, places, districts or buildings in Tlemcen that still have French naming such as: rue de Paris, rue de France, rue de Belabbes, Grand-bassin, jardin public, la gare, lycée polyvalent, école Duffaut, Collège De Slane, Bel air, Pasteur, les Cerisiers.

At last, other occurrences of CS, as shown in the examples below, seem to have an eloquence function of speech since the French utterance could be said in AA, and as a result, CS may have a rhetoric function in certain cases depending only on the speaker’s intentions.

(147) **Elle est belle** bəssaħ madzætʃ ʃæbba fɔrsha ‘She is beautiful but she was not beautiful in her wedding.’

(148) lhæl rah jħamma? **on dirait l’air marrin** ‘The weather today is good it looks like sea air.’

(149) **Le bon vieux temps** duk lijæm məjəntsəwʃ ‘Good old days, those unforgettable days.’

(150) buh ʔla duk **les services bon à jeter**. ‘Oh! Those sets fit for the bin.’

(151) ʔana baʔda **je suis contre les mariages à un jeune âge**. ‘As far as I am concerned, I am against marriages at an early age.’

(152) **Mets-toi à l’aise** llaħ jχəlik rani mædʒja χəffa
‘Please make yourself comfortable; I’ll come back quickly.’

(153) **Tu vois!** kulʃi bæjən ‘You see, everything is clear.’

(154) χak rijjaħ **ça va mieux?** rah χaja? ‘Your brother is doing better? Is he doing well?’

Furthermore, the assumption of Li and Tse (2002) claiming that speakers codeswitch because they can “successfully convey the intended meaning” (2002: 171) is asserted in the present work as people of Tlemcen speech community often argue that one of the reasons for which they codeswitch is because French words and expressions are suitable to transmit their ideas and intentions. In other words, CS, in the following examples, is a way to facilitate speech for one or several social or linguistic reasons; that is, CS may be directly related to context-bound goals.

(155) hædik wəldha **fil-à-maman** ‘She has a son mama’s boy.’

(156) **On n’a pas le droit à l’erreur** fʃi swalaħ. ‘In certain things, we do not have the right to make mistakes.’

Through our observations during the whole research work, we have noticed that the level of education may not, to a certain extent, necessarily influence CS. The frequent and correct use of French does not always reveal the speaker’s level of education and vice-versa. There are educated speakers, mainly those having studied in Arabic, who cannot use French appropriately as noticed in a social networking service ‘Facebook’; educated people, with university degrees, mis-spelled some often-used words such as **moien** instead of **moyen** ‘medium’, **poineier** instead of **poignée** ‘handful’, **noix de coucou** instead of **noix de coco** ‘coconut’.

The use of French in Tlemcen speech community is so variable and intricate that there should be various sociolinguistic investigations to understand the occurrences of French, instead of Arabic, in daily conversations. In other words, the form of CS differs according to social discourse and pragmatic significance that may be understood by regarding instances of CS in a specific context. For instance, during the analysis of recordings, we noticed that certain French words are adapted morphologically and some partly phonologically as illustrated in the table:

Table 4.1. French words adapted in AA morphologically and partly phonologically

Algerian Arabic		French		English Gloss	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
/pōmpa/	/pōmpats/	Pompe	Pompes	Pump	Pumps
/vana/	/vanats/	Vanne	Vannes	Valve	Valves

In fact, from the above table, one notices that the French word is fully integrated into Algerian Arabic as the singular form is adapted to AA by adding the Arabic feminine suffix /a/ in final position, while the plural form is mentioned by adding the Arabic suffix of the plural feminine form {-at_s} to the end. On the other hand, the phoneme /p/ in the French word *pompe* is not adapted phonologically into AA though it is not part of the Arabic phonemic system. However, it may be found adapted phonologically by realising it as [b] in some words like [bulisi] ‘policier’ or [blɑsɑ] ‘place’.

The regular inclusion of French words remains common as it becomes part of our identity since there are several reasons and goals that lead speakers to codeswitch, either consciously or subconsciously. Besides, we should mention that CS changes from one speaker to another, from one context to another because of distinct social and linguistic factors.

During our data analysis, we noticed that old less-educated people often codeswitch between AA/French, mainly because they lived with French people during the occupation. Thus, the level of education cannot be the only reason to rely

on to differentiate between the two phenomena. Therefore, the only way remaining is frequency. This criterion can help us distinguish between the two types of borrowing; established borrowing and nonce borrowing. The former refers to the widespread, recurrent lexical items in addition to their phonological, morphological, and syntactic integration in the base language, while the latter concerns lexical items that are not widespread in the community and not recurrent at the level of individuals. For instance, the following words and expressions are taken from our data to illustrate the two types of borrowings:

Table 4.2. Established borrowings and nonce borrowings in AA

Established borrowings in AA (used by all)	Nonce borrowings in AA (used by some)
Ça y est ‘that is it’	Ç’est fini ‘it is over, it is finished’
C’est trop ‘It is enough’	Pas trop ‘not enough’
A vie ‘for life’	La vie ‘life’
Stylo ‘pen’	Cahier ‘copybook’
Machine-à-laver ‘washing machine’	Lave-vaisselle ‘dishwasher’
Stade ‘stadium’	Ballon ‘ball’
Gateau ‘biscuit’	Pâte ‘dough’
Garantie ‘warranty’	Acompte ‘on account’
Balcon ‘balcony’	Cour ‘yard’
Cadre ‘photo frame’	Photo ‘photo’
Nettoyer ‘to clean’	Laver ‘to wash’
Placer ‘to place’	Coller ‘to stick on’
Tranquille ‘quiet’	Gentil ‘kind’
Sûr ‘certain’	Sûrement ‘certainly’
Qualité ‘quality’	Prix ‘price’

From the above list, we notice that all established borrowings have no AA equivalents, as a result, they are widespread and used with no real consciousness by every member of the speech community, even monolinguals and uneducated people. Therefore, instances of established French words and expressions are not counted as cases of CS.

Lastly, we can say that the way speakers use French may reflect their level of education and their attitudes towards the second language. For instance, people who use more French than AA in their daily interactions are often regarded as educated speakers with positive attitudes towards French. Therefore, an investigation on speakers' attitudes towards French here seems to be fundamental.

4.3. Reasons for Attitudes towards Code switching

Attitudes have a direct effect on the way people speak and on the reasons that lead them to select a specific code. Consequently, it is essential to consider speakers' attitudes towards the fact of switching from one language to another. Therefore, there are different opinions and attitudes in considering the use of French in Tlemcen speech community.

4.3.1. Positive Attitudes

In addition to the widely shared view which attests that people codeswitch to facilitate speech and convey messages, others positive attitudes towards French and CS are summarised as follows:

❖ We noticed that some men sometimes use French in Tlemcen speech to avoid the occurrence of the glottal stop [ʔ], the 'feminine' phonological feature since it is highly stigmatised and provokes negative attitudes.

❖ Some participants also claim that CS makes people think they come from privileged families. They also mention that the use of French denotes educated speakers.

❖ Some people regard CS as a good linguistic activity because according to them the more one can learn languages the more he succeeds, particularly in a professional career. French is indeed necessary especially for obtaining certain jobs.

❖ Moreover, CS from AA to French is a way to gain respect because it signifies socio-economic background, i.e., wealth, education, intellectual

competence and social status. People may also associate French use with privileged rich families.

4.3.2. Negative Attitudes

Often, bilinguals view the use of one of the languages, particularly the foreign one, as an inappropriate way of communicating. As Haugen (1956: 95-96) mentions:

Wherever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of *favour* or *disfavour* towards the languages involved. These can have profound effects on the psychology of the individuals and on their use of the languages. In the final analysis these attitudes are directed at the people who use the languages and are therefore inter-group judgements and stereotypes.

Although, the use of French is socially highly regarded in this community, there are negative attitudes towards code switching as illustrated in the following sentences:

❖ CS poses a threat to their ethnolinguistic identity. Some claim that CS is unfavourable “because our children in the future will be confused with their languages”.

❖ Participants claim that the use of French is a social technique used to boastfully assert an individual’s education and socio-economic background. One student stated that as a code switcher people “will think of him/her as a show-off”.

❖ Teenagers, particularly boys, codeswitch when facing girls to identify themselves as educated people and that they are from privileged families with high socioeconomic status.

❖ Other negative attitudes correspond to the colonial mentality since people claim that French is the language of the coloniser and we have to learn the Arabic language to avoid its use.

4.3.3. Neutral Attitudes

We mention another category of speakers with neutral attitudes towards French and CS:

- ❖ People believe that CS is part of their culture and it is a habitual language.
- ❖ CS is just a matter of adapting to the society.
- ❖ For necessity since often, people cannot just stick to one language because they need the two codes for better communication.
- ❖ CS is particularly important for international travel.
- ❖ Many participants argue that CS is acceptable as long as it does not hinder the communication between speakers.

4.4. Analysis of the Questionnaire Findings

The field questionnaire was a fifteen-item set of questions related to different aspects of the research. These aspects comprised profiles of the informants, including gender, age and level of education; and language use and attitudes of the participants towards French and CS. The participants were judiciously selected randomly according to the main social factors to represent Tlemcen speech community. The questionnaire was distributed to 100 respondents and only 4 have not been returned. Some of the questionnaires were filled in our presence and others were returned after a few days. The sample consists of 45 males and 51 females, fluctuating in age between 18 and 74 years.

As our sampling is stratified according to age, gender and level of education, the data is analysed following these variables. Therefore, the selection of the stratification variables was, according to the answers to the research questions. Thus, we administered a hundred forms to adult people living in Tlemcen city following Tagliamonte (2006: 23) who suggests that a stratified sample should be

representative, at the minimum, with respect to age, sex, social class, and educational level.

Moreover, in the present study, it is of great importance to mention the attitudes of informants towards the two languages of the questionnaire. For instance, at first glance, certain respondents already mention their preferences to answer the questionnaire in French. Accordingly, age is actually revealed to affect the use of French as we have noticed that most old participants, either educated or less-educated, have positive attitudes towards French as they wanted to know whether the questionnaire was written in French. Besides, French is favoured as informants show their preference to read and fill in the questionnaire with the second language rather than Standard Arabic, the only form that is written. However, for the younger generation, no matter their level of education is, they did not show any preferences towards the two languages. Consequently, this widely attests the positive effect of French on the Algerian linguistic profile.

The informants included in the present questionnaire are adults from different age ranges. They have different educational levels as their level range from primary school to university degrees. They all belong to Tlemcen speech community. Our random stratified sample consists of 45 males and 51 females and this shows that there are more women than men in Algeria. The sample contains 58 younger (18-40) and 38 older (+40). 58 young among whom 23 males and 35 females. 38 old of whom 22 males and 16 females. Therefore, this implies that the Algerian population is young and consists of more women than men. It is also composed of 73 educated and 23 less-educated which shows how the Algerian population has gone through a process of education since independence.

Question 1: Do you think you are bilingual?

The objective of the present question is to reveal whether people are aware of their bilingualism or not. In fact, as shown in the following table and bar graph, 65% of the informants claimed to be bilingual, except 9% who regard themselves as monolinguals. Besides, 20% answer ‘a little’ and 6% ‘I don’t know’. Subsequently,

it is fundamental here to notice the continuum of defining bilingualism which ranges from native-like mastery of both languages (Bloomfield, 1933) to the minimal mastery of just one skill (Haugen, 1956 and Diebold, 1961). We agree on the fact that Hornby (1977) clearly explained this issue when he says that “bilingualism is not all-or-none, rather it is an individual characteristic that may exist in varying degrees from the minimum ability to complete fluency in more than one language.” Therefore, we may say that bilingualism is more an individual product than a societal one and it is a matter of degree of use. To explain our results, we assert that the whole sample is a bilingual one since French is present even when using AA (borrowings and mixing). Thus, the respondents who replied ‘No’ are not actually aware of the existence of the French language in their Algerian dialects and in daily conversations.

Table 4.3. Do you think you are bilingual?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Yes	12	3
		No	1	0
		A little	4	1
		I do not know	1	1
	+40	Yes	10	1
		No	0	3
		A little	5	0
		I do not know	1	2
Female	18-40	Yes	19	4
		No	2	1
		A little	7	1
		I do not know	1	0
	+40	Yes	8	5
		No	1	1
		A little	1	0

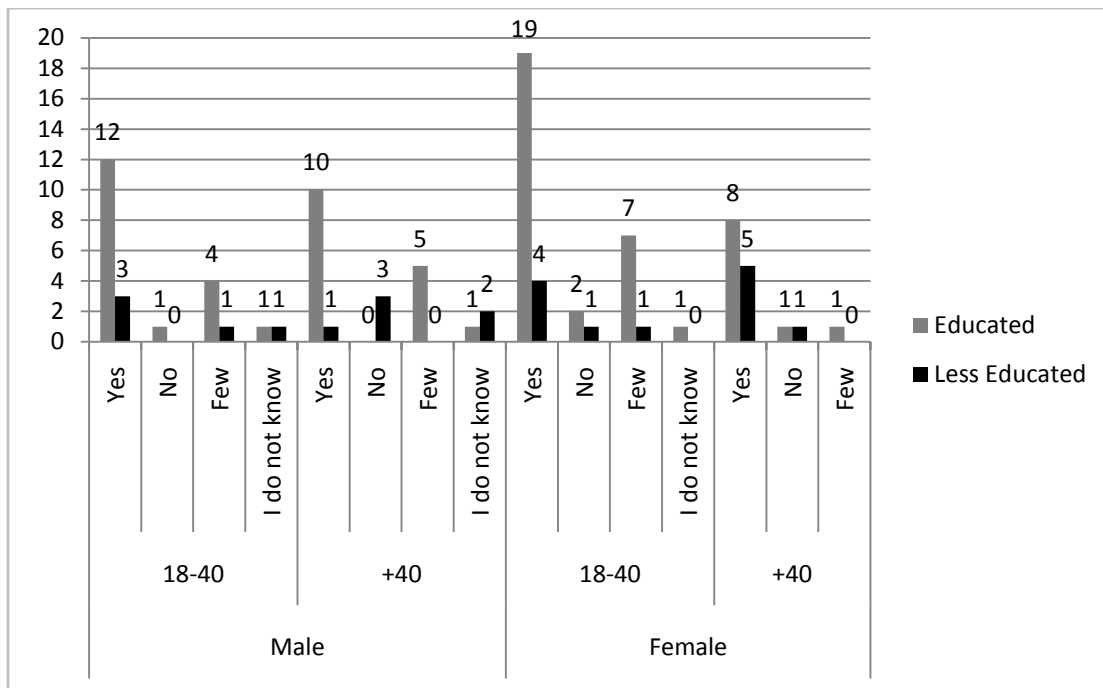


Figure 4.3. Do you think you are bilingual?

Question 2: How would you describe Algerian Arabic?

This question required informants to describe AA and indirectly aimed to check their awareness of using French in AA. Indeed, the majority of informants, that is 32%, say that AA is a mixture of Arabic and French without neglecting the 30% of the sample who described it as an easy dialect to communicate. Therefore, the results show that there is no significant social factor that may affect the way people regard AA. 20% of our sample describe it as a mother tongue. However, 18% of the sample have not answered the question though it was asked in the pilot study and the result was satisfactory as all informants answered it.

Table 4.4. How would you describe Algerian Arabic?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	A mixture between Algerian Arabic (dialect) and French	7	4
		Mother tongue	5	0
		An easy dialect to communicate	4	1
		No answer	2	0
	+40	A mixture between Algerian Arabic (dialect) and French	5	0
		Mother tongue	2	1
		An easy dialect to communicate	4	5
		No answer	5	0
Female	18-40	A mixture between Algerian Arabic (dialect) and French	8	3
		Mother tongue	5	1
		An easy dialect to communicate	12	2
		No answer	4	0
	+40	A mixture between Algerian Arabic (dialect) and French	3	1
		Mother tongue	4	1
		An easy dialect to communicate	0	1
		No answer	3	3

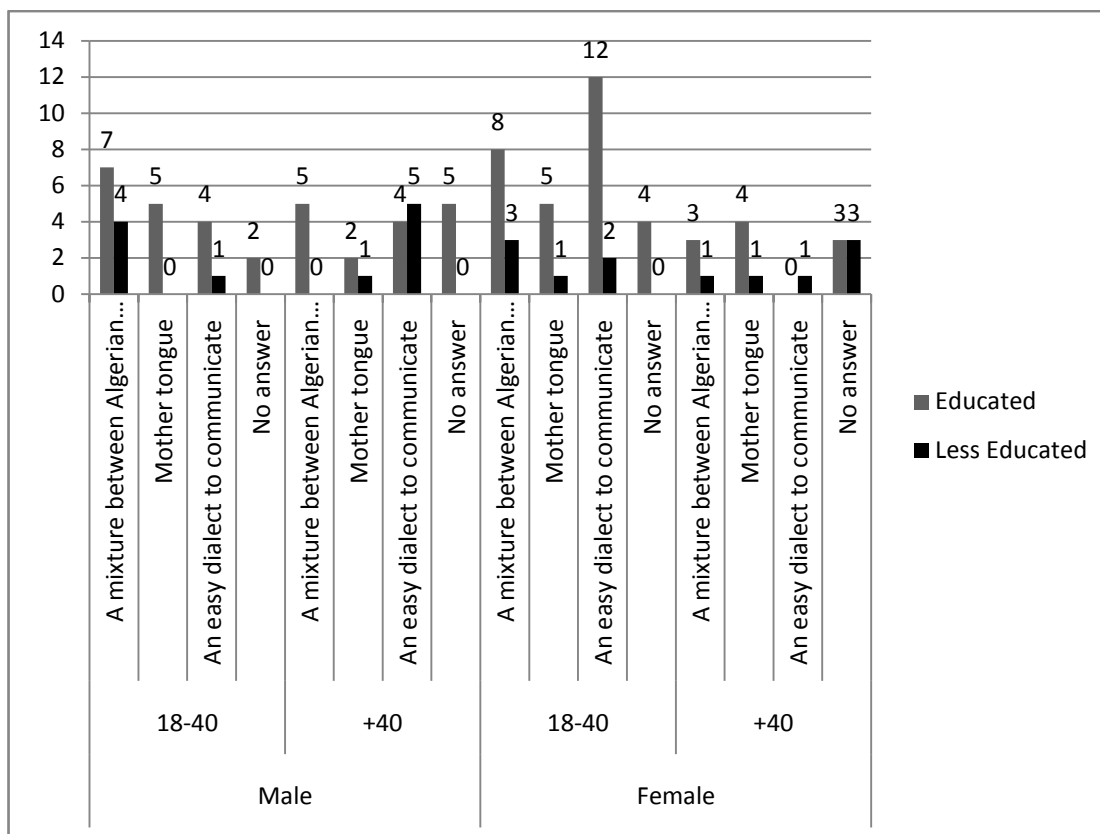


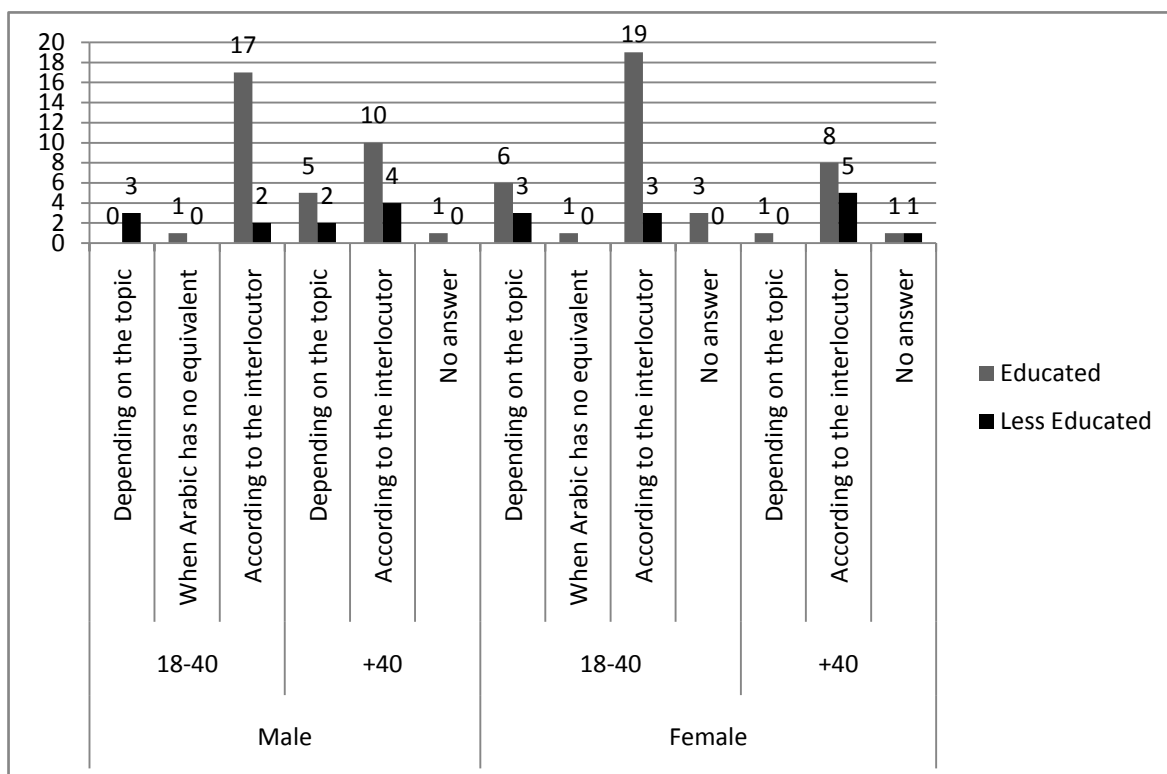
Figure 4.4. How would you describe Algerian Arabic?

Question 3: When do you usually use French? Why?

This question sought to find out the settings, contexts and reasons that lead to the use of French. The responses are not constrained by a pre-established list of answers in order to obtain all possible reasons for which speakers may need French. Only 6% of the sample have not answered the question. Out of 96 respondents, 70% claim to use French according to their interlocutors. This result can be interpreted first by Gumperz (1982) 'contextualization cues' which explains how mutual understanding is achieved in social interaction. 21% assert that their use of French is related to the topic of the conversation. Less than 3% say they use French when AA has no equivalent and this means that the majority of the sample do not think deeply to give such an answer. Moreover, this also attests the claims of Holmes, that bilinguals are conditioned to select a particular code under the influence of some social factors of language use. Besides, the result of this question shows that the three social factors have no significant impact on the use of French.

Table 4.5. When do you usually use French? Why?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Depending on the topic	0	3
		When Arabic has no equivalent	1	0
		According to the interlocutor	17	2
	+40	Depending on the topic	5	2
		According to the interlocutor	10	4
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Depending on the topic	6	3
		When Arabic has no equivalent	1	0
		According to the interlocutor	19	3
		No answer	3	0
	+40	Depending on the topic	1	0
		According to the interlocutor	8	5
		No answer	1	1

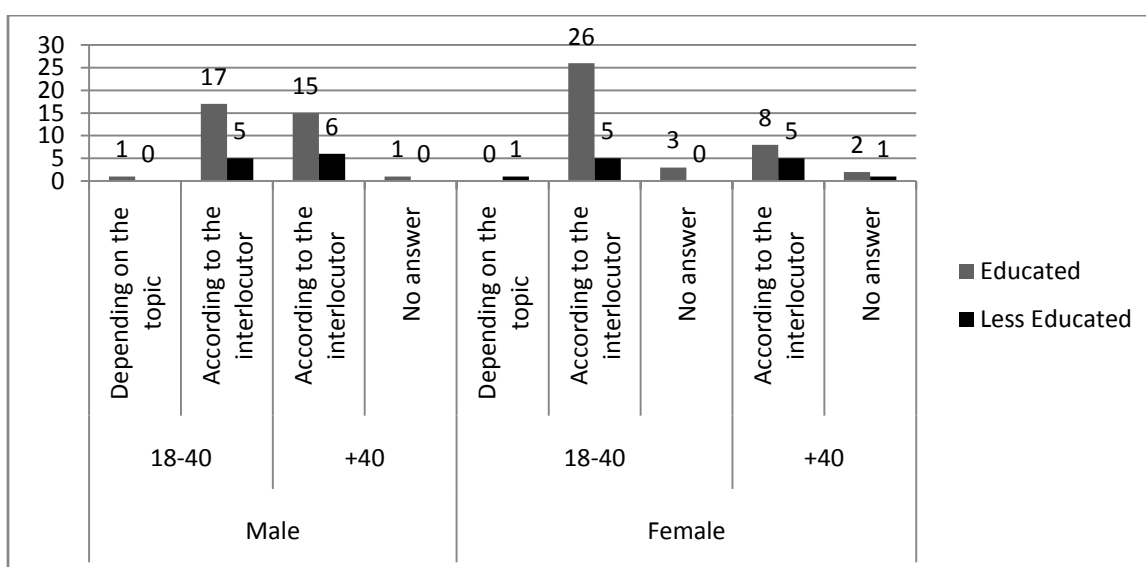
**Figure 4.5** When do you usually use French? Why?

Question 4: When do you usually use Algerian Arabic? Why?

The same question as the previous one, but the present is rather related to AA. It aims to seek for the reasons that lead to the avoidance of French as AA is the appropriate, mother tongue, code of our respondents. The result shows that 7% of the participants do not answer the question. Furthermore, the three social factors do not affect the occurrence of AA as for 90%, Code switching is regarded as a good communicative practice that occurs in daily conversation to facilitate speech and to attain information. However, contrary to our expectations, just 3% acknowledge using AA according to the topic. This also ascertains the highlights of Holmes (2013) that speakers are conditioned to use a particular code according to some social factors.

Table 4.6. When do you usually use Algerian Arabic? Why?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Depending on the topic	1	0
		According to the interlocutor	17	5
	+40	According to the interlocutor	15	6
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Depending on the topic	0	1
		According to the interlocutor	26	5
		No answer	3	0
	+40	According to the interlocutor	8	5
		No answer	2	1

**Figure 4.6** When do you usually use Algerian Arabic? Why?

Question 5: Do you feel the need to use both AA and French when discussing certain topics? Why?

In fact, as a member of Tlemcen speech community, we have already noticed that the topic affects significantly the selection of the code as there are domains closely related to AA and others to French. Consequently, in an attempt to reveal to what extent the topic may affect code switching, informants were asked if their code switching depends on the type of discussion. Though the question was asked in a pilot study and the result was significant, 17% of the sample have not responded to this question. For more than half the sample population, that is 55%, code switching is regarded as a good communicative practice that occurs in daily conversation to facilitate speech and to convey information. This may imply and assert what was noticed in note taking and recordings, that certain topics can be easily discussed in Arabic and others in French. Other informants, 15% of the sample, claim that they codeswitch for it is a habitual language tendency. However, 13% of the participants say they codeswitch when there is no equivalent.

The results show no significance related to age, gender and level of education as the main goal for the whole sample is to facilitate communication. Furthermore, all informants codeswitch, but for distinct linguistic, psychological and conversational reasons. Therefore, the first hypotheses are rejected.

Table 4.7. Do you feel the need to use both AA and French when discussing certain topics? Why?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	To speak easily	9	4
		No equivalent	2	1
		Habit	3	0
		No answer	4	0
	+40	To speak easily	9	3
		No equivalent	3	0
		Habit	2	3
		No answer	2	0
Female	18-40	To speak easily	14	5
		No equivalent	6	0
		Habit	3	1
		No answer	6	0
	+40	To speak easily	7	2
		No equivalent	0	1
		Habit	1	1
		No answer	2	2

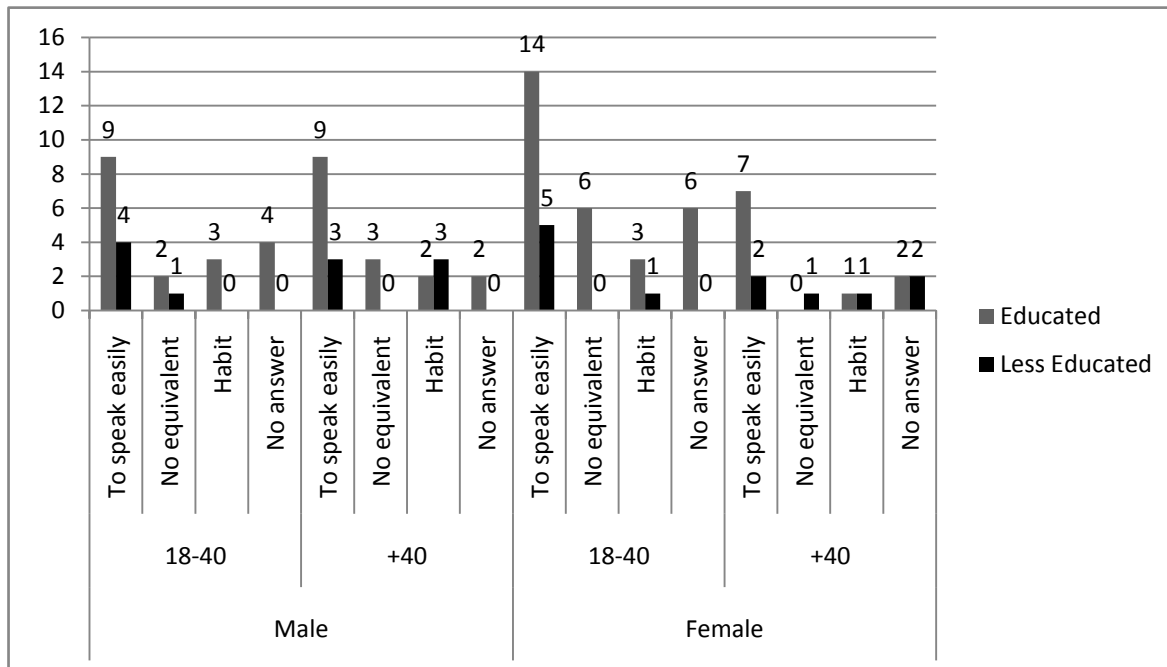


Figure 4.7 Do you feel the need to use both AA and French when discussing certain topics? Why?

Question 6: Can you think about any French words/expressions which have no AA equivalent?

The present question aims to make it clear first that French is used daily in our conversations and then to show that there are French words and expressions which may be regarded as trigger words that lead speakers to CS. 37% of the sample answer there are French words with no AA equivalents and 28% have French expressions with no AA equivalents. However, 35% reply to have neither words nor expressions, particularly the educated ones. This result may show the effect of the Arabisation policy in the educational system: our participants thought about MSA and not AA as most French words and expressions have their equivalents in MSA but not used in AA.

Table 4.8. Can you think about any French words/expressions which have no AA equivalent?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Words	10	1
		Expressions	4	2
		No answer	4	2
	+40	Words	5	1
		Expressions	4	2
		No answer	7	3
Female	18-40	Words	10	3
		Expressions	7	3
		No answer	12	0
	+40	Words	4	2
		Expressions	2	2
		No answer	4	2

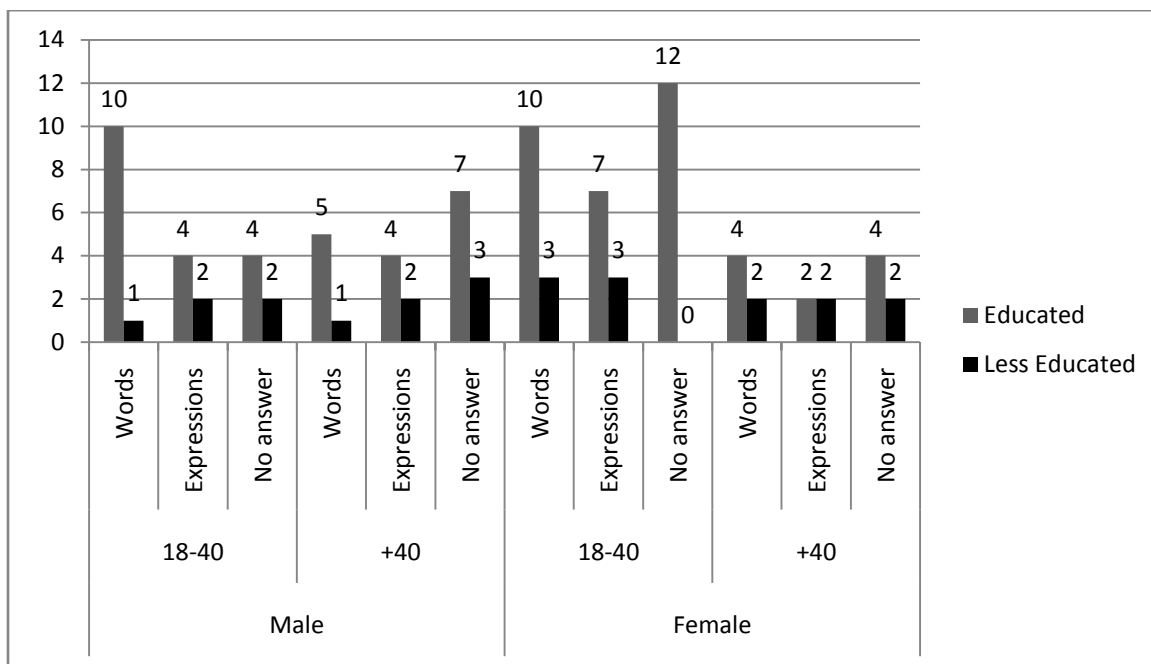


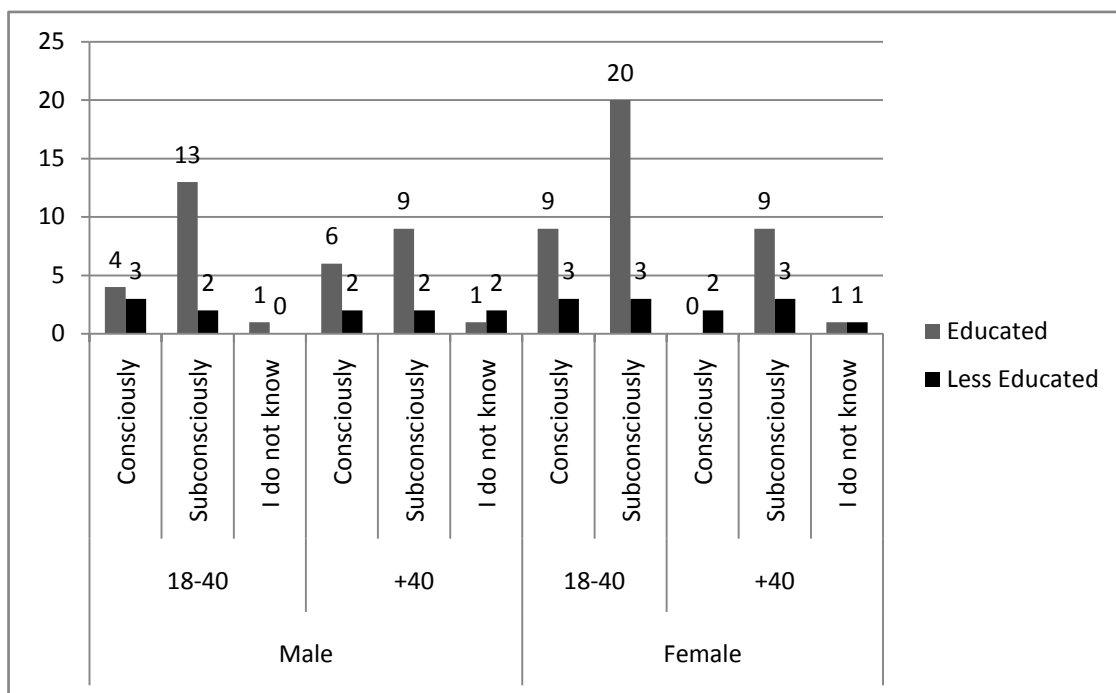
Figure 4.8 Can you think about any French words/expressions which have no AA equivalent?

Question 7: When you alternate you do it:

In response to this question we aimed to obtain information about speakers' awareness of CS. In other words, informants alternate either consciously or subconsciously to achieve their goals. 6% of the sample answered that they do not know. As expected, a good number of educated informants, that is 54%, assert to codeswitch subconsciously as French is part of their AA dialect as opposed to 10% of the less educated who codeswitch subconsciously. However, the level of education seems to be significant as 20% of educated informants respond to codeswitch consciously for certain communicative or social purposes. However, 10% of the less educated participants affirm to alternate consciously. Thus, this result may be interpreted according to the low proficiency of French where consciousness and awareness reach the peak to communicate effectively and to avoid making mistakes particularly when facing educated interlocutors. On the other hand, often gender and age appear to have no significant effect on the consciousness of code switching.

Table 4.9 When you alternate you do it: Consciously - subconsciously - I don't know

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Consciously	4	3
		Subconsciously	13	2
		I do not know	1	0
	+40	Consciously	6	2
		Subconsciously	9	2
		I do not know	1	2
Female	18-40	Consciously	9	3
		Subconsciously	20	3
	+40	Consciously	0	2
		Subconsciously	9	3
		I do not know	1	1

**Figure 4.9** When you alternate you do it: Consciously - Subconsciously - I don't know

Question 8: In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are:

This question sought to show if Gumperz (1982) 'contextualization cues' can be relevant in our investigation and speech community, in other words, to see if the

psychological state of the speaker is closely related to the occurrence of one of the two codes and then if it affects CS. In fact, the result is actually significant as the psychological state of the speaker affects the way people speak, mainly in selecting the appropriate code for the current situation.

Happy

As we can notice in the following table and graph, 4% have not answered this first part of the eighth question. However, 55% claim that they prefer to use French when they feel happy. On the other hand, 29% say they use AA in this psychological state among whom 7% are old, less educated informants who attest to express themselves in AA rather than in French. Thus, age and level of education here appear to affect significantly the selection of the language. Besides, 12% reply using both languages when feeling happy.

Table 4.10. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Happy?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	3	1
		French	11	4
		Both	3	0
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	5	4
		French	7	2
		Both	3	0
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	10	1
		French	17	3
		Both	2	2
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	1	3
		French	6	2
		Both	2	0
		No answer	1	1

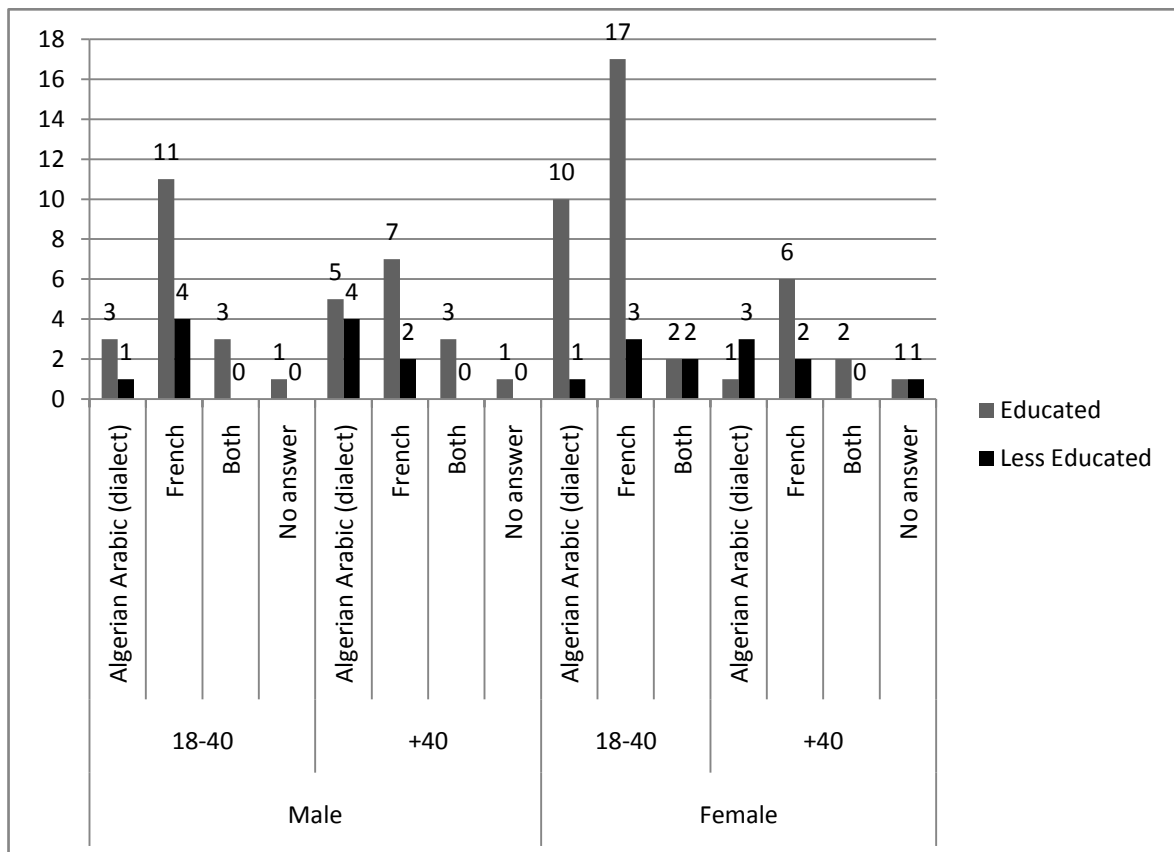


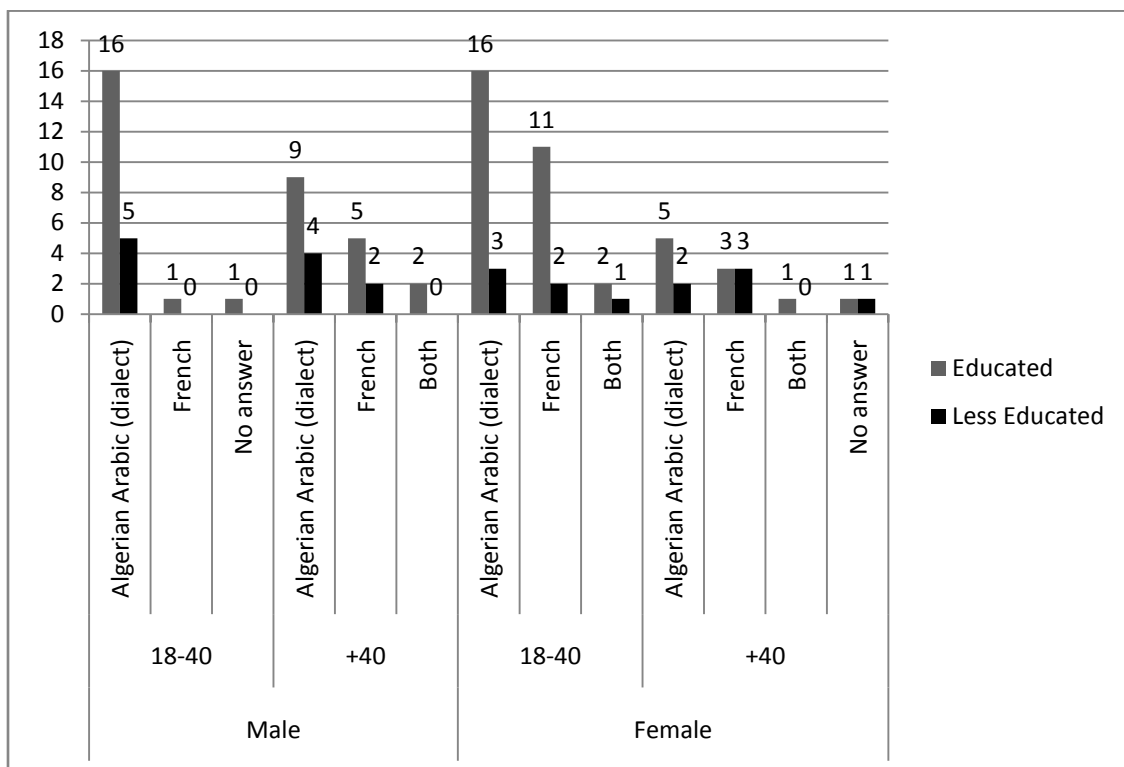
Figure 4.10 In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Happy?

Angry (irritated)

Here again, we shall only consider the respondents who gave a reply as 3% of the whole sample have not replied to the question. Moreover, two social factors, age and education, have been set aside for this question as they show no significant influence on the selection of the language when the respondents are angry, their only objective in this case being to convey the message in one way or another and spontaneity reaches its peak. Thus, in this psychological state, 63%, close to the majority, have responded using AA when getting angry, while 28% use French and 6% use both languages. What is interesting to consider here is that gender is quite significant as more women use French when they are irritated.

Table 4.11. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Angry?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	16	5
		French	1	0
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	9	4
		French	5	2
		Both	2	0
Female	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	16	3
		French	11	2
		Both	2	1
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	5	2
		French	3	3
		Both	1	0
		No answer	1	1

**Figure 4.11** In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Angry?**Anxious**

7% have not answered this part of the eighth question. The result of this psychological state shows that the three social factors are not significant as they do not influence language selection. Therefore, the majority or 57% respond using AA

when being anxious. Thus, this can be explained by the frequent use of certain AA expressions, particularly the ones of Tlemcen, which can be appropriate in such a psychological state. Moreover, 21% of the respondents claim to express their feelings and thoughts in French and 15% reply to use both languages.

Table 4.12. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Anxious?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	14	3
		French	1	1
		Both	2	1
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	7	5
		French	4	1
		Both	4	0
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	18	3
		French	7	2
		Both	3	1
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	3	2
		French	2	2
		Both	3	0
		No answer	2	2

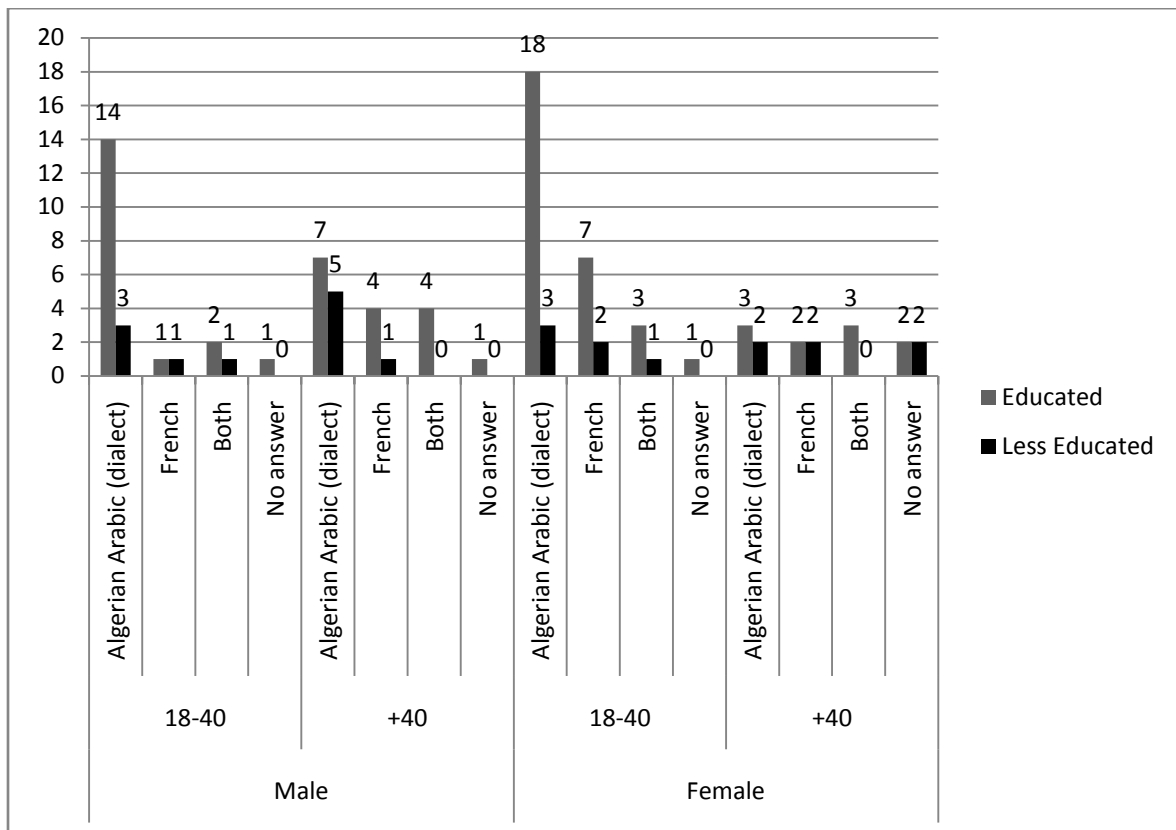


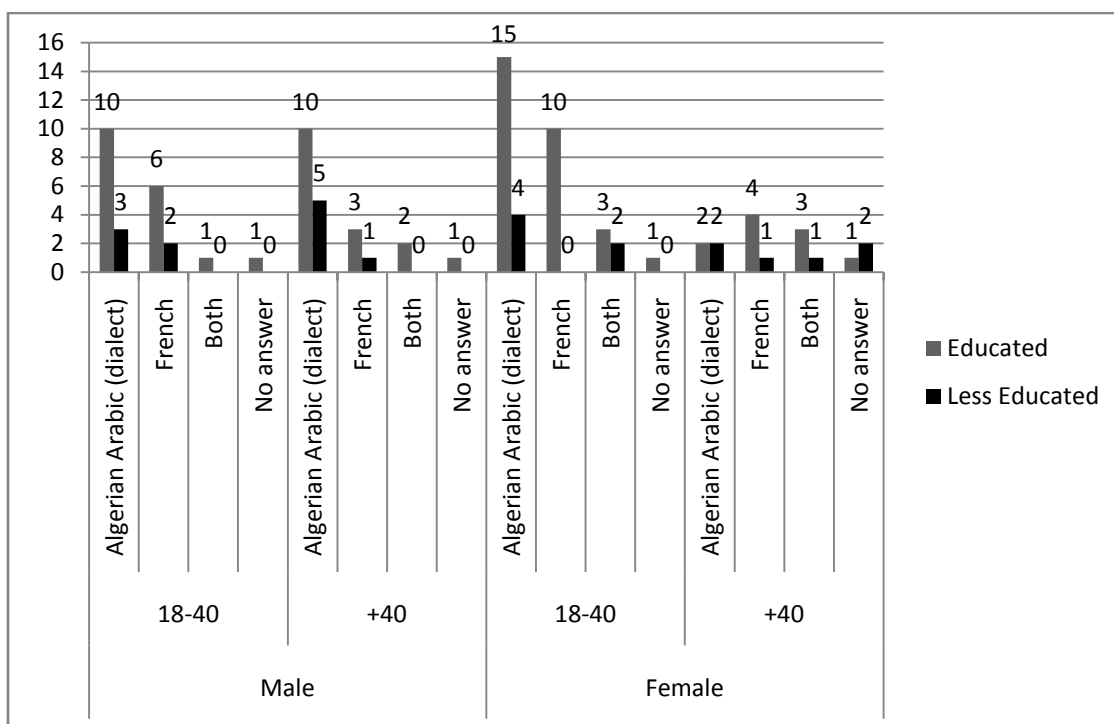
Figure 4.12 In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are Anxious?

Tired

In this case, 6% of the sample have not answered the question. As mentioned in the following table and graph, 53%, more than half, prefer to express themselves in AA when feeling tired, except for the old educated women who claim to use French. This may be explained by the fact that informants use the easiest code to speak to convey their thoughts without getting tired. Besides, 28% of the sample express their thoughts in French and 13% do it in ‘both languages’.

Table 4.13. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are tired?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	10	3
		French	6	2
		Both	1	0
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	10	5
		French	3	1
		Both	2	0
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	15	4
		French	10	0
		Both	3	2
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	2	2
		French	4	1
		Both	3	1
		No answer	1	2

**Figure 4.13** In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are tired?

Ironic

As shown in the table and graph below, 7 of our informants have not responded to the question. The results obtained in this case are not actually significant as we have the same percentage of respondents who use AA and French, about 39% each. Moreover, 15% of the sample declare to use both languages when speaking ironically.

Table 4.14. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are ironic?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	6	1
		French	10	3
		Both	1	1
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	7	4
		French	5	1
		Both	3	1
		No answer	1	0
Female	18-40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	14	2
		French	13	0
		Both	1	4
		No answer	1	0
	+40	Algerian Arabic (dialect)	1	2
		French	4	1
		Both	3	1
		No answer	2	2

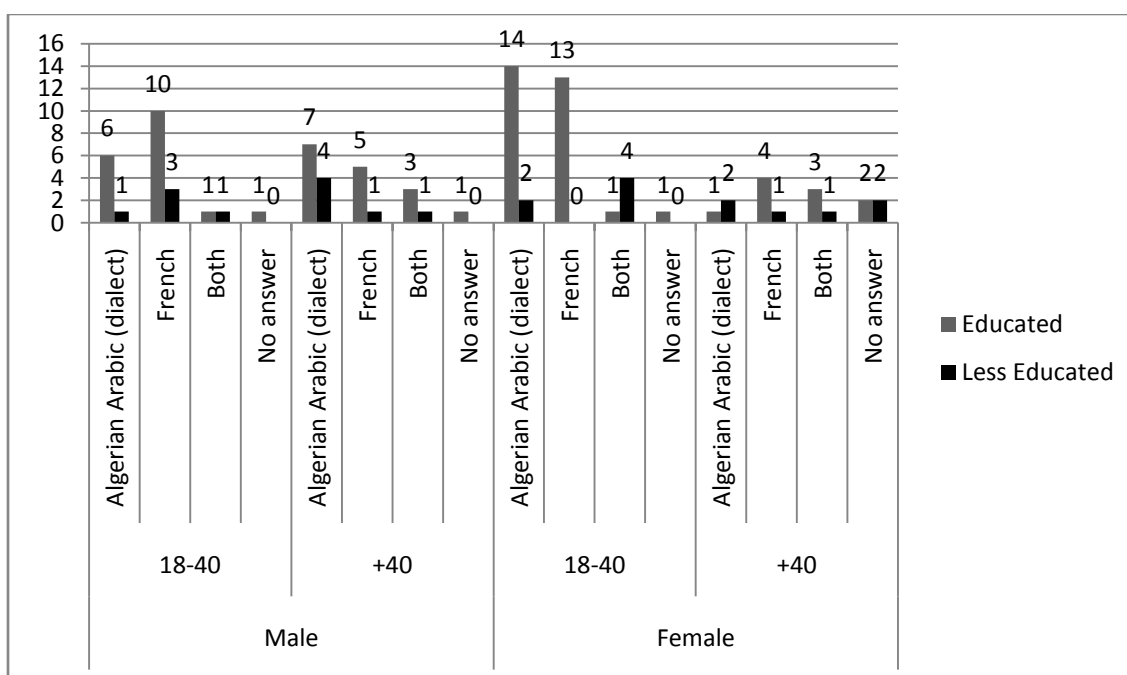


Figure 4.14 In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are ironic?

To sum up the result of this eighth question, we may say that the majority reply they use French when they are happy and Algerian Arabic when they are angry, anxious, tired or ironic without neglecting the influence of the main social factors in certain cases. This leads us to say that speakers are free to select the appropriate code suitable to their psychological state. In addition, the objective of this question is to show that speakers have a psychological state as human beings that govern them subconsciously to use one language instead of the other.

Question 9 Why do you think Algerians shift from AA to French and/or vice-versa in their daily conversations?

As we notice in the bar graph below, 3% of the sample have not answered the question. The fundamental reason for which 57% of the sample majority codeswitch is to show their social belonging and high level of education. The second reason, that is 14% reply 'for emphasis', varies according to the three social factors (age, level of education and gender) as 4% among them are mainly educated young males who codeswitch to insist and emphasise a specific message. For others, it is rather to facilitate speech as 14% answer that there is no equivalent and 6% of young educated women reply that there is no equivalent, whereas for the old ones, 3% respond differently. However, 3% of the educated old males codeswitch for insistence.

Therefore, the second hypothesis is partly confirmed since no respondent replied to codeswitch for pragmatic reasons, though it is frequently noticed during our observations and note taking. This result shows that people are not actually aware of certain strategies of speech although these are daily used.

Our result and findings confirm the second hypothesis that speakers codeswitch to show their identity and social status. It is also found that people alternate to facilitate speech. However, though bilinguals were noticed to codeswitch for certain pragmatic functions, they did not mention it in their answers.

Table 4.15. Why do you think Algerians shift from AA to French and/or vice-versa in their daily conversations?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	For the insistence	4	0
		No equivalent	3	0
		Social affiliation	9	5
		Other answers	2	0
	+40	For the insistence	3	2
		No equivalent	1	0
Social affiliation		12	4	
Female	18-40	For the insistence	4	0
		No equivalent	6	2
		Social affiliation	14	3
		Other answers	4	1
		No answer	1	0
	+40	For the insistence	1	0
		No equivalent	1	1
		Social affiliation	6	2
		Other answers	1	2
		No answer	1	1

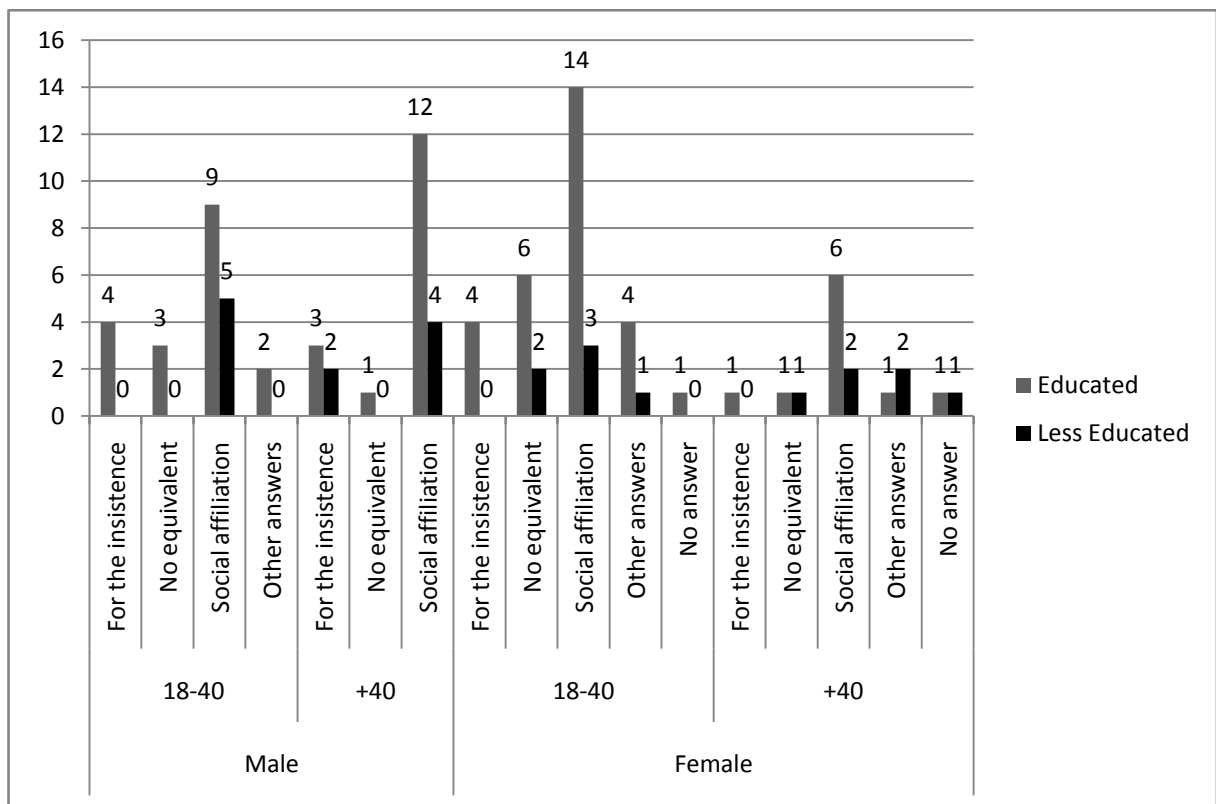


Figure 4.15 Why do you think Algerians shift from AA to French and/or vice-versa in their daily conversations?

Question 10 How do you qualify someone who uses both languages in the same conversation?

This question attempts to show respondents' attitudes towards CS. In fact, only 10% of the participants did not answer. Then, half the respondents, i.e. 51%, qualify the way of using two languages as a normal means of communication practiced by bilinguals. A small minority, that is 5% precisely, say that it is a habit which cannot be regarded as a distinct view from that of the majority. However, 20% of other informants, particularly the less educated ones, regard speakers who use AA and French in the same conversation as educated and intellectual ones. On the other hand, a completely different view is given by 14%, particularly the young educated ones, who said that these speakers have linguistic deficiencies in both languages and thus they shift from one to another. Accordingly, the two social factors, age and level of education, seem to affect the respondents' attitudes towards CS. At last, we may partly confirm our second hypothesis that speakers codeswitch because it is a language practice that facilitates speech and conveys a variety of messages. Besides, CS occurs to show one's identity and the social status.

Table 4.16. How do you qualify someone who uses both languages in the same conversation?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	It is Normal / Bilingual	10	0
		Habit	2	1
		He does not master any language	3	0
		Educated / Intellectual	3	4
	+40	It is Normal / Bilingual	9	3
		Habit	1	0
		He does not master any language	1	1
		Educated / Intellectual	3	2
		No answer	2	0
Female	18-40	It is Normal / Bilingual	17	3
		Habit	1	0
		He does not master any language	7	0
		Educated / Intellectual	1	2
		No answer	3	1
	+40	It is Normal / Bilingual	4	3
		He does not master any language	1	0
		Educated / Intellectual	3	1
		No answer	2	2

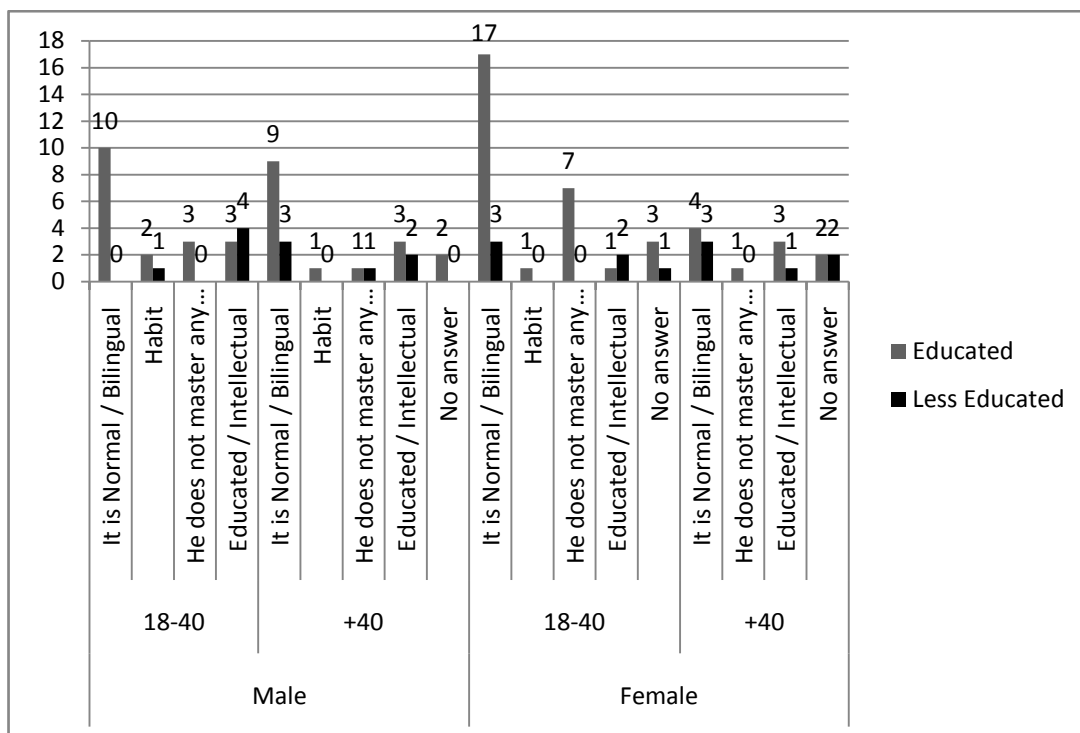


Figure 4.16. How do you qualify someone who uses both languages in the same conversation?

However, our sample did not reveal that CS is related to the achievement of certain pragmatic functions. Thus, this can be explained by the fact that informants were not actually concentrated as it should be because their answers show that their thoughts were not so deep to think about or at least certain pragmatic functions of CS. Therefore, the second hypothesis is confirmed according to our observations, note taking and recordings.

Question 11 What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

This question aimed at finding out how people consider speakers who use much more French than Arabic. This case refers to the Marked Choice Maxim which explains CS as a marked choice. 10% of the sample did not answer the question. 21% of the participants perceive speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic as intellectuals. 17% reply that they have inherited the French culture. 14% view them as Francophones, 13% say that they are free and 11% respond that these speakers do not master the Arabic language. Yet others, 8%,

regarded them as haughty since in this case French is viewed as an unexpected and marked code which normally may not be much used.

Consequently, this result adverts to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model which aims to perceive what motivates a bilingual to use different languages in the same conversation. In this case of 'haughty speakers' the use of French is regarded as a marked choice of language as it remains unpredictable per the Rights and Obligations Set prevailing in Tlemcen speech community. Besides, 5% of the respondents answered that they have a grudge against Arabs. However, only 1% think they are emancipated.

Table 4.17. What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	He does not master the Arabic	1	0
		Francophone	1	0
		He is haughty (Complex of superiority)	1	0
		They inherited the French culture	6	1
		They are emancipated	1	0
		They are free	5	0
		Intellectual (High social level)	3	4
	+40	He does not master the Arabic	2	1
		Francophone	1	1
		He is haughty (Complex of superiority)	0	2
		They have a grudge against the Arab	1	0
		They inherited the French culture	4	1
		They are free	2	0
		Intellectual (High social level)	5	0
No answer	1	1		
Female	18-40	He does not master the Arabic	4	0
		Francophone	4	1
		He is haughty (Complex of superiority)	1	2
		They have a grudge against the Arab	3	0
		They inherited the French culture	3	0
		They are free	3	2
		Intellectual (High social level)	7	1
	No answer	4	0	
	+40	He does not master the Arabic	1	2
		Francophone	4	1
		He is haughty (Complex of superiority)	1	1
		They have a grudge against the Arab	1	0
		They inherited the French culture	0	1
		No answer	3	1

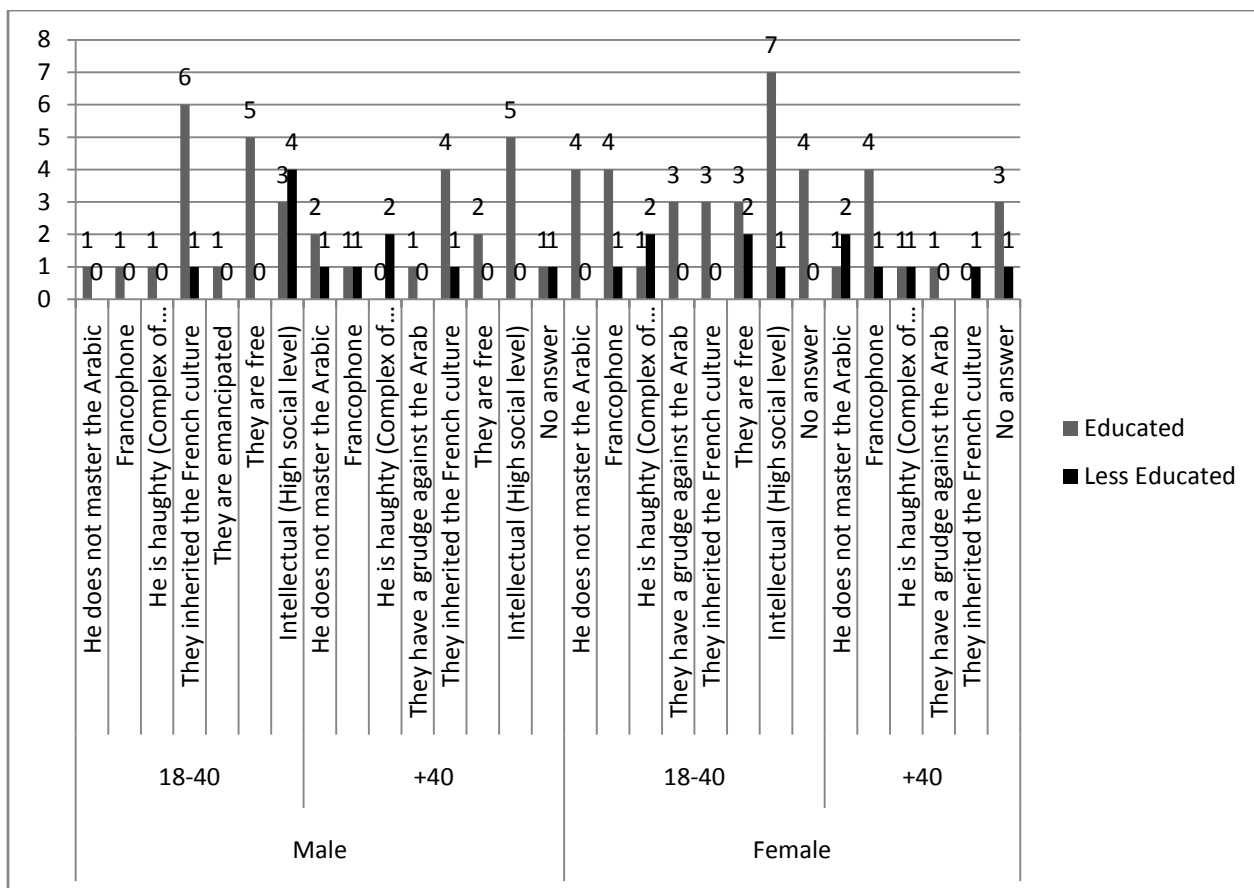


Figure 4.17 What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

Therefore, the findings of this question show that the use of French in Algeria has positive and negative attitudes as the present question obtained miscellaneous responses and views. Thus, this result lead us to confirm what was stated and aforementioned concerning individual bilingualism. In fact, the occurrence of code switching and the use of French is a varied phenomenon as it lacks constancy and uniformity and should be studied at the individual level and not a societal one. In other words, code switching is a micro-sociolinguistic phenomenon and not a macro-sociolinguistic one.

Question 12 How do you consider the French language?

This question was asked to find out the different attitudes that respondents may have towards French. As shown in the table below and the bar-graph, 1% of the sample have not answered the question. When asking our informants how they consider the French language, 36% reply that it is a beautiful language. This refers

to their positive attitudes towards it. Almost one third of the sample or 28% view it as the language of intellectuals. Besides, 25% respond that French is the language of the colonizers. At last, 6% say that it is the language of development. The three social factors do not appear to have a significant influence on the way people regard French. As unexpected, people have positive attitudes towards French as they see it beautiful and therefore, it is used and will continue in the future. The third hypothesis is partly rejected.

Table 4.18 How do you consider the French language?

Gender			Level of Education	
			Educated	Less Educated
Male	18-40	Beautiful language	5	2
		Development's Language	1	0
		Intellectuals' Language	5	3
		Colonizer's Language	7	0
	+40	Beautiful language	6	1
		Development's Language	1	2
		Intellectuals' Language	4	1
		Colonizer's Language	5	2
Female	18-40	Beautiful language	13	4
		Development's Language	0	1
		Intellectuals' Language	10	1
		Colonizer's Language	6	0
	+40	Beautiful language	3	2
		Development's Language	1	0
		Intellectuals' Language	2	2
		Colonizer's Language	3	2
		No answer	1	0

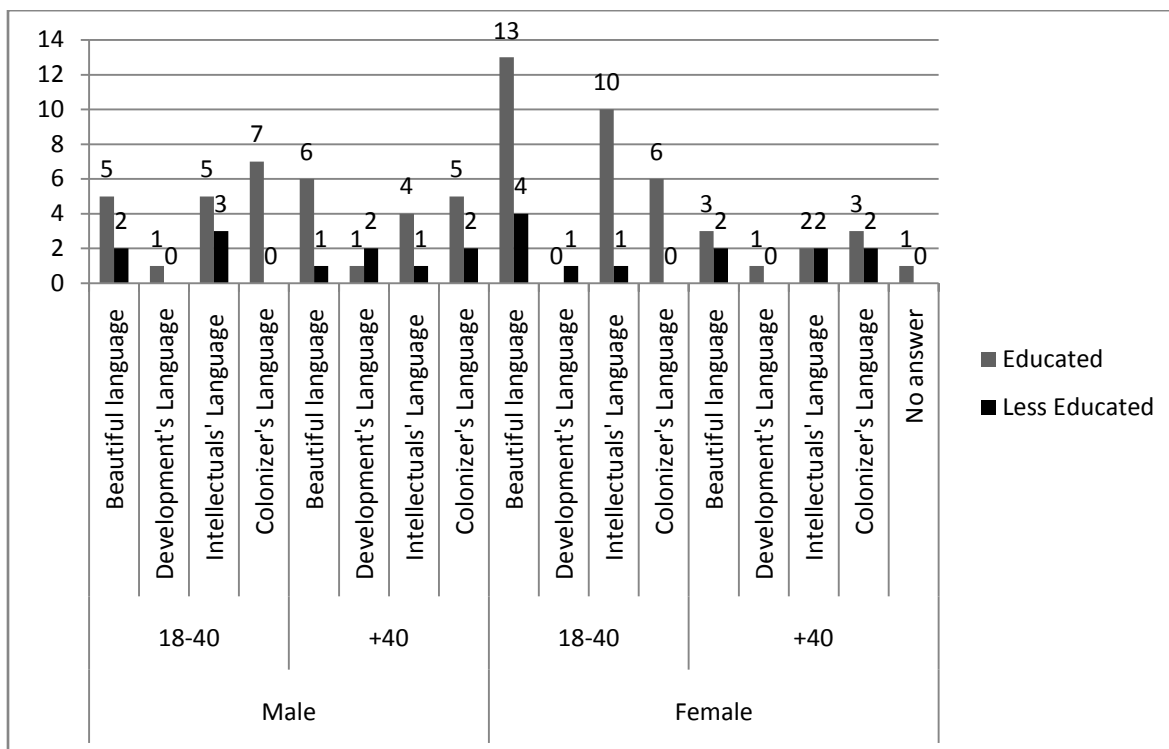


Figure 4.18 How do you consider the French language?

4.5. Analysis of the Interview

The analysis of our empirical data was at first a challenging step. For this, it needs to be done in details and carefully to our objective, and in view of the individual situation. CS is a variable phenomenon and should be analysed on an individual basis, nevertheless, we may often see only what we are looking for.

As aforementioned, the aim of the interview is to analyse qualitatively the social factors that may influence the occurrence of CS and its socio-pragmatic functions in Tlemcen speech community. Therefore, eight different participants were selected according to age, gender, and level of education. We conducted a semi-structured interview for the sake of giving our informants freedom to express their ideas, thoughts, and, thus, to achieve spontaneous speech. As far as the time of the interviews is concerned, the minimum time length lasted 7 minutes, while the longest interview lasted half an hour. Before the interviews, we briefly introduce the research work to all the interviewees. And the purpose of the research project was explained to obtain their consent for recordings. By the middle of the interview, our

informants became comfortable with the interview situation and were at ease to speak about CS between AA and French in their daily conversations. Toward the end of the interview, they became even more relaxed and some spontaneous conversations about varied topics occurred. The more relaxed atmosphere of the conversations prompted more spontaneous speech patterns and codeswitched instances, which were of particular interest to us.

The interviews were undertaken as a means to find out interviews CS and language behaviour. They were asked about the language they use in daily conversations, the reasons that lead them to CS, its socio-pragmatic functions and their attitudes towards French. Also, the interviewees were asked about the reasons for which they switch and their answers were as follows:

- It is a habit as in some cases we are not even aware.
- To facilitate speech and convey meanings.
- Some French words have no satisfactory translation into AA.
- Solidarity with the listener.
- CS is a signal of group membership.
- It is difficult to speak only one language.
- Speakers are lazy to search for the French equivalents.
- There are topics that can only be expressed in either language.

Other motivations were noticed towards CS during the time of the interview:

- To show that the speaker has command over French
- French is the language of prestige
- To emphasise or highlight the semantic significance

Informants identified habit as the main reason for the switch. According to them, it is a normal practice in Tlemcen speech as people are accustomed to this kind of language use. This habit is closely related to the psychological state of speakers. This is to say, the individual's habit formation includes the choice of language.

We notice that there are similarities and differences when analysing all interviewees' answers. For instance, all our participants attest that they use both AA and French in their daily conversations. However, the reasons for which they codeswitch differ from one to another. Therefore, the next section analyses qualitatively the data collected from our interviewees:

1. Educated man of 27 years old

The interviewee is a university student in the department of economics. According to him, our way of speaking is inherited from colonisation and history. He added that people when talking, they really do not care about their way of speaking, since their only aim is to convey meaning and to facilitate speech. According to him, French is richer in vocabulary than AA because he often does not find or know the appropriate word, particularly adjectives that express feelings and emotions such as **stréssé** 'stressed', **sensible** 'sensitive'

He states that sometimes it is difficult to speak with people who do not master French because he uses more French than AA in his daily conversations. He adds that he often searches for AA equivalents to convey his message, as he said in the following sentence:

(157) **Le fait que** daridza djæli fiha **plus Français que** ʔarbijja χasni nfəttəʃ ʔla daridza djælu **pour qu'il puisse me comprendre.** 'The fact that my dialect contains more French than Arabic, I must search for his appropriate dialect so that he can understand me.'

The young man mentioned that gender affects his way of speaking as he uses much French with girls than with boys. For him, and we have already noticed this from other men, French is highly regarded, nice and better structured than AA.

(158) **Pour moi le Français est mieux structuré que** daridza, mʔa šhabi **Je me sens plus libre mais avec les filles j'utilise beaucoup**

le Français. ‘For me, French is better structured than the dialect, with my friends (boys). I feel freer but with girls I use more French.’

He asserted that the topic may have a straightforward influence on CS since people use more AA than French in some topics such as the ones related to tradition, culture and religion. However, they use more French than AA in other completely distinct topics such as technology, science and health problems. He argued that speakers codeswitch in daily conversations to facilitate speech because AA is just an informal dialect, and it is poor in terms of vocabulary. He noticed that in our daily life and particularly in informal situations, French substitutes MSA as no one uses MSA in his daily conversations.

2. Educated woman of 30 years old

The educated woman has a university degree and considers CS as a means to facilitate communication, particularly when no AA equivalents are available. She also viewed that CS is closely related to the topic as there are lexical elements in both languages related to different fields and topics. For instance, in the sentence below, she illustrated with the case of doctors who often speak and explain to their patients in French:

(159) **Même les médecins jffahmuna en Français, donc**
 nətʔallmu **des mots Français** ‘Even doctors explain to us in French, so we learn French words.’

(160) **kæjən ʃi swalaħ ma naʔarfuhumʃ bəlfarbija donc**
on se retrouve à parler en Français ‘There are things; we do not know them in Arabic, thus we find ourselves speaking French.’

She also used French to show off, to exclude a third party, such as children, and sometimes she uses expressions for ironic purposes. As we can notice, the interviewee did not live with the French and has positive attitudes towards French,

although she learned in Arabic from primary to high school (lycée). She asserted her positive attitudes by saying that she always watches French programmes and reads in French.

3. Educated man of 68 years old

The educated man provided the reasons for which people of Tlemcen use French and codeswitch. He said that in the past, they studied in French with colonisers and from then on it has become a habit. He adds that people codeswitch according to the topic, particularly when there is no AA equivalent such as some common diseases: **la sinusite** ‘sinusitis’, **l’arthrose** ‘the degenerative osteoarthritis’, **la diarrhée** ‘the diarrhea’, **la grippe** ‘the flu’, **la tension** ‘the blood pressure’, and others. He also noted that very often speakers shift to French to show their speech partners that they also know it, or because it ‘sounds better in this language’. He added that sometimes French occurs to repeat what has just been said in AA, maybe for more clarification or for irony. The interviewee illustrates CS with the following sentence:

(161) ʔəʃna **avec les français et on est satisfait du Français qui nous aide beaucoup maintenant** fkuɫɫɫi ‘We lived with the French and we are satisfied as it helps us a lot nowadays in everything.’

(162) bent_si ʔəɫɫək **le voyage c’est le retour à la maison** ‘My daughter, it is said that the trip is the return to home.’

The speaker has positive attitudes towards French since he considers it as the language of science and technology. However, he explained that they learned in French and that they have no competence in Arabic. He got some regrets towards Arabic for not having learned it and not having competence in it. He illustrated the case of old educated speakers with our minister of education who is Francophone and cannot maintain her speech in Arabic although she is required to do so.

Obviously, when we do our best to stick to one language we try to speak with great care. However, this is not at all our day-to-day speech, i.e., we do not pay special attention to how we say things as long as our messages are conveyed.

4. Educated woman of 55 years old

This educated woman replied that she uses both AA and French. She added that it is a habit since they learned in French, and it is natural that nowadays our AA is full of French lexical elements. She asserted using French according to her listeners and audience to convey meaning and to convince people, mainly when it is about arguing against something. She also said that it is a habit to use both languages in daily conversations as sometimes we can better express our ideas and thoughts by using French expressions rather Arabic ones. For instance, she said:

(163) **Il y a des expressions li χassək t_sʔulhum en français pour mieux t'exprimer.** 'There are expressions that you have to use in French to express yourself better.'

She also explained that people used to alternate from AA to French mainly when discussing certain topics since sometimes speakers are not even aware that they alternate and use French.

(164) **hædi hi ja on a prit le pli de parler en français** 'That is it; we got into the habit of speaking French.'

She also said that she accommodates her way of speaking according to the interlocutor. She adds that sometimes it is impossible to carry a whole conversation in Arabic because it is full of French words, and MSA is not used in informal situations and our daily life. By the end of the interview, the woman noted that our way of speaking, in general, is funny when she really paid attention to it, as she said:

(165) **C'est vrai hədrat_sna daħħak** 'It's right, our speech is funny.'

The educated woman, with positive attitudes towards French, stated that it is a formal and prestigious language and it is easier than Arabic.

5. Less-educated man of 35 years old

According to him, speakers using too much French can be considered as using a snobbish way of speaking. He said that it is a bad habit, except the use of borrowings would not seem arrogant to him, since it is considered as a normal part of AA. His negative attitudes towards French were mentioned when he said that using French sounds effeminate, and it is not our native language. Despite his negative attitudes, he uses the second language to compensate for his deficiencies, and according to the topic. Here is a sentence to illustrate what has just been said:

(166) hadrat_sna mʁallta ni ʔarbijja ni Français t_sħaʃʃam
ʔaransiya [laughter] ‘Our speech is mixed neither Arabic nor French,
it is shameful, Aransiya.’

The less-educated man replied that he has no socio-pragmatic functions when he shifts from AA to French, and the only aim is to facilitate speech and convey meaning. In this case, we noticed that our informant was bothered by our topic and by the questions as he does not master French.

6. Less-educated woman of 32 years old

The less-educated woman said that she often subconsciously codeswitches for it is a habit from an early age. She learned French from her family members and her environment. Besides, she used French spontaneously when interviewed and this goes back to her social environment, i.e. her parents are educated and francophones.

She explained that the fact of alternating between two languages facilitates our way of speaking, since sometimes we cannot find the appropriate lexical element in one of the two languages. In the following sentence, she illustrates to assert her opinion:

(167) **Je veux faire un régime alimentaire pour perdre du poids,**

ma nʔadtʃ nʔul rani maʃja nχaffaɖ lwazn [laughter]

marah̄næʃ **fla publicité** t_saʃ **mbc** ‘I want to do a diet to lose weight, I

cannot say this in Arabic, we are not making a publicity in mbc.’

She added that one of the reasons for which she shifts is when she is mistaken, she repeats her speech in the other language. She has two socio-pragmatic functions of CS: the first is to show off in particular contexts such as facing francophone and educated people; the second function is closely related to the first one and it is to show her identity. Although the informant is less-educated, she has positive attitudes towards French. She listens to French songs, she reads French culinary books. The following is a sentence taken from her speech:

(168) hædu swalaħ **ils sont pas donnés à tout le monde c’est une**

culture. ‘These are things not given to everybody, it is a culture.’

According to her, the social environment speakers are in highly affect on them. She mentioned the case of children brought up in an environment where French is usually used; they will automatically learn it before school. She viewed people who speak more French than AA as educated ones or they lived in a Francophone environment, i.e., their family members are Francophone. For her, people must learn the three languages (Arabic, French, and English) to educate themselves first and to acquire a certain amount of knowledge, but not at all for the sake of showing off when facing the others.

7. Less-educated man of 60 years old

The less-educated man spoke about his childhood and his primary school where he learned French with French teachers. He mentioned his positive attitudes towards French saying that he rather prefers to read newspapers in French than in Arabic. He still remembered the names of the teachers who taught him French in a

strict way that he has never forgotten till now. He noted that their elementary schools and their degrees were the equivalents of nowadays ‘licence’.

We noticed that this interviewee used more AA than French during the interview despite his positive attitudes towards French. This case shows that not all old less-educated people who lived with colonisers have the ability to use French. In fact, the man used certain French lexical elements from time to time because he does not know them in Arabic, such as in the following sentence:

(169) ħna bəkri **fin d’etudes** χassək t_skun ħa:fəd **dictionnaire** ‘We in the past, at the end of (primary) studies, one has learned the dictionary.’

The man added that he often shifts according to the topic since in mechanic, for example, he cannot find equivalents of French words such as **la soudure** ‘the welding’, **la graisse** ‘the grease’, **le filtre** ‘the filter’.

8. Less-educated woman of 60 years old

The old less-educated housewife mentioned that it is a habit to use both AA and French in our daily conversations. According to her, there are several reasons for which she switches codes: to facilitate communication, to show her competence in French, with francophone speakers. She added that it is a normal way of speaking as they were taught by French teachers during colonisation.

(170) **C’est normal on parle en Français**, ʔarrawna ləgwar ‘It is normal we speak in French, French people taught us.’

As Giles *et al.* (1987) claim, speakers may either accommodate to or diverge from their listeners’ speech; this speaker states that she accommodates her speech according to her listeners so as to get their social approval:

(171) nahdar **en français avec les gens intellectuels** bæʃ nbəjjənəlhum bəlli ħatt_{sa} ʔana naʔrəf **le français** ‘I speak French with intellectual people to show them that i master French too.’

However, she said that in other different circumstances, she diverges from her listener by using a different code. For example, she used only AA with snobbish francophone speakers to show them that Arabic is our mother tongue and native language:

(172) nahdar ʔil bəl ʔarbijja mʔa hæduk li jahadru
ʔil bəl **Français** whasbin resanhum ‘I speak only Arabic with those snobbish who speak only French.’

Her socio-pragmatic functions when switching back and forth between the codes depend on the context, topic and listener. She said that in some cases she codeswitched to attract attention; sometimes to show off, and often to compensate her deficiencies particularly in Arabic. The speaker had both positive and negative attitudes towards French. She selected French to show her identity with educated speakers and to show off while Arabic is used with snobbish francophone speakers.

As we have already seen in a previous investigation (Benguedda 2010), the majority of old less-educated informants of Boudghène had negative attitudes towards this second language because of French colonialism.

Table 4.18. Selected Interviewees by age, gender and level of education.

Informants	CS in informants speech	Reasons for CS	Socio-pragmatic functions of CS	Attitudes towards French
27 year-old Educated man	* Le fait que daridʒa djæli fiha plus Français que ʔarbijja ʒasni nfəttəʃ ʔla daridʒa djælu pour qu’il puisse me comprendre.	*Topic *According to the listener * Habit *French is rich and more formal	*To convey meaning *To exclude a third party	* Positive: the language of development. It is well structured.

30 year-old Educated woman	* Même les médecins jffahmuna en Français, donc nətsʔalmu des mots Français	*To facilitate communication *No AA equivalents *Topic	*To show off *To exclude a third party *For ironic purposes	*Positive: I always watch French programmes * Positive: I read in French
68 year-old Educated man	* On a vecu avec les français et on est satisfait du Français qui nous aide beaucoup maintenant fkulʃi	* We studied in French * It is a habit from colonization *Topic * No AA equivalents	*To repeat what has just been said in AA *For more clarification *For irony	* Positive: The language of science and technology * Negative:if only we are competent in Arabic to speak in a formal way
55 year-old Educated woman	* Il y a des expressions li χassək tʃʔulhum en français pour mieux s'exprimer	*We studied in French and AA is a dialect *Topic * To address educated audience	*To argument against something to convince people	* Positive: it is formal and prestigious * Positive: it is easier than Arabic
35 year-old Less- educated man	*hadratʃna mχallta ni ʔarbijja ni Français tʃhəʃʃam ʔaransija 'Our speech is mixed neither Arabic nor French, it is shameful, Aranch.'	*A bad habit *Topic *To compensate my deficiencies	*Ido not know	*Negative: using French sounds effeminate * Negative: it is not our native language
32 year-old Less- educated woman	*hædu swalaħ ils sont pas donnés à tout le monde c'est une culture	*subconsciously/ habit *To facilitate speech; no AA equivalents	*To show off *To show one's identity	*Positive: I like French * Positive: I listen to French songs * Positive: I read French culinary books

60 year-old Less- educated man	*fə la mécanique tʃalləmt naʃməl la graisse fə le filtre	* We studied in French by native teachers. *A habit from colonialism *No AA equivalents particularly in mechanics, medicine	*To be imperative *To be respected	* Positive: I read French newspapers
60 year-old Less- educated woman	* C'est normal on parle en Français ʃarrawna ləgwər	* A habit * To facilitate communication *To show my competence in French *With Francophone *Colonialism: we studied in French	* To attract attention; to show off *To compensate my deficiencies	*Positive: to show my identity with educated people *Negative: to show off with francophone speakers. I use AA with snobbish francophones

The results obtained in the interview show that the presumed social factors (age, level of education and gender) affect significantly the use of CS in addition to the positive or negative attitudes towards French and CS. Age appears to be the major factor that influences the use of French and CS since the four old interviewees codeswitch more than the younger ones whatever their level of education. This is mainly explained due to colonialism and French schooling. However, the other four younger informants codeswitch less than the old ones thanks to the Arabisation policy and consequently the use of French decreases through time. In fact, code switching of the young generation depends on the level of education which remains fundamental as the less-educated use less French than AA as opposed to the educated ones.

In the same line of thought, it is important to mention that this linguistic phenomenon for young educated individuals is closely related to their field of study. For instance, we noticed that students who learned in French at the university like scientific fields (biology, medicine or pharmacy) codeswitch and use much more French than the ones who learned in MSA like literary fields (law, letters or Islamic sciences). Therefore, the level of education in this case may affect either positively

or negatively the use of French and CS as it depends on the fields studied at the university.

Another factor is noticed to be significant in Tlemcen speech community, and which may influence CS and the use of French, is the social environment and particularly the family. This was the result of our previous investigation where educated people of Boudghéne, as opposed to the ones of Birouana, do not codeswitch because of their negative attitudes towards French and because this second language is socially stigmatised and negatively regarded in their social environment (Benguedda 2010). To sum up, bilingualism is an individual product and therefore, we noticed that the three social factors may be significant only in certain cases. In other words, code switching as an outcome of bilingualism has to be studied at the micro level as it may differ from one bilingual to another.

As aforementioned, it is essential to mention that as in any research work, the limitations of the study of the present one is mainly on account of the small number of interviewees as it is not representative though the objectives of the interview are rather qualitative ones.

4.6. Findings and result of the study

When CS occurs, we consider the motivation and reasons of the speaker in the process. In Tlemcen speech community, we found that there is no single set of norms that predict exactly when and why people codeswitch. For instance, we have noticed that the same family members, or people with the same educational and social background, may show different preferences and use for one of the two languages at a specific point in their conversations. We have also noticed that the topic of the conversation may largely affect the selection of the language. Therefore, French is related to the topic of specific fields such as medicine (health), finance, mechanics, cookery, and hairdressing. However, MSA is closely related to other topics of other completely different fields such as politics (legislation), law, religion, customs and traditions.

The findings reveal that the primary factors of CS are distinct according to cases where bilingual speakers use more than one code as follows:

1. Speakers may use lexical items which come first to mind.
2. Other switches can be explained in terms of topic.
3. To give one's words authority and make them sound serious.
4. Sometimes the use of CS occurs according to different connotational implications of expressing the same in Algerian Arabic since the dialect lacks an expression that conveys the same meaning but may be stronger than the one in AA.
5. It is also used to convey humour and irony.
6. To smooth the negative connotations of a given expression.
7. To give a contextualised situation.
8. Speakers codeswitch as a strategy to reinforce or reject what has already been said.

The two codes play unequal roles in our speech community and constitute an asymmetry because AA (ML) is often more activated than French (EL). Therefore, this case refers to the first maxim of the markedness model where CS is regarded as expected and unmarked code choice. On the other hand, when French (ML) is often more activated than AA (EL), the second maxim is the appropriate one since CS is unexpected and marked code choice as in the case of 'haughty speakers' where the use of French is inappropriate.

The various findings presented throughout this chapter will illustrate the ways in which, the process of CS allows people to switch from one code to another for some social considerations. In the case of CS, as opposed to borrowing, there is a complete shift from one code to another, i.e., there is no change or adaptation of the phonological, morphological or syntactic rules of the other code. However, in the case of borrowing rules of one code may be applied to the other code as often speakers do not know the suitable equivalent of the borrowed item in the first language. Besides, borrowings are often single words or short utterances used by all members of the speech community. They are adapted to the base language in their

pronunciation, morphology and grammar. As asserted by scholars, borrowings are morphologically and syntactically integrated into the base language, but code switches elements are not.

Throughout our investigation, we noticed that both gender codeswitch. In fact, women use French and codeswitch for different socio-pragmatic purposes than men. For instance, women often codeswitch for an eloquent speech, to show their social identities, to show off, and to be ironic. However, men often codeswitch to convey meaning and to facilitate communication. Moreover, we noticed that men in Tlemcen community switch to French to avoid the use of the stigmatised glottal stop which they feel sounds effeminate.

Besides, age is noticed to affect CS since certain old less-educated people became bilinguals thanks to French colonisation. This social factor influences the occurrence of CS because the educated younger (less than forty) speakers use French less than older educated ones (more than forty), and even less than some old less-educated speakers with positive attitudes towards French.

The level of education is another determining factor in language choice which influences CS. For instance, it is obvious that educated speakers master French and use it in their daily conversations, but in our community, even some less educated speakers were noticed to use French to the same extent or even more than educated ones thanks to their social environment (family members) or French colonisation. Besides, we also noticed the use of French in formal settings by speakers who do not master MSA, particularly old ones who learned in French, and thus they find difficulties in learning and using MSA. Therefore, this category of speakers often codeswitch between AA and French to compensate for the deficiencies of MSA, which remains the required language of formal situations.

4.7. Conclusion

The present investigation presents valuable information regarding the CS phenomenon in an Algerian context: Tlemcen speech community. The present chapter reveals that CS is a natural linguistic behaviour and unavoidable way of expressing one's thoughts in the community. The results show that the occurrence of CS differs from one case to another and is closely related to individuals. It is a discourse strategy used by speakers to communicate effectively and in certain cases it is mostly influenced by certain social factors such as age, gender, level of education. It is also influenced by social aspects like the context, participants, the topic, and by social dimensions like status, solidarity, formality and functions.

The findings of this investigation attest the framework of Homes (2013) claiming that social factors and social dimensions influence CS. In fact, the findings show that Algerian Arabic/French CS is not merely the changing from one language to another, but it is rather used as one of the strategies to get to the goals of the conversation. As a result, this study shows that the use of CS, is set to a wide variety of social, psychological and pragmatic purposes, from the need to fill lexical gaps to more complex discourse-level functions. Besides, it shows that the motivations behind French/Algerian Arabic CS may go deeper than just because of lack of competence in either language. The pragmatic analysis of CS reveals that language choice in Tlemcen speech community is heavily influenced by the social context in which it appears as speakers who codeswitch in order to achieve various context-bound goals such as clarifying the content and /or managing contextual discourse and interpersonal relationships.

Another crucial result of the present research is that many cases show that respondents codeswitch because of the influence of French borrowing found in AA. Indeed, the use of French borrowings is regarded as trigger words in the sentence leading speakers to continue in the same language of the borrowed word and then to CS. Moreover, the results reveal that the use of French is marked in some situations such as when less-educated or arabophones may use long stretches of speech in this second language. Consequently, Myers scotton's Markedness model is asserted,

particularly when bilinguals choose what may be considered as a marked choice to convey certain messages of intentionality.

To conclude, we may say that this research work hopes to contribute not only to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic approach to CS as a bilingual strategy in general, but also to a detailed occurrence of Algerian Arabic/French CS. Such phenomenon, however, is not always viewed positively, as some young respondents in the present study expressed their negative attitudes towards it by proposing that it should be reduced or stopped completely. The older generation, in particular, appears to prefer the French language and thus codeswitch more.

General Conclusion

The present work is a sociolinguistic-oriented investigation of CS, although there are linguistic or grammatical aspects of two or more languages that normally motivate the occurrence of CS. The present study mainly focuses on the socio-pragmatic function of CS and the social factors that may influence this linguistic phenomenon. This is only one aspect in the vast field of CS that has been examined to the fullest extent so far. In addition, further light is thrown onto the complex relationship between CS and other language contact phenomena.

The fundamental role of the sociolinguists is to investigate variability in a specific language in relation to the place where it is used since a particular language remains unchanged from one place to another. The varieties of a specific language may change from one place to another, from one context to another, and from one speaker to another as it is influenced by various factors. Therefore, upon closer look in the present work, we noticed that code switching may occur as a marked code when it is unexpected and not following the social norms of our speech community, mainly when French is ML and AA is the EL. On the other hand, we found that in other completely different situations CS is regarded as a predominantly unmarked code as its occurrence does not refer to any social or pragmatic or discursive functions.

This research work involves four chapters. It started with a theoretical one which highlights the main works and considerations that help the reader with a full understanding of the present linguistic phenomenon; code switching. Then, the second chapter is devoted to the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria aiming to provide the present dissertation with a better understanding of the linguistic situation of the country, in particular its multilingual and diglossic phenomena. Furthermore, the third chapter elucidates the methodology underlying both qualitative and quantitative methods for the analysis of the data collected. At last, the fourth chapter presents data analysis and the obtained results. It concludes by confirming or excluding the suggested hypotheses.

Although almost all approaches are based on the assumption that CS may occur as speakers lack competence in both languages, there are other specific reasons for CS that fulfil social functions in conversations. The present study is concerned with the sociolinguistic interpretation and discourse functions of CS, i.e., the socio-pragmatic aspect of CS in daily conversations in Tlemcen speech community. It aims to investigate the sociolinguistic developments that result from French colonisation and to identify and illustrate motivations that influence the tendency of Tlemcen speakers to alternate codes between AA and French. This investigation focuses and interprets the key social variables that determine CS behaviour in Tlemcen speech community. These social variables include age, level of education, status and the various social domains of interaction. Therefore, CS is not a random phenomenon, it is considered as a strategy and a negotiation process that aims to achieve social, pragmatic and linguistic goals from interaction.

This study has attempted to examine the occurrences of CS as it may serve as a conversational cue, expressing attitudes towards language or marking linguistic identity. Therefore, it is a fundamental issue to investigate when and why a speaker selects one code rather than another. In Tlemcen community, the use of CS is shown to differ from one speaker to another, from one context to another and is affected by social factors such as age, gender, level of education and social environment. It is also influenced by metaphorical motivation where factors such as the interlocutor, social role, domain, topic and type of interaction play an important role. The data was gathered using different techniques and methods to obtain reliable information; such as note taking, recordings, questionnaire, and interviews. It is fundamental, here, to mention that when dealing with a sociolinguistic phenomenon the researcher should employ several and distinct methods to collect data to compensate for the drawbacks and failure of each one and to assure the result. Subsequently, both qualitative and quantitative analyses were used for open-ended and closed-ended data, respectively.

CS appears to indicate that its primary purpose is to communicate more effectively and to facilitate speech to convey thoughts, feelings, and ideas. As

shown in our data analysis, the linguistic phenomenon of CS is part of the Algerian society, particularly Tlemcen speech community as the findings support the hypothesis that the majority codeswitch in their daily conversations for different linguistic and/ or social reasons. The reasons most often done by our informants are according to the interlocutor, according to the topic, to facilitate speech, and to show one's identity. In addition to all these, some people and mainly men, are noticed to switch from AA to French to avoid the stigmatised phonological [ʔ] that characterizes Tlemcen speech community and which has feminine values. However, the result of the questionnaire did not reveal this when respondents were asked about the reasons for which they switch to French. Thus, this may be explained by the fact that the answers obtained in the questionnaire lack spontaneity, particularly when dealing with a stigmatised topic such as the use of the glottal stop that characterises uniquely the dialect of Tlemcen among all Algerian ones.

The findings of the questionnaire reveal that the majority of informants claimed to be bilingual and reply that AA is a mixture of Arabic and French. Besides, the majority claim to use French according to their interlocutors and this can be interpreted first by Gumperz (1982) 'contextualization cues'. Code switching is regarded as a good communicative practice that occurs in daily conversation to facilitate speech and to attain information. Therefore, some topics are closely related to AA and others to French.

For the respondents, CS occurs as there are French words and expressions with no AA equivalents. The majority assert to codeswitch subconsciously as French is part of their AA dialect. The psychological state of the speaker influences the way of speaking as the majority reply to use French when they are happy and Algerian Arabic when they are nervous, anxious, tired and ironic.

The sample majority codeswitch to show their social belonging and high level of education, others reply for emphasis, and others since there is no equivalent. The informants qualify CS as a normal means of communication practiced by bilinguals. Thus, the second hypothesis is partly confirmed. The majority of participants

perceive speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic as intellectuals. They regard French as a beautiful language.

As it was hypothesised, age, gender and level of education are factors that may influence CS. We find that all of them affect differently this linguistic phenomenon. Firstly, age was shown to influence CS as some old people switch to French to compensate for their Arabic deficiencies, particularly when discussing certain topics such as the ones related to the economy, politics, medicine (health).

Secondly, gender is also a fundamental social factor that appears to affect CS as both women and men shift back and forth from one code to another but for different reasons. As shown in our corpora analysis, there are different socio-pragmatic functions of both women and men CS.

Thirdly, contrary to our expectations, assuming that less educated speakers codeswitch less than educated one, we found that for some informants the level of education is less significant as it does not affect the use of French and CS. For instance, we noticed that old less-educated speakers, particularly the ones who lived with French colonisers, may codeswitch from AA to French more than young educated speakers. Besides, a less-educated woman uses French spontaneously when interviewed thanks to her social background and environment.

In addition to the three aforementioned social factors, the social environment is also a major factor that may affect CS. As resulted in our previous investigation, the social environment of the speaker greatly affects the use of French since people belonging to two contrastive districts codeswitch differently. In fact, in our community, we have noticed that educated people, with the ability to use French spontaneously, avoid the use of French because of some negative attitudes.

The overall conclusion to be drawn from the present study is that both forms and meanings of CS vary across communities and specific social and discursive contexts. Subsequently, different pragmatic as well as social mechanisms have to be taken into consideration for a better understanding of the different occurrences of

CS. Moreover, other fields rather than just sociolinguistic, such as psycholinguistics, psychology and sociology, have to investigate CS thoroughly.

Thus, it can be concluded that there are many reasons why CS takes place in particular social contexts. The ability of the interlocutors who are able to speak more than one language fluently plays an important role during their interaction. The study has shown that the undergraduates have emphasised that habitual expression which is related to the psychological aspect of behaviour as their main reason for codeswitching. Besides, lack of register competence is also another contributing factor for CS.

As this is the last part of this research work, and based on the results of data analysis and findings in the present work, we intended to give information for future researchers interested in similar studies and we put forward the following conclusion. There is a need for further research on this topic with more participants, for instance CS in the classroom and the students' attitude toward their use, and data collection in order to get more reliable information to be analysed. Other issues need further investigations, particularly when regarding CS as a different linguistic phenomenon from code mixing.

For further research, it would be interesting to try to apply other theories that deal with the functional aspect of CS. Besides, it is of great interest to investigate further analysis of socio-pragmatic functions of CS in other speech communities in Algeria and to attempt to highlight the main differences. Furthermore, the sample population may be enlarged to represent the whole country including the Tamazigh language.

At last, we may conclude that the occurrence of CS in Tlemcen speech community is varied as it depends on different social, linguistic and psychological factors. We accede to Holmes (2013) when she argues that the way speakers shift from one language to another remains subjective to certain social aspects that may affect CS. For instance, CS can be regarded as an individual product as it varies according to the scope in which people are speaking, where they are speaking, to

whom, what are their attitudes towards the two languages and what their motivations are in a particular conversation.

Besides, we should notice that at the level of individuals the same message may be conveyed differently by the same speaker according to different addressees. Thus, the determinant elements incite for the selection of a particular language rather than another. Such factors involve the influence of the participants (age, gender), social context, topic, formality, status and purposes of the discussion as well as functional use of language.

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BOUTEFLIKA A., El Watan, 01/08/ 1999

Appendices

Appendices

I. Questionnaire

I am a PhD student at the University of Tlemcen. I am doing a research project about the reasons that may affect Tlemcen speech community. This survey is anonymous and your responses will be held in the strictest confidence. Thank you for your careful answers.

Gender	F	<input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/>
Age			
Level of education			
Place of birth (Origin)			

Check the appropriate box and answer the questions

1. Do think you are bilingual?

Yes No a little I do not know

2. How would you describe Algerian Arabic?

.....
.....

3. When do you usually use French? Why?

.....
.....

4. When do you usually use Algerian Arabic? Why?

.....
.....

5. Do you feel the need to use both AA and French when discussing certain topics? Why?

.....
.....

6. Can you think about any French word/expression which has no AA equivalent?

.....
.....

7. When you alternate you do it:

Consciously subconsciously I do not know

8. In which language do you prefer to express yourself when you are:

- Happy
- Angry
- Anxious
- Tired
- Ironic

9. Why do you think Algerians shift from AA to French and/or vice-versa in their daily conversations?

- a) Emphasis
- b) Compensating for language limitation
- c) No equivalent words
- d) Social belonging
- e) Other (please specify):

.....
.....

10. How do you qualify someone who uses both languages in the same conversation?

.....
.....

11. What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

.....
.....

12. How do you consider the French language?

Beautiful language

Proof of dependency

Language of development

Language of the colonizer

Thank you for your collaboration

Translated version (Arabic / French) of the questionnaire

Je suis une doctorante à l'université de Tlemcen. Je fais un projet de recherche sur les raisons qui peuvent affecter la façon de parler dans la communauté de Tlemcen. Des raisons pour lesquelles la communauté de Tlemcen utilise l'Arabe Algérien et le Français dans leur parlés. Ce questionnaire est anonyme et vos réponses seront conservées dans la plus stricte confidentialité. Merci de répondre avec soin.

أنا طالبة في الدكتوراه بجامعة تلمسان، وأقوم ببحثٍ حول الأسباب التي تؤثر على طريقة التحدث في الجماعات اللغوية بتلمسان وتجعل المتكلمين يستخدمون اللهجة العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية في محادثاتهم اليومية . سيبقى هذا الاستبيان مجهولا وتبقى أجوبتكم سرية. شكرا لكم على ملئه بعناية.

Genre	M <input type="checkbox"/>	F <input type="checkbox"/>	أنثى <input type="checkbox"/>	ذكر <input type="checkbox"/>	نوع الجنس
Age				السن.....
Niveau d'éducation				المستوى الدراسي.....
Lieu de naissance				مكان الازدياد.....

Cocher la case appropriée et répondre aux questions (en français ou en Arabe)

ضع علامة (x) في الخانة المناسبة ثم اجب على الأسئلة (بالعربية أو بالفرنسية)

1. Pensez-vous que vous êtes bilingue?

Oui Non Un peu Je ne sais pas

هل تعتقدون أنكم ثنائيو اللغة؟

نعم لا نوعا ما لا أدري

2. Comment décrivez-vous le dialecte Arabe Algérien? كيف تصفون اللهجة العربية الجزائرية ؟

.....
.....

3. Quand utilisez-vous le Français d'habitude? Pourquoi ?

متى تستعملون الفرنسية عادة ؟ لماذا ؟

.....
.....

4. Quand utilisez-vous l'Arabe Algérien d'habitude? Pourquoi ?

متى تستعملون العربية الجزائرية عادة ؟ لماذا ؟

.....
.....

5. Sentez-vous le besoin d'utiliser l'Arabe Algérien et le Français en discutant certains sujets? Pourquoi ?

هل تشعرون بحاجة إلى استخدام اللغة العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية عند مناقشة بعض المواضيع؟ لماذا؟

.....
.....

6. Pouvez-vous mentionner des mots ou expressions Français(es) qui n'ont pas d'équivalents en arabe Algérien?

هل لديكم عبارة أو كلمة في الفرنسية التي لا يوجد لها نظير في العربية الجزائرية؟

.....
.....

7. Quand vous alternez, vous le faites :

Consciemment Inconsciemment Je ne sais pas

عند تغييركم للغة، هل أنتم:

واعون غير واعين لا أدري

8. Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes

بأي لغة تفضلون التحدث عندما تكونون:

- Heureux (se)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	- سعاد
- En colère	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	- غاضبين
- Inquiet (te)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	- قلقين
- Fatigué (e)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	- متعبين
- Ironique	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	- مستهزئين

9. D'après-vous, pourquoi les Algériens changent de l'Arabe Algérien au Français, et/ou vice versa, dans leurs conversations quotidiennes ?

- a) Pour l'insistance
b) Pas d'équivalent
c) L'appartenance sociale
d) Autres (préciser s'il vous plaît)

برأيكم، لماذا يغير الجزائريون الكلام من العربية الجزائرية إلى الفرنسية، و / أو العكس، في المحادثات اليومية؟

أ) للإصرار

ب) لا وجود لما يعادل

ج) الإلتواء الاجتماعي

د) غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد)

.....
.....

10. Comment qualifiez-vous quelqu'un qui utilise les deux langues dans la même conversation ?

كيف تصفون شخصاً يستخدم اللغتين في نفس المحادثة ؟

.....
.....

11. Que pensez-vous des gens qui utilisent beaucoup le Français plutôt que l'Arabe Algérien?

ما رأيكم في الناس الذين يستخدمون الفرنسية كثيراً بدلاً من العربية الجزائرية ؟

.....
.....

12. Comment considérez-vous la langue Française?

- Belle langue

- Langue des intellectuels

- Langue de développement

- Langue du colonisateur

- كيف تعتبرون اللغة الفرنسية؟

- لغة جميلة

- لغة المثقفين

- لغة المستعمر

- لغة التنمية

Merci pour votre collaboration.

شكراً لتعاونكم.

II. Note taking

- **ʁaja c'est bien.** 'It is good.'
- **hædæk vrai.** 'That man is very kind.'
- **Il a un garçon j̣ṭer en informatique.** 'He has a son who is excellent in computing.'
- **Téléphone** kæn **silencieux.** 'The mobile was in silent mode.'
- **hæd le procureur** ma j̣əfɦæmʃ **il n'a pas à...** 'The prosecutor does not understand, he has not'
- **llah j̣xalli:k ana ḅvit naʃte un conseil** lhæd lbənṭs
'Please, I want to give a piece of advice to this girl.'
- **llah j̣xali:k sake ʔəddæmək nəmʃi nətlaʃ mʃa ɦəl mɛgl**
uʃa ləl **quatrième étage.** 'Please, my bag is next to you, I will go with a wicked person to the fourth floor.'
- **Coûter les yeux de la tête** 'to cost an arm and a leg'. Meaning it is a price that is very expensive.
- **bæʃ səggəḍnaha ça coûte les yeux de la tête.**
- **C'est dommage** 'it is a pity'.
- **Être bouche bée** 'to be open-mouthed'.
- **C'est la goutte d'eau qui fait déborder le vase.** 'The straw that broke the camel's back'.
- **C'est une façon de parler.** 'That is one way of putting it.' Eg **C'est une façon de parler** hæda makæn. 'That is one way of putting it that is all.'
- **En principe** 'As a rule.' Eg **En principe** reha msəgda
- **ʁil lbarəħ ʃrits waħda ʒdida fajən riha masəbthæʃ**
dorénavant je ferme ma chambre à clé. 'Only yesterday I bought a new one where is it I did not find it, from now on I will lock my room'.

- **Tapez juste le mot et tu as ce que tu veux**
- lmoʃallima ʔtat_sna kurras lmurasala ‘the mistress gave us correspondence notebook.’
- **Le départ à dix heures**, jæk ‘The departure at 10 pm, is not it?’
- **Il te reste dix minutes** matəmʃiʃ/ ‘Ten minutes remain to you, do not you leave?’
- ana jbælli lbak duk jkun sähəl häd lʃam, **tu ne penses pas?** ‘I suppose the baccalaureat exam will be easier this year, do not you think.’
- ana jbælli lbak duk jkun sähəl häd lʃam, **non?**
‘I suppose the baccalaureat exam will be easier this year, no?’
- **Il fera beau demain** nəχordʒu jla ħabbit_s/ ‘It will be fine tomorrow, we go out if you want.’
- **C’est pas la peine de l’appeler** hadæk ma ʃandʊʃ lkəlma wduk jaṭħak ʔlik ‘its not worthy to call him, he cannot keep his word and he will laugh at you.’
- lah jχallik aʃteni **la façon comment tu l’as fait le gâteau est très bon.** ‘God bless you give me the way you have made it, cake is very delicious.’
- **Quisque tu penses si on part à l’étranger** □häd lʃam mʃa drari
‘What do you think if we go abroad this year with kids.’
- rwaħ ngulək **à quelle heure** t_skun t_semma ‘At what time you will be there.’
- ma bʔat_s ʔraja **le systeme d’éducation c’est pas ça** raħna ʔil nzidʊ ‘No studies remain, the educational system is not that it is going worth and worth.’

- mæt_s flən məskɪn **il est jeune** allah yarħmu ‘Mr x died poor man he is young may God bless him.’
- **On t’a invité** ləlɔrs taɪ flæn **mardi prochain** ‘Do they invite you to the wedding next Tuesday?’
- ʔəddə nəmʃi ɪand **le medecin** ‘Tomorrow I will go to the doctor.’
- riha ɪandək **la montre** ‘Do you have the watch?’
- ɪrits **l’article** ‘Did you read the newspaper article.’
- **Les magasins** rahum mbəlɪ:n ‘The shops are closed.’
- **Un tissu** ʔæli ‘An expensive fabric.’
- **Une soirée** tʃammaʔ ‘A beautiful party.’
- **Des pantalons** ʃæbbi:n ‘Beautiful trousers.’
- **Du thé** llah jχali:k ‘Some tea, please.’
- ʃri **du fromage** ‘Buy some cheese.’
- **Mon portable** rah mat fə ‘My mobile is switched off.’
- **Ton cadeau** rah wəʒəd ‘Your present is ready.’
- **Son cahier** tʔattaɪ ‘His copybook is torn up.’
- **Notre voisin** mæt_s ‘Our neighbour is dead.’
- **Votre destin** hədæk huwa ‘This is your fate.’
- **Leur voiture** reha fəsda ‘Their car is broken down.’
- **Ma chaine** masəbthəʃ ‘I did not find my chain.’
- **Ta recette** bnina ‘Your recipe is delicious.’
- **Sa robe** ʃæbba ‘Her dress is nice.’
- **Notre rendez-vous** fawaʔ ‘When is our rendez-vous?’
- **Votre journal** llah jχəlli:k ‘Your newspaper please!’
- **Leur valise** nsawha ‘They forgot their suitcase.’
- **Mes cousins** nmūt_s ɪliħum ‘I love too much my cousins.’

- **Tes commentaires** majəslaħuʃ ‘Your comments are useless.’
- **Ses papiers** ma səgədhumʃ ‘His papers are not in order.’
- **Nos travaux** makəmluʃ ‘Our works did not achieve.’
- **Vos habitudes** majəslaħuʃ ‘Your habits are bad.’
- **Leurs investissement** mʃa ‘Their investment is misspent.’
- **Ce prof** jəhdar bəzzæf ‘This teacher speaks too much.’
- **Cet article** waʔər ‘A difficult article.’
- **Cette video** daħħak ‘This video is amusing.’
- **Ces enfants** msækən ‘These poor children!’
- **Un film** jħammaʔ ‘A beautiful movie.’
- **Une pièce** fəzda ‘A broken part.’
- **Des cas** jʃəffu ‘Some pitiful cases.’
- **Deux kilos** taʔ lfarina ‘Two kilos of flour.’
- **Cinq grammes** jəwzan ‘It weighs five grams.’
- **Cent à l’heure** kən ‘He was driving.’
- **χashum chaque jour** ‘They want every day.’
- **Quelques nuits** kuħəl ‘Few dark nights.’
- **Plusieurs médicaments** naħawhum ‘several medicines have been dropped.’
- **La montre** fəzdət_s ‘The watch’
- **Le rideau** taħ ‘The curtain falls down.’
- **La dent** t_sssawsat_s ‘A deteriorate teeth.’
- **Le feuilleton** kamməl ‘The serial film is finished.’
- **Insister** ʔlih bæʃ jdʒi ‘Insist on him to come.’
- **Négociier** mʔəħ əssuma ‘Negotiate with him the price.’
- **Nettoyer** dar ʔaja ‘Clean well the house.’

- **Imprimer** kæməl lawraf ‘Print all sheets.’
- læftur **extra** ‘Excellent lunch.’
- hædi:k lamba **puissante** ‘The lamp is powerful.’
- χədma **rapide** ‘Rapid work.’
- mart **grave** ‘Serious disease.’
- hædi **c’est la meilleure** ‘This is the best one’
- rik t_səχdəm **pour ses beaux yeux** ‘You are working for her nice eyes’
- hädæk jbiʔ rχis tu **parles** ‘He sells with good prices, you are mistaken.’
- **Bien sûr** marikʃ ʔarfa ‘Of course you do not know.’
- **Pas de café noir** makænʃ lat_sæj ‘No dark coffee, there is no tea.’
- llah jχalik **vous n’avez pas paracetamol** ‘please, do not you have paracetamol.’
- duk jdʒibhælək **tu peux attendre** ‘He will bring it to you can wait.’
- duk dʒi ʔandi **c’est ça** ‘You will come to my house that is it.’
- rani naʃmal hädəʃʃi blʃæni **ça va** ‘I do everything extortion, ok!’
- **C’est pas la peine de chercher de midi à quatorze heures** χatər ma t_ssəbhæʃ ‘There is no point looking 12:00 to 2:00 p.m.’
- ʔællək ʔullu **il t’a dit de lui dire** ma jəmʃiʃ ‘He told you to tell him not to go.’
- kunt_s nəhdar mʃa waħəd barrani wma ħabbitʃ jaʃrafni bellī tlmsæni ‘I was speaking to a stranger and i did not want to let him know that I am from Tlemcen.’
- mʃæt **déjà c’est dommage de ne l’avoir pas vu.** ‘She left! It is a pity not to have seen her.’

- maʃliʃ **c'est pas grave.** 'Ok! It does not matter.'
- **A: papa tu sais me faire ça.** 'Dad you know how to make me that?'
B: lla ʃepa 'No, I do not know.'
- **A: laħlib c'est facultatif.** 'Milk it is optional.'
- **A: jbənlɪ makænʃ ʃandha draham ʃliha maʃrætʃ** 'I think she has not enough money this why she has not bought.'
B: Exactement ħattsa ana jbəlli 'Exactly, me too I think so!'
- **Tu manges maintenant** t_sakul dərwaʔ. 'Do you eat now? Do you eat now?'
- ʔaʃteni **donne moi** 'Give me, give me.'
- mma hædæk χændεʔ lədʒnun **c'est trop petit.** 'my home is too small.'
- ʃandha ʋil laħʃu **elle n'a pas de gout.** 'She has ugly clothing she lacks taste.'
- **Elle est belle** bæssaħ madʒætʃ ʃæbba fʔorsha 'She is nice but she was not in her wedding.'
- lħæl rah jħammaʔ **on dirait l'air marrin** 'The weather today is good it looks like sea air.'
- lʃid taf hæd lʃæm baħdu y a eu **aucun charme** 'The feast of this year was boring there was no great atmosphere.'
- **Bon vieux temps** duk lijæm mæjəntsæwʃ 'Good old days, those unforgettable days.'
- bda jəsχon laʃsal əhh **plutôt** zit_s 'The honey starts heating eh rather oil.' Cs is used to correct tongue mistake.'
- buh ʃla duk **les services bon à jeter.** 'Oh! Those sets fit for the bin.'
- rahum farħanin bresanhum **les imbéciles heureux** 'They are happy with their selves, happy fool.'
- llaħ jχali:k **donne moi le sous-plat** 'Please give me the trivet.'

- **jʔullək li ʔarib ləlmʊt ləkbiɾ ləmrið lmuʂæfir et nul n'est à l'abri.** 'It is said those closed to death are old, ill, traveller and nobody is under cover.'
- **dʒibhuli laʔʃija je t'attends** 'You bring it to me this evening i wait for you.'
- **T'es sur de l'avoir vu rik mətʂʔækkda ʃəftha** 'Are you sure to have seen her?'
- **ana mandʒijafʃ rasi manafməlʃ la corde au cou** bæʃ hiʒa tafrəħ 'I will not have my head in the noose for her satisfaction.'
- **makæjən walu ya rien de spécial.** 'There is nothing, there is nothing special.'
- **rani fəhhæmtʊ ɾaja bien comme il le faut.** 'I explained to him well as it should be.'
- **jadra dʒəbt les résultats des analyses?** 'So you the brought blood test result?'
- **ana jamais** maʃaftʂʊ jməd liʔaʃʊɾ ləlmsækən hæda farð mina alfaɾaʔið 'I have never seen him giving alms to the needier. This is an imposition of the duties.'
- **Il faut juste faire le geste** komma ʔəl kabbarni wkulni
- **bæʃ nwaʔʔiw ənnas il faut le médiatiser** 'To make people aware it should be mediatised.'
- **Pour vous dire, kæyn li il peut acheter** hæd dwa wkæyən li **il peut pas.** 'To tell you, there are those who can buy this medicine and others who cannot.'
- **raham farħanin bresanhum les imbéciles heureux** 'They are happy with their selves, happy fool.'
- **llah jχalli:k donne moi le sous-plat** 'Please give me the trivet.'

- ləblaxəm xashum lbærəd **il faut guérir le mal par le mal**
‘The sore-throat needs cool food, must cure evil with evil.’
- bæʃ təʃriha xassək taʃmal **promesse de vente** ‘To buy it you should make sales agreement.’
- **L’autoroute** riha ʃæda batel **parce qu’elle n’est pas encore conforme aux normes** ‘The motorway is still free because it is not yet in accordance with norms.’
- smaʃ ʔæssəm rah jʔul **la vérité sort de la bouche des enfants**
‘Listen to what he says, the truth come out of the mouths of children.’
- lhæɫ rah jhammaʔ **on dirait l’air marrin** ‘The weather today is good it looks like sea air.’
- lfɪd taʃ hæd lfæm b^wahdu **ya eu aucun charme!** ‘The feast of this year was boring there was no great atmosphere.’
- **Bon vieux temps** duk lijæm məjəntsæwʃ ‘Good old days, those unforgettable days.’
- bda jəsχon laʔsal æhh **plutôt** zzit_s ‘The honey starts heating eh rather oil.’
- buh ʃla duk **les services bon à jeter** ‘Oh! Those sets fit for the bin.’
- ana baʃda **je suis contre les mariages à un jeune âge.** ‘As far as I am concerned I am against marriages at an early age.’
- **Mets-toi à l’aise** llah jχəlik rani mədʒja χəffa ‘Please make yourself comfortable and I will come back quickly.’
- **Tu vois,** kulʃi bæjən ‘You see, everything is clear.’
- χak rijjaħ **Ça va mieux!** rah xaja? ‘Your brother is doing better? Is he doing well?’
- **Changeons de sujet** kulʊ ‘let us talk about something else! You eat.’

- **C’était très bien** hal ʔors fæt jħammaʔ ‘it was very good, a very nice wedding.’
- **hæduk les chaines sont indispensables** ‘Those channels are essentials.’
- **ʔtani la garantie après l’avoir demandé** ‘He gave me warranty after i asked for it.’

	English translation	Expression / Idiom
Bonjour/bonsoir/salut ça va.	Good morning / Good evening/ Hello how are you?	Expression
Merci beaucoup.	Thanks a lot.	Expression
C’est beaucoup.	That is a lot.	Expression
C’est beau.	It is beautiful.	Expression
C’est gentil (de ta/votre part).	This is nice.	Expression
S’il te/vous plait.	Please.	Expression
Si ça ne te/vous dérange pas.	If it does not bother you.	Expression
Bon courage.	Good luck.	Expression
Au plaisir.	Forward.	Expression
A la prochaine fois.	See you again.	Expression
La dernière fois.	The last time.	Expression
La première/deuxième... fois.	The first, second,... time	Expression
Bonne appétit.	Good appetite.	Expression
Bonne nuit.	Good night.	Expression
Bonne journée.	Have a nice day.	Expression
Bon après-midi.	Good afternoon.	Expression
Bonnes vacances.	Good holidays.	Expression

Bonne route.	Good trip.	Expression
Bon voyage.	Have a good trip.	Expression
A toi/vous de même.	To you as well.	Expression
Egalement.	Also.	Expression
Bienvenue.	Welcome.	Expression
Tu es beau/belle/moche.	You are beautiful/ ugly.	Expression
Je ne sais pas.	I do not know.	Expression
Je suis fatigué(e).	I am tired.	Expression
Je suis malade.	I am sick.	Expression
Je suis désolé(e).	I am sorry.	Expression
Je suis saturé(e)/occupé(e).	I am saturated.	Expression
T'es là?	Are you here?	Expression
T'es parti(e)?	You are gone?	Expression
Ça m'étonne.	I am surprised.	Expression
Ça me dérange.	It bothers me.	Expression
Ça me va.	That suits me.	Expression
Mieux vaut tard que jamais.	Late is worth more than never.	Idiom
Mieux vaut être seule que mal accompagné.	Better to be alone than in bad company.	Idiom
Le chien aboie la caravane passe.	The dog barks but the caravan moves.	Idiom
Il veut le beurre et l'argent du beurre.	He wants their cake and eat it too.	Idiom
Le monde appartient à ceux qui se lèvent tôt.	The world belongs to those who get up early.	Idiom

Il faut de tout pour faire un monde.	It takes all sorts to make a world.	Idiom
Une hirondelle ne fait pas le printemps.	One swallow does not make a summer.	Idiom
Chose promise chose due.	As promised something due.	Idiom
Rira bien qui rira le dernier.	Who laughs last laughs best.	Idiom
La mauvaise graine ne crève jamais.	The bad seed never die.	Idiom
Les bons comptes font les bons amis.	Good accounts make good friends.	Idiom
Les absents ont toujours tort.	The absent are always wrong.	Idiom
L'oisiveté est la mère de tous les vices.	Idleness is the mother of all vices.	Idiom
Tel père tel fils.	Like Father, Like son.	Idiom
Battre le fer tant qu'il est chaud.	Strike while the iron is hot	Idiom
Il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu.	There is no smoke without fire.	Idiom
A force de forger on devient forgeron.	Practice makes perfect.	Idiom
À cœur vaillant rien d'impossible.	To a valiant heart nothing impossible.	Idiom
Il faut réfléchir avant d'agir.	You have to think before acting.	Idiom
Mieux vaut prévenir que guérir.	Better to prevent than to cure.	Idiom
On ne fait pas d'omelette sans casser des œufs.	You cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs.	Idiom

Les petits ruisseaux font les grandes rivières.	Tall oaks from little acorns grow.	Idiom
Si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait.	Youth is wasted on the young.	Idiom
Tous les chemins mènent à Rome.	All roads lead to Rome.	Idiom
Faute avouée est à moitié pardonnée.	Fault confessed is half forgiven.	Idiom

Established borrowings in AA (used by all)	Nonce borrowings in AA (used by some)
Ça y est 'that is it'	Ç'est fini 'it is over, it is finished'
C'est trop 'It is enough'	Pas trop 'not enough'
A vie 'for life'	La vie 'life'
Stylo 'pen'	Cahier 'copybook'
Machine-à-laver 'washing machine'	Lave-vaisselle 'dishwasher'
Stade 'stadium'	Ballon 'balloon'
Gateau 'biscuit'	Pâte 'dough'
Garantie 'warranty'	Acompte 'on account'
Balcon 'balcony'	Cour 'yard'
Cadre 'photo frame'	Photo 'photo'
Nettoyer 'to clean'	Laver 'to wash'
Placer 'to place'	Coller 'to stick on'
Tranquille 'quiet'	Gentil 'kind'
Sûr 'certain'	Sûrement 'certainly'
Qualité 'quality'	Prix 'price'

III. Recordings

- **A : Bonjour ça va?** ‘Good morning, how are you?’

B : ça va □ **l̥hamduləh** ‘It is alright.’

A:ana fhæd lwaft_s des hauts et des bas **lmaʃakil ma jxaliwak tranquile** ‘Nowadays, too many problems and we cannot keep quiet.’

B : ijwa c'est ça la vie ‘This is life.’

A:J'en ai marre Je n'en peux plus c'est plus fort **ana kraht_s llah** **yaləb** ‘I am fed up, I am exhausted, I cannot help.’

- **A:rani ʃaft_s mʃa le mecanicien wɪla h̥sabu la panne mæʒja m la boite de vitesse.** ‘I spoke with the mechanic and according to him the breakdown comes from the gearbox.’

B:ʔijla la boite de vitesse tu es obligé **t_sbəddəlhə sinon le problème** **jabʔa** ‘If it is the gearbox you are obliged to change it otherwise the problem persist.’

A:wallah mani ʔarəf h̥att_sa le prix ʃh̥æl ʔla h̥sabu a peu près deux millions ‘I really do not even know the price, According to him about two millions.’

C:l̥la c'est trop □ **maximum quinze mille** **w occasion** **t_ssebha moins** ‘No! It is too expensive maximum fifteen thousand, and bargain price it is cheaper.’

D:kiʃ t_sddihalu fə **dépannage**. **Les pièces détachées** fwahran rxa:s ‘How do you take it? With breakdown service. The spare parts In Oran are cheaper.’

B: ana yədda nkun **sur Oran** jla t_sħob nʃuflək la pjæs ‘I will be in Oran tomorrow if you want I will bring you the part.’

- **A:** hædi bent_s mən? ‘Whose daughter is she?’

B: bent_s χaj rijjad ‘The daughter of my brother Ryad.’

C: ana bent_s zahija ‘I am Zahya’s daughter.’

B: **Elle est jalouse**. ‘She is jealous.’

C: ana mæʃi **jalouse**. ‘I am not jealous.’

B: **Elle comprend très bien le français**. ‘She understands French very well.’

- **A:** **Maintenant il faut que le salaire du ménage dépasse dix fois le SMIG pour pouvoir vivre**. ‘Now the wages of the couple should exceed ten times the SMIG to be able to live.’

B: kifæʃ χas ‘How should it be?’

A: χas ʃʃahrija tsaɪ ləmra wərradzəl tskun ɤaʃra

t_sɤɪ lmarrat **SMIG** bæʃ jʔaddu jʃiʃu ‘The wages of both wife and husband should be ten times the SMIG so as they be able to live.’

- **A:** ijwa majnudtʃ jʃawənhum **ça ne se fait pas** ‘He cannot help them it is not the done thing.’

B: huwa ma ɤabbæʃ kəbʃu jətʃəssal wə jnud jʃawənhum

tu parles! ‘He has not taken his sheep to carve and he will help them you must be joking!’

- **B:Et oui** taḫir zzamæn min laḥram wəlla ḥlæl ‘The end of life when sins are allowed.’

C:dərwag taḫir zzamæn li xil rwaḥ wəfti **en plus** rəbbi gəllək li ddarurati aḥkæm **non?** ‘The end of life when each one can analyse Koran.’

B:llah jahdina kəməl **il faut de tout pour un monde.** ‘May God lead us, it takes all sorts to make a world.’
- **A:**ʔadzi drəbni **c’est ce qu’il reste.** ‘Come and hit me that is what remains.’

B: **ça y est la prochaine fois** maddaxalʃ rassək. ‘That is it, next time it is none of your business.’

C:llah jḫallikum **un peu de silence et arrêtez de dramatiser les choses.** ‘Please, keep quiet and do not dramatize the situation!’
- **A:** treʔ reha mʔammra **circulation** ‘There is traffic.’

B:xil bləʔda ʔlik wəldi ki tskun tssug bʃwija tsmaitriser loto kumma tshob ‘Just be quiet my son, when you drive quietly you will be able to control the car as you like.’
- **A:** hædi ʃhæl maʃəftəkʃ smənt B ‘long time I did not see you put on weight’

B: **Ah bon!** ‘Oh really!’ 100% French

C: **Je ne pense pas qu’elle soit grossi** reha xaja ‘I do not think she got fat she is nice.’
- **A:**frāsa ḫassha taʔmal **le pilonnage en syrie.** ‘France wants to make bombardment in Syria.’

B: æssm taʔmal ‘What to do?’

A: ijwa hædi mataɣrafhæʃ **c'est connu** 'So, you do not know this, it is well known.'

- **A:** marħba bikum 'You are Welcome!'

B: **Bonjour** 'Good morning!'

A: **Bonjour bienvenu(es)!** 'Good morning! You are Welcome!'

- **A:** namʃiw ləfrāsa **mais on n'achete rien** naklu wnəʃʃarbu w **ça y est**. 'Shall we go to France but we do not buy anything we just eat and drink and that is all.'

B: saħħa namʃiw bæssaħ mɣæk manəʃriw walu **c'est ça je te crois!** 'Ok! We will go but you will not buy that is it I believe you.'

A: wallah manəʃri **à part un manteau** li rah ɣasni 'I swear I will buy nothing except a coat that I am really in need.'

B: ijwa duk nʃufu ɣatər **je te connais pas assez**. 'Ok! We will see, as if I do not know you.'

- **A:** ddar təjjʔa bæzzæ:f 'The house is too small.'

B: mma hædæk ɣəndεʔ lədʒnu:n **c'est trop grand**. 'The house is too small.'

- **A:** ʔælətli ɣlæʃ mamʃitʃ t_ssinji jæk mæʃi ħram ru:h saʔsi lʔimæm 'She told me why you did not go to sign, it is not a sin you can ask the Imam.'

B: **En plus elle a le culot** wət_sʔullək ruħ saʔsi limæm wkæn mariʃ ʔarfa bælli ħram ijwa hædi **c'est la meilleure**. 'Besides, she has the nerve to tell you to ask the Imam if she did not know that it is a sin, '

A: ijwa zid ʃuf! **Qui se sent morveux se mouche** hædi hi ja.

'As you can see, if the cap fits you should wear it! That is it.'

IV. Interviews

- **Même les médecins jffahmuna en Français, donc ntɣalmu des mots Français** ‘Even doctors explain to us in French, so we learn French words.’
- **C’est normal on parle□ en Français** ɣarrawna ləgwar gwar ‘It is normal we speak in French, French people taught us.’
- **nahdar en français avec les gens intellectuels** bæʃ nbəjjənəlhum bəlli hattsə ɣana naɣrəf **le français** ‘I speak French with intellectual people to show them that I master too French.’
- **kəjən ʃi swalaħ manaɣarfuhumʃ bəlɣarbija donc on se retrouve à parler en Français** ‘There are things we do not know them in Arabic, thus we find ourself speaking French.’
- **Le faite que daridza djəli fiha plus Français que ɣarbijja ɣasni nfəttəʃ ɣla daridza djəlu pour qu’il puisse me comprendre.** ‘The fact that my dialect contains more French than Arabic, I must search for his appropriate dialect so that he can understand me.’
- **Pour moi le Français est mieux structuré que daridza, mɣa shabi je me sens plus libre mais avec les filles j’utilise beaucoup le Français.** ‘For me French is better structured than dialect. With my friends boys i feel freer but with girls I use more French.’
- **Il y a des expressions li ɣassək t_sʔulhum en français pour mieux s’exprimer.** ‘There are expressions that we have to use them in French to express themselves better.’
- **hadratsna mɣalta ni ɣarbijja ni Français t_sħaʃʃam ɣaransiya** ‘Our speech is mixed neither Arabic nor French, it is shameful, Aranch.’
- **hədu swalaħ ils sont pas donnés à tout le monde c’est une culture.**

‘These things which are not given to everybody it is a culture.’

- fə **la mécanique** tʃalləmt naʃməl **la graisse** fə **le filtre** ‘These are things not given to everybody, it is a culture.’
- **On a prit le pli de parler en français** ‘We get into the habit to speak French.’
- **C’est vrai** hadrat_{sna} t_sdaħħak ‘It is right, our speech is funny.’
- **Je veux faire un régime alimentaire pour perdre du poids,** manʔatʃ nʔul rani maʃja nχaffaɖ lwazn [laughter] maraħnæʃ f **la publicité** t_saʃ mbc ‘I want to do a diet to lose weight, I cannot say this in Arabic, we are not making a publicity in mbc.’
- ħna bəkri **fin d’étude** χassək t_skuŋ ħaffəd **dictionnaire** ‘We in the past, at the end of study one has learned the dictionary.’
- **C’est normal on parle en Français,** ʔarrawna ləgwar ‘It is normal we speak in French, French people taught us.’
- nahdar xil bəl ʔarbijja ma həduk li jahadru xil bəl **Français** whasbin ressanhum ‘I speak only with Arabic with those snobbish who speak only French.’
- **On a vécu avec les français et on est satisfait du Français qui nous aide beaucoup maintenant** fkuʃi ‘We lived with the French and we are satisfied as it helps us a lot nowadays.’
- xassak t_sabbaʃ **la ligne à savoir** kiʃ ri mədʒja ‘You should follow the line worth knowing from where it comes.’

V. SPSS

Questionnaire_2.sav [Ensemble de données] - IBM SPSS Statistics Éditeur de données

Fichier Edition Affichage Données Transformer Analyse Marketing direct Graphes Utilitaires Fenêtre Aide

	Nom	Type	Largeur	Décim...	Étiquette	Valeurs	Manqu...	Colomnes	Align	Mesure	Rôle
1	Gender	Numérique 8	2			{1,00, Male}...	Aucun	8	Droite	Ordinales	Entrée
2	Age	Numérique 8	2			{1,00, 18-40...	Aucun	8	Droite	Ordinales	Entrée
3	Level_of_ed...	Numérique 8	2			{1,00, Educ...	Aucun	8	Droite	Ordinales	Entrée
4	Place_of_birth	Chaîne 15	0			Aucun	Aucun	10	Gauche	Nominales	Entrée
5	Q1	Numérique 8	2		Pensez-vous que vous êtes bilingue?	{1,00, Oui}...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
6	Q2	Numérique 8	2		Comment décrivez-vous le dialecte Arabe Algérien?	{1,00, Un m...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
7	Q3	Numérique 8	2		Quand utilisez-vous le Français d'habitude?	{1,00, Selon...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
8	Q4	Numérique 8	2		Quand utilisez-vous l'Arabe Algérien d'habitude?	{1,00, Selon...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
9	Q5	Numérique 8	2		Sentez-vous le besoin d'utiliser l'Arabe Algérien et le Français en discutant certains sujets?	{1,00, Pour ...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
10	Q6	Numérique 8	2		Pouvez-vous mentionner des mots ou expressions Français(es) qui n'ont pas d'équivalents en ...	{1,00, Mots}...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
11	Q	Numérique 8	2		Quand vous alternez, vous le faites:	{1,00, Cons...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
12	Q8_a	Numérique 8	2		Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes: Heureux (se)	{1,00, Arabe...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
13	Q8_b	Numérique 8	2		Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes: Nerveux (se)	{1,00, Arabe...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
14	Q8_c	Numérique 8	2		Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes: Inquiet (te)	{1,00, Arabe...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
15	Q8_d	Numérique 8	2		Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes: Fatigué (e)	{1,00, Arabe...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
16	Q8_e	Numérique 8	2		Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer quand vous êtes: Ironique	{1,00, Arabe...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
17	Q9	Numérique 8	2		D'après-vous, pourquoi les Algériens changent de l'Arabe Algérien au Français, et/ou vice ve...	{1,00, Pour l...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
18	Q10	Numérique 8	2		Comment qualifiez-vous quelqu'un qui utilise les deux langues dans la même conversation?	{1,00, C'est ...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
19	Q11	Numérique 8	2		Que pensez-vous des gens qui utilisent beaucoup le Français plutôt que l'Arabe Algérien?	{1,00, Il ne ...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
20	Q12	Numérique 8	2		Comment considérez-vous la langue Française?	{1,00, Belle ...	Aucun	8	Droite	Nominales	Entrée
21											

	Gender	Age	Level_of_education	Place_of_birth	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q	Q8_a	Q8_b	Q8_c	Q8_d	Q8_e	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
1	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	4,00
2	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
3	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiaret	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	7,00	1,00
4	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	8,00	1,00
5	2,00	2,00	1,00	Reliz...	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	9,00	3,00
6	2,00	2,00	1,00	Reliz...	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	2,00	4,00
7	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	4,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00
8	2,00	1,00	1,00	Gha...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	8,00	1,00
9	1,00	1,00	1,00	Boiti...	3,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	1,00	4,00
10	2,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
11	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
12	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	4,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
13	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	5,00	3,00
14	2,00	1,00	1,00	Ain ...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
15	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	4,00	1,00	3,00	1,00
16	2,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	1,00
17	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tlem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00
18	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	4,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00
19	2,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	4,00	4,00	4,00
20	1,00	2,00	1,00	Skikda	3,00	4,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	1,00
21	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	4,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	1,00
22	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	1,00

	Gender	Age	Level_of_education	Place_of_birth	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q	Q8_a	Q8_b	Q8_c	Q8_d	Q8_e	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
23	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	4,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	7,00	1,00
24	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	5,00	4,00
25	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	4,00
26	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	5,00	9,00	1,00
27	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	3,00
28	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00
29	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	9,00	1,00
30	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	7,00	1,00
31	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	5,00	1,00
32	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	7,00	1,00
33	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	4,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
34	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	1,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	1,00	7,00	4,00
35	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tlem...	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	2,00	2,00
36	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	7,00	4,00
37	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	7,00	4,00
38	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	3,00
39	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	6,00	4,00
40	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	4,00
41	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	4,00	1,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	1,00	5,00	9,00	3,00
42	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	8,00	3,00
43	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tlem...	3,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	5,00	3,00
44	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tlem...	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	5,00	1,00

	Gender	Age	Level_of_education	Place_of_birth	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q	Q8_a	Q8_b	Q8_c	Q8_d	Q8_e	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
45	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	4,00	4,00
46	2,00	1,00	1,00	Oran	3,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	4,00	3,00
47	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	7,00	1,00
48	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	5,00	5,00	9,00	3,00
49	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	4,00	1,00	5,00	4,00
50	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	7,00	4,00
51	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	4,00	1,00
52	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	4,00	1,00	4,00	4,00
53	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	1,00
54	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00
55	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	5,00	5,00	2,00	3,00
56	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	5,00	3,00
57	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	8,00	1,00
58	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	4,00
59	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	8,00	3,00
60	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	4,00
61	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	4,00	5,00	4,00
62	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	4,00	5,00	2,00
63	2,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	5,00	9,00	1,00
64	1,00	2,00	2,00	Tiem...	4,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	9,00	1,00
65	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	2,00
66	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	3,00

	Gender	Age	Level_of_education	Place_of_birth	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q	Q8_a	Q8_b	Q8_c	Q8_d	Q8_e	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
67	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	5,00	7,00	1,00
68	1,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	3,00
69	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	7,00	1,00
70	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	5,00	1,00	4,00
71	1,00	2,00	1,00	Alger	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	2,00
72	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	8,00	3,00
73	1,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	3,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	5,00	3,00
74	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	8,00	1,00
75	1,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	4,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	1,00
76	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	3,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00
77	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	3,00
78	1,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	1,00
79	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	7,00	3,00
80	2,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	9,00	1,00
81	2,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	1,00
82	1,00	2,00	1,00	Tiem...	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00
83	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	1,00	5,00	9,00	3,00
84	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	4,00	5,00	3,00
85	1,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	3,00	3,00
86	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	3,00
87	2,00	1,00	1,00	Oran	3,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	1,00
88	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00

	Gender	Age	Level_of_education	Place_of_birth	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q	Q8_a	Q8_b	Q8_c	Q8_d	Q8_e	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
89	2,00	2,00	1,00	Alger	1,00	4,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	5,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	3,00
90	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	8,00	1,00
91	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	1,00	8,00	1,00
92	1,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	4,00	8,00	3,00
93	2,00	1,00	2,00	Tiem...	2,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	2,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	1,00	2,00	3,00
94	2,00	2,00	1,00	Chlef	1,00	1,00	3,00	2,00	1,00	1,00	2,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	5,00	2,00	2,00
95	2,00	2,00	1,00		1,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	5,00	5,00	9,00	5,00
96	2,00	1,00	1,00	Tiem...	3,00	4,00	1,00	2,00	4,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	3,00	8,00	3,00

Sociolinguistic Dimensions of CS: The Role of Social Factors in its Occurrence in an Algerian Context, Tlemcen Speech Community

الملخص:

المتحدثين بلغتين أو أكثر يغيرون من لغة إلى أخرى أثناء نفس المحادثة . تتطرق هذه الدراسة خاصة إلى فحص وظائف التبديل اللغوي بين العامية العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية في المحادثات اليومية في الجماعة اللغوية بتلمسان. ويتمثل الهدف الرئيسي في دراسة العوامل المؤثرة على التداول بين اللغتين، كما تتطرق أيضا هذه الدراسة إلى البحث عن الوظائف الاجتماعية، مثل السن والجنس ومستوى التعليم، يلعب دورا هاما في اختيار اللغة. والموضوع وكذا العوامل الاجتماعية، مثل السن والجنس ومستوى التعليم، يلعب دورا هاما في اختيار اللغة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ثنائية اللغة - التبديل اللغوي - العوامل الاجتماعية - المواقف - الدوافع.

Summary:

The bilingual and multilingual speakers shift from one language to another during the same conversation. The main objective of this work is to examine the functions of CS in daily conversations between Algerian Arabic and French and attempts to analyse the social factors that may affect this linguistic behaviour in Tlemcen speech community. It also investigates the different socio-pragmatic functions of CS. The context, topic, and other social factors such as age, gender and level of education play an important role in language choice.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Code switching, Social factors, Attitudes and Motivation.

Résumé :

Les locuteurs bilingues ou multilingues alternent d'une langue à l'autre dans la même conversation. L'objectif principal de cette recherche est d'examiner, dans les conversations quotidiennes, les fonctions de l'alternance de code entre l'Arabe Algérien et le Français et les facteurs sociaux qui peuvent affecter cette alternance dans la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen. Cette étude examine aussi les fonctions socio-pragmatiques de l'alternance de code. Le contexte, le sujet du discours et d'autres facteurs sociaux tels que l'âge, le genre et le niveau d'instruction jouent un rôle important dans le choix de langue.

Mots-clés: Bilinguisme, Alternance de code, Facteurs sociaux, Attitudes et Motivation.