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**Code-Variation among Algerian
University Students**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in
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Linguistics**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved family especially my parents, my brothers
and sister, my wife, my daughters, and my son.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines code variation among Algerian university students and the effects of Arabic and French in contact. It focuses on three main goals: (1) exploring the linguistic patterns that result from language mixing, (2) investigating the factors of language choice and the extent of language choice predictability, and (3) studying the attitudes towards code-switching. Data from naturally-occurring conversations by 112 students from both sexes and a census questionnaire administered to 248 other ones are analysed to explore the linguistic, the sociolinguistic, and the attitudinal effects and to test the hypotheses related to the main goals.

Two language mixing patterns which include other sub-patterns are identified. Borrowing is performed according to different levels of integration that lead to the production of three sub-patterns: integrated, non-adapted, and non-conventional borrowings. Code-switching can be identified as little or heavier according to the number of items inserted within the Matrix Language. In addition, the analysis reveals the existence of code-switching between Spoken Algerian Arabic (SAA) and French and between SAA and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

Factors of language choice are investigated in the light of Grosjean's model. Language choice is performed according to specific factors that make it predictable in most cases. However, the results support the hypothesis that there

are cases of language choice which are unpredictable. Moreover, female students use language as a communicative strategy more than male students do.

Attitudes towards code-switching are analysed to determine the nature of these attitudes. The findings support the hypothesis that positive attitudes can be associated with code-switching. In addition to the negative attitudes, code-switchers consider their behaviour positively. These contradictory opinions lead to discrepancies between the speaker's language behaviour and attitudes.

List of Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

Ar-Fr: Arabic-French

CS: Code-switching

EL: Embedded Language

F : Female

F>SAAinsert : Insertion of a single SAA lexical item in a French structure

M : Male

ML: Matrix Language

MLF: Matrix Language Frame

NP: Noun Phrase

pp: Prepositional Phrase

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

SAA: Spoken Algerian Arabic

SAA>Finsert: Insertion of a single French lexical item in an SAA structure

SAA>Fborrow: Integration of a French lexical item within SAA

SVO: Subject Verb Object

VSO: Verb Subject Object

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Symbols

Vowels

/i/ high front short, as in /sinn/ (tooth)

/i:/ high front long, as in /fi:l/ (elephant)

/a/ low front short, as in / al/ (solution)

/a:/ low front long, as in / a:l/ (state)

/u/ high back short, as in /hum/ (they)

/u:/ high back long, as in /tu:t/ (blackberry)

Consonants

/b/ bilabial stop, as in /ba:b/ (door)

/t/ voiceless non-emphatic dental stop, as in /ta iba/ (He is tired)

/d/ voiced non-emphatic dental stop, as in /da:r/ (house)

/T/ voiceless emphatic dental stop, as in /maTar/ (rain)

/D/ voiced emphatic dental stop, as in /Daraba/ (He hit)

/k/ voiceless velar stop, as in /kataba/ (He wrote)

/g/ voiced velar stop, as in the French word *gourde* /guRd/ (flask)

/q/ uvular stop, as in /qarja/ (village)

/ / glottal stop, as in / akala/ (He ate)

/f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in /fa r/ (dawn)

/v/ voiced labio-dental fricative, as in the French word *veste* /vest/ (jacket)

/T/ voiceless interdental fricative, as in /Ta r/ (revenge)

/D/ voiced interdental fricative, as in /ha:Da/ (this)

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative, as in /sa: a/ (watch)

/ / voiceless emphatic dental fricative, as in / aba: / (morning)

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative, as in /za:ra/ (He visited)

/ / voiceless alveo-palatal fricative, as in / ams/ (sun)

/ / voiced alveo-palatal fricative, as in / a:r/ (neighbour)

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative, as in /huwwa/ (he)

/ / voiceless pharyngeal fricative, as in / a: ina/ (lorry)

/ / voiced pharyngeal fricative, as in / abd/ (slave)

/x/ voiceless uvular fricative, as in /xuru: / (exit)

/R/ voiced uvular fricative, as in /Rarb/ (west)

/m/ bilabial nasal, as in /maka:n/ (place)

/n/ dental nasal, as in /nu:r/ (light)

/l/ lateral, as in /la m/ (meat)

/r/ flap, as in /kabi:r/ (great)

/w/ labio-velar semi-vowel, as in /walad/ (boy)

/j/ palatal semi-vowel, as in /jad/ (hand)

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INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of the Problem

Algeria is a very interesting area for sociolinguistic studies because of the diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual situations that prevail. These linguistic situations have created a phenomenon of mixing between the existing varieties so that code-switching has become a common practice among all parts of the Algerian society. Despite this prevailing phenomenon and the somewhat large body of literature about language variation in some areas around the world, no linguistic study has, to my knowledge, been made about code-switching in Algeria.

This study is an attempt to see how Arabic and French, the two languages in contact, are related linguistically and socially and to check the attitudes towards code-switching in one speech community in Algeria. To keep the study within manageable bounds, the accessible and fairly homogeneous community of students at Mentouri University, Constantine, was chosen, since this is one of the groups in Algeria where one can rely on a reasonable bilingual proficiency. These speakers have been in contact with Standard Arabic and French for a long time. Therefore, they are a perfect site to observe the language contact phenomena between Arabic and French.

The research project is entitled "Code-Variation among Algerian University Students". The main questions that it raises are:

1. Does the contact between Arabic and French in a community result in different language mixing patterns?
2. Why do university students switch codes despite majoring in one of the languages only (Standard Arabic or French)?
3. What are the students' attitudes towards patterns of code-switching?

2. Aims of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to make a small contribution towards the database of information available on language, particularly on code-switching. The main focus is on linguistic, social, and attitudinal implications of language variation because of language contact. Because of the lack of studies about this phenomenon in Algeria, the research project aims at shedding some light on this phenomenon and comparing and/or contrasting it to that existing elsewhere. Most importantly, we will check whether the theories about mixing really apply to the Algerian situation.

3. Hypotheses

This research will examine three main hypotheses:

1. Different patterns of code-mixing (borrowing and code-switching) occur when students use the codes available in their repertoire. The type of mixing used will allow us to predict the language of study of the student.
2. Although social and educational factors are the main reasons for language choice and code-variation, they do not always necessarily lead to the prediction of language choice.

3. Students' attitudes towards code-switching are not always negative, and language choice is not necessarily in conformity with language attitudes.

4. Means of the Research

The data needed have been collected using recordings and a questionnaire as research tools. Recordings will provide examples of the way students code switch and instances of the different patterns of code-mixing, and the questionnaire will show the motivations and factors of language choice and code-switching and the attitudes towards code alternation. The sample consists of university students of both sexes from different faculties studying at Mentouri University, Constantine. It is a random sample where every student has a non-zero chance of being selected.

5. Outline of the study

Chapter One is a background to this study of Arabic-French language contact in a community of students at Constantine University in Algeria. It examines the current language situation and how it has evolved.

Chapter Two is a review of the literature in relation to the linguistic features and the social factors leading to language choice as well as the attitudinal dimensions to code-switching and the different codes that are part of it. Insights from code-switching researches are examined and Grosjean's factors influencing language choice are chosen as a model.

Chapter Three presents the methodology of this investigation concerning the following chapters, along with the background of the speech community and

the individuals from whom speech data were obtained. It describes the two research procedures used to collect data about the different aspects of the research.

Chapter Four is a linguistic analysis of the speech data obtained through an ethnographic study. It examines the different phenomena of mixing due to language contact, mainly code-switching and borrowing. One of our goals is to examine the extent of language change and to check whether the language of study is a clue to the use of these phenomena.

Chapter Five is an analysis of language choice and the language types identified in the data, as correlated to the social factors and the information from each respondent regarding when, where, and with whom each language is used.

Chapter Six is an investigation of language attitudes towards code-switching. Our goal is to verify the existence of negative and/or positive attitudes towards code-variation and to look for possible discrepancies between language choice and language attitudes.

The study concludes with a summary of the basic results of the study. Conclusions are presented along with the limitations of the study. It also outlines some implications of the study and possible recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

The Language Situation in Algeria

Introduction

The interplay between languages has always aroused the interest of linguists. Since it is accepted that a particular language will reflect the culture of the society for which it is a medium of expression; language problems have also attracted sociologists.

As far as the manner the human mind and society construct and use language is concerned, the study of code-variation offers insights not available in the study of monolingualism alone. Code-switched speech highlights the interaction of social and grammatical categories due to the greater contrast between the phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of the available codes as compared to those of one language. Varying combinations of uses result when these codes come into contact over a period of time.

1.1. Language Contact

Language contact over time leads to language change. This change involves the contact of different lexical and grammatical systems as well as varying social patterns in the community.

Unlike most other language contact studies in the literature that examine language contact situations where speakers of different languages come into contact by living and working together, our research treats a very different language contact situation where the same speakers use the two languages with

varying degrees of fluency. These speakers are Algerian university students who have been in contact with Arabic and French for a long time since. In other words, in addition to the spoken dialectal variety of Arabic, they have learnt the Standard variety as a first language and used it as a medium of instruction and French as a first foreign language right from the primary school. They are a perfect site to observe language contact phenomena between Arabic and French. To my knowledge, no study has examined these phenomena in Algeria in the way this study does.

Code-switching, the alternation between two different varieties of the same language or two different languages, is a frequent phenomenon of language contact which may lead to language change. This study focuses on the relationship between code-switching and all of monolingual speech, bilingual speech, and the phenomenon of mixing in this particular community. When two languages get in contact for a certain period of time, the processes of language change are almost inevitable. The process of change due to contact involves code-switching and borrowing. This investigation will examine the different patterns of mixing across a community which has used Arabic and French for a long time.

Code-switching is typically viewed by researchers from either linguistic or extra-linguistic perspectives. By 'linguistic' we refer to the structure of sentences and discourse, realized in the phonology, morphology, and syntax. By 'extra-linguistic' we refer mainly to the social meanings conveyed by code-

switching and its social factors. For a better understanding of the phenomenon in our speech community, the linguistic and the extra-linguistic perspectives in the code-switching literature by several researchers are examined.

In addition, languages in contact lead to different attitudes towards these languages and the language phenomena that result from this contact. According to code-switching literature, attitudes are mainly negative. This study will examine attitudes towards code-switching in this particular community to check whether these attitudes are really always negative. It will also examine the possible discrepancies between language choice and attitudes.

1.2. The Language Situation in Algeria

Algeria is the second largest country in Africa, almost ten times the size of the United Kingdom. A country with a long colonial history; it is one of the most problematic postcolonial spaces. The debate over the linguistic situation is neither over nor solved, and is capable of provoking the same passion and controversies almost half a century after the country's independence, almost as much as it did in the early years of independence. Due to the divergent aspects that characterize each of the three main languages at work, namely Arabic, Berber and French¹, controversial opinions as to the representability and legitimacy of each of these languages have always prevailed.

Leaving aside the political implications of recognizing or denying full-status to any of the three above mentioned languages, this study describes the

¹ To avoid controversies, languages are given according to the alphabetical order.

current language situation in Algeria. However, the linguist's criteria should take into consideration the historical facts and acknowledge the irreversible character of events, but only in so far as these facts and events sustain the underlying explanations to the changes and the phenomena affecting the language and the society being analyzed. Thus, a historical perspective is necessary to shed light on the evolution that led to this situation.

1.2.1. Historical Perspective

The early inhabitants of Algeria were the Imazighen (singular Amazigh), meaning "free men", who spoke varieties of Tamazight, a Semito-Hamitic language, which came to be called Berber by the early invaders. The word "Berber" is derived from the Latin one "Barbarus", which was applied to anyone living beyond the confines of the Roman sphere. Algeria was first invaded by Phoenicians. It became a Roman province in 46 BC and part of the Byzantine Empire in 395 AD. In the seventh century, Algeria, along with the whole of the North African littoral was conquered by the Arabs. Arab rule lasted almost nine centuries before the country came under Ottoman supremacy in 1518 and was governed by an Ottoman "Dey" and his subordinates, the "Beys". Algeria continued to be an outpost of the Ottoman Empire until 1830 when the French occupying forces began to invade the country. By 1848 Algeria was declared a French territory. Right up until the twentieth century, Europeans, not only from France but also from Italy, Spain and Malta settled in the country. In 1872 the European population was estimated at just fewer than 250,000. By 1960 it

reached one million. Yet it was the European minority who took control of the rest of the population. The French ruled the country until 1962 when Algeria gained independence.

Before the Arab conquest, the Tamazight-speaking population resisted adopting the languages and religions of their invaders. Following the Arab conquest, however, Algerians, along with the inhabitants of the other North African countries, adopted the Arabic language and embraced Islam. However, they managed to retain their language and customs. According to Camps (1987:135),

La Berbérie devient musulmane en moins de deux siècles alors qu'elle n'est pas entièrement arabisée, treize siècles après la première conquête arabe.

(The Berbers embraced Islam in less than two centuries; yet, thirteen centuries after the first Arab conquest they were still not completely arabized.) Translated by the author of this thesis

Thus, Arabic came to be spoken in some of the major cities but did not infiltrate into remote mountain regions where only Tamazight continued to be spoken.

In spite of the fact that Algeria came under direct Ottoman influence for three centuries, Turkish does not seem to have left its mark on either Arabic or Tamazight, apart from a negligible number of terms. When the French forces finally took over the whole country in the nineteenth century, French became the only language of administration and instruction and was used exclusively on signposts and public posters. In 1938 the French administration passed a law

making Arabic a "foreign" language in Algeria. According to Abdurrahman Salameh (1976:15), laws discouraging the use of Arabic date as far back as 1904 when the teaching of Arabic literature and Arab history were not allowed in schools and colleges. Salameh adds that although the colonial powers did not object to Muslims reading the Quran, they preferred them to learn the *suras* by heart without understanding them.

The language policies implemented in Algeria by the colonial authorities were a direct reflection of those implemented in France itself during its linguistic unification. In this connection, Murphy (1977:2) states:

During the French Revolution, the patois of the French provinces had been proscribed in order to impose the use of Parisian, bourgeois French on the nation.... There was only one language for uniting the nation or for subjugating new colonies.

Arabic was banished from the educational system in Algeria, just as the patois were banished "from the educational system of the Metropole under the Third Republic and were only reinstated, in certain cases, under the Loi Deixonne in 1951" (ibid.).

It may be noticed that the policy followed by France in colonies and protectorates was not uniform and differed from one country to the other. Hence, what was adopted in Algeria regarding language was more or less different from the policy adopted in Morocco and Tunisia. According to Bentahila (1983:6), when settling in Morocco, the French

Seemingly had the idea of educating a Moroccan elite to speak and think like them, and to believe in the universality and

superiority of the French culture and language, which they imposed as the only language of civilization and advancement.

This was an efficient means to conquer the country, as is stated by Besnard (cited in Bentahila, *ibid.*):

Pour l'établissement durable de notre influence dans le pays, chaque école ouverte vaut mieux qu'une bataille gagnée.

(For the purpose of the permanent establishment of our influence in the country, every school which is opened is worth more than a battle won). Translated by the author of this thesis

According to Hawkins (2000:3), the situation is quite similar in Tunisia.

For a variety of reasons,

The French occupation was not as draconian or harsh as it was in the more well known case of Tunisia's western neighbor, Algeria. While the French tried to incorporate Algeria into metropolitan France and ruthlessly suppressed Arabic education and culture, they ruled Tunisia through a figure-head Tunisian leader and developed a Tunisian educational system that taught both the standard French and classical Arabic curricula.

However, the situation was not the same in Algeria. It was a colony and not a protectorate, and it was considered an integral part of France (a *département*) instead of a mere colony.

1.2.2. The Sociolinguistic Profile

When examining Algeria's sociolinguistic situation following the independence, we can say that Algeria fitted what Fishman (1972) describes as a type B nation. Type B nations are called uni-modal and are characterized by an indigenous language with a literary tradition (Classical Arabic or Modern

Standard one), plus a language of wider communication (French) that often exists as a result of colonial policy.

Furthermore, Algeria's sociolinguistic profile is more complex than it seems. Measured by the yardstick of history, the French colonization which lasted a hundred and thirty-two years seems relatively short. Yet, the consequences of the French linguistic impact are very strong. The long and sustained spreading of French language and culture had gradually succeeded in maintaining Algeria as a stronghold until independence. Thus, when Algeria became independent in 1962, in addition to Algerian Arabic and Tamazight, the languages of indigenous inhabitants, French was commonly used. To this day and despite massive and intensive continuous policies and programmes of Arabization, one can notice that the influence of the French presence did not cease with the independence.

Consequently, there are three languages that are spoken and/or written in Algeria. The spoken languages include a variety of Arabic (Algerian Arabic), French, and the four dialects of Tamazight: Kabyle, Shawia, Mozabite, and Tamashekt – the mother tongue of Touaregs. The written languages are a variety of Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic) and French.

1.2.2.1. Arabic

Arabic was first introduced to North Africa with the Arab conquest of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. It gained prominence among the Berbers with the spread of Islam and the use of Arabic as a liturgical language. This first

"Arabization" was greatly aided by the obligation to say in Arabic the few sentences necessary for the conversion to Islam and the other rituals like prayer and the reading of the Quran (Camps, 1987:135). In recent times, urbanization tended to homogenize the population in terms of language use because of a certain tendency by the Berbers who are living in towns to shift to French or Arabic. It is in this fashion according to Grandguillaume (1983:14) that

Bien des régions d'Algérie ou du Maroc décrites comme berbérophones par des ethnographes du début du siècle sont maintenant totalement arabophones.

(Many areas of Algeria or Morocco described as Berber - speaking areas by early twentieth century ethnographers are now totally arabized.) Translated by the author of this thesis

Arabic has been traditionally classified into two categories: Classical Arabic and the vernacular variety. Classical Arabic is a language with a long literary tradition and a closely guarded sense of grammatical and rhetorical correctness. This classification is no longer valid as the Arab renaissance of the 19th century and the renewed interest in the language, coupled with its use for education, saw the development of a third category emerging from elevated forms of speech in the Middle East. Nowadays, Arabic is categorized into three major varieties: Classical, Modern Standard, and the vernacular form.

As the language of the Quran, Classical Arabic (CA) is considerably valued by Muslims, Arabs and non Arabs alike; it is considered to be a model of linguistic excellence and the key to a prestigious literary heritage. It is valued over and above any other form of Arabic that is spoken natively by the Arabs, to

the point that "when somebody says he does not speak Arabic well, he usually means the Classical one" (Murphy, 1977:4).

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the form that evolved after the Arab renaissance of the nineteenth century labored to modernize Classical Arabic and make it effective enough to meet the demands of modern life. Certain western structures such as clause and phrase subordination have been adapted and a scientific terminology developed (Gordon, 1985:135).

Vernacular Arabic is the language of everyday communication in the family and the street. It is the native language of Arabs. Differences between the vernacular and the written form are manifested in morphology, syntax, the lexicon, and the complex system of case endings.

The vernacular, in this case Algerian Arabic (AA), is the native tongue of the vast majority of the Algerian population and the second language of a large percentage of the Berber populations. It is known as the "Derdja" (dialect) in Algeria. Algerian Arabic differs from both Modern Standard Arabic and the other dialects in use in other Arab countries. It has a much-simplified vowel system, a substantially changed vocabulary with many words from Berber, Turkish, and French, and, like all Arabic dialects, it is without the case endings typical of the written language. Algerian Arabic is a part of the Maghreb Arabic dialect continuum since Algerians use a variety which is similar to Tunisian Arabic at different linguistic levels near the eastern borders with Tunisia and speak a variety which fades with Moroccan Arabic near the western borders with

Morocco. In addition, it is not uniform throughout the country, since it differs from one region to the other. However, there is a continuum between the regional varieties.

1.2.2.2. Tamazight

Tamazight, or Berber, represents one of the five branches of Afro-Asiatic (formerly Semito-Hamitic) languages along with Semitic, Chadic, Cushitic and Egyptian (Greenberg 1963). Afro-Asiatic languages are "spoken by people of vastly different racial, religious, and cultural origin" (Katzner, 1977:32). These languages are spoken in North Africa, mostly in Morocco and Algeria, and to a lesser extent in Niger, Mali, and other countries. The Berber languages are so similar to each other that some authorities speak of a single Berber language (ibid.).

Berber languages exist primarily as an oral medium although Berber texts were written in Arabic and Roman scripts in the past with the addition of a few characters to represent distinctive Berber phonemes. The ancient Berber script, Tifinagh, which still survives among the Touareg of the Algerian Sahara is used more for specific purposes such as inscriptions on weapons and jewelry than for communication (ibid.).

The Berber dialects spoken in Morocco are Tashilhit, Tamazight, and Tarifit. Tashilhit is spoken in the south (Haut-Atlas) of Morocco, Tamazight in the Moyen-Atlas and Tarifit in the North. Kabyle, Shawia, Mozabite and Tamashekt are the four dialects spoken in Algeria; Kabyle is spoken in Greater

and Lesser Kabylia, east of Algiers, Shawia in the Aures range south east of Algeria, Mozabite in the Mزاب and Tamashekt in the Sahara Desert.

Berber has been able to survive despite of its orality because of its capacity for borrowing and incorporating words from languages with which it came into contact. Its success in resisting various influences and maintaining itself as the language of the home may have come from the fact that Berbers have insulated themselves from the successive foreign influences that came to dominate the country. In Bratt Paulston's words (1986:124):

Geographic isolation (which is historically uninteresting but nevertheless effective) is also a form of external boundary which contributes to language maintenance as Gaelic in the Hebrides, or Quechua in the Andes.

However, the very insulation which has so well guarded the Berbers from outside influences has also kept their language from being codified. Furthermore, as Roberts (1980:117) wrote:

As a consequence of their geographical separation from one another and the absence of both any sustained commercial intercourse between them and of a written language, there has been no tendency for their culture to become unified or for their language to become standardized in the course of their history.

Before the Arabs settled in the area, all of Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Algeria constituted a Berber territory. Cameron & Hurst (1983:178) wrote:

As many as half of the Berber speaking minority already speak Arabic as a second (or third) language which, added to the 81.5% of the population (1966 census) who declared Arabic as their mother tongue, produced a 90% Arabic speaking population.

After the establishment of the High Commissariat for Tamazight in 1993 and the grant of legal recognition in 1996, Tamazight was granted recognition as a national language through the application of article 3 of the Algerian Constitution, amended in March 2002, to establish Tamazight as a national language and to promote its use among Algeria's institutional authorities. Then, it was decided that Tamazight was to be taught progressively for all levels since the academic year 2003-2004.

In July 2007, the Academy of the Tamazight Language and the Higher Council of the Tamazight Language were created with the aim to disseminate the language and conduct research into it. The Academy is in charge of matters related to the standardization of Tamazight. The Higher Council, meanwhile, has a more political role and is to work to introduce the language in public administration, the justice system, professional training and all areas of institutional life.

1.2.2.3. French

The fact that France's domination of Algeria occurred at a time when Algeria's linguistic unification was still underway had profound implications for its linguistic situation. Before the military conquest of Algeria was achieved, the colonial authorities implemented language policies that proved detrimental to the Arabic language competence and status. The functional domains of the French language reached into practically every field because as Grandguillaume (1983) stated:

C'est dans cette langue qu'ont été mises en place toutes les institutions qui ouvraient ces pays à la vie occidentale.

(It is in this language that the institutions which gave these countries (French colonies) access to the western world were established). Translated by the author of this thesis.

Because of deliberate attempts to eradicate the use of Arabic as a language of education and written communication, contact with the outside world was possible only through the use of French. Even if Arabic language teaching was tolerated in Tunisia and Morocco, such was not the case in Algeria where the institutions in charge of teaching the Arabic language and culture were wiped out.

Nowadays, French continues to enjoy a privileged position in all three countries of the Maghreb despite governmental Arabization programmes. French is still used formally and in code switching situations by a lot of people. In fact, according to Balta (1982):

Twenty times more children learn French than during the time of French Algeria. Even though the government refuses to recognize bilingualism and francophonie, Algeria is the second most francophone nation in the world.

Indeed, official discourse avoids mentioning French as a second language in Algeria; it is referred to as "the first foreign language" (Morsly, 1984:25). Boumediene, the Algerian president from 1965 to 1978, defined the position of French as follows (cited in Morsly, *ibid.*):

Une langue étrangère qui bénéficie d'une situation particulière du fait des considérations historiques objectives.

(a foreign language which benefits from a special situation because of objective historical considerations). Translated by the author of this thesis.

Thus, the language situation in Algeria may be characterized as diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual. Diglossia refers to the uses of Arabic along a written-spoken continuum, while bilingualism involves the ongoing interaction between Arabic and French. Multilingualism concerns the use of Tamazight as a mother tongue in addition to Arabic and French.

1.3. Diglossia

Ever since Ferguson (1959) first proposed the term “diglossia”, it has become a theoretical construct widely used in the description and analysis of societal multilingualism. Ferguson’s original proposal¹ was designed to distinguish paired language varieties having specific kinds of structural and functional relationships. Within a few years, the concept underwent substantial expansion in meaning and was applied to a wide range of situations characterized by quite different structural and functional relationships among the language varieties involved. The result is that diglossia is defined as “the alternate use of two or more languages for certain more or less distinct functions in certain more or less specific situations” (Stevens, 1983:102).

¹ Ferguson’s definition describes two varieties of a language having very different distributions within a community of language users. “Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is 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 section of the community for ordinary conversation” (Ferguson 1959:336)

Arabic is one of the languages described by Ferguson (1959) as diglossic. In Arabic, the high variety (H) used in reading, writing, and non-spontaneous or scripted speech usually from an official source, is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The low variety (L), differing from MSA but sharing some features, is variously referred to as “vernacular,” “dialect,” “colloquial,” “slang,” or, as here, “spoken Arabic.” It is the default variety of spoken language.

Algerian Arabic (AA) is the language of communication in everyday life, particularly in the family, but it is also sometimes used in the media (radio and television programmes) and more often in plays and movies. AA is a spoken form with a variety of mutually intelligible regional dialects.

The Algerian diglossic case is very particular since the low variety is not very close to the high variety. Illiteracy and colonization are the main factors behind this gap. The language used at home, for low functions, is a local version of Arabic. The language recognized publicly in formal situations, for high functions, is Modern Standard Arabic which takes its normative rules from the Classical Arabic of the Quran.

According to Romaine (1994:46), the ‘high’ and ‘low’ varieties differ from each other:

...not only in grammar, phonology, and vocabulary, but also with respect to a number of social characteristics, namely function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, and stability.

Romaine means that, grammar is one of the most striking differences between the high and low varieties. There is probably wide agreement among linguists that the high variety has grammatical categories not present in the low variety and it has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or totally absent in the low variety. We teach at schools the formal language which is the high variety and we cannot teach the low variety simply because it lacks a standardized grammar.

Lexis is different, too. The bulk of vocabulary of the high form and the low one is shared but with variation in form and differences of use and meaning. However, the high form includes in its total lexicon technical terms and learned expressions but they do not have their regular equivalents in the low variety, and vice versa, i.e. there are some popular expressions and names of homely objects in the low form but not in the high form.

The two varieties are not only different in terms of structural features but also in terms of some social features that characterize diglossia. One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for the high and low varieties. In one set of situations only the high variety is appropriate and in another only the low one. For example, the high variety is used in the mosque, and the low variety is appropriate in family and friends' conversations.

As far as prestige is concerned, the Arabic language speakers regard the high form as superior to the low one in a number of respects. Sometimes the feeling is so strong that the high variety is regarded as real and the low variety

as if it does not exist. Even when strong feelings do not exist, still the high variety is seen as more logical, more beautiful, and better in expressing important thoughts. Altoma (1969:3-4) says:

In spite of its use as the dominant medium of the spoken word in conversation, and in various cultural or artistic contexts such as songs, stages and movies, the colloquial lacks the prestige enjoyed by the classical and is looked upon, often with a considerable degree of contempt, as a stigma of illiteracy and ignorance. The fact that it represents -- in most cases -- the first and only natural language to which its speakers are exposed and with which they become actively associated in their lifetime does not modify the biased attitude held by many against it.

Fleish (1964:3) shows the prestige of Classical Arabic as follows:

L'arabe classique, ... a pour lui le prestige, un immense prestige, qui se multiplie encore par deux, car il est double: prestige de grande langue de culture..., prestige de langue religieuse.

(Classical Arabic has the prestige, an immense prestige which is multiplied by two because it is twofold: the prestige of a great language of culture..., and that of a language of religion.)

1.4. Bilingualism

The Algerian population was so deeply influenced linguistically during the French occupation that, today almost 50 years after the independence, French language continues to play an important role in spoken as well as in written domains. Grafted onto the Arabic continuum, French is often mixed in with the spoken variety of Arabic (Algerian Arabic) in everyday conversation (Arabic-French), or used in the media (at least five daily newspapers, several weekly publications, a radio channel and a television channel), higher education (in

scientific disciplines), as well as social, work and professional settings. In fact, in addition to the great number of French loanwords that have slipped into Algerian Arabic, being adapted phonologically, morphologically and syntactically, many Algerian people understand French and use it in day to day interactions.

The Algerian bilingualism is a special one. It is the result of the long and gradual occupation of the whole country by the French, with more concentration on the northern part. In fact, bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous since not all the population is bilingual. In many parts of the country we can find monolinguals. It is much more practiced in the cities where there is a high contact of Arabic with French, a high level and a high style of life. According to Myers-Scotton (2006:3),

A bilingual is one who has acquired or learned to speak or understand ... some phrases that show internal structural relations in a second language.

Thus, during the colonial and post-independence periods, the majority, if not all, of the Algerians no matter what their educational and cultural levels were, were bilinguals contrary to nowadays where bilingualism is much more common among those who are schooled, and those who are in contact with the French language.

Bilingualism in Algeria differs from bilingualism in other societies and communities in many respects. Within Algeria, there is alongside the Arabic-French bilingualism which is our concern here, a Berber-Arabic bilingualism

which differs from the former in a number of ways. The Berber's need to learn Arabic would seem to be more urgent than the Arabic speaker's need to learn French; only when he becomes bilingual does the Berber persons have access to a respectable position or job. In a similar way Arabic-French bilingualism can be contrasted with the bilingualism which exists in Wales or among immigrant groups in the United States; knowledge of French in Algeria is not as essential as knowledge of English in these situations, for it is Arabic which is the official language in Algeria. Arabic-French bilingualism also differs in an important respect from the bilingualism of countries such as Switzerland, Finland and Canada, where there are two or more speech communities, each with a different mother tongue. It is, instead, introduced only via the educational system, and in this respect its position could be compared to that of, say, French and German in Luxembourg and Alsace. The role of French in Algeria is also to be distinguished from that of English in West Africa where English serves as a lingua franca. For instance, in Ghana, where there are forty-two native tongues, English as the second language, serves to unite all speakers. French serves no unifying function in Algeria; if anything, it could be said to have a divisive effect, since not all the population are able to speak it.

As for the other Arabic-speaking countries, French seems to be more widely used in Algeria and the other Francophone North African countries, Morocco and Tunisia, than English is used in the Middle East countries, such as Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In Lebanon, the situation is to some degree similar to that

in Algeria in the sense that several factors which contribute to making Arabic-French bilingualism are widespread in Lebanon. Some of these factors, such as work and education, play similar roles in Algeria. However, the important difference is that in Lebanon French is inextricably bound up with the religious and political situation; for the Christian community in Lebanon, French has a special value for its associations with western culture. Yet, because everyone is Muslim in Algeria, Arabic has a special prestige as the vehicle of religion, whereas in Lebanon it has no such associations for a large part of the population (Bentahila 1983).

Another characteristic of Algerian bilingualism is that it is subtractive because Arabic is replacing progressively French in many domains: education, politics, and administration. After the independence, the Algerian policy began to generalize, step by step, Arabic under 'Arabization laws', since it is the soul of nationalism, and it is associated with religion. The role of French in the social life of the Algerians started to change. Two different periods are to be mentioned. In the pre-independence period those who were in contact with French people were qualified as more balanced bilinguals. Unbalanced bilinguals, however, are those who came after and whose competence is higher in one language than the other and generally in the mother tongue. The recent generations, indeed, have less competence in French. The quality of French spoken nowadays is by no means uniform. It ranges from excellent to practically no French at all. Between the two extremes, all degrees of competence in French

may be found. One individual's vocabulary may consist of just a few words and phrases. Another person may frequently not adhere to the grammatical and lexical conventions of standard French, yet still be able to use French as a tool for communication in a limited number of situations.

Another distinction is between active and passive bilinguals. An active bilingual is one who has an active ability in productive and receptive skills even if he does not read or write. Whereas a passive bilingual has a passive ability, i.e., he understands French but does not speak it. This is the case for the children of Algerian immigrants in France; they master French but, unfortunately, they have not the ability to speak their parents' mother tongue, though they are able to understand it.

Bilingualism in Algeria is the result of educational strategy and social specificity. It is a co-ordinate bilingualism which emerges in the country, because children learn both Arabic and French in primary school. The learner develops two systems of meaning of words, one system for the words he knows in the first language and the other is for the words he knows in the second language. In other words, languages are learnt separately and are more or less independent. So, the French word and the Arabic word will be stored and represented in the mind independently. They would not be associated. This idea of possessing two systems has been reported by Spolsky (1998:48) when he defines this linguistic competence and says:

For a number of years, there was an attempt to distinguish between compound bilinguals whose two languages were assumed to be closely connected, because one language had been learned after (and so through) the other, and co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned each language in separate contexts and so kept them distinct.

Various degrees of bilingualism exist at different levels of society including the school system which uses Arabic and French as media of instruction. It also exists for the numerous Berbers whose native language is restricted to the home but use Algerian Arabic for out-group communication.

The linguistic situation is not only complex but conflictual as it is characterized by Arabic-French bilingualism at the educational and societal levels and diglossia within the Arabic language. Modern Standard Arabic is in conflict with French; first, in the school domain where each language is a medium of instruction, the former for the humanities and the latter for the sciences and second in the workplace where French still remains the pervasive language of administration and business. In an article in the French periodical "Le Français dans le Monde", Akouaou's (1984:28) writes:

La tension qui domine les rapports entre le français et l'arabe risque encore de durer et, a moins d'une planification linguistique plus cohérente, l'équilibre ne sera pas atteint tant que les contradictions qui pèsent sur l'institution scolaire (car la langue c'est aussi une façon de voir, de penser, d'agir) persisteront.

(The tension which dominates the relations between French and Arabic may last a long time and, barring more coherent language planning, a balance will not be reached as long as the contradictions which weigh on the school institutions (because language is also a way of looking at things, of thinking, of acting) persist). Translated by the author of this thesis.

To sum up, the linguistic situation in Algeria is very complex. It is diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual. A great number of Algerians have several codes at their disposal, and they can use any code at any moment. These codes are: Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, Berber, French, and Arabic-French (see Chapter Three, Page 120). Not surprisingly, Algerians have developed code-variation into a high art. Conversations, extensively in Algerian Arabic, are peppered with words, expressions, and phrases in French, Berber, and Modern Standard Arabic, often within the same sentence. To explain this situation to a foreigner quite well, Turner (1993:4) says:

Imagine speaking American English at home, using BBC English (or Received Pronunciation) with fellow Clevelanders in school and at work, watching World News Tonight or reading USA Today in Dutch, writing to a friend or colleague in California in Chaucerian Middle English, and reading your favourite novel or the Bible in Old English. Then, on top of this, add the use of French for clients at work, at the post office or other government offices, and in all classes (especially sciences) from fourth grade until the end of college.

1.5. Languages in Education

At the independence, the Algerian education system was highly exclusive and geared towards the training of a French colonial elite. With the creation of the Ministry of Education in 1963, the process of building an inclusive and open national education system was set in motion. Officials charged with developing the education system placed their focus on a number of goals, primary among which were the “Arabization” of the curriculum, the upgrading of the teaching

skills at all levels, and the promotion of a skilled class of workers and technicians through the emphasis on technical and vocational education.

In the early 1960s, French was replaced by Arabic as the language of instruction at the primary level, and later in the 1960s Arabic was standardized as the language of instruction at the secondary level. French continued to be used in technical fields at many post-secondary institutions, despite a 1991 law mandating the use of Arabic in all sectors and at all levels. Arabic is, however, used as the language of instruction at the post-secondary level in most non-technical faculties.

An education reform passed in 1971 introduced the nine-year basic education programme. Further reforms in 1976 extended the period of compulsory education from six years to 10 years while also guaranteeing that education at every level is provided free to all. In addition to guaranteeing tuition-free instruction, the reforms of 1976 mandated that education be the exclusive domain of the state. As a result, the private sector has had little impact on education and training in Algeria; however, private instruction has been offered on a limited basis since the early 1990s and may soon play a bigger role. Reacting to a need to reduce the burden on the state, the government passed an executive decree in 2004 that amended the 1976 reforms and explicitly allowed for the establishment of private institutions of education under well-defined regulations. Private education in Algeria still remains, however, very much a nascent industry.

Due to the reforms of 2003, the structure of the school system is based on 5+4+3 model: five years of primary school, four years of lower secondary school (intermediate school) and another three years of upper secondary school. Together, the nine years of primary and lower secondary education constitute the compulsory basic education phase. The number of children completing a primary education rose steadily through the 1990s, especially among female students. In 1990, 80 percent of students beginning primary education graduated (74 percent female, 87 percent male), while in 2003 93 percent of students finished primary school (both male and female). Net primary enrolment rates (as a percentage of school-age children) stood at 95 percent in 2003. Although enrolment rates were relatively high at the primary level, only 59 percent of the relevant age cohort enrolled in secondary studies in 1999. In the tertiary sector, total student enrolments grew exponentially since independence and up to 1999: 2,809 (1962), 19,213 (1970), 79,351 (1980), 258,995 (1989), and 423,000 in 1999 (Clark, 2006).

The Ministry of Higher Education lists a total of 57 public institutions of higher education: 27 universities, 13 university centres, 6 national schools (*écoles nationales*), 6 national institutes (*instituts nationaux*), and 4 teacher-training schools (*écoles normales supérieures*). The structure of university studies is currently being reformed from a 3-4-5-7 system to a 3-5-8 system based on a three-year *licence* (BA), a two-year *master* and a three-year *doctorate*.

The curriculum in the primary cycle (years 1 to 5) of basic education has been completely Arabized. It includes teaching Modern Standard Arabic (reading, writing, oral expression, and grammar) to children whose native language is Algerian Arabic and most of whom would have developed some knowledge of MSA (the alphabet, from preschool, as well as some oral comprehension ability from children's TV programmes). Proficiency in MSA among these children varies depending on the child's family situation (as determined by the parents' level of education, in particular), but it is presumed to develop rather quickly so that the child can study the other school subjects that are taught in MSA. French is introduced as a foreign language in the third grade. It is taught at the average rate of three hours per week.

In the second cycle (years 6–9) – which is really the beginning of secondary education, since classes are taught in secondary schools by subject-specialist teachers – competence in MSA is reinforced through direct language instruction and reading/writing skills development as well as the teaching of other subjects. French is taught at the substantial rate of 4 hours a week, but only as a foreign language. As for English, it is introduced in the sixth grade as the second foreign language and taught at the rate of three hours per week.

To be admitted to secondary school (years 10 to 12), children have to have the '*brevet de l'enseignement moyen*' (diploma of medium education). This requires passing a national state-run examination that gives a heavy weighting to language ability in Arabic and French (reading, writing and grammar) as well as

to maths and science. In the secondary school, Arabic is the language of instruction in all subjects except foreign languages. Students of Arts and Languages learn French and English at a substantial rate (6 and 5 hours respectively), but students specializing in natural sciences, physical sciences and mathematics learn the two foreign languages at an equal rate (3 hours per week). They may receive supplementary French-language classes to prepare them for training at the tertiary level in which the sciences and mathematics are still commonly taught in French.

1.6. Arabization

1.6.1. Reasons for the Arabization Policy

The impact of 132 years of colonization on the linguistic situation of Algeria was such that on the eve of independence, knowledge of Standard Arabic had dwindled. Although the elite, who had emerged and who were at the heart of the struggle for independence, had for the most part been educated in French, they introduced a language policy with a highly political content. They decided to “Arabize” the country, and the French language, part of a culture which was deemed to have deprived Algeria of its true heritage, became a *lingua non grata*. French was the colonial language and had been imposed, so it seemed natural to replace it with the Arabic language. It was therefore decided that Modern Standard Arabic should replace French in all its uses: in schools, the administration and everyday life. Ghriss (2007:14) summarizes the situation when he says:

Il y avait le souci pour l'Algérie en tant que nation nouvellement indépendante de signifier au plus pressé son caractère politico-culturel -identitaire national souverain, aussi bien sur le plan interne que sur la scène internationale. Ce qui avait amené les dirigeants algériens de l'heure , à substituer à la langue française dominante de l'ex occupant, la langue arabe autochtone: parce que, constituant en ce moment crucial, le repère capital d'affirmation urgente de l'identité culturelle algérienne fraîchement reconquise, symbolisée par l'idiome à l'Ecrit disponible dans l'immédiat alors, et le plus répandu également géographiquement et sociologiquement dans l'ensemble du Maghreb musulman, depuis des siècles pour y avoir été enseigné bien avant l'invasion coloniale française de 1830.

(As a newly independent country, Algeria was concerned about making its sovereign national, political and cultural identity known quickly. This led the Algerian leaders of the time to substitute the dominant French language of the ex-colonizer by the native Arabic language because, at that crucial moment, it constituted the major landmark of the urgent assertion of the freshly recovered Algerian cultural identity. It was symbolized by the written language immediately available then, and also the most geographically and socially spread in all the Muslim Maghreb for centuries, as it had been taught long before the French colonial invasion of 1830.) Translated by the author of this thesis.

Despite an official policy favouring Arabic as the language of instruction in Algerian schools, there grew a contrast between policy and practice as the government allowed key industrial and economic institutions to continue using French so as not to hamper modernization of the economy. According to Maougal (cited in Ghriss, *ibid.*),

Il y eut en 1962 une volonté sincère des dirigeants d'alors de promouvoir et généraliser la langue arabe par souci identitaire dans les sphères stratégiques tout en maintenant l'usage de la

langue française dans les milieux sociétaux économiques et industriels coopératifs productifs.

(In 1962, there was a sincere will of the leaders of the time to promote and generalize Arabic in strategic spheres because of identity concerns, while keeping the use of French in productive cooperative economic and industrial environments of companies.) Translated by the author of this thesis.

After the independence, the Arabization issue deeply divided Algeria's political society and continues to do so today. Decisions on Arabization were often political ones taken against an adversary, with no concern for establishing the necessary prerequisites: to develop an education system, to train teachers to teach the Arabic language and the subjects taught in Arabic, to produce course books and to address the impact of Arabization on higher education and on the labour market. There were two trends: a trend towards Arabization and a trend towards bilingualism.

- The trend towards Arabization (and, hence, monolingualism), which looks to Arab nationalism, aims to place an Arab stamp on Algeria and to instil a non-Western identity.

- The trend towards bilingualism does not reject Arabic, but remains attached to the idea of maintaining French, since French gives Algeria access to modernization. Advocates of bilingualism are wary of the underdevelopment in Arab countries and fear the theocratic influence, which they feel to be inherent in the Arabization trend. Their position is to maintain the linguistic status quo with moderate Arabization. This was the mainstream trend in the post

independence era, but by 1992, it lost its political backing to regain favour in 1999. The history of Arabization is one of clashes between these two trends and has been the topic of many publications (Grandguillaume, 1983, 2003).

There has been a recent tendency to minimize the conflict between Arabic and French, and Arabization is seen as a fact that has to be maintained and encouraged. Yet, the trend towards monolingualism in Arabic is considered by all Algerians, even the Arabic language purists, as obsolete. The trend towards Arabic-French bilingualism and even multilingualism (through the teaching of foreign languages, especially English) has gained ground, and French is no more considered the language of the invaders. It has become the means to openness, international communication, and modernization.

As mentioned above, Algeria is a type B nation. It is a uni-modal nation, and it is characterized by a local language with a literary tradition (Classical or Modern Standard Arabic), plus a language of wider communication (French) that exists as a result of colonial policy. After the independence, newly educated people tend to be educated in the language of wider communication while the local language with the literary tradition is favoured for reasons of nationalism.

As far as the new elite are concerned, Arabization constituted a means of acquiring legitimacy, since the Arabic language was one of the rallying points during the war for independence. Arabization was thought of as a process of regaining a language by its speakers. This meant recovering not only the

language of one's ancestors but also an authentic culture and an indigenous one to the people.

Thus, the motivation for the choice of Modern Standard Arabic stemmed from several sources. The first one was a reaction to the hardship suffered during the long encounter with colonialism and the resulting linguistic and cultural consequences, and the second one was its state of standardization and codification. In addition, it was believed that Modern Standard Arabic led to socio-cultural and political unity with the rest of the Arab world.

The rationale behind the choice of MSA seems related to the fact that although colloquial Arabic emerged practically unscathed from the long colonial experience, it is not sufficiently standardized or codified to serve as the language of instruction despite its widespread use by the masses. As for the Berber language, it is the native language of a sizeable ethno-linguistic minority in Algeria. It is primarily oral, though some texts have been written in the past, using Tifinagh (a Touareg alphabet), Roman, or Arabic scripts. As stated above, it is the language of home and in-group communication for the Berbers.

Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, fulfils the requirement of standardization and mutual intelligibility with the other Arab nations. It is not spoken natively in any Arab country, however, and much less in Algeria where over a century of French colonial rule wiped out its use as an official or written language. Indeed, at the time of independence, very few Algerians knew

Standard Arabic beyond Quranic recitation which is done only in Classical Arabic.

1.6.2. Resistance to Arabization

The problems encountered with the Algerian population in general and the intellectuals in particular as to the choice of the official language are typical of language planning in a multilingual setting. Indeed, in such a setting, language planning is fraught with complex issues dealing with language use as a marker of ethnic identity and social class as well as language as a reflection of social mobility (Eastman, 1983). Although the Algerian people adhered to the principle of Arabization and accepted its legitimacy for purposes of nation building, implementation presented problems due to a certain reluctance to detach themselves from French, as Grandguillaume (1983:29) wrote:

Mais à cette forte affirmation de la légitimité de la langue nationale, correspond une lenteur dans la mise en œuvre, l'expérience d'une extrême difficulté à se détacher du français, voire parfois la conscience d'une sourde résistance au processus engagé, d'un complexe d'attirance et de répulsion pour l'arabe ...

(But to this strong affirmation of the legitimacy of the national language, corresponds a procrastination in implementation, an extreme difficulty in breaking away from the French language, even a silent resistance to the process underway, a complex of attraction and repulsion for Arabic....)

The groups of Algerians who were indeed opposed to Arabization were mostly French-educated and bicultural and saw in French a medium through which to bring the country into modernity. Their attitudes were not favourable to

the choice of Arabic as the national language (Benabdi, 1980:1). They felt that MSA was as alien and as far removed from their lives as French was. Gordon (1985:136), writing about the linguistic problems of Algeria and Lebanon, says that

Hostility to Arabic... is not based upon purely linguistic considerations: it is, rather, as will be seen, based upon emotional, political, and ideological factors, as are, to be sure, the motivations of those who support the exclusive use of Arabic as the language of national culture, and consider the usage of foreign languages as an alienating factor and a medium for "cultural neo-colonialism," as some extremists would have it.

Furthermore, Arabization presented a dilemma for them because French was equated with modern life whereas Arabic, with its close association to Islam, represented spiritual life and tradition. In Gordon's words (1966:161),

The quest for cultural independence involves both a return to an alienated identity and the fulfilment of a personality in large part moulded by the colonial experience itself. This double aspiration... is particularly complex for the Algerians. This is so because Algeria's alienation has been so great and, on the level of her élite, she has moved so far into the culture of the colonial power and into the culture of the modern west.

Therefore, the return to Arabic language education meant for many a return to a backward, underdeveloped past. Afraid that they would lose privileges or compromise their future chances in the job market, people argued against Arabization. The following was published in the weekly magazine *Jeune Afrique* (1973:639/16):

On peut observer que l'arabisation donne lieu à des récriminations qui ne sont pas sans rapport avec une situation

sociale à défendre, ou, surtout, à acquérir. "L'arabisation, c'est la revanche des médiocres" disent les uns. "Vous défendez des privilèges," rétorquent les autres.

(One can see that Arabization leads to a lot of complaints which are somehow linked to a social situation to defend or, more particularly, to gain. "Arabization is the revenge of the mediocre" say some. "You are defending privileges" retort others). Translated by the author of this thesis.

Certain principles spelled out for the success of language planning by researchers in the field have not been taken into account in Algeria. Indeed, according to Khubchandani (1977:38), language planning, as an agent of deliberate linguistic change in a speech community, has to follow certain basic tenets such that:

- the changes envisaged have to be in tune with wider social trends,
- the switch-over in language functions should be phased appropriately, and
- there has to be a functional justification for learning a skill.

Eliman (1989) contends that Algerian language planning is inspired by the linguistic unification of France. He wrote :

Bien des éléments nous laissent supposer que la conception plutôt surréaliste – dont fait preuve la planification linguistique actuellement en cours s'inspire du modèle français.

(Many elements lead us to believe that the – rather surrealistic – conception of language planning currently practiced is inspired from the French model.)

1.6.3. Arabization and Education

Four methods for arabizing the educational system were proposed:

- Horizontal Arabization (*Arabisation horizontale*): It entailed progressing from the first grade up.
- Vertical Arabization (*Arabisation verticale*): A selected number of subjects, starting with the literary subjects, were to be Arabized at all levels.
- Geographic Arabization (*Arabisation géographique*): It targeted the Arabization of predominantly Arabic-speaking areas in the countryside and the Sahara desert, more favourable to Arabic language education than the Northern cities.
- Punctual Arabization (*Arabisation ponctuelle*): A number of Arabized grade schools were to be set up throughout the country.

Each of these four methods presented weak points; for example, the first method had to be curtailed for fear of creating a class of monolingual students with no job market opportunities. The second method fostered a dichotomy between the domains of the French and Arabic languages within the school program. Indeed, Arabic was identified with literature and social studies whereas French was associated with sciences, thereby emphasizing registers associated with tradition for the former and sciences and modernity for the latter. The danger with the third one is that it could create a rift between an Arabized south with no future opportunities on the job market and a bilingual north with marketable skills. The Arabized schools created by the fourth method were to “act as recruitment centres for Arabized teachers” (Assous, 1985:111), i.e., the

graduates of these schools would be hired to teach in the Arabized grade schools. As a matter of fact, graduates of this system met serious difficulty according to Saada (1983:53) because of their lack of linguistic skills in French which was still largely used in the economic sector. According to Assous (1985:111),

Although the government officially approved the fourth method and rejected the other three for their selective fashion, in reality, all four methods were utilized in a piecemeal fashion.

The aim of Arabic instruction was to replace the spoken languages with Modern Standard Arabic. According to the Teacher's Handbook for the first stage of basic education (cited in Greffou, 1989:35), it was the schools' task to correct a child's

Faulty, deviant and deficient language and to expurgate and correct the expressions which children have learned prior to attending school... Our job will be two-fold. We must use the child to correct the language of its family... This will be possible only when we have closed the gap between the written grammatical language and the anarchic spoken language... We shall express ourselves in writing as we speak orally, and we shall speak orally as we write.

Up until the 1970s in primary schools and up to the 1980s in secondary schools, bilingual sections juxtaposed Arabized sections, each with their own teachers and their own methods. For many years, European teachers worked side by side with teachers from Arab countries. This juxtaposition of methods and curricula led to a parental preference for the bilingual sections and a certain devaluation of Arabization, especially since the economic sector, and the administrative sector still relied, to a large extent, on the French language. The

Algerian teachers, who gradually became the majority, were split into Arabophones and Francophones, reproducing the pattern of conflict between a modern system and a traditional one.

1.6.4. Arabization in the Maghreb

Arabization programmes have had great consequences on the language situation in Algeria. The other Maghreb countries have witnessed other Arabization programmes that have led to language situations which are more or less different from that in Algeria. To get a clear idea about the difference between these language situations, it is preferable to shed some light on the Arabization programmes of the other Maghreb countries.

1.6.4.1. Morocco

Like Algeria, Morocco's experience with Arabization left a bitter aftertaste in the minds of a large part of the population. Because of a lack of planning, a short sightedness of goals, and a certain insensitivity in implementing decisions about language, the country encountered resistance towards its Arabization programs.

Morocco undertook a spur-of-the moment Arabization of education immediately after independence in 1956. The results were so disastrous that public opinion changed and forced the government to return to a bilingual education system. Following this, a climate of negativity surrounded the Arabization issue. According to Dr. Laraki (1980:89), Morocco's Minister of National Education at the time,

Il en a résulté dans l'opinion une appréhension, sinon une allergie, à l'égard de l'arabisation, et au niveau des responsables un réflexe de prudence.

(There resulted a reaction of apprehension, if not an allergy, to Arabization, and a reflex of caution at the level of those in.)

After this bad experience with Arabization, a bilingual system was instituted and Arabization put on a back burner until the 1970s. Although primary school had been arabized by 1978, French still remained an important language at school. In fact, a functional differentiation of Arabic and French was in effect, with Arabic largely used for the humanities and French for mathematics and science. Secondary education still relied heavily on French for the teaching of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural sciences. At the higher education level, Arabic was largely used for Arts and law, whereas other institutions such as engineering schools and the faculties of science and medicine remained dependent on French.

Starting from 1979, a new impulse was given to the process of Arabization. This led the educational authorities to adopt a gradual Arabization of scientific subjects (Ennaji, 1988:10). However, French still plays an important role in the socio-economic life of Morocco today, because officials fear that linguistic isolation, which could result from total Arabization, would have a negative effect on the country's socio-economic development (ibid.). The result is that French remains widely used and hinders the efforts of Arabization. Hammoud (1982:228) states that

The convenient long-term reliance on French as an advanced language of wider communication and a medium facilitating access to the modern world of science and technology has made Arabization harder and harder to achieve.

For Bentahila (1987) the failure of Arabization was due to a lack of overall agreement among policy makers, who make up four groups:

- The traditionalists who emphasize the need to uphold the Arabic language and to safeguard the Muslim cultural heritage of Morocco.
- The modernists who are less committed to Arabization because their aim is to ensure an effective education which would prepare the Moroccans for an industrialized modern world.
- The nationalists whose attitudes towards Arabization are linked with ideas of patriotism and who see Arabization as a political and post-colonial problem rather than a cultural and an economic one.
- The bureaucrats who recognize the importance of Arabization but are at the same time conscious of the problems it entails. They do not find the total replacement of French by Arabic to be a practical proposition.

The result is that the French language is quite widespread and used by the vast majority of Moroccans. The following was published in *Jeune Afrique* (op. cit, 1980:88):

Lorsqu'on entend des Marocains (bourgeois) parler l'arabe avec l'accent français; lorsqu'on constate que leurs enfants utilisent ce qui est censé être leur langue maternelle uniquement pour s'adresser aux domestiques (et encore!); lorsqu'on se rend compte que des Marocains, de père en fils, musulmans de surcroît, sont

en train de réinventer les "pieds noirs", et bien, le premier réflexe est de se demander où en est l'arabisation de l'enseignement.

(When one hears some Moroccans (who are bourgeois) speak Arabic with a French accent; when one notices that their children use what is supposed to be their mother tongue only to speak to servants (if ever!); when one realizes that Moroccans, from father to son, who are, moreover, Muslims, are reinventing "the black feet", the first reaction is to ask where we are in the Arabization of education). Translated by the author of this thesis.

1.6.4.2. Tunisia

The situation in Tunisia is quite different from that in Algeria and Morocco. Secular bilingual education started in 1875, six years before the French protectorate, with the founding of the Saddikia College, an Arabic-French bilingual school that introduced a 'modern' (European) curriculum and was the purveyor of education for the children of the social elite, then, including some of the future nationalist leaders of Tunisia (Daoud, 2001:11). In 1881, Tunisia became a protectorate of France but conserved a form of indigenous government. As a result, Arabic continued to be taught and developed during the colonial period. French-medium schools which were established during the colonial period reinforced secular education and led to the adoption of French curricula in Tunisian bilingual schools. In fact, the French educational system continues to influence contemporary Tunisian education in direct and indirect ways (ibid.).

After the independence, while Morocco and Algeria chose to Arabize, Tunisia chose an Arabic-French bilingualism and biculturalism oriented towards

modernity and access to international communication. Arabization was less controversial and created less of a debate. Furthermore, the fact that Tunisia had a more linguistically homogeneous population greatly reduced the conflictual nature that is associated with Arabization in the other Maghreb countries. Indeed, the Berbers barely made up one percent (1%) of the population. The focus therefore was on the development of Arabic-French bilingualism.

Daoud (ibid.: 25) states that the Tunisian elite is strongly attached to the French language and cultural value system, and that this elite is unwilling to promote Arabization; instead, it has made a consistent effort to promote bilingualism and biculturalism. He concludes that French is going to be maintained, not only as a means of modernity and openness, as opposed to Arabic, which is viewed as closely tied to “traditionalism and backwardness”.

In his speech in the first *francophonie* summit, Mohamed Mzali (cited in Daoud, ibid.), Prime Minister at the time, a graduate of the Soddikia bilingual school and the Sorbonne University, and a long-time proponent of Arabization and ‘Tunisification’, summarised the situation. He hailed “the Tunisian president’s action of promoting French as that of a pioneer of *francophonie*”, and maintained that

Tunisia has retrieved its Arab-Muslim identity, successfully promoting Arabic as its national language ... and is using French as an ‘adjuvant language’ to gain access to modernity and scientific and technological progress and to broaden the cultural horizon of its people.

To sum up, the state of Arabization in the three Maghreb countries is not uniform. Unlike Algeria and Morocco, Arabization has never been the major goal of the language policy makers in Tunisia. In addition, Arabization has neither been a complete failure nor a total success in Algeria and Morocco. Because of the Arabization policy, Arabic has gained more ground in the educational and economic spheres, and the number of people graduating with an Arabic education background who are entering the job market is increasing every day. Furthermore, the level of pupils and students in Arabic has become much better than that on the eve of the independence. However, despite these positive results, we cannot say that Arabization has been a total success. French is widely used among a large percentage of the Algerian and Moroccan populations with varying degrees of fluency (see Chapter 4), and it is now more used than it was in the first years of independence. In addition, the objectives which were set behind the Arabization policy have not been reached so far since students usually find themselves in a dilemma because they have had their education in Arabic, and French and English are learnt as foreign languages only, but when they go to the university they study almost all scientific fields in French.

Conclusion

Because of educational reforms and Arabization programmes that have been applied from the first days of the independence, the language situation in Algeria has undergone great changes. Nowadays, a great number of Algerians master both Modern Standard Arabic and French with varying degrees of

fluency. This language contact has led to the extensive use of code-variation among Algerians. The next chapter reviews the literature about code-variation in order to shed light on the related language phenomena.

CHAPTER TWO

Code-Variation in the Literature

Introduction

This chapter provides a critical overview of the theoretical, analytical, and practical questions most prevalent in the study of the structural, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal dimensions of code-switching (CS). In doing so, it reviews a range of empirical studies from around the world, focusing mainly on those which offer a relevant theoretical background for this study of Arabic-French language alternation.

Because of the lack of studies of Arabic-French mixing in general, and in Algeria in particular, finding the related literature on either Arabic or French is not an easy task. The chapter first looks at the linguistic research on the structural features of code-switching focusing in particular on the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. It then reviews the sociological, anthropological, and linguistic aspects dominating the sociolinguistic research on code-switching over the past three decades. Major empirical studies on the discourse functions of code-switching are discussed, noting the similarities and differences between socially motivated CS and style-shifting. Finally, it examines the attitudinal dimensions about code-switching showing the generally negative attitudes associated with language alternation by code-switchers.

2.1. Language Alternation

For many people or communities, the use of two or more languages in a conversation is not an extraordinary phenomenon but it is rather usual. According to Milroy & Muysken (1995:1-2), in addition to historical reasons (the case of Algeria),

the increasing use of international languages stimulated by modernization and globalization, the phenomenon of language revival, and the economically motivated migration of people, have led to wide spread bilingualism in the modern world.

Although Bloomfield (1933:55) defined bilingualism as “native-like control of two languages” and Haugen (1953:7) asserted that bilinguals can give “complete meaningful utterances in the other language”, Mackey (1962:26) argues that the concept of bilingualism needs to be broadened, to accommodate variations in degree, function, alternation, and interference. It is not a clear-cut phenomenon. Grosjean (1995:259) says:

Bilinguals are not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals but have a unique and specific linguistic configuration.

Therefore, language contact phenomena have attracted the interest of many linguists. Myers-Scotton (2002:5), for example, observes that “what outcomes are possible in contact phenomena are empirical windows on the structures of the language in general”.

Among the language contact phenomena -- which include interference, borrowing, convergence, pidginization and so on -- code switching, generally

defined as the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation, has attracted linguists' attention and has been studied from a variety of perspectives.

Research into language alternation can be traced back at least to the 1950's. Weinreich's study of languages in contact (1953) draws a distinction between loan translations (literal, word-for-word), loan renditions (e.g. French 'gratte-ciel', German 'Wolkenkratzer' – 'skyscraper'), and loan creations or calques which arise out of functional need, for which Weinreich (ibid.: 51) gives the Yiddish example 'mitkind' for 'sibling'. However, Weinreich is dismissive of the very idea of intrasentential code-switching; perhaps because his aim is to describe the language use of the ideal bilingual, in much the same way as Chomsky's early linguistic writings are concerned with idealized native speakers. Weinreich (ibid.: 73-74) denies that an "ideal bilingual" would even engage in code-switching:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence. If he does include expressions from another language, he may mark them off explicitly as 'quotations' by quotation marks in writing and by special voice modifications (slight pause, change in tempo, and the like) in speech.

The "ideal bilingual" Weinreich refers to appears to be a rather speculative figure, based on expectations or preconceived notions of bilingual behaviour, rather than empirical observations. Weinreich suspects that

individuals may differ from this ideal. He suggests that individuals who do alternate languages “in early childhood, were addressed by the same familiar interlocutors indiscriminately in both languages” (ibid.). He also predicts that the degree of switching may differ among different societies. He writes: “If excessive switching should be demonstrated to be the result of too early and unspecialized use of two languages, the possibility of social causation is all the more far-reaching” (ibid.: 83).

This negativism towards code-switching was later reiterated by others such as Labov (1972:189) when he counted code-switching among the “puzzling problems” when studying language change.

More recently, in Sociolinguistics as well as in the field of Linguistics generally, there have been moves away from idealizations towards the study of real language in use (Le Page, 1997). A growing number of studies have shown evidence of proficient bilingual speakers employing code-switching at different levels (discourse, sentence, words, and morpheme) and for different purposes.

According to Alvarez-Caccamo (1998:32), the term code-switching is first mentioned by Vogt (1954), who defines it as a psychological phenomenon with extra-linguistic causes. Gumperz is credited with the development of a functional, interactional-sociolinguistic view of code-switching arising out of his work in India in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The search for grammatical rules, especially constraints on code-switching, is a more recent development,

stimulated by Poplack's (1980) paper entitled 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en espanol*'.

The profusion of recently-published overviews of the field of code-switching and language-alternation research testifies to the vitality of the field. Myers-Scotton (1993b:47-50), reviewing the recent history of code-switching research, notes that linguists, herself included, were initially reluctant to acknowledge the use of more than one language in a single speech event, ascribing this reluctance to the formerly dominant sociolinguistic paradigms of Diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and Fishman's (1968) domain model. Both of these are binary choice models which assume that participants in any given speech event will choose one of the available varieties depending on the social situation and will use this consistently.

Muysken (2000) also reviews the historical development of code-switching research. His overall focus is on the grammar of code-switching, in which psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors are only relevant in as much as they are manifested in grammatical patterns. Clyne (2003) offers a comparable review, which reflects his view of code-switching as one important aspect in the wider field of Language Contact, in which the dynamics of convergence and the notion of transference are central features. Winford (2003) likewise locates code-switching within Contact Linguistics, and follows Myers-Scotton's practice of a separate discussion of linguistic aspects and social contexts.

Therefore the study of the alternate use of two or more languages in conversation has developed in two distinct but related directions: Structural and Sociolinguistic. The structural approach to code-switching is primarily concerned with its grammatical aspects since it is believed to establish a structural relationship between form, function and context (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980; Bentahila and Davies, 1983). Its focus is on identifying syntactic and morpho-syntactic constraints on code-switching. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, sees code-switching primarily as a discourse phenomenon focusing its attention on questions such as how social meaning is created in code-switching and what specific discourse functions it serves. So, it is believed to be socially motivated and, therefore, a strategy used by interlocutors to communicate with each other within a social context (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993). It should be noted, however, that these approaches are not in contradiction, but complementary to each other. The structural approach tries to identify the structural features of morpho-syntactic patterns underlying the grammar of code-switching, whereas the sociolinguistic approach builds on this in its attempts to explain why bilingual speakers talk the way they do.

Bentahila and Davies (1992, 1998), and Boussofara-Omar (1999), for example, point out that the structural and social aspects of code-switching should be studied together in order to understand how the two relate. Treffers-Daller (1991: 249) describes this topic as a “challenge for code-switching research in

the nineties.” Boussofara-Omar (1999) claims that such research remains scarce, and that the “shaping of code-switched configurations by the social and structural factors together remains uninvestigated” (ibid.: 52).

Although the social factors behind code-switching were the first to become prominent in the early code-switching research, much more literature has been written about the structural approach to code-switching. Studies looking for universal grammatical constraints on code-switching have attracted linguists’ attention and still have not reached an agreement. This situation is summarized by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004:104) when they say: “Research in this field has largely concentrated on finding universally applicable, predictive grammatical constraints on code-switching, so far without success.”

By ignoring questions of function or meaning, this structural focus fails to answer basic questions about the causes of code-switching. The focus on the grammar of language alternation is challenged by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (ibid.:103), who note that “sociolinguistic factors frequently override ‘grammatical’ factors”, and they express doubts as to whether purely grammatical approaches can ever satisfactorily account for texts that show code-switching (ibid.). Auer (1984) warns that grammatical restrictions on code-switching are but necessary conditions; they are not sufficient to describe the reason for a particular alternation or its effect. Nilep (2005:3) writes:

If linguists regard code switching simply as a product of a grammatical system, and not as a practice of individual speakers,

they may produce esoteric analyses that have little importance outside the study of linguistics per se.

To realise a comprehensive analysis of code-variation among the community of students in Algeria, this study follows both the opinion of Benahila & Davies and that of Boussofara-Omar and, so, deals with the structural and social aspects of code-switching together. The structural approach to code-switching is studied to allow the investigation and the linguistic description of mixing patterns; some grammatical constraints are given as examples to clarify the linguistic description¹. The sociolinguistic approach is used to investigate the social functions and meanings of language choice. The main focus of this thesis is on Arabic-French code-switching and its use by Algerian university students.

2.2. Mixing Patterns Terminology

As with any aspect of language contact phenomena, research on code-switching is plagued by the thorny issue of terminological confusion. Not all researchers use the same terms in the same way, nor do they agree on the territory covered by terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, or code-alternation. At issue here is particularly the perceived distinction between the terms code-switching and borrowing (Gysels, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Poplack, 1980, 1981) on the one hand, and between code-switching and code-

¹ Grammatical constraints on Arabic-French code-switching are not the main focus of this thesis, and may be the subject of another study. Examples of grammatical constraints given in Chapter Three clarify the linguistic description of mixing patterns.

mixing (Kachru, 1984; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980), on the other. Several criteria have been proposed to distinguish between these two pairs of concepts as can be seen in the following sections.

2.2.1. Code-Switching

The term code is a relatively neutral conceptualization of a linguistic variety, be it a language or a dialect. However, not many researchers really explain the term in their definitions. Haugen (1956) first used the term “code-switch” to refer to the use of unassimilated words by a bilingual speaker from a different language. According to Haugen, “switching” refers to alternating between two or more languages, interference to overlapping between two languages, integration to constant use of words from another language by a bilingual speaker and code-switching to introducing a single word.

Unfortunately, although much has been written about code-switching, there is a lack of consensus among linguists and sociolinguists about what the definition of code-switching actually is. Jacobson (1990:1) writes about this disagreement:

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

Gardner-Chloros (1995) and Backus (1996) also agree that the term “code-switching” is ambiguous and that there is no clear and cohesive definition to account for all the cases where code-switching occurs.

Since the inception of the term "code switching" many people have defined it in widely varied ways. The variation in its definition is due to the ambiguous definition of the word "language" itself. Crystal (1987:363) defines code-switching as switching between languages stating, however, that "as the definition of 'language' is tenuous at best, perhaps it is better to say switching between varieties in addition to switching between languages."

According to Milroy and Muysken (1995:7), code-switching is "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation". They use code-switching as a cover term under which different forms of bilingual behaviour are subsumed. The term intra-sentential is used to refer to switching within the sentence, in contrast with the term inter-sentential used for switches between sentences as the relevant unit for analysis.

Myers-Scotton (1993b:1) also uses code-switching as a cover term and defines it as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation". Other researchers (e.g., Gardner-Chloros, 1991) also emphasize that switching can occur not only between languages but also dialects of the same language. In the same vein, Gumperz (1982:59) refers to the term as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". He simplifies this by saying that code-switching is alternating between two or more languages within the same interaction.

Some researchers (e.g., Auer, 1995) use the term code-alternation as a hyponym to replace code-switching, but it is marginally used in that sense. The term alternation is, in fact, used in the literature to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and it is mostly, but not always, associated with longer stretches of code-switching. The term insertion, in contrast, mostly correlates with occurrences of single lexical items from one language into a structure from the other language. In this sense, the terms represent two distinct but generally accepted processes at work in CS utterances (Muysken, 1995, 2000).

In addition, there are some who argue that the term “code-switching” may apply to monolinguals as well as bilinguals. Zentella (1981) argues that this term applies to monolinguals because they may switch between different styles within the same language. For example, when a native speaker of American English speaks with a British accent, this is described as code-switching according to Zentella’s definition. Hudson (1996) similarly defines code-switching as the use of different varieties at different times by the same participant.

From this overview of the term code-switching, it is clear that different researchers use different definitions of the word. For the purpose of this study, the definition of code-switching given by Bentahila and Davies (1983:302) will be used as it seems to be more comprehensive and relevant to this work. They write:

We shall henceforth use the term code-switching to refer to the use of two languages within a single conversation, exchange or utterance. The result is an utterance or interaction of which some parts are clearly in one of the bilingual's languages and other parts in the other language.

2.2.2. Code-Switching vs. Code-Mixing

There is actually some controversy over whether there is a distinction between code-switching and code-mixing. McClure (1978), Bokamba (1988), Kachru (1984), Wentz (1977), Clyne (1987), and others hold to the view that distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing, although they differ on how to draw that distinction. McClure (1978:6) defines code-changing as the "alternation of languages at the level of the major constituent (e.g., NP, VP, S) ... a complete shift to another language system". McClure (1978:6) gave the following examples that depict code-change:

- a. "I put the forks *en las mesas*."

(I put the forks on the table.)

- b. "Let's see *que hay en el dos*."

(Let's see what there is on two.)

On the other hand, McClure (ibid.: 7) defines code-mixing as:

The individual's use of opposite language elements which cannot be considered to be borrowed by the community. It occurs when a person is momentarily unable to access a term for a concept in the language which he is using but access it in another code or when he lacks a term in the code he is using which exactly expresses the concept he wishes to convey.

Bokamba (1988) states that code-switching and code-mixing serve different linguistic and psycholinguistic functions, and thus must be distinguished from each other. Bokamba (1988:24) says:

Code-switching is the embedding or mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two codes within the same speech event across sentence boundaries, while code-mixing is the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units, i.e., affixes, words, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence and the same speech situation.

He adds that while code-switching does not necessitate the interaction of the grammatical rules of the language involved in the speech event, code-mixing does. To illustrate, Bokamba gives the following examples from Kinshasa Lingala and French:

a. Na- ke-i Kimwenza. Je reviens dans une heure.

I-go- I-past Kimwenza. I return in one hour.

‘I have gone to Kimwenza. I will return in an hour.’

b. Mobali na yo a-telephon- aka yo deux fois par jour.

Spouse of you he telephone- Hab. You two times per day.

‘Your husband calls you twice a day.’

According to Bokamba (1988), Example (a) is a demonstration of code-switching because there is no interaction between the rules of the Lingala and French syntax. The speaker shifts from one language (Lingala) to the other (French) inter-sententially. Example (b) demonstrates code-mixing because there is clear interaction between the syntactic rules of the languages: the French

verbal root '*telephone*' exhibits the characteristics of Lingala morphology in terms of subject-verb agreement by taking the Lingala subject prefix (a-), in reference to *mobali na yo* and the present habitual tense (-aka). Further, the placement of the phrase *deux fois par jour* is consistent with French syntax and does not seriously violate that of Lingala.

Along the same lines, others (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Singh, 1985; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980) reserve the term code-switching for inter-sentential switches only and prefer to use code-mixing for intra-sentential switches. The reason is that only code-mixing (i.e., intra-sentential CS) requires the integration of the rules of the two languages involved in the discourse. But as far as the structural constraints are concerned, the intra- vs. inter-sentential distinction can equally well distinguish the two types of switches. So it largely remains a matter of individual preference, but at the same time it creates unnecessary confusion.

Kachru (1984:65) 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 codes used and the attitudinal reactions to the codes are shared both by the speaker and hearer.

Another way to differentiate between code-mixing and code-changing has been proposed by Wentz (1977). He claims that code-mixing is about mixing two codes at the syntactic level, and that it takes place within a sentence. Alternately,

he states that code-changing refers to the use of long segments. In this case, code-changing entails a complete grammatical switch. Clyne (1987) believes that code-switching involves transferring linguistic units which will fit the grammar of the other language, yet not violate any grammatical aspect. Code-mixing, on the other hand, involves transferring words or phrases that do not fit in the originating language.

Despite these efforts at creating two distinct definitions, some argue that attempts to separate code-switching and code-mixing have not been successful. According to Hamers and Blanc (1989), the distinction between code-switching and code-mixing fails because code-mixing is similar to code-changing in many ways and they both are used to convey the same linguistic and social functions. Hill and Hill (1980) use the terms interchangeably and do not see any difference between them. Hill and Hill (1980:122) write, “There is no satisfactory way to draw a neat boundary between the two phenomena (code-mixing and code-changing)”.

Still others (e.g., Muysken, 2000) avoid using the term code-switching as a cover term because they believe that switching suggests alternation only, as in the case of switching between turns or utterances, but not necessarily insertion. Instead, they prefer to use code-mixing as a hyperonym to cover both code-switching (intra-sentential only) and borrowing (e.g., Pfaff, 1979). More importantly, however, Pfaff (1979), along with Poplack (1980), raises the question of the need to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing. This

is a much more complicated issue than the perceived distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, and it will be discussed as part of the structural approach to CS in the next section.

Because all these aforementioned different opinions about code-switching and code-mixing do not fit exactly to the situation under study, it is necessary to choose definitions which correspond to this situation. For the purpose of this study and to include all aspects of code-variation in the community under study, Muysken's view (2000) is taken as a model, with a slight modification. In addition to intra-sentential code-switching, inter-sentential code-switching is considered as a part of code-mixing. Therefore, the term code-mixing is used as an umbrella term to cover the phenomena of alternating between two languages or dialects of the same language within the same conversation. It, thus, involves both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching and borrowing. At times the terms code-alternation and code-variation are used in a similar sense, but they should not be confused with the technical definition of the term.

2.2.3. Code-Switching vs. Borrowing

If lexical borrowings are not considered code-switching in the analysis of code-switched utterances, the boundaries between code-switching and lexical borrowing have to be clear. Distinguishing code-switching from borrowing is very important but problematic in the sociolinguistic literature, since syntactic and phonological features can be shared among languages. In fact, the question

over where to draw the line between these two terms has not been answered. The debate is still going on and there is no agreement on a distinction between them.

The question that needs to be asked is: which of the foreign words in code switched utterances constitute code-switching as such and which ones constitute lexical borrowing? This problem can in fact be traced back to what Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) called the transition problem: Because language change is a diachronic process, we cannot really determine at what point in time a particular lexical item gained the status of a loanword in the recipient language. Also, the fact that bilingual communities in urban contexts where language change is supposedly rapid and tends to be diffuse with no clear norms makes it even more difficult to study variation synchronically. There are two contradictory approaches as to whether to distinguish between the two terms and how.

One group of researchers associated with Poplack (1978, 1980, 1981) argued that single loanwords are fundamentally different from longer stretches of switches. They proposed morpho-syntactic and phonological integration of foreign words into the recipient language as criteria for establishing the status of such single words. Most researchers (Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993a), on the other hand, chose to deal with the problem by claiming that the perceived distinction between the two processes is not really critical to analyses of bilingual speech. Moreover, unlike the first group of researchers, they acknowledged single-word (i.e., insertions) and multiple-word (i.e., alternations)

occurrences as two forms of code-switching, rather than as distinct processes to be distinguished from each other.

According to Poplack and her associates, borrowing and code-switching are in fact the result of different mechanisms. Using participant performance observation data of code-switching from the bilingual Puerto Rican community in New York City, she proposed three types of criteria to determine the status of non-native material in bilingual utterances. These include whether or not single lexical items from a donor language in code-switched utterances were (1) phonologically, (2) morphologically, and (3) syntactically integrated into what she called the base language. She identified four possible combinations of integration.

According to this approach, in cases where a lexical item shows (a) only syntactic integration, or (b) only phonological integration, or (c) no integration at all, it is considered to be an instance of CS. In contrast, cases where a lexical item shows all three types of integration constitute borrowing. While it did capture some generalizations and received confirmation from empirical studies in other bilingual communities, the criterion of phonological integration was later discarded due to its highly variable nature. The intermediary category has since been identified as nonce borrowings.

Nonce borrowings are single lexical items or bound morphemes which are syntactically and morphologically integrated into the base language¹, but which may or may not show phonological integration. They differ from established borrowings in that they do not meet the criteria of frequency of use or degree of acceptance and are used only by bilinguals and not monolinguals of the host language (Poplack and Sankoff, 1988:1176). In this approach, lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum ranging from established loanwords to nonce borrowings as shown in Table 2.1.

ESTABLISHED LOANWORD	NONCE BORROWING
Morphologically/Syntactically/ Phonologically integrated	Morphologically/Syntactically (+/- Phonologically)
Recurrent (individual)	Entire Lexicon (Content Words)
Widespread (community)	
Accepted	
Restricted Lexicon	

Table 2.1: The continuum for Levels of Borrowing in Code-Switching Utterances (adapted from Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood, 1987)

Its advantage is that it allows for single other-language items to achieve the status of loanwords in time through an increase in their frequency and their adoption by monolinguals. But notice that neither code-switching is considered to be part of such a continuum nor are nonce borrowings seen as instances of code-switching (Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood, 1987).

¹ Base Language is the main language in a code-switched utterance to which a majority of the phonological and morphological features of discourse can be attributed. It is Myers-Scotton's Matrix language.

Sankoff and Maineville (1986) state that borrowing from one language involves satisfying the morphological and syntactic rules of another language, while code-switches involve sentence fragments, each of which morphologically, syntactically, and lexically belongs to one language, and each of which is connected with a fragment of the other language.

Similarly, Gumperz (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.

Heath (1989:23) makes a distinction between code-switching and borrowing 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, L_x, and another language, L_y, with abrupt and clear-cut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal boundaries. By borrowing is meant the adaptation of a lexical item, P_y, from L_y into L_x, becoming P_x (that is, a regular lexical item in L_x satisfying phonological, canonical-shape and morphological rules for this language).

Grosjean (1982:8) maintains that the code-switched item can be of any length and makes a distinction between code-switching and borrowing as follows:

A code-switch can be of any length (a word, a phrase, a sentence) and is completely shifted to the other language, whereas borrowing is a word or short expression that is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken.

Collins (2003) argues that the basic difference between code-switching and borrowing is that borrowing has an L1 history (i.e., part of the L1 lexicon), while code-switching does not have this history. He says code-switches “are brought into the stream of speech consciously, as part of L2 – a speaker’s second grammar” (ibid.: 4). Spolsky (1998:48) writes about the two terms, commenting that “the switching of words is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language.”

Hudson (1980:58) states that borrowing refers to the use of a word element of foreign origin that has been accepted in the native language, while code-switching refers to the act of slipping into that foreign language for a phrase element. In spite of this, code-switching is not limited to a phrase element; it could be for a word, phrase, one sentence or more. Abu-Melhim (1992:33) says:

Code-switching and code-mixing are bilingual behaviours. By definition one must have more than one code in order to mix them. Borrowing and style-shifting, on the other hand, are independent of one’s lingual status. One may practice them whether he or she is monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual because these two phenomena are used within a variety (language, or code), intralingually, not between them, interlingually.

At the other end of the continuum are those who claim that assimilation may not always be the defining criterion to distinguish borrowing from code-switching. Myers-Scotton (1993b) rejects morpho-syntactic integration as a basis for distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing because she sees them as universally related processes such that both concepts are part of a single continuum. She suggests 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. She claims that code-switched forms may be less integrated into the host language than are borrowed forms, and that this is “a difference in degree (of integration), not in kind.” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:182-183). She therefore argues that a categorical distinction between code-switching and borrowing need not be made, yet she proposes frequency as the single best criterion to link borrowed forms more closely with the recipient language mental lexicon. She also disagrees with those researchers (e.g., Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980) who argued that one of the major characteristics of borrowed items is to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language. Instead, she argues that not all established borrowings actually occur due to the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language culture. Inspired by Haugen’s (1953:373) comment that “borrowing always goes beyond the actual ‘needs’ of language”, she then draws a distinction between what she calls cultural borrowings and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings are those lexical items that are new to the recipient language culture. Core borrowings, on the

other hand, refer to those lexical forms that have “viable” equivalents in the recipient language, and hence, do not really meet any lexical need in the base language (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:169). It is only this type of borrowing which Myers-Scotton (1993a) considers to be part of a continuum involving loan words in code-switching. Moreover, in cases where the language of the core borrowed item has a higher symbolic value than that of the recipient language, the social prestige associated with the donor language motivates the non-integration (e.g., the phonological one) of any type of borrowed item. She then goes on to suggest that educated bilingual speakers may practice elite closure by consciously pronouncing borrowed items as closely to the originals as possible.

The important point in Myers-Scotton’s argument is that, unlike Poplack and her associates, she does not see code-switching and borrowing as two distinct processes, nor does she see such a distinction as critical. Gysels (1992) takes this idea one step further on the basis of her French data in urban Lubumbashi Swahili by claiming that whether a single loanword is a switch or borrowing, in fact, cannot be determined because the same form may be interpreted as either a borrowed item or a code-switch one depending on the overall discourse structure.

Similarly, on the basis of his work among Turkish/Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands, Backus (1996) also rejects morpho-syntactic integration as a criterion for distinguishing switches from borrowings, claiming that it lies, at

least partially, within the individual speaker's motivations to ascribe status to single-word foreign items in the recipient language.

Although Eastman (1992:1) states that "efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed", and that it is crucial that we "free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch" (1992:1), if we want to understand the social and cultural processes involved in code-switching, in this study it seems preferable to distinguish between them. Indeed, we have seen that the various ways of approaching and analyzing code-switching and borrowing overlap and occasionally conflict. However, it is necessary to derive from them an orderly analytical framework which will allow the systematic investigation of a range of code-variation within Algeria, in particular the language behaviour of the university students which is studied in the body of this thesis.

Therefore, in addition to the distinction drawn between code-switching and code-mixing, a distinction is to be drawn between code-switching and borrowing for the purpose of this study to include all mixing patterns and distinguish between them. Borrowing refers to the use of items which originate from another language, but which are currently felt to form an integrated part of the borrowing language. Haugen (1956:40) uses the term integration instead of borrowing, describing it as "the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping except in a historical sense". However, code-switching refers to the use of items from

another language which are completely unassimilated, as he (ibid.) writes: “code-switching occurs when a bilingual speaker introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech”.

2.3. The Structural Approach

2.3.1. The Early Structural Constraints

The early studies of code-switching that followed the grammatical approach investigated the syntactic constraints of the switched elements. Many researchers explored the syntactic and morphological elements in code-switching (Pfaff, 1975; Poplack, 1980, 1989; Bentahila and Davies, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1997; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995, 2001, 2002; Boussofara-Omar, 1999, 2003). They conclude that code-switching is not a haphazard alternation of two languages; rather it is a process of using grammatical and lexical elements from one language to fit in the other, without interrupting the flow of conversation. Clyne (2000:260) states that “there is general agreement in the theoretical studies that there are general constraints on code-switching”. The following are some of the early proposed constraints on code-switching:

2.2.1.1. Free Morpheme Constraint

The Free Morpheme Constraint states that code-switching cannot happen between the stem of a word and its bound morpheme or affix. According to Poplack (1980), forms like **eat-iendo* (eating) do not occur in the speech of Puerto Rican bilinguals. This form is not permissible unless the verb stem is phonologically adapted into Spanish. Poplack (1980:586) states that “codes may

be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.”

2.2.1.2. Equivalence Constraint

This constraint predicts that code-switching will occur at points where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. Poplack (ibid.) says:

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

Therefore, in Spanish/English code-switching, switches may not occur between nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase because attributive adjectives in English typically precede the head noun, whereas in Spanish they follow it.

Poplack (1980) suggested universal validity for both constraints, but several researchers provided counter-evidence from different languages, notably Bentahila and Davies (1983) from their Moroccan Arabic-French corpus, Berk-Seligson (1986) in Spanish/Hebrew, and Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) from Italian/English, to name just a few. The counter-examples for the free morpheme constraint came especially from agglutinative languages such as Turkish (Hankamer, 1989), partially because, in such languages, each component of meaning is productively expressed by its own morpheme, which are then affixed to the stem.

2.2.1.3. Government Constraint

The Government Constraint states that switching between governors and their objects is prohibited. DiSciullo et al. (1986:3) formulate the Government Constraint as follows: “x governs y if the first node dominating x also dominates y, where x is a major category N, V, A, P and no maximal boundary intervenes between x and y.”

Switching is only permitted between elements that are not related by government. For example, if PP has language (x), P and PP internal NP must be also in language (x). Nortier (1990) provides many counterexamples from Moroccan Arabic-Dutch code-switching. Al-Enazi (2002) reports also that this constraint is violated in Arabic-English code-switching, since the Saudi speaker switches from the Arabic transitive verb (the governor) to the English noun.

2.2.1.4. Functional Head Constraint

Proposed by Belazi, et al. (1994), this constraint restricts switches between a functional head and its complement, where a functional head is the function word that heads a phrase. The functional head constraint also restricts switching between a complementizer and its IP, a determiner and its complement, a nominative and its complement, a negative and its complement VP, modal auxiliary and VP, and between a relative pronoun and its complement.

2.2.1.5. Sub-categorization Constraint

This constraint states that “all items must be used in such a way as to satisfy the (language-particular) sub-categorization restrictions imposed on

them” (Bentahila and Davies, 1983:301). It refers to the complements that particular words take or require. The sub-categorization constraint is based on the idea that different languages may have different sub-categorization requirements.

2.3.2. The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model

The MLF model is based on the idea that languages, participating in code-switching, are divided into a matrix (host or base) language and an embedded (guest or donor) language. That is, one language, i.e. the matrix language (ML) contributes a lot to mixed constituents more than the embedded language (EL). The opposition between matrix language and embedded language has been introduced by Joshi (1985:191) who reported that “speakers and hearers usually agree on which language the mixed sentence is coming from”.

Myers-Scotton (1993a:69) defines the matrix language as the language of more morphemes and states that “the matrix language may change across time, and even within a conversation, that is, the [embedded language] may become the matrix language.”

According to the MLF model, the matrix language provides the structural framework and the embedded language inserts elements into the matrix language. Myers-Scotton (ibid.: 68) states that the matrix language is the language that provides more morphemes but that judgement should not be based on one sentence:

If a sentence is analyzed in isolation, for example, its main clause is in one language and a dependent clause is in another language, there is no way to identify the ML. The ML can only be identified in sentences containing CS material if such sentences are considered as part of a larger corpus. How large is 'large enough' is an unresolved issue, but certainly a discourse sample must mean more than one sentence.

Therefore, the matrix language is defined as:

- The language which sets the grammatical frame.
- The source of more morphemes in the discourse.
- The 'unmarked or expected' choice for the communication.

Another important opposition in the MLF model is between the content morphemes (e.g., nouns/verbs) and system morphemes (e.g., inflections/articles). The system morphemes come only from the matrix language, and the content morphemes may come from either the matrix language or the embedded one. This distinction between content and system morphemes helps in determining the matrix language since the matrix language is the one that provides the system morphemes in the switched sentences.

The matrix language dominates the embedded one according to two principles (Myers-Scotton, 2006:244):

(1) The Morpheme Order Principle

In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML.

(2) The System Morpheme Principle

In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e.,

which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the ML.

According to the first principle, the matrix language determines the order of the elements in ML + EL constituents. The second principle requires that system (function) morphemes can only be drawn from the matrix language.

Based on where the constituents come from (i.e., which language) and what kind of elements they consist of, there are three possible constituent types:

- (1) ML + EL constituents: containing morphemes from both languages or both varieties.
- (2) ML islands: containing morphemes only from the ML.
- (3) EL islands: containing morphemes only from the EL and well-formed according to the EL.

The MLF model has been criticized by some researchers (e.g. Boumans, 1998; Bentahila & Davies, 1998; Boussofara-Omar, 2003) for its ambiguity. Myers-Scotton (2002:59) admits “how to identify the Matrix language is the most frequently asked question about the MLF model.” The model is criticized because it does not give clear definitions for important terms like “matrix language”. Boussofara-Omar (2003), in her review to a new presentation of the MLF model and its sub-models, contends that “one of the major early criticisms levelled against the MLF model, as initially articulated (1993a), was the circularity of her definition of the ML.” Boumans (1998:46) argues that “there is the problem of identifying the matrix language in an unambiguous and non-

circular way.” Similarly, Bentahila & Davies (1998) attack the ambiguous definition given for the term ‘matrix language’. However, Myers-Scotton (2003:78) clearly states that

If the terms of the principles, morpheme order and one type of system morpheme, both are satisfied, then the Matrix Language can be identified as that language. If only one of the two participating languages meets these criteria, it is the ML. What is circular about that?

In addition, Boussofara-Omar (2003:39) reports that the principles of the MLF model fail to explain some problematic data. She examines two varieties of Arabic and finds a co-occurrence of system morphemes from both varieties of Arabic (i.e., Tunisian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic). This co-occurrence challenges the System Morpheme Principle that predicts that syntactically relevant system morphemes come from the ML in ML + EL islands.

As far as applying the Matrix Language Frame to the languages in contact in this study, the data confirm that it is sometimes very difficult to determine the ML and the EL in some utterances (see section 4.3). Myers-Scotton’s model cannot always be applied because of the circularity of the definition as Boussofara-Omar (ibid.) states. The terms of the two principles that Myers-Scotton (op.cit) considers as the defining criteria for the identification of the Matrix Language are not always all satisfied. If one principle only is satisfied in one utterance, problematic issues arise and determining the ML of that utterance becomes a very difficult task. This gives credit to the criticism made by some

researchers (Boussofara-Omar, Bentahila and Davies, and Boumans) to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model.

2.3.3. Arabic Bilingual Code-Switching

Several studies involving bilinguals with Arabic and another language have been carried out to study the patterns and constraints on code-switching. Researchers have applied different methods and tested different constraints. One of the early studies of Arabic-French code-switching was done by Abbassi (1977). Abbassi conducted a study of Arabic-French code-switching to examine structural constraints in the speech of Arabic-French bilinguals. In this study, he argued that a switch from an Arabic preposition to a French noun phrase is free, but not vice versa. Bentahila and Davies (1983:314) provided many counter examples. They found that the French preposition *de* governs the noun phrase as in the following example:

a. *de l marsa*

(from the port)

They showed that code-switching for an infinitive complement is possible as in example (b), where "a main verb in Arabic introduces a French complement verb" (ibid.).

b. *tatbqa tatgratter*

(You keep scratching)

Abbassi (1977) also believed that switching between a main verb and its verbal complement is impossible. Bentahila and Davies (1983:305) criticized

such a constraint and considered it to be extremely ad hoc. They think it is strangely arbitrary because switching is allowed across a pp-internal NP boundary, as in example (a) above, and “there is no such arbitrary restriction on Arabic-French code-switching” (ibid.: 315).

Studying the constraints on switching between Egyptian Arabic and Standard Arabic, Eid (1992) analyzed relative clauses, subordinate clauses, tense and verb constructions, and used negatives and verbs to identify the markers of these constructions. These markers, as focal points, determined the switching, i.e., switching before focal points is possible, but not after the focal points. Further, she found that switching is restricted if the focal point is drawn from Standard Arabic while it is not restricted if it is from Egyptian Arabic.

In a major study about the Arabic-French code-switching, Bentahila and Davies (op.cit.) examined the syntax of intra-sentential code-switching in the conversations of Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals. Bentahila and Davies (op. cit: 9) showed that switching between Arabic and French is possible at all syntactic boundaries above the word-level but it is not possible between word-internal morpheme boundaries. Example (c) involves switching to embedded declarative and example (d) to an adverbial clause:

c. /*Il va comprendre* bja:na ta nadfa bazza:f/

(He is going to understand that we spend a lot)

d. /*Je vais plonger dans l'eau* ba n uf l Magana/

(I'm going to dive in the water in order to see the watch)

In their data, they found that certain types of switching, while not restricted by any syntactic constraints, occurred much more rarely than some other types. Regarding the roles of the two languages, speakers switched to Arabic for function words such as determiners and pronouns, and to French for lexical items. In this study, they proposed that all items must be used in accordance with their own language-specific sub-categorization restrictions. For example, Arabic adjectives are subcategorized as post-nominal while in English they are subcategorized as pre-nominal. Therefore, example (e) occurs but (f) does not:

e. The big *mabna* is next to my house.

(The big building is next to my house)

f. *The *mabna* big is next to my house.

*(The building big is next to my house)

In a study about the directionality of code-switching, Eid (1992) examined code-switching among Arab-Americans and concluded that there is asymmetry in the roles of the two languages, which affects the directionality of code-switching. Eid (ibid.: 62) showed from her data that switching before conjunctions is unrestricted, but switching after the marker (i.e., the relative marker *illi* ‘that/which’) was more restricted “and dependent on the language from which the marker is drawn. If the marker is in English ... switching is not allowed”. She claimed that switching patterns depend on the direction of language change.

Comparing the code-switching in Moroccan Arabic-Dutch with that in Arabic-French, Nortier (1995) investigated certain NP-constructions and concluded that article deletion occurs not only in single word switches, but also in a longer intra-sentential code-switching, when the Dutch elements are the first of the constituents. Arabic-Dutch bilinguals deleted the preposition *van* 'of', while the Arabic-French bilinguals kept them. Finally, Nortier noted that the most important reason for code-switching is to express oneself as appropriately and economically as possible.

Al-Enazi (2002) investigated the syntactic constraints on code-switching in the speech of Saudi Arabic-English bilinguals and observed that while children violated the Free Morpheme Constraint, adults did not code-switch between free and bound morphemes except in cases involving the definite article. For example, children add the English suffix *-ing* and *-ed* to the Arabic verb, but adults insert the Arabic *al* to the English nouns. Al-Enazi reported that adults as well as children violated the Equivalence Constraint by switching between Arabic and English where the Arabic and English syntactically differ. Al-Enazi (2002) concluded that the Free Morpheme Constraint and Equivalence Constraint were not able to account for the code-switching instances of the Arabic-English bilinguals.

In a recent study, Boussofara-Omar (2003) re-examined the Arabic diglossic switching in light of the Matrix Language Frame model (see below) focusing on two sets of data. The first set involves co-occurrence of system

morphemes from two varieties of Arabic (Classical Arabic and Tunisian Arabic), while the second examines CPs where the word order is from Tunisian Arabic and the system morphemes from Standard Arabic. According to Boussofara-Omar, the MLF did not offer explanations for either set of the data. Her findings suggest that there is 'mix' between the varieties but not a 'third' or 'middle' variety.

Bentahila (1983) examined the language attitudes among Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals. The results indicated that although Moroccan bilinguals have negative attitudes towards code-switching, they switched for lexical needs, and rhetorical purposes such as emphasis and contrast. It was concluded that Arabic bilinguals switched between Arabic and French in order to resolve a hesitation or make a fresh start when the thread of discourse had been lost. In this study code-switching was analysed as a communicative strategy in social interactions in order to carry on conversation.

As we have seen, several studies involving bilinguals with Arabic and another language have been carried out to study different aspects of code-switching. Researchers have applied different methods and tested different approaches. Although they have reached conflicting results, they have contributed a lot to the understanding of code-switching in the Arab World.

2.4. The Sociolinguistic Approach

2.4.1. Social Meaning

Alternation between codes is the norm rather than the exception in many communities around the world today. “Why do bilinguals switch languages?” is the broad general question of sociolinguistic studies of code-switching. In order to answer this question, studies have been conducted from two perspectives: the macro-level and the micro-level. With macro-level studies, the language choice at community level is explored. Ferguson (1959) introduces the notion of Diglossia where High and Low varieties of a language are used. Each variety has distinct functions and is used in specific situations. Fishman developed Ferguson’s concept and introduced the framework of ‘domain analysis’ (1965). Languages are ‘allocated’ to specific ‘domains’ and the choice between the use of one language or the other depends on the social situation. Thus, language choice is constrained by ‘domains’ consisting of topics, interlocutors and settings.

On the other hand, micro-level analysis has been done on code-switching at an interactional level. In their agenda-setting article on switching between the standard and the non-standard dialects in a small town called Hemnesberget in Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that alternating codes among the local people was both patterned and predictable. Using an integrated ethnographic and linguistic approach, they identified two different types of code choice: situational switching and metaphorical switching. Situational switching occurs

when participants redefine each other's rights and obligations. Choice of code within the speech repertoire is influenced by such socio-situational factors as the physical context, the speech event, the participants and the topic. As Blom and Gumperz (1972:424) write "The notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and social situation". Interaction proceeds in a single code until one of these factors is changed. Such behaviour requires good control of a number of codes and appears to be accessible to conscious introspection. For example, teachers deliver formal lectures in the standard dialect (i.e., Bokmål), but if they want to encourage open discussion, then they will shift to the local dialect (i.e., Ranamål). Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is triggered by changes in topic rather than the social situation. Blom and Gumperz (ibid.: 425) write:

Characteristically, the situations in question allow for the enactment of two or more different relationships among the same set of individuals. The choice of either (R) or (B) alludes to these relationships and thus generates meanings which are quite similar to those conveyed by the alternation between *ty* or *vy* in the examples from Russian literature cited by Friedrich (chapter 9). We will use the term metaphorical switching for this phenomenon.

The *ty/vy* alternation marks the solidarity-status choice in personal relations, and it is clear from the article that (R) -- the local dialect Ranamål -- marks solidarity, while the use of the standard -- (B) Bokmål -- marks status. In clerk-resident exchanges at the community administration office, Blom and Gumperz observed that while greetings and inquiries about family affairs took place in

Ranamål, conversations about the business transaction occurred in the standard dialect.

Finding Blom and Gumperz unclear as to the explanation of the division of the functions of code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993c:52) clarifies the situation by interpreting situational code-switching to be “motivated by changes in factors external to the participant’s own motivation (e.g., makeup of participants, setting, topic)” and metaphorical code-switching to be that which “is not really topic ... so much as a ‘presentation of self’ in relation to the topic, or changes in relationship to other participants ...” (ibid.).

Blom and Gumperz speak of “code-switching”; yet, they also mention that for certain subjects the choices operate along continua and that there is substantial “mixing” rather than true code switching. The university students in their sample vary their speech along a cline, in the direction of the dialect or the standard. Blom and Gumperz (1972:431) write:

For the students, on the other hand, the distinction between dialect and standard is not so sharp ... their behaviour shows a range of variation rather than an alternation between distinct systems.

Blom and Gumperz also introduced three types of social constraints which presumably affect the code choices of speakers: (1) the setting, (2) the social situation, and (3) the social event (cf. Hymes’ (1967, 1972) the social units of the speech situation and the speech event). Setting refers to the physical environment in which the social life of the speakers operates. The social

situation is defined as “particular constellations of speakers, gathered in particular settings during a particular span of time for a certain activity” (Blom & Gumperz, 1972:423). Finally, the social event is a particular definition of the same social situation at a particular point in time.

The switching of codes illustrated in the clerk-resident interaction for metaphorical switching echoes Erving Goffman’s notions of the front stage and the back stage. While the standard dialect is associated with the front stage behaviour, the local dialect symbolizes in-group solidarity, and creates islands of the back stage within the office. In fact, Gumperz (1982, 1992) himself talks about conversational code-switching in his later work as contextualization cues where he sees the code, the dialect, and even style switching processes, as well as prosodic features of speech and formulaic expressions, as implicit ways of conveying meaning as part of the interaction between speakers. In urban institutional contexts (e.g., workplace, school), although speakers may share a common lingua franca at a surface level, those from different ethnic or social class backgrounds often lack in their conversational exchanges a common set of contextualization cues, as a result of which misunderstandings may occur. As Gal (1989:352) notes, such

Misunderstandings are heard by those in control of the institutions not as linguistic differences but as indications of personal qualities, and thus as objective grounds for rejection and devaluation of those attempting access to material resources.

In the case of teacher-student interaction in bilingual classrooms, this occurs when teachers negatively evaluate bilingual students' use of code-switching as a discourse strategy.

Other researchers, notably Auer (1984, 1988, 1995), Alfonzetti (1998), and Sebba (1993) further developed Gumperz's interactional perspective by employing conversation analysis (CA) techniques in their research in order to analyze performance data on CS. Specifically, Auer's (1995:116) sequential approach to code-switching is made manifest in his following statement:

Any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its 'sequential environment'.

That is, the meaning of code-switching needs to be interpreted in relation to the preceding and the following utterances. For Auer (*ibid.*: 132), the sequential embeddedness of meaning in bilingual conversation is "relatively independent" of its social meaning for the community.

The significance of Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study therefore lies in their attempt to define social meaning largely as a product of individual interactions to the extent that it is created and negotiated locally, echoing, in a sense, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985:181) notion of acts of identity:

The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) placed much of the responsibility within the individual. Hence, they saw stable patterns as generated from individual code choices, but not vice versa. Their approach allows the individual speaker a kind of flexibility Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) talk about in their description of the acts of identity quoted above. According to Blom and Gumperz (op.cit.:421),

The same individual need not be absolutely consistent in all his actions. He may wish to appear as a member of the local team on some occasions, while identifying with middle-class values on others.

This differs considerably from Fishman's (1965, 1972) macro-level approach to language choice where he focuses on the correlations between code choice and types of activity. Inspired by Ferguson's (1959) article on diglossia, Fishman (1972:437) is primarily concerned with the stable norms of choice and the habitual use of language in which there is an almost one-to-one relationship between codes and activities:

'Proper' usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.

In other words, social meaning lies not within the act of switching itself, but in the perceived association between the speech activities on the one hand, and the norms of language choice on the other. It is the stable patterns of use that give meaning to individual choice. This is made manifest in Fishman's (1965, 1972)

key concept of domain, which he develops in relation to some corresponding typical role relationships.

Fishman's (1972) typical example is English/Spanish code-switching between a boss and his secretary, both Puerto Ricans. The boss makes exclusive use of English as he dictates a letter to his secretary, but then switches to Spanish for an informal conversation with her about the addressee. Note that social meaning lies not within the act of switching here, but in the correlation between the type of activity and code choice (e.g., Spanish for informal conversation vs. English for business).

The tension between macro- and micro-sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching has shaped much of the later discussions in the study of the social aspects of code choice. For example, on the basis of his work in Kru/English code-switching in Liberia, Breitborde (1983) vehemently claims that the social meaning of code-switching cannot afford to ignore the societal regularities and the macro-level organization of social relationships, which arguably give meaning to individual choices. In the case of the clerk-resident interaction at the community administration office in the Hemnesberget study, Breitborde (1983) would therefore argue that the teacher's behaviour of switching back to the local dialect is, in fact, indicative of the underlying social regularities rather than an individual strategy to redefine the social situation.

Fishman's model (1965, 1972) of domain analysis is too deterministic to explain code-switching in urban contexts. It tells very little about what the

speaker accomplishes as a result of alternating between available codes in his linguistic repertoire. Societal factors do form the basis, at least partially, of the contextual interpretation of code choice, but certainly not at the expense of determining language choice in all cases per se. On the other hand, the current practice of the conversation-analytic approach in code-switching is too isolated from the macro-level factors which, if not determined, at least provide a general framework for its interpretation. There is evidence in research, especially from African data (e.g., Blommaert, 1992), which suggests that the social meaning of code-switching cannot be accounted for by local factors only. As Gal (1983:64) accurately pinpointed, “neither the more macro approaches nor those giving primacy to micro variables constitute a conceptually unified group”. She sees norms associating codes with general spheres of activity as “not rules to be obeyed, but requisite knowledge to build on in conveying one’s communicative intents” (ibid.: 69). Both approaches, in their current form, fail to capture this link between macro- and micro-level factors in the speakers’ interpretation of code-switching utterances.

Tabouret-Keller (1983) makes the point that the higher the predictability of code choice, the more likely the act of switching is an instance of conforming to societal patterns. For him, conforming to norms implies no choice at all on the part of the speaker other than the choice to conform, and therefore, “a distinction is necessary between a predictable switch and an unexpected one” (Tabouret-

Keller, 1983:143). This is where the theoretical concept of markedness comes into play in code-switching.

Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Markedness Model¹ is arguably an attempt to incorporate the micro- and the macro- perspectives into code-switching research. But the basic assumption of the model is Fishman's (1972:437) normative framework: "Habitual language choice in multilingual speech communities is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination". Myers-Scotton (1989) tried to answer the question of why speakers maintain more than one language in situations of daily contact with other speakers when many of them share the same linguistic repertoire. She remarks that the motivation for code-switching is to negotiate social distance. She argues that any code choice is indexical of norms of society at large; yet, norms determine only the relative markedness of choices rather than the choices themselves. She sees code choices as a function of negotiations of position between the speakers rather than as a situated behaviour. Speakers use the codes in their repertoire to index the rights and obligations holding between the participants. Thus, a speaker switches to another code in order to draw the listener's attention, and that he or she wishes to alter

¹ Carol Myers-Scotton (1993b) described her Markedness Model in her work "Social Motivations for Code-switching: Evidence from Africa". Myers-Scotton had worked primarily in Kenya and also in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria, and Malawi since the late 1960s, describing both the structural and sociological aspects of language use in multilingual communities. The year 1993 saw the publication of two books: "Dueling Languages: Grammatical Structures in Code-Switching" (Myers-Scotton 1993a) which focused on formal issues, such as constraints on code switching. "Social Motivations" (1993b) sought to "explain the socio-psychological motivations behind code switching" (1993b:3).

the “current balance of rights and obligations”¹ (Myers-Scotton (1989:338). Following Grice’s (1975) cooperative principle in its structure only, she formulates a negotiation principle as underlying all code choices in bilingual speech, for which she claims universality and predictive validity. She (1993b:6-7) writes:

Code-switching in general is a type of skilled performance with communicative intent. From the socio-psychological point of view, code-switching can be characterized as symptomatic either (a) of an unwillingness or an uncertainty on the speaker’s part regarding the commitment to indexing any single rights-and-obligations set between participants in a conversation, or (b) of a negotiation to change the rights-and-obligations set. This is so because each linguistic variety used in code-switching has socio-psychological associations, making it indexical of a rights-and-obligations set.

Then, she states the Markedness Model in the form of a negotiation principle and presents (ibid.: 113) the theory’s central claim:

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

She proposed several related maxims to account for such switching phenomena. But she was also at pains to make clear her ambitious goals, as she considerably revised them over the years as new data came in (see Myers-Scotton, 1980, 1983, 1993b, 2002). The model was principally developed on the

¹ Myers-Scotton discussed similar issues and developed the Markedness Model in code choice prior to the publication of Myers-Scotton 1993b (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1972, 1976, 1983). Myers-Scotton 1983 actually laid out the Negotiation Principle and six maxims, including the unmarked choice and exploratory choice maxims that figure in the refined model. However, as the fullest expression of the model, it is Myers-Scotton 1993b that has influenced much subsequent work.

basis of the researcher's work on Swahili/English code-switching in Kenya only. She identified three maxims operative in bilingual conversation: The Unmarked Choice Maxim requires the speaker to switch from one unmarked (i.e., expected) code to another on the basis of the situational changes during interaction such that the unmarked code changes. This first maxim is reminiscent of Fishman's (1971) example of boss-secretary interaction. The Marked Choice Maxim applies when the speaker chooses to negotiate the rights and obligations balance for such purposes as increasing social distance or creating an aesthetic effect. Finally, The Exploratory Choice Maxim occurs when an unmarked choice in accordance with the community norms is not obvious from the situational factors. It applies in cases where, for example, there is a clash of norms and role relationships as in the case of a conversation between a brother and a sister at the brother's place of business in the presence of other customers, as opposed to home, their usual place of meeting. The sister uses Lwidakho, their shared mother tongue, which signifies solidarity. The brother, on the other hand, speaks in Swahili, the national lingua franca, to let his sister know that she is being treated as a customer (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:144-145). Therefore, in Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, the unmarked language in a conversation is frequently the matrix language (ML), and the marked language is frequently the embedded language (EL). The ML is the most frequently used language, and the EL is less frequently used in a conversation or utterance.

Proponents of the conversation analysis approach sharply criticized the Markedness Model for its adoption of Fishman's (1965, 1972) approach. In particular, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998:77-80) argue that the model is a static and mistaken view of indexicality and social behaviour where speakers are described as simply following or not following rules for already existing norms. They also accuse the model for leaving no room for the constitutive nature of talk of the social structure as well as its ignorance of the diachronic language change in the history of the community. In more recent work, however, Myers-Scotton (1999:1260) reconsidered the model within Elster's (1986, 1989) rational action theory in an attempt to develop an "extended version" of it. In this modified approach, she argued that code-switching is best explained by the optimal use of the speakers' resources in their linguistic repertoires. In other words, speakers engage in code-switching because, through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, they discover that the rewards of code-switching will be greater than those of maintaining a monolingual discourse pattern.

Myers Scotton's insistence that there is always inequality between the languages involved in code-switching is challenged by Bentahila and Davies (1998), in their study of Moroccan Arabic and French, and by Jacobson (1998, 2000, 2001, 2002) with reference to Spanish-English and Malay-English alternation.

Bentahila and Davies (1998:46) discuss a spoken narrative text in which there is near equality in the total of French and Arabic words, as measured both by a word count and by counting the French, Arabic and mixed clauses. They comment:

The frequent alternation between whole statements in one language and those in the other means that both languages seem to have equal parts to play in the unfolding of the story.

In addition, they note that this balanced alternation tends to occur in the output of highly proficient Arabic-French bilinguals (1998:47). They (*ibid.*: 48) further raise the possibility that

Bilinguals who are quite able to speak exclusively in the second language do not wish to adopt the level of formality which total exclusion of the solidarity language would suggest.

Bourdieu (1977a) sees a strong correlation between one's linguistic utterances and the particular contexts, or, to use his terms 'linguistic markets' in which those utterances are produced (cf. Blom & Gumperz's (1972) concerning the characterization of setting, the social situation, and the social event). Given the fact that the properties of the linguistic markets endow the linguistic expressions with a certain value, part of one's language socialization involves knowing when and how to produce utterances that are highly valued in those markets (i.e., contexts). To better illustrate the point, let us consider Bourdieu's (1977b:657) following example of the use of code-switching and style-shifting by an old woman from a village in Béarn, a province in south western France:

The old lady at one moment used “provincialised French” to address a shopkeeper’s wife, a young woman originating from another large market town in Béarn; ... the next moment, she spoke in Béarnais (the local dialect) to a woman who lived in the town but who was originally from the villages and more or less of her own age; then she used a French that if not “correct” was at least strongly “corrected” to address a minor official in the town; and finally she spoke in Béarnais to a road worker in the town, ... aged about fifty.

According to Bourdieu, it is the speaker’s assessment of the contextual cues and the anticipation of the likely reception of his/her linguistic utterances that serve as internal constraints on his/her code choices. To put it another way, all utterances are in a sense euphemized: “What is said is a compromise between what she would like to be said and what can be said” (ibid.: 663).

In her analysis of classroom discourse of French-language minority education in Ontario, Heller (1992, 1995a, 1995b) makes the point that code-switching is one of the most powerful and potentially effective strategies at the disposal of French/English bilingual students to collaborate with or resist the monolingualizing and standardizing efforts of the school in Canada.

Other researchers (e.g., Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988; Gibbons, 1987) recognized the need for a comprehensive model which takes into account not only the macro-level societal factors but also the micro-level situational and attitudinal ones. In his research on Cantonese/English CS among Hong Kong university students, for example, Gibbons (1987) emphasizes that code choices

are made against the background of social factors as well as those related to the immediate situation.

Since the exclusive use of one level only implies a less comprehensive analysis of the situation under study, it is preferable to take into account both the macro- and the micro-levels in this study in order to give a clear and complete picture of the current situation.

2.4.2. Motivations for Code-Switching

The questions which need to be answered now are: (1) what functions does code-switching serve in bilingual discourse? and (2) what factors influence code choice? The idea of language deficiency as the main motivation for code-switching has dominated the bilingualism literature for quite a while. Echevarria (1997) explained that 'Spanglish' is a result of a deficit in either language. Lavandera (1978) believes that code-switching is a necessity of discourse. In support of this idea, Grosjean (1982) quotes Spanish-English speakers who claim that "lack of formal knowledge" is the reason for their code-switching.

In addition, code-switching is regarded as an avoidance strategy. Some researchers (e.g., Tarone, Cohen and Thomas, 1983) consider code-switching a phenomenon that is linguistically motivated as a positive avoidance strategy. They divide the motivation for code-switching into two main categories. First, they identify a linguistic motivation that helps to compensate any deficiency in the language. Second, they cite a social motivation, that is, the desire to fit in with one's peers.

However, many linguists do not believe that incomplete knowledge of language is the main or the strongest reason for code-switching. Stringer (1997:12) states that code-switching is not “ordinarily a consequence of a language deficit”. Similarly, Heredia and Altarriba (2001) reject the notion of ‘language deficiency’ and suggest another alternative to account for code-switching behaviour. They argue that bilinguals switch codes as a strategy in order to be better understood. In their opinion, code-switching is regarded as a competence, even an advanced competence, through which bilinguals can derive from two or more inputs to communicate effectively. They also suggest that the notion of language accessibility could be the reason why bilinguals code-switch.

Several studies state that code-switching functions primarily as a symbol of group identity and solidarity among members of the speech community (Beebe, 1981; Gal, 1978, 1979; Milroy, 1987). In fact, Gumperz (1982) refers to the two codes in switching as the we-code and the they-code, categorizing them in terms of their primary function —i.e., solidarity. While the former is associated with in-group relations and informal activities, and is aesthetically undervalued, the latter refers to the majority language that often serves as the communication tool for out-group relations with the mainstream community. According to this view, the motivation for code-switching is the sense of belonging and ethnic identification. Similarly, Heller (1992:8) points out that the choice of English or French in certain parts of Canada is considered a political issue and a “potentially hostile act and an innocuous search for a common

language with which to discuss the weather”. Heller (1995) observes how the act of using French to a Canadian Anglophone in an official transaction is very likely a sign of respect, and language in this setting could be viewed as a political issue.

Grosjean (1982) provides a concise but comprehensive outline of the factors that potentially explain the speakers’ choice of we-code or they-code as illustrated with the following table:

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Situation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language proficiency • Language preference • Socioeconomic status • Age • Sex • Occupation • Education • Ethnic Background • History of speakers’ linguistic interaction • Kinship relation • Intimacy • Power relation • Outside pressure • Attitude toward languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location/Setting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of monolinguals • Degree of formality • Degree of intimacy
	<i>Content of Discourse</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topic • Type of vocabulary
	<i>Function of Interaction</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to raise status • to create social distance • to exclude someone • to request or command

Table 2.2: Factors Influencing Language Choice (adapted from Grosjean, 1982:136)

In her ethnographic study of the language shift process in a border town called Oberwart in eastern Austria, Gal (1978, 1979) looked at the language choice patterns of bilingual speakers of Hungarian/German in a variety of social contexts. Oberwart was traditionally an agricultural community, but had

undergone rapid social change due to economic developments in the area, which gave the natives ample opportunities to work in waged jobs as opposed to doing peasant work. As a result, an opposition was created between peasant and worker values, which were represented in the two languages of the community. While Hungarian symbolized the traditional peasant culture, German was associated with access to material resources and modernity. Using implicational scales, Gal demonstrated that there is a strong correlation between the individual's language choice patterns and his or her age such that while older speakers preferred Hungarian, younger speakers chose German even in cases where their interlocutors addressed them in Hungarian. This, in turn, led her to conclude that there was a language shift in progress in the community such that activities which were previously associated with Hungarian were then associated with German.

A related finding of Gal's study is that the interlocutor is the most critical factor influencing a speaker's code choice. Given the social values symbolized by each language, she looked at the role of speakers' contacts in the community, i.e., the social network, on their language choice. She discovered that there was a high correlation between the speakers' patterns of language choice and their social network. Milroy (1987) took the idea of the relationship between the social network and code choice one step further. In her study of the vernacular working class speech of three inner city communities in Belfast, she found that the dense and multiplex nature of a working class individual's social network

gave rise to its imposing the vernacular form, which symbolized in-group solidarity, on his or her code choice. A similar relationship between social network and language choice was also found among second generation Chinese/English bilinguals in Newcastle upon Tyne in England (see Li Wei, 1995; Milroy & Li Wei, 1995).

Several researchers put forward the idea that code-switching accomplishes for the bilingual what style-shifting does for the monolingual (e.g., Romaine, 1995). In her Oberwart study, Gal also argued that code-switching and style-shifting occur in “complementary distribution” depending on the linguistic means available to one’s interlocutor: “Style-shifting occurs only where conversational language switching does not” (Gal, 1979:118). While both code-switching and style-shifting may serve the same kind of functions in conversation, it would be too naïve to assume such mutual exclusivity in terms of the distribution of their occurrences across one’s interlocutors. For example, it is not uncommon to encounter situations where the bilingual speaker uses code-switching in interacting with a monolingual speaker simply to create an aesthetic effect, or to claim expertise in an area, or even to impose authority on a social inferior. In fact, this kind of occurrence is not absent from Gal’s corpus of data either. Until very recently, no serious attempt has been made to understand how style-shifting and code-switching co-exist in bilingual speakers’ speech. In their study of the Panjabi/English bilingual community in London, Gardner-Chloros, Charles, and Cheshire (2000:1305) found that speakers used code-switching “as

a further dimension to the monolingual means which are available". They concluded that code-switching is an additional tool at the disposal of bilinguals, the effect of which "was almost always over and above what could be achieved monolingually" (ibid.: 1335).

Some researchers also considered code-switching within the speech accommodation theory (SAT) (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Giles & Smith, 1979). The theory posits that speakers adjust their speech style as a way of expressing their attitudes or intentions towards their interlocutors. The two key concepts introduced by SAT are convergence and divergence. While the former refers to accommodating towards the speech style of one's interlocutor, the latter signals a shift away from it. The notion of convergence is considered to convey a sense of solidarity. In contrast, divergence is a means to create social distance from one's interlocutor through which social disapproval is communicated. Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, and Tajfel's (1979) study gives support to this latter aspect of accommodation. In their study of intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, 1974) among Flemish university students in Belgium, they found that Flemish-speaking students frequently used code-switching as a way of dealing with a perceived ethnic threat coming from an out-group Francophone speaker by helping them create social distance. Bell (1984, 1991) also sees the interlocutor, or the audience, as the main motivation behind variation in speech style. In his approach, accommodating towards an audience is not limited to monolingual

style-shifting only, but applies to all codes and levels of one's linguistic repertoire, including switching between languages.

On the basis of three language contact situations around the world, Gumperz (1982) identifies six basic discourse functions that code-switching serves in conversation to illustrate its most common uses. These are (1) Quotations, (2) Addressee Specification, (3) Interjections, (4) Reiteration, (5) Message Qualification, and (6) Personalization versus Objectivization. Quotations are occurrences of switching where someone else's utterance is reported either as direct quotations or as reported speech. Gal (1979:109) argued that "all one needs to know to predict the language in which most quotes will be spoken is the language in which the original utterance was spoken."

This, nevertheless, may not always be the case (e.g., Auer, 1995). In addressee specification, the switch serves to direct the message to one particular person among several addressees present in the immediate environment. Interjections, on the other hand, simply serve to mark sentence fillers as in the insertion of the English filler *you know* in an otherwise completely Spanish utterance. Reiteration occurs when one repeats a message in the other code to clarify what is said or even to increase the perlocutionary effect of the utterance. For example, a Spanish/English bilingual mother may call her children who are playing on the street first in Spanish, but if they do not listen, then in English. Gumperz (1982) defines message qualification as an elaboration of the preceding

utterance in the other code. Finally, personalization versus objectivization¹ signals the degree of the speaker's involvement in a message as in the case of, for example, giving one's statement more authority in a dispute through code-switching.

Gumperz's (1982) categorization of the conversational functions of code-switching is not unproblematic. In at least three of the cases above, the items do not really tell us what the speaker accomplishes in conversation through switching codes. In quotations, for example, we still do not know what is achieved other than the fact that speakers generally tend to report utterances in the language in which they were originally spoken. A similar problem arises with interjections and message qualification as well. The question of what specific discourse functions are fulfilled by inserting, for example, an English sentence filler in an otherwise Spanish utterance still remains largely unanswered.

Similar typologies proposed by other researchers are not less problematic; they often confuse the functions with the forms of code-switching (Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Saviile-Troiike, 1982). For example, the three most common functions in Gardner-Chloros' (1991) study on French-Alsatian CS in Strasbourg are what Gumperz (1982) would call quotations, addressee specification and reiteration. Notice that most of the functions identified by Gumperz and others

¹ The category of "personalization versus objectivization" is somewhat fuzzy, but relates to the notions of illocutionary force, evidentiality, and speaker positioning. According to Gumperz, "The code contrast here seems to relate to things such as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact" (Gumperz, 1982:80).

can be marked either through lexical means, or by prosodic features or even gestures in monolingual conversation. This, in turn, supports the idea that code-switching is in fact an additional strategic device, and only one of the contextualization cues at the disposal of bilingual speakers.

Although such lists of functions may provide a useful step in the understanding of conversational code switching, they are far from a satisfactory answer to the questions of why switching occurs as it does and what functions it serves in conversation. Noting a number of studies that have followed Gumperz (1982) and suggested similar taxonomies of functions, Bailey (2002:77) notes:

The ease with which such categories can be created – and discrepancies between the code-switching taxonomies at which researchers have arrived – hint at the epistemological problems of such taxonomies.

Code switching may serve any of a number of functions in a particular interaction, and a single turn at talk will likely have multiple effects. Therefore, any finite list of functions will be more or less arbitrary. However, this study will take Grosjean's table of factors influencing language choice (Table 2.2, p.101) as a model, as it seems to be a concise but comprehensive outline which potentially and accurately explains students' language choice.

2.5. Attitudinal Dimensions

In spite of the fact that code-switching is omnipresent in bi- and multi-lingual communities, and that linguists view it as "a quite normal and widespread form of bilingual interaction" (Muysken, 1995:177), attitudinal aspects of code-

switching have rarely been addressed. It is nevertheless a highly stigmatized form of conversation. It would be reinventing the wheel to argue here for the link between the pejorative attitudes towards code-switching and the traditions of prescriptivism and semilingualism¹ which still persist today. The irony is that such false and unfounded notions are promoted not only in popular culture but also by the so-called fathers of modern linguistics, Leonard Bloomfield and Ferdinand de Saussure. For example, the following excerpt is from Bloomfield's (1927:395) description of the linguistic profile of a Native American speaker:

White Thunder, a man around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarous, and he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably.

It appears from Bloomfield's observation that he does not see his informant as a fully competent speaker in either of the languages in his linguistic repertoire. In the same vein, in his now classic work on language contact phenomena, Weinreich (1968:73) described the ideal bilingual as the one who

Switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.

¹ Prescriptivism is known as the view that one variety of language is given an inherently higher value than other varieties and that this ought to be imposed on the whole of the speech community, especially through educational means (Crystal, 1997). Semilingualism, on the other hand, is the popular belief that bilingual speakers who code-switch do so because of their lack of linguistic competence in their repertoire (Edelsky, Hudelson, Flores, Barkin, Altwerger, & Jilbert, 1983).

Such a characterization assumed by definition the existence of the imperfect bilingual who supposedly has less than an ideal competence in either of the languages at his disposal. In turn, code-switching has become part of the performance of the imperfect bilingual. While it is understandable that these scholars were only reflecting the attitudes of their time, we nevertheless cannot ignore the fact that such notions about the legitimacy of one language or language variety over another have been the major source of inspiration for the deficit hypothesis in the United States and many other countries, and its practical applications in schools. For example, the British sociologist Bernstein's (1972, 1974) work was mostly taken to imply that the reason why the children of the working-class or the ethnic minority groups failed in school was that their language was deficient or restricted in some way, which somehow had to be remedied by schools. Fasold's (1975:202-203) description of a teacher-student exchange, which was screened to linguists at the 1973 Linguistic Institute in Ann Arbor, Michigan, illustrates one such corrective program developed by a team of educational psychologists for children alleged to have deficient language abilities:

Earnest White teacher, leaning forward, holding a coffee cup:

"This-is-not-a-spoon."

Little Black girl, softly: "Dis not no 'poon.'

White teacher, leaning farther forward, raising her voice: "No, This-is-not-a-spoon."

Black child, softly: "Dis not a 'poon.'"

White teacher, frustrated: "This-is-not-a-spoon."

Child, exasperated: "Well, dass a cup!"

The reaction of the linguists, after they had finished applauding and cheering for the child, was a mixture of amusement, incredulity and anger.

Haugen (1977:94) reported some anecdotal evidence from a Norwegian visitor who was commenting on the language spoken by Norwegian immigrants in the USA: "Strictly speaking, it is no language whatever, but a gruesome mixture of Norwegian and English, and often one does not know whether to take it humorously or seriously."

Similar qualitative evidence has been reported in several other contexts including Nigeria (Amuda, 1986, quoted in Romaine 1995), Morocco (Bentahila, 1983), India (Pandit, 1986), Hong Kong (Gibbons, 1987) and the United Kingdom (Romaine, 2000). For example, in Morocco, people who code-switched were seen as being "still colonised", and in Nigeria, code-switching was described as a "verbal salad". In Hong Kong students found code-switching to be "irritating" (Gibbons, 1987), while Fitouri (1983) conducting research in Tunisia, referred to code-switching as "semilinguisme double". Overall, the findings of the studies that have investigated code-switching have revealed generally negative attitudes towards code-switching behaviour (Romaine, 1995; Chana and Romaine, 1984).

In the case of bilingual classrooms, the notion of semilingualism embodies itself in the form of negative teacher attitudes toward students who code-switch in classroom interaction. Code-switching, as with any kind of stigmatized language variety, is seen as a deviation from some norm. In their study on

teacher attitudes toward non-standard varieties of American English, Ramirez and Milk (1986) asked teachers of bilingual students to judge four varieties (one standard and three non-standard) in terms of their appropriateness for the classroom, degree of correctness, and students' academic potential. Teachers consistently judged English/Spanish code-switching as the least acceptable form in all respects, ranking it even less favourably than ungrammatical English. If this is true, then teachers' beliefs about their students' capabilities may strongly influence the level of the student's achievement.

There is also some evidence that negative attitudes towards code-switching are likely to lead people to attenuate their self-reported code-switching. For instance, Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that Norwegian participants vastly underreported the amount of CS behaviour they engaged in. Moreover, when the participants were made aware of the amount of CS they actually engaged in, they said that they would make every attempt to reduce it. Lahlou (1993), Romaine (1995) and Swigart (1992) discussed other similar evidence from different contexts showing that people who code switch often tend not to acknowledge it.

However, there is also some ambiguity in reported attitudes to code-switching. For example, code-switchers are frequently accused both of not being able to speak either language correctly and of "showing off" (Bentahila, 1983: iii). Among the Punjabi speaking community in Britain, Romaine (1995:292) reports a conflict between the prestige of using English words when speaking

Punjabi and "... condemnation as foreign elements destroying the purity" of the Punjabi language. In other contexts, code-switching is considered to be a compromise between traditional attitudes represented by the local variety (e.g. Cantonese in Hong Kong) and Westernisation represented by the ex-coloniser's language (e.g. English in Hong Kong: Gibbons, 1987). Gibbons (1987) suggests that code-switching may have some form of 'covert prestige' associated with it. Given this ambivalence in attitudes to code-switching, it is perhaps not surprising that previous research suggests a discrepancy between reported behaviour and actual use. However, these studies provide little actual empirical evidence of the conditions under which code-switching is likely to be positively evaluated and where the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour is likely to be reduced.

Conclusion

Linguists and sociolinguists have contributed greatly to the research on code variation. Because of the use of different approaches, definitional issues have faced all researchers concerning the related language phenomena and the mixing patterns. In addition, there have mainly been two trends in the research on code alternation; it is either linguistic focusing on structural constraints on alternation or sociolinguistic focusing on social motivations of such alternation. However, few researchers think that the use of one approach only has negative consequences on the quality of the research; consequently, they have used both approaches in their studies. This last trend is followed in this study in order to

give a clear and comprehensive picture of the situation of code alternation among the members of a specific community that forms the subject of this study. The analysis takes into account not only the macro-level societal factors but also the micro-level situational and attitudinal ones. Moreover, attitudes towards code-switching as a pattern of mixing have generally been identified as being negative by the majority of researchers, despite reports by few of them of the existence of some discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour.

CHAPTER THREE

The Functional Framework of the Study

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology employed in this study. It presents the qualitative and the quantitative procedures used in both macro- and micro-sociolinguistic studies. The macro-sociolinguistic study was carried out (and is here presented) first, with the belief that an overall view of the major patterning is a great help, if not a prerequisite, to micro-sociolinguistic studies. In addition to the research procedures, a functional framework for analysing the data is presented to explore general findings. Detailed analyses of the data are made in the following chapters.

3.1. Research Procedures

There are two principal methods of gaining information about the mixing patterns, the language choice in relation to the contextual factors (see Chapter Five), and attitudes towards code-switching (see Chapter Six). One can observe the speakers' behaviour, or one can ask them what they do: in other words ethnographic studies or census techniques. The ethnography of speech utilizes qualitative and descriptive analysis. It is essential for studies that are concerned with the speech of a community for the purpose of describing and analysing its patterns of using languages and dialects. It is based on gathering substantial recordings of genuine situated speech, and then attempting to detect patterns using evidence internal to the data and the researcher's intuition, drawing on

his/her social knowledge. The census questionnaire approach has the great advantage of being well suited to very large scale studies, being comparatively simple and cheap to administer. It also permits the gathering of specific and directly comparable data from a large number of subjects.

The data were collected to investigate code-variation and related language contact phenomena for the speech community of university students, specifically for the research questions asked in Chapter One. A wide range of speaker participants were randomly selected from the community of university students at Mentouri University, Constantine, and the ethnographic and the census approaches were applied. In addition to recording natural conversations among students, a questionnaire (see Appendix B) was administered to a group of respondents.

To obtain a full picture of the language contact phenomena of this community, it was necessary to record, transcribe, and analyze natural language data from the participants. Information from the recordings is linked to the code-mixing patterns observed in the community (Chapter Four), and information from the questionnaire is linked to the students' language choice and attitudes (Chapters Five and Six respectively). This linking is an effort to investigate as much as possible the macro and micro aspects of mixing phenomenon.

Information from the recorded conversations and the questionnaire regarding gender, level of parents, region of family residence, years of study at the university, speech repertoire, language use, and language attitudes are

presented in this chapter. The rest of the chapter discusses the methodology of the study. Throughout this chapter, quantitative data are given in the form of tables and their corresponding figures in graph format for ease of comparison.

3.2. Selection of Participants

To collect data from natural conversations in order to examine the research questions, university students of both sexes and from different fields of study were selected, representing varying socio-economic levels and using different languages of study. The selection of participants using different languages of study aims at investigating possible discrepancies in language use and attitudes among the concerned students. Participants were selected randomly and contacted by me or other students from the same field of study who were participants and helped in the research at the same time.

Because the two approaches of investigation were not applied at the same time, the focus was on having the same sample for both approaches. However, it was almost impossible to get in touch with every participant in the ethnographic study. The majority (79 participants) could be reached and were involved in the census questionnaire, but the other participants could not be reached.

3.3. Ethnographic Study

3.3.1. Database

The database for Chapter Four consists of tape recordings of authentic student conversations. Since audio recorders were less conspicuous and easy to implement, all the data were collected by audio recordings. They were collected

over approximately three months. Because the main focus of the study is on peer group interaction within the speech community; all the data were collected in interactions between fellow students. According to Gardner-Chloros (1995: 82), based on conversation data sets, there will likely be more code-mixing patterns between peers than in non-peer interactions.

Randomly, the students of Mentouri University, Constantine, were asked to tape record a segment of natural conversation. We were present during few of the recording sessions, and we preferred to be absent during most of the other sessions because we believed that the presence of the students who were recording conversations would make the participants better at ease. Therefore, all students who helped in audio recording had known participants for a certain period of time¹. The recordings varied in length from five minutes to more than one hour (two recordings lasted 67 and 73 minutes). Recording was achieved through the use of a small unobtrusive battery powered cassette recorder with built-in microphones. Of course, cassettes were also provided. The quality of the recording was in most cases quite good, but not adequate for studies of fine phonetic variation. There were 35 recordings in all. Two recordings were discounted because foreign students studying at the same university joined the conversation shortly after it had begun. Therefore, Algerian students used either French or English instead. The remaining 33 recordings lasted 29 hours and 40 minutes. The students were requested to supply the following information on

¹ I am really grateful to all students who helped in the audio recordings and took part in the sample.

themselves and other participants: (1) Last secondary school attended (2) Faculty (3) Subjects studied at University. This information was provided for most speakers, although occasionally the recording student failed to ask about the details of a participant. The recording students were also requested to ask for prior consent from all participants before recording and to inform them about the aim of the research and of the confidentiality on their personal information; of course, participants were assured that no name was to be mentioned. The conversations took place in various parts of the campus, predominantly in the University cafeteria, the esplanade, and the halls of residence. The recording students say that the conversations sounded natural, apart from some natural inhibition in the first few utterances on some tapes. I witnessed the same phenomenon in the few conversations I recorded.

3.3.2. The Sample

3.3.2.1. Characteristics

The remaining 33 recordings involved 112 participants: 70 females and 42 males. They were from the Faculties of Arts, Sciences, Medicine, Law, and Social Sciences. Of the total number, 45 had Arabic as the language of study, 54 had French, and 13 had English. Table 3.1 displays the composition of the sample by Faculty and gender.

Faculty	Subject	Students	Male	Female
Arts	Arabic literature	16	5	11
	French	7	3	4
	English	13	4	9
	Total	36	12	24
Science	Biology	18	6	12
	Computing	14	9	5
	Total	32	15	17
Medicine	Medicine	8	3	5
	Dentistry	3	1	2
	Pharmacy	4	0	4
	Total	15	4	11
Law	Law	11	5	6
Social Science	Sociology	18	6	12
Totals		112	42	70

Table 3.1: Composition of the Sample in the Ethnographic Study

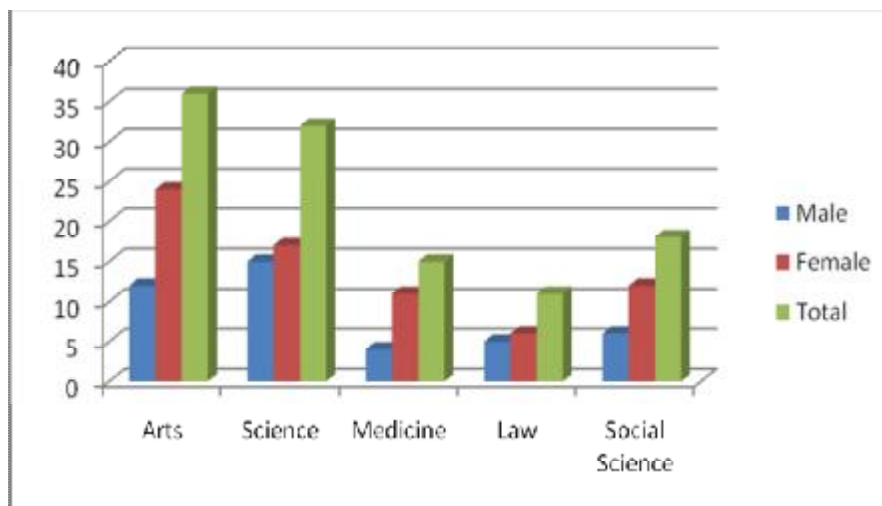


Figure 3.1: Composition of the Sample in the Ethnographic Study

3.3.2.2. Speech Repertoire

All the sampled students have in their speech repertoire at least three codes. These are Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and French. In addition, students tend to mix the three codes in speech, especially Algerian Arabic and French (see Chapter Four). According to the degree of integration, we can have two types of mixture. The first mixture is characterised by the use of French words which are partially or totally integrated into Arabic (see borrowing below). This type of mixture has become a common feature of the vernacular in Algeria, so it is not a separate code on its own. Therefore, to distinguish between dialectal Arabic alone (Algerian Arabic) and the first mixture, it would be preferable to label the vernacular spoken by students and Algerians in general as Spoken Algerian Arabic. The second mixture is characterised by the use of totally unassimilated French words, phrases, or even utterances, in addition to Spoken Algerian Arabic (code-switching). This is referred to below as Arabic-French. Thus, in Arabic-French, the phenomena of borrowing and code-switching characterise the speech of Algerians. The speech repertoire of all the sampled students therefore contains the following codes:

- Spoken Algerian Arabic (Vernacular Arabic + French borrowed words)
- Modern Standard Arabic
- French
- Arabic-French (Spoken Algerian Arabic + French)

In addition, some of the sampled students (16 students) have Tamazight as their mother tongue, because they come from neighbouring regions where Tamazight is the mother tongue. However, they all know Spoken Algerian Arabic and use it with other participants in the recorded conversations. As we are concerned with Arabic-French code-switching only, code-switching between Tamazight and the other codes is not taken into consideration in this thesis.

Since English is a foreign language taught from the 7th grade, all the sampled students know English with varying degrees of fluency. Yet, in all the recordings, there were two Arabic-English code-switches only which were performed by one undergraduate student at the English Department. Again, this kind of code-switching is not taken into consideration in this thesis.

It would be impractical to include the entire data base in the body of the thesis. A transcription of a representative recording is available in Appendix 1. Where possible, an example will be given from this recording.

3.3.3. Data Analysis

The data that were collected from the participants of this study are analysed to determine occurrences and patterns of code-mixing. The phonological, lexical, and syntactic configurations resulting from Arabic and French in contact are examined. Therefore, a linguistic description of the resulting patterns will be undertaken at a number of language levels, including phonology, lexis, and grammar. Within each level, we will see elements that

form part of the systems of the two contributing languages (Arabic and French).

We will focus on language change that is due to language contact.

3.3.4. Results

The findings produced by the analysis of the recorded data vary according to the different levels investigated. Before displaying these findings in order, note should be made of the fact that the Arabic element in Arabic-French code-mixing appears to have undergone no modification at all – its phonology, lexis and syntax appear virtually identical to monolingual Algerian Arabic speech. It is the French contribution to the mixture which has been modified and adapted in a number of interesting ways, and which will form the focus of the description.

3.3.4.1. Phonology

Student speech may consist of French items which are more or less integrated. When French elements are used in Spoken Algerian Arabic, one might expect some modification of the French sound system towards Arabic norms. It is the extent and nature of such changes that form the focus of what follows. The focus is mainly on the part of the phonology of Arabic and French called segments, i.e. consonants, vowels and diphthongs. We shall not be involved with the supra-segments which merit a separate thesis.

The following forms of modification were observed:

- Substitution: When a speaker is using a second language, there is a well attested tendency to assimilate the sound segments of that language towards equivalents in his native language. They need not be the nearest in acoustic

terms, but rather one that occupies a similar contrastive position in the sound system of the speaker's native language. For example, the phoneme /p/ exists in French but does not exist in Arabic, so it is substituted by the sound /b/ in Arabic. Instead of saying /pLas/ as in French for the word 'place', we say /bLa a/.

- Deletion: One or more French sound segments are lost. For example, instead of saying /eskalje/ as in French for the word 'escalier', we say /skali/.

- Addition: A sound segment is added. For example, instead of saying /sa e/ as in French for the word 'sachet', we say / a ija/.

3.3.4.2. Lexis

The use of French varies considerably in the speech of the recorded sample. In natural conversations, respondents use very little if any code-switching and use Spoken Algerian Arabic almost exclusively, frequent code-switching patterns, borrowing patterns, and almost exclusive French with little or no code-switching.

Little code-switching is defined as those patterns in which only an occasional, usually single morpheme or word from the other language is inserted into the Matrix Language frame. Heavier code-switching patterns are those in which several instances of inter- or intra-sentential switching occur, involving more than occasional single morpheme or word insertions. Borrowing is the pattern resulting from contact between Arabic and French which is so intense that morphological attachments and word order from one language (Algerian

Arabic) are highly noticeable, even in morpheme strings mostly from the other language (French). Borrowing is defined as the influence of the morpho-syntax of one language on another language.

Therefore, French code-mixes consist of single words as well as entire sentences. They preserve all of the linguistic features of monolingual French utterances or are well integrated into the phonological and/or morphological systems of Arabic with no overt indication of their French origin. Consequently, French lexical items are analysed according to their degree of integration into Spoken Algerian Arabic. This analysis leads to the discussion of two language phenomena: borrowing and code-switching.

French borrowed words are integrated into Spoken Algerian Arabic according to a continuum that shows the degree of assimilation. French code-switched elements vary in length. Although they normally preserve all the linguistic features of monolingual French, they demonstrate little phonological adaptation.

3.3.4.3. Grammar

Patterns of linguistic code-switching and borrowing in the recorded conversations were distinguished. The following language patterns were found in the data: SAA with no code-switching, French with no code-switching, SAA with single French lexeme insertions, French with single SAA lexeme insertions, inter-sentential SAA-French code-switching, intra-sentential SAA-French code-switching, and French morpheme strings with SAA as the Matrix Language.

Segments of SAA with no code-switching comprise the vast majority of the data. On the contrary, French with no code-switching is exceptional language behaviour and forms a very small part of the data.

SAA with single French lexeme insertions (SAA>Finsert) is a segment of only SAA morphemes and grammatical structure, with the exception of one French word or morpheme inserted in a grammatical slot that would be occupied by an SAA word or morpheme in an all SAA segment.

a. /ma la:zam ja arfu billi ma qrina: l-cours/

(They mustn't know that we didn't have the lecture)

It is clear that the whole utterance consists of SAA lexemes and grammatical structure, except for the last word which is a French word inserted in the SAA segment.

Likewise, French with single SAA lexeme insertions (F>SAAinsert) is a segment of all French morphemes and grammatical structure with the exception of one SAA word or morpheme inserted in a grammatical slot that would be occupied by a French word or morpheme in an all French segment.

b. /Il est vraiment difficile de réviser les cours ka:mal ces jours-ci/

(It is really difficult to revise all the lectures these days)

Lexically and grammatically the whole utterance is in French, except for one SAA lexical item inserted in the French segment. SAA>Finsert and F>SAAinsert are both examples of code-switching, as opposed to borrowing.

Inter-sentential SAA-French code-switching is a switch at sentence boundaries. It is found within different patterns. It is a part of SAA>Fininsert or a part of F>SAAinsert when inter-sentential switching involves a single lexeme as illustrated in examples (c) and (d) respectively:

c. /huma raw u li-dda:r. *Mais* na ru na li l- ami a/

(They went home, but we went to the university)

d. /Les contrôles commencent dans une semaine. ja ni il faut bien réviser/

(The exams start in one week. It means we must revise well)

In case of heavier code-switching, inter-sentential switching is similar to intra-sentential switching because both contain instances of multi-word “islands” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) of one language either embedded in or alternating with word strings of the other language. Intra-sentential SAA-French code-switching is an instance of sentence-internal embedding of a multi-word string of one language into the other. Consider examples (e) and (f) which illustrate inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching with heavier code-switching respectively:

e. /kunna na sab a i:x ma j i:ba waja s a:b. *Mais,*
malheureusement

a:b wa:ja ma qrinahum /

(We had thought that the teacher would not ask difficult questions. But,
unfortunately he asked about things we had not studied)

f. /*Les notes* li dina:hum *ne reflètent pas* at-tu b li t abna:h *ces jours-ci*/

(The marks we got do not reflect the effort we made these days)

The remaining language type is a type of borrowing. A French morpheme string with SAA as the Matrix Language (SAA>Fborrow) is French more or less integrated into SAA. 'Borrowing' does not categorically mean that one language will eventually turn completely into the other but only that one language is influenced at different levels by the other. Consider the following example (the French borrowed words are underlined):

g. /bakkart ba:h na kam bla: a mli: a/

(I went early to get a good place)

In addition to the aforementioned language patterns distinguished in the recorded conversations, applying Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language principle (see 2.3.2 above) to determine the dominant (base) language is not an easy task in all cases. Although the model seems to be the most suitable one for the structural analysis of code-switching so far, it is not suitable for all instances of code-switching in all languages, at least Arabic-French code-switching. There are several points in the model which need to be revised so that it would be appropriate for all instances of code-switching.

As far as word order is concerned, the syntactic structure of sentences depends on the type and number of French elements used. In case the latter are borrowed items, the sentences have a VSO order. In case the French elements are code-switches, the syntactic structure of sentences depends on the ML.

3.4. Questionnaire

3.4.1. Database

A 37 item questionnaire was administered to collect information about language choice and attitudes (see Appendix B). The questionnaire consisted of two parts: the first part addressed independent variables (items 1-17), and the second part was a Likert-type scale which consisted of questions designed to measure hypotheses put forth about the language choice and attitudes of the population surveyed.

The questionnaire was written in two versions (one in Arabic and the other in French). The respondents had a choice between French and Arabic as both versions were available to them. Some of the questionnaires were completed in classes with the consent and help of teachers while others were completed in different locations on the university campus. Some students from different fields of study helped in the distribution and the collection of the questionnaires. Of course, no individual's name is used in this study in order to protect individual privacy.

Items 1-7 were used to collect respondents' personal information. Gender was determined by item 1. It was hypothesized to affect respondents' language choice and attitudes. One complaint often heard from Algerian males is that females prefer to use French in their daily interaction with friends or in the street. Age was requested in item 2 to look for possible discrepancies in

language use and attitudes between young students and older ones. Likewise, place of birth was requested in item 6 to correlate any patterns in the linguistic data that could be associated with a particular region of origin. It was hypothesized that ethnicity had a great influence on language use and attitudes. In addition to item 6, this independent variable was determined by items 10, 13, 14, 22, and 23 (language of daily communication of parents, languages spoken, and language used at home with parents and siblings). For example, if a respondent was born in a Berber region or speaks Tamazight at home most of the time, that person is grouped with the Tamazight speakers. The reason for this is that only Berbers use Tamazight as a home language all the time.

In items 3, 4, and 5, the field of study, the academic year, and the language of study were determined. It was hypothesized that these three variables would have a big influence on students' language choice and attitudes. Depending on the field and the language of study, students' language choice and attitudes would be predictable. Concerning the academic year, it was hypothesized that language choice and attitudes would change according to the number of years spent at the university.

Sanchez (1982:11-12) noted that "Occupation, salary, education, and years of residence are all interconnected factors affecting the language choice." Data about the level of education are an important indicator of socio-economic status and are also a good indicator of the language(s) in which a speaker interacts. Therefore, parents' level of education was requested in items 8-13 to collect

background information about parents and to determine the socio-economic status of respondents. These items asked about the level of formal education achieved by parents and the respondents' perception of their parents' ability to speak and read the standard languages of the school (Modern Standard Arabic and French).

The language used by parents in daily communications was requested in items 10 and 13 to check for possible influence by parents' behaviour on the respondents' language choice and attitudes. It was hypothesized that the parents had a great influence on their children's overall behaviour and deeds, including language habits and attitudes towards languages in the speech repertoire.

In items 15-17, respondents were asked to evaluate their own oral and written proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic and French. It should be mentioned that competence in Modern Standard Arabic and French were not measured by this study. This variable is less independent than the other variables because it is based on reported data. Yet, estimated competence in both languages or one of them was requested to check if competence entails positive or negative attitudes.

Another objective of this study was to see if students were aware of their language behaviour of code-switching. It was hypothesized that students might be unaware of certain aspects of their language behaviour or might use code-switching to fulfil a communicative strategy. Items 18-21 were asked to check

whether Arabic-French code-switching is used randomly or used on purpose. They were also asked to deduce possible attitudes towards code-switching.

In items 22-33, language choice was determined according to participants, situation, and topic. Due to the change in language use according to different contexts, students were asked to rate their use of the different varieties in their speech repertoire according to the changing contexts. It was hypothesized that the more formal the context is the more standard the language chosen would be. In addition, attitudes might be deduced from the language choice since the latter might be an indicator of language attitudes.

Attitudes towards code-switching were requested in items 34-36 to look for students' opinions about code-switching and to see whether these overt opinions corresponded to the attitudes deduced from other items. It was hypothesized that there would be discrepancies between the declared attitudes and the deduced ones.

An open-ended question (item 37) at the end of the questionnaire allowed the respondents to give additional comments about their language choice and attitudes. These comments were used throughout Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 to illustrate the language use and the attitudes of the community of students.

3.4.2. The Sample

Out of the 272 questionnaires collected, 248 were used in this study; the remaining questionnaires were discarded because the respondents left too many items unanswered.

As stated above, students were contacted randomly. Yet, to look for possible discrepancies between the results of the ethnographic study and those of the questionnaire, there was an attempt to contact all the students who took part in the ethnographic study. However, it was not possible to contact every participant, but we managed to administer the questionnaire to the majority of the sample (79 participants).

Responses to most of the above questions from the questionnaire were used to present the social and educational background of the participants in the following section.

3.4.3. Data Analysis

3.4.3.1. Background of the Sample

Tables 3.2 to 3.10 indicate the social and educational factors obtained from the corresponding questionnaires for the participants in the study. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below indicate the number of participants according to the field and language of study. The participants in the sample study in different faculties and departments. After having pursued their pre-university studies mainly in Arabic since French and English are taught as foreign languages, students pursue their studies in Arabic, French, or English depending on the field of study. Thus, students of Arabic literature and social sciences have Arabic as the language of study, and students of the French language, medicine, and biology have French. Of course, students of English pursue their studies in English. All this information is presented in the following tables and figures (3.2 and 3.3).

Major	Male	Female	Total
Arabic literature	11	34	45
Biology	6	26	32
English	6	34	40
French	5	21	26
Medicine	14	27	41
Social Science	10	54	64

Table 3.2: Number of Respondents According to Field of Study

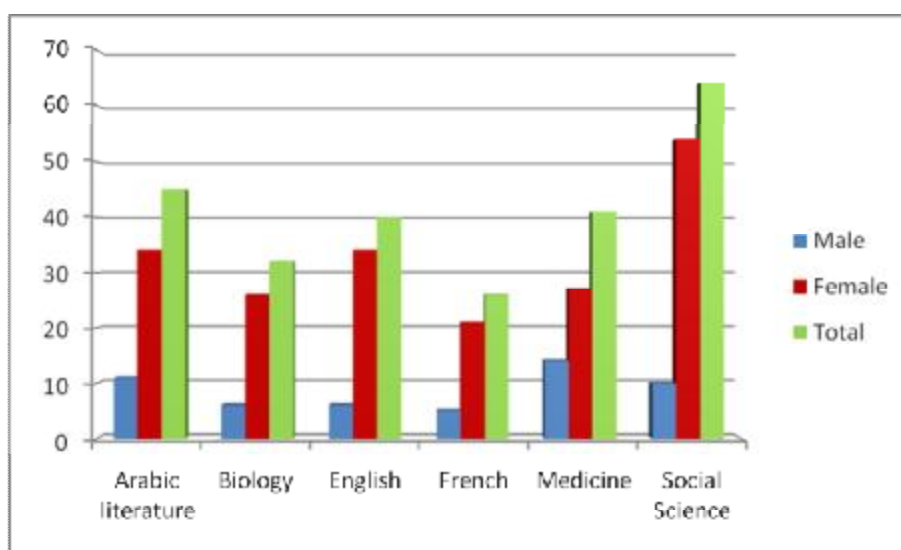


Figure 3.2: Sample According to Field of Study

Language of study	Female	male	Total
Arabic	88	21	109

French	74	25	99
English	34	6	40

Table 3.3: Number of the Respondents According to Language of Study

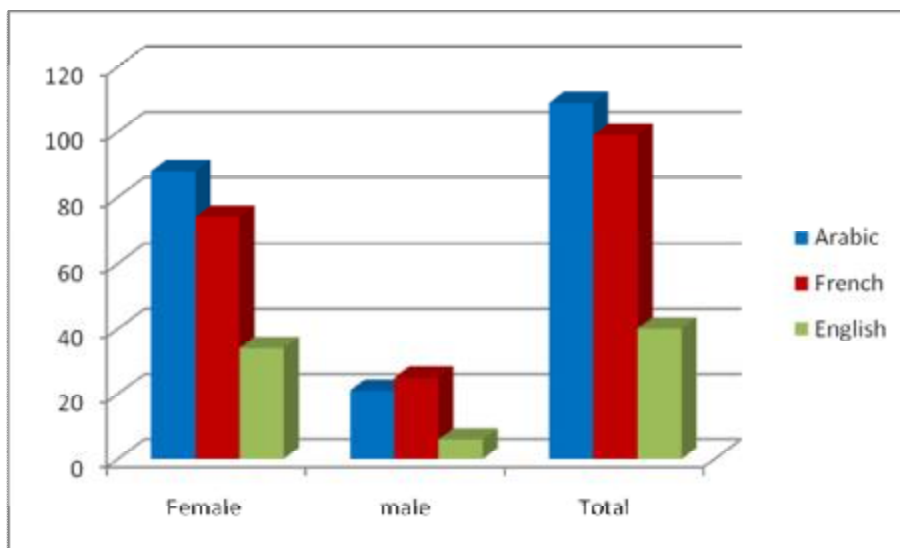


Figure 3.3: Sample According to Field of Study

Table 3.4 below indicates the number of respondents according to gender and age. Students are divided into two age groups because it is expected that the majority of students, except students of medicine who study for seven years, finish their graduate studies at the age of 22 or 23 because they study for 3 or 4 years. The figures show that the majority are mainly from the first age group. Students in the second age group are either married unemployed female students or male students who have jobs in the public or private sectors.

Age	Female	Male	Total
17-23	185	29	214

24-33	11	23	34
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Table 3.4: Age and Gender of Respondents

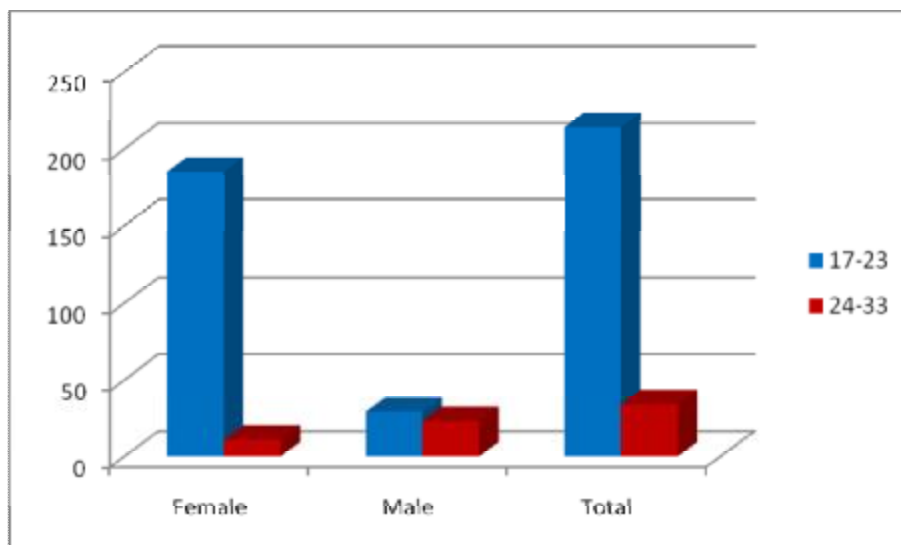


Figure 3.4: Age and Gender of Respondents

Respondents were also asked to report their level of education. Table 3.5 below shows that the population of the sample is varied and consists of students who study in the four years of graduation. There is a balance in the number of respondents studying in the first three years, but the number of those studying in the fourth year is less than the others because of the change in the university system (from the classical system to the LMD). All fourth year students who took part in the study were specialised in the study of the French language. This feature is of great importance since it has a great impact on the concerned students' language use and attitudes.

Year of study	Female	Male	Total
1 st year	63	21	84
2 nd year	34	17	51
3 rd year	78	9	87
4 th year	21	5	26

Table 3.5: Number of Respondents According to Year of Study

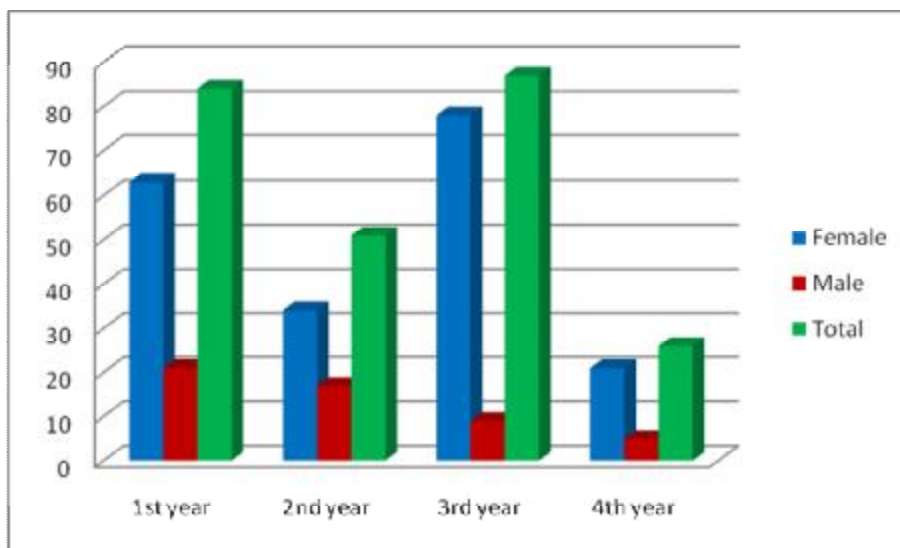


Figure 3.5: Number of Respondents According to Year of Study

Table 3.6 which follows indicates that the majority of the respondents were born in Constantine and the neighbouring regions. Their mother tongue is Spoken Algerian Arabic. A minority of students were born in Tamazight-speaking regions, such as the regions of Oum El-Bouaghi and Bejaia. Yet, Table 3.7 indicates that some of the respondents who were born in Tamazight-speaking

regions no longer live in those regions; they live in Arabic-speaking areas, mainly in Constantine.

Place of birth	Female	Male	Total
Arabic speaking regions	161	45	206
Tamazight speaking regions	35	7	42

Table 3.6: Number of Respondents According to Place of Birth

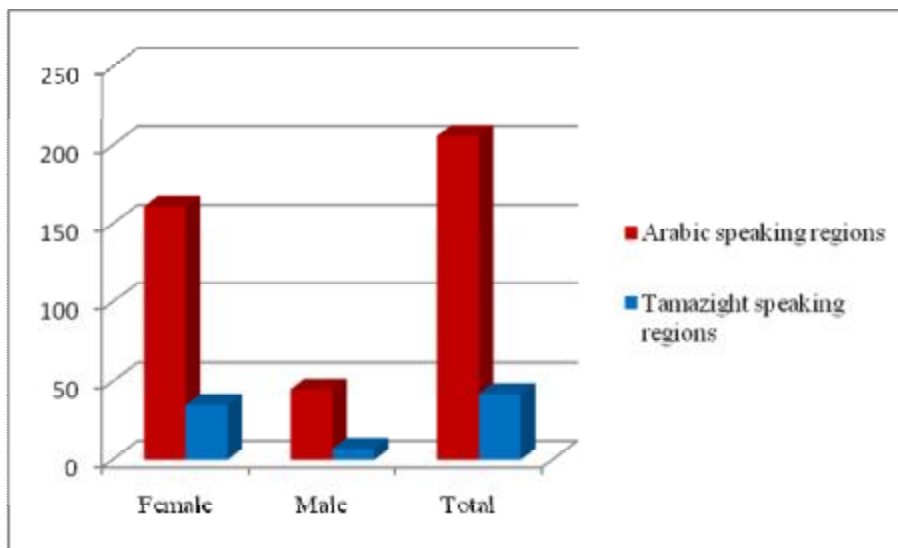


Figure 3.6 : Sample According to Place of Birth

Place of residence	Female	Male	Total
Arabic speaking regions	176	47	223
Tamazight speaking regions	20	5	25

Table 3.7: Number of Respondents According to Language Speaking Regions

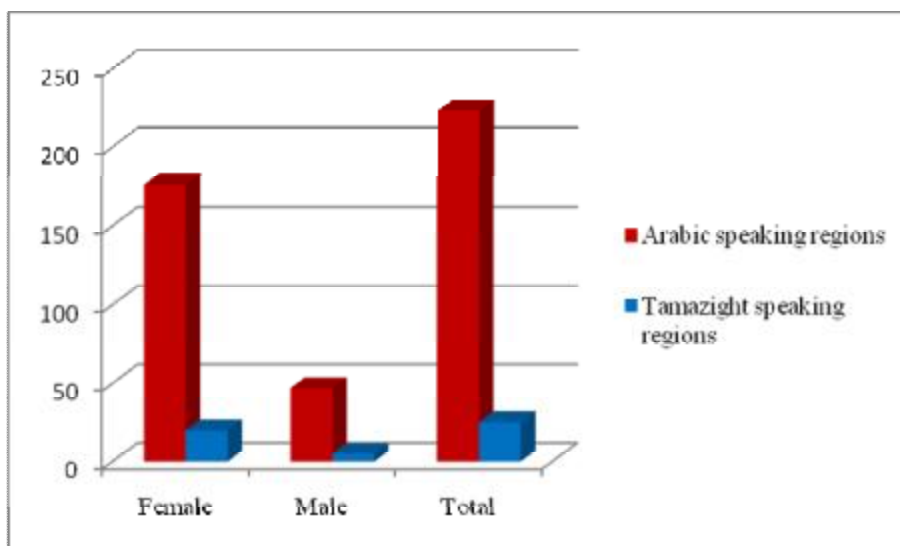


Figure 3.7: Respondents According to Language Speaking Regions

In addition, place of residence was requested to check possible discrepancies in language use between students who come from urban areas and those who come from rural ones. Figure 3.8 below shows that a significant number of students come from urban areas.

Place of residence	Female	Male	Total
Urban areas	92	28	120
Rural areas	78	18	96

Table 3.8: Number of Respondents Living in Urban and Rural Areas

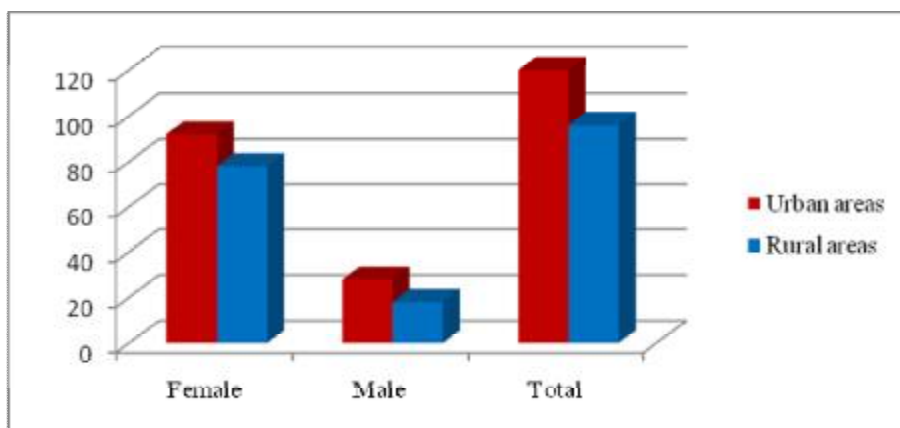


Figure 3.8: Respondents Living in Urban and Rural Areas

Respondents were asked to give their parents' level of education. Table 3.9 indicates that the majority of parents have a pre-university level. In addition, despite massive education policy, there are some parents who are reported as having no schooling at all. This is explained by the old age of parents who did not have the opportunity to enter school in the past. The level of mothers and fathers are generally balanced, despite some minor discrepancies in their number according to the different levels of education.

Level of education	Mothers	Fathers
None	27	21
Primary	33	41
Intermediate	61	65
Secondary	82	68
University	45	53

Table 3.9: Level of Education of the Respondents' Parents

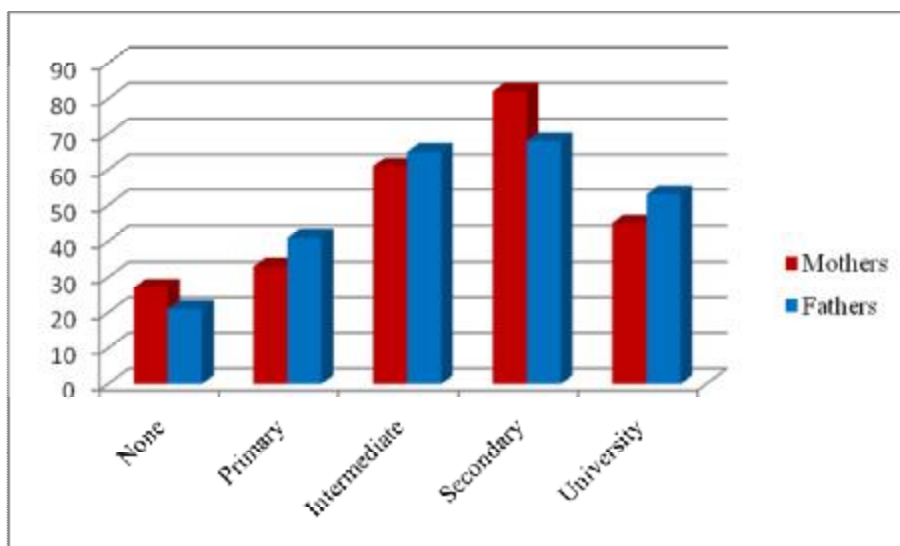


Figure 3.9: Level of Education of Parents

Table 3.10 below indicates the language varieties spoken by the parents. None of the parents uses Modern Standard Arabic in daily informal communications. Instead, the majority use Spoken Algerian Arabic, and almost one third of respondents' parents use French. Mothers use French in their daily conversations more than fathers. Although some parents have a Tamazight (Berber) origin, not all of them use Tamazight in their communications. As observed in the case of French, mothers use Tamazight more than fathers.

Parents' used languages	Mothers	Fathers
Modern Standard Arabic	0	0
Spoken Algerian Arabic	155	174
Tamazight	32	26
French	69	48

Table 3.10: Languages Used by the Respondents' Parents

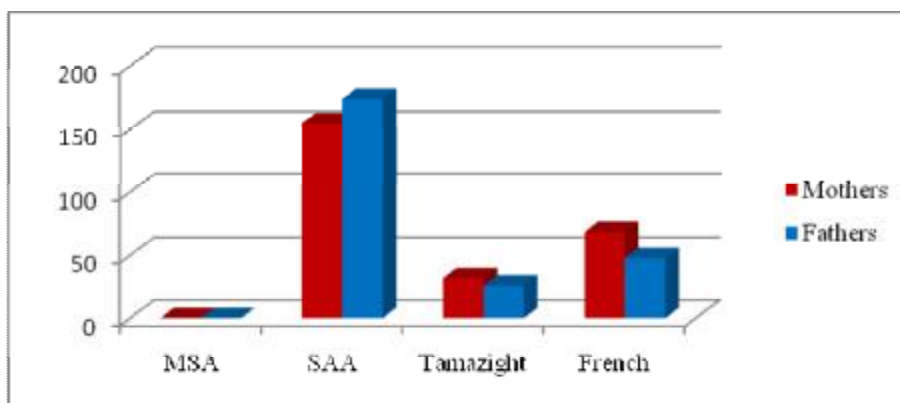


Figure 3.10: Languages Used by the Respondents' Parents

Although the speech repertoire of the sample includes different varieties which were identified in 3.3.2.2 above, the respondents were asked to report their spoken languages in order to determine their ethnic origin. Table 3.11 indicates that all the respondents admit speaking MSA, SAA, and French. This is a normal situation since all students have pursued their previous studies in MSA and French as a foreign language. The number of respondents who speak Tamazight is less than the expected number which normally should have matched their number according to place of birth. This reveals that some parents who speak Tamazight as the mother tongue and live in Arabic-speaking regions have some children who do not speak Tamazight.

Language spoken	Female	Male	Total
Modern Standard Arabic	196	52	248
Spoken Algerian Arabic	196	52	248
Tamazight	26	6	32
French	196	52	248

Table 3.11: Speech Repertoire of the Respondents

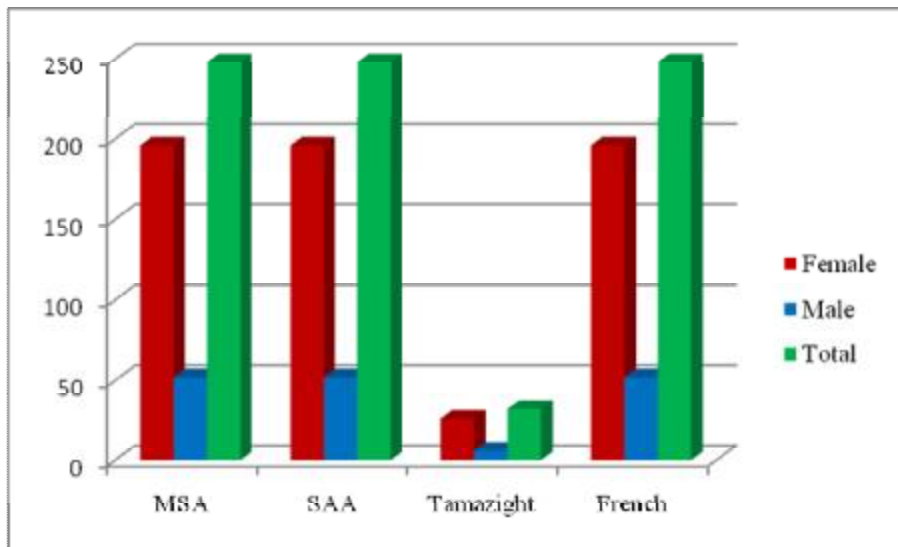


Figure 3.11: Speech Repertoire of the Sample

The respondents were asked to report on their oral and written language proficiency in MSA and French. The following tables (3.12, 3.13, and 3.14) indicate that in general the respondents master MSA better than French. However, language proficiency by the same respondent varies from one language skill to the other. For example, some students reported having the same easiness in understanding and reading the two languages and having difficulty in writing in French. The most unexpected responses were given by some students studying to graduate in the French language. Although they were senior students, they admitted having difficulties in the three language skills in French; they reported mastering MSA better than French. In addition, the number of female students who stated that their oral and written language proficiency in French is better than that in MSA is much bigger than the number of male students.

Listening competence	Female	Male
MSA	143	46
French	36	4
Same level	17	2

Table 3.12: Listening Competence of the Respondents

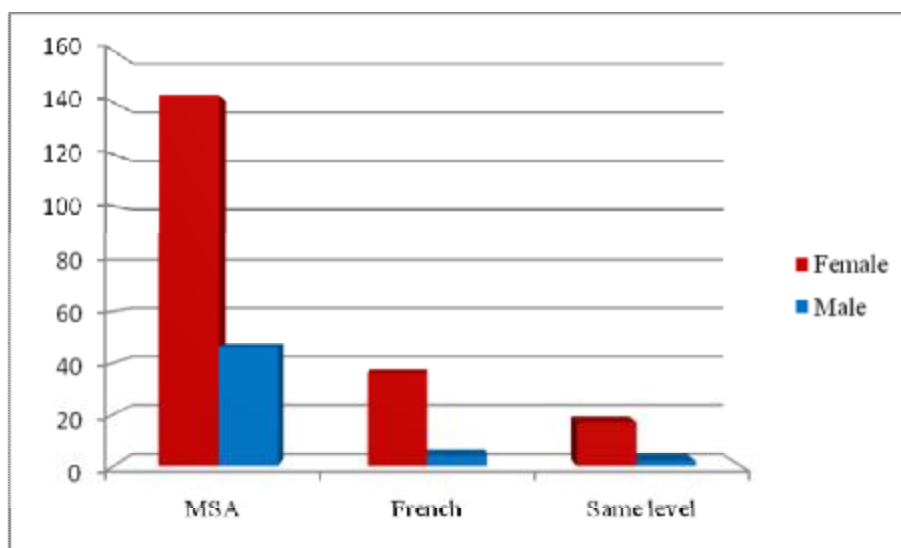


Figure3.12: Listening Competence of the Respondents

Reading competence	Female	Male
MSA	104	27
French	20	8
Same level	72	17

Table 3.13: Reading Competence of the Respondents

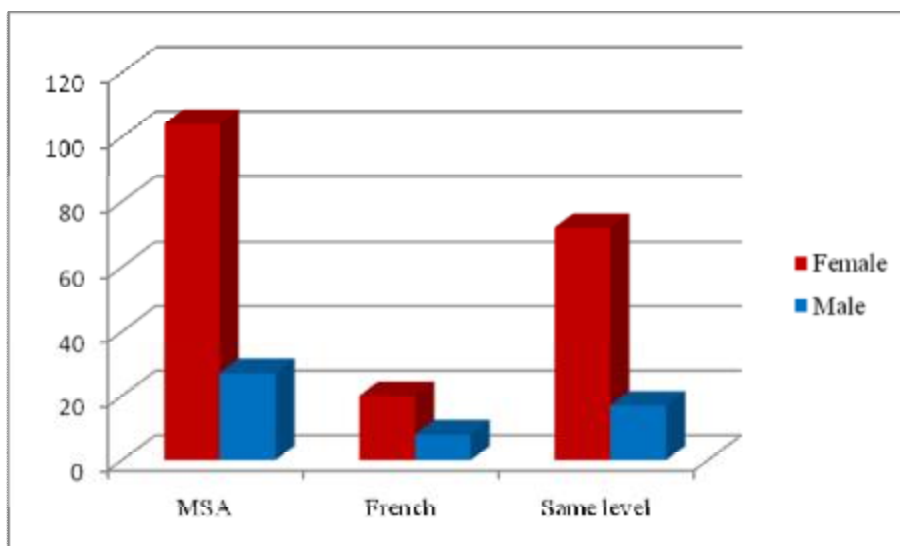


Figure 3.13: Reading Competence of the Respondents

Writing competence	Female	Male
MSA	163	49
French	15	1
Same level	18	2

Table 3.14: Writing Competence of the Respondents

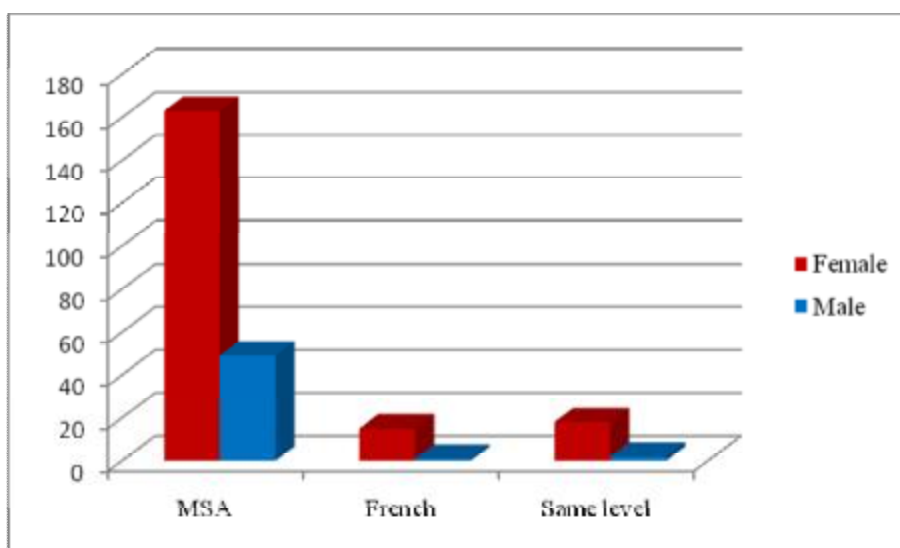


Figure 3.14: Writing Competence of Respondents

3.5.3.2. Language Use and Language Attitudes

Using the questionnaire, information was elicited on which language each respondent speaks or speaks most in given contexts, with given interlocutors, and about various topics. These contexts include language reportedly spoken at home, at the university, and outside the university. Also elicited was information on whether students are aware of their language behaviour concerning code-switching and with whom they code-switch. In order to correlate attitudes toward each language and language choice with the linguistic data, information regarding which language each subject reportedly prefers to speak and how each subject reportedly perceives code-switching was elicited as well.

Table 3.15 below shows that the majority of the respondents overtly recognize code-switching between Arabic and French, and that a minority simply deny using code-switching. This indicates that the majority are aware of their linguistic behaviour of code-switching. Concerning whether they perform code-switching on purpose as a communicative strategy and what their attitudes towards code-switching are is something to be examined below. The minority of the respondents who reject using Arabic-French code-switching are students of Arabic literature. Out of the total number of the female students in Arabic literature (34 female students), 17 respondents admit using Arabic-French code-switching. However, all male students, except one (10 respondents), deny using it. Data from the recorded conversations show that this denial by female and

male students of Arabic literature is unfounded. 19 of these students¹ do code switch between Arabic and French (i.e., all the students who have taken part in both the qualitative and the quantitative studies). These students' attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching are generally negative and are in contradiction with their speech behaviour. It is worth mentioning that, in addition to Arabic-French code-switching, these students mainly switch codes between Spoken Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Therefore, like the majority of students who admit using Arabic-French code-switching, these students too are aware of their linguistic behaviour of code-switching despite denying using it.

Arabic-French code-switching	Female	Male	total
Yes	179	42	221
No	17	10	27

Table 3.15: Number of Respondents Admitting or Denying Using Arabic-French Code-switching

¹ It should be reminded that the questionnaire was not administered to all the students who had taken part in the ethnographic study. Out of the 27 students who denied using Arabic-French code-switching, 19 only were part of the sample in the ethnographic study.

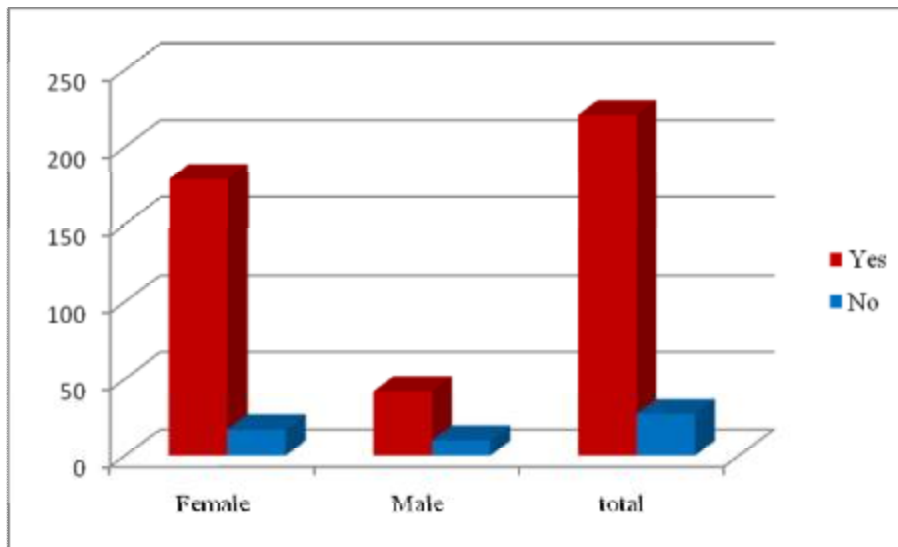


Figure 3.15: Number of Respondents Admitting or Denying Using Arabic-French Code-Switching

Table 3.16 shows the home language use with the parents¹. Almost all the respondents report that they do not speak Modern Standard Arabic with their parents. The remaining minority claim that they rarely use this standard form of Arabic with them. A glance at the respondents' background shows that they pursue their studies in Arabic and that their parents have a secondary or university level of education. Spoken Algerian Arabic is the most used language variety in this context since it is the most often used language form by students with their parents. Those who report using sometimes this dialectal form speak Tamazight and use it at home most often. Tamazight is not used in a uniform way by all respondents who speak it. Despite having Berber parents who use Tamazight, some respondents use other language forms at home. Contrary to Modern Standard Arabic, French is used with parents, but its use is limited to a

¹ The frequency of use of a language form does not necessarily mean the use of that form alone. Different forms of language are used with the same interlocutors.

very small minority including students who pursue their studies in French and parents with a university level. The mixture between Arabic and French (i.e., Arabic-French)¹ is also used. Its frequency of use is higher than that of French alone, but it is also limited to the group of respondents who pursue their studies in French and have well educated parents as shown in the following table.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	0	0	7	241
Spoken Algerian Arabic	219	29	0	0
Tamazight	27	3	2	216
French	5	18	34	191
Arabic-French	21	37	62	128

Table 3.16: Language Use with Parents

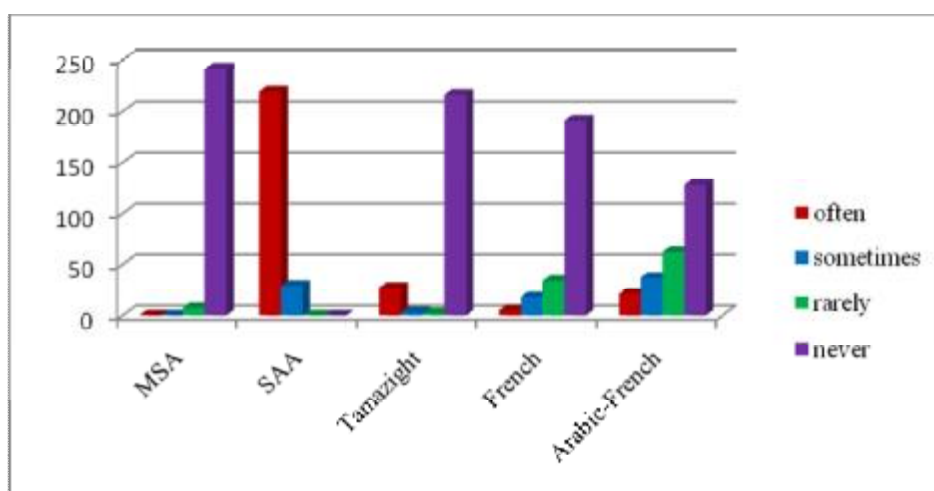


Figure 3.16: Language Use with Parents

¹ Arabic-French is the form of language resulting from Spoken Algerian Arabic and French code-switching (Mixture 2).

Table 3.17 below indicates the home language use with siblings. The use of the language varieties in this case differs slightly from the use with parents. Modern Standard Arabic and French are more used with brothers and sisters. This can be explained by the type of topics discussed and the field of study of the respondents and their siblings. Spoken Algerian Arabic and Tamazight are used with the same rate of frequency. However, the rate of frequency of Arabic-French is much higher than that of the other language forms, except Spoken Algerian Arabic. Students pursuing their studies in French tend to use Arabic-French code-switching with their siblings although the situation is informal. Again, this can be explained by the topic of the conversation and the field of study.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	0	9	47	192
Spoken Algerian Arabic	219	29	0	0
Tamazight	27	3	2	216
French	3	24	45	176
Arabic-French	76	89	23	60

Table 3.17: Language Use with Siblings

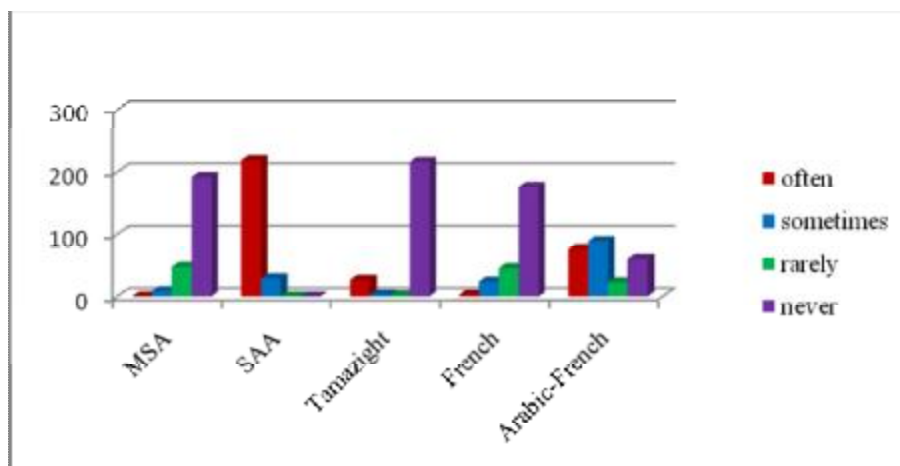


Figure 3.17: Language Use with Siblings

Table 3.18 shows language use with friends. The standard varieties are more used with friends than at home with parents and siblings. What is peculiar is that one male respondent claims speaking MSA with his friends. Data from the recorded conversations show that this claim is over-exaggerated since the same respondent uses different language varieties in his speech. It is true that he uses SAA-MSA code-switching more than his peers, but he uses French code-switches too. Compared to MSA, French is more used. Despite the fact that the situation between friends is informal, female students use French with other female or male interlocutors. Tamazight is less used with friends than at home. Tamazight-speaking students have friends who do not speak Tamazight, so they use other language varieties. SAA and Arabic-French are the most used language forms among friends. It is worth mentioning that the same respondents who deny using Arabic-French code-switching (Table 3.15, p.146) claim that they never use Arabic-French with their friends.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	1	16	58	173
Spoken Algerian Arabic	248	0	0	0
Tamazight	14	8	3	223
French	12	36	47	153
Arabic-French	104	98	19	27

Table 3.18: Language Use with Friends

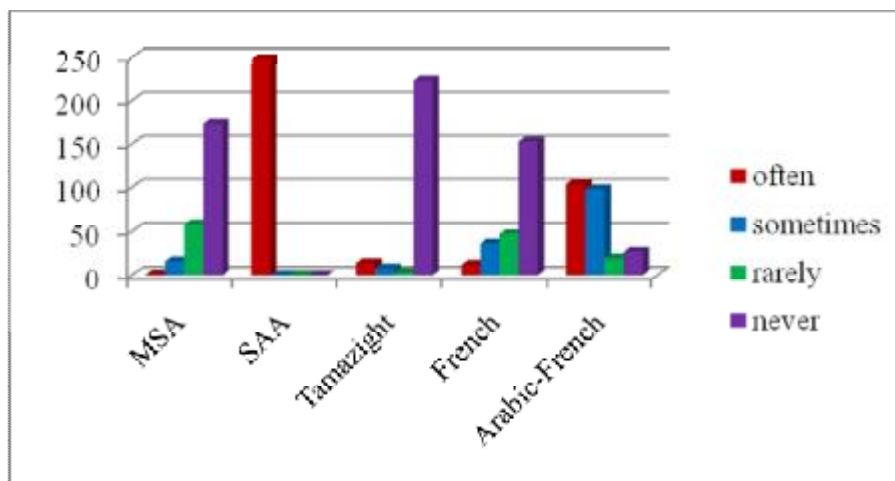


Figure 3.18: Language Use with Friends

Table 3.19 below indicates the language used with laymen outside the university. MSA and French are no longer used with ordinary people. Tamazight is used with people from the same ethnic community living in Arabic-speaking regions or within Tamazight-speaking areas. Otherwise, Tamazight-speakers use SAA and Arabic-French. SAA is the most used language form and is used almost exclusively with laymen. Arabic-French is used to a lesser extent by female

students. Note should be taken that all the respondents who claim that they often use Arabic-French with laymen are female students.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	0	0	0	248
Spoken Algerian Arabic	248	0	0	0
Tamazight	8	12	2	226
French	0	0	0	248
Arabic-French	36	23	58	131

Table 3.19: Language Use with Laymen outside the University

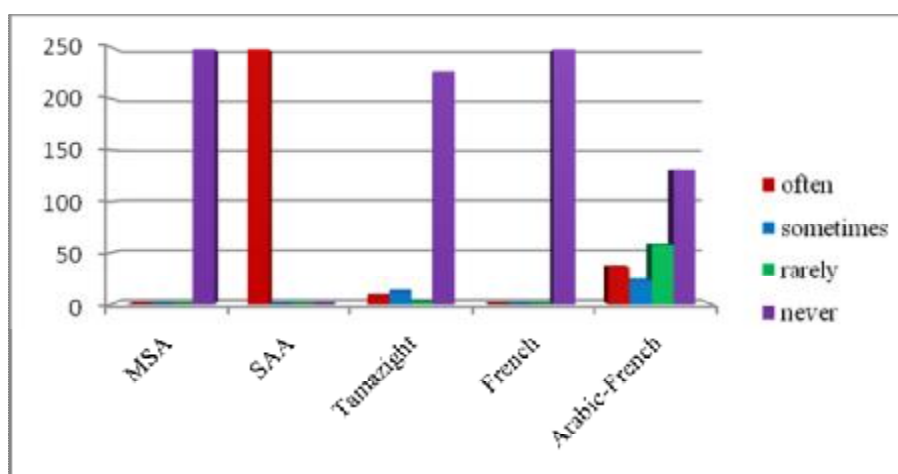


Figure 3.19: Language Use with Laymen Outside the University

Table 3.20 shows language use at the university with a teacher during break time. Language choice changes according to the topics discussed. When discussing a lecture, MSA and French are the most often used language forms. Their choice depends on the field and the language of study. The other forms are not used because the situation is very formal. This section is not filled by all

students because of the existence of students of English in the sample. It is assumed that these students use English in this context. In case of a conversation about the news, although the situation is less formal than the discussion of the lecture, MSA and French are still used. Yet, their use is not exclusive since Arabic-French is used too. SAA is used by a very small number of respondents. This section is filled by all respondents, even the students of English. The majority of English students use Arabic-French in this context. During a general conversation, language choice varies, and SAA and Arabic-French are more used than in the other contexts.

Language	lecture	news	general
Modern Standard Arabic	104	85	36
Spoken Algerian Arabic	2	18	71
Tamazight	0	0	0
French	95	79	18
Arabic-French	23	66	123

Table 3.20: Language Use with a Teacher during Break Time

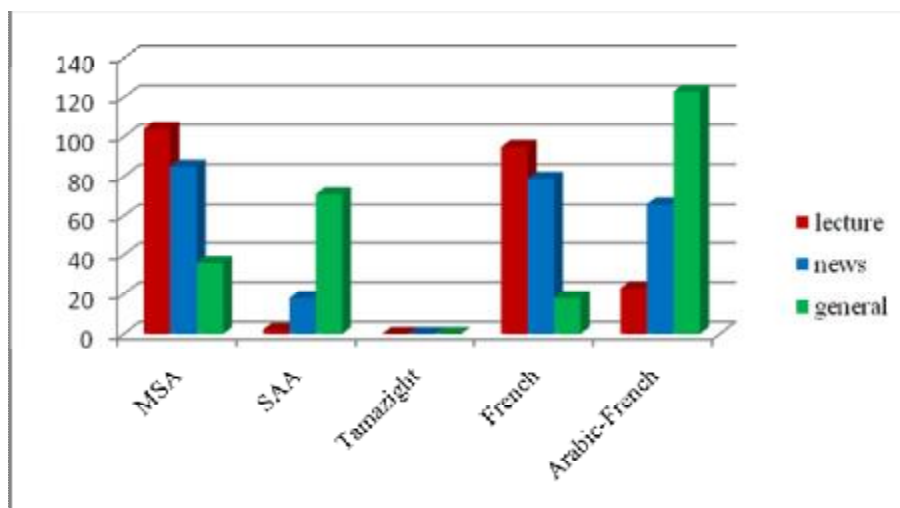


Figure 3.20: Language Use with a Teacher during Break Time

Table 3.21 indicates language use with another student during the lecture session. The use of standard language forms is reduced in this context. Very few respondents studying Arabic literature claim using MSA in class with other students. Similarly, very few students pursuing their studies in French claim using French. The majority of students of the French language in the sample declare using SAA or Arabic-French instead. Indeed, SAA and Arabic-French are the most used varieties; they are the most used varieties by the majority of respondents, though they follow their studies in different faculties through different languages. Once again, the same respondents who deny using Arabic-French reiterate their denial in this context.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	6	28	56	158
Spoken Algerian Arabic	248	0	0	0
Tamazight	0	0	2	246
French	10	22	42	174
Arabic-French	146	63	12	27

Table 3.21: Language Use with another Student during the Lecture

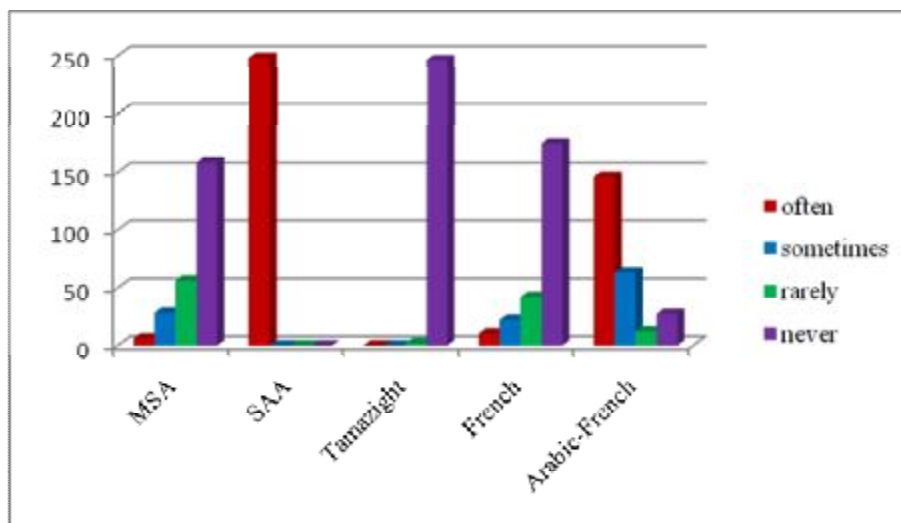


Figure 3.21: Language Use with Another Student

Table 3.22 below shows language use with another student during break time. Language choice varies according to the language of study and the topic discussed. The use of language varieties is not uniform and depends on the topic of the conversation. When discussing the lecture, a few students who pursue their studies in Arabic use MSA. On the contrary, French is used by a significant number of students who pursue their studies in French, especially female

students. Arabic-French is also used by a significant number of students who study in French or Arabic. It is the most used language variety. When discussing the news, the standard varieties are used but with a lesser extent than the previous context. SAA and Arabic-French are the most used varieties. Both varieties are the most used language forms. When having a general discussion, MSA is not used at all, but French is used by a few female students. SAA and Arabic-French are used extensively by students from different fields of study. They are again the most used language varieties.

Language	lecture	news	general
Modern Standard Arabic	27	12	0
Spoken Algerian Arabic	70	112	133
Tamazight	0	0	0
French	43	19	11
Arabic-French	108	105	104

Table 3.22: Language Use with another Student during Break Time

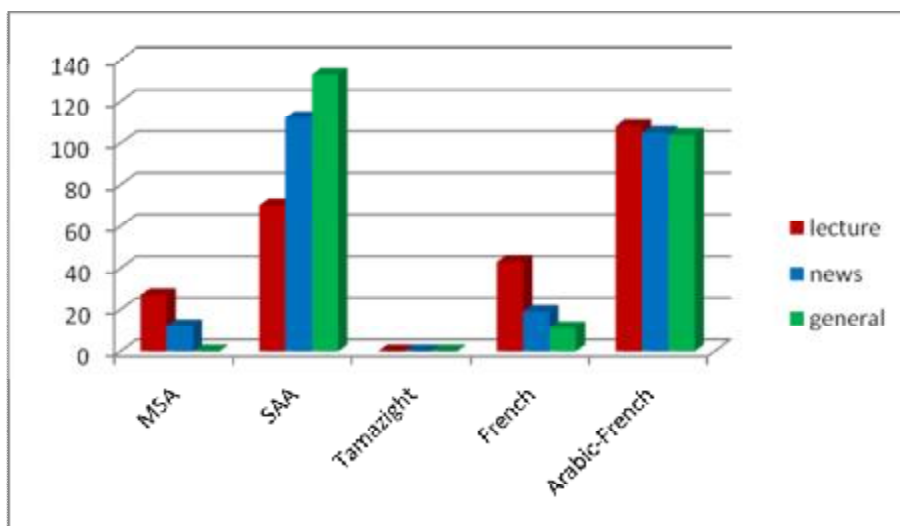


Figure 3.22: Language Use with Another Student during Break Time

Table 3.23 shows language use with another student outside the university. The standard varieties are a little used in case of a discussion of a lecture, but French is more used than MSA. SAA and Arabic-French are the two language forms which are mostly spoken by students in this context. In case of a discussion of the news, the respondents' most used language forms are SAA and Arabic-French, and MSA is not used at all. French is somewhat used by female students. However, the use of the standard varieties is restricted to French by some female students in case of a general discussion. The most used language variety is SAA. Arabic-French is used but less often than it is at the university.

Language	lecture	news	general
Modern Standard Arabic	12	0	0
Spoken Algerian Arabic	110	116	155
Tamazight	2	3	8
French	31	21	9
Arabic-French	93	108	76

Table 3.23: Language Use with another Student outside the University

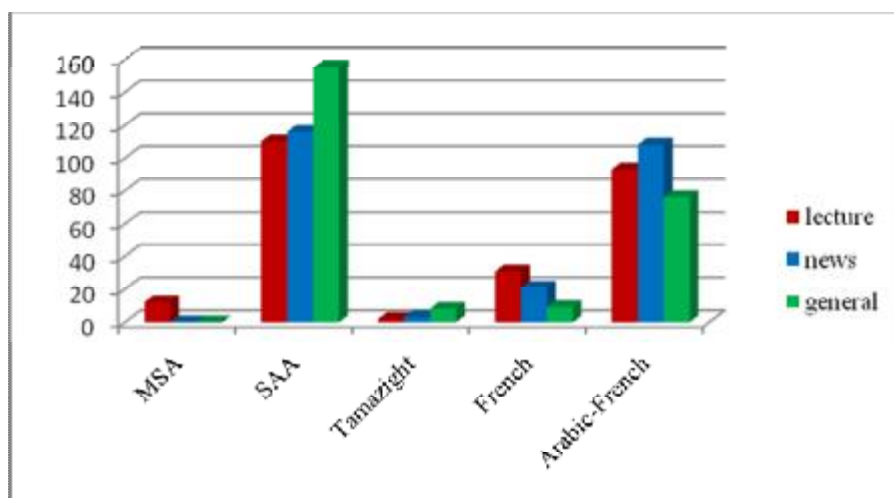


Figure 3.23: Language Use with Another Student Outside the University

Table 3.24 shows that the most used language variety is SAA when respondents speak to people in charge of the faculty. MSA is used by a minority of students of Arabic literature, and French is used by some female students studying the French language. Arabic-French is also used by a significant number of respondents.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	16	27	37	168
Spoken Algerian Arabic	132	116	0	0
Tamazight	0	0	0	248
French	21	43	53	131
Arabic-French	95	58	68	27

Table 3.24: Language Use with People in Charge of the Faculty

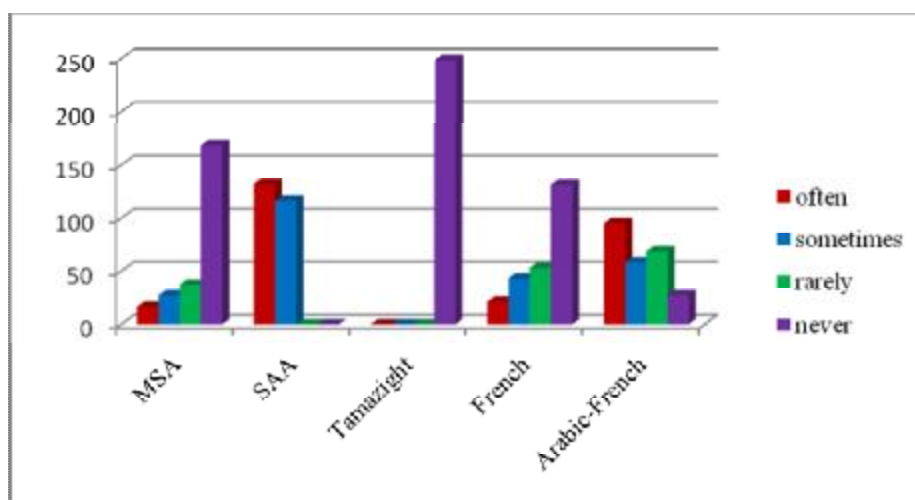


Figure 3.24: Language Use with People in Charge of the Faculty

Table 3.25 reveals that the respondents' language choice changes when speaking to the secretaries of the faculty. The standard varieties are no more used, and the rate of frequency of Arabic-French is kept to a minimum. Undoubtedly, the most used language variety is SAA. It is worth mentioning that SAA is the most used language variety by female students in this context.

Language	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Modern Standard Arabic	0	0	0	248
Spoken Algerian Arabic	244	4	0	0
Tamazight	0	0	0	248
French	0	0	0	248
Arabic-French	4	17	31	196

Table 3.25: Language Use with Secretaries of the Faculty

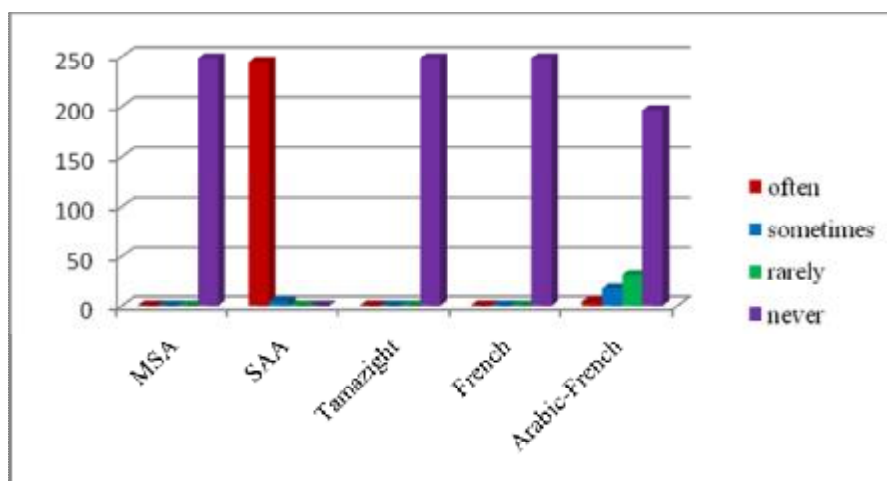


Figure 3.25: Language Use with Secretaries of the faculty

Table 3.26 shows the respondents' attitudes towards people who use Arabic-French code-switching. Attitudes vary according to the language of study and gender. The respondents who pursue their studies in French generally have positive attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switchers. Yet, some of them have negative attitudes and consider code-switching as an identity marker; they think that it has a great prejudice on code-switchers' identity and that people who

code-switch have no personality. Despite these negative attitudes, all these respondents are themselves code-switchers since they do code-switch between Arabic and French. The respondents who pursue their studies in Arabic have contradictory opinions which do not correspond to their language behaviour. Indeed, some respondents consider people who code-switch as sophisticated and intellectual, but at the same time they see them as mediocre and must use one language. Despite these negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switchers, these respondents do code-switch too. As far as gender is concerned, female respondents have more positive attitudes towards people who code-switch than male respondents do.

Attitudes towards code-switchers	Female	Male
Intellectual	116	27
Sophisticated	113	31
Master both languages	127	15
Pretend to be intellectual	53	24
Second-rate	29	10
Have no personality	17	10
Must use one language	36	42
Master no language	17	10

Table 3.26: Respondents' Attitudes towards People Who Switch between Arabic and French

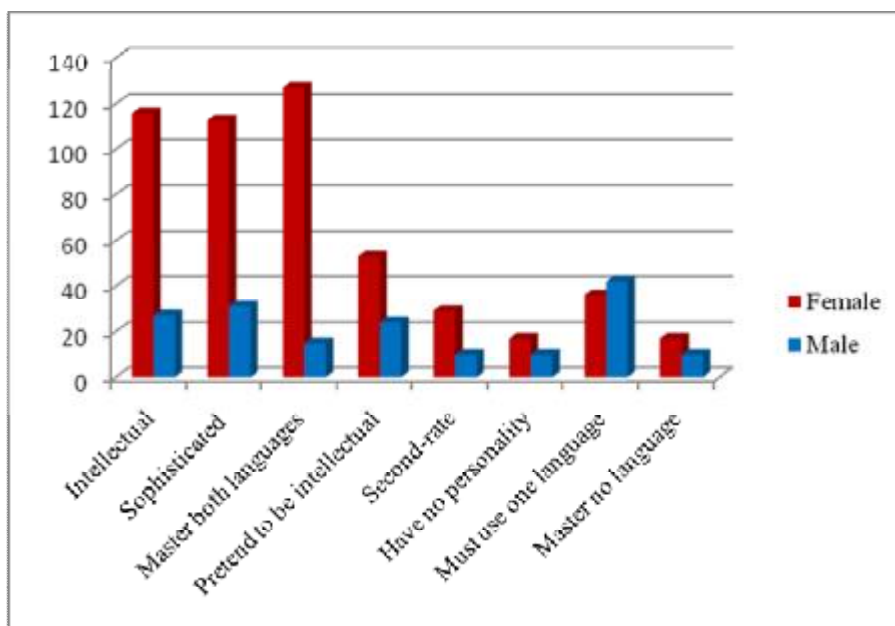


Figure 3.26: Respondents' Attitudes towards People Who Switch between Arabic and French

Table 3.27 shows the possible causes leading to negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching among respondents who deny using code-switching (Table 3.15, p.146). Respondents have several inter-related reasons which lead them to consider code-switching negatively. The reported reasons are related to identity matters, psychological considerations, and language proficiency. All respondents agree on the fact that code-switching has negative consequences on the speaker's identity. In addition, it is considered as degrading to the speaker's personality. Their dislike of French can be explained by the low oral and written language proficiency in French and better mastery of MSA. In fact, the above mentioned 27 respondents report having low competence in French. Nevertheless, despite these reported causes of having negative attitudes

towards Arabic-French code-switching, these respondents do switch codes in fact (see Page 143).

Causes of negative attitudes	Female	Male
Dislike French	15	10
Use of CS degrading	12	8
Prejudice to identity	17	10

Table 3.27: Causes of the Negative Attitudes According to the Respondents who Deny Using Arabic-French Code-switching

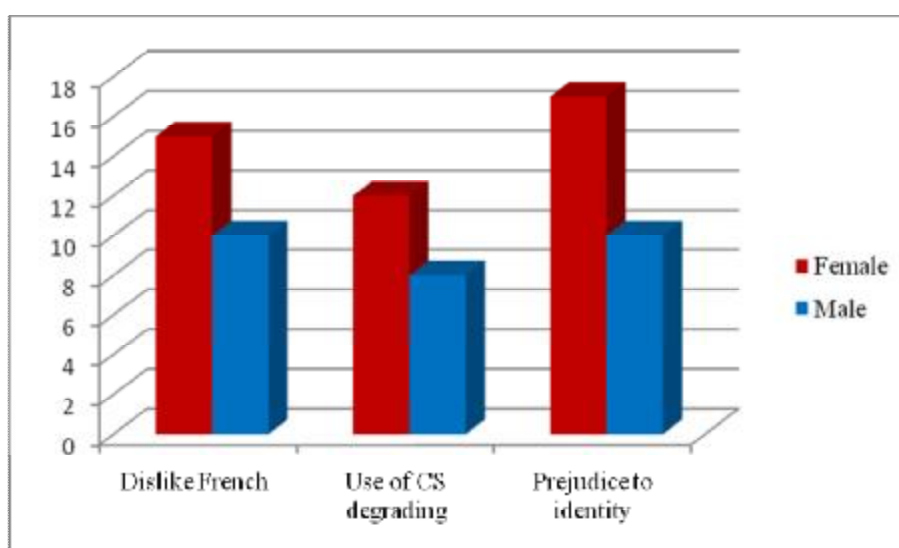


Figure 3.27: Causes of Negative Attitudes

In summary, the students' language choice depends on several inter-related factors. The most important ones are given by Grosjean (1982:136) in Table 2.2 (Page 101). They are as follows: the participants, the situation, the content of discourse, and the function of interaction. The most used variety changes with the change of one or more than one of these factors. In addition to

these important factors, other factors influence students' language choice. They are the field of study, the language of study, gender, competence in one or both languages, and the parents' social and educational background.

The use of the standard varieties is not uniform and in some cases unpredictable. On the one hand, the male respondents pursuing their studies through Arabic use more MSA than their female counterparts. On the other hand, the female respondents pursuing their studies in French use more French than their male counterparts. In general, the standard language forms (MSA and French) are not used in a balanced way since MSA is used in the most formal situations only while French is used in formal and less formal ones.

Spoken Algerian Arabic is the unmarked language variety in most contexts, even the formal ones. A significant number of male speakers use SAA instead of the other varieties despite their good competence in MSA and French. Female speakers use SAA too, but their use of SAA is marked by the extensive use of code-switching.

As stated above, code-switching has led to the emergence of a language variety consisting of the mixture between SAA and French. In addition to SAA, Arabic-French is the most used language variety in many contexts, whether formal or informal ones. Code-switching is performed by all respondents, even those who pursue their studies in Arabic. Yet, the rate of frequency of use by female speakers is higher than that of male ones, since female speakers code-

switch even in very informal contexts. Factors and functions of such language behaviour and other language choices by students are explained in Chapter Five.

Even though negative attitudes toward code-switching were expected to be prevailing among university students, as is the case in other societies, the questionnaire analysis shows that positive attitudes are the most common feeling among the majority of the respondents. This finding is in contradiction with the findings of other studies of code-switching in other societies as seen previously in 2.5.

Attitudes towards code-switching are closely related to language choice, despite some discrepancies between attitudes and language behaviour. A significant number of respondents have contradictory attitudes. They consider code-switching a means of sophistication and intellectual status, but they see it at the same time as a prejudice to one's identity and personality. Despite these contradictory attitudes and denial of using Arabic-French code-switching by some respondents, all respondents do switch codes in natural conversations. Chapter Six deals with the different attitudes towards code-switching and the possible causes of these attitudes.

Conclusion

To answer the research questions, two research procedures were applied. On the one hand, 112 participants were recorded during natural interaction to investigate the linguistic characteristics of the language data and to check the existence of mixing patterns due to language contact. This ethnographic study

reveals the existence of two main mixing patterns, borrowing and code-switching, and several other sub-patterns. On the other hand, a census questionnaire was administered to 248 respondents to verify the findings of the ethnographic study and to investigate language choice and attitudes towards code-switching. The findings reveal that the choice of language depends on personal and external factors and that SAA and Arabic-French are the most used language varieties. They also reveal a finding that does not correspond to the findings of most of the literature; respondents have negative and positive attitudes towards code-switching.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Linguistic Analysis of the Language Data

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to characterise code-mixing of Arabic and French in Spoken Algerian Arabic. The first purpose is to analyse the mixing patterns resulting from the contact between the two languages. The second purpose is an attempt to classify Spoken Algerian Arabic. To this end, at various linguistic levels there are descriptions of autonomous features of Spoken Algerian Arabic. Neither purpose demands exhaustive linguistic analysis of Spoken Algerian Arabic (which would make a thesis in itself), but rather a linguistic description of the distinctive characteristics and of the composition of Spoken Algerian Arabic. The description which follows attempts to serve these purposes by examining Spoken Algerian Arabic at a number of levels, including phonology, lexis, and syntax. It is based on the speech of the university students through the use of the ethnographic study dealt with in Chapter Three (Research Methodology).

In addition to the distinction between code-switching and borrowing which has been established and taken as a working principle in this thesis, there is, throughout this chapter, an additional distinction which is made between the well integrated and the less integrated items. The categories are not truly discrete, but their usefulness for descriptive purposes will hopefully emerge from the description. To distinguish between the different varieties, the

transcription symbols used here are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) chart for Arabic, and normal orthography for French; elements from Modern Standard Arabic are underlined and French elements italicized to facilitate their identification. Approximate English translations are given below in brackets.

4.1. Phonology

4.1.1. Arabic and French Phonology

In a contrastive study between Arabic and English segments Meliani (1988) gives an exhaustive treatment of the phonological system of Arabic and a general description of French segments. An exhaustive phonological study is not the primary concern of the present work¹, but we need however, to give a general idea about the segmental system of both languages to shed light on the differences between them. We take up the three subsystems (consonants, vowels, and diphthongs) in this order.

- Consonants

Below are the tables of Arabic and French consonants with a discussion of the major differences.

¹ For more information on the system of Arabic segments see Ibn Juzuri (833 H), Cantineau J. (1960), Al-Ani S.H. (1970), Ferroukhi A. (1981), Badri K.I. (1983), Anis I. (1984), and Ayoub A. (1984). For more information on French segmental, see Carton (1974) and Beghoul (2007).

Place Manner	bilabial	labio- dental	dental	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar	uvular
Stops	p b		t d			k g	
Fricatives		f v	s z				
Nasals	m		n				
Lateral			l				
Trill							R
semi-vowels	w				j		

Table 4.1: The Consonants of French

Place Manner	bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	dental	palatal	velar	Uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Stops	b			t d T D		k	q		
Fricatives		f	T D	s z			x K		h
Nasals	m			n					
Laterals				l L					
Flap				r					
Semi-	w				j				

Vowels									
--------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 4.2: The Consonants of Arabic

It is clear that Arabic has more consonants than French. Arabic has 26 consonants, including *q* (ق), (ك), *T* (ط), *D* (ض), (ظ), *x* (خ), (ع), and (ح) which do not exist in French. However, French has 17 consonants only, including *p*, *g*, *v*, which do not exist in Arabic. Both languages have two semi-vowels *w* and *j*.

- Vowels.

The Arabic vocalic system is basically founded on 3 pairs of phonemes: short /i/, short /a/, and short /u/ and their counterparts: long /i:/, long /a:/, and long /u:/. There is a number of variants, conditioned and diaphonic, of these vowels (see Anis 1984). Below is the vocalic system of Arabic presented in a quadrangle.

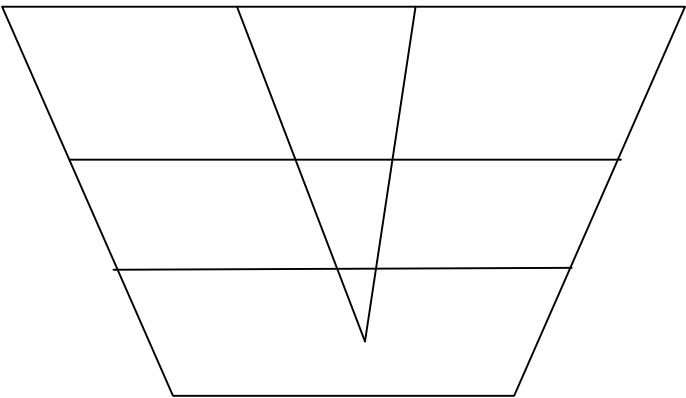


Figure 4.1: The Vowels of Arabic

French has 16 vowels: 10 front vowels and 6 back. The vocalic system of French is therefore much more complex than that of Arabic, and French is usually considered by typological linguists as a vocalic language.

The front series in particular is highly complex and marked: it contains front unrounded vowels /i e a/, front rounded vowels /y œ o/ (all of them oral), and front nasal vowels /ã õ/. The front rounded vowels are highly marked and thus difficult to pronounce for speakers of languages that do not have them. As we know, roundness is usually a concomitant feature in back vowels. Below is the system of French vowels represented in a quadrangle.

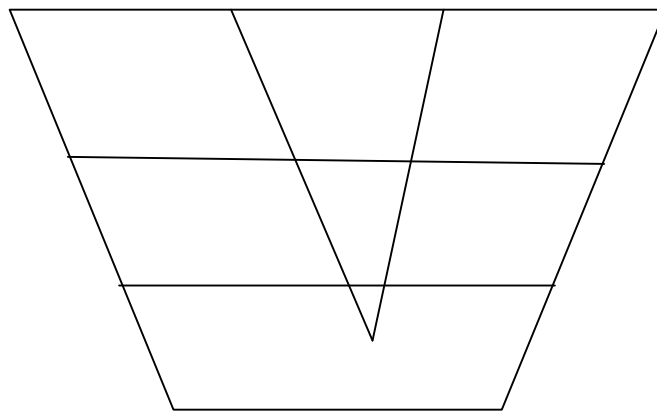


Figure 4.2: The Vowels of French

- Diphthongs

There are basically two diphthongs in Arabic: /ai/ and /au/, with their related variants, which are conditioned and/or diaphonic. Yet, French has no diphthong. Therefore, there is no modification as far as diphthongs are concerned.

As said earlier, these sub-systems (consonants and vowels only in this case) are analysed in what follows.

4.1.2 Consonants

- **Substitution:** When listening to the recordings of the students' speech one perceives fairly soon that not all sets of French consonants which do not exist in Arabic are replaced by sets of consonants which do exist in Arabic. We have seen that the French consonants /p/, /v/, /g/, and / / do not exist in Arabic. Yet, although /g/ does not exist in Modern Standard Arabic, it exists in Spoken Algerian Arabic and many other regional dialects in the Arab World. Therefore, /g/ is not substituted by any other consonant.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
/bagita/	/baget/ (baguette)	stick
/gu:rda/	/gu:Rd/ (gourde)	flask
/gami:la/	/gamel/ (gamelle)	billy-can

Table 4.3: Examples of the Use of /g/ in French Borrowed Words

As far as / / is concerned, despite its inexistence in Modern Standard Arabic, it is pronounced as it is without any modification in Spoken Algerian Arabic. Therefore, it has been incorporated in the phonological system of Spoken Algerian Arabic.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
/pa a:r/	/pwa R/ (poignard)	dagger
/fa a:n/	/f Oõ/ (fainéant)	lazy

Table 4.4: Examples of the Use of / / in French Borrowed Words

The consonants /p/ and /v/ are somewhat different. Depending on the type and degree of word integration (see below), they may be substituted by

phonemes existing in Arabic. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ may be replaced by the voiced bilabial stop /b/, and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ may be substituted by the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /bLa: a/	/plas/ (place)	place
2. /bita:r/	/petaR/ (pétard)	firecracker
3. /pi:ppa/	/pip/ (pipe)	pipe
4. /fila: /	/vila / (village)	village
5. /vali:za/	/valiz/ (valise)	suitcase
6. /vi:sta/	/v st/ (veste)	jacket

Table 4.5: Examples of the Substitution of /p/ and /v/ in French Borrowed Words

In 1 and 2, the voiceless /p/ is replaced by the voiced /b/, but it is maintained in 3. Again, in 4, the voiced /v/ is replaced by the voiceless /f/, but in 5 and 6 it is not. When both sound segments are not substituted, they become a part of the phonological system of Spoken Algerian Arabic.

Notice that in 1, although /s/ exists in Arabic as a voiceless non-emphatic dental fricative, it is replaced by another segmental in the Arabic phonological system which is the voiceless emphatic dental fricative / / because of the neighbouring sound, the emphatic /L/. Notice also the substitution of the French uvular trill /R/ (the R *grasséyé* of Metropolitan French) by the dental flap /r/ in 2, as is the case in Arabic and all its dialects.

Therefore, the substitution of consonants is not systematic as anyone may expect. The same consonant which does not exist in the Arabic phonological system may be replaced by a corresponding consonant in Arabic, or it may be incorporated and pronounced as it is, and it becomes a part of the phonological system of Spoken Algerian Arabic. In addition, the consonant may be substituted because the phonological rules of Arabic are applied according to the aforementioned principle that modification occurs systematically towards the norms of Arabic and not vice versa. Therefore, depending on the level of integration, there is a compound system composed of the Arabic phonological system of consonants plus a limited set of elements from French.

- **Deletion:** Compared to substitution, deletion of consonants is a minor phenomenon. In all the recordings analyzed, only two cases of consonant deletion were found as shown in the following table:

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /trisiti/	/elektRisite/ (électricité)	electricity
2. /skali/	/eskalje/ (escalier)	stairs

Table 4.6: Examples of the Deletion of Consonants in French Borrowed Words

In addition to the other forms of modification pertaining to consonants and vowels, the consonants /l/ and /k/ are deleted in 1, and the semi-vowel /j/ is deleted in 2.

- **Addition:** Two cases of addition may be observed from the recordings in table 4.7 below. The first case is the addition of a semi-vowel as in 1. /j/ is added to

change the gender of the French word from the masculine into the feminine when adapted to Arabic (see below). The second is the addition of /n/ when nasalised vowels are used, as in 2.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. / a ija/	/sa e/ (sachet)	bag
2. /balu:n/	/balõ/ (ballon)	ball

Table 4.7: Examples of Addition of Consonants to French Borrowed Words

4.1.3. Vowels

a. Substitution: Due to the big difference between Arabic and French vocalic systems, this phenomenon of substitution is very common. Vowels used in French words, especially those not existing in Arabic, are usually replaced by one of the six vowels used in Arabic. As the French front rounded vowels and the front nasal ones are highly marked and do not exist in many languages, such as Arabic, they are difficult to pronounce by speakers of languages that do not have them. However, Algerian students pronounce them very easily because they are acquainted to French and speak it with varying degrees of fluency. Because the level of integration varies according to a continuum ranging from total adaptation to non-assimilation of French words (see below), students use Arabic vowels instead of French ones in Spoken Algerian Arabic in case of total adaptation as shown in table 4.8 below.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /vali:za/	/valiz/ (valise)	suitcase
2. /bla: a/	/plas/ (place)	place
3. / u: /	/ y / (juge)	judge
4. /vi:sta/	/v st/ (veste)	jacket
5. /barwiTa/	/bru t/ (brouette)	wheelbarrow
6. /kuwata/	/ku t/ (couette)	bed-cover
7. /bidu:n/	/bidõ/ (bidon)	bucket
8. /balu:n/	/balõ/ (ballon)	ball

Table 4.8: Examples of the Adaptation of French Vowels in SAA

These eight examples illustrate the situation with regard to the adaptation of French vowels. Four cases of substitution may be observed:

- When the vowel exists in both languages, the short vowel in French may be replaced by a long one in Arabic as in 1 and 2.

- When the French vowel does not exist in Arabic, it is substituted by a totally different vowel from Arabic as in 3 and 4.

- When the two French vowels /u/ and / / are used in juxtaposition, the semi-vowel /w/ replaces either / / as in 6, or both /u/ and / / as in 5.

- When the French nasal vowels are used, it is substituted by /u:/ and the consonant /n/ as in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 above.

- **Deletion:** As is the case with consonants, deletion of French vowels is a minor phenomenon. There are two vowels which may be deleted when they occur initially. They are /e/ and / /.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /trisiti/	/elektRisite/ (électricité)	electricity
2. /skali/	/eskalje/ (escalier)	stairs
3. /kraza/	/ekraza/ (écrasa)	crushed
4. /tumabi:l/	/ t m bil/ (automobile)	car

Table 4.9: Examples of the Deletion of French Vowels in SAA

Examples 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the deletion of the initial /e/, and example 4 the deletion of the initial / / . As far as the other vowels are concerned, no case of deletion was found in the recordings.

- **Addition:** Vowels are added in different positions. The most added phoneme is the final /a/ denoting the feminine in Spoken Algerian Arabic. This sound is added to a very large extent, leading in some cases to the change of the gender of the French word from the masculine to the feminine in Spoken Algerian Arabic as shown in what follows.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /barwiTa/	/bru t/ (brouette)	wheelbarrow
2. /vi:sta/	/v st/ (veste)	jacket
3. /vali:za/	/valiz/ (valise)	suitcase
4. /bLa: a/	/plas/ (place)	place
5. /pi:ppa/	/pip/ (pipe)	pipe
6. / a ija/	/sa e/ (sachet)	bag

Table 4.10: Examples of the Addition of Vowels to French Borrowed Words

In 1, there are 3 added vowels: /a/ after /b/, /i/ after the semi-vowel /w/ which has replaced /u/ and / /, and /a/ at the end to show the feminine. In the remaining examples, /a/ is added at the end to show the feminine, although the word in 6 is masculine in French.

4.1.4. Discussion

When elements from one language are embedded in another, one would expect these elements to be influenced by the surrounding language. If the surrounding language is the native language, while these elements are from a second language, experience might lead us to expect even greater modifications. This process is attested in a number of speech communities. For example, Gumperz and Hernandez (1971:319) remark:

9.M: Pero como, you know ... la Estela...

The English form here seems a regular part of the Spanish text, and this is signalled phonetically by the fact that the

pronunciation of the vowel o is relatively undiphthongised and thus differs from other instances of o in English passages. Similarly, words like ice cream have Spanish-like pronunciations when they occur within Spanish texts, and English-like pronunciations in the English text.

Weinreich (1968:28) similarly comments:

On the contrary, the use of a word borrowed from (language) S in a (language) P - utterance is not inhibited by the need to conform to an extraneous phonemic norm; the mechanisms of interference therefore affect individual loanwords with particular force. If the speaker's intent is to integrate the loanword, the same mechanisms dictate a sweeping substitution of phonemes.

We might therefore predict a very high level of movement towards the Arabic phonological system in French elements used in a predominantly Arabic environment. In many cases, this is indeed what occurs in Spoken Algerian Arabic: we have observed the processes of substitution, addition and deletion working towards this end.

Nevertheless, the process is by no means consistent and systematic – there are many intermediate forms and continua. Such phenomena have also been described in pidgin and creole studies, for example Bickerton's (1975) "post creole continuum". Hall (1966:31), in a discussion of Neo-Melanesian pidgin, remarks:

More recently, however, many New Guinea natives have learned to make some or all of these contrasts, but they often apply them in some words and not in others.

At the end of the continuum that is nearest to Arabic, we do not find the pure Arabic system of consonants. Instead there is a compound system composed

of the Arabic phonological system of consonants plus a limited set of elements from French (discussed in the substitution of consonants above). This system is different from that of vowels where French vowels are not incorporated into the Arabic phonological system, but rather substituted by vowels from the native language.

In addition, whereas consonants are mainly characterized by the process of substitution, vowels are characterized by both substitution and addition. The process of addition is mainly applied to show the gender of the borrowed word, leading sometimes to the change of the gender from the masculine into the feminine.

4.2. Lexis

In Algeria the problem is not simply that Spoken Algerian Arabic contains French; the use of French varies considerably. In the sampled students' speech, French code-mixes consist of single words as well as entire sentences. They preserve all of the linguistic features of monolingual French utterances or are well integrated into the phonological and/or morphological systems of Arabic with no overt indication of their French origin. They appear to be culturally motivated and are designating objects and concepts brought to Algeria with the French, or are apparently unmotivated replacements for lexical items existing in Spoken Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic.

In their distinction between code-switching and borrowing, Bentahila and Davies (1983:302) reject the fact that borrowed words are unmotivated

replacements for already existing lexical items in the native language. They write:

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

They state that one of the main differences between borrowing and code-switching is that borrowing is motivated by the inexistence of the borrowed word in L1 (lexical gap), but code-switching is used whether the corresponding word exists or does not exist in L1. Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993a) disagrees with this view and argues that not all established borrowings actually occur due to the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language culture.

As far as the use of French borrowed words in Spoken Algerian Arabic is concerned, I agree with Myers-Scotton's view since French borrowed words do not always fill a lexical gap. Equivalent terms may exist in Algerian Arabic despite the use of French borrowings. Consider the following tabulated examples taken from the recorded conversations of students:

Borrowed words in SAA	Arabic	French	English
1. / y /	/qaadi/	juge	judge
2. /ri:gla/	/misTara/	règle	ruler
3. /fila: /	/qarja/	village	village
4. /ma i:na/	/ a:la/	machine	machine
5. /barwi:Ta/	/ araba/	brouette	wheelbarrow
6. /vi:sta/	/sutra/	veste	jacket

Table 4.11: Examples of French Borrowed Words and their Equivalents in Arabic

The first two words (1 and 2) are used in Spoken Algerian Arabic as borrowed words from French. Yet, they have equivalent words which are often used even in Spoken Algerian Arabic (/qa:di/ and /misTara/ respectively). So, the borrowed words are used despite the existence of equivalent lexical items, not because of a lexical gap as Bentahila and Davies (1983) state. However, the last four words (3, 4, 5, and 6) are used as borrowed words from French, but originally they did not have equivalent terms in Algerian Arabic because they are designating objects brought to Algeria with the French. Although these borrowed words have at the present moment equivalent lexical items in Modern Standard Arabic, Algerians tend to use the French borrowed words instead

4.2.1. Borrowing

We have seen in 2.2.3 that borrowing refers to the use of items which originate in another language, but which are currently felt to form an integrated part of the borrowing language. Pfaff (1979), in her study of the speech of

Chicanos (Mexican Americans), pointed out that English words could be assimilated in varying degrees. Likewise, French borrowed words are integrated into Spoken Algerian Arabic according to a continuum that shows the degree of assimilation.

4.2.1.1. Integrated borrowing

The use of French in Spoken Algerian Arabic forms a continuum. At one extreme of the continuum, nouns are completely integrated phonologically and morphologically into the systems of Arabic, so that they seem to have an Arabic origin.

Spoken Algerian Arabic		French		English	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Singular	Plural	Singular
1. /bu:sta/	/bu:sta:t/	poste	postes	post-office	post-offices
2. /bLa: a/	/bLa:ja /	place	places	place	places
3. /ri:gla/	/ri:gla:t/	règle	règles	ruler	rulers
4. /fila: /	/ fila: a:t/	village	villages	village	villages

Table 4.12: Examples of Completely Integrated French Nouns

These French words have completely been integrated into the phonological and morphological systems of Arabic. They demonstrate phonological adaptation, where French phonemes adapt to the norms of Arabic (see above). For instance, in the French words “poste” and “village”, the phonemes /p/ and /v/ have become /b/ and /f/ respectively, and some short vowels in French are used as long ones in Spoken Algerian Arabic. In addition,

words 1, 2, and 3 end with the added /a/ to denote the feminine. In the plural, words 1, 3, and 4 take the suffix /-a:t/, denoting the regular plural feminine in both Modern Standard Arabic and the classical form, which is used with borrowed items in Spoken Algerian Arabic and other dialects of Arabic. Word 2 takes the irregular plural (broken plural) typical of Semitic root-and-pattern morphology (bla:jas). Thus, the words have been completely assimilated into Arabic morphology and are indistinguishable from the other Arabic words.

Not far from this extreme are nouns which are well integrated morphologically but not completely adapted phonologically; they may be partly adapted phonologically. They are usually used by educated people who know French, as is the case with our sample.

Spoken Algerian Arabic		French		English	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1. /pi:ppa/	/pi:ppa:t/	pipe	pipes	pipe	pipes
2. /vi:sta/	vi:sta:t/	veste	vestes	jacket	jackets
3. /vali:za/	/valiza:t/	valise	valises	suitcase	suitcases

Table 4.13: Examples of Morphologically Integrated but Phonologically Partly Adapted French Words

Morphologically, the French words are completely integrated into Arabic. The singular words are adapted to the Arabic feminine noun ending by adding /a/ at the final position, and the plural words take the regular feminine plural with the /a:t/ suffix. Phonologically, they are not completely integrated since /p/ and

/v/ do not exist in the phonological system of Arabic, but they are used in Spoken Algerian Arabic. In this study, these two uses of French nouns are classified under the label “integrated (adapted) borrowing”.

4.2.1.2. Non-adapted borrowing

Another point in the continuum is the use of verbs. French verbs are taken as raw material, but their use bypasses established routines for borrowing. French phonemes change little if at all; the rigid morphological requirements of the root and pattern system are completely bypassed. Instead, a French stem takes on Spoken Algerian Arabic prefixes and suffixes.

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1 - /nessantigra/ - /nessantigra:w/	- Je m’intègre - Nous nous intégrons	- I fit - We fit
2 - /neprovoki:h/ - neprovoki:wah/	- Je le provoque - Nous le provoquons	- I provoke him - We provoke him
3 - /dubli:tu/ - /dublina:h/	- Je l’ai doublé - Nous l’avons doublé	- I overtook him - We overtook him
4 - / ar i:tuh/ - / ar i:na:h/	- Je l’ai chargé - Nous l’avons chargé	- I charged it - We charged it

Table 4.14: Examples of Non-adapted French Words

The first two verbs (1 and 2) are used in the present tense and the last two (3 and 4) in the past. The French verbs are adapted morphologically since they take Arabic prefixes and suffixes and follow the rules of Spoken Algerian Arabic

inflection. Yet, they are almost unchanged phonologically. This use of French verbs is considered as an integral part of borrowing, and it is called non-adapted borrowing. It is not code-switching because code-switched items are the ones which are completely unassimilated phonologically and morphologically in the recipient language (see 2.2.3).

4.2.1.3. Non-conventional borrowing

It is important to mention that the analysis of the recorded conversations of the students has shown a new type of borrowing which is different from both integrated and non-adapted borrowings. Students use French nouns as if they were verbs and apply to these verbs what has been applied to verbs in non-adapted borrowing. Because, to my knowledge, no researcher has mentioned this phenomenon so far, and speakers do not abide by the patterns of integrated and non-adapted borrowings, we will refer to this phenomenon as “non-conventional borrowing”. In the recordings, three examples of non-conventional borrowing were detected. They are as follows:

Spoken Algerian Arabic	French	English
1. /wikandi:t/	J’ai passé le weekend à la cité universitaire.	I spent the weekend on the university campus.
2. /sjasti:t/	J’ai fait une sieste.	I had a nap.
3. /gripi:t/	J’ai la grippe.	I have flu.

Table 4.15: Examples of Non-conventional Borrowing

These words in Spoken Algerian Arabic seem to be French verbs to which an Arabic suffix is added to refer to the first person. Because they are verbs, one may assume that they are cases of non-adapted borrowing. Yet, they are not instances of non-adapted borrowing because they are not verbs in French. Instead, they are all nouns. Their use in French requires the addition of a verb to form a verb phrase (*passer le weekend*, *faire la sieste*, and *avoir la grippe* respectively).

The use of these three words is unusual and non-conventional as it does not conform to the regular use of French verbs in Spoken Algerian Arabic. As mentioned above, French nouns are normally used as nouns (integrated borrowing), and French verbs are used as verbs (non-adapted borrowing), and both types of borrowing undergo phonological and/or morphological adaptation.

Borrowing into Spoken Algerian Arabic has occasionally been carried to an extreme degree, rendering sentences syntactically Arabic and whose elements conform to Arabic morphological rules but whose lexicon comes almost entirely from French as exemplified with:

/kraza:tu l-ma ina w rama a:wah mur uwa:t mur uwa:t/.

(The train crushed it and they gathered it piece by piece)

From the French sentence: “La machine l’a écrasé et ils l’ont ramassé morceaux par morceaux” (Hadj-Sadok, in Benabdi, 1980:98), it is obvious that the whole sentence is of French origin since all the lexical items (except the coordinating conjunction “w”) are French words. It conforms to Arabic grammar and

morphology. The word order of the sentence has been changed from SVO in French to VSO in Arabic. In addition, all lexical items have taken inflectional affixes specific to Spoken Algerian Arabic so that the sentence appears to be entirely Arabic.

4.2.1.4. French borrowings

Hadj-Sadok compiled a list of 1665 words borrowed from French which had entered Algerian Arabic, and he classified them according to the type of object or concept referred to. The groupings and the number of items in each are as follows (Hadj-Sadok, in Benabdi, 1980: 99):

1. Military life.....	200
2. European primary school.....	180
3. Employment at the residence of a European settler.....	140
4. French government and its operation.....	115
5. The automobile and its operation.....	80
6. Other means of transportation.....	80
7. Commercial.....	80
8. Legal jargon.....	80
9. Clothing.....	70
10. European food.....	70
11. European buildings.....	60
12. Modern recreation and western music.....	50
13. Sports, especially soccer.....	50
14. Household equipment and decoration.....	50
15. Weights and measures.....	40
16. Medicine.....	40
17. New professions.....	35
18. World War 2.....	30
19. Christianity.....	25
20. Modern urbanism, streets and parks.....	20
21. French greetings and salutations.....	20
22. Miscellaneous.....	100

It is worth mentioning that since the compilation of this list, no other linguist has tried to compile another list. The matter deserves more attention by linguists and sociolinguists alike. It is a potential subject of future research to check whether new borrowed words from French have integrated phonologically and/or morphologically Spoken Algerian Arabic.

4.2.2. Code-switching

The use of French words, phrases and longer utterances which preserve all of the linguistic features of monolingual French is distinct from borrowing. As mentioned above, code-switching occurs “when a bilingual speaker introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech” (Haugen 1956:40). Myers-Scotton (1993d:23) calls these unassimilated elements code-switched islands. The most salient phonological features of these code-switched islands are the nasal vowels, rounded closed vowels, and uvular “R” *grasséyé* of Metropolitan French (in case the speaker is a female, most often). Although French code-switches normally preserve all the linguistic features of monolingual French, they demonstrate little phonological adaptation. The French uvular /R/ is substituted by the dental /r/. However, they demonstrate no morphological adaptation to the Arabic that surrounds them.

a. Pourquoi na akmu ala la jeunesse dajman ? Non, ma adna: le droit na akmu ali:hum.

(Why do we always judge youth? No, we don't have the right to judge them.)

b. bazza:f *les étudiants* li ma:hum *sérieux* fi *les études*. ka:jan *une*
minorité bark li ra:hum *sérieux*.

(A lot of students are not serious in their studies. There is only a
minority of them who are serious.)

The words in italics show no phonological and/or morphological integration into Arabic; they are completely unassimilated.

As stated above, the use of French varies considerably. SAA-French code-switches consist of single words as well as entire sentences. This leads to two different patterns in code-switching:

4.2.2.1. Little code-switching: It is defined as those patterns in which only an occasional, usually single morpheme or word from one language is inserted into the other language which has the Matrix Language frame. In this case, code-switching is a two-way process involving SAA and French; it results in several language patterns.

- **SAA>Finserit:** SAA with single French lexeme insertions is a segment of only SAA lexical units, with the exception of one French word or morpheme inserted in a structural slot that would be occupied by an SAA word or morpheme in an all SAA segment. Thus, SAA is the Matrix Language and French is the embedded one.

a. /l-ba:ra ra: a na l-cours ta: t-ta:ri:x/.

(Yesterday, we revised the lecture of history)

b. /*L'étudiant* la:zam jafham balli a jaqra/.

(The student must understand that he has come (to university) to study)

- **F>SAAinsert:** French with single SAA lexeme insertions is a segment of all French lexical units, with the exception of one SAA word or morpheme inserted in a structural slot that would be occupied by a French word or morpheme in an all French segment. Thus, French is the Matrix language and SAA is the Embedded one.

a. /*La vie* a:dat *très chère*/.

(Life has become very expensive)

b. /*Les relations* bi:n *quelques étudiants et leurs parents sont très tendues*/.

(The relationship between some students and their parents is very tense)

- **Inter-sentential code-switching:** It is code-alternation at sentence boundaries. This pattern may involve both patterns including single lexeme insertion. In case SAA>Finsert, two sentences are a segment of all SAA lexical units, with the exception of one French word or morpheme inserted to join between the sentences, as in the first example (a) below. In case F>SAA insert, two sentences are a segment of all French lexical units, with the exception of one SAA word or morpheme to join between these two sentences, as in the second example (b).

a. / na ndi:ru li li:na. *Mais* huma la:zam j a:wnu:na/.

(We do whatever we can. But, they must help us)

b. /*Ils peuvent faire ce qu'ils veulent. ja ni ils sont libres de tout faire*)

(They can do whatever they want. It means they are free to do everything)

4.2.2.2. Heavier code-switching: It is defined as those patterns in which several instances of inter- or intra-sentential switching occur, involving more than occasional single morpheme or word insertions. Inter- and intra-sentential are similar in this case because both contain instances of multi-word “islands” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) of one language either embedded in or alternating with word strings of the other language. The Matrix Language depends on the number of morphemes and grammatical structure, although it is not always obvious to decide on the ML and the EL in such sentences (see section 4.3.).

a. /l-ba:ra j'ai vu wa d la scène li jamais je n'ai pensé n ufha fi ja:ti/

(Yesterday, I saw something I never thought I would see in my life)

b. /*Comment faire fi a:la kima haDi? Normalement, n ufu la la meilleure solution, ba a mahi: dajman a a évidente*/.

(What should we do in a situation like this? Normally, we look for the best solution but, it is not always something obvious)

In addition to Arabic-French code-switching, students who pursue their studies in Arabic, especially students of Arabic literature, tend to code-switch between Spoken Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, i.e. the vernacular and the standard. The situation is different from diglossia where the alternate use of the standard and the vernacular depends on functions according

to situations (see 1.4.). In this case, switching between the standard and the vernacular occurs intra-sententially and inter-sententially in natural conversations exactly like Arabic-French code-switching. However, compared to Arabic-French code-switching, the number of SAA-MSA code-switches is less significant. Of the recorded conversations, 53 cases of this kind of switching are depicted. In the following examples, the underlined elements are MSA code-switches.

c. /ka:n *le prof* ja ra fil *cours*, w fa atan sa lattu *étudiante* ala
anawi:n ad-duru:s al-muhimma/.

(The teacher was explaining the lecture, and suddenly a female student asked him about the titles of the important lectures).

d. /at-tulla:b masa:ki:n. hu:ma li da:jman jadfa u aT-Taman/.

(Poor students! They always pay for everything).

Therefore, Algerian students' mixing of Arabic and French is very complex.

Table 4.16 below summarizes the situation as follows:

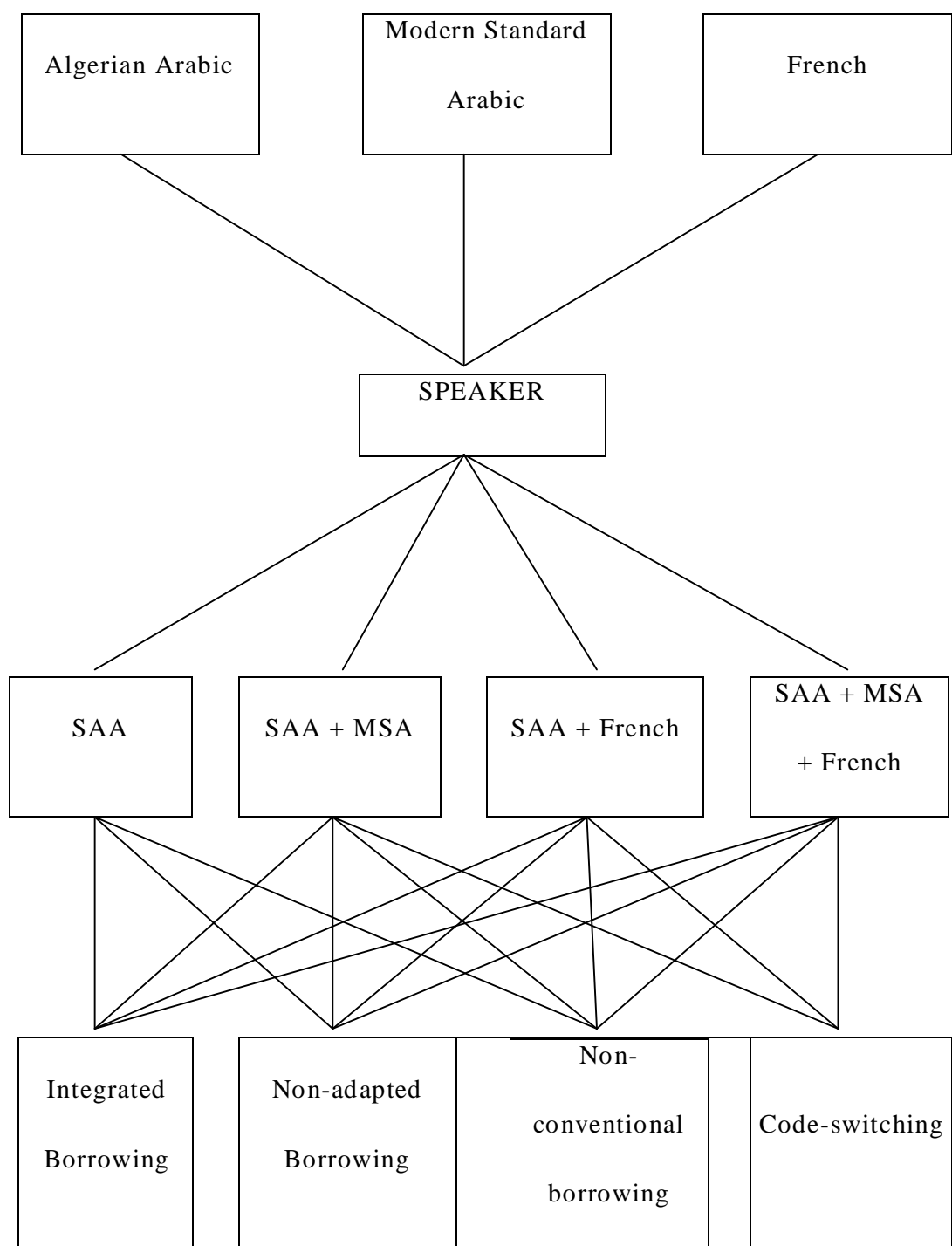


Table 4.16: Arabic-French Mixing in Algeria

According to this table, the speaker has Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and French as three alternatives in his speech repertoire. His speech in an informal conversation may be, however, of four types. It may be Spoken

Algerian Arabic only where most words are Arabic, plus some integrated and non-adapted borrowings from French. It may also be Spoken Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (code-switching), or Spoken Algerian Arabic and French (code-switching), or a mixture of all three varieties in one utterance where all processes (integrated borrowing, non-adapted borrowing, non-conventional borrowing, and code-switching) are applied. The following examples taken from the data illustrate the situation.

- e. *Le problème* ma:la:zam j ufu li lmar a kima *un objet. Elle est un être humain.* ta asbuha *objet?* taxxadmi xadma, *supposons* anti ga ada taxxadmi w thazzi fil kartua:t wal valiza:t w *ton frère* ga: ad w jaqra fi a -*journal* walla jgulluk xalli:ni nasiasti.

(The problem is that they should not look at the woman as an object. She is a human being. Do you consider her an object? Suppose you are working, you are lifting the boxes and the suitcases, and your brother is sitting and reading the newspaper, or he tells you: “Let me have a nap”).

- f. *La semaine passée* wi:kandi:t. kont fi *la chambre* nrivizi wa n ar i fi l-*portable*. daxlat andi *une collègue* w talbat qa: imat l-mara: i ta: *le cours*.

(Last week, I spent the weekend in the hall of residence. I was in my room revising and charging the cell phone battery. A colleague came in and asked for the list of references of the lecture.)

In both examples, in addition to Arabic-French code-switching (the italicised words, phrases, and utterances) and SAA-MSA code-switching (the underlined words and phrases), all instances of the different types of borrowing performed by students in Algeria are illustrated. These instances are as follows:

- Integrated borrowing:

- /kartua:t/ (boxes) from the French noun **cartons**.

- /valiza:t/ (suitcases) from the French noun **valises**.

- Non-adapted borrowing:

- /nrivizi/ (I was revising my lectures) from the French verb **réviser**.

- /n ar i/ (I was charging the batteries) from the French verb **charger**.

- Non-conventional borrowing:

- /nasiasti/ (I have a nap) from the French noun **sieste**.

- /wi:kandi:t/ (I spent the weekend on the university campus) from the French noun **weekend**.

4.3. Grammar

This section is a tentative description of the grammatical composition of Arabic-French. Therefore, the study will focus on utterances which consist of both borrowed and code-switched elements. The insertion of these French elements and the resulting structural changes form the basis of this description. There will be an account of its surface characteristics, and then an attempt to derive principles which may be systematic in the mixing process. It is possible that these principles may be generalized to other societies where Arabic and

French are in contact. Structural constraints on code-switching are dealt with to the extent relevant to the present description only.

Readers unfamiliar with the grammar of MSA may wish to know, very briefly, that the syntax of the sentence in Arabic is different from that of French, since Arabic is a VSO language whereas French is an SVO one. Because of the lack of contrastive studies between MSA and SAA and since we are mainly concerned with the description of the grammatical composition of Mixture 2 (SAA and code-switching), the emphasis is on the grammatical characteristics of SAA rather than on MSA.

Like MSA, the syntax of the phrase in SAA is VSO. Compared to French, there are two main differences. Whereas the adjective follows the noun in SAA, it precedes the noun in French. In addition, the use of two tenses (past and present)¹ in SAA is opposed to the use of several tenses in French. There are other differences between the two varieties which are not of concern in this study and may be the subject of another thesis.

It should be noticed that the analysis of the grammatical characteristics revealed a difference between the use and the number of borrowed elements and code-switched ones. Borrowed elements are mostly of one or two words in length, and are usually 'content' or 'open class' rather than 'system' or 'closed class' words (see Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973:19-20, for this distinction). As illustrated in all the examples of the different types of borrowing (see section

¹ The future is expressed through the use of additional morphemes (e.g. /ra: /) in SAA.

4.2.1.), the items are mostly French nouns and verbs, but never adjectives or adverbs. Code-switched elements differ in length; they may be a single word, a phrase, or even a whole utterance. They may be either ‘open class’ or ‘closed class’ words, but the latter are never used alone without the ‘open class’ words (see sections 4.2.2. and 4.3.2.). In cases where SAA is the Matrix Language and French is the Embedded one, the code-switched French elements can fit into the surrounding Arabic structure fairly easily, and the flow of speech is normal with no hesitation. Similarly, in cases where the Matrix language is French, elements from SAA are fitted into the overall French syntax at the same point as the equivalent French elements without disrupting the surrounding French grammar.

In the recorded conversations, applying Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language principle (see 2.3.2.) to determine the dominant (base) language was not an easy task in all cases. Of the recorded conversations, 25 conversations were easily identified as having Spoken Algeria Arabic or French as the Matrix Language. 18 conversations had Spoken Algerian Arabic as the ML, and the remaining 7 had French. It was easy to determine their Matrix Language because they fulfil the three defining criteria of the ML:

- (1) The language which sets the grammatical frame.
- (2) The source of more morphemes in the discourse.
- (3) The ‘unmarked or expected’ choice for the communication.

The following examples illustrate cases where the Matrix Language is easily identified:

- a. /ra: a na *les cours* ta na ba a kul i ra: *pour rien*/

(We revised our lessons, but everything was in vain)

This utterance consists mostly from SAA lexical items and follows SAA grammatical structure. Thus, it is easily identified as having SAA as the Matrix Language and French as the Embedded one.

- b. /*Il faut* da:jman *tout faire pour réaliser les rêves* nta: na/

(We must always do everything to achieve our dreams)

Contrary to the preceding example (a), this utterance consists mostly from French lexical items and follows French grammatical structure. Thus, it is easily identified as having French as the Matrix Language and SAA as the Embedded one.

In the remaining 8 conversations, applying the aforementioned criteria proved to be somewhat difficult. Independently from the length of the conversation, the Matrix Language shifted from Spoken Algerian Arabic to French and vice versa in the same conversation, and even from one sentence to the other. Therefore, a conversation would start with Spoken Algerian Arabic as the Matrix Language and French as the Embedded one and would go on like this for a certain period of time (a sentence or more), and then it would shift directly to French as the Matrix Language and Spoken Algerian Arabic as the Embedded one. Then, it would shift back to the initial situation. In 5 conversations, the number of sentences which had French as the ML was bigger than those which had SAA, but, in general, the sentences in SAA were longer than those in

French. To decide on the Matrix Language of these conversations is a difficult task since applying one principle of the model challenges the results of one or more principles of the same model. This gives ground to the notion of ‘circularity’ mentioned by critics to Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) Matrix Language Frame model (see 2.2.2., p.60).

The following example illustrates the situation where it is difficult to decide on the ML of the conversation:

- a. /*Les études à la fac* mla: , *mais* kifa: ndi:ru m a tulla:b *qui s’enfoutent pas mal*. ma: a:bbi:na jaqra:w. *Il y a une minorité li a:bbi:n jaqra:w. Les autres* ma: la:tji:na /.

(Studies at the university are good, but what should we do with students who don’t care? They don’t want to study. A minority wants to study. The others don’t care)

Moreover, a major problem arises when, in addition to SAA-French code-switching, SAA-MSA code-switching occurs. Because of the use of the two varieties of Arabic, there is a co-occurrence of system morphemes from both varieties of Arabic. This challenges Myers-Scotton’s (ibid.) System morpheme principle that predicts that all syntactically relevant system morphemes come from the Matrix Language in ML + El islands. The same problem is encountered by Boussofara-Omar (2003:39) in Tunisian Arabic-French code-switching (see 2.2.2). Consider the following example from the recorded conversations:

b. /ana ma: aDunnu huma sérieux/.

(I don't think they are serious)

The verb /aDunnu / consists of the verb and two affixes. The prefix /a/ denoting the first person singular is taken from Modern Standard Arabic. The suffix / / referring to the negative is taken from SAA. Thus, the two affixes come from two different varieties and not from the Matrix Language as the MLF model predicts.

Although the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) seems to be the most suitable model for the structural analysis of code-switching so far, it is not suitable for all instances of code-switching in all languages, at least not for Arabic-French code-switching. There are several points in the model which need to be revised so that it would be appropriate for all instances of code-switching. Thus, we agree with Boumans (1998), Bentahila & Davies (1998), and Boussofara-Omar (2003) in their criticism of the model.

As far as word order is concerned, the structure of the sentences depends on the Matrix Language used. If the Matrix Language is easily identified, the word order is obviously that of the Matrix Language (see Examples a and b, Page 198). In instances where there is a difficulty in the identification of the Matrix Language, word order may switch from one variety to the other in the same conversation, leading to a composite word order structure (see Example a above).

4.3.1 Borrowed Elements

The majority of French borrowed elements found in the recordings are in the form of single nouns or verbs surrounded by Algerian Arabic. Since the borrowed elements are all content words and the system morphemes belong to SAA, it is obvious that the Matrix Language is SAA. The following examples illustrate the use of these French borrowed elements:

- Nouns:

a. / a:du jbi: u at-tuma:bila:t a dud fi kul bla: a/

(Now they sell new cars everywhere).

b. /anti ga: da taxxadmi wa thazzi fi l-kartua:t wa l-valiza:t/

(You are working and lifting boxes and suitcases).

- Verbs:

c. /la:zam nrivizi mli: ba:h nan a /

(I must revise well to succeed).

d. /ki dublina:h ma: a bu: al a:l/

(When we overtook him, he was not happy).

A simple glance at these sentences suggests that they are completely Arabic as far as vocabulary and grammar are concerned. The French words have been morphologically totally assimilated, and the Arabic definite article is systematically used according to the Arabic rules with the French words. Word order and tense are characteristic of SAA, and the adjective follows the noun as in the Arabic grammar (/a dud/ in Example a). Therefore, apart from the origin

of the borrowed words, the sentences are morphologically and syntactically Arabic.

4.3.2. Code-switching

As far as single code-switched elements are concerned (little code-switching), they may be in the form of a noun (with or without its article), a verb, an adverb, but never an adjective. The French adjective is always used with its French head noun. This may be demonstrated explicitly with the following example:

- a. /*La solution* sa:hla. a:b ta ri *voiture*, *demandez* kri:di min *la banque*. *Normalement*, al-*crédit* jaxlus w anta t u:d andak *une belle voiture*/.

(The solution is simple. You want to buy a car; ask for a loan from the bank. The loan will be paid, and you will have a nice car).

It is noticeable that the French ‘system’ words such as determiners, conjunctions and auxiliary verbs never appear alone when the Matrix Language is SAA (in the predominantly Arabic discourse). There are, for example, no cases of a French determiner which does not qualify a French noun. Hence, the type of structure exemplified by the following noun phrase does not occur:

- b. **Trois* kara:si

Instead, the French noun phrase is used, and students say: *Trois chaises*.

Concerning longer code-switched elements (heavier code-switching), switching may involve phrases or even utterances. Of course, the grammar which

is used is always the grammar of the Matrix Language. In case of the use of phrases, the Matrix Language may shift from one language to the other depending on the number of words from each language and the grammatical rules applied. In case of code-switched utterances, the Matrix Language is obviously French. Consider the following examples:

c. /*Les jeunes font tout* ba:h jan u. la:zam naffahmu *les jeunes. Le problème est qu'on ne les comprend pas*/.

(Young people do everything to succeed. We must understand them. The problem is that they are not understood).

d. /*Supposons les cours* jabda:w fi *la mi-novembre, ja ni on ne va pas avoir beaucoup de cours*/.

(Let's suppose that the studies will start by mid- November, it means we are not going to have a lot of lectures).

Contrary to example d where the Matrix Language is obviously French, example c consists of three utterances and the Matrix Language shifts from one utterance to the other. Thus, the Matrix Language is French in the first utterance, SAA in the second, and French in the last one.

4.4. Structural Constraints

Although we are not mainly concerned with structural constraints on Arabic-French code-switching, the grammatical description of Arabic-French

requires a short investigation of these constraints¹ even if it is a short one. Some grammatical features of Arabic-French code-switching in the speech of students are counter examples to constraints proposed by other linguists and which are discussed in Chapter Two. Since structural constraints are a vast domain of investigation and may be the topic of another thesis, only a few examples of violations of the proposed structural constraints are given below as counter examples. The latter are similar to other counter examples given by Bentahila & Davies (1983) which may presuppose that, as far as grammar is concerned, Arabic-French code-switching in Algeria shares many linguistic features with that in Morocco.

4.4.1. Free Morpheme Constraint

As stated in Chapter Two, the free morpheme constraint prohibits a switch between a lexical item and a bound morpheme unless the former has been integrated phonologically into the language of the latter. Yet, data from the recorded conversations reveal a violation of this constraint by Algerian students. The following are counter examples to the Free Morpheme constraint:

a. /*Ton frère* ga: ad w jaqra fi -*journal*/.

(Your brother is sitting and reading the newspaper).

b. /*kunt fi la chambre* nrivizi wa n ar i fi l-*portable*/.

(I was in my room revising and charging the cell phone batteries).

¹ The grammatical constraints discussed in this section are chosen because of their relevance to the linguistic description of Arabic-French code-switching in Algeria. There are many other grammatical constraints that may be the subject of another thesis.

In these examples, the French words “journal” and “portable” are code-switches and pronounced as they are in the French phonological system, but there is a violation of the Free Morpheme constraint since the speaker switches between the bound morpheme (i.e. the definite article *al*, pronounced according to the phonological system of Arabic) and the French nouns.

The same type of violation of this constraint is mentioned by Bentahila & Davies (1983:325) in Arabic-French code-switching among Moroccan speakers.

c. /hadak l *pince* djalul/

(Those pliers of his)

d. /taj ml r *rapport* nta u/

(He makes his report).

4.4.2. Equivalence Constraint

According to this constraint, code-switching will occur at points where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. Yet, students violate this constraint by switching Arabic and French at points where there is a difference between the structures of the two languages. The following examples taken from the speech of students are violations of this constraint.

a. / tali *le prof le livre* nta u/.

(The teacher gave me his book).

b. /ki attu *l'affichage*, virifi:t *les notes* nta i/.

(When they posted the results, I checked my marks).

The Equivalence Constraint is violated because the French possessive pronoun should precede the noun, but the nouns **livre** and **notes** have occurred before the possessive pronouns /nta u/ and /nta i/ in SAA, which is a clear violation of the French structure.

It should be noted that examples a and b correspond to examples c and d given by Bentahila & Davies (ibid.) in the previous page where they show a violation of both the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint.

Another example of the violation of this constraint is switching to SAA and allowing the noun to precede the adjective. Consider the following examples:

c. /da:r *crédit* fil banka wa ra *une voiture* mli: a/.

(He had a loan from the bank and bought a nice car).

d. /J'ai eu *une note* ha:bta fi l-*controle*/.

(I had a bad mark in the exam).

The adjectives /mli: a/ and /ha:bta/ follow the nouns **voiture** and **note** respectively according to SAA grammar since the adjectives in Arabic are post-nominal. In French, some adjectives are post-nominal and others pre-nominal. In case of examples c and d above, the adjectives are normally pre-nominal.

Again, Bentahila & Davies (ibid.: 321) give an example of such violation of the Equivalence Constraint from Moroccan Arabic.

e. /un *professeur* aDim/.

(an excellent teacher).

4.4.3. Government Constraint

The Government Constraint prohibits switching between governors and their objects. Yet, this constraint is violated since students switch between the verb and its NP object. It is important to mention that switching occurs in both ways. The following examples illustrate the situation:

a. / a:b ta ri *une voiture*/.

(You want to buy a car)

b. /qbal ma : juxru , *il a vérifié* al ba:b/.

(He checked the door before leaving)

In a above, the speaker switched from the Arabic transitive verb (here the governor) to the French noun. However, in b the speaker switches from the French verb to the Arabic noun.

The same type of violation of the Government Constraint exists in Moroccan Arabic. Bentahila & Davies (ibid.: 313) give the following examples:

c. / ati:k *une envelope*/.

(I gave you an envelope)

d. /*Il ne faut pas changer* ttw i:l/.

(You must not change the receipt)

4.4.4. Functional Head Constraint

This constraint restricts switches between a functional head and its complement, where a functional head is the function word that heads a phrase. It is also violated as the aforementioned constraints. A simple example of this

violation is switching between the relative pronoun and its complement as follows:

- a. /*Il ne faut pas oublier que* lula:d nta na a:d l *parabole* j aTTar li:hum/.

(We should not forget that the satellite dish has an influence on our children)

- b. /ga:l - i:x balli *les examens commencent dans deux semaines*/.

(The teacher said that the exams will start in two weeks)

Again, Bentahila & Davies (ibid.: 310) show this violation in Moroccan Arabic.

- c. /*lorsque j'ai vu que* mabqa /.

(When I saw that there was nothing left)

- d. /*Il croyait* bi anna *je faisais ça exprès*/.

(He thought I was doing that on purpose)

In summary, the proposed grammatical constraints are generally violated in Arabic-French code-switching. An investigation of counter-examples of these constraints reveals that the state of Arabic-French code-switching in Algeria and Morocco is almost the same. Further research on these constraints on code-switching is necessary to shed light on all grammatical aspects of languages in contact, especially Arabic-French code-switching.

4.5. Spoken Algerian Arabic: Classification

We have seen in this chapter that the phenomenon of Arabic-French mixing appears to take two forms. One is code-switching, in which the French element is introduced, unassimilated, quite consciously as a communication strategy (Chapter Four). The other is borrowing in which French elements have become more integrated into SAA, and comprise sub-systems which are no longer French, yet they are not Arabic. This process has been found at the segmental (3.6), the lexical (3.7), and the grammatical (3.8) levels. As we observed in Chapter Two, both types of mixing were observed in other speech communities.

It is obvious that the second mixture is Arabic-French code-switching and does not need to be classified. This leaves the problem of the classification of the first mixture (Spoken Algerian Arabic), inasmuch as it is Arabic augmented with elements or sub-systems that are not entirely French. These elements which are integrated with varying degrees into SAA have certain resemblances to forms existing in other language types, in that they have the features admixture and convergence of elements from one contributing code towards the other in a partly systematic fashion. How can such a form of language behaviour be classified? To answer this question, the features of SAA are compared to other language forms.

4.5.1. Pidgin

A pidgin is a simplified language that develops as a means of communication between two or more groups that do not have a language in common, in situations such as trade. Pidgins are not the native language of any speech community, but are instead learned as second languages (Todd, 1990:3). As De Camp (1971:16) writes: “A pidgin is an auxiliary contact language”. Keith Whinnom (cited in Hymes, 1971) suggests that pidgins need three languages to form, with one (the superstrate) being clearly dominant over the others.

The creation of a pidgin usually requires:

- Prolonged, regular contact between the different language communities.
- A need to communicate between them.
- An absence of a widespread, accessible inter-language (or absence of widespread proficiency in an accessible inter-language).

A comparison of SAA with pidgin shows that SAA is not in the process of pidginization because of different reasons. First, SAA is spoken by one speech community and is used for intra-group communication. Second, most lexical items in SAA are Arabic and the grammar, though simplified, is basically Arabic grammar. Third and last, SAA has not developed from contact with French, but rather it has incorporated French elements and integrated them with varying degrees. Thus, the process of pidginization cannot apply to SAA.

4.5.2. Creole

Creole is a stable language that originates seemingly as a nativized pidgin (Wardhaugh, 2002:61). Pidgins become creole languages when a generation whose parents speak pidgin to each other teach it to their children as their first language. Creoles can then replace the existing mix of languages to become the native language of a community.

From this definition, it is obvious that the term 'creole' does not apply to SAA. As mentioned above, SAA has not undergone the process of pidginization, so it cannot be a creole language.

4.5.3. Koiné

The origin of the term 'koiné' was the standard Greek language derived from a number of Greek dialects. Koiné is a compromise language made up, usually, of several dialects of the same language but often relying heavily on one dominant dialect. Koinés are characterized linguistically by an expansion in content, by the admixture of several dialects, and by expansion in role.

Once again, this type of language does not apply to SAA because it is a dialect which is not standardised. In addition, it is not a combination of dialects.

In summary, it is clear that these three language varieties do not apply to SAA despite the use of French lexical elements. The phenomenon of incorporating and integrating French elements is best considered as borrowing. Therefore, SAA is best identified as a dialect of Arabic (Algerian Arabic) using French borrowed elements which are integrated with varying degrees.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of mixing Arabic and French results in several mixing patterns with different repercussions on the phonological, the lexical, and the grammatical levels of Arabic. The influence of languages is not mutual since French is not at all influenced by Arabic, but the latter is greatly influenced by French. Borrowing and code-switching are two common phenomena among students. Borrowing is undergone according to a continuum of integration at different levels resulting in three types of borrowing. Language change due to language contact is explicitly illustrated by the emergence of non-conventional borrowing, a new type of borrowing which is being used by students. Code-switching can be little or heavier since it can involve words, phrases, or even utterances. Its use does not necessarily lead to the rapid identification of the Matrix Language in all instances. Despite extensive mixing, SAA cannot be considered a pidgin, a creole, or a koiné.

Chapter Five

Language Choice of Students

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the speech repertoire of university students was identified, and the mixing patterns resulting from language contact were analysed. This chapter addresses research question 2: What are the factors and functions of language choice? This chapter examines the factors which influence the choice of any variety and pattern in one's speech repertoire, and it investigates the functions and aims behind any language choice. To achieve this goal, Grosjean's (1982:136) model is used as a general framework in this chapter (see Table 2.2, Page 101). By general framework, it is meant that the investigation of language choice is performed through Grosjean's four main factors, with adaptation of the sub-factors through the deletion of elements deemed irrelevant to the study or the addition of other elements. The four main factors influencing language choice are investigated on the basis of the data obtained from the survey conducted mainly through the questionnaire method and partly the ethnographic study. In fact, where possible the ethnographic study is correlated to the survey performed through the questionnaire; natural conversations from recordings are used to check the accuracy of the findings from the questionnaire.

5.1. Language Choice

As has been seen earlier in 3.3 (Page 116), every student in the sample has at his disposal a range of language varieties. Fishman (as cited in Sridhar, 1996:51) defines the notion of language choice as “who uses what language to whom and for what purposes”. The speaker’s ability to choose the appropriate variety for any particular purpose is part of his communicative competence. Yet, in a bilingual setting involving two or more languages, such as in Algeria, not only can bilingual speakers, like their monolingual counterparts, choose among different varieties of a language but, when speaking to other bilinguals, they can also choose between two languages. University students’ language choice is examined to verify whether it is possible to predict language choice.

5.2. Participants

Participants have always been considered an important factor of language choice. The use of one language or the other depends greatly on the person (s) engaged in the conversation. Within this main factor, there are several sub-factors which may determine the language chosen according to participants.

5.2.1. Language Proficiency

The language proficiency of the speaker and of the interlocutor is very important. As far as the language proficiency of the speaker is concerned, although all respondents confirm knowing both MSA and French, the majority report that their oral and written mastery of MSA is better than that of French. Items 15, 16, and 17 of the questionnaire asked about the language proficiency

of the respondents. Figure 5.1 indicates the average percentage of respondents as far as listening, reading, and writing competence is concerned. A high percentage of respondents admit better competence in MSA despite the fact that a significant number pursue their studies in French.

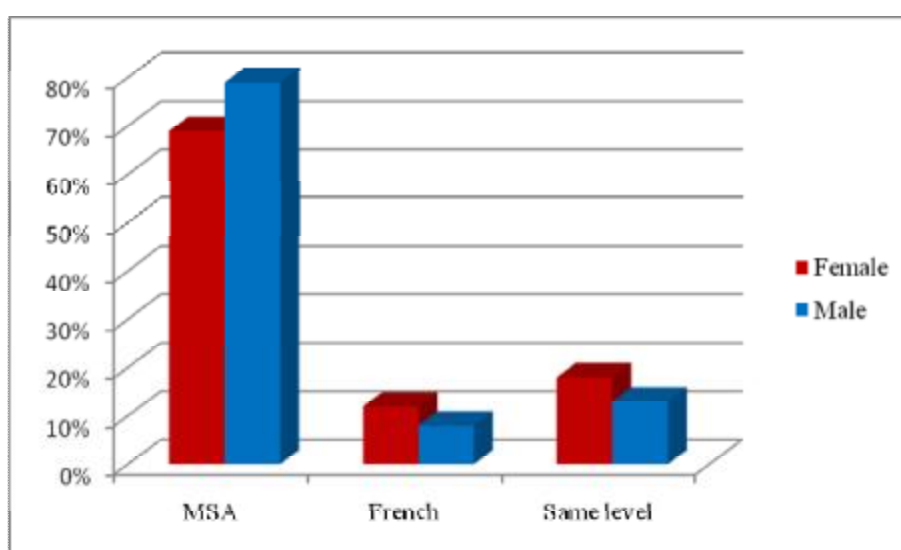


Figure 5.1: Language Proficiency of the Sample

From a brief study of Figure 5.1, one can assume that MSA is used at a large extent, and French is almost not used. Observation of the situation and findings of the survey contradict this assumption. To the question “Do you use Standard Arabic in your daily conversations?” two respondents only report using MSA in natural exchanges. All others (99%) deny using it, and this denial is confirmed by the results of the other questions and the data from the recorded conversations. Figure 5.2 below shows the use of MSA as reported by the sample.

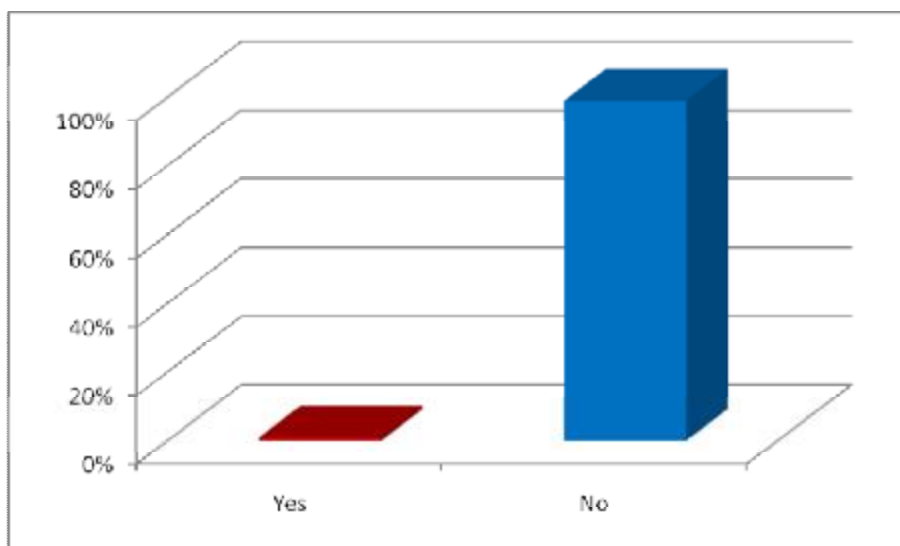


Figure 5.2: Reported Use of MSA in Natural Conversation

It should be mentioned that the two respondents who claimed using MSA in natural conversations (F87 and M35)¹ took part in the ethnographic study. An investigation of their recordings shows that both students use more SAA-MSA code-switching than the other students. Nevertheless, they both use the other varieties in their speech repertoire.

In addition, language proficiency of the speaker does not always indicate automatically language choice. Of the 26 students who were senior students studying the French language, 11 students did not report using French alone in any case. This claim is confirmed by the recorded conversations. Although they were very fluent in French and some of their interlocutors used French exclusively, they used Arabic-French with French as the Matrix Language in

¹ To identify respondents, each student is assigned a number according to gender. Thus, letters refer to both sexes (F=Female /M=Male) and numbers refer to their corresponding numbers.

most sentences. Consider the following conversation between two female and one male students studying the French language:

Conversation One:

F31: *La langue française contribue au développement et à l'épanouissement de notre société. Il faut la considérer comme un atout et non pas un obstacle.*

(The French language contributes to the development and the opening up of our society. We must consider it an asset and not an obstacle).

F26: *C'est vrai le Français a un atout. Mais, ma tansa:wa elle a une influence négative la la société ta na.*

(It is true that French is truly an asset. But, don't forget that it has a negative influence on our society).

M12: *Tu as raison. andha a des conséquences négatives. ba a il faut tout faire pour prendre le plus d'avantages de cette langue et se débarrasser des inconvénients. Ainsi, ra nku:nu na les gagnants.*

(You're right. It has really negative consequences, but we must do all we can to get more advantages from this language and to get rid of the disadvantages. So, we'll be the winners).

This language choice can be explained by the influence of other factors. An analysis of these students' exchanges shows that they have contradicting opinions about French. They have positive opinions towards French and consider it an asset that has to be taken advantage of, but at the same time they have negative opinions and see it as an identity marker.

As far as the language proficiency of the interlocutor is concerned, students usually consider the ability of the addressee in choosing between languages. The first and most obvious example is the case the two recordings which were discounted from the linguistic analysis because foreign students joined the conversations a short moment after it had begun (see Page 117). Algerian students immediately shifted to French or English because of the lack of language proficiency in Arabic of their foreign interlocutors.

Another example of the influence of the language proficiency of the addressee on language choice is the difference between the variety used with other students and the one used with laymen outside the university. As seen in Tables 3.20 - 3.22 (Pages 152-155), the unmarked varieties are either SAA or Arabic-French when students speak to other peers according to different contexts. However, the unmarked variety with laymen is SAA (see Table 3.18, p.150). Because of the lack of data about the language proficiency of laymen, speakers choose to use the vernacular variety only, but they choose to use the vernacular variety or the mixture between Arabic and French with other students because it is assumed that the latter know both languages.

5.2.2. Age

Since the study deals with one specific speech community whose members are peers, respondents are assumed to belong almost to the same generation. However, students in the sample are divided into two age groups to check possible differences between young students and older ones. The first age group

(17-23 years old) forms the majority of the sample (86%) and the second one (24-33 years old) the minority. They both comprise students from the four academic years. However, the investigation of the data shows that students from the second age group use the standard varieties (MSA and French) and/or Arabic-French more than their counterparts in the first age group.

Of the 34 students of the second age group (see Table 3.4, Page 134), 31 respondents took part in both research methods. In the ethnographic study, 53 cases of SAA-MSA code-switching were found. 42 cases of these code-switches are performed by 12 respondents belonging to the second age group. Similarly, 17 students of the remaining respondents used more French and/or Arabic-French than the younger students in the first age group.

Data from the questionnaire confirm this tendency of using the standard varieties and/or Arabic-French code-switching by students of the second age group. In their answers to the items of the questionnaire about language choice according to different contexts, all students of the second age group chose either MSA, French, or Arabic-French in most cases, depending on the situation of course. This language choice is mainly explained by another major factor which has a great influence on the speaker's speech, namely the function of the interaction (see section 5.5., p.252).

5.2.3. Gender

Labov (1990:205) states that the clearest and most consistent results of more than thirty years of sociolinguistic research in the speech community

concern the linguistic differentiation of women and men. He summarises these results in the principles below (1990:210, 213, 215):

Principle I. In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women.

Principle Ia. In change from Principle I, women favour the incoming prestige forms more than men.

Principle II. In change from Principle Ia, women are most often the innovators.

Nevertheless, Milroy and Milroy (1990, 1997) suggest that it is misleading to say that women favour prestige forms: rather, women create the prestige forms in the sense that the forms they use become overtly prestigious in the community.

It is obvious from these two views that gender plays an important factor in language choice. To begin with, Figure 5.1 (Page 215) indicates that a high percentage of male respondents report better language proficiency in MSA, and more female respondents report better mastery of French. Figure 5.3 below reveals that female students use French with most participants, whether the situation is formal or informal. On the contrary, the number of male students who use French is very low, compared to the number of female students who do so.

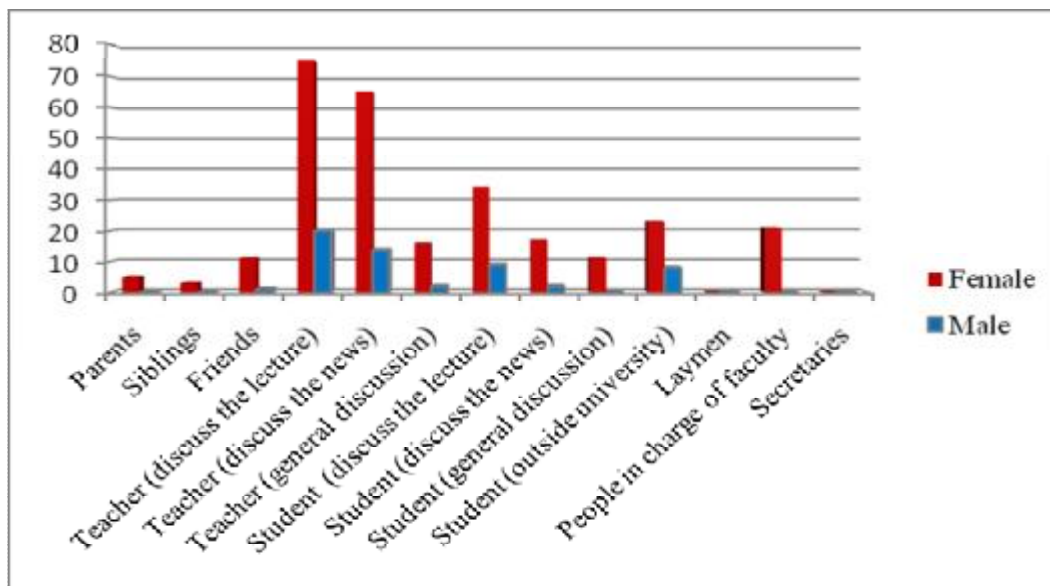


Figure 5.3: Use of French by Female and Male respondents

This phenomenon of using different varieties according to the gender of the respondent is made totally explicit by the use of Arabic-French. This variety of language is widely used by the participants in the sample. However, although male students' use of Arabic-French surpasses their use of French since French is used even in informal situations, female students' use of Arabic-French is so extensive that it would be almost unfair to compare it to that of male students. Figure 5.4 below indicates very clearly that female students use extensively Arabic-French with all participants in all situations. It also shows that the standard variety (in this case French) is more used in very formal situations; for instance, there is a sharp decrease in the use of Arabic-French when talking to a teacher during break time to discuss the lecture, and French is used instead.

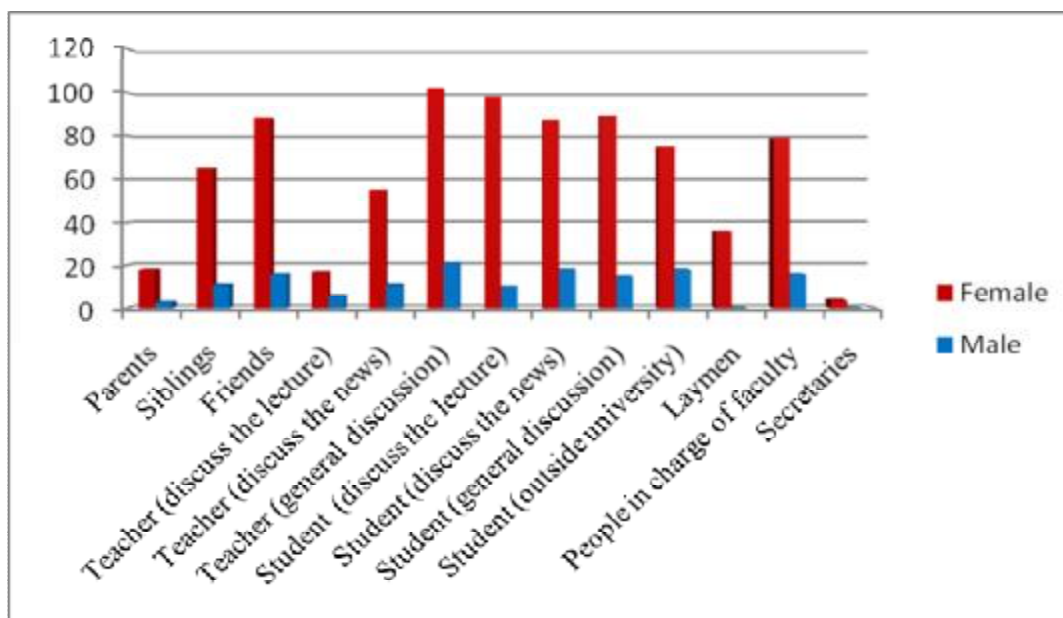


Figure 5.4: Use of Arabic-French by Female and Male Respondents

Instead of considering Labov and Milroy & Milroy's ideas contradictory, they are considered complementary. The data indicate that male respondents really use the non-standard varieties more than their female counterparts. The latter consider French and Arabic-French the prestigious varieties and use them with speakers from both sexes. Because of their use by female students, French and Arabic-French are seen by the other members of the student community as prestigious. As Milroy & Milroy state, female students are innovators because what was once considered the language of the colonizer has become a prestigious form, whether on its own or in alternation with SAA.

5.2.4. Ethnic Background

Ethnic background is not a factor that influences all respondents in the sample. It influences only a small number of students who have Tamazight

origin. Figure 3.6 (Page 137) indicates that 42 respondents were born in Tamazight speaking regions, and Figure 3.7 (Page 137) shows that 25 respondents only still lived in those regions. However, Figure 3.11 (Page 141) indicates that 32 respondents speak Tamazight. These respondents' language choice depends mainly on the ethnic background of the interlocutor. If the latter has a Berber origin and speaks Tamazight, respondents use Tamazight; of course, in case they are joined by one interlocutor who is not from the same ethnic group, they refrain from using Tamazight. If interlocutors have SAA as the mother tongue and do not speak Tamazight, respondents use other varieties in the speech repertoire. Figure 5.5 below shows that respondents of Berber origin use the mother tongue with parents, siblings, friends, and even laymen from the same ethnic group. They do not use Tamazight with peers who do not belong to the same ethnic group and with teachers, people in charge of the faculty, and secretaries.

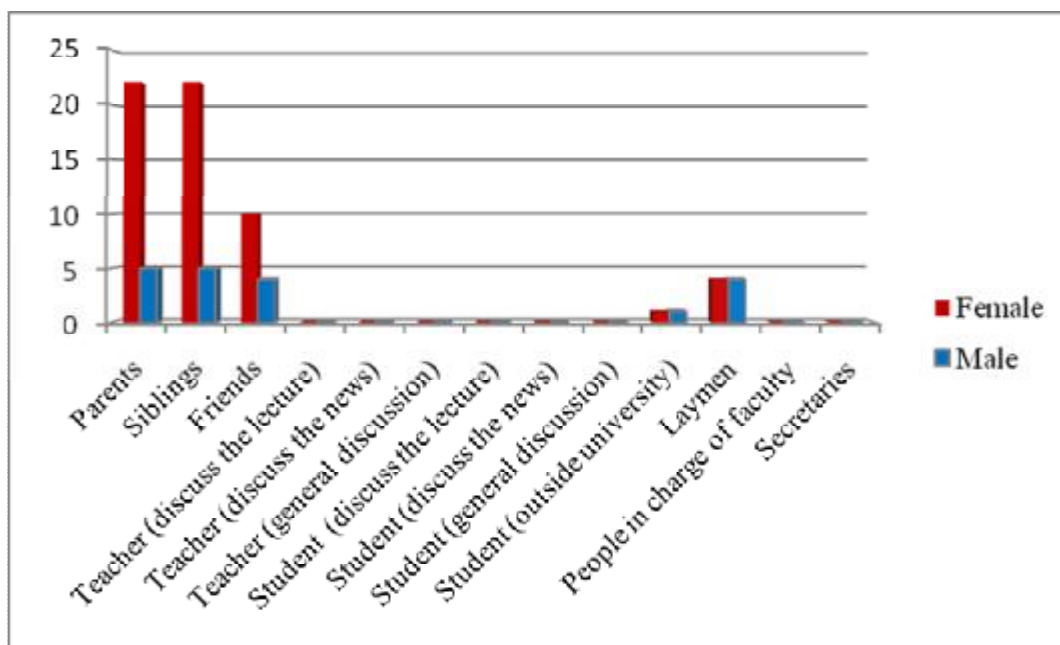


Figure 5.5: Use of Tamazight By Female and Male Respondents

5.2.5. Place of Residence

Although place of residence has not been mentioned by Grosjean (1982) as a factor influencing language choice, the data from recorded conversations and the questionnaire show that the place of residence of the participant is an important factor. Apart from the respondents who live in Tamazight speaking regions, the other respondents come from urban and rural areas. Members of the sample who come from urban areas use more French and Arabic-French than the other members who come from rural areas. Figures 5.6 and 5.7 below show that students who come from rural areas use mostly SAA in informal situations. SAA is used exclusively by female and male students alike with parents, siblings, friends, laymen outside the university, and secretaries. MSA and French are used in very formal situations only, such as to discuss a lecture with a teacher during

break time. Arabic-French is used in less formal contexts, such as leading a general discussion with a teacher during break time or talking to other students.

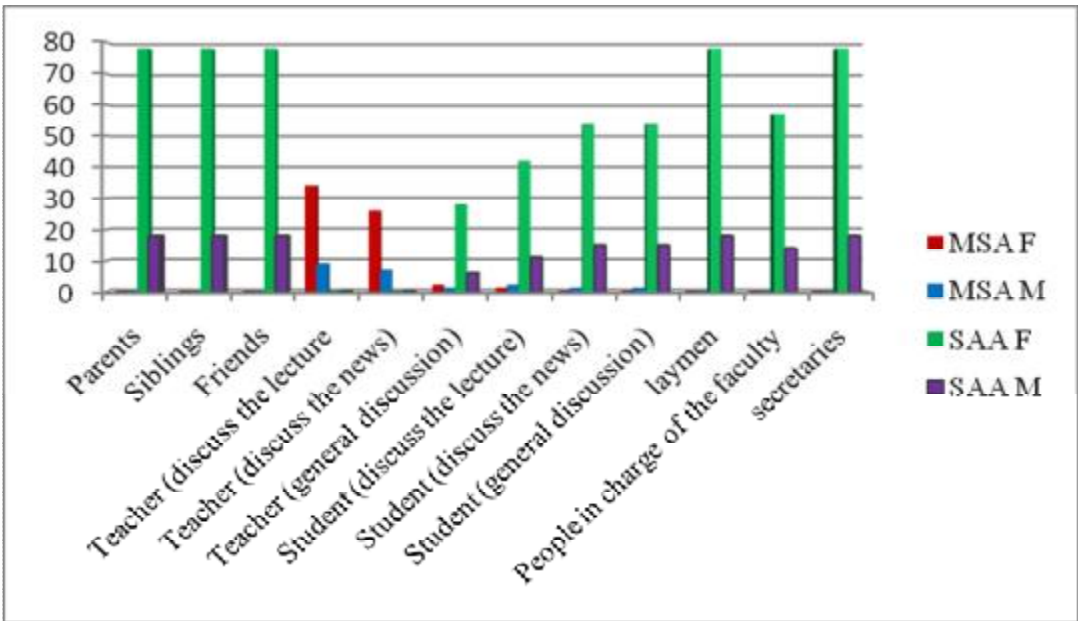


Figure 5.6: Use of MSA and SAA by Students who Come from Rural Areas

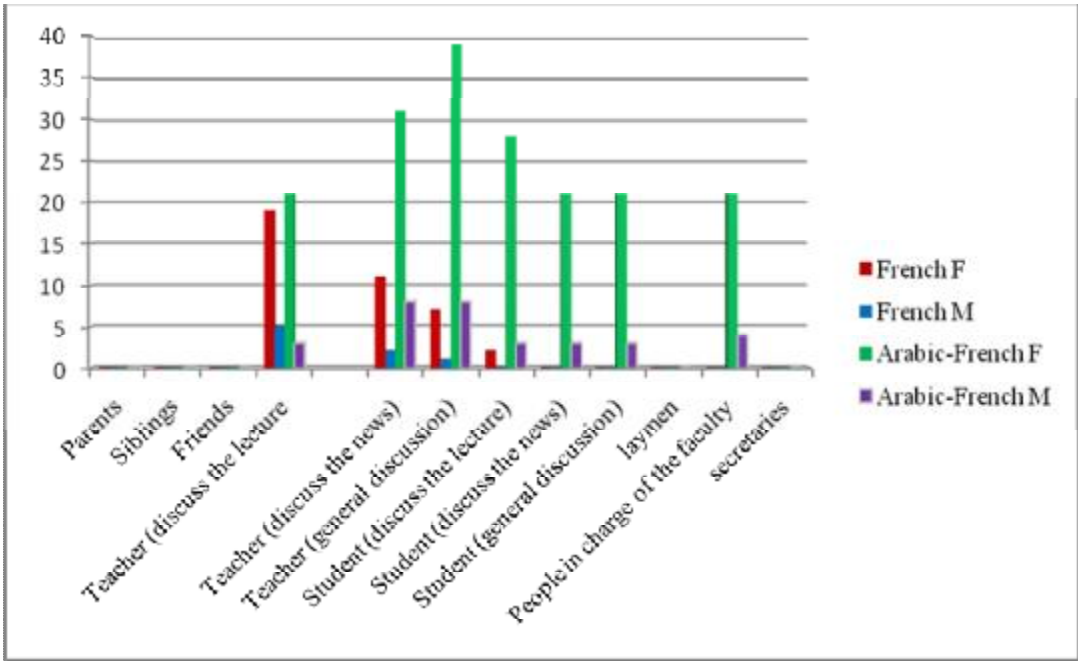


Figure 5.7: Use of French and Arabic-French by Students who Come from Rural Areas

Note should be taken that the analysis of the data shows that first year graduate students who come from rural areas use less Arabic-French than other students who come from the same areas but attend other academic years. This finding indicates that students' language behaviour changes since students shift to the varieties used by those who come from urban areas. After spending a certain period of time at the university, students who come from rural areas observe the language behaviour of the other students and opt for the varieties they judge to be prestigious. For instance, when asked about her use of Arabic-French with other students, Respondent F41, a third year Arabic literature student, summarizes her language choice as follows: "When I was a first year student, I used to speak vernacular Arabic (Derdja) only, but I noticed that people here speak French and Arabic-French. I had a feeling of inferiority towards the other students...Then, although I am a student of Arabic literature, I decided to speak French and Arabic-French to show that I was not inferior. Now, I feel superior to other students who use Derdja only..."

Figures 5.8 and 5.9 below show that respondents who come from urban areas use Arabic-French more than the other varieties. It is used with parents, siblings, friends, teachers and students in formal and informal situations. MSA and French are used in very formal situations, although French is also used in less formal ones but SAA is generally used in informal situations.

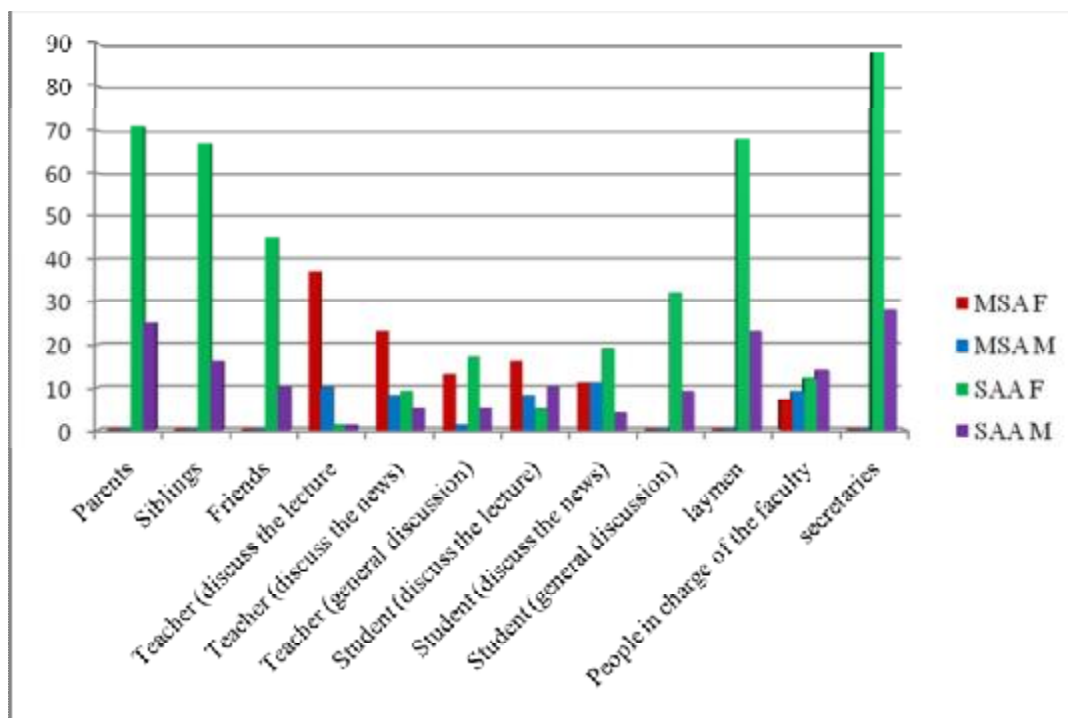


Figure 5.8: Use of MSA and SAA by Respondents who Come from Urban Areas

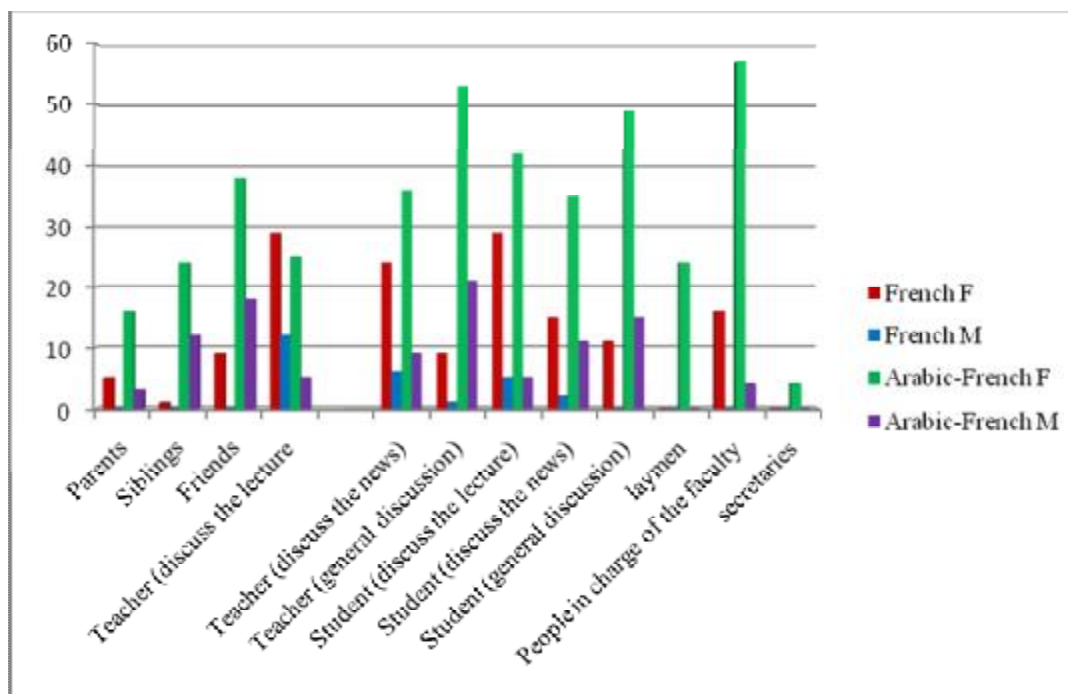


Figure 5.9: Use of French and Arabic-French by Respondents who Come from Urban Areas

Therefore, the hypothesis that there are discrepancies between language choices of students according to their place of residence (whether in urban or rural areas) is confirmed by the data. Thus, place of residence is an additional factor influencing students' language choice.

5.2.6. Education

Before tertiary education, all students pursued their studies in schools (mostly public) affording the same syllabuses. At the university, the language of study depends greatly on the field of study. As stated previously, most scientific fields are taught in French, and all arts and humanities fields in Arabic. Additional information regarding the field of study, the language of study, and the academic year can indicate the choice of one variety from the other varieties in the speech repertoire. This information from Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.5 (Pages 133 and 136) on respondents' education in Chapter Three is presented again here in Figures 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12.

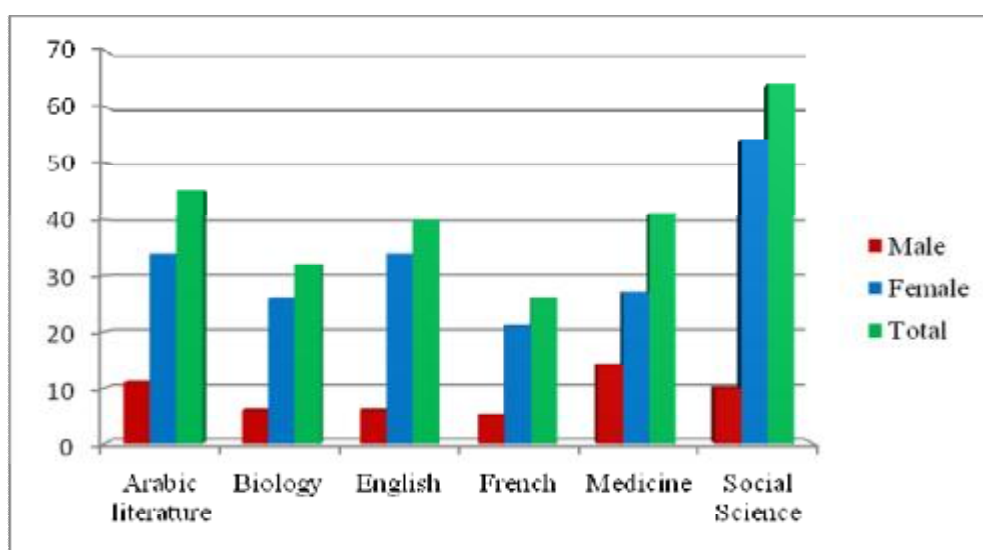


Figure 5.10: Sample According to Field of Study

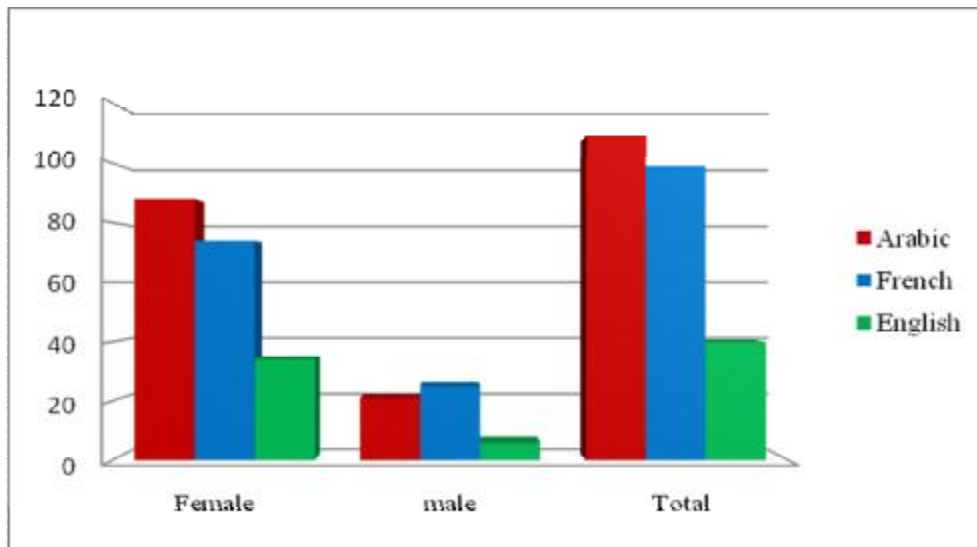


Figure 5.11: Sample According to Language of Study

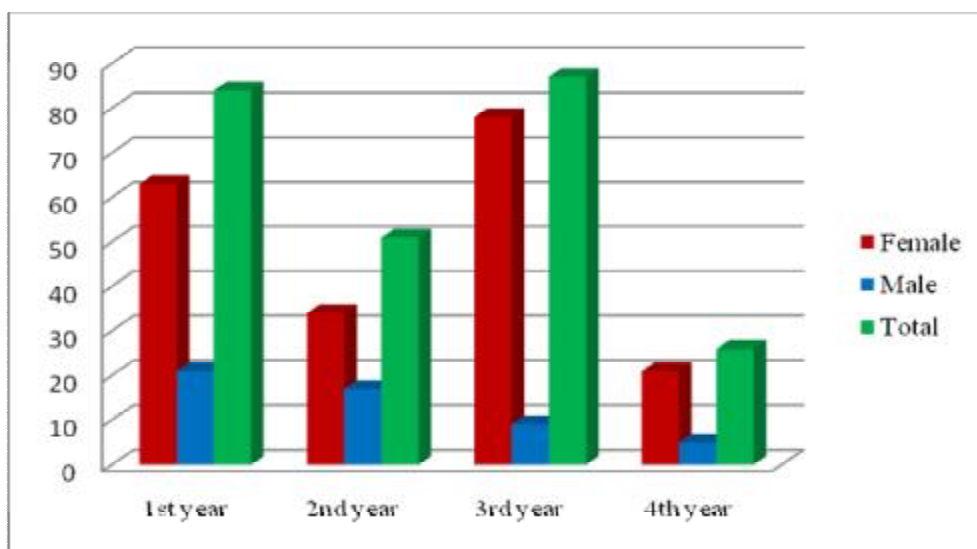


Figure 5.12: Number of Respondents According to Year of Study

These three elements are combined together to determine the respondent's education. Regarding the field and the language of study, they are inter-related. Figures 5.13 and 5.14 below indicate explicitly that respondents who study in the faculties of science use more French and Arabic-French than their counterparts who study in the faculties of arts and humanities when they talk to their friends.

The latter use more SAA and MSA than the former because they pursue their studies in Arabic. Although they talk to their friends and lead informal conversations, some of them use SAA-MSA code-switching, even in informal situations. On the contrary, respondents who study in the faculties of science do not use SAA-MSA code-switching at all.

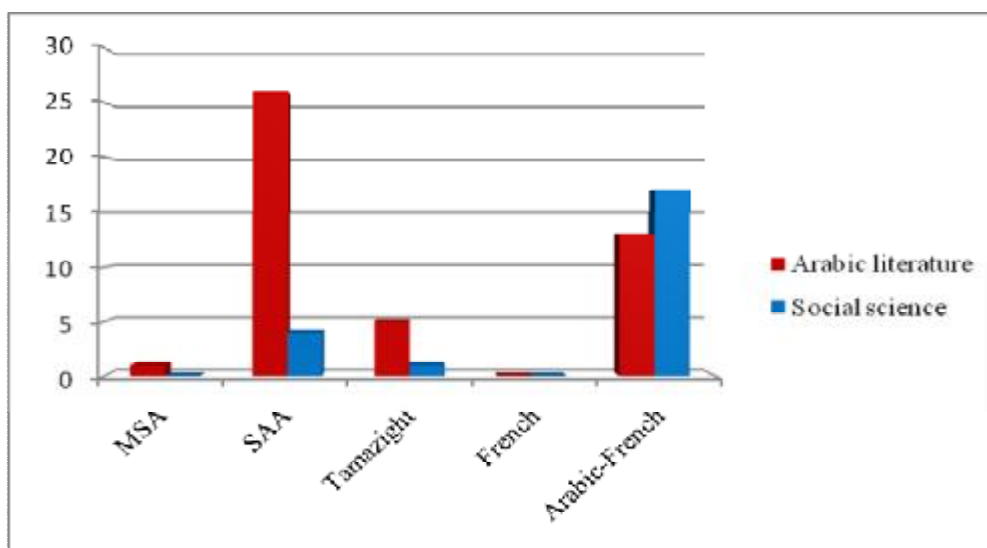


Figure 5.13: Language Often Used by Arabic Literature and Social Sciences Respondents with Friends

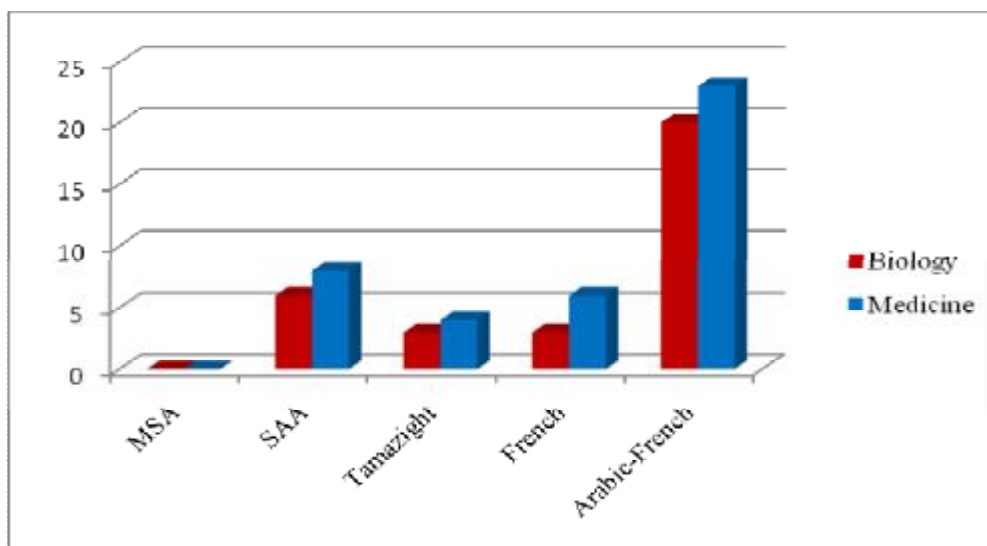


Figure 5.14: Language Often Used by Biology and Medicine Respondents with Friends

Figures 5.15 and 5.16 below show language use by Arabic Literature and Social Sciences respondents and Biology and Medicine ones with their teachers. Because the situation is formal, SAA-MSA code-switching is extensively used by Arabic Literature and Social Sciences respondents. Similarly, Biology and Medicine respondents use Arabic-French extensively and do not use MSA or SAA-MSA at all. This finding confirms the tendency of using more Arabic (SAA, MSA, or SAA-MSA) by respondents who study in the faculties of Arts and Humanities and more French (French or Arabic-French) by respondents from the faculties of science.

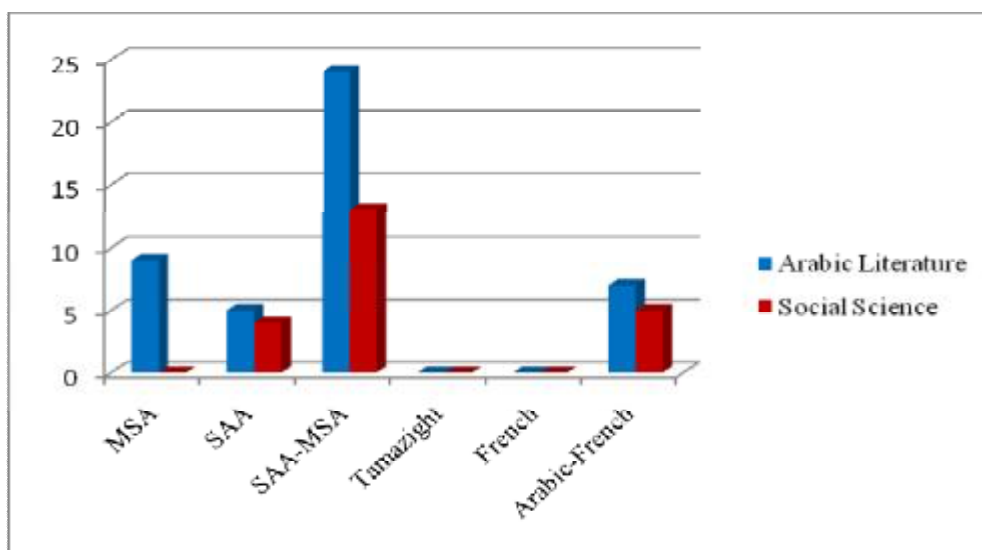


Figure 5.15: Language Often Used by Arabic Literature and Social Sciences respondents with Teachers

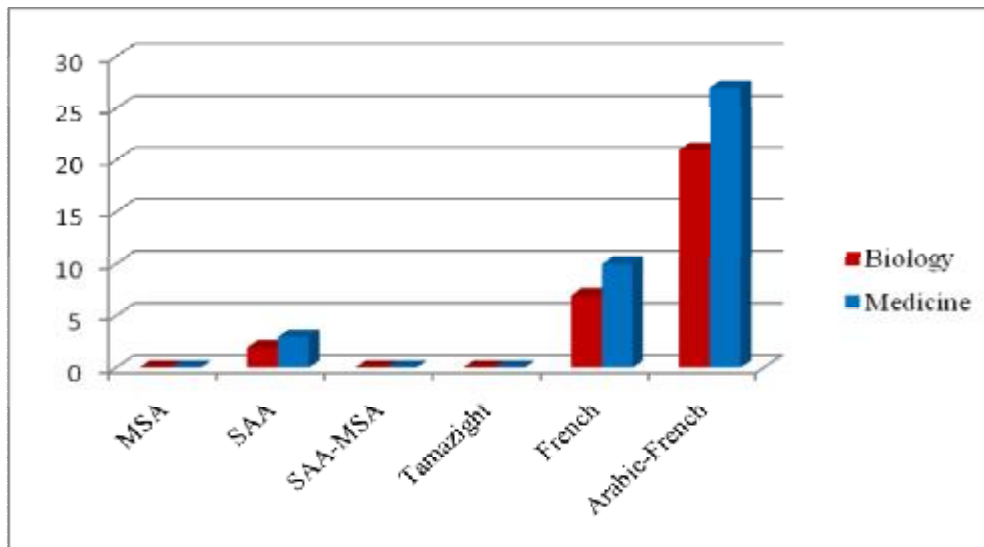


Figure 5.16: Language Often Used by Biology and Medicine Respondents with Teachers

In addition, the pattern of use of Arabic-French code-switching is different between students who study in the faculties of science and those of Arts and humanities. Science students use heavier code-switching, but Arts ones use little code-switching (see Chapter Three).

Regarding the academic year, the number of years spent at the university has a great impact on one's language choice. In general, junior respondents (first year students) use SAA with little code-switching in natural conversations. Through time, they shift to other varieties with heavier code-switching. A simple example is Respondent F41 (see Page 226) who shifted to Arabic-French not to feel inferior.

Another example is the difference in language use between two other respondents. Respondent F50 is a third year graduate student specializing in Medicine. It is evident from this information that she pursues her studies in

French, and that her level in French is quite good compared to F27, another student of Medicine in the first year. An analysis of the data regarding these two respondents from the questionnaire shows that F50 uses French with parents, siblings, friends, and other students. She even uses Arabic-French with laymen outside the university. Nevertheless, F27 does not use French with parents, siblings, friends, and other students. She uses Arabic-French with friends and other students, and she uses SAA with laymen outside the university. Recorded conversations confirm this finding since F50 uses French and heavier code-switching with French as the Matrix Language, but F27 uses SAA and little code-switching with SAA as the Matrix Language.

Language choice at this stage does not necessarily mean the choice of French or Arabic-French. There are cases where the choice is favoured towards MSA, especially by respondents who pursue their studies in Arabic. For instance, the data show that Respondent M8, a second year student of Arabic Literature, uses numerous SAA-MSA code-switches in his speech and reports using MSA in several situations. When asked about this use of MSA, he replied: “Is it normal to speak French or mix French with Arabic and abnormal to speak Fusha (MSA)? As a second year student of Arabic Literature, it is a normal behaviour to use MSA. Last year, I used to use less Fusha, but now I feel that a university student should show his education through his speech. It is a bad habit to study in Arabic at the university and use Derdja only”. According to this respondent, language

choice is closely related to functional and attitudinal factors which lead students to adapt their language choice accordingly.

These discrepancies between respondents attending different academic years prove that through time students adapt their language use according to the language use of other students. Their language choice takes into consideration the varieties which they consider to be the most appropriate for them at this level. Of course, language choice is not systematic since students attending the same class can choose different varieties because of other factors.

Hence, education plays a very important role in language choice. The three combined elements that form education --namely, the field of study, the language of study, and the academic year-- contribute together to influence students' language use.

5.2.7. Socio-economic Status

The level of education of parents can reflect the socio-economic status of respondents. The higher the level of education of parents, the higher is the socio-economic status of the respondent. A respondent with a high socio-economic status chooses a language variety from his speech repertoire to reflect this status. The unmarked¹ varieties in this case are French and Arabic-French. Likewise, a respondent with a low socio-economic status uses generally the unmarked variety in general conversations, namely SAA. Figure 5.17 below indicates that

¹ The unmarked language in a conversation is frequently the matrix language (ML). It is the most frequently used language in a conversation or utterance (see Page 95).

respondents whose parents have a university level use more French and Arabic-French code-switching than respondents whose parents have lower levels of education.

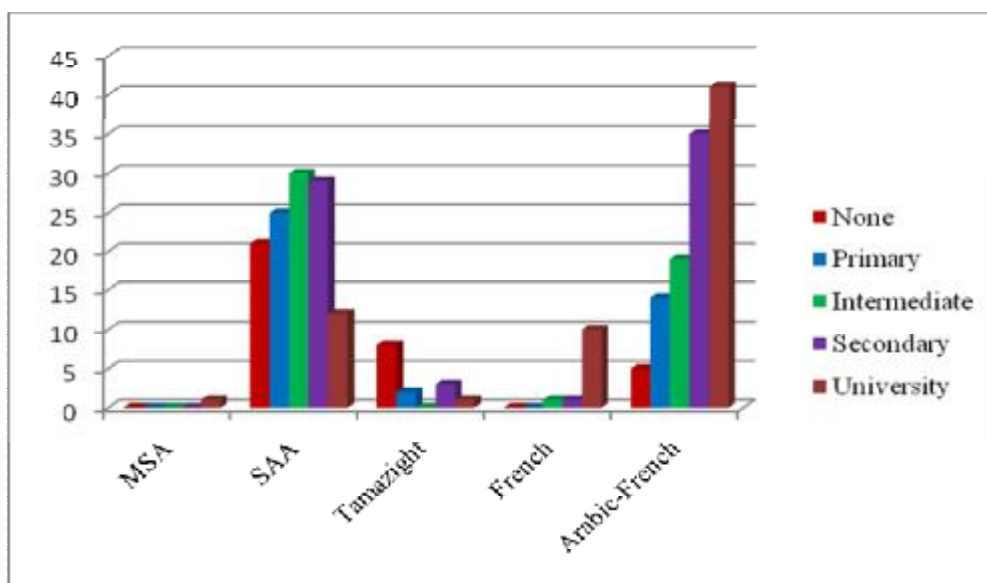


Figure 5.17: Language Use with Friends by Respondents According to the Level of Education of Parents

This situation can be better explained through an example of a conversation between two students whose parents have totally opposite socio-economic statuses but attend the same class. Respondents F75 and F71 are first year students of Biology. Both F75 parents have a university level, but F71 has illiterate parents.

Conversation Two:

F75: /On a raté le bus. la:zam nassanna:w. Sinon, on prend un taxi/

(We missed the bus. We must wait. Otherwise, we take a taxi)

F71: / la: na akmu taksi? nru u la biblithèque w nassanna:w xi:r/

(Why do we take a taxi? We better go to the library and wait)

F75: /*Non, ce n'est pas la peine nru u l-la bibliothèque. Je suis fatiguée. Je veux*

rentrer fi sa: . Viens, c'est moi qui paie/

(No, it's better not to go to the library. I'm tired. I want to go home quickly. Come on, I'll pay)

F71: /*D'accord. hayya nraw u/*

(Ok. Let's go home)

It is clear from this conversation that F75 uses French sentences and Arabic-French code-switches with French as the Matrix Language in most sentences. However, F71 uses SAA in most sentences, in addition to Arabic-French code-switches with SAA as the Matrix Language.

As these factors influencing language choice are inter-related and form a complex inter-connected web, respondents with low socio-economic status can shift to other language varieties deemed specific to students with higher status in order to raise status or claim superiority. This can be performed with all students whether with high or low socio-economic status. For instance, the following conversation (No.3) shows how respondents change their language behaviour even with peers of similar status. Conversation Three is a conversation between three respondents attending the same class and having a low socio-economic status:

Conversation Three:

F32: /ma bqa: bazza:f l-*les controles* wana ma:zalt ma rivizi:t . la:zam nabda
nrivi:zi/

(There is not much time left for the exams, and I have not revised yet (my
lessons). I must start my revision)

F45: /*C'est vrai*. ana ta:ni ma:zalt ma bdi:ta . alwaqt ja ri/

(It is true. I too haven't started my revision. Time is running)

F37: /ana j'ai *deja commence la revision*. la: tassannaw ? *Le temps presse*.
Les

cours bazza:f. *Qu'est ce que vous attendez?/*

(I have already started my revision. Why do you wait? Time is running.

There are a lot of lectures. What are you waiting for?)

Although the three respondents are from the same socioeconomic status
and F32 and F45 use SAA as the unmarked variety with little code-switching,
F37 shifts to the marked variety and uses mainly French and heavier code-
switching to raise status.

5.2.8. Kinship Relation

The language used with parents and siblings is different from the one used
with other persons. The unmarked variety in most cases is SAA, despite the use
of other varieties with a minor extent such as French and Arabic-French. Figure
5.18 below compares between the use of the language varieties by respondents
with parents, siblings, and friends. It shows that MSA is not used at all with
parents, siblings, and friends. SAA is extensively used with all parties, though

more with parents. Tamazight is less used with friends than with parents and siblings because it is assumed that not all friends speak Tamazight. French is seldom used by a very small number of respondents (5 with parents and 3 with siblings) and more used with friends by female respondents mainly. Arabic-French is less used with parents and siblings than with friends because of the intimacy of the relationship between respondents and their parents and siblings. This relationship leads respondents to choose the vernacular as the unmarked variety. With other interlocutors, respondents' choice is influenced by different factors, and respondents can choose other varieties.

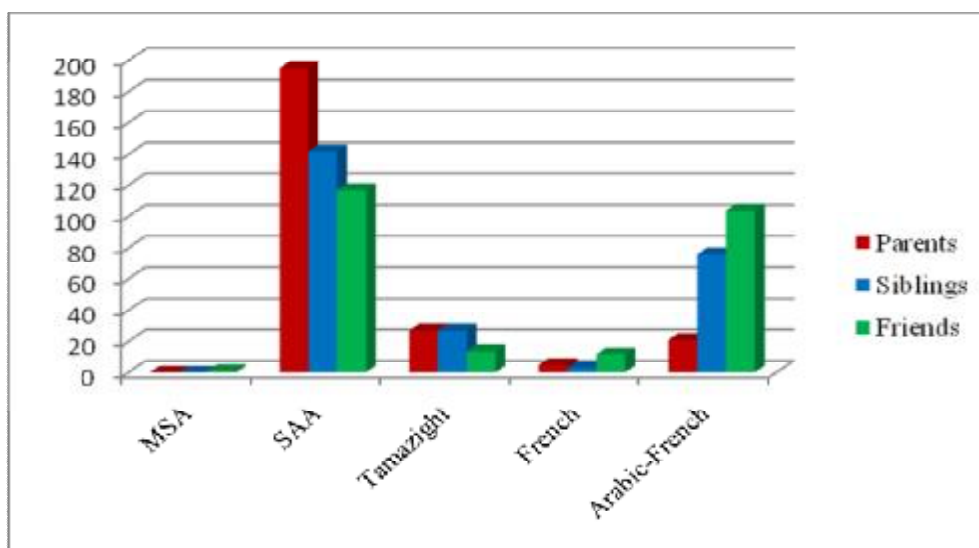


Figure 5.18: Language Often used with Parents, Siblings, and Friends

This language behaviour of using more SAA with parents is explained by respondent F190 who happened to use SAA with her parents and Arabic-French with her siblings. She said: "... Although my father knows French well, I never speak French in front of him, because I consider this behaviour an offense. So,

as a sign of respect, I use vernacular Arabic. Concerning my brothers and sisters, I usually use Arabic mixed with French, and this is something normal.”

According to this respondent, using French with her father is an offending behaviour that has to be avoided. Respect for the father leads to the exclusive use of SAA. The investigation of the data shows that the father of this respondent has no educational level and does not speak or understand French. However, the use of Arabic-French with siblings is a normal behaviour since siblings know French.

5.2.9. Intimacy

Related to kinship relation but forming an independent factor, intimacy between the speaker and the interlocutor determines the speaker’s language choice too. The more intimate the relationship, the less marked the variety which is used. For instance, as mentioned earlier, SAA is extensively used with parents and siblings because of the kinship relation and intimacy between participants.

The following figure (5.19) shows that because of the intimate relationship between siblings and respondents, the latter do not use MSA at all, but it is little used with people in charge of the faculty. SAA is the variety mostly used with siblings, but it is less used with people in charge of the faculty because of the lack of intimacy. As Tamazight is the mother tongue of a limited number of respondents, they use it as the unmarked variety with their siblings, but they do not use it at all with people in charge of the faculty. French is not used with siblings, but it is very little used with people in charge of the faculty

because it is considered the marked variety in this situation. Although Arabic-French is somewhat used with siblings, this use is exceeded by the use with people in charge of the faculty because Arabic-French is the unmarked variety in this case.

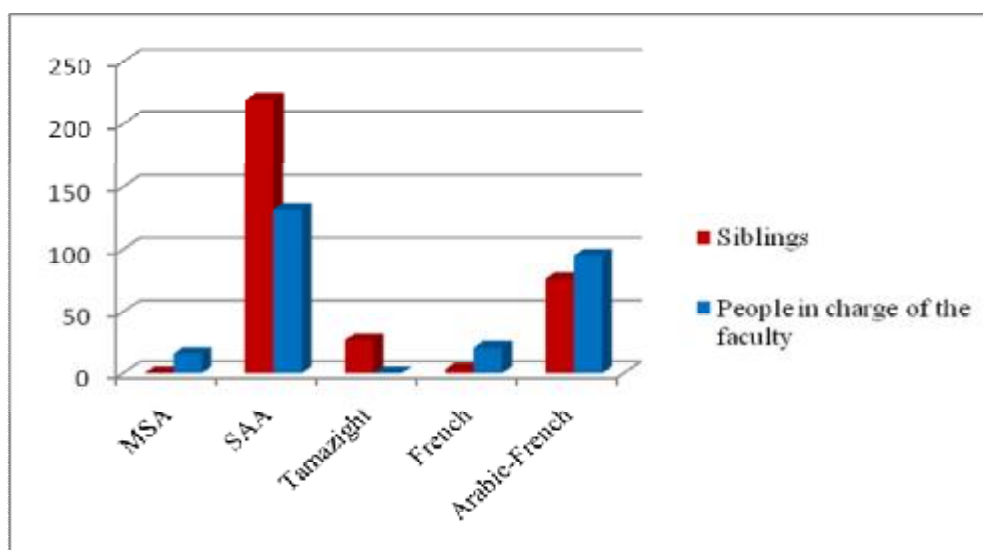


Figure 5.19: Language Use by Respondents with Siblings and People in Charge of the Faculty

Intimacy between speakers from both sexes is also important. When students start courting and the relationship is still formal, French and Arabic-French with heavier code-switching are the languages of interaction because they are, as mentioned previously, considered a means to gain prestige. When asked about the reason why he used French and Arabic-French with his girl-friend, respondent M12 said: “... You know that girls have a positive attitude towards French. I remember talking to her in vernacular Arabic when we first met. But she replied in French; so, I had to prove to her that I was an educated person,

and it is why I still speak French with her...”. Through time, as the pairs become more intimate, SAA and Arabic-French are used more and more.

Note should be taken that there is one couple studying Arabic literature that used SAA-MSA code-switching in the recorded conversations. Contrary to other couples, this couple prefers to use MSA as the language of prestige at the first stages of the intimate relationship. When asked about this language behaviour, respondent F58 confirmed the choice of the standard variety as a marker of a high educated profile and added that “Al-Fusha (MSA) is the language in which one can express his feelings better than any other variety.”

5.2.10. Language Preference

The notion of language choice itself relies on language preference. Whenever a speaker chooses a specific variety for a specific context, it is assumed that the chosen variety is the preferred one by the speaker in that specific context. Therefore, language preference is a factor which is not dealt with in detail here to avoid repetition. It is a factor which is related to and found in all the other factors. The speaker prefers to use a language variety in a certain context because he/she believes that the chosen variety is the most appropriate one for that context.

In figures 3.15-3.25 in Chapter Three and 5.3-5.17 in this chapter, it is clear that the state of the language variety changes according to the preference of the respondent; the same language variety shifts from being unmarked in one context to being marked in the other. For instance, it is aforementioned that

respondents prefer to speak SAA with their parents and Arabic-French with other students. This preference of SAA is explained by the intimate relationship and respect for parents, but the choice of Arabic-French is explained by the motivations behind such choice and the functions of the interaction. As seen previously, students speak Arabic-French not to feel inferior and also to show that they are educated. Such motivations lead respondents to prefer a variety in the speech repertoire upon another.

5.2.11. History of Linguistic Interaction

The history of linguistic interaction between the two participants in the interaction also plays an important role in language choice. In many instances two students speak a particular language variety to each other simply because they have always done so, even if one or both have become more proficient in the other language. It is indeed rare to find bilingual friends or classmates who do not have an ‘agreed-upon’ language of interaction when other factors do not impose a particular variety. Violation of this ‘agreement’ is likely to create an unnatural or even embarrassing situation, which may end with the question, “Why are you speaking language X to me?”

Respondents M49 and M52 were asked about their usual mutual use of SAA and little Arabic-French code-switching despite both being third year English language students. Their answers started by emphasizing their good fluency in English. Then, respondent M49 said: “We have always spoken vernacular Arabic between us. It is a very natural thing. But, if we talk in

English or French, it will be something unnatural... There will be a huge barrier between us.” The answer of respondent M52 was similar, but he added: “One of the things I mostly hate is to see two of our classmates talking English or French in the corridor of the university. It is better to use the vernacular and speak naturally than to use foreign languages and speak artificially”. Nevertheless, the same respondents admit using Arabic-French code-switching in other contexts. Of course, if the same respondents want to exclude someone from the conversation, speaking English is considered perfectly natural. But as soon as the situation permits, they will revert to their customary language of interaction.

To the question “Why do you use Arabic-French code-switching?”, of the 221 respondents who admit switching codes between Arabic and French (see Figure 3.15, p. 146), 62 respondents report that the main reason of this language behaviour is habit. For example, respondent F189 said: “I have always mixed Arabic and French because everyone does so. It is a habit, and I do not remember when I exactly started doing that”.

5.2.12. Power Relation

Power relations between the participants play an important role in language choice. The higher the relationship, the more the standard varieties and Arabic-French code-switching are used. Figure 5.20 below reveals that respondents speak differently to members of the faculty. To people who are in charge of the faculty (the head of the department for example), MSA is used by a very small number of respondents who pursue their studies in Arabic (see Figure

3.24, p. 158). SAA is used by more than a half of the respondents, but Tamazight is not used at all. French is used by a limited number of female students only, but Arabic-French is used by the remaining number of respondents. Thus, due to the limited use of MSA and French, SAA and Arabic-French are the unmarked varieties with the head of the department.

To people who are considered by respondents as being of a lower rank, such as secretaries, the unmarked variety is SAA alone. SAA is spoken by all respondents, except four female students who claim using Arabic-French instead. This language behaviour is explained by the fact that SAA is the unmarked variety in daily general conversations.

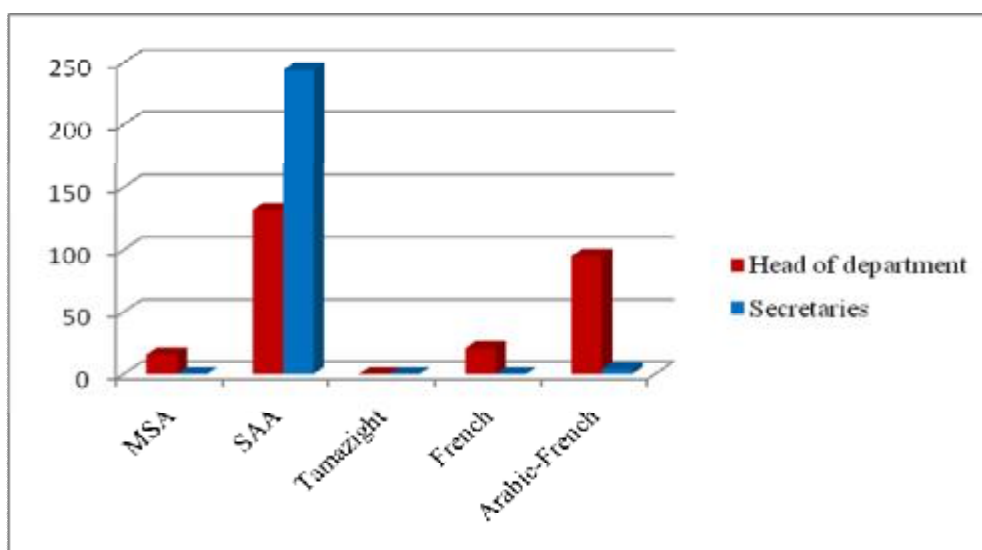


Figure 5.20: Language Often Used with People in Charge of the Faculty and Secretaries

However, a linguistic behaviour which is difficult to explain emerges from the data analysis. Though the relationship between the teacher and the student is a high-low relationship, some female students (exactly 8 respondents) whose

basic language of study is MSA do not use the expected variety. Because of the high-low relationship, they are supposed to speak MSA or SAA-MSA code-switching to their Arabic teachers outside classes during break time, but they report using French with them. An investigation of these students' language choice with other participants reveals that their use of French and Arabic-French exceeds their use of SAA and MSA. In addition, their attitudes towards French and Arabic-French code-switching are generally positive (see Chapter Six). This behaviour can be explained by the influence of other factors such as socio-economic status and the function of the interaction on the students' language choice.

5.2.13. Language Attitudes

Attitudes towards the languages in one's speech repertoire have a very important role in determining language choice. It is obvious that a positive attitude towards a language ends in using it and vice-versa if the attitude is negative. Because this study does not deal with attitudes towards individual languages as such since it deals with attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching only in the next chapter, it is better not to develop this factor at the present stage.

5.3. Situation

In addition to the fact that participants play an important role in language choice, the situation in which the conversation takes place is also a factor of great importance. The change in the situation influences the student's language

choice and leads to the use of different language varieties with participants, even if these participants are the same. Thus, one can notice that the same participants use different language varieties with each other depending on the characteristics of the situation.

5.3.1 Setting

Figure 5.21 below reveals that language choice differs according to the location of the conversation. Respondents report that they use different language varieties when they discuss the same lecture in different places. The use of the standard varieties (MSA and French) and the mixture between them (Arabic-French) at the university during break time exceeds the respondents' use of these language varieties outside the university. Consequently, the non standard variety (SAA) is the dominant language outside the university, despite the significant use of Arabic-French too. This shift between the standard and the non-standard varieties among the same respondents when they discuss serious matters such as the lecture proves that the place of the conversation has a great impact on the respondents' speech behaviour.

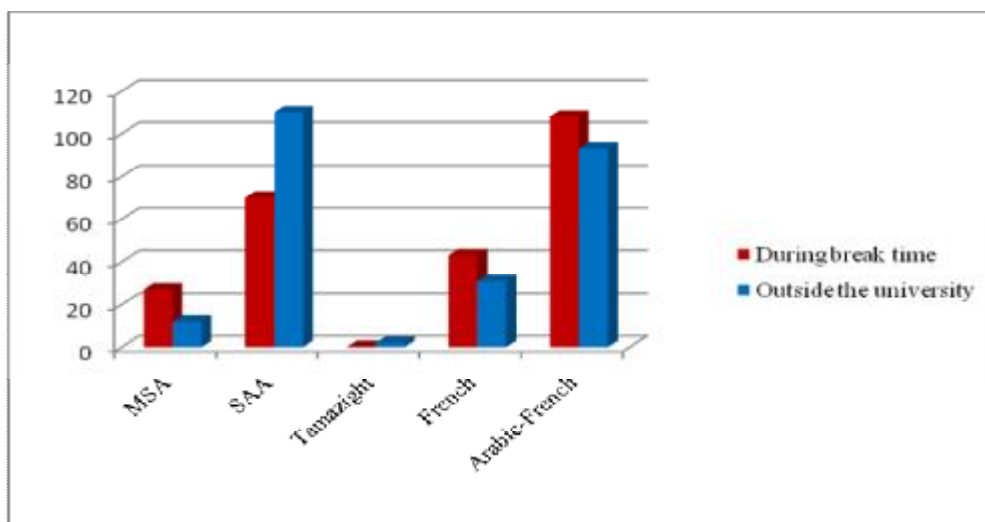


Figure 5.21: Language Use to Discuss the Lecture with Another Student during Break Time and Outside the University

Similarly, when students lead general conversations, their language choice is also influenced by the location of the interaction. The following figure (5.22) indicates that Arabic-French is the dominant language variety at the university during break time, but SAA is the dominant one outside. Because of their extensive use, they are both considered the unmarked varieties in both settings, but each variety is dominant in each setting respectively.

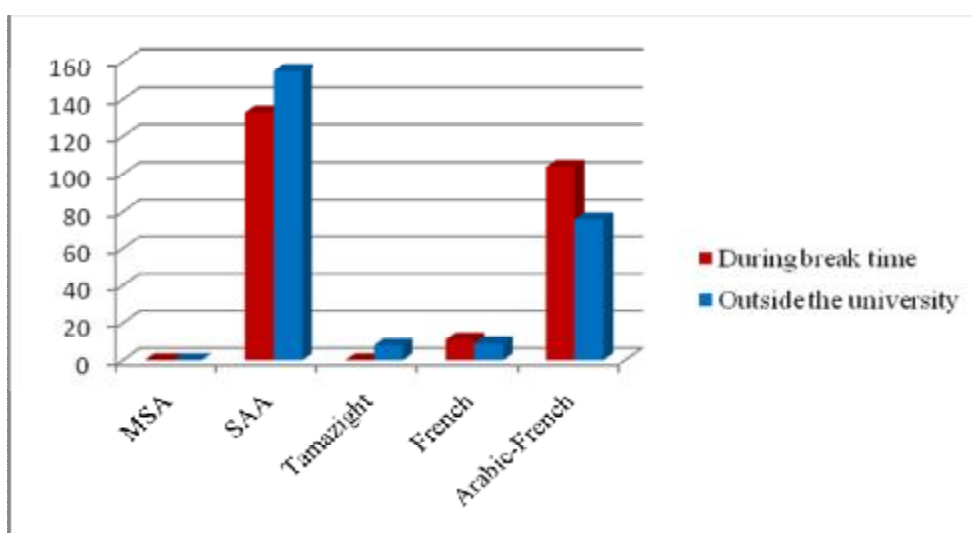


Figure 5.22: Language Use to Discuss General Matters with Another Student during Break Time and Outside the University

Within the university itself, one can hear different language varieties depending on the place he/she is in. The analysis of the recorded conversations shows that the most frequently used varieties by respondents in the Science Building are French and Arabic-French, and the most used ones in the Arts Building are SAA and Arabic-French. This observation can be explained by the fields of study specific to each building and the language of study in which each field is pursued. In other places of the university, such as the Esplanade and the cafeteria, the unmarked varieties are SAA and Arabic-French, though French and SAA-MSA code-switching are also used.

Outside the university, the further the student is from the university, the less French is used. In halls of residence, at least those where male respondents live, the language variety most used in ordinary situations is SAA, followed by Arabic-French code-switching. Therefore, the speaker shifts from one variety to the other according to his/her location.

5.3.2. Formality

The level of formality between speakers also influences language choice. For example, as seen earlier in 5.2.8, respondents consider the relationship between them and their parents formal and choose SAA as the most used variety with them. Because of this formal relationship, the use of another variety, including Arabic-French code-switching, with parents by the majority of respondents is seen as a reflection of less respect towards them.

Figure 5.23 below shows that the language varieties used with a teacher to discuss the lecture during break time are totally different from those used with another student to discuss the same lecture during break time too. The high-low relationship between the teacher and the student leads to a formal situation that forces the respondent to use as much as possible the standard varieties with little Arabic-French code-switching. The use of the non-standard varieties in this case is a violation of the formal relationship between the teacher and the student. With other students, there is no high-low relationship and the situation is less formal. Thus, respondents use the standard varieties less and use mostly Arabic-French, followed by SAA, as the unmarked varieties. Arabic-French is the dominant language variety because the nature of the topic requires the use of vocabulary from the standard varieties.

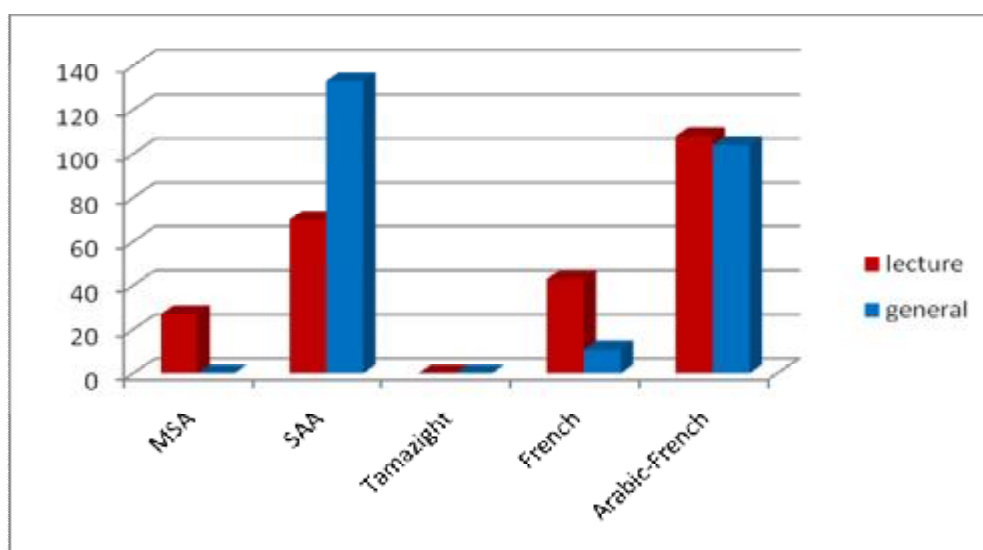


Figure 5.23: Language Use to Discuss the Lecture or General Topics with Another Student during Break Time

Another example of the influence of the degree of formality on language choice is shown in figure 5.18 in the section on power relation (pp. 243-245). Respondents' language choice with the head of the department differs from that with secretaries. With the head of the department, the situation is very formal and students use their basic language of study or Arabic-French code-switching. With secretaries, the situation is informal and students use almost exclusively SAA.

5.4. Content of Discourse

The topic of the interaction has often been invoked as a factor in language choice. Figure 5.24 shows that respondents shift to other language varieties when the topic of the discourse changes. Outside the university, respondents use a little MSA and French, in addition to SAA and mostly Arabic-French when they discuss the lecture. When they discuss the news, less MSA and French are used, and Arabic-French is used at the same rate, but SAA becomes the dominant language. When leading a general conversation, no MSA is used and French is very little used; Arabic-French is used almost at the same rate, and SAA is very extensively used. Therefore, with the same interlocutors, respondents speak different language varieties according to the type of topics discussed.

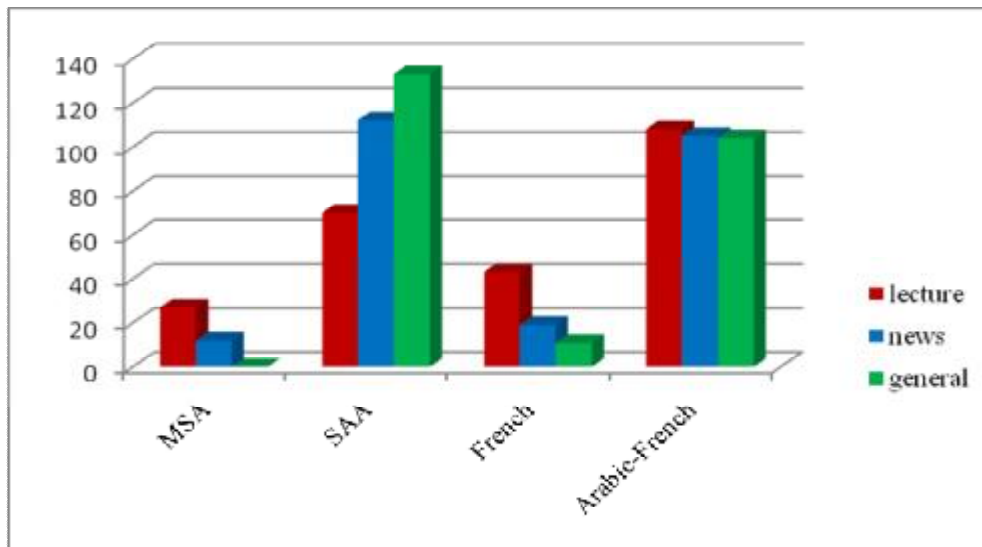


Figure 5.24: Language Use with Students Outside the University to Discuss the Lecture, the News, and General Topics

When discussing the same topic, language choice differs among students. Because the studies at the university are divided mainly into two main streams, sciences and arts, the content of discourse and its role in determining language choice with regard to the discussion of the lecture are analysed according to two criteria: whether the subject under discussion is scientific or non-scientific.

Students of scientific fields pursue their studies in French, and students of Arts and humanities in Arabic. When discussing the lecture, students usually use the language in which they are educated. The nature of the topic (the lecture) imposes a specific type of vocabulary and the use of the standard varieties according to the language of study. Figure 5.25 below indicates that science respondents do not use SAA and MSA at all when they discuss the lecture during break time. Some of them use French, but the majority use Arabic-French. This use of Arabic-French is due to the nature of the scientific subjects which are

taught in French. Students of Arts and Humanities do not use French but use MSA instead. What is peculiar is their significant use of SAA which far exceeds that of MSA. Moreover, although they pursue their studies in Arabic, some of them use Arabic-French code-switching. This can be explained by the influence of other factors, such as the use of code-switching to gain prestige; the best example is Respondent F41 who decided to speak Arabic-French to show that she was superior although she was a third year student of Arabic literature (see Page 226). Students of the French language use mainly French to discuss the lecture, in addition to some Arabic-French. They do not use SAA and MSA because the lecture imposes the use of at least a certain amount of French. Students of the English language use mainly Arabic-French and SAA; their use of the standard varieties is limited since very little French is used and MSA is nonexistent in their speech. Therefore, as far as the discussion of the lecture is concerned, there is a close relationship between the content of the discourse and the field and the language of study.

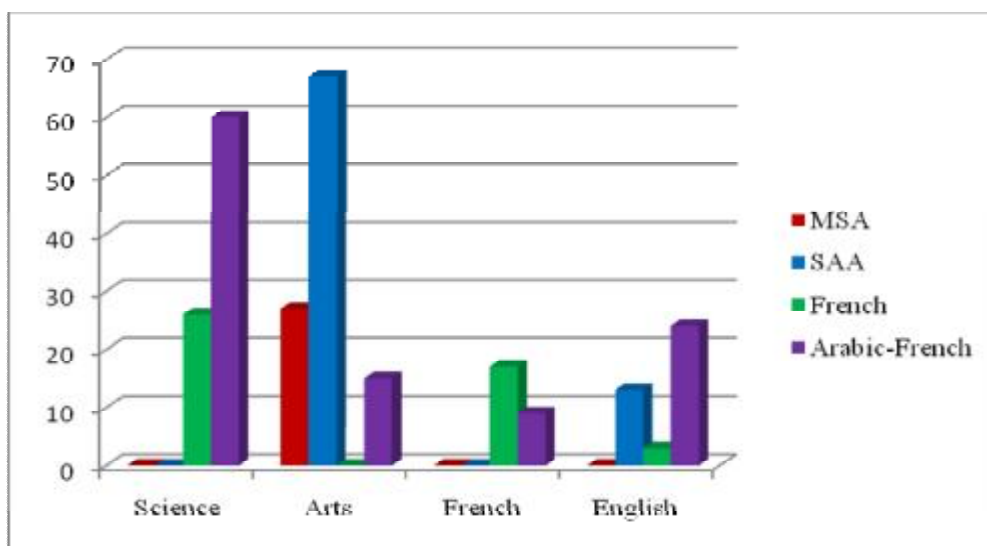


Figure 5.25: Language Use to Discuss the Lecture According to Field of Study

5.5. Function of Interaction

The function or intent of the interaction is the last major category of factors influencing language choice. Unlike Grosjean (1982) who states that there are four functions of the interaction (see Table 2.2, p.101), the data in the recorded conversations and the questionnaire show that there are two main functions: to include someone in the conversation and to raise status.

To include someone in the conversation is better illustrated in the case of the two discounted recordings from the ethnographic study because foreign students joined the conversations shortly after they had begun (see Page 117). Although respondents knew that they were being recorded, they decided to shift to French or English to allow the foreign students to take part in the interaction. If respondents kept speaking in the other varieties and did not shift to French or English, they would have offended the foreign students, and their language choice would have led to the exclusion of the latter from the interaction.

To include someone in the conversation, respondents generally shift to the unmarked variety according to the general situation and the other factors influencing language choice. Figure 5.26 below indicates that a significant number of respondents use Arabic-French as the unmarked variety to discuss general matters with other students at the university but use SAA with laymen outside the university. This use of SAA means the will of respondents to include

ordinary laymen in the interaction. The use of the other varieties with these laymen would be an offense and a direct exclusion from the conversation.

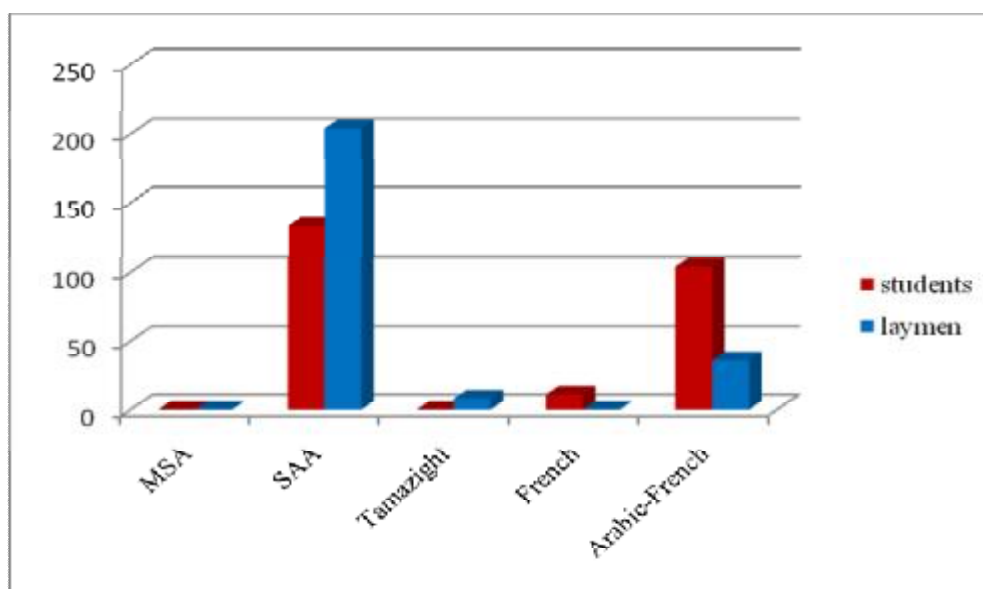


Figure 5.26: Language Use with Students and Laymen Outside the University

To raise status is the second important function of the interaction. Several examples mentioned in the previous factors prove that language choice is used as a communicative strategy. For instance, it has already been shown that Respondent F41 shifted from SAA to Arabic-French because she felt inferior when she used SAA with other students who used Arabic-French. Despite being a third year Arabic literature student, she was convinced that language choice would raise her status and felt superior when she used Arabic-French.

Two other examples mentioned previously are language choice by Respondents M8 and F37 (see Pages 233 and 237 respectively). The former decided to use SAA-MSA code-switching to prove his high educational level; this implies a rise in status. Although the latter was talking to two other female

students belonging to a low socio-economic status like her, she used French and heavier code-switching as students from higher socio-economic status did to raise her status. Thus, the use of the standard varieties alone or in alternation (French, Arabic-French, or SAA-MSA) is seen as a means to raise status by both respondents.

To the question “Why do you use Arabic-French code-switching?” 195 out of the 221 respondents who admitted using it chose feeling superior as one major reason. Figure 5.27 below shows that, in addition to habitual use, the feeling of superiority is considered the most important cause of this language choice. Note should be taken that, while almost all female respondents (97%) admit using Arabic-French code-switching to feel superior, half the number of male respondents only (50%) admit using it for the same reason. However, the majority of male respondents report using code-switching as a habitual behaviour. The feeling of superiority increases through time and is achieved through the use of more French, leading to the shift from little code-switching to the heavier one. Thus, Arabic-French code-switching is perceived as a marker of raising status among the other members of the community.

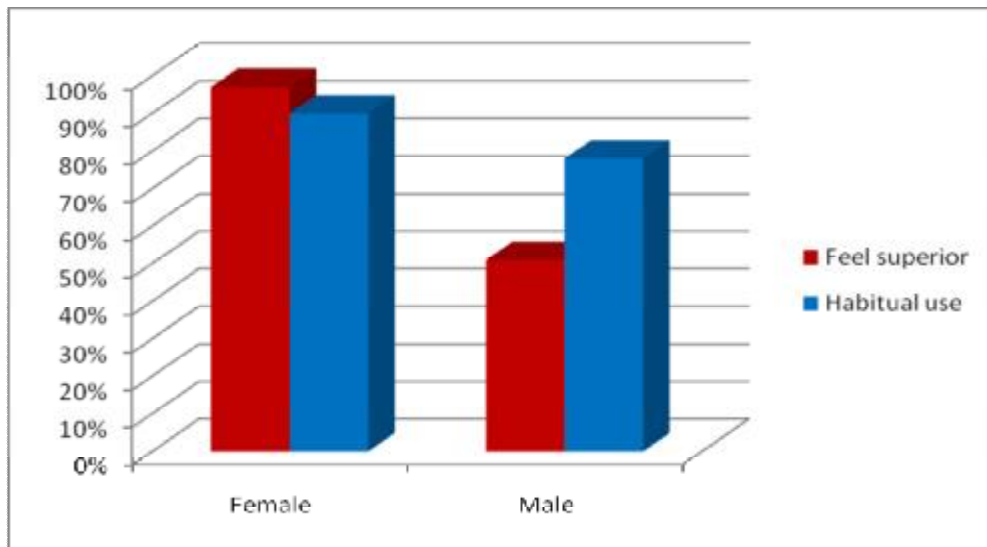


Figure 5.27: Causes of Arabic-French Code-Switching

Conclusion

Although Grosjean's table of factors influencing language choice (1982) is taken as a model, the findings of this chapter do not all correspond to that of Grosjean. All respondents have at their disposal a range of language varieties, and each respondent shifts from one language variety to the other one in his/her speech repertoire according to certain factors. First, the personal, educational, and social characteristics of the participants in the interaction, whether they are speakers or addressees, have a great influence on language choice. Speakers are influenced by their own characteristics and change language use according to the type of interlocutors who are taking part in the conversation. Second, the situation in which the interaction takes place also determines the language variety the speaker chooses. The location and the degree of formality play an important role in language choice and can lead to the prediction of the students'

language use. Third, the topic of the interaction obliges respondents to use different language varieties. Language behaviour changes when respondents are leading scientific or non-scientific discussions about their lectures. It changes completely when discussions deal with subjects which are not related to lectures and deal with contemporary or general matters. Finally, social mobility is another important factor. When respondents want to raise status, they can achieve this aim through language choice which is considered a communicative strategy. Unlike Grosjean, the data show that the major aim behind shifting language varieties or using Arabic-French code-switching is to raise status.

These factors of language choice are inter-related and form an interconnected web that leads the respondent to choose among the varieties in the speech repertoire. It has to be clear that any factor may account for choosing one language variety over another, but usually it is the combination of several factors that explains language choice. It is equally important to notice that there are situations where the aforementioned factors do not determine language choice. The analysis of the data shows that in some situations language choice is peculiar and is not in accordance with the normal use in such situations. So, as stated in the second hypothesis, these factors do not present conditions which allow complete prediction of language choice; language choice is predictable in most cases, but the respondents' language use does not always correspond to the general norms and expectations.

Chapter Six

Attitudes towards Code-Switching

Introduction

This chapter looks at Mentouri University students' feelings towards Arabic-French code-switching through a Likert-type scale. It investigates the existence of positive and negative attitudes towards code-switching only. It does

not deal with attitudes towards the other language varieties in the speech repertoire, as this is a potential topic of another thesis. Unlike most of the literature about code-switching which generally associates code-switching with negative attitudes and considers it as “a slovenly way of speaking, associated with carelessness, inarticulateness and even lack of mastery of the two languages” (Davies and Bentahila, 2006:2), it has been found in Chapter Three that respondents have negative as well as positive attitudes. Hence, the aim of this chapter is to find out these attitudes and to determine their nature. To investigate both types of attitudes, the items of the questionnaire were prepared to allow both the rating of the suggested attitudes by respondents and the identification of other possible attitudes. For ease of comparison between our findings and the existing literature, it is preferable to start with the negative attitudes and then deal with the positive ones.

6.1 Negative Attitudes

Item 18 of the questionnaire asks: “Do you use Arabic-French code-switching?”. As seen in Table 3.15 (see Page 146), the majority of respondents (89%) admit using Arabic-French, but the minority (11%) deny using it. For this minority of respondents (17 female students and 10 male ones), item 21 suggests three causes of negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching and asks for other causes. The suggested causes are:

- a. The student dislikes French and prefers to use Arabic.
- b. The use of Arabic-French code-switching is degrading.

c. Code-switching causes prejudice to one's identity.

Figure 6.1 below shows that respondents add two other causes in addition to the suggested ones. They think that code-switching is a sign of showing off and a behaviour performed by students who have a weak personality. Nevertheless, not all respondents agree on the same causes; the same respondent can choose two or more causes and reject the others.

Female and male respondents consider the causes of negative attitudes differently. Although exceptionally all the respondents –female and male ones alike-- agree that Arabic-French code-switching results in a prejudice to one's identity, female respondents have less causes of negative attitudes. Compared to 70% of male respondents who admit their dislike for the French language, only 47% of female respondents admit that. Moreover, 41% of female respondents think that Arabic-French code-switching is performed as a communicative strategy to show off, yet all male respondents think that students who switch codes, especially girls, do so to show off. This attitude is explained by the difference in the perception of language behaviour between the two sexes; the 10 male students in the sample who deny using code-switching blame others for switching codes (although they do switch codes themselves), but less than half of female students (41%) only consider language alternation a sign of showing off. Therefore, male respondents who deny using code-switching have more reasons for considering Arabic-French code-switching negatively.

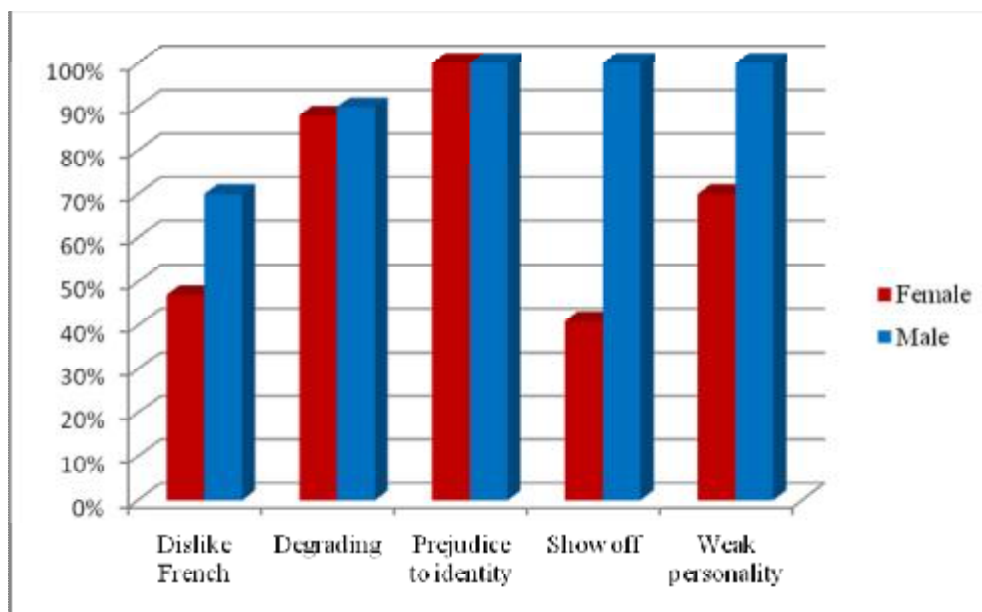


Figure 6.1: Causes of Negative Attitudes According to Respondents who Deny Using CS

It is worth mentioning that the percentage of female respondents who consider Arabic-French code-switching a sign of showing off (41%) does not correspond to the percentage of female respondents who admit using it to feel superior (97%) (see Figure 5.27, p.255). This disequilibrium between both percentages shows that the fact of feeling superior does not necessarily mean showing off for a big percentage of female respondents. For them, the feeling of superiority is a logical reflection of their educational level and does not imply any further connotations. Nevertheless, although 50% only of male respondents admit using Arabic-French code-switching to feel superior (see Figure 5.27, p.255), all male respondents who deny using it consider it a sign of showing off. This is mainly explained by the male respondents' pre-conceived idea that

female speakers use code-switching to show off. This prejudice leads them to assess code-switching negatively.

Item 34 of the questionnaire asks about the rating of persons who use Arabic-French code-switching and suggests different qualifications for them. Respondents are asked to decide whether code-switchers pretend to be intellectual, are second rate, have no personality, must use one language, and/or master no language. Figure 6.2 below confirms the findings of Figure 6.1 above and indicates that the percentage of male respondents who have negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching is always higher than that of female respondents. With different degrees, the persons who switch codes are considered conceited, second-rate, with no personality, and ignorant. They are considered conceited and second-rate because they claim to be intellectual, but in fact they are seen as ignorant since they do not master either language. This notion of ignorance is avoided through the use of one language only. The fact that they are seen as having no personality is related to two causes mentioned in Figure 6.1, namely weak personality and prejudice to identity. Language use is regarded as an identity marker, and the use of code-switching is harmful to that identity. Persons whose identity is not affected have a strong personality and use one language, but others whose identity is harmed have a weak personality and switch codes.

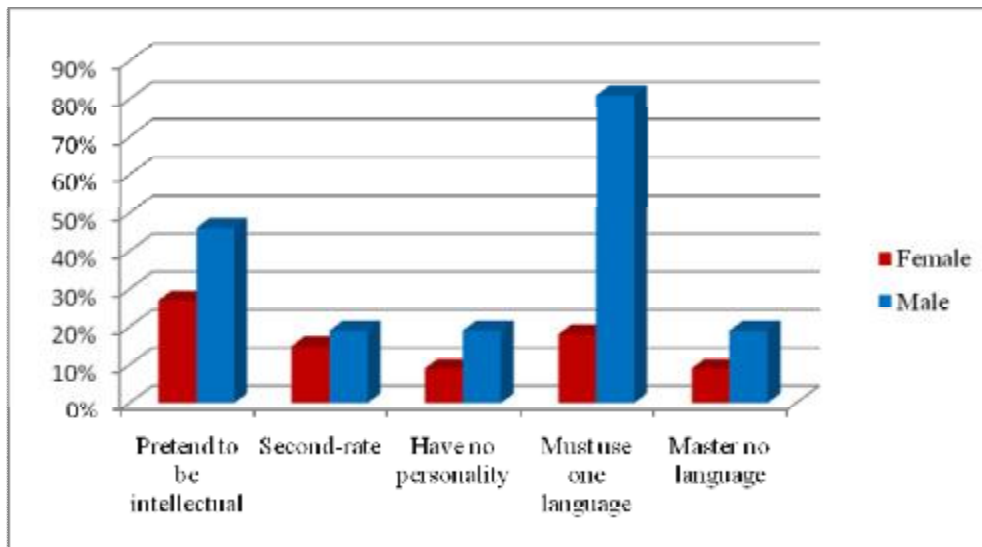


Figure 6.2: Negative Attitudes Towards People Who Use Arabic-French Code-Switching

Comments gathered from the open-ended question of the questionnaire (item 37) illustrate the negative attitudes by respondents towards Arabic-French code-switching. For instance, Respondent M 23 –one of the 10 respondents who deny using code-switching-- states that he does not use CS because “it implies a bad influence on one’s identity by the language and culture of the colonizer. We behave as if we are still colonized. Worse! I don’t think our parents spoke French during the colonization as we do now”. He considers persons who switch codes “uneducated because they do not have an adequate knowledge of either of their languages”.

According to this respondent, Arabic-French code-switching is a proof of the great influence exerted by the language and culture of the colonizer on the speaker’s identity. This identity is already harmed because the language behaviour of people is worse than that of their parents. In addition, this

respondent's assessment of code-switchers as 'uneducated' reflects his negative attitude towards code-switching due to the harm caused to identity.

The same remarks about the influence of the language and culture of the colonizer on speakers were experienced by Bentahila (1983) in Morocco where people who code-switched were seen as being 'still colonized' (see Page 110). However, Respondent M23 sees that nowadays people use more French than their parents during the period of colonization. Therefore, according to this respondent, the situation is worse than it was in the past since the native language has been badly influenced by the language of the colonizer.

Although Respondent F133, a third year student of Medicine, admits using code-switching a lot in every conversation, she thinks that "it is a misfortune (*malheur*) and a bad habit which needs to be corrected." She goes further when she says that "people, me included, should know that it is the speech only of the poorly educated persons that do not have strong personalities. We should normally stop using this strange mixture."

According to this respondent, notwithstanding her extensive use of Arabic-French code-switching, the situation is really very bad and needs to be changed as soon as possible. She qualifies herself and other code-switchers as being not well educated even though they are university students. In addition, she believes that code-switchers have weak personalities. By qualifying the alternation between Arabic and French as 'a strange mixture', this respondent considers the resulting variety a distortion of both languages. Her qualification is

similar to that of people in Nigeria who consider code-switching between their native varieties and English ‘a verbal salad’ (see section 2.5., p.107).

The most peculiar comment is given by Respondent F12. As a senior student of the French language, she is assumed to have at least a good competence in French, thus a positive attitude towards code-switching. She says: “I often use Arabic-French code-switching, but I am convinced that this is a bad behaviour... Why don’t we use our native language alone? Why don’t French people use our language and we use theirs? We have no personality, and our identity is badly affected.” This comment by a very competent student in French illustrates the negative attitude towards code-switching as an identity marker and shows that respondents worry about their identity despite their use of Arabic-French code-switching.

The correlation between these negative attitudes and language behaviour shows that important discrepancies exist between them. 27 respondents of the whole sample deny completely using Arabic-French code-switching and have negative attitudes; yet, an investigation of the recorded conversations (at least for 19 respondents who took part in both the ethnographic study and the questionnaire) reveals that all of them, without exception, use little Arabic-French code-switching (see Page 145). This finding proves that there is a sense of alienation or at least some confusion about the role and function of French in Algerian society on the part of the respondents; one can infer that the respondents recognize the role of French in communication, but nonetheless

perceive its pervasive use as a threat to Algerian identity. In addition to the use of little Arabic-French code-switching, these respondents use SAA-MSA code-switching, and one of them goes further by claiming that he uses MSA in natural conversations. This false claim illustrates the contradiction between the respondents' negative attitudes and their language behaviour; although they completely deny using Arabic-French code-switching, they opt for this language variety despite their fear about their identity.

This denial of using code-switching is experienced with varying degrees in other communities. As seen in 2.4., negative attitudes towards code-switching are likely to lead people to attenuate their self-reported code-switching or tend not to acknowledge it.

The findings of this study show that this is just partly true. In addition to those respondents who deny using Arabic-French code-switching, there are other respondents who admit using it. In fact, the majority of respondents (see Table 3.15, p.143) report using Arabic-French code-switching. Moreover, although they themselves code-switch, they have negative attitudes towards it and towards people who use it. Figure 6.3 below shows that a significant number of respondents who admit using code-switching have negative attitudes towards their peers who have the same behaviour. In general, the percentage of male respondents who have negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching is higher than that of female respondents, except for the qualification 'second rate'. Note should be taken that 76% of male respondents who switch codes

believe that people must refrain from switching Arabic and French. This opinion does not correspond to their usual behaviour and highlights the odd situation that faces a group of respondents, using quite often a language variety which they want others to stop from using.

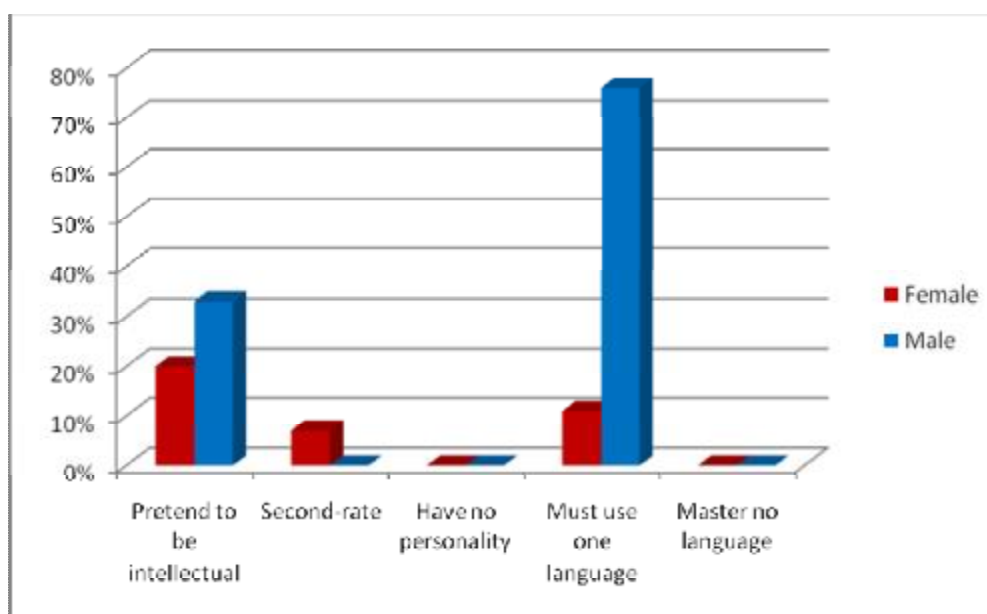


Figure 6.3: Negative Attitudes by Respondents Who admit Using CS

The comments by Respondents F12 and F133 above illustrate this type of conflict. Both respondents perform Arabic-French code-switching for some factors and are aware of their behaviour, but they have negative attitudes towards it. As with respondents who deny using code-switching, the major negative attitude is the threat to Algerian identity.

It is worth mentioning that other researchers have found that people who use code-switching express shame and even regret at doing so. For example, Davies and Bentahila (2006: 1-2) write:

Code switching between two languages is usually thought of as a characteristic of casual conversation between peers, used by bilinguals when they are speaking spontaneously, with little concern for how they sound... Instances of bilinguals who express shame or regret at using code switching are, for instance, reported on by 'several researchers'.

The data from both research procedures reveal that despite the existence of negative attitudes by respondents who either deny or admit using Arabic-French code-switching, no respondent expresses shame or regret at using it. Those respondents who deny using code-switching consider it negatively and criticize people who use it, but they never report that it is a shameful behaviour. Those respondents who admit using it highlight the reasons of their negative attitudes, but they do not report any shame or regret at using code-switching. On the contrary, the same respondents admit using code-switching on purpose for communicative strategy, but they express negative attitudes as well as positive ones (see below) and avoid expressing any shame or regret.

Therefore, these findings do not correspond to the results stated by Davies and Bentahila (ibid.) and other researchers. These findings indicate that the existence of negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching does not necessarily mean having a negative personal assessment or rejecting this language phenomenon. The speaker either completely denies using code-switching or expresses overtly contradictory attitudes towards a language behaviour he performs intentionally.

6.2. Positive Attitudes

As seen previously, item 18 was asked to determine the respondents who admit or deny using Arabic-French code-switching, and the findings show that the majority admit doing that (see Table 3.15, p.143). Related to this item are items 19 and 20 which were asked to know the causes of this code-switching and to identify the kind of people with whom it is performed respectively, in addition to item 34 which asked about the assessment of people who switch codes.

The findings from these items show that, in addition to negative attitudes, respondents have positive attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching. Actually, the percentage of respondents who have positive attitudes is much higher than those who have negative ones. Figure 6.4 below shows the positive attitudes towards people who use Arabic-French code-switching by respondents who use it in their interactions. Apart from the low percentage (36%) of male respondents who think that people who switch codes master both languages, all the other percentages are high. Both female and male respondents assess code-switchers positively; they think that they are intellectual and sophisticated and master both languages. Four things are worth mentioning:

1. The same percentage of female and male respondents (65%) consider Arabic-French code-switchers intellectual. This finding reveals the positive attitude towards code-switching and confirms the reasons behind choosing Arabic-French as the unmarked language variety by a significant number of respondents.

2. Despite the high percentage of female respondents (63%) who think that code-switchers are sophisticated, more male respondents think so (74%). This proves that using Arabic-French is considered a normal behaviour by female respondents, but a sign of sophistication by male ones. That is why more female respondents use Arabic-French code-switching.

3. Only the minority of male respondents (36%) believe that code-switchers master both languages. On the contrary, almost the double rate (71%) of female respondents believe that they have adequate knowledge of either language. This is explained by the fact that female speakers want to prove that their use of Arabic-French is the result of their mastery of both languages and not showing off.

4. The same respondents have contradicting opinions towards people who switch codes. They may choose one positive qualification and reject the others, or choose all of them.

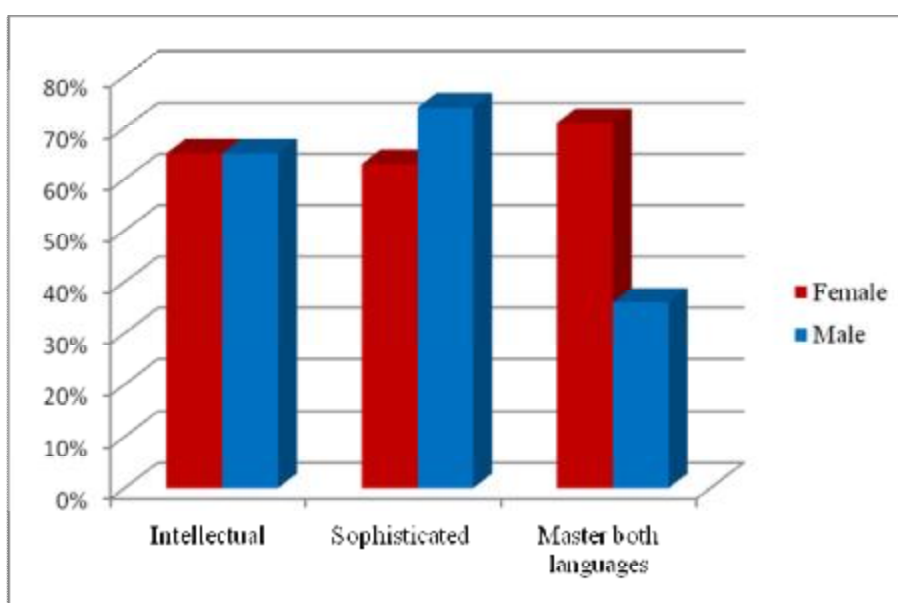


Figure 6.4: Positive Attitudes by Respondents Who Admit Using CS

As far as the causes of code-switching are concerned, most respondents consider it a status marker. Figure 6.5 shows that almost all the respondents who admit using Arabic-French code-switching report that they use it to show that they are well educated. According to them, the use of SAA as the unmarked language variety at the university does not reflect their university level. As stated previously (see Chapter Five), when Arabic-French is used, it generates a feeling of superiority and leads to the belief that the speaker has raised his/her status. Therefore, due to the prestige associated with French as a language of international communication and modernity, respondents use Arabic-French code-switching as a status marker.

This finding confirms the findings of very few researchers who state that the positive attitude 'prestige' is associated with code-switching (see Page 110). This attitude is experienced in other societies with varying degrees and seems to gain more ground through time. For instance, Arabic-English code-switching (Arabizi) has become a common practice among young Jordanians. Alkury (2005) says:

When I came back from university in Canada I realised that everybody was mixing English and Arabic. It is so prevalent. It wasn't like that five years ago... The use of English has become a status symbol among middle- and upper-class Jordanians.

Thus, like Arabic-French code-switching among the members of the sample in this study, Arabic-English code-switching in Jordan is considered a means to gain prestige, and people use it as a status marker.

This positive attitude is confirmed by the respondents' linguistic evaluation of code-switching. The alternation between Arabic and French is considered a normal behaviour that should not be judged negatively. It is no more seen as a distortion of both languages, a 'strange mixture', or a 'verbal salad' (see Page 264 above), but it is a language behaviour that can be performed without any negative implications. Contrary to what some linguists state that code-switching implies necessarily semilinguisme (see Page 108), Arabic-French code-switching is not considered by the majority of respondents as the lack of competence in both languages. For them, code-switching is due to some factors to achieve most purposes of the interaction such as speaking fluently with no hesitation and choosing the most appropriate lexical items from both languages to convey the message.

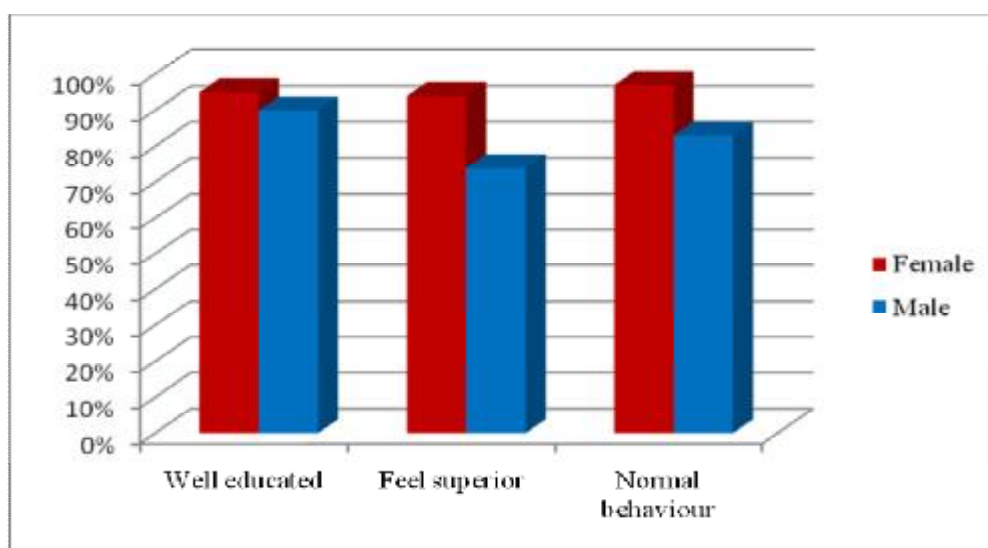


Figure 6.5: Causes of Arabic-French Code-Switching According to Respondents Who Admit Using it

A glance at the comments in the open-ended question of the questionnaire (item 37) confirms these findings. Due to the big number of comments from respondents who admit using code-switching and the similarity between these comments, only a limited number of comments will be given to avoid repetition. Some of the comments given about language choice in Chapter Five illustrate the above mentioned positive attitudes by respondents.

Respondent M51, a second year Social Sciences student, starts by acknowledging that he pursues his studies in Arabic , and then he says: “...I know that people may blame me because I mix Arabic and French, but for me using this mixture is a normal behaviour. It is a means of communication and not a reflection of one’s identity.”

According to this respondent, the use of Arabic-French code-switching does not imply a negative influence on the speaker’s identity since it is a means of communication through a language variety which exists in his speech repertoire. Although this language variety involves the alternation between two varieties, the mixture is not considered negatively and does not necessarily mean the distortion of either language. Its use is seen as a normal behaviour that does not need to be corrected or changed since it does no harm.

Respondent M4, a third year student of Biology, believes that the type of studies “...oblige me to use French or Arabic-French. Maybe the use of French

alone or in alternation with Arabic is harmful to identity, but I will feel inferior if I don't use it. It is very important not to be looked at down."

This respondent is not sure about the use of language as an identity marker and uses code-switching to raise status. For him, the use of code-switching dispels the fear of being considered of low status by his peers and creates a feeling of self-confidence. This proves that the prestige associated with French is reflected in the use of Arabic-French code-switching and results in positive assessment of the used language variety. As seen in Chapter Five, this positive attitude is one of the major factors which push this respondent and other respondents to choose Arabic-French as the unmarked language variety in numerous situations.

Although Respondent F124 does not pursue her studies in French because she is a third year student of English, she uses Arabic-French as the unmarked variety in different contexts. She writes as a comment: "I don't use French to avoid being treated as showing off or colonized. The use of Derdja alone does not reflect one's level of education, so I use Arabic-French at the university to show that I am educated. Otherwise, my colleagues would consider me of low status..."

This English student distinguishes between using French alone and its use in alternation with Arabic. According to her, the use of French implies negative attitudes by other speakers such as considering the person influenced by the colonizer's ideas and showing off. Therefore, French alone is seen as an identity

marker and a sign of negative influence. However, the use of Arabic-French code-switching does not imply any negative attitudes. On the contrary, it reflects the positive aspect that the speaker has a university level and is well educated. Code-switching is a status marker and the best alternative to avoid the connotations linked to the use of French alone or the mother tongue (SAA). Therefore, it is seen as a half-way choice between two extreme language choices which would lead to negative consequences on identity or to the qualification as being uneducated.

Similarly, Respondent F114 uses Arabic-French in natural conversations despite being a fourth year student of French. She thinks that Arabic-French is “a natural consequence of language contact. Its use in educational contexts is normal and does not affect personality or identity. What would students who pursue their studies in French use mutually if they did not use Arabic-French?”

This respondent summarizes the previous attitudes by the aforementioned respondents. According to her, using Arabic-French code-switching is a normal behaviour that does not result from the inadequate competence in either language and does not affect whatsoever personality or identity since it is not an identity marker. Arabic-French is the only alternative to communicate with other peers who are obliged to use the same language variety as the unmarked variety, not only as a status marker but as the natural language to be used as well. In addition, the use of other varieties would result in abnormal interactional situations that would lead to the generation of negative judgements.

The above mentioned comments and analyses of the data show that, contrary to the reported data in most of the literature that assert that bilingual speakers have only negative attitudes towards code-switching, the respondents in this study have also positive attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching. Code-switching is considered a normal behaviour performed by speakers who have adequate mastery of any involved language and not a way out for speakers with inadequate competence. It affects or distorts neither Arabic nor French since it is the natural consequence of language contact and the best alternative as the unmarked variety at the university. Moreover, Arabic-French code-switching is seen by respondents as a status marker that does not weaken the speaker's personality but strengthens it and leads to a feeling of superiority among other peers. Thus, it is not an identity marker that has to be avoided because of its bad influence on the speaker's identity.

These positive attitudes confirm the third hypothesis of this study that states that speakers have not only negative attitudes towards code-switching but positive ones as well. In addition to the negative attitudes by the minority of respondents, the majority consider code-switching positively and ask for its normal use as the unmarked variety with peers. This fact proves that the situation has changed through time. As seen in Chapter One, French was associated with negative attitudes because it was considered the language of the colonizer, but nowadays French enjoys among a high percentage of the respondents the prestige of a language of international communication and modernity. Because of this

prestige, French is used in alternation with Arabic in natural conversation to achieve several social functions. Therefore, Arabic-French code-switching has become the chosen unmarked variety at the university for a lot of respondents.

Notwithstanding these positive attitudes by the majority of respondents, the investigation of the data shows that students who admit using Arabic-French code-switching have contradictory attitudes. As seen in Table 3.26 (Page 160), 9% and 19% only of female and male respondents respectively deny using Arabic-French code-switching. However, the following figure (6.6) shows that, except for the opinions that code-switchers have no personality and master no language which are chosen by respondents who deny using code-switching only, more respondents assess people who switch codes negatively. In addition to the positive assessment of code-switchers as intellectual, sophisticated, and competent in both languages, 27% and 46% of female and male respondents respectively think that code-switchers show off and pretend to be intellectual. What is peculiar is the opinion by 81% of male respondents that code-switchers should refrain from using code-switching and must use one language only, despite having earlier qualified code-switchers positively.

These contradictory opinions illustrate the dilemma that faces a lot of respondents; they have positive attitudes and negative ones at the same time. Arabic-French code-switching is considered the best way to raise status among peers, but it is at the meantime a threat to one's identity and personality. This situation is similar to the discrepancies which exist between the attitudes of

respondents who deny using Arabic-French code-switching and their daily language behaviour (see Page 264); they deny using code-switching, but in reality they do switch codes (through little code-switching).

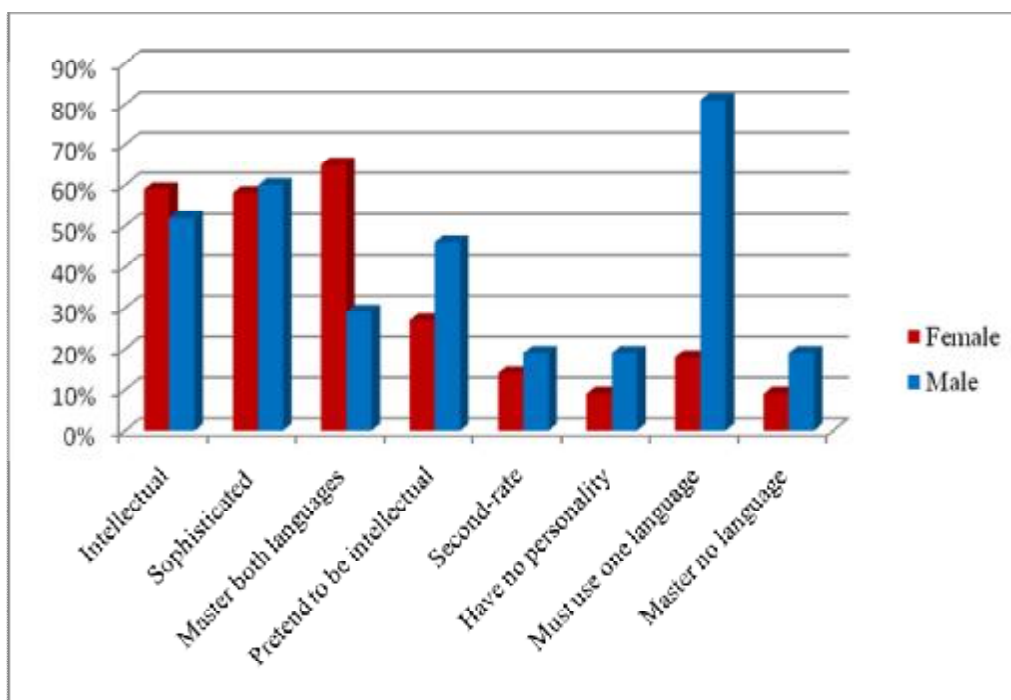


Figure 6.6: Percentage of Positive and Negative Attitudes towards Arabic-French Code-Switchers

6.2. Attitudes towards SAA-MSA Code-Switching

As stated earlier (see Table 3.15, p.146), 17 female and 10 male students of Arabic Literature deny using Arabic-French code-switching. The analysis of the recorded conversations and the comments in the open-ended question of the questionnaire (item 37) reveals that these students perform another type of code-switching: SAA>MSAinsert (see 4.2.2., p.188). Although the number of this type of code-switches is limited in the recorded conversations (53 cases), it is better

to investigate the kind of attitudes towards it in order to compare them to attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching. The attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching can be deduced from the respondents' comments. Nevertheless, it is hypothesized that the mere denial of the use of Arabic-French code-switching means the existence of positive attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching.

The first example that illustrates the nature of these attitudes is the comment made by the male respondent who claims that he uses MSA with his friends (see Table 3.18, p.150). He states that "... everyone should start using some words of Fusha (MSA) until he or she is able to speak it correctly. The use of Fusha highlights our distinct identity and strengthens our self-confidence..."

According to him, to speak MSA is the ultimate aim that has to be reached by every speaker. The use of MSA in alternation with SAA is a temporary stage that starts with little code-switching and then uses the heavier one. This temporary stage is seen as a positive step towards the final goal, namely using MSA in daily conversations. Moreover, the use of MSA is an identity marker since it protects the speaker's identity from any threat by other language varieties, especially foreign ones. Therefore, this male respondent has positive attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching despite considering it just a temporary stage.

Another example of the attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching is given by Respondent M8 (see section 5.2.6., p.228). After criticizing the use of

Arabic-French code-switching, he states that the use of SAA alone by a university student is a bad habit. He thinks that the use of MSA is a normal behaviour because “a university student should show his education through his speech.”

According to this respondent, a university student should use neither SAA alone nor Arabic-French code-switching because both varieties are associated with negative attitudes. To show that he/she is educated, a university student should use MSA, at least in alternation with SAA. This use of SAA-MSA code-switching is a status marker since it raises the student’s status and proves his/her intellectual background.

When asked about her use of SAA-MSA code-switching during the first stages of her intimate relationship with a male student, Respondent F58 confirms the choice of MSA in alternation with SAA to mark her high educational profile (see 5.2.9., p.239). In addition, she qualifies MSA as the “language in which one can express his feelings better than any other variety.”

Like other respondents, Respondent F58 believes that SAA-MSA code-switching is a status marker since it is used to raise status by highlighting the university profile of the speaker. Moreover, MSA is associated with the high prestige as being the language of literature and the best variety which can be used to express one’s feelings. This prestige of MSA leads to the association of SAA-MSA code-switching with positive attitudes and the language choice of this variety to gain prestige and raise status.

As hypothesized, these language choices and comments confirm the existence of positive attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching due to the positive attitudes associated with MSA by respondents who deny using Arabic-French code-switching. SAA-MSA code-switching is seen as an identity marker which strengthens the speaker's identity and personality. It is considered a positive temporary stage which leads to the use of MSA in daily natural conversations. It is also used as a communicative strategy to indicate the speaker's educational profile and to raise status.

Due to the limitations of this research, no negative attitude towards SAA-MSA code-switching is depicted. Other more specific future researches could find possible negative attitudes, as is the case with Arabic-French code-switching.

It is worth mentioning that the findings confirm the difference in language attitudes between the two sexes. Figure 6.7 below indicates that more male respondents use SAA-MSA code-switching than female ones do. This leads us to infer that more male respondents are in favour of this kind of code-switching, and so they have positive attitudes towards it.

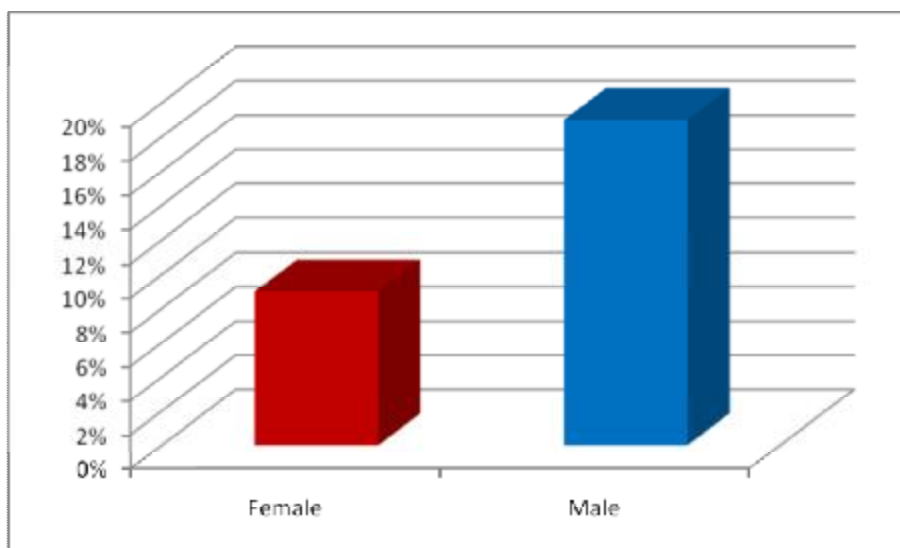


Figure 6.7: Percentage of Respondents Who Use SAA-MSA Code-Switching

Conclusion

Code-switching has generally been associated with negative attitudes in the literature. The findings of this study identify two kinds of code-switching: Arabic-French and SAA-MSA code-switching. The findings confirm that there are negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching. Code-switching is seen as an abnormal behaviour performed by less competent people who do not master adequately both languages. It is a threat to the speaker's identity because language is an identity marker, and the language of the colonizer affects that identity and weakens personality. Moreover, Arabic-French code-switching distorts both languages and generates a strange mixture.

In addition to these negative attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching, the findings also confirm the third hypothesis of this study and reveal the existence of positive attitudes, in contrast with findings in most of the related literature. Code-switching is considered by the majority of respondents a normal

behaviour performed by competent people with adequate knowledge of both languages. It is the best alternative for educated people, especially those who pursue their studies in French. It is seen as a status marker that does not weaken the speaker's personality or affect his/her identity.

As far as SAA-MSA code-switching is concerned, the findings reveal the existence of positive attitudes by a minority of respondents, especially male ones. Because of the prestige associated with MSA, SAA-MSA code-switching enjoys almost the same prestige. It is considered a beneficial temporary stage towards the use of MSA. It is an identity marker which emphasizes that the speaker has a distinct identity. Moreover, as Arabic-French code-switching, it is a status marker that leads to the rise of the speaker's status.

Moreover, the findings show that there is a correlation between negative and positive attitudes. The more the speaker has negative attitudes towards one kind of code-switching, the less the speaker has positive attitudes towards the other kind of code-switching. Therefore, female respondents have more positive attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching, and male respondents have more positive attitudes towards SAA-MSA code-switching.

CONCLUSION

This study has examined language variation among Algerian university students. Through time, language contact has led to various language phenomena that have had linguistic, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal effects on speakers. This study attempts to identify these effects in order to shed light on the language behaviour of this specific community. Due to the confusing definitional issues pertaining to the terminology under concern, specific definitions are elaborated to include all aspects of code-variation within the community under study and taken as models in the analysis of the data.

Two methods of data collection are used: the ethnographic study and the census questionnaire. There are almost 30 hours of recorded spontaneous conversations by 112 participants in the ethnographic study. Of these participants, 79 took part in the census questionnaire which consisted of 248 students.

The results of the study show that a significant change has occurred in the linguistic situation, and French is not anymore considered the language of the colonizer by the majority of respondents. In alternation with vernacular Arabic, it is the unmarked variety of a significant number of students, especially female students.

The study has three hypotheses. As shown in Chapter Three, the findings of the study support the first hypothesis, which basically tests the emergence of language patterns because of language contact. The results show that two main language patterns exist in students' speech. On the one hand, borrowing is

performed at different levels of integration which leads to the production of three sub-patterns. The third sub-pattern, non-conventional borrowing, is a recent language behaviour that has not been mentioned by the literature so far. On the other hand, code-switching is performed with different rates of frequency since it varies from little code-switching to heavier one. Because it involves different language varieties, it results in the development of the speaker's speech repertoire.

The second hypothesis predicts the non-permanent predictability of language choice notwithstanding the various factors affecting it. The findings show that language choice occurs according to certain factors mostly mentioned in the literature and others which are not. This hypothesis is confirmed because language choice is predictable in most cases, but there are certain language choices which cannot be explained by any factor. The findings also show that respondents use mostly SAA and Arabic-French code-switching as the unmarked varieties in most situations.

The third hypothesis refers to the nature of attitudes towards code-switching. The findings show that, contrary to the existing literature which states that code-switching is generally associated with negative attitudes, there are negative as well as positive attitudes towards Arabic-French code-switching. The negative attitudes include the threat to the speaker's identity and personality, the odd behaviour of mixing two languages, and the distortion of the languages involved to produce 'a strange mixture'. The positive attitudes include the use of

code-switching as a status marker, as a normal behaviour that does not affect identity or personality, and as the best alternative for students to communicate with peers. Moreover, the findings show that positive attitudes are associated with the use of SAA-MSA code-switching which include being an identity marker, a status marker, and a beneficial temporary stage.

Finally, the results reveal that there is a difference between female students and male ones in linguistic, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal aspects. Female students use more French, either alone or in alternation with the other varieties; consequently, they have more positive attitudes towards French.

Limitations of the Study

In reviewing the present study and its outcomes, it seems that there are two limitations in the research. The first limitation of this study is that it was not possible to include all the participants of the ethnographic study in the census questionnaire method and vice versa. The two methods were not applied at the same time, and attempts to find all the participants were fruitless.

The second limitation of the study lies in the fact that both methods of research did not include students from all the faculties and departments of the university. Despite the random choice of the sample, the language and the field of study were taken as a major criterion, and a representative sample was chosen.

Implications for Further Research

The present study has attempted to identify the linguistic, the sociolinguistic, and the attitudinal effects resulting from language contact. Further work needs to be carried out to identify the formal constraints on code-switching in the speech of Arabic/French bilinguals. Such studies should focus on comparing the constraints with those of other bilingual situations in other speech communities around the world.

Another interesting area for research would be to conduct a study on attitudes towards the existing varieties in the bilingual speaker's speech repertoire. This type of study would explain predictable as well as unpredictable language choices, and it would confirm or invalidate the change that has occurred in the language situation among Algerian bilinguals.

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Appendix A

Transcription of Sample Conversations

Conversation One

The following is an extract from a conversation that took place in the university cafeteria among four students¹ about the exams.

M1: / aftu l-*calendrier* ta: *les examens?* ra:hum affi a:whum/

(Did you see the time table of the exams? They have posted them.)

F1: /*Non, j'ai rien vu.* lba:ra *j'ai vérifié, ba a je n'ai rien vu/*

(No, I didn't see anything. Yesterday, I checked, but I didn't see anything.)

F2: /*Pardon.* aftham w nsi:t ngullak. *C'est vrai,* ra:ham affi a:whum *hier après-*

midi/

(Sorry. I had seen them, but I forgot to tell you. It's true. They posted them yesterday afternoon.)

F1: /*C'est pour quand le début des examens?* /

(When do the exams start?)

M2: /smana l aya. da:ru mawa i:d mli: a. andna *presque tous les jours le matin/*

(Next week. It is a good time table. We have exams almost every day morning.)

¹ To distinguish between respondents, the participants in this conversation are labelled as F (for Female) and M (for Male), in addition to numbers 1 and 2.

M1: /*Le matin* a: a mli a. *Imaginez* andna *les examens le soir*. ra:
nsouffri:w/

(To have the exams in the morning is a good thing. Imagine they are in the
afternoon. We would suffer.)

F1: /wa ra: jkun *le premier contrôle*? /

(What is the first exam?)

F2: /*L'écrit*. *D'ailleurs, le prof* ga:l «*Vous aurez un essai*.»/

(Written expression. Besides, the teacher said “You’ll have an essay.”)

M2: /*Le problème* mahu *l'écrit*. *Le problème* huwa *les matières* ta la fa:Da/

(Writing is not a problem. Subjects that need learning are the problem.)

F1: /*Moi, je n'ai même pas commencé la révision*. la:zam nabda *le plus tôt*
possible/

(I have not even started the revision. I have to start as soon as possible.)

M1: /rana ka:mal ma bdi:na: /

(We have not all started the revision.)

F2: /ana j'ai *déjà commencé*. raft ma jakfini: l-waqt si nabqa nassanna/

(I have already started the revision. I knew I would not have time if I had
waited.)

Conversation Two

The following is an extract from a conversation among three students of medicine. They are discussing the lecture.

F1: /aftu l-cours ta lju:m ? *Je n'ai rien compris.* - i:x ka:n j-expliquait wana *j'étais perdu.* Wallah *je n'ai rien compris/*

(Did you see today's lecture? I did not understand anything. While the teacher was explaining, I was lost. I swear I did not understand anything.)

F2: /*C'est vrai. Le cours kan vraiment difficile. D'habitude* nafham même *wijja, mais aujourd'hui* walu/

(It is true. The lecture was really difficult. I usually understand even a little, but I understood nothing today.)

M1: /rana ka:mal *dans le même bain.* Ana ta:ni *je n'ai rien compris/*

(We have all the same problem. I also did not understand anything.)

F2: /*Donc* mani: wa di. *Surtout, li duaxni le diagnostic de la maladie. C'est presque le même diagnostic de la grippe/*

(So I am not alone. Especially, the diagnosis of the illness confused me. It is almost the same diagnosis of flu.)

M1: /*C'est vrai. Je pensais que le professeur* da:x w xallat *entre les deux maladies/*

(It is true. I thought that the professor was confusing between the two illnesses.)

F2: /*Même les symptômes ...huma tani de la grippe/*

(Even symptoms ...They are also those of flu.)

F1: / ufu. bah na arfu *la différence entre les deux maladies, il vaut mieux consulter Vidal. Sinon tatxallat les deux maladies w nahhalkuha/*

(Look. To know the difference between the two illnesses, it is better to consult Vidal. Otherwise, we will confuse between the two illnesses, and that is very bad.)

Appendix B

Questionnaire in English

Dear Student,

The questionnaire in front of you is a part of a research for a doctoral degree on Language Variation in Algeria. Your opinion as an Algerian Student is very important.

Be certain that your responses will remain strictly confidential and will not serve any other purpose than the one stated above. Thank you for your cooperation.

Do not write your name on the questionnaire. Answer the questions and tick the corresponding square. You can give more than one answer where necessary.

1. Sex: Masculine ☐ Feminine ☐ 2. Age:
3. Major: 4. Year of study:
5. Language of study: 6. Place of birth:
7. Address:
8. Level of father:
a. primary ☐ b. medium ☐ c. secondary ☐ d. tertiary ☐ e. none ☐
9. Does your father read the following languages?
a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐
b. French ☐
c. Other:
10. Does your father use the following languages in his daily conversations?
a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐
b. French ☐

c. Dialectal Arabic ☐

d. Tamazight ☐

e. Other:

11. Level of mother:

a. primary ☐ b. medium ☐ c. secondary ☐ d. tertiary ☐ e. none ☐

12. Does your mother read the following languages?

a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐

b. French ☐

c. Other:

13. Does your mother use the following languages in his daily conversations?

a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐

b. French ☐

c. Dialectal Arabic ☐

d. Tamazight ☐

e. Other:

14. Do you speak the following languages?

a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐

b. French ☐

c. Dialectal Arabic ☐

d. Tamazight ☐

15. Which language do you better understand?

a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐

b. French ☐

c. The same competence ☐

16. Which language do you better read?

a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐

- b. French ☐
- c. The same competence ☐

17. Which language do you better write?

- a. Standard Arabic (MSA) ☐
- b. French ☐
- c. The same competence ☐

18. Do you switch between Arabic and French when you speak?

- a. Yes ☐
- b. No ☐

19. If the answer to question 18 is Yes, why do you switch languages?

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20. If the answer to question 18 is Yes, with whom do you switch languages?

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.....

.....

21. If the answer to question 18 is No, is it for the following reasons?

- a. You do not like French ☐
- b. The use of Arabic-French is degrading ☐
- c. For identity reasons ☐
- d. Other:

22. Do you use the following languages with your parents?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Standard Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Dialectal Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabic-French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Do you use the following languages with your siblings?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Standard Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Dialectal Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabic-French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Do you use the following languages with your friends?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Standard Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Dialectal Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabic-French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Do you use the following languages with laymen outside the university?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Standard Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Dialectal Arabic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabic-French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Which language do you speak to a teacher during break time?

	Standard Arabic	dialectal	Tamazight	French	Arabic-French
a. Discuss the lecture?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| b. Discuss the news? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. General discussion? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

27. Do you use the following languages with another student during the lecture?

- | | Often | Sometimes | Rarely | Never |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Standard Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Dialectal Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tamazight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Arabic-French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

28. Which language do you speak to another student during break time ?

- | | Standard Arabic | dialectal | Tamazight | French | Arabic-French |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Discuss the lecture? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Discuss the news? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. General discussion? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

29. Which language do you speak to another student outside the university?

- | | Standard Arabic | dialectal | Tamazight | French | Arabic-French |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Discuss the lecture? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Discuss the news? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. General discussion? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

30. Do you use the following languages with people in charge of the faculty?

- | | Often | Sometimes | Rarely | Never |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Standard Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Dialectal Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tamazight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| d. Arabic-French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

31. Do you use the following languages with the secretaries of the faculty?

- | | Often | Sometimes | Rarely | Never |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Standard Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Dialectal Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tamazight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Arabic-French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

32. Do you use Standard Arabic in your daily conversations?

- a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

33. If Yes, when?

.....

.....

.....

34. Persons who mix Arabic and French:

- a. are intellectual ☐
- b. pretend to be intellectual ☐
- c. are second-rate ☐
- d. must use one language ☐
- e. are sophisticated ☐
- f. have weak personalities ☐
- g. master both languages ☐
- h. master no language ☐

35. Do you think that Dialectal Arabic is a mixture of Arabic and French?

a. Yes ☐

b. No ☐

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36. What is your opinion about Arabic-French?

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37. Additional comments: Do not hesitate to add any further comments.

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Thank you for your cooperation.

Questionnaire in French

Cher Etudiant :

Ce questionnaire fait partie d'une recherche pour l'obtention du Doctorat en linguistique.

Cette recherche a pour objectif d'étudier l'utilisation et le mélange de la langue arabe et la langue française par les étudiants algériens (alternance codique ou 'code-switching').

Votre opinion est très importante pour la réalisation de cette étude.

Soyez sûr que votre réponse restera strictement confidentielle et ne sera utilisée que dans le but susmentionné. Merci beaucoup pour votre aide.

Veuillez répondre aux questions et mettre une croix (☐) dans la case correspondant à la réponse choisie. Vous pouvez choisir plus d'une réponse là où c'est nécessaire.

1. Sexe: Masculin ☐ Féminin ☐ 2. Age:
3. Spécialité: 4. Niveau d'instruction:
5. Langue d'études: 6. Lieu de Naissance (Ville):
7. Adresse (Ville):
8. Niveau d'instruction du père:
a. primaire ☐ b. moyen ☐ c. secondaire ☐ d. universitaire ☐ e. aucun ☐
9. Quelles sont les langues que votre père sait lire?
a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) ☐
b. Français ☐
c. Autres (Précisez s'il vous plait):

10. Votre père parle-t-il fréquemment les langues suivantes dans ses communications quotidiennes?

- a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) ☐
- b. Français ☐
- c. Arabe dialectal ☐
- d. Tamazight ☐
- e. Autres (Précisez s'il vous plait):

11. Niveau d'instruction de la mère:

- a. primaire ☐
- b. moyen ☐
- c. secondaire ☐
- d. universitaire ☐
- e. aucun ☐

12. Quelles sont les langues que votre mère sait lire?

- a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) ☐
- b. Français ☐
- c. Autres (Précisez s'il vous plait):

13. Votre mère parle-t-elle fréquemment les langues suivantes dans ses communications quotidiennes ?

- a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) ☐
- b. Français ☐
- c. Arabe dialectal ☐
- d. Tamazight ☐
- e. Autres (Précisez s'il vous plait):

14. Parlez-vous les langues suivantes?

- a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) ☐
- b. Français ☐
- c. Arabe dialectal ☐
- d. Tamazight ☐

15. Comprenez-vous (comme langue parlée) plus facilement:

- a. L'Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)? ☐
- b. Le Français? ☐
- c. Même facilité dans les deux langues ☐

16. Lisez-vous plus facilement:

- a. L'Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)? ☐
- b. Le Français? ☐
- c. Même facilité dans les deux langues ☐

17. Savez-vous écrire plus facilement:

- a. L'Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)? ☐
- b. Le Français? ☐
- c. Même facilité dans les deux langues ☐

18. Est-ce que vous sautez d'une langue à une autre (Arabe-Français) quand vous parlez?

- a. Oui ☐
- b. Non ☐

19. Si la réponse à la question 18 est positive (Oui), pourquoi mélangez-vous l'Arabe et le Français?

.....

.....

.....

20. Si la réponse à la question 18 est positive, avec qui employez-vous le mélange Arabe-Français?

.....

.....

.....

21. Si la réponse à la question 18 est négative (Non), est-ce pour les raisons suivantes:

- a. vous n'aimez pas le Français ☐
- b. l'utilisation du mélange Arabe-Français est dégradante ☐

c. pour des raisons d'identité ☐

d. autres (Précisez s'il vous plait) :

22. Parlez-vous les langues suivantes avec vos parents?

	Souvent	Des fois	Rarement	Jamais
a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Arabe dialectal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabe-Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Parlez-vous les langues suivantes avec vos frères et sœurs?

	Souvent	Des fois	Rarement	Jamais
a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Arabe dialectal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabe-Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Parlez-vous les langues suivantes avec vos amis?

	Souvent	Des fois	Rarement	Jamais
a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Arabe dialectal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabe-Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Dans quelle langue parlez-vous aux gens hors de l'université?

Souvent	Des fois	Rarement	Jamais
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a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Arabe dialectal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabe-Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. Dans quelle langue parlez-vous à un professeur algérien pendant l'interclasse pour:

Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) dialectal Tamazight Français Arabe-Français

a. Discuter le cours?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Discuter les actualités?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Discussions diverses?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Dans quelle langue parlez-vous à un autre étudiant pendant le cours même?

	Souvent	Des fois	Rarement	Jamais
a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Arabe dialectal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Tamazight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Arabe-Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Français	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. Dans quelle langue parlez-vous à un autre étudiant pendant l'interclasse pour:

Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) dialectal Tamazight Français Arabe-Français

a. Discuter le cours?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Discuter les actualités?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Discussions diverses?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Quelle langue employez-vous hors de l'université avec un autre étudiant pour:

Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) dialectal Tamazight Français Arabe-Français

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Discuter le cours? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Discuter les actualités? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Discussions diverses? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

30. Quelle langue employez-vous avec les responsables de votre faculté?

- | | Souvent | Des fois | Rarement | Jamais |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Arabe dialectal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tamazight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Arabe-Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

31. Quelle langue employez-vous avec les secrétaires à l'université?

- | | Souvent | Des fois | Rarement | Jamais |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Arabe dialectal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tamazight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Arabe-Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

32. Utilisez-vous l'Arabe Standard (Al-Fusha) lors des communications quotidiennes?

- a. Oui ☐ b. Non ☐

33. Si Oui, dans quelles circonstances?

.....

.....

34. Les personnes qui mélangent l'Arabe et le Français:

- a. sont des intellectuels ☐

- b. prétendent être des intellectuels ☐
- c. sont des médiocres ☐
- d. doivent utiliser une seule langue ☐
- e. sont très sophistiqués ☐
- f. n'ont pas de personnalité ☐
- g. maîtrisent les deux langues ☐
- h. ne maîtrisent aucune ☐

35. Pensez-vous que l'arabe dialectal est un mélange de la langue arabe et la langue française?

- a. Oui ☐
- b. Non ☐

36. Que pensez-vous du mélange Arabe-Français ?

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37. Commentaires additionnels : Si vous avez d'autres commentaires, n'hésitez pas à les ajouter.

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Merci pour votre coopération.

Questionnaire in Arabic

استبيان

أخي الطالب:

هذا الاستبيان جزء من بحث للحصول على شهادة دكتوراه الدولة في اللسانيات. و يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة اللغتين العربية والفرنسية والمزج بينهما في الاستعمال من طرف الطلبة الجزائريين، ويعد رأيك مهما جدا لتحقيق هذا البحث. كن على يقين أن إجابتك ستبقى سرية ولن تستعمل إلا للغرض المذكور أعلاه و شكرا على تعاونك.

الرجاء الإجابة عن الأسئلة و وضع علامة ☐ في الخانة المناسبة للإجابة المختارة. يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة حين تقتضي الضرورة.

1. الجنس: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐ 2. العمر:
3. الاختصاص: 4. السنة الدراسية:
5. لغة الدراسة: 6. مكان الولادة:
7. العنوان:

8. مستوى تعليم الأب:

- أ. ابتدائي ☐ ب. متوسط ☐ ج. ثانوي ☐ د. جامعي ☐ ز. بدون مستوى ☐

9. ما هي اللغات التي يقرأها أبوك؟

- أ. العربية الفصحى ☐ ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. لغات أخرى (حدد من فضلك):

10. هل يتكلم أبوك عادة اللغات الآتية في محادثاته اليومية؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. العامية ☐

د. الأمازيغية ☐

ز. لغات أخرى (حدد من فضلك):

11. مستوى تعليم الأم:

أ. ابتدائي ☐ ب. متوسط ☐ ج. ثانوي ☐ د. جامعي ☐ هـ. بدون مستوى ☐

12. ما هي اللغات التي تقرأها أمك؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐ ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. لغات أخرى (حدد من فضلك):

13. هل تتكلم أمك عادة اللغات الآتية في محادثاتها اليومية؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. العامية ☐

د. الأمازيغية ☐

ز. لغات أخرى (حدد من فضلك):

14. هل تتكلم أنت اللغات الآتية؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. العامية ☐

د. الأمازيغية ☐

15. أي لغة تجدها أسهل للفهم؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. نفس السهولة في الفهم ☐

16. أي لغة تجدها أسهل للقراءة؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. نفس السهولة في القراءة ☐

17. أي لغة تجدها أسهل للكتابة؟

أ. العربية الفصحى ☐

ب. الفرنسية ☐

ج. نفس السهولة في الكتابة ☐

18. هل تمزج بين العربية و الفرنسية عندما تتكلم؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐

19. إذا كان الجواب عن السؤال 18 بنعم، لماذا تمزج بين العربية و الفرنسية؟

.....
.....

20. إذا كان الجواب عن السؤال 18 بنعم، مع من تستعمل هذا المزج؟

.....
.....

21. إذا كان الجواب عن السؤال 18 بلا، هل لهذه الأسباب؟

أ. لا تحب الفرنسية ☐

ب. استعمال المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية تقلل من شأنك ☐

ج. لأسباب متعلقة بالهوية ☐

د. أسباب أخرى (حدد من فضلك):

22. هل تتكلم اللغات الآتية مع والديك؟

أبدا	نادرا	أحيانا	غالبا	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أ. العربية الفصحى
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ب. العامية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ج. الأمازيغية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ز. الفرنسية

23. هل تتكلم اللغات الآتية مع إخوتك؟

أبدا	نادرا	أحيانا	غالباً	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أ. العربية الفصحى
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ب. العامية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ج. الأمازيغية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ز. الفرنسية

24- هل تتكلم اللغات الآتية مع أصدقاءك؟

أبدا	نادرا	أحيانا	غالبا	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أ. العربية الفصحى
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ب. العامية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ج. الأمازيغية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ز. الفرنسية

25. أي لغة تستعمل مع عامة الناس خارج الجامعة؟

أبدا	نادرا	أحيانا	غالبا	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أ. العربية الفصحى
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ب. العامية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ج. الأمازيغية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ز. الفرنسية

26. أي لغة تستعمل مع أستاذ جزائري أثناء وقت الاستراحة :

العربية الفصحى العامية الأمازيغية العربية و الفرنسية الفرنسية				
أ. لمناقشة الدرس	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ب. لمناقشة الأخبار	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ج. لمناقشة مواضيع متفرقة	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. أي لغة تستعمل مع طالب آخر أثناء الحصة الدراسية؟
العربية الفصحى العامية الأمازيغية العربية و الفرنسية الفرنسية

- أ. لمناقشة الدرس ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ب. لمناقشة الأخبار ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ج. لمناقشة مواضيع متفرقة ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

28. أي لغة تستعمل مع طالب آخر أثناء وقت الاستراحة:
العربية الفصحى العامية الأمازيغية العربية و الفرنسية الفرنسية

- أ. لمناقشة الدرس ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ب. لمناقشة الأخبار ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ج. لمناقشة مواضيع متفرقة ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

29. أي لغة تستعمل مع طالب آخر خارج الجامعة؟
العربية الفصحى العامية الأمازيغية العربية و الفرنسية الفرنسية

- أ. لمناقشة الدرس ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ب. لمناقشة الأخبار ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ج. لمناقشة مواضيع متفرقة ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

30. أي لغة تستعمل مع المسؤولين في الكلية التي تدرس بها؟
غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

- أ. العربية الفصحى ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ب. العامية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ج. الأمازيغية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ز. الفرنسية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

31. أي لغة تستعمل مع الموظفين في الجامعة؟
غالبا أحيانا نادرا أبدا

- أ. العربية الفصحى ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

- ب. العامية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ج. الأمازيغية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- د. المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- ز. الفرنسية ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

32. هل تستعمل العربية الفصحى في محادثاتك اليومية؟
 أ. نعم ☐ ب. لا ☐

33. إذا كان الجواب بنعم، ففي أي حالة؟

.....

34. الناس الذين يمزجون بين العربية و الفرنسية:

- أ. مثقفون
- ب. يتظاهرون بأنهم مثقفون
- ج. مستواهم التعليمي ضعيف
- د. يجب أن يستعملوا لغة واحدة
- ز. متحضرون
- هـ. ليس لهم شخصية قوية
- و. يتحكمون في كلتا اللغتين
- ي. لا يتحكمون في كلتا اللغتين

35. هل تعتقد أن اللغة العامية هي مزيج من العربية و الفرنسية؟
 أ. نعم ☐ ب. لا ☐

36. ما رأيك في المزج بين العربية و الفرنسية؟

.....

37. إذا كان عندك أي اقتراح آخر أو آراء أخرى فالرجاء إضافتها.

.....

شكرا على تعاونك.