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Investigating AA/Fr Code Switching among Algerians:

Case of Biskra and Algiers

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my family, particularly my beloved parents; Djamal and Fatima, as well as my dear brothers and sister; Saiid, Anis and Imene.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this conducted research is to highlight the code switching phenomenon in the Algerian community. The study aims to: firstly, explore to which extent people from two different and distinct areas use code switching in their daily interaction: secondly, investigate the different factors for its occurrence and the main reasons that lead them to use it: and thirdly, survey people's attitudes toward this linguistic behaviour and analyse whether they affect the code switching process or not. The language contact in the Algerian society paved the way for the appearance of many different outcomes and various types of code switching such Algerian Arabic- French, French-Berber and Berber-Algerian Arabic … etc. However, in this study we are interested in the alternation between French and Algerian Arabic, the most frequent code switching in Algeria. Therefore, two distinct areas were chosen to examine this situation: Algiers in the north part of Algeria and Biskra in the eastern south part. The results of the study showed that the extension of using code switching differs from the first area to the second. Using qualitative and quantitative methods, data analysis has revealed many factors being responsible for such difference; among which we mention the geographical location for both areas. Furthermore, the study has shown that different social and personal factors lead people to code switch like habitude and prestige, in addition to some other circumstances that can influence the respondent's language choice for instance, addressee and topic. The analysis has also unveiled that the intensity of code switching in these two areas is highly determined by the respondent's attitudes (negative or positive) toward this process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA   Algerian Arabic

CA   Classical Arabic

ENG   English

Fr   French

H   High variety

L   Low variety

MSA Modern Standard Arabic

x

General Introduction

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It is quite common place in a bilingual community to find its speakers tend to alternate between two or more languages, dialects or varieties in the same conversation. Without any apparent effort and for the most part, such individuals are not consciously aware of such alternation. The phenomenon, known as code switching, has become a major focus of attention in sociolinguistics and has attracted many specialists of the field. As a term, code switching is defined as an alternating process between different languages, dialects or styles within the same sentence or at sentence boundaries (Brown and Attardo (2000).

Code-switching can occur in many ways; it can be inter-sentential, intra-sentential or tag-switching. In inter-sentential code-switching, the language switch is done at sentence boundaries. This type is seen most often between fluent bilingual speakers. In intra-sentential code-switching, the shift is done in the middle of a sentence, with no interruptions, hesitations, or pauses indicating a shift. It often happens within one sentence or even a phrase. The speaker is usually unaware of the switch. Tag-switching is third type of code switching. It is the insertion of a tag phrase or word from one language into another without violating the grammatical rules of the sentence. The reasons for code switching have been the focus of many studies. Several experts have given suggestions for its occurrence; one of them is Holmes (1992), who mentions several social factors affecting language choice[1].

Algeria is an excellent laboratory for code switching studies, simply because it is a bilingual, multilingual and even a diglossic community and code switching exists strongly among its population. Thus, the current study investigates code switching in the Algerian society; the case of two distinct areas. On one hand, we have the capital "Algiers". It is located along the Mediterranean Sea in the north-central part of

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[1] According to Holmes (1992: 29), language choice can be affected by:
  a. The participants, i.e. who is speaking and who are they speaking to?
  b. The setting or social context of the interactions, i.e. where are they speaking?
  c. The topic, i.e. what is being talked about?
  d. The function, i.e. why are they speaking?

Algeria. On the other hand, we have "Biskra", the seventh state of Algeria which is located in the south-east. It is about 400 kilometers far from the capital Algiers.

We conducted this study in an attempt to examine to which extent people in the two aforementioned areas code switch and whether it differs or not. It seeks to reveal, the major factors and reasons leading speakers of the two speech communities to code switch and asking them some questions about the attitudes they hold toward code switching.

Our fundamental aim is to shed some light on the phenomenon of code switching and to show the extent of using such phenomenon in the Algerian society. It focuses on Arabic-French code switching and tries to investigate the factors behind its immergence within the Algerian community and the various reasons that push people to code switch. Furthermore, this study investigates the different attitudinal dimensions toward code switching in both areas, and finally examines whether these attitudes affect this process or not. Thus, the raised questions are as follows:

1. To which extent AA/Fr code switching is used in both areas?

2. What are the main reasons that lead the individuals in the two areas to code switch?

3. In which way do attitudes affect the code switching process?

In an attempt to answer the aforementioned research questions, three major hypotheses are proposed in order to be either confirmed or rejected. These are as follows:

1. Code switching is frequently more used in Algiers in comparison to Biskra.

2. Differentiation in factors behind the person's language choice in the two areas.

3. Speakers' attitudes toward code switching are a major factor that affects its use as it is more used where there are higher positive attitudes.

Concerning the research tools and methodology, the needed data have been collected through the use of two main research tools; the questionnaire and interview. The questionnaire provided the approximate use of code switching in the two areas (Biskra and Algiers), in addition to the main reasons that lead them to code switch.

Moreover, the questionnaire shows the attitudes toward the process of code switching, toward the French language considering the historical relation between Algeria and France and toward code switchers in general. A random sample of twenty (20) participants selected in streets was drawn from each area. Both genders were included in this study.

The interviews were divided into two types and two categories. On the one hand, we selected a semi-structured interview with four (04) individuals from each area in order to collect more elaborated data showing the motivations and factors of language choice and attitudes towards code switching. On the other hand, we selected a structured interview with three (03) university teachers from each area (University of Algiers 2 and University of Mohamed Khider –Biskra) in the purpose of collecting more qualitative data regarding the interviewees' knowledge concerning the topic.

The present study consists of three interrelated chapters. The first chapter introduces a review of the literature and stresses the types and patterns of code switching and other types of language mixing such as borrowing and code mixing.

The second chapter (code switching in Algeria) is concerned with the linguistic description of Algeria. It deals with the historical background of the existing languages in Algeria, notably Arabic (Dialectal and Standard), French, Berber and English, in addition to the different aspects of code switching within the Algerian society.

The third and last chapter is the practical part of our study. It tends to analyse some of the important points related to the phenomenon of code switching such as the extent of using it and the various factors and reasons that lead people to code switch. In addition, this chapter provides an investigation of peoples' attitudes toward code switching and the role of these attitudes in such process.

Chapter One: Literature Review

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

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1.1 Introduction

According to most researches and statistics, more than the half of the world population is bilingual or multilingual. In a survey conducted by the European Commission in 2006, 56% of the informants reported being able to speak in a language other than their mother tongue[1]. The Algerian population is no exception, as it is considered a multilingual country where language variation makes it a rich and an excellent ground for linguistic studies.

In this chapter we present an overview about the theoretical background concerning language contact phenomenon and the outcomes related to it, such as bilingualism and diglossia, then we focus on our main topic which is code switching and present some reasons and causes for such linguistic behaviour. In addition, we introduce other key concepts like code mixing and borrowing and their relationship with code switching. After that we will explain the linguistic situation in Algeria and its history, with a focus on code switching among the Algerians and their attitudes toward this linguistic behaviour.

1.2 Language Contact Phenomenon

Language contact can be described as any situation where speakers within the same speech community interact using two or more distinct languages. According to Weinreich (1957: 1) "Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons".

Most languages have influenced each other by the phenomenon of contact, resulting in varying degrees of transfer from one language to the other. It is a major factor in language change, as well as a source of alternative pronunciations, grammatical structures and vocabulary.

In situations of language contact and language change, the changes that can be seen in the linguistic system of a given language are because of the "encroaching" of one language on the other. This contact, in the long term, generally leads to bilingualism or multilingualism as Diebold (1964: 496) writes: "when two languages

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[1] http://dana.org/Cerebrum/2012/The_Cognitive_Benefits_of_Being_Bilingual/

come into contact, speakers of either language may learn elements of the other language. This acquisition of non-native language produces bilingualism"

1.2.1 Bilingualism

The term "Bilingual" is generally used to refer to a person who is able to use two different unrelated languages. Bonvillian stated that this term is used for both individuals and communities. She writes: "…knowledge and use of two languages the term applies both individual speakers who know to languages and to communities in which two languages are employed by many, most, or all members" (2003: 406).

In defining bilingualism, linguists have different views. According to Bloomfield, bilingualism is a: "native-like control of two languages" (1933: 56), i.e. total mastery of the two languages is a must for anyone who claims to be bilingual. However, this definition excludes many people who speak more than one language but do not have "native-like" control of one or both of their languages.

For Haugen (1953), the most important thing in a bilingual person is the ability to make and use meaningful sentences in the other language. He says that bilingualism starts when "the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the second language" (1953: 7).

Weinreich, one of the founding fathers of the bilingual studies, gives one of the shortest and clearest definitions of bilingualism and sates that it is "the practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism and the person involved, bilingual" Weinreich (1968: 1)[2].

The best way to deal with this variation in definitions would be to recognize that "bilingualism is not an all_or_none property, but is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competency to complete mastery of more than one language" Hornby (1977: 3). Thus, bilingualism is an individual characteristic that may vary to different degrees from minimum ability to complete fluency in more than one language.

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[2] Quoted in Safrot Jorda (2005 :23)

In the case of Algeria, it was linguistically influenced during the French occupation between 1830 and 1962. The Algerians use the French language widely in their everyday interaction as they mix it with their Algerian Arabic. In addition, there have been many other languages beside Standard Arabic where we can find Algerian Arabic called (Darja) and Berber which is spoken in some areas of Algeria. The coexistence of all these linguistic varieties has led to a mixture between them. It has also given birth to a variety of linguistic phenomena like diglossia, bilingualism, and even multilingualism.

1.2.2 Diglossia

Diglossia is a situation in which two distinct varieties of the same language are spoken differentially within the same community. The term "Diglossia" was first introduced by the sociolinguist Ferguson by the late 1950s in order to describe the sociolinguistic situation of Arabic countries as well as the German, the Greek and the Haitian communities where two varieties of the same language are used. He defines diglossia as follows:

> *Diglossia is relatively stable language without in which, addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a 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 sector of the community for ordinary conversation. Ferguson (1959: 336)*

Diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes, dialects or languages, each carrying its own specific functional usage; that is, one is utilized in a specific set of circumstances and the other is utilized in completely different circumstances. These two varieties are referred to as high variety (H) and low variety (L)

Typical cases of diglossia according to Ferguson (1959):

Typical cases of diglossia according to Ferguson (1959)		
Country	H-variety	L-variety
German-speaking part of Switzerland	Standard German	Swiss German dialects
Haiti	French	Haitian Creole (French-based creole language)
Greece	Katharévusa (purified Greek)	Dhimotiki (or: Demotic Greek; spoken language -> colloquial speech)
Arab nations	Classical Arabic (language of the Koran)	Regional varieties of Arabic used in colloquial speech (Egyptian)

(H) Varieties are typically used for delivering formal lectures, political speeches and in newspapers; (L) varieties are used when giving instructions to workers in low-prestige occupations, in conversations with familiars and often on the radio.

Each of them (high and low) possesses its own sociolinguistic status and therefore they are applied to discrete function. Both (H) and (L) are appropriate in different types of situations while (H) variety is used in formal situations of contexts; (L) variety is used as a language of everyday speech. According to Wardhaugh (1998), Ferguson notes several features that characterize (H) and (L) varieties which are:

1. Function: Each variety has its special function because of the different specific domains where (H) or (L) varieties are used.
2. Prestige: High variety is more prestigious than the low variety. (H) is considered more sophisticated.
3. Literary heritage: All the literature is written in (H) variety.
4. Acquisition: The low variety is the mother tongue; therefore, it is acquired before the high variety. The latter comes after as it is learned at school.

5. Standardization: (H) Is standardized because its grammars, dictionaries etc. are written by the native grammarians, whereas the (L) is not standardized.

6. Grammar: The grammar of the high variety is more complex than the one of the low variety.

7. Lexicon: The lexicon of both (H) and (L) varieties is somehow different though it is generally shared.

8. Phonology: The phonological systems of the two varieties cannot be separated from the other, but (H) has more complicated morphophonemics[3] e.g. MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) has diacritics that are not much used in dialects.

9. Stability: It means that diglossia does not change through history. So it is relatively stable.

1.2.3 Code Switching

It is a phenomenon that has attracted many linguists and sociolinguists. While the former tend to examine when people code switch and under what circumstances, the latter focus on determining why people engage within such behaviour such as how it relates to their belonging to a group or the surrounding context of the conversation.

Code switching refers to the practice of shifting between two languages or more in a single discourse. It occurs far more often in spoken settings more than in writings. Poplack (1980: 583) defines code switching as "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent which in balanced bilinguals is governed by both extra-linguistic factors". It occurs naturally when two bilingual speakers engage in discourse. In fact and for the most part, such individuals are not consciously aware that they are code switching.

Trudgill states that code switching is a linguistic behaviour which is very common in bilingual and multilingual communities. He defines it as being "the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation" (2003: 23).

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[3]https://www.britannica.com/science/morphophonemics
Morphophonemics involves an investigation of the phonological variations within morphemes, usually marking different grammatical functions; *e.g.,* the vowel changes in "sleep" and "slept," "bind" and "bound," "vain" and "vanity," and the consonant alternations in "knife" and "knives," "loaf" and "loaves."

1.2.3.1 Types of Code Switching

Three major types of code switching were identified by Poplack (1980: 613-615) as tag switching, inter-sentential code switching and intra-sentential code switching.

I.   Tag switching: it is related to the inclusion of a tag phrase or word from one language into another. It is phrased by Romain (1989: 112) as the insertion of words that can be put anywhere within the boundary of sentence or speech without violating the grammatical rules of the sentence. Example of this in English is taking phrases like (you know, I mean, no way etc.) and then inserting them into French: c'est difficile de trouver un travail ces jours-ici, you know.

This type of code switching is very simple and does not need a great command of both languages.

II. Inter-sentential code switching: is defined as the alternation in a single discourse between two languages where the switching occurs after a sentence in the first language has been completed and the next sentence starts with a new language (Appel & Muysken (1987: 118)). In other words, the language switch is done in sentence or clause boundaries. For example:

Je veux venir avec toi, besaħ rani mri□ fi ħala.
(I want to come with you, but I'm so sick).

This kind of code switching requires greater fluency in both languages than tag-switching, as each part of the utterance must agree with the rules of the corresponding language being spoken.

III. Intra-sentential code switching: this type involves a shift in language in the middle of a sentence, usually performed without pause, interruption or hesitation. An example of this is seen in the title of Poplack's (1980) study "sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en espagnol" (sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish in Spanish).

Myers (1997: 04) states "intra-sentential code switches occurs within the same sentence or sentence fragment". As far as the Algerian society is concerned, an Algerian Arabic and French code switching can be exemplified:

-Matensaʃ demain nela □bu le match sbaħ à 8h-

Of all types of code switching, this type calls for more fluency because it requires speakers to switch to the rules of syntax of the other language mid-thought or sentence.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish another typology of code switching called "Situational" and "Metaphorical" code switching. The former refers to the code shift in a language that occurs due to a change in setting, conversational partners or topic, where the speaker chooses to speak in a different language that he was originally speaking (Wardhaugh, 1998) .i.e. it varies depending on the situation in which the bilinguals are involved.

On the other hand, the latter refers to code switching that occurs when the bilinguals code switch to emphasize certain aspects of a statement or add meaning to relationships being expressed, i.e. bilinguals switch languages to imply that they identify more with a group in a particular situation (Saville-Troike, 2003).

Wardhaugh (1998) explains that metaphorical code switching has an effective dimension and argues that it is influenced by the topics of the conversation, not by the social situation.

1.2.3.2 Reasons for Code Switching

When bilinguals switch back and forth between two languages, there might be a kind of motivation or reasons for code switching. Grosjean (1982) suggests some reasons for code switching, for example some bilinguals mix two languages when they cannot find proper words or expressions or when there is no appropriate translation for the language being used.

Code switching is seen as a medium of conveying both social and linguistic meaning. Gumperz (1982: 144) lists examples of situations created to convey meaning as given bellow:

- To appeal to the literate.
- To appeal to the illiterate.
- To convey precise meaning.
- To ease communication, i.e., utilizing the shortest and the easiest route.
- To negotiate with greater authority.
- To capture attention, i.e., stylistic, emphatic, emotional.
- To emphasize a point.
- To communicate more effectively.
- To identify with a particular group.
- To close the status gap.
- To establish goodwill and support.

In addition to that, Spolsky (1998: 49-50) summarizes some causes that may lead bilinguals to code switch:

> *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 able have the terms in their native language.*

Furthermore, Crystal (1987) presents two potential reasons for moving from one language to another. The first idea is that the speaker may not have the ability to express him/herself with just one language and the alternation between two languages may complete the insufficiently gaps. The second idea is that code switching can occur when the individual hopes to express solidarity with a special group.

1.2.4 Code Mixing

Code mixing is the term referring to the change in the language choice made by a bilingual speaker within the same simple utterance without any association to the

topic change. It is the incorporation of small units (words, small phrases and sentences) from one language or dialect to another one being mixed intra-sententially. Maschler (1998) defines code mixing or a mixed code as "using two languages such that a third, new code emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern" (p.125). Trudgill (2003: 23) defines it as "the process whereby speakers indulge in code switching between languages of such rapidity and density, even within sentence and phrases, that is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking".

1.2.4.1   Code Switching vs. Code Mixing

Many scholars use both terms "code switching" and "code mixing" interchangeably, especially in the syntactical and morphological studies. However, there are several differences stated by some scholars in order to distinguish between the two terms. For instance, Kachru (1986: 65) differentiates between code-switching and code-mixing by the degree of code sharing between the participants:

> *Code-switching refers to the alternation in which the speech event does not necessarily require that the speaker and hearer share identical code repertoires. The user may be bilingual and the receiver a monolingual. On the other hand, in code-mixing, the 36 codes used and the attitudinal reactions to the codes are shared both by the speaker and hearer.*

In addition, another distinction can be found in the definition of the two terms given by Bokamba (1989) where he defines both concepts as follows:

> *Code-switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event… code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.*

1.2.5 Borrowing

Many linguistic phenomena would result as a consequence of language contact, and through the influence of one language over another. This influence will eventually lead to the birth of several outcomes; among them we have what is called "Borrowing", which is the process of importing items from one linguistic system into another.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) define borrowing as follows: "Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language. The native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features''. In addition, a loan word must be adapted morphologically, phonologically and syntactically to the origin language in order to be called a borrowing. In Algeria for example, we have a big amount of borrowed words from the French language due to the long colonial occupation by France such as:

Table 1.1 Examples of French Words Borrowed to Algerian Arabic

AA	Fr	ENG	CA
Kuzina	Cuisine	Kitchen	مطبخ
Miziriya	Misère	Misery	بؤس
Taabla	Table	Table	طاولة
Jornan	Journal	Newspaper	صحيفة

In the examples above, the words (kuzina, Miziriya, taabla, jornan) are borrowed and adopted in the Algerian Arabic structure from the French language. This process may occur when the concept for the object being represented has no equivalent in one language and exists in another one such as "spaghetti" and "sandwich". Nevertheless, in some cases the concept exists in the mother tongue but the speakers prefer to use the one of the other language for one reason or another. For instance, most Algerian speakers tend to say briki "briquet" (a French word) rather than ولاعة, which simply means "lighter" in English. Hudson (1996: 55) states that speakers use borrowed words for different reasons:

One reason for using a word from such a language is to pretend, just for a moment, to be a native speaker with whatever social characteristics we associated with the stereotype. Another reason, of course, is that there is simply no other available word, in which case the link to the country may be irrelevant, or at least unintended. In some countries all loan-words are frowned upon because of their foreign associations, so steps have to be taken to invent native words with the same meaning.

1.2.5.1 Code Switching vs. Borrowing

Many linguists have attempted to give a clear distinction between code switching and borrowing. Gumpers (1982: 66) states:

Borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety (i.e., language), into the other. The borrowed items are fully integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated as if they are part of the 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 speakers must process as strings formed according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems.

That is to say borrowing is distinguished from code switching in that the former involves mixing the systems themselves (i.e., an item is borrowed from one language to become part of another one), while the latter involves mixing language speaking.

Heath (1989: 23), also from his part, makes a distinction between the two processes as follows:

By code-switching is meant a pattern of textual production in which a speaker alternates between continuous utterance of segments in one language, Lx, and another language, Ly, with abrupt and clear-cut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal boundaries. By borrowing is meant the adaptation of a lexical item, Py, from Ly into Lx, becoming

Px (that is, a regular lexical item in Lx satisfying phonological, canonical-shape and morphological rules for this language).

However, the distinction between code switching and borrowing is rejected in the view of Myers Scotton since she sees them as quite related processes .i.e., she states that "borrowed forms may be the result of words introduced into a host language through code switching after an indefinite period of time and frequency of use" (1993: 182-183).

1.3 Conclusion

In this chapter we treated the phenomenon of language contact and some of its ultimate consequences like bilingualism, diglossia, code switching, code mixing and borrowing where we dealt with different views and the main arguments given by some famous scholars within this domain of research.

Thus, the following chapter will focus on explaining the linguistic situation in Algeria and its history, with a focus on code switching among the Algerians and their attitudes toward this linguistic behaviour.

Chapter Two: Code Switching in Algeria

CHAPTER TWO: CODE SWITCHING IN ALGERIA

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2.5   Algerians' Attitudes toward Code Switching

2.6   Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

The phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism are of great importance in everyday life for the majority of the world's population. These phenomena have been the ultimate result of language contacts which have, historically, taken place in many parts of the world due to socio-historical factors such as wars, conquests, slavery, migration, and colonialism. Many colonized peoples throughout the world have felt the linguistic effects of the social changes that had occurred during and after the colonial period. Of all countries subject to colonial rule, especially the Arab ones, Algeria was subjected to the heaviest colonial impact. For 132 years, through a policy of cultural imperialism aiming at suppressing Algerian cultural identity, the French controlled education, government, business, and most intellectual life of the citizens.

The linguistic situation in Algeria is characterized by Arabic-French bilingualism well-rooted in the history of the country. Though the Arabicisation process that the government took in charge from independence, French has continued to be spoken by a great number of people and used in many domains. This Arabic-French bilingualism available in our community differs in terms of degree of proficiency, competency, and other social, cultural and economic considerations among individual bilinguals.

2.2 Language Status in Algeria

Modern standard Arabic (literary Arabic) and Tamazight (Berber) are specified to be the official languages of Algeria as mentioned in its constitution of 1963 for the former and 2016 for the latter after a constitutional resolution was passed making Berber an official language alongside Arabic. Algerian Arabic is the most common language variety in the Algerian community followed by Berber. As for French, it is widely used within the Algerian society in various fields, due to the long colonial occupation period that lasted for 132 years, but although most people speak it, it is not an official language in the official publications of the state.

2.2.1 Arabic

Arabic, one of the six official languages of the United Nations[1], is the largest language member belonging to the Semitic language family, spoken by nearly half billion person [2]and its speakers are distributed in the Arab world, in addition to many other neighbouring areas such as Ahwaz, Turkey, Chad, Mali, Senegal, Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Iran.

Arabic arose first as a literary language with pre-Islamic poetry and Qur'an. With the rise of Islam, Arabic spread over a large area extending from Persia (Iran now) to the Atlantic Ocean where the conquered people soon adopted the language of the conquerors. Today Arabic exists in its diglossic form in the 22 Arab countries (the Standard form "*fu□□ā*" الفصحى and dialectal form العامية/ الدارجة).

The Arabic language is of utmost importance to Muslims. It is a sacred language (the language of the Qur'an), "no prayer (and other forms of worship) can be performed without knowing some phrases from the language"[3]. Arabic is also a major ritual language of a number of Christian churches in the Arab world, as well as many of the most important Jewish religious and intellectual works of the middle Ages[4]. The spread of Islam and the establishment of Arab states had a large impact on the rise of the status of the Arabic language. It became the language of politics, science and literature for centuries in the territories ruled by Muslims. Arabic has affected directly or indirectly many other languages in the Islamic world, such as Turkish, Persian, Tamazight, Kurdish, Urdu, Malaysian, Indonesian, Albanian And some other African languages such as Hausa, Swahili, Hungarian, Amharic. It has affected also some European languages, especially in the Mediterranean, such as Spanish, Portuguese, Maltese and Sicily[5]. Furthermore, Arabic is taught formally in Islamic countries and African countries adjacent to the Arab world as it is an official language in all Arab countries, in addition to some other non -Arab countries such as Chad and Eritrea.

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[1]http://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/official-languages/
[2]https://fr.scribd.com/doc/14436546/Languages-Spoken-by-More-Than-10-Million-People
[3]UNESCO. Executive Board ; 190th ; World Arabic language Day (2012)
[4] Ibid
[5] Ibid

The Arabic language contains 28 characters in standard writing system. Some linguists believe that the character of "Hamzah" (Arabic: همزة) (ء) representing the glottal stop [□] should be added to the letters of Arabic, so that the number of letters is 29. Arabic is written from right to left - like Persian and Hebrew, and unlike many international languages - and from top to bottom.

As it has been already mentioned, Arabic exists in Algeria (and in all the remaining Arab countries) in its diglossic form: standard and dialect. Standard refers to that formal form of Arabic known in the Arabic-speaking world as MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) or simply "*fu□□ā*" الفصحى. Dialect refers to that colloquial form used in daily speech known generally as الدارجة /العامية). A brief overview about these two forms is given in the following two sub-sections.

2.2.1.1 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

MSA is the standard and formal form of the Arabic language used in the Arabic-speaking world. It is the official language of all Arab countries and is the only form of Arabic taught in schools at all stages. In the case of Algeria, MSA, the High variety (as far as the diglossic situation is concerned) which is never acquired as a mother tongue by any portion of the community and is only learned through the process of schooling or in mosques, is the official language used in public, official, formal and written circumstances. It is also used in, media and press. MSA represents a natural linguistic development from Classical Arabic (CA) based on the language of the Holy Qur'an. It can be considered as a modern and simplified version of CA, and the existing linguistic differences between MSA and CA reflect the response of the Arabic language to the requirements of the modern age in science, technology, communication and information.

Historically speaking, MSA has been considered as a unifying force since independence (1962) to attain national identity by reintroducing it as the official language of the country (Benmoussat, 2003).As will be mentioned in section (2.3.1), the Arabicisation policy, which was launched right after independence, aimed at eradicating the French language influence and promoting Arabic as the national and official language of the country. Arabicisation was slowly introduced in schools, starting with the primary schools and in social science and humanities subjects. Only

in the 1980's did Arabic begin to regain its status as the language of instruction in some grades and at secondary schools. In Higher Education Arabic was gradually introduced but just in social and economic streams as opposed to medical and scientific ones which continued to be taught in French.

2.2.1.2 Algerian Arabic

Although Arabic (the standard form) is the official language of the country, this has not prevented it from some changes, where Algerian Arabic (the colloquial form) today is a mixture of Arabic and French in most areas of the country due to the French impact during the colonization period, in addition to Berber because of its existence as an indigenous language in some areas.

It stands as the most spread variety in the country and the most ever used one in daily conversation. This Arabic variety has long been the target of much linguistic interference which has made the linguistic situation so complex. This was due to linguistic contacts with other languages during the successive invasions of Algeria: the Spanish presence in the West, mainly in Oran and on the coastal areas resulted in a fertile process of lexical borrowings that was introduced into Algerian Arabic. Turkish too, during the Ottoman Empire, left some of its traces on this Algerian vernacular. To a lesser extent, the Italian impact can be clearly attested in the East of the country.

As already mentioned above, Algerian Arabic is usually used as a means of communication within the Algerian society, but recently it has been creeping into educational, media and cultural institutions, which may negatively affect the Standard Arabic language, which is an important part of the identity of the Algerian people.

2.2.2 Berber

It belongs to the branch of the Afro-asiatic language family. It comprises a group of closely related dialects spoken by the Berbers, who are the indigenous peoples of North Africa. It is the second official language in Algeria after MSA, and which has different dialectal forms spoken by the inhabitants of many parts in Algeria

"they now make up 13 million of algeria's 39 million people"[6] ;the Kabyle variety Tamazight in northern Kabylia (known as Greater Kabylia) and Algiers; Shawiya in the Aures Mountains; south of Constantine; while the tribes called the Touareg also speak a Berber variety in the far south of Algeria. In addition to Algeria, it is also spoken by a large population in Morocco and Libya, and by a small population in Tunisia, northern Mali, western and northern Niger, northern Burkina Faso and Mauritania and in the Siwa Oasis of Egypt.

As far as code switching is concerned, the fact that Berber exists as a code in many parts of Algeria, speakers code switch between three varieties rather than two. In other words, the use of the Berber variety has led to trilingual situation switching between Arabic, French, and Berber. This trilingual is found in Algiers, Kabylia and some Eastern places. Western Algeria is characterized by the use of AA and French in addition to some Spanish lexical borrowings in coastal areas such as Oran, Benisaf, and Ghazaouet. However, there are practically no users of the Berber variety. Unlike the rural areas, bilingualism is frequently attested in urban cities where a high contact between Arabic and French is common and a considerable amount of educated people live using both languages.

2.2.3 French

It is largely used within the Algerian society mainly because of the historical events during the past (i.e. French colonization). Today French has gained massive number of speakers, since education in the postcolonial period has been far more widespread, and French has remained an important element of the educational system in Algeria. It stands alongside Arabic on street names in cities, and direction signs both in towns and on major roads outside towns. Many shops, cafes and banks names are written in both Arabic and French, as do hospitals, schools and local and national government buildings. Before the French colonization, the only written language in Algeria was classical Arabic. But, during the French colonization (1830-1962), French was introduced as an official language by the French authorities in the Algerian administration. However, in the aftermath of independence, French was reduced and given the status of foreign or second language.

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[6] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35515769

Concerning the Fields of application of French in Algeria, it is used in many administrative institutions, especially in the economic and banking sectors. French is everywhere in the daily lives of Algerians. French terms are abundant in the Algerian verbal repertoire. As for the professional field, French is the language of work in several sectors in Algeria. For instance, in a study conducted in the city of Mostaganem, it has been shown that Arabic and French are the two languages of communication and functioning within the bank: "the technical work (accounting, financial analysis, management, etc.) is done in French. The documents, forms and papers are in Arabic and French" (Bellatreche, 2009). This same study indicates that French is the language used by the majority of employees in their work whether they are natives or foreigners because all contracts are written in French.

In reality, though Arabic was introduced as a medium of instruction in teaching and the media during the arabicisation program, French has the largest lexical influence, and many French words are adapted to Algerian Arabic: kuli :□ (school-college), stilu (pen-stylo), farʃi▦a (fork -fourchette).Algerians today use significant amounts of French in their daily conversations to the extent that many hesitate about the identification of AA as a true Arabic variety and it has been referred to as 'Franc-Arabic' by Bouamrane (1998)[7] . The mixture of French and AA has become a natural phenomenon and it is not astonishing to hear someone saying: "*mʃi:t elyu:m l' super marché w sabt des trucs heyline*" 'I went to the supermarket and I found great things'.

2.2.4 English

It is the most popular language in the world. According to some statistics[8], it is considered as the most spreading language in the world, with an estimated 25% of the world's population. The fact that more than 1.8 billion inhabitants are English speakers shows that it is spoken in all over the world. It is the official language of many countries, including New Zealand, the United States, Australia, UK, South Africa and Canada, as well as millions of other people who speak English as a second language.

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[7] Quoted in Dendane (2007 : 75)
[8]https://arabic.rt.com/news/786982- ترتيب-لغات-العالم-الانتشار

Due to the status of English as a universal language, it is included in the Algerian educational system to be taught from the first year of the middle school stage.

Algeria, and like any other country in the world, was influenced by the American cultural invasion, where films, media, books, magazines and other American means contributed in the introduction of English to the Algerians, Which paved the way for a large number of youth to admire this language.

2.3 Language Policy in Post-independence

After 132 years of colonialism, the impact of this long period was great on the language status in Algeria, especially following the policy pursued by the French occupation in order to erase the Arabic identity from Algeria and to make it a region belonging to France by eradicating the Arabic language from the Algerian society. It made all administrative and official transactions done in French, likewise, education was based on the French language. Consequently, knowledge of Standard Arabic had decreased as many educated people and even some elite ones were unable to read or write in Standard Arabic. Under these circumstances and in order to restore the Arabic language, the Algerian government launched the Arabicisation policy immediately after independence.

2.3.1 Arabicisation Policy

It was necessary to confront the effects of that colonialism, which tried to impose its language and culture on the Algerians. This confrontation was through Arabicisation, which was introduced by the insertion of the Arabic education and the increasing use of Standard Arabic i.e., practically replacing the language of colonialists (French) in all its uses; in schools, administration and everyday life with the Standard Arabic language, with the aim of returning to the Arab civilization and consolidating it.

After the independence of Algeria in 1962, the Algerian government, under the rule of President Ahmed Ben Bella, began the policy of Arabicisation. Benrabah (2007: 231) states:

> *Starting from 1962 the Algerian government that inherited the remnants of an education system focused on European content and conducted in a foreign language by foreign teachers, sought to gradually increase Arabic sessions in all levels and all subjects were taught in Arabic and there was a decrease in the amount of time for teaching French. This policy, of course favored the national integrity and unity and religion.*

After that Standard Arabic was adopted in the 1963 Constitution as the official language of the state. Later on, the first practical measure was the Arabicisation of primary education and the introduction of religious education, where the state relied on Egyptian and Syrian teachers because of Algeria's lack of speakers in Classical Arabic language as Abdellatif Mami (2013: 3) writes:

> *After independence in 1962, Algeria has adopted an eradication policy of the French rule and culture. Consequently, to avoid being in contradiction with their ideology, the Government of Colonel Boumediène imported hundreds of Arabic teachers and imams from the Middle East for securing "Arabicisation".*

But, again the role of French has only decreased and has not disappeared. Mami Abdellatif (ibid) points out that the French impact continued to appear within the Algerian society; in different domains including education. In this regard she writes:

> *At the same time, an educational policy regarding the elites has emerged and was very much similar to the one prevailing in France. Shortly after, within a decade or two, new national universities and some selective "Grandesécoles" were created in independent Algeria. Consequently, new administrators in Science, Industry, university, research and alike worked according to the French standards and usually spoke and wrote in the French language.*

2.4 Code Switching in Algeria

The linguistic situation in Algeria is so complex as it is embodied in a triangular struggle between Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French. This struggle is a remnant of the French colonization which has worked hard to marginalize and replace standard Arabic with French. The Algerians were forced to use Algerian Arabic in order to maintain their Arabic-Muslim identity. Today, even after 56 years of independence this struggle continues where we find the Algerian community still depending on the use of words and expressions taken from the French language and added to Arabic in order to communicate.

2.4.1 Code Switching in Education

We find the Algerian child acquiring Algerian Arabic from the family environment, then goes to school and finds a different language with different system and different uses than the one he acquired at home, and he is required to master it to be able to understand what he is studying at school. Professor Abdullah Aldenan points to this linguistic confusion experienced by the learner and says:

> *The Arab student enters school at the age of six. He mastered the dialect prior to this age, when the brain's tremendous linguistic ability of acquiring languages was at its peak, means that he is provided with the language in which he is supposed to acquire the different information, and that's by his nature and formation, but he is surprised that the language of knowledge is not the language to which he is provided with, but is another language that must be learned and mastered*[9](2007: 11)

Thus, the Arab child, in general, begins his first educational life in the vernacular, which serves as the basic basis from which he acquires the wide knowledge of life, and then goes to school and finds the standard language in all its

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[9]My own translation. The original text reads: "يدخل التلميذ العربي إلى المدرسة في سن السادسة، وقد أتقن العامية قبل هذا السن، عندما كانت القدرة اللغوية الهائلة للدماغ على اكتساب اللغات في أوجها أي أنه تزوّد باللغة التي يفترض أن يكتسب بها المعارف المختلفة، وذلك بحسب طبيعته ، وتكوينه ، إلا أنه يفاجأ بأنّ لغة المعرفة ليست اللغة التي تزود بها، وإنما هي لغة أخرى لابد له أن يتعلمها ويتقنها؛ لكي يتمكن من فهم المواد المعرفية الأخرى"

bases which is mostly used in writing and speaking (inside the classroom). Therefore, there is a clash between the Arabic language and the dialectal or vernacular variety in real life and it is even worse for the Algerian child when, if for example, he goes to nursery, he will be confronted with a mixture of French and Berber, and then goes to school to find a new language, which is Standard Arabic, and the teacher may employ the vernacular to teach his lessons. So the use of code switching will be automatic for the Algerian child.

2.4.2 Code Switching in University

The use of vernacular dialectal Arabic among students in Algerian universities is clearly visible; it is the means of communication that they control fluently, but it is a mixture of French, Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic. As most scientific and technical branches in Algeria are taught in French, the teacher may, sometimes, resort to the use of the vernacular if the lesson requires explanation of something mysterious. As for some other branches such as human and social sciences, the teacher uses both Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic simultaneously

The use of code switching by some teachers is mainly due to their formation which has been in French, especially the elder ones who studied in the French colonial era. In the implementation of the project of Arabicisation in Algeria, they began teaching directly in Standard Arabic without mastering it; a fact that led them to be forced to present their lessons and lectures in Algerian Arabic mixed with French.

2.4.3 Code Switching in Commercial Advertisements

Commercial advertising (Publicity) plays an important role in commercial promotion, and sometimes in political cases, but what is noticeable in advertisements, whether it is on television or on radio or the newspapers, is that they are done in vernacular, although the laws issued by the official authorities urge that the standard language should be used. Some advertisements still use a language that is a mixture of Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic in addition to the presence of the French language as either wholly or partially in the advertising which can be attributed to the historical and economic relations between Algeria and France.

2.5 Algerians' Attitudes toward Code Switching

Algerians are divided into two main categories in terms of their attitudes toward code switching; those who see it as a negative phenomenon and as a threat to the Arabic language, and those who see the contrary.

Oppositionists of such phenomenon see code switching as a remnant of the French colonialism that must be eliminated. And that French is a foreign language to us that we should get rid of and return to the language of Islam and Arabism, Arabic. That rich language that we should be proud of and where there is no need to use French or any other language besides it, at least when interacting with each other as Arabs. This is on one hand. On the other hand, there are advocates of this phenomenon who see it differently; with a view of openness to the Western civilization and keeping pace with the world development. And that the Arabic-French alternation in daily speech leads to the birth of an educated generation that masters more than one language.

However, between the oppositionists and the advocates, code switching is deeply rooted in the Algerian society that cannot be erased between overnight and that is a fact that no one can neglect.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we shed light on the Algerian society where we introduced its sociolinguistic profile and presented the status of the existing linguistic systems (Arabic in its two forms, Berber and French) in addition to English. Then we directed our attention to code switching and introduced some of its aspects within this community by showing that it has been the result of the coexistence of at least three languages which have fostered the intricacy of the Algerian linguistic situation. Speakers' attitudes toward code switching were also briefly stated in this chapter.

For the upcoming chapter, we will move to the practical part of our study concerning the use of code switching in two distinct areas of Algeria; the case study of Biskra and Algiers.

Chapter Three: Data Collection and Analysis

CHAPTER THREE: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1   Introduction

3.2   Sample Population

3.3   Research Instruments and Methodology

   3.3.1 The Questionnaire

   3.3.2 Interviews

3.4   Data Analysis

   3.4.1 The Questionnaire Analysis

   3.4.2 Interview Analysis
   3.4.2.1 Teachers' Interview

   3.4.2.2 People's Interview

3.5   Interpretation of the Results

3.6   Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

As stated in chapter two, the Algerian speech community could not absorb the long lasting French colonialism impact. A strong evidence for this is the phenomenon of code switching as most of the Algerians switch forth and back between Algerian Arabic and French in their daily speech. However, the degree of this phenomenon differs from one area to another. In other words, it is exceedingly used in some areas and limited in others.

So, in this chapter we will investigate to which extent people from two different areas code switch and the main reasons behind this linguistic behaviour, in addition to their attitudes toward this phenomenon. Thus, a questionnaire, as a useful instrument for this investigation, has been designed and answered by 20 inhabitants from Algiers and 20 inhabitants from Biskra being as representatives of each area. In addition, we have selected two interviews; the first is semi-structured with 8 inhabitants (4 from each area) to give more space for more qualitative data; and the second is structured with 6 teachers (3 from each university in the two areas) in order to collect elaborated data from people who have reliable information concerning this field of research.

Hence, in accordance with the aims of this research work, both qualitative and quantitative research techniquesare combined in an attemptto analyse the collected data and to obtain accurate outcomes and sufficient information from the respondents.

3.2 Sample Population

Table 3.1 Informants' Distribution in Correlation with Place of Living and Gender

	Place of living	Males	Females
Questionnaire	Algiers	10	10
	Biskra	10	10
Interviews	Algiers	04	03
	Biskra	03	04

The research sample consists of both genders selected in accordance to the city they live in; all of them are either from Algiers or Biskra. The informants were selected randomly in the streets. This research is based on a sample of 40 people for the questionnaire. For the interviews there are 14 informants 07 from Algiers and 07 from Biskra.

3.3 Research Instruments and Methodology

Data collection is the process of gathering data leading to answering questions and finding solutions to solve problems. In order to deal with this research, the questionnaire and interviews were used as research instruments to insure the gathering of accurate data.

3.3.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. In our research work the questionnaire is addressed for three main reasons. The first is to compare to which extent people from Biskra and Algiers code switch (questions 4, 5 and 6). The second reason is to find out explanations behind this behaviour (questions 3 and 7), the third and last reason is toreveal people's attitudes toward code switching in general and French in particular (questions 8,9 and 10). Some of the questions were close-ended in order to collect quantitative data, while the others were open-ended questions requiring justifications for qualitative data. The questions are formulated as follows:

1. Gender
2. Place of living.
3. Which languages do you master?
4. Which languages do you use at home?
5. Which languages do you use with friends?
6. Do you use words or expressions from French in your daily speech?
7. Why do you code switch?
8. How do you see Arabic-French code switching?
9. What do you think of a person who mixes Arabic and French?

10. How do you consider the French language?

11. Further comments.

And as for the participants 20 persons were chosen randomly in the streets from both cities to reach people from different categories in order to have more reliable data.

3.3.2 Interviews

The second instrument in our study was the interview. For the first part of our interviews, we chose a structured face-to-face interview to answer four questions concerning code switching. The first and the second questions aimed to find out attitudes toward code switching. The third one was administered to seek the main reasons for the use of such phenomenon, and the fourth question was to search, according to teachers, the state where code switching occurs more (Algiers or Biskra) and the reasons responsible for that. The questions are formulated as follows:

1. What do you think about Algerian Arabic – French code switching among Algerians?

2. Are we obliged to code switch in our daily speech or canweget rid of it? Explain.

3. What are the main reasonsthat leadthe Algerians to code switch ?

4. Where do you think code switching occurs more, Algiers or Biskra? And why is it so?

The informants were 6 teachers, three at the University of Algiers (University of Algiers II - Bouzareah) and three at the University of Biskra (University Mohamed Khider). All of them were chosen in the purpose of having more elaborated data since they are familiar with this phenomenon and have background knowledge about it. Some answers were recorded as four teachers agreed to, while some others were taken as notes because some teachers were unwilling to be recorded .

As for the second part, 4 inhabitants from each area were selected randomly in streets to answer a face-to–face semi-structured interview so that the participants

would find more freedom in expressing themselves for the sake of collecting more qualitative data.

3.4 Data Analysis

The following sub-sections are devoted to analyse the questionnaire and the interviews (both structured and semi-structured).

3.4.1 The Questionnaire Analysis

In this part of our study, we will analyse the information we have gathered from informants, as we have seen the number of informants is 40 and the questions are 10 questions.

Question 1: Gender

Question 1 was asked because many works have shown that gender affects language choice, so in order to have more reliable data, we chose to balance between the informants gender 10 females and 10 males in each area (Table 3.1) .

Question 2: place of living

We asked this question to differentiate between those who live in Algiers and those who live in Biskra so that we can make a comparison in the end of the study. And as it is mentioned above, 20 informants are selected from each area.

Question 3: which languages do you master?

In order to code switch between two languages the speaker must have knowledge or background in the two languages at least. So, we asked this question to know how many respondents master the two languagesin question (Arabic–French).

Pie chart 3.1 Informants' Mastery of Arabic and French in Biskra.   **Pie chart 3.2 Informants' Mastery of Arabic and French in Algiers.**
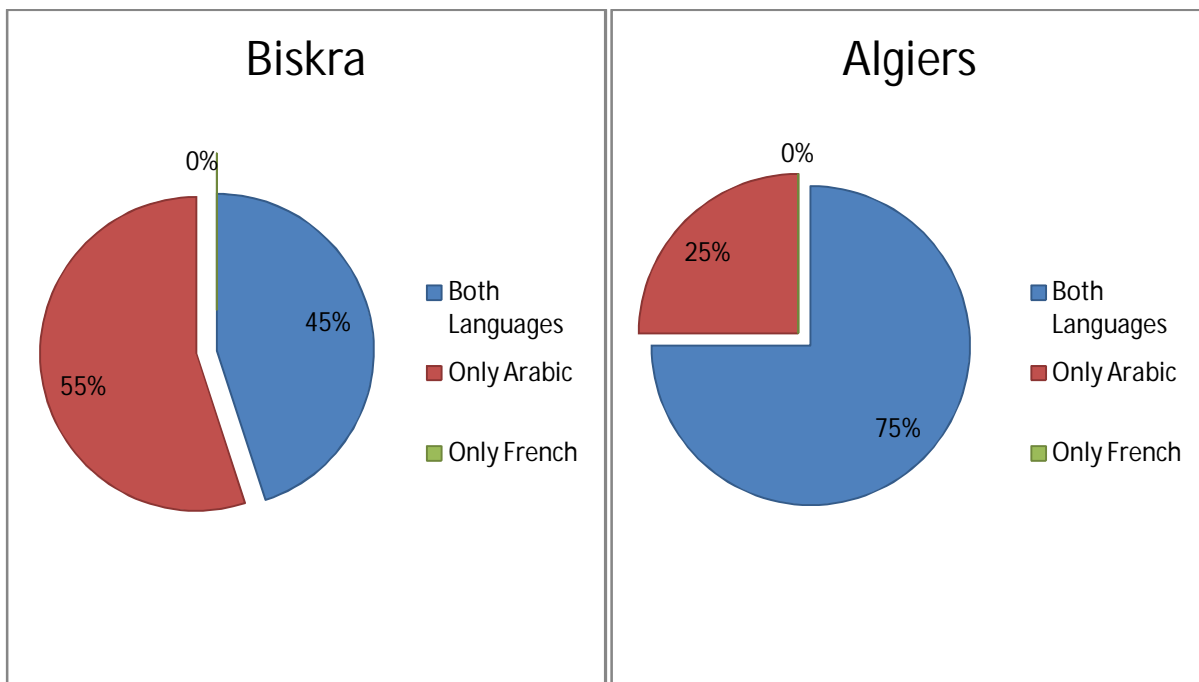
As the results are shownin the above pie charts, 75% of Algiers informants master the two languages, while there are only 45% of Biskra informants who master them. However, the rest master only Arabic at a rate of 55% in Biskra and 25% in Algiers. Strikingly, no one is said to master only French in both areas.

Question 4: Which languages do you use with family?

Table 3. 2 Language Choice while Interacting with Family in Biskra and Algiers*

Language Choice	Often		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A
MSA	3	0	9	0	3	4	5	16
AA	16	17	3	2	1	1	0	0
Fr	1	2	9	12	5	4	5	2

*A: Algiers- B: Biskra

This question was about using MSA, AA and Fr within family. For MSA, 12 informants from Biskra reported using it "often" and "sometimes" (3 , 9 respectively)

while in Algiers all of the 20 informants answered only with "never" 16 and "rarely" 4. As far as AA is concerned, there were almost similar answers in both areas; "often" 16 in Biskra and 17 in Algiers; "sometimes" 3 in Biskra and 2 in Algiers; "rarely" and "never" 1 and 0 respectively in both areas. For Fr, it is said to be used "often" by 2 informants in Algiers and 1 in Biskra; "sometimes" 12 in Algiers and 9 in Biskra;"rarely" 5 in Biskra and 4 in Algiers;and "never" 5 in Biskra and 2 in Algiers.

Question 5: Which languages do you use with friends?

The same question as the previous one, but it seeks language use with friends.

Table 3. 3 Language Choice while Interacting with Friends in Biskra and Algiers*

Language Choice	Often		Sometimes		Rarely		Never	
	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A
MSA	3	0	7	2	4	3	6	15
AA	16	18	4	2	0	0	0	0
Fr	0	6	10	10	8	2	2	2

*A: Algiers- B: Biskra

For MSA, 10 informants from Biskra reported using it "often" and "sometimes" (3, 7 respectively) while in Algiers only 2 informants answered with "sometimes" and 0 "often". The majority of Algiers' informants (15) reported "never" and in Biskra 6 informants did the same. As far as AA in concerned, informants from both areas ticked "often" (16 in Biskra and 18 in Algiers). For the option "sometimes", the results showed 4 informants in Biskra and 2 in Algiers. Finally, Fr is said to be used "often" by 6 informants in Algiers and 0 in Biskra; "sometimes" 10 in both areas; "rarely" 8 in Biskra and 2 in Algiers. For the option "never", 2 informants from each area ticked it.

Question 6: Do you use words or expressions from French in your daily speech?

Bar graph 3. 1 Frequency of French Expressions Use in Biskra and Algiers
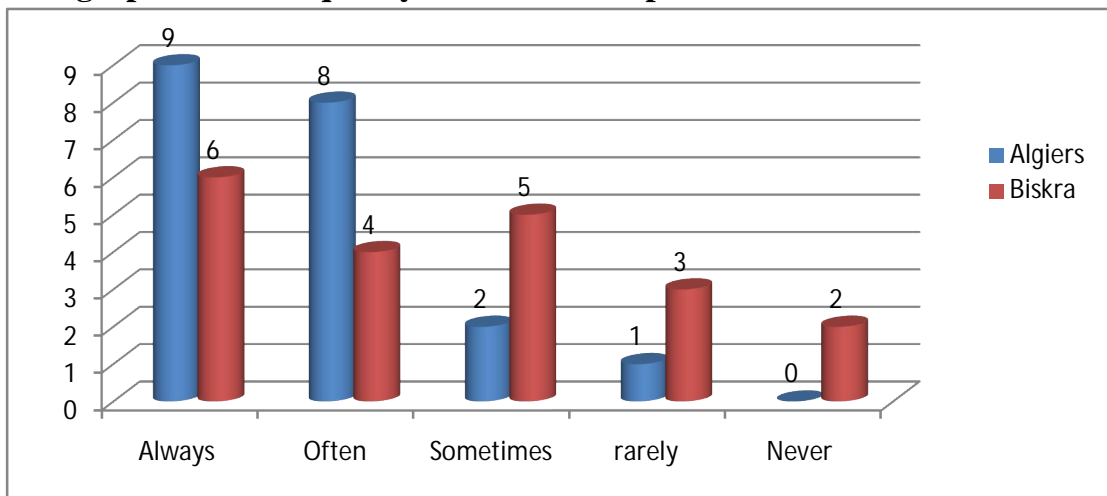
This question was asked to find out to which extent people from both areas would use French expressions or words in their daily speech to see if there is a difference for a later comparison. The results, as described in the graph above, show that 16 respondents ticked "always" or "often" (9, 8 respectively) in Algiers while in Biskra only 10 did the same (6 ,4 respectively), and for the answers "sometimes", "rarely" and "never" they were ticked 3 times in Algiers (2, 1 and 0 respectively) and 10 times in Biskra (5, 3, 2 respectively).

Question 7: Why do you code switch?

Table 3.4 Suggested Reasons for Code Switching in Algiers and Biskra

Reasons for code switching	Algiers	%	Biskra	%
Filling a gap	6	16.2%	8	34.4%
Unconsciously	11	29.8%	4	18.2%
Habitually	9	24.3%	8	36.4%
More prestigious	1	02.7%	1	04.5%
Master both languages	10	27%	1	04.5%
Others	0	00%	0	00%
Total	37	100%	22	100%

The informants were given five major reasons for code switching plus a free additional place for other reasons to answer in order to investigate the reasons that push people in each area to code switch.

The above table indicates that the informants from Algiers chose "unconsciously" 29.8 %, then "master both languages" 27% and "habitually" 24.3% as the main reasons for code switching, while in Biskra the informants' first reason for code switching is "Habitually" 36.4% then "filling a gap" 34.4%, followed by "unconsciously" 18.2% , "more prestigious" and "master both languages" 4.5 % for each choice.

Question 8: How do you see Arabic-French code switching?

People's attitudes toward code switching may differ in the two areas, so we chose this question to see if they take code switching as a negative or positive phenomenon.

Pie chart 3.3 Biskra' s Perspectives toward the Use of Code Switching.   **Pie chart 3.4 Algiers' Perspectives toward the Use of Code Switching.**
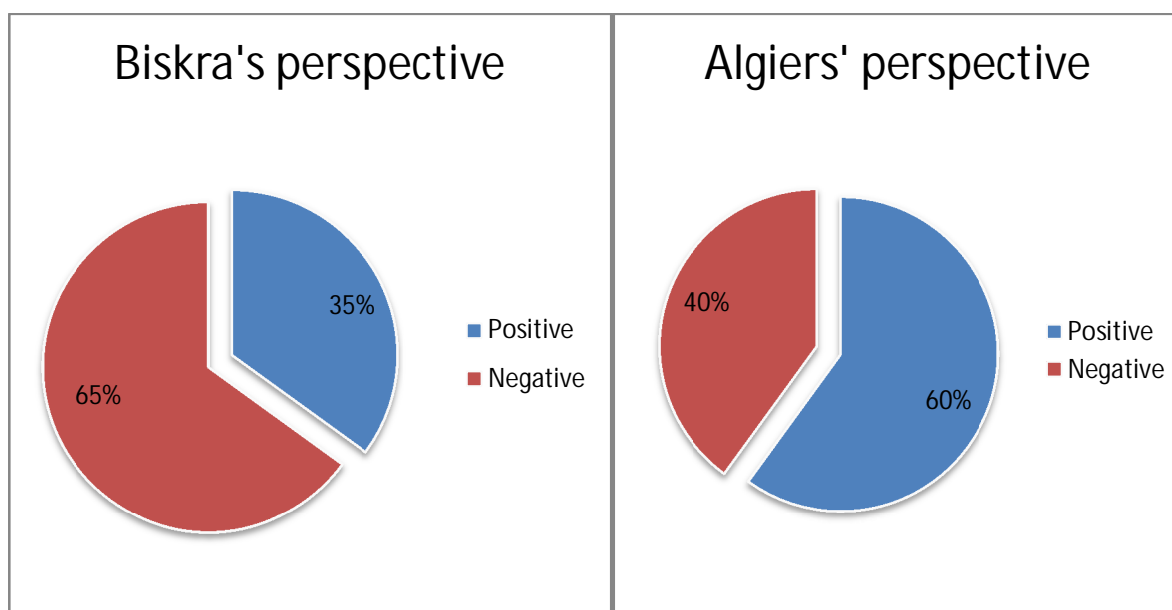
The results of question 8 as represented in the pie charts above indicate that 65% of the informants from Biskra take code switching negatively and 35% take it positively, while it is the opposite in Algiers where 60% of the informants see that code switching is a positive behaviour and the rest (40%) see it in a negative way.

Question 9: How do you think of a person who mixes Arabic and French?

Table 3.5 Suggested Attitudes toward (Arabic-French) Code Switchers

Attitude	Area			
	Algiers	%	Biskra	%
Intellectual	11	34.4%	6	21.4%
Pretend to be intellectual	1	3.1%	5	17.9%
Have weak personality	2	5.25%	4	14.3%
Master both languages	14	43.25%	9	32.1%
Do not master both languages	2	6.25%	1	3.6%
Sophisticated	2	6.25%	3	10.7%
Total	32	100%	28	100%

Bar graph 3.2 Suggested Attitudes toward (Arabic-French) Code Switchers
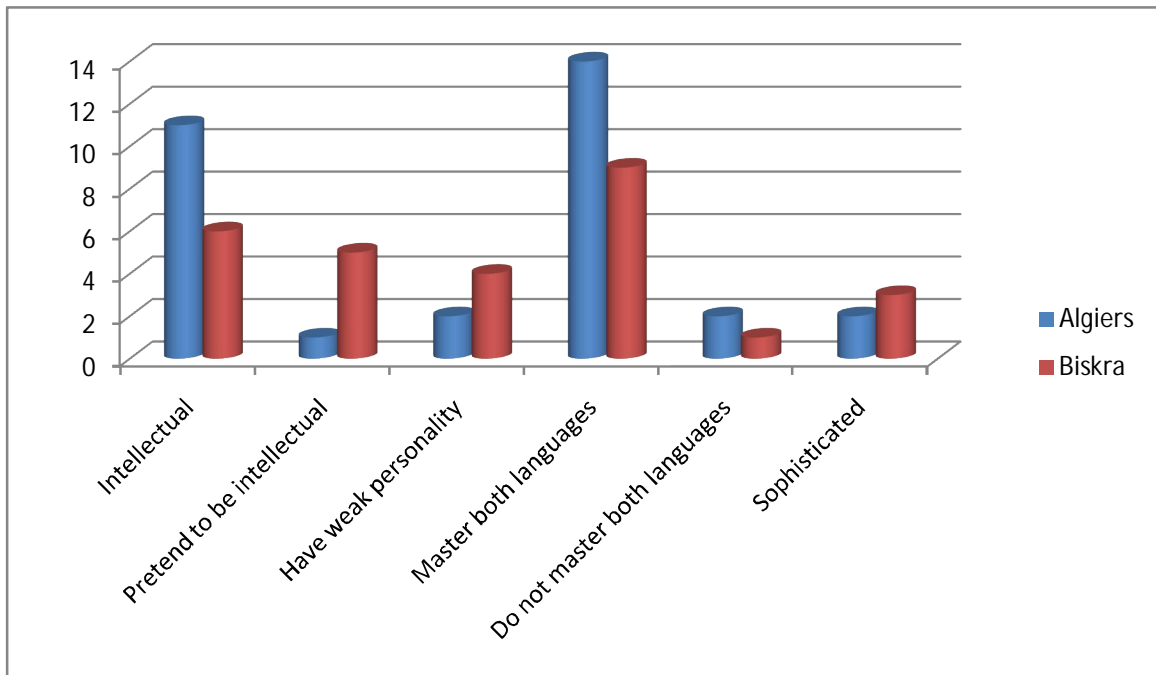
The two figures above show peoples' attitudes toward (Arabic-French) code switchers themselves. And as we can see "Master both languages" took the big space of answers 43% in Algiers and 32.1% in Biskra, and the rest are as follows: "intellectual" 34.4% in Algiers and 21.4% in Biskra; "Pretend to be intellectual" 3.1% in Algiers and 17.9% in Biskra, "have weak personality" 6.25% in Algiers and 14.3% in Biskra; "Do not master both languages" 6.25% in Algiers and 3.6% in Biskra, and

finally "Sophisticated" 6.25% in Algiers and 10.7% in Biskra. From the results we can notice that in both areas there is more positive than negative thoughts. However, it is higher in Algiers as the rate is 83.9%, while in Biskra it is only 64.2% and the rest goes for negative thoughts "Pretend to be intellectual" "have weak personality" and "do not master both languages" with a percentage of 26.1% in Algiers and 35.8% in Biskra.

Question 10: How do you consider the French Language?

Table 3.6 Peoples' Attitudes toward French

Attitude	Area			
	Algiers	%	Biskra	%
Beautiful Language	10	30.30%	9	26.5%
Bad language	2	6.1%	4	11.8%
Language of development	9	27.3%	5	14.7%
Proof of dependency	4	12%	2	5.8%
Language of colonizer	8	24.3%	14	41.2%
Total	34	100%	33	100%

People's attitudes toward Fr is one of our concerns and as the table indicates, there are some differences in the attitudes of both areas, 41% of Biskra' answers consider Fr as "language of colonizer" and 24% of Algiers', as "beautiful language" 30.30% in Algiers and 26.5% in Biskra, as "bad language" 6.1 in Algiers and 11.8% in Biskra, and as "language of development" it appeared more in the answers of Algiers' informants with 27.3% while the rate is 14.7% in that of Biskra' informants.

3.4.2 Interview Analysis

This section is devoted to the analysis of the teachers' and peoples' interviews.

3.4.2.1 Teachers' Interview

For the teachers we prepared a structured interview. Four questions were asked to 3 teachers from each area and the answers are gathered into two groups (Algiers and Biskra). The interview took place at Universities.We started by introducing the subject

of research which they liked and were pleased to answer as they were so cooperative. Some teachers agreed on taking recordings and others preferred note taking. The results are as follows:

Question 1: what do you think about French-Algerian Arabic code switching among Algerians? Explain

- Negative and positive attitudes.
- Loss of the identity.
- Loss of the language.
- Chaos in the use of language.
- The Algerian is now stranger in his own language.
- The Algerian is educated.

Question 2: Are we obliged to code switch in our daily speech or can we get rid of it? Explain.

- Yes we can.
  - Arabic is a rich language that is enough for us for daily interaction and writings etc.
- No we cannot
  - Because it is firmly rooted in the public mentality.
  - It is part of our culture.
  - Some people do not understand Arabic.

Question 3: What are the main reasonsthat leadthe Algerians to code switch?

- Historical event (French occupation).
- The wide linguistic distance and the big gap between MSA and AA.
- Some Algerians feel inferiority in speaking only Arabic.
- French is more prestigious and speaking it is a proof of intellectuality and openness.
- Some Algerians do not well master Arabic.
- Habitual.

Question 4: Where do you think code switching occurs more, Algiers or Biskra? And why is it so?

- It occurs in Algiers more than in Biskra.

- For its distance (Biskra) from the central.

- Most of Biskranians are Bedouins (i.e. living a Bedouin lifestyle).

- The proximity of Algiers to the means of communication and technology.

- Openness and convergence of the capital Algiers with the European continent.

A. Group 1 (Biskra)

Interviewees from Biskra had a different consideration toward code switching, as the three teachers agreed on that code switching is a negative phenomenon and argued that it will lead to the loss of both languages and identity, where the Algerian now is a stranger in his language unlike other Arabian countries such as Syria and Lebanon for example which are still conserving Arabic to high degrees. Another argument was given is that code switching in Algeria is, actually, the act of using two languages chaotically, and neither Arabic nor French is used properly, where we find in AA words from French but are adapted to the Algerian Arabic structure (for more explanation see table1.1). However, one teacher thought that this phenomenon can be seen from another view sothat it has a positive impact as we can consider the Algerian an intellectual person that can speak two languages to a certain degree.

Code switching as an obliged tool to be used or not among Algerians was the second question in the interview. Two teachers said that we can get rid of the French language on the basis that Arabic is a complete and rich language. It is sufficient to be used as a means of communication and writings without any need to another language. Yet, another teacher commented differently: "We cannot get rid of the French language" was his answer and argued that it is rooted in the Algerians' mentality and became a part of our culture because of the long colonial period. Another reason is that many people cannot understand many Arab words so you find yourself obliged to switch to French and an example was given by one of the interviewees stating that many people may not understand the word "كيس"

"sack" so you find yourself obliged to say "sachet". Code switching is "a necessary evil" he said.

The next question was about the main reasons that lead the Algerian to code switch, and the answers that were given are: the first reason that was mentioned by all the interviewees is the historical event characterized in the French occupation. Another reason for code switching is the high status accorded to French as a prestige language amongsome Algerians, where we find a part of the population feel inferiority in speaking only Arabic, so they switch to French to show off.

The interviewees were asked finally to give their assumption on the area that witnesses the occurrence of code switching more than the other, and the potential reasons for that. All of them agreed on that code switching occurs more in Algiers than in Biskra, due to many reasons among which they mentioned the distance between Biskra and the capital, most of Biskranians still have Bedouin lifestyle in addition to the fact that they still conserve their original dialects away from the outer influence. Another reason was given is the proximity of Algiers to the means of communication and technology, in addition to that and unlike Biskra, the openness and convergence of the capital Algiers with the European continent. All this affected the Algiers' speech and allowed for the French existence next to Arabic in their daily interaction.

A. Group B (Algiers)

In the second area concerned in the research, there was almost similar answers as in Biskra. The interviewees swung between positive and negative thoughts toward code switching. They answered positively in the sight that being able to speak two languages interchangeably shows high level of ability in mastering two languages and helps to transmit the ideas faster and easier, especially regarding that the elder generation get its education fully in French. Speaking only Arabic will be difficult for them, so code switching is the best way to bridge the language gap between the elder and the new generation. However; it is at the same time evaluated as a negative phenomenonwhere, in fact, abig amount of vocabulary that the Algerian uses now is neither Arabic nor French. The switch from Arabic to

French has led to the fact that many Algerians (mainly the young) are unable to speak the two languages properly. In the long term, this result will affect badly our Arabic that is part of our identity.

"No, we cannot" was the shared answer between the 3 interviewees to whether we can get rid of code switching or we are bound to it. They explained that whether we like it or not most Algerians could not speak only Arabic because many objects have a French concept in our minds without an Arabic synonym. The interviewees added that in many cases we can consider code switching not as an individual choice, but a rooted behaviour in the Algerian mentality. They continued "though in recent years we can see an improvement in the Algerian level of Arabic proficiency and as a typical example, there is a rise in the Arabic newspapers sales each year, which means that some Algerians can understand fully Arabic texts. Yet, we can not get rid of the use of Code switching".

For the reasons behind the existence of this linguistic behaviour within the Algerian society, the interviewees reported that it is mainly the French colonialism, followed by the bad implementation of the arabicisation policy, which created a conflict in the Algerian identity. Because of purely personal motivations for code switching the informants reported that "habitually" and "unconsciously" and sometimes the "prestige" are the most common reasons for such linguistic behaviour.

As for the last question, the teachers reported assuming that there is more code switching in Algiers than in Biskra, they argued that this difference goes back to the French colonialism that were centered in Algiers for political reasons as being the capital of Algeria, where people were forbidden from teaching or speaking Arabic, unlike in Biskra where people were able to study Arabic in "quranic schools" which allowed them to preserve the local language. They added that in general, code switching can be found mostly in the northern side of the country and it decreases as we goes to the south.

3.4.2.2 People's Interview

For the people's interview, we selected a semi-structured interview that includes questions aiming at revealing to what extent people from both areas code switch and the main reasons that affect their language choice, in addition to their attitudes toward this phenomenon. There are 4 interviewees from each area and the answers collected are:

1st interviewee (Algiers)

The interviewee replied that she code switches frequently in her speech. She said that she can not speak only Arabic without some French words like (parceque, oui bien sure, bonjour, bonsoir). She added that she code switches mainly because she feels more relaxed this way and can express her ideas in a better manner. And as far as her attitude toward this phenomenon, she thinks that it is a normal outcome since we are a bilingual country, and that speaking two languages shows a high level of education and more sophisticated and high class.

2nd interviewee (Algiers)

A man working at a coffee shop answered that he uses both Arabic and French when speaking to costumers or at home with his family. He argued that he finds himself code switching between AA and Fr depending on the costumers. Sometimes, he speaks only Arabic with people who cannot understand French, and other times he has to code switch to French especially with costumers from non-Arab countries. According to him, switching is a positive phenomenon because he can switch to any of the two languages any time without searching for the word or expression in one language. For him, it is easier to use the word that comes out to mind first.

3rd interviewee (Algiers)

A lady in the street with her young daughter. The mother answered that she masters only Arabic and the use of French is so low in her speech. However she said that she regrets having low competence in this language and that she will do her best

so that her daughter will be educated and canhave a full mastery of French. She thinks that a person who can speak French is an intellectual person, and that French is a language that will help her daughter in her life and opens for her more chances to get a good job in the future.

4th interviewee (Algiers)

According to a young man working in a post office, most of the documents are done in French, so you have to use it when interacting with people. He illustrated that he cannot explain an issue concerning the documents only in Arabic, even if they are written in both languages, but still many people do not understand those Arabic words. The interviewee asserted his positive attitudes toward French by saying that he considers it as the language of development and technology.

5th interviewee (Biskra)

According to the 1st interviewee from Biskra, code switching is not a negative phenomenon, but rather a phenomenon that allows you to acquire new terms from both languages and maintaining them since you are using both in everyday speech. The university student added that using French has a prestigious privilege rather than using only Arabic. She provided the reasons for which people may use code switching, and said that people alternate between French and Arabic according to the topic and when there is a language gap i.e., when there is no equivalence in Arabic such as some key words where she gave an example from her studies andsaid: "most of the key words in my studies are in French" (Biology student). However, she concluded that she personally hates French that according to her is the language of the colonizer and wishes that one day we can turn our studies into English.

6th interviewee (Biskra)

The next interviewee is a working man at a bakery.Hesaid that he doesnot code switch much often between AA and Fr. He argued that in Biskra this phenomenon is lesser than in some other areas in the northernpart of the country. However, the young man mentioned that gender affects his way of speaking as he uses much French with

female costumers than with males. For him, French is highly regarded, nice and better structured than AA.

7th interviewee (Biskra)

The primary school teacher had negative attitudes toward code switching, as he sees that we should speak only Arabic and added that Fr is not our mother tongue to use it in everyday speech. He illustrated that he is not against French if we use it separately when appropriate, but he is against using it alongside Arabic all the time. He said that he does not code switch when teaching except when his students do not understand a word in Standard Arabic. According to him, French is ruining our language and makes it awkward and illustrated that we can understand other Arab countries dialects such as Egyptian Arabic and Syrian Arabic, but they can not understand our Algerian Arabic. So, in a conversation with them we constantly find ourselves change our way of speaking into Standard arabic or their dialect. According to him this shows that code switching has a bad impact on our mother tongue.

8th interviewee (Biskra)

The last interviewee in Biskra is a housewife. She answered that she uses only Arabic when interacting. she said that this goes back to the fact that she was raised in a land working family where there is no need for French. Her father, brothers and sisters use only Arabic at home. She confirmed finding some difficulties in understanding French, for example when she goes to see her doctor who starts explaining her condition in the other language. As for her attitude toward code switching, she said that she hates it and finds it a personal weakness since Arabic is enough to deliver the message. She said "like you can understand me when I'm using only Arabic, you can also produce full Arabic sentences without going back and forth between Algerian Arabic and French". She finished by saying that the feeling of inferiority can be a major reason for code switching.

3.5 Interpretation of the Results

This section attempts to interpret and summarize the main findings of this investigation. The major results that are collected from each research instrument will

be discussed in relation to the previous raised hypothesis. The questionnaire and interview have helped the researcher to gather a large amount of data concerning the research goals. The first aim was to reveal to which extent people from Biskra and Algiers code switch. The second aim was to obtain the main reasons behind the engagement in such linguistic behaviour, and finally to collect the different attitudes toward this phenomenon.

From questions (4), (5) and (6) in the questionnaire and theinterview, we notice a higher usage of codeswitching in Algiers than in Biskra. As tables 3.2 and 3.3 indicate 70% (12 out of 20) of informants from Algiers reported using Fr "often" and "sometimes" with family and 80% (16out of 20) with friends, while in Biskra the percentage of people who code switch "often" or "sometimes" is 50% (10 out of 20) with both family and riends. For the 6th question in the questionnaire which is about the use of words or expressions from French in daily speech, we notice a low number from Algiers informants reporting "sometimes" "rarely" and "never" 3 people out of 20, while in Biskra there is a higher number (10 participants). This difference can be mainly due to the level of proficiency of the two languages: Arabic and French as it is clearly seen in pie charts 3.1 and 3.2 , while 75% of Algiers informants reported mastering "both languages", only 45% reported mastering "only Arabic" in Biskra. So, with the help of thesestatistics, the first hypothesis; i.e., code switching is frequently used in Algiers more than in Biskra, is confirmed.

The second research question in this study was about the main reasons for code switching in both areas, with the hypothesis (differentiation in factors behind the person's language choice in the two areas). The 7th question in the questionnaire as indicated in Bar graph 3.1 reveals that for participants from Algiers "unconsciously", "mastering both languages" and "habitually" are the main reasons for code switching (11, 10, 9 respectively), while in Biskra most of participants reported "filling a gap", "habitually" and "unconsciously" (8, 8, 4 respectively) as the main reasons for code switching. In addition, the interviews with both teachers and people from both areas have revealed some other social and historical factors affecting their language choice, such as gender, topic and addressee in addition to the historical event (French occupation).

Even if people from both areas reported code switching "habitually" and "unconsciously", yet and as hypothesized, there is an important difference in the reasons behind the use of code switching. As we can notice answers gathered from Algiers show that they use code switching because they "master the two languages". In other words they code switch because they control both languages. The alternation between Algerian Arabic and French happens even if there is no need to. However, in Biskra they code switch mainly to "fill a gap" which shows that they use it mostly when there is need for it; a missing equivalent in Arabic. With that being said, the second hypothesis is confirmed.

Finally, the third question raised in our research workis about the attitudes toward code switching. We started our study based on the hypothesis that attitudes are a major factor that affect the use of code switching, and as expected, the results from questions 8, 9 and 10 and interviews shows that code switching occurs more where there is a higher percentage of positive attitudes. A clear example can be taken from the results of the eighth question where we notice a higher percentage of positive attitudes in Algiers 60% , while there is a higher percentage of negative attitudes in Biskra 65% (see pie charts 3.3 and 3.4). When we relate these results in addition to the results from tables3.5 and 3.6 tothe results of our first hypothesis, we find that attitudes is a major factor that affects the use of code switching, and so that our hypothesis is confirmed.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted for the analysis and interpretation of the collected data via the two instruments (questionnaire and interviews) that took place in Algiers and Biskra being as the case study, concerning the use of code switching in both areas and the different reasons leading to it, in addition to the attitudes toward this phenomenon.

After that, we attempted to discuss and interpret the findings of the current study in correlation to the main objectives in order to answer the three main research questions so that finally we would be able to test the validity of the researcher hypotheses.

To sum up, the results have shown that code switching occurs exceedingly in Algiers in comparison to Biskra. Many factors are revealed as reasons leading the participants to code switch among which we state "filling a gap, mastering two languages, unconsciously and habitually" in addition to "French colonialism". Finally, the findings revealed that attitudes play an important role in the use of code switching; that is to say, it is more likely to appear where there is more positive attitudes.

General Conclusion

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The present research work is a sociolinguistic-oriented investigation of code switching. It is a known fact that language is a continuum that changes through time as well as from one place to another. Based on this fact we started our research to seek a major phenomenon in bilingual communities; code switching, to see if is affected by distance and what are the other factors affecting its use. Attitudes are another element highlighted within this research work, where we attempted to investigate whether they play a role in code switching or not.

Our study was about the aspects code switching in Algeria; the case of two distinct areas "Biskra" and "Algiers". Random people from both areas were chosen as target population to answer a questionnaire and an interview in addition to another interview with 6 teachers aiming at answering the research questions and hypotheses. As regards the outline of this research work, it was divided into three chapters through which the researcher fulfilled different tasks. The first chapter is the theoretical part which dealt with some definitions, arguments and quotations given by scholars and linguists about the phenomenon of code switching. The second chapter was about code switching in Algeria where we gave some of its aspects within this community and introduced Algeria's official languages. In the last chapter, we dealt with data collection and analysis of the two aforementioned research tools and the interpretation of the main results and findings.

As any research work, this one aimed to answer some questions raised by the researcher. First, it had the objective of investigating the extension of using code switching in the two aforementioned areas and based on the findings, it was noticed that code switching is more used in Algiers in comparison to Biskra. Investigating the reasons behind the use of code switching in both areas was the second aim of this work. The results revealed many social factors affecting peoples' language choice among which we state "habitude" "filling a gap" and "unconsciously", in addition to other reasons

related to the addressee, topic and gender. Third and finally, the researcher aimed at investigating the attitudes toward code switching and whether they affect its use among speakers or not. The results showed that attitudes differ in the two areas where higher percentages of positive thoughts were noticed in Algiers unlike Biskra where there were more negative thoughts. Moreover, and as it was hypothesized, attitudes do play a major role in affecting the code switching process. This was clearly seen from the obtained results which revealed that code switching occurs more where there are more positive thoughts.

For further researches it would be interesting to investigate the code switching process in other parts of Algeria and compare the reasons and attitudes from one area to another in order to highlight the differences. Furthermore, the sample population may be enlarged to represent the whole country including the Berber language.

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Appendices

Appendix A: English Version of the Questionnaire

Questionnaire

I am a student of English at the University of Tlemcen, and this questionnaire is a part of a master degree in the science of language. In this research we will investigate the code switching phenomenon in the Algerian dialect the case study of Algiers and Biskra. You are kindly required to tick (√) where appropriate and to answer the following questions. Thank you for your cooperation.

Answer the questions and tick (√) the corresponding square, you can choose more than one answer where necessary.

1) Gender:

  Male ☐   Female ☐

2) Place of living: ……………………………………………………….

3) Which languages do you master?

  Arabic ☐   French ☐   Both ☐

4) Which languages do you use with family?

Often – sometimes – rarely – never

	Often	sometimes	rarely	never
Standard Arabic	☐	☐	☐	☐
Algerian Arabic	☐	☐	☐	☐
French	☐	☐	☐	☐

5) Which languages do you use with friends?

Often – sometimes – rarely – never

Standard Arabic   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

Algerian Arabic   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

French   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

6) Do you use words or expressions from French in your daily speech?

Always ☐   often ☐   sometimes ☐   rarely ☐   never ☐

7) Why do you code switch?

Filling a gap   ☐

Unconsciously   ☐

Habitually   ☐

More prestigious   ☐

You master both languages   ☐

Others……………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………...............

8) How do you see Arabic-French code switching?

Positive ☐   negative ☐

Why…………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

9)   What do you think of a person who mixes Arabic and French?

Intellectual ☐

Pretend to be intellectual ☐

Have weak personality ☐

Master both languages ☐

Don't master both languages ☐

Sophisticated ☐

10)   How do you consider the French language?

Beautiful language ☐

Bad language ☐

Language of development ☐

Proof of dependency ☐

Language of colonizer ☐

11)   Additional comments: do not hesitate to add any further comments.

....
....
....
....

Thank you for your assistance.

Appendix B: Arabic Version of the Questionnaire

استبيان

أنا طالب في تخصص اللغة الإنجليزية في جامعة تلمسان، وهذا الاستبيان هو جزء من درجة الماستر في علم اللغة. سنقوم في هذا البحث بالتحقيق في ظاهرة تبديل اللغة في اللهجة الجزائرية حالة الجزائر وبسكرة. يرجى منك تحديد (√) عند الاقتضاء والإجابة على الأسئلة التالية. شكرا لتعاونكم.

أجب على الأسئلة و ضع علامة (√) في المربع المقابل، يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة واحدة عند الضرورة.

1- الجنس :

ذكر ☐   أنثى ☐

2- مكان المعيشة:

....

3- ما هي اللغات التي تتقنها؟

العربية ☐   الفرنسية ☐   كلاهما ☐

4- ما هي اللغات التي تستخدمها مع العائلة؟

	في كثير من الأحيان	- في بعض الأحيان	- نادرا	- أبدا
اللغة العربية	☐	☐	☐	☐
اللهجة العربية الجزائرية	☐	☐	☐	☐
اللغة الفرنسية	☐	☐	☐	☐

5- ما هي اللغات التي تستخدمها مع الأصدقاء؟

	في كثير من الأحيان	- في بعض الأحيان	- نادرا	- أبدا
اللغة العربية	☐	☐	☐	☐
اللهجة العربية الجزائرية	☐	☐	☐	☐
اللغة الفرنسية	☐	☐	☐	☐

6- هل تستخدم كلمات أو تعابير من الفرنسية في حديثك اليومي؟

أبدا	نادرا	في بعض الأحيان	في كثير من الأحيان	دائما
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7- لماذا تقوم بالتبديل والتغيير بين العربية والفرنسية؟

سد فراغ ☐

دون وعي ☐

عادة ☐

مرموقة أكثر ☐

أنت تتقن اللغتين ☐

أسباب أخرى ....

....

....

8- كيف ترى تبديل اللغة بين العربية والفرنسية؟

إيجابي ☐   سلبي ☐

لماذا ....

....

....

9- ما رأيك في شخص يمزج بين العربية والفرنسية؟

مثقف ☐

يتظاهر بأنه مثقف ☐

لديه شخصية ضعيفة ☐

يتقن اللغتين ☐

لا يتقن اللغتين ☐

راقي ☐

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10- كيف تعتبر اللغة الفرنسية؟

لغة جميلة ☐

لغة سيئة ☐

لغة التطور ☐

دليل على التبعية ☐

لغة المستعمر ☐

11- تعليقات إضافية: لا تتردد في إضافة أي تعليقات أخرى..
....
....
....

شكرا لمساعدتك.

Appendix C: English Version of the Interview

1. What do you think about Algerian Arabic – French code switching among Algerians?

2. Are we obliged to code switch in our daily speech or can we get rid of it? Explain.

3. What are the main reasons that lead the Algerians to code switch?

4. Where do you think code switching occurs more, Algiers or Biskra? And why is it so?

Appendix D: Arabic version of the Interview

1- ما رأيك في ظاهرة تبديل اللغات بين العربية والفرنسية عند الجزائريين؟

2- هل نحن ملزمون بتبديل اللغات بين العربية والفرنسية في خطابنا اليومي أم يمكننا التخلص منه؟ اشرح.

3- ما هي الأسباب الرئيسية التي تدفع الجزائريين إلى تبديل اللغات؟

4- في رأيك أين تحدث هذه الظاهرة أكثر، في الجزائر أو بسكرة؟ ولماذا هي كذلك؟