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ASPECTS OF CODE SWITCHING, CODE MIXING AND BORROWING USED BY THE OLDER GENERATIONS IN TIARET.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

"ومن آياته خلق السماوات و الأرض
واختلاف ألسنتكم و ألوانكم إن في ذلك
لآيات للعالمين." {22}

الآية {22} من سورة الروم

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE MERCIFUL THE
BENEFICENT

"AND AMONG HIS SIGNS IS THE CREATION
OF THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH AS
WELL AS DIVERSITY IN YOUR TONGUES
AND COLOURS VERILY, THESE ARE THE
SIGNS FOR THOSE WHO KNOW"

(QURAN, AR-ROUM, 22)

DEDICATIONS

I would like to dedicate this humble work:

- First to my lovely parents who supported me along my life and provided me with love and affection.

- To my brothers Tayeb, Adda and Mohamed.

- To my sisters Meriem, Hadjira and Sarah.

- To my uncles and aunts.

- To my cousins Rania, Soumia, Mouna and Nihel.

- To my friends chakib, Ali Sidamor, Ali Berrabah, Abi bakr Guessas, kamel Mohamed, Djilali and Abderrahmene.

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- This humble work is dedicated to the memory of **Bouamrane Ali**, 1944–2011, linguist, scholar, teacher, colleague, mentor and friend.May Allah bless his soul and dwell him in his vast paradise

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ABSTRACT

This present work is intended to study the speech behaviour of the older generations in Tiaret. It will also shed some light on the different language attitudes and the non-linguistic variables that may play an important role in language choice.

Officially Algeria is presented as a homogeneous society in which Classical Arabic is the sole national and official language of the country. However, the reality is totally different because there is a complete marginalisation of other languages which are used by the Algerian speakers in their daily life interactions namely: Algerian Arabic, Berber and French.

Due to the contact phenomenon between the above mentioned languages, the Algerian society is nowadays known by its sociolinguistics diversity. This diversity gives birth to many linguistic outcomes such code switching, code mixing, bilingualism, diglossia and borrowing. All these phenomena will be defined and examined briefly in this work.

This modest work aims first to examine the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and to give a brief description of the different languages present on its ground. The second vital goal of this memoire is to throw some light on the attitudes that the older generations in Tiaret hold vis-à-vis their languages. The last but not least purpose of my study is to analyse the most salient sociolinguistic phenomena such as code switching, code mixing and borrowing.

In order for me to examine the language attitudes of my informants, I will use a questionnaire. The latter will encompass five subsections each one dealing with a specific kind of attitude.

The most important part of my work is the analysis of the data gathered. Code switching instances will be analysed following the models developed by Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Bouamrane (1986) who studied Moroccan Arabic/ French and Algerian Arabic / French code switching respectively.

The general findings of this study will be given in the general conclusion, accompanied by some suggestions and motivations.

General Introduction:

Since the dawn of humanity, man has used language as a means of communication to express his thoughts, beliefs and feelings. This language now differs from one speech community to another, but there are some circumstances that bring languages to be used in the same place and at the same time. The branch which is specialised in the study of the causes and consequences of contact situations is called contact linguistics.

Contact linguistics is branch of sociolinguistics which has as a first objective the study of the different reasons that push people from various speech communities to get into contact with each other. Such reasons can be summarised in the following: firstly, wars because people may invade a country and thus use their own language on its ground. Secondly, economics can also incite people who speak different languages to be in contact situation for business reasons. Thirdly, immigration plays an important role in creating contact between languages because when people emigrate from one country to another they will use their language in a new community where other language(s) may be used. Fourthly, mixed marriages represent another reason for people to come into contact with each other.

The above mentioned reasons that lead people to be contact situations are not without consequences since they participate in the creation of various language contact phenomena namely: code switching, code mixing, bilingualism, diglossia and borrowing. The study of these effects is the second important objective of the domain of contact linguistics.

Today Algeria is known for its sociolinguistic diversity because there are many languages used by the Algerian speakers in everyday life. However, this diversity is still neglected by the Algerian authorities since they consider Classical Arabic as the only official and national language of the country. Although the Berber language was declared a national language in 2002, the situation remained the same without any change.

Since the dawn of the Algerian independence, the Algerian authorities have launched a series of Arabisation campaigns to re-establish Classical Arabic as the official and national language of the nation in all domains. However, those campaigns have failed to a certain extent because Classical Arabic was supposed to elbow out the French language which has permeated in all domains of the Algerian society. The reality is that French is still used nowadays in many domains such as university lecture, administration and economics.

In this study, I shall work on the speech community of Tiaret taking into account only the older generations. Most people from the older generations are known with their mastery of the French language especially those who witnessed the French presence on the Algerian territory.

As stated above, I shall examine the linguistic situation in Algeria starting from ancient times until recent years. This examination will include a brief insight into the different languages used by the Algerian speakers. First, Classical Arabic is the official language of the country, but we can state that its use is limited for formal settings such as administrations, mosques and in teaching. Although Classical Arabic is the language of the Islamic religion and the holy Quran, no Algerian speaker uses it as his mother tongue since it is learned at schools and not at home.

Algerian Arabic is the language of daily life interactions; its use is reserved for informal or intimate situations. It represents the language of the majority of the Algerian speakers because most of them learn it at home as their mother tongue.

Berber is the second vernacular language used by Algerians after Algerian Arabic because only a minority of people use as their mother tongue. In 2002, Berber was declared a national language but since then no other measures have been taken to give it the right status it merits.

French is the heritage of more than 130 years of colonisation by the French people; its use is widespread in university lectures, administration and in economy. It represents the language of modernity and technological development. Despite of the continuous efforts done by the Algerian authorities to uproot it from all domains, it is still omnipresent in the daily life of Algerians.

The contact between the above mentioned languages makes from Algeria a multilingual country known by several sociolinguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, diglossia, code switching and borrowing. These phenomena will be discussed in detail in this modest work.

Bilingualism concerns people who have the mastery of two or more languages in which they can use either. As a result of the various definitions given by researchers, there are many kinds of bilingualism namely individual versus societal bilingualism, compound, coordinate and sub-coordinate bilingualism, simultaneous versus successive bilingualism etc...

Diglossia is the use of two languages or two varieties of the same language for different purposes. As far as Algeria is concerned, Classical Arabic and French represent the high languages because they are reserved for formal situations, whereas Algerian Arabic and Berber are the low varieties for they are always used in informal situations.

This study will focus on one of the most salient outcomes of language contact which is code switching. This phenomenon was neglected at the beginning of the twentieth century because it was considered to be a random and deviant process. However, few years after its recognition, it became the most studied phenomenon among the rest of language contact outcomes. Most of the Algerian speakers do switch between languages for different reasons and with different interlocutors.

Borrowing is the inclusion of items from foreign languages into the speaker's first language. This phenomenon is also widespread between languages owing to many motives such as the need for new vocabulary or prestige of the highly positioned language. As far as Algeria is concerned,

today's colloquial Arabic is loaded with words from most of the languages which have been used on its territory since the Phoenicians era. However, the most noticeable impact is that of the French language because it is deeply rooted in the Algerian society.

I shall also analyse language attitudes of the older generations in Tiaret to know what language (s) they prefer to use, with whom, when and where. I shall also question them about their attitudes vis-a-vis code switching.

All in all, the present work will provide a detailed scrutiny of the speech behaviour of the older generations emphasising on the syntax of code switching of these Algerian Arabic/French bilingual speakers living in Tiaret. The primary intentions of this study are:

1. To analyse the speech of these speakers in diverse situations and contexts;

2. To investigate the attitudes of my informants towards their languages and code switching.

3. To identify the types of patterns of switching in these situations;

4. To shed light on some of the social functions of Algerian Arabic/ French code switching.

To reach the above mentioned objectives, we planned the following work which will comprise a general introduction, four chapters, and a general conclusion.

The general introduction will include the different aims of this work and the method used to achieve our objectives.

The first chapter will have a look at the history of North Africa in general and Algeria in particular starting from ancient times to the present day. It will also track the development of the

 linguistic situation in Algeria focussing on the different languages present in this speech community namely: Classical Arabic, French, Algerian Arabic and Berber.

The second chapter will be devoted to the overview of the literature on code switching, taking into account the different perspectives from which this phenomenon was studied and presenting the various models provided by researchers. It will also include a clear distinction between the different language contact phenomena such as code mixing, borrowing, diglossia and bilingualism.

The third chapter will scrutinise the attitudes of my respondents towards their languages and code switching. It will also explore the non-linguistic parameters which may influence their language choice such as topic, setting, interlocutor and the purpose. To achieve this goal, I will submit a questionnaire to my informants and interpret its analysis in details.

The last chapter will encompass the syntactic analysis of the data gathered about the AA / F code switching instances and borrowing. It will also look at the different syntactic possibilities of switching between Algerian Arabic/French including some important functions of this speech behaviour.

The general conclusion will encompass a brief discussion of the findings of this work and some of the motivations.

Chapter one

<u>CHAPTER ONE</u>

A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

1. Introduction:

In this chapter we shall shed some light on the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, presenting the different periods of time which marked the history of the country, and showing the great contribution of the various invading people such as the Phoenicians, the Romans, the vandals, the Byzantines, and finally the Arabs in the enrichment of the sociolinguistic profile in Algeria. Those invaders were part of the history of North Africa as a whole and Algeria in particular.

At the same time, we ought to talk about the languages present in Algeria and the different statuses given to them by the Algerian authorities. Classical Arabic has been given the status of national and official language of the country just after the independence from the French colonisers, whereas Algerian Arabic and Berber have been neglected during that period. However, Berber or Tamazight became a national language in 2002 after a long struggle of the Algerian authorities.

We shall also throw some light on the most important phenomena which characterise the linguistic situation in Algeria. These phenomena are bilingualism and diglossia. The former refers to the use of two or more varieties for the same purposes, whereas the latter stands for the use of two varieties in complementary distribution.

We will also present the most important types of bilingualism and discuss them in details and provide some examples about Algerian bilingualism.

1.1. Presentation of the Country:

Algeria is one of the largest countries in Africa and the Arab world; it is located on the Mediterranean coast bordered by Tunisia and Libya to the East, by Morocco to the West, and to the South across the Sahara desert by Western Sahara, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. Its surface is approximately 2,831,741 square Km. It has 33 million inhabitants (2008); a mixed population of Berber and Arab ethnicity with 1% percent of European minority. Besides Arabic which is the official and national language of the country, Berber and French are also largely used by the population.

Algeria was originally inhabited by the Berbers who witnessed the presence of many invaders such as the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines and ultimately the Arabs, who during the 7th century invaded North Africa, starting a long process of Arabisation and Islamisation of the region as a whole. The latter (i.e. the Arabs) were not easily accepted by native Berbers at the beginning of their arrival on their lands. However, political rule of the area for the Arabs remained elusive, alternating between Berber Kingdoms and Arab dynasties. During the 16th century, the Ottomans extended their rule south from Istanbul and reigned over Algeria. The Spanish also marked their presence in Algeria side by side with the Ottomans and North Africa was an open corridor for economic and cultural exchanges between the Middle East, Islamicate Spain and Sub-Saharan Africa. The Turkish rule of Algeria was brought to its end by the French colonisers, who in 1830 conducted a large campaign to control the country. The Algerian resistance to the French invaders was first led by Emir Abd-el-Kader who was later caught and exiled by the French, but this did not prevent the Algerians to continue their struggle against the French power to get their independence. In 1954, they started the war of independence which lasted 08 long years. The French authorities did all their best to keep Algeria under their control but they did not succeed. On 5th July 1962, Algeria became independent after being colonised for 132 years. [1]

1.2. Algeria through History:

North Africa which is constituted by present day Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya was called Minor Africa because of its separation from the east and the south of the continent by the huge desert. This part of the continent was originally inhabited by the Berbers who are considered to be the indigenous people in North Africa; the latter were made of different tribes.

A long time ago, North Africans witnessed several successive invasions but they succeeded to preserve their cultural heritage, their language and their power. The name "Berber" given to the North African people by the Romans came from Latin "barbarian" meaning 'an alien land or people'

As stated above, North Africa including Algeria has been the centre of interest for many invaders who came either from the north or the east but never from the south. Those invaders were the Phoenicians (later known as the Carthaginians), the Romans, and the Vandals who destroyed the Roman Empire, the Byzantines and finally the Arabs.

To study the history of Algeria, one has to go back to Classical Antiquity. First with the kingdom of Numidia which was situated on the eastern part of modern Algeria, bordered by Mauritania to the west, Tunisia to the east, the Sahara Desert to the south and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. Two major tribes lived in Numidia; the Massylii in the east and the Masaesyli in the west. The former under the rule of King Gala allied with Carthage, the latter ruled by Syphax allied with Rome. However, during the Second Punic War, King Massinissa of the eastern Massylii turned to be the ally of Rome, and Syphax switched and backed Carthage. After the Roman victory in the war against the Carthaginians in 201BC, Massinissa became the King of all Numidia. It is during his rule that Numidia became very prosperous and culturally developed.

The Phoenicians were traders who debarked on the North African coasts around 1000 B.C; they founded the city of Carthage in 822 (present day Tunisia). They built some important trading post in Hippo (modern Annaba), Rusicade (modern Skikda), Algiers and Tangier. They

had no interest in Africa as a resource and left the interior of the territory for the Berbers who managed to keep their cultural heritage and language intact from any influence. The Phoenicians used Punic which is a Hamito-Semitic language linked to Hebrew and Arabic.

Carthage and Rome were the greatest powers at that time; they lived in a continuous struggle to dominate each other. The war between those rivals witnessed three phases which were given the name of Punic Wars.

During the First Punic War (264-641B.C), the Romans defeated the Carthaginians and took control over Sicily in Italy. In the Second Punic War (218-202 B.C) the Carthaginians lost Spain, and Carthage was reduced to become a small and weak country. Finally, during the Third Punic War (149-146 B.C), the Romans began a siege over Carthage that lasted three years, reducing the number of its inhabitants from 250,000 to 50,000 inhabitants in 146 B.C. Those 50.000 survivors became slaves and Carthage was destroyed and burnt.

During the Phoenician rule, the wealthy merchants possessed big areas of land which were cultivated by their slaves, but the rest of the land belonged to the native inhabitants of North Africa. However, when the Romans established themselves on the African ground, large areas were taken as state property and grants of land were made for the citizens and ex-soldiers, taxes were imposed on the peasants who cultivated their small lands. Later on, those peasants were dislodged from their best lands, and they were obliged either to leave the Roman territory to live in the mountains or to remain where they were born to work for their masters as labourers. As a consequence to that inequality, the population was divided into two classes; the first class included those who benefited a lot from the Roman rule like landlords, merchants, soldiers and artisans. The second class included peasants, slaves and labourers, they benefited very little from the Roman rule. Those people used Punic or Berber as their language and lived in poor villages outside the city.

Berbers organised themselves into small bands and started to attack and pillage the plains because the Romans imposed heavy taxes on them. This led to the risk to depopulate the towns. The Roman Empire weakened by its internal problems became an easy target for its enemies.

The Vandals, who belonged to Germanic tribes and succeeded to bring the Roman rule to its end, came originally from the Baltic. In 411, they settled in Northern Spain, but few years later they were pushed southward by the Visigoths who were more powerful than them. In 429, the Vandals crossed the Straits of Gibraltar with 80,000 persons. They did not face any resistance from the local population which allowed them to continue their advance. King Genseric reached the richest Roman provinces pillaging and burning them.

In 435, Rome accepted Genseric's conquest and established him on the lands he had conquered. The Vandals were conscious that the Romans could not stop their advance, moved forward and conquered Carthage in 439 without any resistance.

In 455 Genseric invaded Italy, reached and captured Rome plundering and looting treasures, especially the Sacred Vessels of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem which Titus had stolen four centuries ago. Genseric distributed lands to his soldiers and kept the lion's share for himself. During this period, Berbers represented a real threat to the Vandal rule since they became more organised, and raided on the plains and towns.

The Vandal rule of North Africa did not last long because they were defeated by the Byzantines. In 533, ordered by his Emperor Justinian, General Belisarius sailed from Constantinople to conquer North Africa; he succeeded to enter Carthage unopposed. The Vandals have all disappeared after their collapse. North Africa turned to be a province of Byzantium under the rule of the Emperor of the East. The latter followed the same policy of his predecessors by imposing heavy taxes on the local population.

During the Byzantine rule, the Nomad tribesmen became more powerful and they increased their attacks on the town and cities. Justinian's rule did not last more than a century because of his bad policy based on the imposition of heavy taxes on the poor citizens and his persecution to the Arians. This strategy showed its weaknesses and soon brought the Byzantines rule to its end. The Arabs were the new conquerors of North Africa.

1.3. The Arab Conquest:

Before I start speaking about the Arab conquest to North Africa, I have to introduce the notion of Islam which comes from the word "Essalam" meaning peace. This new religion was spread by the last messenger of Allah Prophet Mohamed Peace be upon him. He was born in Mecca in 570 and became God's messenger at the age of 40. He lived only 63 years which were very important in the history of the world.

As stated above, the Byzantines rule of North Africa was marked by various problems such as corruption, incompetence and military weakness which made of them an easy target for their enemies, especially the Arabs during the Muslim conquest.

The Arab invasion of North Africa started from Egypt in 639, followed by Libya in 642 AD. In Alexandria the army faced hard defences which kept them fourteen months outside the city. By the end of this period, a treaty was signed between the Arabs and the Greeks who were given one year to leave the city peacefully. The Arabs continued their conquest by capturing Cyrenaica in 642 and Tripoli a year later.

In 670, a huge army led by Okba Ibn Nafi founded a garrison town at Kairawen which allowed them to defeat the Byzantines and capture Carthage in 698. The Islamisation and Arabisation of North Africa, and with it Algeria were not easy tasks because the local inhabitants (i.e. the Berbers) resisted and revolted against the new invaders. By 711, the Umayyad forces ruled all of North Africa. In 739, the Kharijites were opposed to the rule of Ali Ibn Abi Taleb, the fourth caliph; they were joined by many Berbers who helped them in their struggle against the Umayyads.

In 750, the Muslim rule became under the Abbasids who took the caliphate to Baghdad and appointed Ibrahim Ibn Al Aghlab as governor in Al Kairawen. Between 761 and 909, the Rustomids under their leader Abderrahmene Ibn Rostom controlled most of the central Maghreb from Tihert. Other famous Berber dynasties have emerged in North Africa among which we

mention the Fatimid Dynasty (909-1171), the Almoravid Dynasty (1062-1147) and the Almohad Dynasty (1147-1248).

1.3.1. The Fatimid Dynasty (909-1171):

The Fatimid dynasty was established by Ubaydullah[2], (an Ismaili leader), who succeeded to conquer Al Kairawen in 909 displacing the Aghlabids. The leader of this dynasty claimed to be descended from Fatima the daughter of the Prophet Mohamed Peace Be Upon Him, and her husband Ali Ibn Abi Taleb. In 911 the Fatimids destroyed the rest of the Rostomid dynasty in Tihert and conquered other new regions in Morocco. After 60 years of their rule, exactly in 969, the Fatimids had invaded Egypt and founded Al Kahira (Cairo), which later became the capital of the Fatimid ruler Al Muizz. A year later, in 970, they established the university mosque of Al Azhar. Because their interest was focused on Egypt, the Fatimids left the rule of Ifrikya and most of Algeria to the Zirids (972-1148), and the Hammadids (1011-1151). During its heyday, the Fatimid dynasty succeeded to expand its territory from Tunisia in North Africa to Egypt, the Western part of the Arab Peninsula (including Mecca and Medina), Palestine and Syria. Most of the Berber tribes converted to Islam and used Arabic as their language. The Fatimid dynasty collapsed because of both internal and external problems, its rule was brought to an end by Salah eddine in 1171.

1.3.2. The Almoravid Dynasty (1042-1147):

The founder of this dynasty was a Moroccan scholar named Abdullah Ibn Yassin, who was brought by a Berber chief to teach proper Islamic instructions to his followers. At the beginning, this movement was purely religious. However, by the second half of the eleventh century, the Almoravids started conquering the surrounding lands. Under the rule of Youcef Ibn Abi Tashfin, the Almoravid dynasty extended to include Ghana, Morocco and Islamicate Spain[3]. In 1086, the Almoravids crossed the Straits of Gibraltar to provide help for the Spanish Muslims who suffered a lot from the Christian re-conquests.

During the Almoravids rule, North Africa has benefited a lot economically and culturally because Islamicate Spain was the source of artistic and intellectual inspiration. Most historians claim that the conquest of Spain by the Almoravids was the first cause of the collapse of their dynasty since they started to lose control on both sides of the Mediterranean. In Spain, they suffered a lot from the Christian re-conquests which deprived them from Saragossa in 1118. Meanwhile their capital in Africa Marrakech was taken from them in 1147 by a more powerful dynasty of Berbers, the Almohads.

1.3.3. The Almohad Dynasty (1123-1269):

Like the Almoravids, the Almohads based their dynasty on religious reforms. Their leader was a Moroccan called Mohamed Ibn Abdullah Ibn Tamurt who came from the Atlas Mountainsand claimed to be the Mehdi. The doctrine of the Ibn Tamurt was based on God's oneness, the reason why the followers of this movement were called Al Muwahhidine "Unitarians" or "Almohads". [4]

The Almohads' rebellion started in 1125 with attacks on Moroccan cities like Sus and Marrakech. After the death of Ibn Tamurt in 1130, Abdel Mumin became the caliph and appointed a lot of his family members in power. In 1147, the Almohads captured Marrakech ending the rule of the Almoravids in North Africa and during the same year, they conquered Seville which became their capital in Spain. In 1151, they conquered Algiers and Tunisia, and later they captured Tripolitania in 1160. It was the first time that the Maghreb was united under a local rule. Under the rule of the first four caliphs, the Almohad dynasty witnessed the greatest period of political, cultural and military development.

The decline of this great Berber dynasty began with the defeat of its army in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa by the combined armies of Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal in 1212. The Christians succeeded to regain control over Cordoba in 1236 and Seville in 1248.

The Almohads abandoned the religious doctrine of Ibn Tamurt in 1229 opting for the Maliki School and accepting two of the greatest philosophers of the Andalus; Abu Bakr Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Rushd (Averroes).

In the Maghreb, the Almohads' position was not stable because they started losing control of their lands to other emerging dynasties. In 1229, the governor of Tunis declared himself independent and established his own dynasty which was the Hafsids'. The second dynasty which challenged the Almohads was the Marinid dynasty, named after the Beni Merin tribe (Zenata Berbers) who succeeded to capture Fès in 1248 and made it their capital. In 1269, the Marinids conquered Marrakech bringing the Almohad dynasty to its end. The Marinid dynasty survived until the fifteenth century, and the Hafsids up to the sixteenth century.

1.4. The Spanish Presence in Algeria:

After the collapse of all the Berber dynasties which have reigned over North Africa for many centuries, the Barbary Coast became the target of the two greatest powers of that time; Spain in the west and Turkey in the east.

The decisive war between Islam and Christianity was marked by the fall of Granada under the Spanish rule in 1492. Spain conquered many parts of the North African coast beginning with Melila (1496), Mers El Kebir (1505), Oran (1509), Bougie and Tripoli (1510), Algiers, Cherchel and Tenes. The Spaniards did not seek to extend their rule deep on the North African territory and remained on the coasts where they built fortified outposts.

The Spaniards left Algiers definitively in 1529, Bougie in 1554, but they remained in Mers El Kebir and Oran until 1708. In 1732, with their victory in the battle of Ain-el-Turk, the Spaniards reconquered Mers El Kebir and Oran. The latter were sold by King Charles IV of Spain to the Bey of Algiers in 1792.

1.5. The Turkish Presence in Algeria:

During the sixteenth century, the Turkish brothers Aruj and Kheir Eddine (known as Barbarossa) or red beard, were practising piracy along the North African coasts. In 1516, the King of Algiers demanded help from the Turkish brothers. Aruj conquered Algiers and sought the protection of the Ottoman Empire.

After the death of Aruj during his invasion of Tlemcen in 1518, Kheir Eddine succeeded him as military leader. The latter was given the title of Beylerbey (provincial governor) by the Ottoman sultan. For more than 300 years, Algeria was considered as an Ottoman province with Algiers as its capital. Turkish became the official language of the country. Algeria's modern boundaries were established by the Ottomans, who made of it the capital of privateering. Piracy was the main source of income for all the North African states and the Europeans were obliged to pay tributes to prevent attacks on their ships. During the seventeenth century, the Ottoman piracy increased in the Mediterranean Sea which led to the war with the USA known as the First (1801-1805) and Second Barbary Wars (1815).

The Ottoman rule of North Africa, especially Algeria lasted more than three centuries. It was brought to an end by the French occupation of Algeria in 1830; then Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881, followed by Morocco in 1912. Italy took Libya from the Turks in 1912.

1.6. The French Invasion of Algeria:

The reason behind the French invasion of Algeria was what most historians called "the fan stroke event". This incident happened in 1827, when the Turkish ruler of Algiers Dey Hussein, demanded from the French consul Pierre Duval to pay the French debts taken as food supplies during the Napoleonic wars. On 29th April, 1827, Duval refused to give satisfactory answers to the dey who stroke the French consul with his fan.

Charles X considered this event as a slight to his consul, and decided to blockade the city of Algiers for three years. On 14th June, 1830, more than 37000 soldiers with 500 ships landed in

Sidi Ferruch to invade Algeria. The French troops were faced by furious resistance from the Algerian inhabitants led by Emir Abdelkader, Cheikh El Mokrani, Cheikh Bouamama, Lala Fatma N'Soumer and others. In 1848, the French conquest of Algeria was complete when the last Touareg tribes were conquered. Algeria became an integral part of France with representatives at the French National Assembly. It is assumed that more than 50.000 French people immigrated to Algeria between 1825 and 1848, and thousands of European settlers came from Spain, Italy and Malta. The latter were largely peasants, farmers and workers who came to farm the Algerian fertile lands.

The French authorities followed a very harsh policy with the inhabitants of Algeria by confiscating lands from their owners, and impoverishing the population. They intended to eradicate the Algerian identity using all tools and methods; one way of doing this was to establish French as the language of the country in all domains. In addition, they destroyed some of the Koranic schools and severely controlled the rest. They limited the teaching of Classical Arabic in an attempt to avoid awakening the national consciousness which would lead the Algerians to ask for their rights and expel the invaders.

As a result of that policy of repression, the social situation of Algerians degraded, literacy plummeted and much of the population was uprooted since their lands were taken from them by the French colonists.

Algerian nationalism started after World War I when a group of educated people founded the FLN (National Front of Liberation), and the National Algerian Movement.

On May 08th, 1945, the Algerians went out in the streets to ask for their national claims to the French army after being allied with them during the Second World War. The latter faced the crowd of people with their arms murdering more than 45000 civilians in Setif, Guelma and Kherrata. After that massacre, the Algerians drew the conclusion that all what was taken by force

could only be recuperated by force, so they began to organise themselves for the war which would give them their independence.

On November 01st, 1954, the Algerian War of independence was launched by the National Liberation Front. It was very violent and cruel from both sides because the Algerians were determined to get their freedom and the French colonisers did not want to lose their best colony in Africa. The war lasted 08 long years in which the Algerian citizens witnessed all kinds of harsh treatments and massacres from the outsiders. However, all what they suffered from, provided them with solidarity and unity to defend their land and expel the colonisers.

After long negotiations with France, the FLN signed a cease-fire on March 18th, 1962 at Evian, and agreed to make a referendum to decide about their future. The referendum resulted in the declaration of the Algerian independence on July 03rd, 1962, but the Algerian nationalists decided to make it on July 05th representing the same date when the French troops occupied Algeria.

1.7. The Post Colonial Era:

After being colonised for 132 years, Algeria got its independence on July 5th, 1962. It was very urgent to take the necessary measures to regain its Arab- Muslim identity.

Like all the newly independent countries, Algeria's sociolinguistic situation was very complicated since the authorities were obliged to choose among the languages present in the country one language which would represent all the Algerians. This choice was not an easy task.

Under the first government led by President Ahmed Ben Bella, Arabic was chosen to be the sole national and official language of Algeria because it was the language of the Holy Quran and Islam. On October 05th, 1962, Ben Bella asserted that "Arabic will regain its rank".[5]

On June 19th, 1965, President Ben Bella was overthrown by his defence minister colonel Houari Boumediene. The latter followed the same policy as his predecessor; he initiated the process of Arabisation because he wanted Algeria to join the Arab world.

In 1968, President Boumediene declared that:

> "Without the recuperation of this essential and important element which is the national language, our efforts will remain useless, our personality incomplete and our entity a body without soul" [6]

The Arabisation process was spread in all domains of life starting from education to administration and moving to different sectors. Arabic was intended to replace French which dominated the Algerian linguistic environment for more than 130 years of colonisation.

President Boumedienne nationalised oil and natural gas companies in Algeria in 1971, this was very beneficial to the country during the 1973 oil crisis which resulted in higher export earnings.

After the death of President Houari Boumedienne on December 27th, 1978, Colonel Chadli Bendjedid succeeded him at the head of the republic. During his rule, education was extended nation wide raising the literacy rate from less than 10% to more than 60%. This period was also marked by the Berbers' protests in 1980 against the making of the Arabic language as the only official and national language of the country. In 1986, the Algerian economy suffered a lot when the world oil prices collapsed, and plunged the country into deeper recession. The 1988, riots in Algiers, Oran, Annaba and other cities, led by thousands of young men and women, obliged the ruling regime to make a series of constitutional reforms in 1989. These reforms allowed opposition parties and guaranteed workers the right to go on strike.

1.7.1 Algeria during the 1990s:

During this period Algeria was marked by political, social and economic instability which led to what most people call the Algerian civil war. In December 1991, the first round of the first multi-party elections in Algeria was won by the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamic du Salut). The military canceled the second round of elections on January 11th, 1992, and forced president Bendjedid to resign and dissolve the parliament.

FIS leaders including Ali Belhadj, Abbassi Madani and other activists were arrested and jailed, their party was banned. Shortly afterwards, Islamic militants responded with violent demonstrations in many cities leading the High Council of State (HCS) to declare a one year state of emergency on February 9th,1992.

Mohamed Boudiaf was chosen by the High Council of the State to rule the country. However, president Boudiaf did not last more than six months at the head of the state because he was assassinated in June 1992 and succeeded by Ali Kafi. Violence and terrorism increased during the 1990s by Islamic armed groups (GIA and GSPC). It was estimated that more than 100,000 people have died from 1992 to 2002.

At the dawn of 1994, General Liamine Zerouel was designated to be the president of the country for three years. A year later, Zerouel won the presidential elections which were boycotted by Islamic militants for the reason of the exclusion of the FIS party from elections. President Zerouel announced elections in 1999 and resigned at the beginning of the same year.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika became the president of the republic after winning the presidential elections held in April 1999. All the other candidates have withdrawn before the vote claiming electoral fraud. During his first mandate, president Bouteflika took the responsibility to bring back peace to Algerians, and granted amnesty to the armed wing of the FIS party after a

referendum approved by the majority of the population in 2000. Since then, violence has decreased but some terrorists continued to attack civilians and government buildings.

The issue of the Tamazight language and identity increased in significance especially afterthe extensive Kabyle protests in 2001. The latter claimed the recognition of the Tamazight language as a national and official language. The government had responded with concessions including the naming of Tamazight as a national language and teaching it in schools.

In April 2004, Bouteflika was re-elected president for the second mandate after winning the presidential elections. His ex- Prime Minister Ali Benflis accused the government of massive fraud in the elections. For his second term at presidency, president Bouteflika promised the Algerians that he would solve the problem of the Berber region after the death of a youth by the gendarmerie national and free women from restrictive family codes. During this period, the Algerian economy has improved but problems such as unemployment, housing and bureaucracy were persistent. A year later, in October 2005, the Algerians voted for the national reconciliation which granted amnesty to all Islamists and military officials who were involved in the country's bloody civil war.

In 2007, terrorists launched two attacks in Algiers, the first in April killing more than 35 persons, and the second in December, in which 60 persons passed away. The latter occurred near UN offices and government buildings. The year 2008 was also marked by terrorist attacks in Isser and Bouira in which more than 50 persons were killed.

Late in 2008, the parliament approved constitutional changes which allowed president Bouteflika to run for a third term. He was re-elected in April 2009, but his re-election was very criticised by the opposition.

Today Algeria is still facing various social and economic problems, but we hope that things will not get worse like the other Arab countries.

To sum up this historical background about Algeria, we can say that all the successive invaders who ruled the country during different periods of time have all participated in a way or another in the sociolinguistic diversity of Algeria in its present day.

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1.8. Languages Present in Algeria:

The Algerian linguistic environment is characterised by the presence of four languages namely: Classical Arabic (CA), Algerian Arabic (AA), Berber (B) and French (F). We shall shed some light on each one of them alone.

1.8.1. Classical Arabic:

Just after the independence of the country in 1962, the Algerian authorities especially the Nationalists wanted to regain the Arab and Muslim identity which was possible only through the establishment of Arabic as the sole national and official language of the country. Arabic was aimed to replace French which was the official language during the colonisation period. The Algerian Nationalists have launched various Arabisation campaigns in all domains starting from education to administration, media and economics. However, this process (i.e. the Arabisation) split the Algerians into two opposing camps; the first one was in favour of this process since its members wanted to get rid of any kind of the colonial heritage, at the same time they aimed at restoring the Algerian national personality. The second group included those who were against the Arabisation process because they thought that the choice of Arabic means a backward step, and that this language was not suitable for the development of the country for it was not equipped to communicate modern knowledge.

Historically speaking, we can say that the Arabisation process in the Maghreb started a long time ago with the introduction of Islam and the Arabic language during the seventh century. These two elements which were brought by the Muslim armies made several changes in the social, economic and linguistic character of the North African inhabitants.

Another important remark concerning Classical Arabic is that, despite the prestigious place it occupies in the hearts and minds of all the Arabs since it is the language of the Holy Quran, it lacks vitality and no one in the Arab world is brought up speaking Standard Arabic as his mother tongue:an Arab child's mother tongue will be the regional or social variety of Arabic of its home region, while Standard Arabic, if it is mastered at all, is learnt formally at school or at home as part of the child's education.

To sum up, we can say that the most important aim of the Arabisation campaigns since independence was to elbow out the French language which has pervaded all domains in the Algerian society.

1.8.2. French:

The presence of the French language in Algeria was due to the colonisation era which lasted more than 130 years. During that period, the invaders imposed their language on the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria by making French the official language of the country and giving Arabic the status of a foreign language. Although French is considered as a foreign language and no official status is given to it in Algeria today, but it is widely used in many sectors including education, administration, media and economy.

When talking about the presence of the French language in Algeria, we ought to say that the French settlers intended to assimilate the Algerians by bringing them to their culture and language. They made a lot of changes in the educational and social levels. The first step they did was to control the educational system in Algeria by closing some of the Quranic schools which were widespread before the French arrival in the country. Moreover, they imposed French as the only language of instruction and made it the official language of the country. Accordingly, the Arabic language lost its status and prestige. The aim behind that severe policy undertaken by the French colonisers was to spread illiteracy among the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria and thus they would never ask for their rights.

Despite the Arabisation process which was launched since the independence of Algeria, the French language continues to play an important role in the Algerian society in various domains, and it is still regarded as the language of modernity and development.

1.8.3. Algerian Arabic:

Algerian Arabic is a vernacular form derived from classical Arabic; it represents the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerians who use it in their daily life interactions. It is also called "Daridja", the latter is a melting pot of various languages which have existed on the Algerian soil

through different periods of its history. After the Arab invasion of North Africa, other successive invaders followed them such as the Spaniards, the Turks and finally the French. Algerian Arabic inherited a lot from the vocabulary and the syntax of the invading languages. Another remark concerning the Algerian colloquial Arabic is that it has no written form and no status because it was and it is still neglected by Algerian authorities. Today this language is pervaded by the French language from which it has taken large amounts of borrowed words and expressions.

1.8.4. Berber:

The Berber tribes were the ancient indigenous inhabitants of all North Africa. Despite the successive waves of invaders including the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the Spaniards, and finally the French, the Berbers have succeeded to preserve their Hemitic language, their culture and their traditions. The Berber languages (also called Tamazight) are found in many countries in North Africa such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Libya, Egypt, Niger, Nigeria, Mali and Burkina Faso.[7]

The majority of Berber speakers are found in Morocco, they are dispatched in three different areas; in the Rif where the dialect Tarifit is used, in the centre Tamazight is used and Tachelhit in the south.

The second country in which Berber languages are found is Algeria. The majority of the Berber speakers are found in Kabylia, centred on prefectures of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, but also found in Bouira, Boumerdes, Borj Bouarréridj and Sétif, they use Kabyle variety. The Chauoia dialect (also called Tachawit or simply Chawi) is used in the Aures, Chenoua is found in Tipaza, Beni Snous dialect is used in Tlemcen, the Mzab viariety is used in the Mzab valley, and finally Tamahaq or Tamachaq which is used among the Touareg of the Hoggar.

In the other countries, the Berber speakers are found in very small numbers such as in Tunisia, Mauritania, Egypt and Libya. The latter represent minority groups in these countries because of the process of Arabisation that started with the invasion of the Arabs at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

Ancient Berbers used Tifinagh as a writing system for their language, but that system was limited in use because of the presence of other foreign alphabets such as Punic, Latin and later Arabic. Recent researches have discovered some Tifinagh inscriptions in Libya and in the Algerian Sahara.

During the 1980s, many efforts were made for the elaboration, standardisation and codification of Berber in Algeria. One may cite Salem Chaker and Mouloud Mammeri who tried to develop a standardised grammar for Tamazight.

Before its recognition as a national language by the Algerian authorities on May 08th2002, the question of the Berber identity and language has raised many problems during the 1980's and 1990's. However, the new status gained after four decades of independence did not please the Berberophone speakers as they sought equality between Arabic and their language which was not officialised.

Nowadays, Moroccan Berbers use the Arabic script to transcribe the different Berber varieties. However, in Algeria, it is the Latin alphabet which has been chosen by the Berbers to show their opposition and resistance to the Arabisation process led by the Algerian authorities.

1.8.5. English:

The presence of the English language in Algeria is due to its world wide status as a global lingua franca. It has become the language of the world because it represents the scientific and technological developments. Few years ago, the Algerian authorities designed and enforced new educational programmes to promote English and limit and reduce the impact of French. Today, English is taught from the first year of the middle school. However, only a small number of Algerians speak English, especially the younger generations.

1.9. Bilingualism and Diglossia:

Nowadays, Algeria represents a complex multilingual situation; this is the result of the presence of many languages on its territory. One must say that the long historical background of

the country has played an important role in shaping the current linguistic situation. To have a clear image about this linguistic situation, we ought to shed some light on the main eras which marked the history of the country; firstly, Algeria and the rest of North Africa were inhabited mainly by Berbers which explains the presence of the Tamazight languages. Secondly, the arrival of Islam to the region brought with it the Arabic language and finally the French occupation of the country in which the French language took an important place in the daily life of Algerians.

Like all the neighbouring North African countries, Algeria is characterised by the double phenomena known as diglossia and bilingualism. We shall examine both of them in details in the following section.

1.9.1 Bilingualism:

It is said that most speech communities of the world are characterised by the phenomenon of bilingualism. The latter has been given various definitions in the literature. We shall introduce the most important ones and discuss them in details.

One of the most important definitions was proposed by Bloomfield (1933:55), in which he says that a bilingual speaker is someone who has "the native-like control of two languages". This definition implies equal and fluent competence in both languages. Another definition was given by Weinreich (1953:1), he states that bilingualism is "the practice of alternately using two languages". Following the same line of thought, Mackey (1968:555) defines bilingualism as "the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual", this means that bilingualism is an individual phenomenon.

Haugen (1953:7) says that bilingualism starts when "the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the second language". Here we understand that any person can be called a bilingual if he is able to make meaningful sentences in the second language.

Bouamrane (1986:15) gives the following definition: "the use by an individual, a group or a nation of two or more languages in all uses to which they put either". From this definition we

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understand that bilingualism can be individual or societal and can encompass two or more languages in which the person chooses one.

From what has been mentioned above, we notice that earlier definitions restricted bilingualism to equal mastery of two languages, whereas later ones permitted greater variation in competence.

1.9.1.1. Types of Bilingualism:

The notion of bilingualism has raised an endless debate between the specialists because each group presents his own arguments and models. A number of distinctions are proposed including several dichotomies which take into consideration the degree of proficiency, the age of acquisition and the way in which the two languages are learned and stored in the mind.

1.9.1.1.1. Compound, Coordinate and Sub-coordinate Bilingualism:

Weinreich (1968:9-11) proposes three types of bilinguals, namely compound, coordinate and sub-coordinate bilingualism. Firstly, compound bilingualism means that both languages are learned in the same context and situation, so that words from both languages will have one mental representation and one meaning creating interdependence between the two languages. Secondly, coordinate bilingualism means that the two languages are learned in different contexts and are independent. As a result, each word will have a specific meaning in the brain. The third type is sub-coordinate bilingualism, in which one language is stronger and faster than the other. Consequently, one meaning is established, the one of the first language learned. Weinreich's model has been subject to many critics by other linguists.

1.9.1.1.2. Individual versus Societal Bilingualism:

When we talk about individual bilingualism we mean every person knows two or more languages, either learned at school or acquired at home from bilingual parents. However, societal bilingualism is concerned with societies where two or more languages are officially and institutionally used. One can cite the example of Canada where English and French represent the country's linguistic system.

1.9.1.1.3. Balanced versus Dominant Bilinguals:

Talking about the degree of proficiency in the two languages used by the speakers, balanced bilinguals are those who have a native-like control of two or more languages, meaning that they "have equal competence in both languages" (Hamers and Blanc (1989:8)). Such type of individuals is very rare. On the contrary, dominant bilinguals are speakers "whose competence in one of the languages, more often the mother tongue, is superior to their competence in the other" (Hamers and Blanc (1989:8))[8]. This kind of bilinguals represents the majority of speakers.

1.9.1.1.4. Receptive versus Productive Bilingualism:

Another distinction is made between receptive and productive bilinguals. The former (also called passive) refers to all speakers who can understand a language either spoken or written, but cannot write or speak it. Those speakers have only mastery of the passive skills (listening and reading). The latter (also called active) is represented by speakers who have mastery of both passive and active skills (speaking and writing). We can say that the degree of proficiency in these skills depends on many factors such as the context, the interlocutor and the setting.

1.9.1.1.5. Additive versus Subtractive Bilingualism:

In this dichotomy, we mean by additive bilingualism any situation in which the acquisition of a second language leads to the expansion of the speaker's linguistic repertoire, and develops his mental abilities. On the contrary, subtractive bilingualism refers to situations in which the acquisition of a second language is going to have a negative effect on the first language by replacing it or stopping its development.

1.9.1.1.6. Simultaneous versus Successive Bilingualism:

This distinction is related to the age of acquisition of the second language. Simultaneous bilingualism occurs when the child is exposed to more than one language before the age of three years (McLaughlin 1989). While successive bilingualism refers to the addition of a second language beyond the age of 03 years. [9]

1.9.1.1.7. Natural versus Secondary Bilingualism:

The last dichotomy is concerned with the way in which languages are acquired. Primary bilingualism refers to the situation where the speaker acquires both languages naturally without receiving any instruction at home or in the society where he lives. But secondary bilingualism is the situation in which the speaker acquires the second language through formal instruction.

1.9.1.2. Bilingualism in Algeria:

If we want to talk about bilingualism in Algeria, we have to go back to the history of our country because it provides us with all the necessary answers which we may ask about the different languages present on its territory. Berber and Arabic were the only languages used until 1830 when the French colonised the country introducing their culture and with it their language. The latter did their best to implement their language in Algeria, so they controlled the teaching of Arabic and imposed French as the official language of the country and the sole medium of instruction. As a result, some of the Algerian inhabitants were obliged to learn French, while the majority was deprived from any instruction.

Today Algerian bilingualism can take three different forms namely: CA/ F bilingualism, AA/ F and B/ F bilingualism. In such situations, the varieties are in parallel distribution which means that they are used for the same purposes. We notice that French is part of these three forms. Our interest falls on Algerian Arabic / French bilingualism since both languages are highly used by the Algerian speakers.

As far as the Algerian bilingualism is concerned, we find that there are dominant bilinguals, those speakers who learned only French during the colonisation era, are dominant bilinguals because their mastery of the French language is better than the other languages. In contrast to the generations who are born after the independence their dominance is on Classical Arabic. Only few persons who learned French and classical Arabic at the same time have equal competence in both languages and they are called balanced bilinguals.

The process of Arabisation launched in the dawn of independence created a new type ofbilingualism in Algeria since CA was intended to replace of the French language in all domains

of life. Moreover, we can also find another type of bilingualism which is represented by active and passive bilinguals, because there are some Algerian speakers who have the ability to understand spoken or written forms of both languages but cannot read or write them. On the contrary, other individuals have the ability in both receptive and productive skills which allow them to use the four skills listening and speaking, reading and writing.

The last remark concerning the Algerian bilingualism is that it is a successive bilingualism because the majority of the Algerians acquire the second language beyond the age of three years. An exception is made for speakers who are born in bilingual families such as those who are the result of mixed marriages.

All in all, we can say that the Algerian bilingualism is a special case for it takes different forms and it is practiced at different degrees of proficiency.

1.9.2. Diglossia:

This phenomenon emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, records show that the term diglossia was first used by Krumbacher (1902) [10] to describe the Greek situation. Then it was used by William Marçais in 1930 to whom this notion was acknowledged under the name of "diglossie". This notion was introduced to the English language literature by a very influential figure in the history of linguistics who was Charles Ferguson in 1959. His definition of diglossia is as follows:

> "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 forordinary conversation."

Ferguson has chosen four cases of societies to study and called the languages used in these societies the defining languages. He studied French and Haitian Creole in Haiti, the literary variety (Katharévusa) and the vernacular (Dhimotiki) in Greece, Classical and colloquial Arabic in the Middle East, and High German and Swiss German in Switzerland. In the four societies studied there were two genetically related varieties separated by their functions.

Ferguson based his study on Arabic diglossia, in which he claims that there are two forms in use, the first form is Classical Arabic representing the high variety (H) and the second one is the vernacular low (L). The H variety is reserved for use in formal situations like university lectures, sermons in mosques, political speeches and personal letters. On the contrary, the vernacular is used in informal situations between friends and family members, in giving instructions to servants, and in comedy. Contrary to the L variety which acquired at home and remains the language of every day use, the H variety is acquired at school, and it is more prestigious because it carries with it a large body of literature, and is never used in ordinary situation.

Functions	High	Low
Religious service	+	
Instruction to a servants, waiter, etc.		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio soap opera		+
Newspaper editorial, news story	+	
Comedy		+
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

Table 1: Specialisation of functions for the High and Low varieties in diglossic situations.

This table shows the different distributions for the H and L varieties in diglossic situations. In formal situations only H is convenient, whereas in informal ones only L is suitable.

Ferguson's formulation of diglossia was criticised from different angles. He claims that diglossia is a stable situation, but it is not always the case because the low variety can replace high variety, the best example is what happened in Europe when Latin was the high variety and the Romance languages like French, Spanish an Italian which were considered as the vernaculars. However, during the Renaissance these vernaculars became languages and Latin moved backward until it disappeared.

Another remark concernig the Arabic diglossia is that through time a new form of language appeared which was given the name of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This new form is used as the high variety, in addition it is different in the form and function from the low variety.

Ferguson described diglossia in terms of separation between the high and low varieties, but in reality another new form was born because of the contact between speakers of a low level of education with the high variety. This new form in known as "al-lugha al-wusta" (the middle language), which means that it is neither H nor L but it fulfills functions of both.

Diglossia as it was perceived by Charles Ferguson in 1959 created confusion and misunderstanding among researchers, which led him to "revisit" his first concept in 1991, and to reaffirm what he intended by formulating it.

The notion of diglossia was later studied by many scholars. Fishman (1967) proposes a new form of diglossia which he calls "extended" diglossia to include situations where two genetically unrelated varieties are used in different functions and for different purposes. The example that best illustrates this kind of diglossia is the case of Paraguay, where Spanish is the high variety used in official government and education, whereas, Guarani is the low variety reserved for daily use with family and friends.

Kloss (1966 :138)[11]proposes a new terminology. He uses "in-diglossia" to describe situations where the two varieties are genetically related, and "out-diglossia" to design situations where the two forms are unrelated.

Carol Myers-Scotton (1986) suggests terms like "narrow" diglossia to describe the version of Charles Ferguson (1959), "broad" or "extended" diglossia to refer to the version proposed by

Fishman (1967). Later on, there were reseachers who proposed terms like "triglossia" to refer to situations in which more than two varieties are used in different functions, the example of Tunisia illustrates best this kind of diglossia. Others terms like "polyglossia" and "multiglossia" appeared in the literature.

Gumperz (1982: 60-61) associates Fishman's version of diglossia with situational code switching where the two varieties are strictly separated. Altough the Fergusonian version of diglossia was not accepted by all researchers, it ramains as a reference in the study of sociolinguistics.

As far as Algeria is concerned, there are four forms in use; Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber and French. Classical Arabic being the high variety because it is the official language of the country and the language of the Holly Quran, Algerian Arabic and Berber represent the low varieties because they are the forms of daily use in informal situations. French is also considered as a high variety in Algeria since it is also used for formal purposes (i.e. in administrations and public services) the same as Classical Arabic. There are two kinds of diglossia, the first one is known under the name of intra-lingual diglossia in which the two forms are genetically related such as Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic, and the other kind is called inter-lingual diglossia where the two forms descend from different languages such as Algerian Arabic and French. The distinction between the high and low varieties has not been related just to vocabulary and grammar, but it has been also used for a number of other characteristics that separate these two forms such as function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation and stability.

In the case of Algeria there is a new tandency to use Algerian Arabic in the written form, for instance in newspaper caricatures, plays and literay prose, and sometimes in personal letters.

1.10. Conclusion:

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As a conclusion to this chapter, we can say that the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria has been influenced a lot by the successive invaders who marked their presence through the linguistic heritage that remained in today's Algerian languages. This heritage has become part of today's languages used by the Algerian speakers in their daily interactions.

It seems also necessary to say that the French impact on the Algerian sociolinguistic profile is still present since the French language is deeply rooted in the minds of Algerians, and its use remains very important in several domains such the administration, media and university.

To sum up, we can say that the linguistic situation in Algeria is characterised by its diversity and complexity because of the different languages present on its territory.

Notes to chapter one:

1.   For more details see encyclopaedia of Islam (2009: 31-2)

2.   For more details see encyclopaedia of Islam (2009: 231-2)

3.   For more details see encyclopaedia of Islam (2009: 37-8)

4.   For more details see encyclopaedia of Islam (2009: 36-7)

5.   '' l'Arabe va retrouver sa place''

6.   "...Sans la récupération de cet élément essentiel et important qu'est la langue nationale, nos efforts resteront vains, notre personnalité incomplète et notre entité un corps sans âme.

7.   For more details see encyclopaedia of Islam (2009: 100)

8.   Cited in AdamsJ.N (2004 : 6)

9.   See Beatens. Beardsmore (1986:29)

   10. Cited in Rosenhouse, J and Goral, M (1998:842)

   11. Cited in Schiffman, H, F (1998:143)

Chapter two

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2. Introduction:

Since the dawn of humanity, people have tried to communicate with each other; this desire for communication led them to develop language as the only means for that purpose. Nowadays there are thousands of languages used around the world; these languages have come in contact with each other because of many reasons such as wars, migration, mixed marriages, and trade, giving birth to new forms of languages like pidgins and creoles. Code switching [1] is one of the outcomes of language contact; it involves the use of two languages or varieties of the same language in the same utterance. This phenomenon was neglected by many linguists, today there are more articles and books written about code switching than any other phenomenon. The latter has been studied from different angles, from a linguistic, sociolinguistic, and a pragmatic point of view.

The linguistic situation in Algeria is characterised by the existence of four languages namely Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic, the Berber language(s) and French. Each language fulfills different functions from the others, Classical Arabic is the official language reserved for the use in schools and mosques, and it has high prestige because it represents the language of the Quran. Algerian Arabic, which is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians, is used in daily life with family members and friends. The Berber language(s) represent (s) the minority group in Algeria and is (are) used in the same way as Algerian Arabic. French is used in administration and education; it represents the language of development and culture. In addition, it has a high prestige among Algerians. In their daily life most of the Algerian speakers tend to mix their languages in speech which constitutes code switching instances. The latter can take many forms in Algeria; it can be AA/F code switching, AA/CA, AA/B, B/CA, B/F, F/CA. Among all the forms mentioned here the one which is the central point in this study is AA/ F code switching. Its use is very frequent among the older generations who lived during the colonisation era and received instruction in French. However, the younger generations who are highly educated also use French in their speech.

2.1. The Emergence of the Study of Code Switching:

The beginning of the study of code switching goes back to the 1940s and the early 1950s. However, it is worth mentioning that like all language contact phenomena, code switching did not receive much interest from researchers for the reason that it was considered as a deviant and random process, the idea which sprang from the monolingual view of language. Weinreich (1953:1)**²** says that code switching is a "deviant behaviour pattern". He also asserts that extensive language switching is somehow defective and writes:

> "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and not within a single sentence."Weinreich (1953: 73)

Quoted in Myers-Scotton (1993b: 48)

According to Pfaff (1979), even Labov claims that:

> "In contrast to phonological and syntactic variation in black English, alternation between Spanish and English is random"

Quoted in Saib (1990:49)

One of the earliest studies on code switching was done by Braun (1937) who studied code switching between Russian and German. Ten years later, Barker (1947), made a description of language use among Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. In his study, Barker tried to find an answer to the question of "how does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause from one language to another?" (1947: 185-86). He noticed that interactions between family members and friends were done in Spanish, whereas in formal situations English was the only medium of conversation. In less clear situations the choice of the language was less fixed and speakers use elements from both languages. He says that:

> Speech – switching continually from Russian to French and vice versa even within a single sentence – provides a striking illustration."

Jakobson (1952) refers to the process of "switching code" as it was called on the basis of Fano's work (1950) on information theory, and on Fries and Pike's (1949: 29) work on "coexistent phonemic systems", the latter claim that:

> "Two or more phonemic systems may coexist in
> the speech of a monolingual"

Quoted in Caccamo. C (1998:30)

They argue that some foreign morphemes may exist in the speaker's system, and they also suggest the existence of four types of "coexistent phonological systems" in vernacular languages.

Following the same line of thought, Hoijer (1949)[3] set up the pairs of concepts "phonemic alternation" which is similar to code switching (where phonological systems "alternate") and "phonemic alteration" which equals borrowing (where an aspect of the target language's grammar is "altered")

Jakobson (1961) [4] integrates the foundational block of information theory: the notion of "code" as a mechanism for the unambiguous transduction of signals between systems, and specifically Fano's application to "speech communication". For him the notion of "switching code" is the change that the speaker makes to "decode" another person's "code": and he says:

> "Obviously such a task of deciphering becomes more difficult in
> the frequent cases called 'switching code' by communication
> engineers or 'coexistent phonemic system' by linguists. The
> Russian aristocracy of the last century with its bi-lingual speech –
> switching continually from Russian to French and vice versa even
> within a single sentence – provides a striking illustration."

(Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952: 603-604)

Haugen (1950a: 211) refers to code switching as:

> "They [the speakers] may switch rapidly from one [language] to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even when they resort to the other for assistance".

Quoted in Caccamo.C (1998:32)

He says that it is very difficult to say which language the speaker is using at a given moment because the latter is supposed to use only one language. The same idea was shared by Weinreich (1953) and Mackey (1962).

One of the most influential figures in the field of linguistics is Uriel Weinreich's (1953) *"Languages in Contact"*. For him bilingual speakers possess two distinct linguistic varieties, which they use on separate occasions. He claims that frequent alternation, which was examined by Barker (1947) in Arizona, was a product of poor parenting.

The first article in which the term code-switching appeared in the field of linguistics was Hans Vogt's (1954) *"Language Contacts"*. In which he got inspired by Weinreich's (1953) *"Languages in Contact"*. Vogt considers code switching as a psychological phenomenon but not a linguistic one when he gives the following definition:

> "Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic. But Bilingualism is of great interest to the linguist because it is the condition of what has been called interference between languages."

Vogt (1954:368)

Haugen (1956) describes the phenomenon of code switching as a process "which occurs when a bilingual introduces completely unassimilated words from another language into his speech" (1956: 40). At the same time he includes it with interference and integration. Diebold (1961) and Jakobson (1961) used the term code switching in the sense of "recoding" (1961:250). The latter is interpreted in French as "recodage" which means "code switching", but it refers to two distinct phenomena in the Spanish translation of the

word, the first one meaning "recodificación"(recoding) and the second is interpreted as "interconecxión codal" (code switching).

2.2. The Sociolinguistic vision of Code Switching:

Gumperz (1957, 1958, 1961, 1964a, and 1964b) brought a new vision to the study of code switching; he considers it from an interactional point of view. He was inspired by Jakobson when he presented code switching as a conversational phenomenon. Gumperz (1962, 1964a) focuses on the importance of studying code switching from a social perspective. He intends to relate each code to a specific social function. Much of his work was done in Northern India in which he concentrates on Hindi and its range of dialects. Gumperz (1958) describes three forms: village dialects, regional dialects, and standard Hindi, each form serves different functions from the others. He says that:

> "Most male residents, especially those who travel considerably,
> speak both the village and the regional dialect. The former used
> at home and with other local residents; the latter is employed
> with people from the outside"

Gumperz (1958: 669)

Nearly all researchers who worked on code switching have concentrated on the identification of "code" and "linguistic theory" as interchangeable notions. Gumperz and Herasimchuk (1972) consider codes as "clusters of co-occurant variables". But Ervin-Tripp says that:

> "[T]he *code* or *variety* consists of a systematic set of linguistic
> signals which co-occur in defining settings. For spoken languages,
> alternative codes may be vernaculars or superposed varieties. Socio-
> linguistic variants are those linguistics alternations linguists regard
> as free variants or optional variants within a code, that is, two
> different ways of saying the same thing".

(Ervin-Tripp, 1973: 90)

Ervin-Tripp brought the idea that language choice is influenced by setting, participant and topic. She studied the case of bilingual Japanese-born women living in the United States, and noticed considerable correlation between language choice and discourse content. Her work inspired a lot of scholars like Gumperz and others.

In 1963, Blom and Gumperz studied the case of Hemnesberget which is a small fishing village of 1,300 people in Norway. Gumperz (1964b) compared the use of the standard form which is Bokmal and the vernacular Ranamal in Norway to the use of standard and local dialects in India. He noticed that the vernaculars were used in interaction with neighbours, whereas the standard form was reserved for communication across "ritual barriers" which are barriers of caste, class and village groupings in India, and of academic, administrative, and religious settings in Norway. Gumperz claimed that verbal repertoire is definable in social and linguistic terms.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) continued their study of Bokmal and Ranamal in Hemnesberget; these forms were seen as distinct codes, but not distinct languages. They noticed that Bokmal and Ranamal had great similarities but were kept as separate forms by the inhabitants of Hemnesberget and they wrote:

> "the most reasonable assumption is that the linguistic separateness between dialect and standard…is conditioned by social factors"

Blom and Gumperz (1972:417)

Blom and Gumperz restrict the choice of linguistic variables in terms of social events such as topic, setting and participant, this means that in some situations a variety or a code may be more suitable than others. For this reason they introduced the notions of situational versus metaphorical code switching.

2.2.1. Situational Code Switching:

As its name indicates, this type of code switching signals a change in situation; it is controlled by the component of the speech event like topic, setting and addressee. Blom and Gumperz say that:

> ''In the course of a morning spent at the community administration office, we noticed that clerks used both standard and dialect phrases, depending on whether they were talking about official affairs or not. Likewise, when residents step up to the clerk's desk, greetings and inquiries about family affairs tend to be exchanged in the dialect, while the business part of the transaction is carried on in the standard.''

(Blom and Gumperz, 1971:425)

They argued that a change in language signals a change in participants "rights and obligations". The example that illustrates this type of switching is that a teacher in a Barcelona high school talked to his/her students in Catalan before and after class but lectured in Spanish.

Following the same line of thought, Denison (1971) asserts that language choice is determined by social rules. And she says that:

> "Every one in the village of Sauris, in Northern Italy, spoke German within the family, Saurian (a dialect of Italian) informally within the village and standard Italian to outsiders and in more formal village settings (school, church, work)"

Quoted in Hudson (1996: 53)

2.2.2. Metaphorical Code Switching:

This type was later called conversational code switching by Gumperz (1982); here it is not the situation that determines the language choice but rather the language that determines the situation. Metaphorical code switching may also be used when the situation

is not clear for the speaker which obliges him to use the unexpected variety as a metaphor. This type is more likely to be intra-sentential (within the sentence boundaries).

Blom and Gumperz claim that there are other social events shared between the speakers when they insert Ranamal (R) phrases in Bokmal (B) conversation. They say that:

> "When (R) phrases are inserted metaphorically in (B) conversation, this may, depending on the circumstances, add special social meanings of confidentiality or privateness to the conversation."

Blom and Gumperz (1972:89)

Gumperz and Hymes (1972) make a clear distinction between situational and metaphorical switching when theyclaim that:

> "In Hemnes [the research site] situational switching involves change in participants and/ or strategies, metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis"

Gumperz and Hymes (1972:409)

In 1982, Gumperz introduced the notions of 'We' and 'They' codes. The latter refers to the majority group, it is used in "the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations" (1982:66) [5], whereas the former which is the (We) code refers to the minority group and it is used in informal and personalized activities.

2.3. The Grammatical Issues of Code Switching:

The phenomenon of code switching has long been discussed from a sociolinguistic point of view, but since the mid 70s and the beginning of the 80s the interest of researchers shifted to characterise the structural side of the mixed utterances.

A lot of scholars tried to show that the phenomenon of code switching is not a deviant and a random process in which two varieties or two languages are simply mixed, but it is constrained by grammatical rules. This new trend attracted many researchers (e.g. Timm (1975), Wentz and McClure (1976), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980-81), Joshi (1985), DiSiollo, Muysken and Singh (1986), Myers Scotton (1993). Most of these scholars have focused on intra-sentential code switching (also called code mixing), and their interest was to find and show where in the sentence switches may occur and where they are disallowed?

Labov (1971) [6] claims that there is no evidence for syntactic constraints on code switching, and he describes it as "the irregular mixture of two distinct systems". However, later studies proved that there are syntactic restrictions on this specific behaviour.

Timm (1975) was the first researcher to identify syntactic constraints when he studied Spanish/English code switching. For him code switching is not allowed in five cases within NPs containing nouns and modifying adjectives, between negation and the verb, between a verb and its auxiliary, between finite verbs and their infinitival complements and between pronominal subjects and their verbs.

Wentz and McClure (1976) and Pfaff (1979) [7] followed the same trend but tried to refine Timm's proposed constraints. However, they concentrated on pronoun-switching.

2.3.1. Poplack's Constraints on Code Switching:

Poplack (1980-81), Sankoff and Poplack (1981) examined Spanish/English code switching of Puerto-Rican speakers in New York and proposed the two syntactic constraints called the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint.

2.3.1.1. The Equivalence Constraint (EC):

Poplack (1980) gives the following definition to this constraint:

> Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at point around which the surface structure of the two languages map onto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other.

Poplack (1980:217)

This means that the switching point must be possible in both languages involved. Otherwise it will be ill-formed. The EC was criticised because it predicts switches only between languages which have the same surface structure, and it is not built in terms of structural relations between the languages but only on linear sequences. According to Berk-Selingson (1986) many counter-examples that violate the EC can be found in Spanish/ Hebrew CS in Israel.

2.3.1.2. The Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC):

Poplack (1980) says that:

> "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. This constraint holds true for all linguistic levels but the phonological."

Poplack (1980: 216)

This means that if the word is adapted phonologically to a host language, switches will be possible. This type was rejected by many scholars like (Bokamba (1989), Myers-Scotton (1993), Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross (2002) together they claim that they found many counter-examples to the FMC. One may cite an example like "hitist", "which combines a word from AA with bound morpheme from the French language.

Woolford (1983) provides a reformulation of Poplack's equivalence constraint in generative terms.For her, code switching is possible only if the phrase structure rules are similar in both languages. Later researchers revealed that the predictions presented byWoolford were incorrect and they gave many counter-examples.

Joshi (1981) and Doron (1983) suggest that the first word of a sentence determines the host or the base language, and properties of the host language determine if the switch is possible or not.

2.3.2. The Government Binding Constraint:

This model was proposed by DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh in 1986, the notion of government was inspired from the theory of Government and Binding of Chomsky.

This restriction is given as follow:

> "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"

DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh (1986:5)

This means that if any element is dependent on another element they cannot be from different languages. For example a switch between a verb and its object or between a preposition and the determiner phrase is disallowed.

The government constraint allows the occurrence of switches within ungoverned elements, like tags, exclamations, and the like. However, there are cases where governed elements are sometimes switched. DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) argue that this is possible through a neutralizing element, such as a determiner.

The principle of government was not accepted by all researchers because some of them proposed many counter-examples to it. According to Romaine (1989) switching between V and its NP constituent is possible in Punjabi/ English CS. Pandit (1990:52) suggests the same counter-example as Romaine in Hindi/ English CS.

There were many other studies which have not corroborated the government constraint (Bentahila and Davies (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Nortier (1990), they also presented several counter-examples to this restriction.

Following the same line of thought as DiSciullo and his colleagues, Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994) proposed a new constraint which they call the Functional Head Constraint (FHC); they define it in the following way:

> "The language feature of the complement selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head."

Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994:228)

In this restriction switches are not supposed to occur between a functional head and its complement, both of them must be from the same language.

2.3.3. The Matrix Language Frame (MLF model):

The MLF model is articulated first in Myers-Scotton (1993), and extended in Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995, 2001). This model is based on two main distinctions the first one is between the languages involved in the utterance. These two forms are said to play unequal roles, the first one is called the Matrix Language (ML), and the second one is labeled the Embedded Language (EL). The former is supposed to be the dominant language in the utterance, and the latter is the dominated one. The second distinction proposed by Myers-Scotton is between system morphemes and content morphemes. System morphemes are inflections and functional elements; they neither receive nor assign thematic roles. Content morphemes are verbs, nouns, adjectives, time adverbials and prepositions, because they carry meaning, they either receive or assign thematic roles. According to Myers-Scotton system morphemes are part of the Matrix Languages, and content morphemes come from the Embedded Language. The Matrix Language Frame isbased on two principles called the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle.

2.3.3.1.The Morpheme Order Principle:

Myers-Scotton defines this principle as the following:

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

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 83)

This means that in any utterance where there are ML and EL constituents, the surface morphemeorder is going to be the one of the ML.

2.3.3.2. The System Morpheme Principle:

This principle is formulated in the following way:

> 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

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 83)

What can be understood from this quotation is thatthe system morphemes will belong to the ML. To define the Matrix Language, Myers-Scotton suggests a "frequency-based criterion", in which the ML will be the form that provides a great number of morphemes in the CS utterance. However this criterion is difficult to apply in a long conversation between two bilinguals.

2.4. Types of Code Switching:

In the literature on code switching we can distinguish four types of code switching namely: tag switching, intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching and inter-word switching. Here we will discuss them in detail.

2.4.1. Tag-switching:

In this type there is a tag or an interjection which is introduced in another language. Some examples of tags are "goul", "fhemt"

E.g. /goul/ tu va bien aujourd'hui?

(Tell me, how are you doing today?)

2.4.2. Intra-sentential Switching:

The switch occurs within clause or sentence boundary, this type is sometimes known as "code mixing"

E.g. /fel/ vingt six décembre /rkebna fel babour/

(On the twenty sixth of December we got on the boat)

2.4.3. Inter-sentential Switching:

There is a change of language that happens at the clause or the sentence boundary, the first sentence being in L1 the second in L2. It is labeled code changing.

E.g. Ils nous on demandé le trousseau /bech ydirolna sebba w yħawzouna/

(They asked us to bring the outfit which was only a cause to dismiss us)

2.4.4. Intra-word Switching:

This kind takes place within word boundary, which means that a word may linked to a morpheme from another language.

E.g. /ħitist/ which means "jobless" in English is composed of the word "hit" "mur" (wall) from the Algerian Arabic dialect and the French suffix "ist"

2.5. The Phenomenon of Code Switching:

The phenomenon of code switching has been studied from many sides. Therefore, there are many definitions given in the literature. I will present some of the most important ones in this section.

Gumperz (1982:59) defines this phenomenon as.

> ''The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems"

This is a general definition in which the word "passages" may involve phrases or short expressions or even sentences, it does not state where and when the switch may occur and if the grammar of the two systems is respected or not.

DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh (1986) used the term code mixing instead of code switching and for them it refers to:

> 'All cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence'

Muysken (2000:1)

This means that the grammar and the lexicon of two different languages are mixed in the same utterance. Another important definition is given by Myers-Scotton (1993a: 3) who says that code switching is:

> "The selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation"

For her the languages involved are not equal since the matrix language is the dominant one in any utterance.Meisel (1994:415) claims that:

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

This definition involves the competence of the speaker to choose the appropriate language according to non-linguistic parameters which are the addressee, the topic and situation, and it also states that there are grammatical constraints that the speaker should respect. Grosjean considers CS as:

> "A complete shift from one language to the other,
> either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence"

Grosjean(1998:137)

Grosjean claims that code switching can go from single words to complete sentences, and he does not state whether there are constraints to be respected or not.

2.6. Code Switching and other Language Contact Phenomena:

In the domain of contact linguists, the phenomenon of code switching has always been used side by side with other outcomes of language contact like borrowing, code mixing, and diglossia. It seems to me that it is very important to make a clear distinction between all of them.

2.6.1. Code Switching and Borrowing:

One of the most important outcomes of language contact is borrowing; this phenomenon is always confused with code switching in the literature. Many scholars have tried to make a distinction between these two phenomena. Hudson (1996:55) says that:

> "Whereas code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is "borrowed" from one language to become part of the other language"

Here Hudson means that the borrowed words become totally assimilated to the recipient language and be part of its repertoire.

The distinction between code switching and borrowing is not an easy matter. However, most researchers counted on some features to clarify this ambiguity.

The first feature which has been used to differentiate these language contact phenomena is the consideration of the use of single words from another language as borrowing while the insertion of more than a word as a switch.(cf.(Gingras (1974) and Reyes (1974)). According to Bouamrane (1986) this criterion excludes the use of idiomatic expressions and proverbs. The example that may illustrate this is the use of the expression "I've told him I don't know how many times" which is a direct translation of the French expression "Je le lui ai dit je ne sais pas combien de fois" (Bloomfield, 1933:457)[8].

Another feature that has been used to separate these phenomena is the phonological adaptation of the borrowed items to the host language. Bouamrane (1986) quoting Bentahila and Davies (1983:320) who consider that a Moroccan would be code switching if he uses the French word "épicerie", whereas he would be borrowing if he uses the phonologically adapted word "bisri". The same case can be applied to a large number of French words which have been adapted phonologically to Algerian Arabic because of the long contact with the French language during the colonization. Examples like /kartab/, /batima/ and /sbitar/ come from the French words cartable, bâtiment and hôpital (school bag, building and hospital respectively). In daily life Algerian speakers do not use their Arabic equivalents at all, so these three items and many like them were adapted to the AA phonological system and they became part of our language, even if some people still do not know their provenance. But this yardstick (i.e. the phonological adaptation) is not completely satisfactory. Quoted in Bouamrane (1986:114), Poplack (1983) claims that the example /da 'wari se/ "that's what he said" is an instance of switching and not of borrowing because for her the lexemes are still in English.

Another important feature that has been taken into consideration by some linguists is the morphological adaptation of the items in question to the borrowing language.

Pfaff (1979)notes that Reyes (1974) distinguishes between "spontaneous borrowings" and "incorporated borrowings", the latter are (English) words morphologically adapted to Spanish, whereas the former are items which remain in their original form. Even the phonological adaptation of the word was not satisfactory because Sobin (1972) claims thatthough some morphologically adapted items remain switches. Elias Olivares (1976) [9] suggests that some (English) items which are neither phonologically nor morphologically adapted to the Spanish language such as nouns in business, education or other domains, are borrowings because they are part of the Spanish repertoire.

Pfaff (1979) proposes a new method to differentiate a borrowing from a switch by determining the status of an L2 word in an L1 utterance. The following four questions should be answered:

1. Does an L1 equivalent exist?

2. If so, is it in use in the community?

3. Is the L1 equivalent known to the individual speaker?

4. Is the word regarded as belonging to L1 or L2 by the speaker?

Poplack (1980) claims that in order to make a clear distinction between borrowing and code switching, the item in question ought to be integrated to the host language phonologically, morphologically and syntactically.

Gumperz (1982:75-82) proposes five main functions of code switching to distinguish it from interference or borrowing. The latter for him is defined as:

> "The incorporation of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another with morpho-syntactic adaptation"

Some researchers claim that code switching and borrowing are at the two ends of a continuum, and that code switching is the main road which leads to borrowing. Sarah Grey Thomason (2003:696)says:

> "In fact, I believe that is impossible in principle and in practice to draw an absolute boundary between code-switching and borrowing. They are indeed two separate phenomena, but they are linked by a continuum: as in so many other areas of historical linguistics, the dividing line between them is fuzzy, not sharp".

She adds the notion of frequency to make the distinction between a code switch and a borrowing in saying that:

> "A code-switched word or other morpheme becomes a borrowing if it is used more and more frequently – with or without phonological adaptation– until it is a regular part of the recipient language, learned as such by new learners."

Code switching was and is still used to refer to code mixing; we will attempt to clarify this confusion in the next section.

2.6.2. Code Switching and Code Mixing:

In studying the outcomes of language contact, we always meet terms like code switching, code mixing and borrowing. The confusion which is made between these phenomena rises from the disagreement between researchers on the definition of each phenomenon. This is what Romaine (1995:180) tries to show when she writes:

> "Problems of terminology continues to plague the study of language contact phenomena with terms such as code-switching,mixing, borrowing not being used by all researchers in the same way or even defined at all"

What has been agreed upon among many scholars is that both code switching and code mixing are communication strategies but they still receive different definitions in the literature. William C. Ritchie and Tej K. Bhatia (2004:337) give the following definition for code switching:

> "We use the term *code switching* (CS) to refer to the use of various Linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential and may be subject to discourse principles. It is motivated by social and psychological factors."

And they define code mixing in the following way:

> "We use the term *code mixing* (CM) to refer to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is intrasentential and is constrained by grammatical principles and may also be motivated by social-psychological factors."

What can be understood from the above definitions is that these researchers have concentrated on making a clear distinction between intersentential code switching is which occurs between sentences and intrasentential code mixing that occurs within sentence boundaries, but there is a shared feature between them which is that both of them are motivated by social and psychological factors.

This distinction between code switching and code mixing does not seem to be accepted by all researchers. Hatch (1976) claims that there is not a sharp distinction between inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CM. But others refuse it because they consider both CS and CM as "situational shifting".

Other scholars have also tried to draw a line of demarcation between CS and CM. Among them, McLaughlin (1984: 96-97) who:

> "Distinguishes between code-mixing to refer to switches within sentences and code-switching to refer to changing language over phrases or sentences"

This distinction appears to be the same as the one formulated by William C. Ritchie and Tej K. Bhatia, since both of them differentiate between inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CM.

Pfaff (1979:295)[10] seems to have another vision concerning this confusion, and he rather uses the term "mixing" as an umbrella term for CM and borrowing. But Hugo Beardsmore decides not to use the term "mixing" and says:

> "Code-mixing will not be further referred to,since it appears to be the least-favored designation and the most unclear for referring to any form of non monoglot norm-based speech patterns."

Beardsmore H. B (1991:49)

2.6.3. Code Switching and Diglossia:

Diglossia is the use of two languages or two varieties of the same language for different purposes, one of these varieties is called the "high" and it is reserved only for the formal situations, whereas the "low" variety is used for the informal use between friends and family members. However, code switching is the alternate use of two languages within the same sentence or discourse.

2.7. Attitudes towards Code Switching:

Since the appearance of the phenomenon of code switching, the attitudes of some researchers have been negative. They see it as a lack of competence in one of the two languages involved in speech, and the inability to continue conversation in the opening

language. In some bilingual communities the practice of mixing two languages in the same utterance is often stigmatized, the idea which springs from the monolingual view of language. The terms which are used to describe this behavior often have negative connotations like "Spanglish," "Tex-Mex" in the United States for Spanish/English mixes; "tuti futi" in Britain for Punjabi/English; "Chinglish" in Hong-Kong for Chinese/ English. Even speakers who engage in code switching see themselves as lazy persons and their practice as impure and embarrassing. But what has changed this idea is the huge amount of work which has been done to show that this phenomenon is rule governed and is used as a strategy of communication that allows continuity in speech.

2.8. Conclusion:

As a conclusion of what has been written before, we can say that the research on code switching witnessed two different points of views. During the first period this phenomenon was neglected by many researchers who considered it as a deviant behaviour which does not necessitate a big importance. The second period was characterised by a huge interest in the study of this phenomenon because most researchers recognised the importance of it. Some researchers worked on the linguistic side of CS, others interpreted it as a social behaviour, while others worked on its grammar to show where in a sentence the occurrence of CS is possible, and they proposed models for its analysis. It is also important to mention the confusion which happened in the study of this phenomenon as compared to other language contact phenomena such as borrowing, code mixing and diglossia, this confusion which springs from the disagreement between scholars about the exact definition of each phenomenon, because they use different terminology.

In this short overview, we presented some of the most important details about the study of the phenomenon of code switching, and its relation to other language contact phenomena showing the differences that exist between them. In addition, we tried to show the most important perspectives of study to this phenomenon (i.e. the social and the syntactic sides).

Notesto chapter two:

1. In theliteratureof code switching, the term is spelt in three different forms: codeswitching, code-switching or code switching. The latter is my preferred form, but the original spelling will be preserved in quotations.

2. Cited in Edwards, J (2004 : 18)

3. Cited in Caccamo, C (1998 : 30)

4. Ibid.

5. Cited in Cantone, K. F (2007 : 61)

6. Cited in Myers-Scotton, C (1993 : 25)

7. Cited in Hudson, R. A (1996 : 58)

8. Cited in Bouamrane, A (1986 : 115)

9. Cited in Ritchie, W. C and Bhatia, T (1998:337)

10. Cited in Rosenhouse, J and Goral, M (1998:842)

11. Cited in Schiffman, H, F (1998:143)

Chapter three

CHAPTER THREE

PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGES IN ALGERIA

3.1. Introduction:

Because language constitutes an integral part of society and individuals' identity, people's attitudes towards it must have strong effects on its status within a given community. These attitudes can be positive or negative which may play an important role in the development, the decay or the death of any language.

This chapter will start with a short geographical presentation of the wilaya of Tiaret, it will also include some of most important definitions of language attitudes, a brief presentation of the participants who filled in the questionnaire, the analysis of the results obtained and finally a short conclusion.

As it is indicated in the title, this chapter investigates the different language attitudes of people towards their languages among the older generations in Tiaret. A questionnaire was used to collect data on language preferences, and reasons for these preferences. The questionnaire was written in French because most of the informants who were asked to fill in it belonged to the older generations who have a good level in French.

The aim behind using such a questionnaire is to see how the older generations consider the languages that are present in their daily life and what language they prefer to use for each situation.

The questionnaire encompasses five sections: the first section is devoted to the study of the attitudes of people towards their languages in general. Here the informants show what language is easy or difficult for them to learn, to speak and to understand. In the second

section, the informants give their attitudes towards French, their degree of proficiency in speaking, writing and reading it, and where did they learn it.

The third section deals with code switching. The respondents say how, where and when do they practice it, why and how often do they practice it. The fourth section is devoted to language use taking into consideration the interlocutor, the topic and the setting. They choose among the different propositions the one that suites them.

Finally, in the fifth section, the respondents are asked to give their opinions about the Arabisation process in Algeria, their evaluation and the different reactions they have about it.

3.2. Tiaret, a Geographical Overview:

Before starting to deal with language attitudes and their consequences on language choice and preference, I preferred to make a brief geographical overview of the wilaya of Tiaret [1]. The latter is located west of the country, it has fourteen Dairat and fourty two municipalities, it covers an area of 20.050.05 sq km2. It is bounded by several wilayates namely:

- Tissemsilt and Relizane to the North.
- Laghouat and El Bayad to the South.
- Mascara and Saida on the Western side,
- And finally Djelfa from the East.

Given its geographical position, the wilaya of Tiaret appears as being a focal point of several important wilayates and a contact area between the South and North. Its size gives the space a heterogeneous underpinned by:

- A mountaineous area to the North.
- The high plains in the centre,
- And semi-arid areas south of the wilaya.

All these characteristics show the variety of landscapes and terrain.

3.2.1. Relief and Morphology:

The territory of the wilaya is limited by the Southern slope of link in the Tell Atlas (Ouaresnis), South from the Saharan Atlas (Djbel Amour) and Southwest by the mountains of Frenda. However, the rest of the wilaya which is constituted by high plains are also limited by:

- The bowl of Chott Echergui south of the daira of Frenda.
- Trays Sersou North.

The soil type and the structure of relief give the wilaya various aspects among which we can distinguish two main natural regions, the Tell and the high plains.

3.2.1.1. The Tell:

It extends from Djbel Nador to the south side of Frenda characterised by great agricultural capacities, its relief is made of:

- In clay soils of the tertiary (Miocene) provinding a rich and deep land such as Mechraa-sfa and Rahouia.
- Graco-calcareous soil (these are the most numerous of the secondary Jurassic and Cretaceous), they give light soils such as those of Sougueur.
- Quaternary alluvium in the Sersou such as Mahdia, grain farming is practised on large surfaces with modern means.

The importance of the Tell region is justified by the creation of major urban centres : Frenda, Tiaret, Hamadia and Sougueur. Given the existing socio-economic activity, the Tell forms the cornerstones of the wilaya.

3.2.1.2. The High Plains:

They expand over a hundred kilometers from Djbel Amour, a bare monotonous region, with a tabular relief and a rocky soil. In this region grows the alfa and cereals, small alluvial basins (the dayas are sometimes planted, where sagebrush grows reflecting the pastoral aspect of the place).

The high plains constitute the most extensive part in the wilaya, it is a band of highlands that form a depression in relation to the Tell which frames the North. The tabular field includes the bowl of Chott Echergui; this basin rises from both sides in large ramps formed from accumulated materials in the centre and from the tertiary continental. They can reach 300 meters thick and cover in this way the very important body of water Albian.

Finally, the structure of the relief suggests that the wilaya consists of a series of high plains and highlands, and the major mountain ranges are characterised by an average altitude of 1000 meters. And here we note the following altitudes:

- Tiaret: 1100 m
- Frenda: 1150 m
- Sougueur: 1100 m

3.2.2. The Climate:

The climate in Tiaret is characterised by two mains periods, which show the important contrast that exists throughout the year including:

- A severe winter weather,often accompanied by the snow. The average temperature is 7.2° C.
- A hot, dry summer with an average temperature of 24° C.

After giving this short presentation of the wilaya of Tiaret, I will shed light on some of the most important definitions of language attitudes in the next section.

3.3. Some Important Definitions of Language Attitudes:

Attitudes are crucial in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction: the status and importance of a language in a given society and within an individual derives largely from adopted or learnt attitudes.Since attitudes have become a central point in sociolinguistics, they have recently received considerable attention from many researchers who examined them from different perspectives. Here we will present and discuss the most important definitions.

It was considered very important to begin by defining the term "attitude" before engaging in the definition of "language attitudes". Generally an attitude refers to a kind of formed behaviour directed to someone or something. Triandis (1971) says that "it is a manner of consistency toward an object". Gardner (1985:91-93) claims that "attitude is an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent".

Attitude studies appear in many scientific fields, such as psychology, which first began to focus on it, followed by sociolinguistics, social psychology of language, cultural anthropology, ethnography, and education (e.g. bilingualism). What further complicates research on attitude studies is that a number of theories focus on two major competing approaches namely: the "behaviourist" and the "mentalist" views of attitude. The first one is the behaviourist view, according to which attitudes must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages, i.e. their use in actual interactions. However, the mentalist view considers attitude as an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour. It can be described as "an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response" (Fasold, 1984: 147)."[2]

Following the mentalist view of language attitudes, Williams (1974: 21) gives this definition: "Attitude is considered as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response". This view creates problems for the experimental methods since it considers attitude as an internal state of readiness rather than an observable response. Consequently, researchers will be forced to depend on the persons' reports about their attitudes, or make inferences about attitudes indirectly from behaviour patterns. Contrary to the mentalist view, the behaviourist one makes research easier to undertake, since it requires no self-reports or indirect inferences.

According to Lambert (1967), attitudes consist of three components: the "cognitive" (individual's belief system, knowledge and perceptions), "affective" (emotional reactions and feelings) and "conative" (behavioural intentions and interest).

Crystal (1997:215) states that attitudes are "The feelings people have about their own

language or the languages of others". The best example that may illustrate this definition is that most speakers feel secure in using their mother tongues and are proud of them.

Baker (1992:10) says that the term attitude refers to "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction andpersistence of human behaviour". This means that it represents internal thoughts, feelings and tendencies in behaviour across a variety of contexts. An attitude is individual, but it has origins in collective behaviour. Some characteristics of attitude are: it is learnt, it is not inherited, it is also likely to be relatively stable, and it has a tendency to persist.

It is very essential to say that when studying language attitudes, there is a concept which plays a central role for second language learners/speakers. This concept is that of motives. Researchers have distinguished two basic types of motives which they call instrumental and integrative motives. In the language learning context, motivation (to learn the language) refers to the combination of effort plus the desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language (Gardner, 1985). If a foreign or second language learner considers L2 acquisition as instrumental, it means that he or she learns a language as a "passport to prestige and success". On the other hand, if the learner learns a foreign language and the culture of the speakers ofthat language in order, perhaps, to be able to become a member of the group, the motivation is called integrative. Gardner and Lambert (1985), for instance, have found out that where the L2 functions as a second language (i.e. it is used widely in the society), instrumental motivation seems to be more effective. In addition, it is argued that integrative motivation might be more important in a formal learning environment than instrumental motivation. However, there is still a tendency that instrumental reasons are more frequently chosen by foreign and second language learners; than integrative reasons forstudying a particular language variety.

To sum up this section, we notice from the above mentioned definitions that there is a broad range of perspectives from which to define language attitude, but the general unifying concepts about attitude are that it involves both beliefs and feelings, that it theoretically should influence behaviour, and that there are a range of issues about which people have

language attitudes, from opinions about one's own language, to foreign speakers of one's own language, to foreign languages, to official policies regarding languages. Different researchers

in various fields (such as linguistics, social psychology and sociology) focus on these different areas and hence their definitions of language attitude reflect their perspectives. This explains in part why, as several researchers above noted, there is no one accepted definition of language attitudes. One such difference of perspective is the behaviourist versus mentalist definitions of attitude.

3.4. The Informants:

The present study was carried in the town of Tiaret. The questionnaires were handled to one hundred informants, representative of different sexes, ages, occupying various jobs and living in different parts of the town of Tiaret. The participants are 15% female and 85% male, they are all aged more than forty- five years, and their level of instruction differs from one person to another, but most of them have a good level in the French language. There were six Berberophones among my informants. There are 15 females and 85 males among the informants.

Age	Male	female	Percentage
Below 50	11	04	15%
[51-55]	29	06	35%
[56-60]	26	03	29%
[61-65]	10	01	11%
[66-70]	01	01	02%
[71-75]	06	00	06%
More than 75	02	00	02%
Total	**85**	**15**	**100%**

Table 3.1 Respondents' Gender and Age.

From the above table we notice that:

- 15% of the informants are aged between forty five (45) years old and fifty (50), among them there are (04) females and (11) are males.

- 35% of the participants are aged between fifty one (51) and fifty five (55) years old, among them twenty nine (29) males and six (06) females.

- 29% of the people questioned are limited between the age of fifty six (56) and sixty (60) years old, this percentage encompasses seventeen (26) males and (03) females.

- 11% of the participants are aged between sixty one (61) years old and sixty five (65), there are ten (10) males and one female.
- 02% of my informants range from the age of sixty six (66) to seventy (70) years old, among them one (01) woman and one (01) man.
- 06% of the participants are aged between seventy one (71) and seventy five (75) years old. They are all males.
- Finally the informants who are aged more than seventy five years old represent only 02% of the total population. Both of them are males.

Degree	Female	Male	Total
C.F2 [3]	00	01	01
C.E.P [4]	02	15	17
C.A.P [5]	00	03	03
4th year of the middle school	00	11	11
1st year of the secondary school	00	02	02
2nd year of the secondary school	00	02	02
3rd year of the secondary school	05	25	30
Baccalaureate	03	02	05
University degree	01	09	10
Senior technician	00	04	04
Engineer	00	01	01
BA degree	02	06	08
MA degree	02	01	03
Doctorate	00	03	03
Total	**15**	**85**	**100**

Table 3.2 Respondents' Degrees

Table 2, on the other hand, shows that 30% have the degree of the third year in the secondary school, among them five women and twenty five men. 11% have fourth year degree in the middle school all of them are men, 10% have university degree, and there is one woman among them and nine men. 08% are BA holders, and 03% percent are doctorate

holders. As it reflected in the survey, the respondents' degrees differ from one another. They range from primaryschool certificate to doctorate holders.

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Assistant education	01	00	01
Chemist	01	00	01
Civil servants	08	00	08
Directors	04	00	04
Doctors	03	00	03
Drivers	01	00	01
Farmers	02	00	02
Headmasters	00	01	01
Housewives	00	03	03
Inspectors	00	01	01
Jobless people	06	02	08
Managers	01	01	02
Merchants	03	00	03
Postmen	02	00	02
Researcher	01	00	01
Retired people	34	01	35
Safety inspectors	01	00	01
Secretaries	00	01	01
Security agents	02	00	02
Teachers	12	05	17
Technicians	02	00	02
Welders	01	00	01
Total	**85**	**15**	**100**

Table 3.3 the distribution of the informants by occupation and sex.

3.5. Findings and Discussion:

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In this section I will give a detailed analysis of the questionnaire that was handled to the one hundred participants who were selected in a random manner from different parts of the province of Tiaret and who work in various domains. It was necessary to intervene from time to time explain some words to my informants especially the abbreviations used in the questionnaires. These abbreviations are:

- **CA:** stands for Classical Arabic.
- **AA:** stands for Algerian Arabic.
- **B:** stands for Berber.
- **F:** stands for French.

3.5.1. Attitudes towards Languages Present in Algeria:

This first section will be devoted to attitudes towards languages present in Algeria in general. The informants were given the choice between four answers and they choose the one that suits them.

1. In which language you are the most competent?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	12	21	01	66

Table 3.4

In the first question we tried to evaluate the competence of our informants, the above table illustrates the data obtained. Therefore, there are 66% who said that the language in which they are the most competent is French, this due mainly to the fact that most of my informants lived during the colonisation era and have acquired a good level in the French language. The second score goes to Algerian Arabic with 21%. Only 12% of the respondents told me that they are more competent in Classical Arabic and the last percentage goes to Berber with just 01%.

2. Which language do you think is the easiest?

languages	AC	AA	B	F
To learn?	16	25	00	59
To speak?	09	44	00	47
To understand?	13	21	02	64

Table 3.5

As far as the second question is concerned, the respondents consider French as the easiest language to learn, to speak and to understand with 59%, 47% and 64% respectively. The second easiest language for my informants is Algerian Arabic with 25%, 44% and 21%. Classical Arabic is the third easiest language with scores of 16%, 09% and 13% of the total number. Only 2% of the respondents see that Berber is an easy language to understand.

3. Which language do you think is the most difficult?

languages	AC	AA	B	F
To learn?	21	05	72	02
To speak?	16	06	75	03
To understand?	17	04	75	04

Table 3.6

From the above table, we can see that over one hundred people, most of my respondents consider Berber as the most difficult to learn, to speak and to understand with 72%, 75% and 75% respectively. Classical Arabic is in the second rank after Berber with 21%, 16% and 17%. Algerian Arabic scores 05% to learn, 06% to speak and 04% to understand. Finally, the French language is in the last rank with 02%, 03% and 04% of the total number.

4. Which language do you think is the most practical?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	13	35	00	52

Table 3.7

According to my informants, French is the most practical language with 52%, followed by Algerian Arabic with 35%; Classical Arabic represents 13% of the total number. The Berber language did not get any score from my informants. The high percentage of French is explained by the fact that the older generations use more French in their daily life, the reason why they consider it as the most practical language.

5. Which language do you think is the most useful for studies?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	14	05	00	81

Table 3.8

When I asked my informants which language was the most useful for studies, the majority of them represented by 81% of the total number answered that French was the most suitable language for studies, then comes Classical Arabic with 14%, followed by Algerian Arabic with 05% and finally there are no respondents who claimed that Berber was useful for studies.

6. Which language do you think is the least useful for studies?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	05	19	72	04

Table 3.9

As far as question six is concerned, the informants considered Berber as the least useful language for studies with a high percentage of 72%, followed by Algerian Arabic with 19%; Classical Arabic represents 05% and finally French with 04%.

7.   Which language do you like most?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	33	18	03	46

Table 3.10

Table 10 indicates that French is the language that my informants like most with a percentage of 46%; this result confirms my hypothesis that the French language is highly esteemed and liked by my respondents. Classical Arabic scores 33%, followed by Algerian Arabic with 18% and finally Berber with only 03%.

8.   Which language do you like least?

Languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	09	11	79	01

Table 3.11

As it can be seen from the above table, we notice that Berber is the language that my informants like the least with 79%; this may be explained by the fact that they have a negative attitude towards it because they do not master it. Algerian Arabic comes in the second rank with 11%, followed by Classical Arabic 09% and finally the French language gets only 01% of the total number.

9.   Which language do you consider outdated?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	06	29	63	02

Table 3.12

According to my informants' answers, 63% consider Berber as an outdated language which can not cope with modernity. In the second rank comes Algerian Arabic with 29%, followed by Classical Arabic with 06%. Only 02%consider French as an outdatedlanguage.

10. Which language do you consider the most modern?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	28	01	02	69

Table 3.13

From the above table, we can see that 69% of the respondents consider French as the language of modernity, probably because it is an essential vehicle of interaction in the scientific, technological and economic domains. 28% see that Classical Arabic can fulfil modern needs. Berber and Algerian Arabic have the least scores with only 02% and 01% respectively.

11. Which language do you consider the most beautiful?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	50	05	02	43

Table 3.14

From the above table, we notice that out of 100 people, half of the participants consider Classical Arabic as the most beautiful language, followed by French with 43% of the total number. Only 05% and 02% see that Algerian Arabic and Berber are beautiful languages.

12. Which language do you consider the richest?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	67	06	02	25

Table 3.15

When I asked my respondents which language you consider the richest, 67% told me that they consider Classical Arabic as the richest language because they esteem it a lot since it is the language of the Holy Quran. French scores 25% followed by Algerian Arabic with 06% and finally Berber with only 02%.

13. Which language do you consider the most prestigious?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	52	07	01	40

Table 3.16

52% out of my informants opted for Classical Arabic as being the language of prestige. French is also considered as a prestigious language since it scores 40% out of the total number. Algerian Arabic comes in the third rank with 07% followed with Berber with only 01%.

14. Which language do you consider the purest?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	71	07	08	14

Table 3.17

Table 17 indicates that the majority of the informants represented by 71% of the total number see that Classical Arabic is the purest language since it is the language of the Holy Quran.

15. Which language do you consider the noblest?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	78	08	03	11

Table 3.18

In table 18 above, we notice that Classical Arabic is considered as the noblest language with a high percentage of 78%, followed by French with only 11%.

16. Which language do you consider the oldest?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	60	05	19	16

Table 3.19

Here also Classical Arabic is the dominant language with the percentage of 60% from the total number, followed by Berber with 19%. French got 16% and in the last rank Algerian Arabic with only 05%.

The high percentage for the last six questions is due to the fact that the majority of the respondents have a great esteem for Classical Arabic because it is strictly linked to our religion and to the Holy Quran.

17. Which language do you consider the most vulgar?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	01	49	33	17

Table 3.20

As far as question 17 is concerned, Algerian Arabic got the highest percentage as the most vulgar language with 49% of the total number, followed by Berber with 33% because my informants hold negative attitudes towards it. French is in the third rank with 11%. Only 01% said that Classical Arabic is a vulgar language.

3.5.2. Attitudes towards French:

The second section is devoted to check the attitudes of the respondents towards the French language. It contains sixteen questions.

1. Do you know French?

Yes	No
100	00

Table 3.21

Table 21 shows the percentage of people who claim to know French. We notice that all my informants said that they know French.

2. How is your level in French (in general)?

Very well	Well	Bad	Very bad	No answer
26	72	02	00	00

Table 3.22

From the above table, we see that 72% of my respondents said that they have a good level in French, 26% said that their level in French is very good. Finally, only 02% said that they have a bad level in French.

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3. How do you speak French?

Very well	Well	Bad	Very bad	No answer
30	68	02	00	00

Table 3.23

Let us speak first about the speaking skill. 68% of my informants told me that they speak French well, 30% speak it very well. Only 02% said that they speak it badly.

4. How do you write French?

Very well	Well	Bad	Very bad	No answer
33	64	03	00	00

Table 3.24

Concerning the writing skill, 33% of the respondents told me that their writing skill in French is very well, 64% well and only a minority of informants of 03% answered badly.

5. How do you read French?

Very Well	Well	Bad	Very bad	No answer
43	56	01	00	00

Table 3.25

The last skill I asked my informants about is the reading one, here the majority of them declared to master it to some extent. 43% said very well, 56% well and only 01% badly.

As far as these five questions are concerned, we notice that most of our informants have a good level in the three skills in the French language.

6. Didyoulearn French?

Yes	No
100	00

Table 3.26

When I asked my respondents if they learned French, all of them gave me a positive answer "yes". We can understand that most of them learned it as their firs language of instruction when the country was colonised by the French and the rest have acquired it as a second language after independence.

7. Where did you learn French?

At home	At school	Elsewhere
02	98	00

Table 3.27

The majority of my informants represented by a percentage of 98% learned French at school. Only 02% started to learn it at home.

The high percentage of 98% can be explained that most of the informants have acquired French as the first language of instruction during the colonisation period or just after independence when French became the second language of instruction after Arabic.

8. Do you like French?

Yes	No
97	03

Table 3.28

When I asked my informants if they liked French, 97% of them told me that they liked it, only 03% answered no. Most of the respondents said they liked French because it was their first language of instruction and they also lived during the colonisation era which allowed them to master it in a good way.

9. Do you watch French channels?

Yes	No
94	06

Table 3.29

It is clear that most of that Algerians like to watch French channels to get information and to improve their level. Television plays an important role in keeping the French language inside the Algerian homes.

10. Do you listen to radio programmes in French?

Yes	No
74	26

Table 3.30

After television comes the radio as an important means of the mass media. It is found in our homes, in the cars and even at work. Most of the Algerians listen to radio programmes in their daily life to get information and entertainment. There are some channels which give their programmes in French such as the "third channel" or the Moroccan channel "medi1" which most of my informants said that they liked to listen to it with a high percentage of 74%, only 26% answered no but they may listen to radio channels which broadcast in Arabic.

11. Do you read in French?

Yes	No
98	02

Table 3.31

As far as question eleven is concerned, we notice that the great majority of my respondents read in French with a percentage of 98% of the total number, they read daily newspapers which are written in French such as "le quotidian d'Oran", El Watan". Only 02% said that they did not read in French.

12. Do you think that French is part of the Algerian identity?

Yes	No
62	38

Table 3.32

Table 31 indicates that 62% of my respondents said that the French language was part of that Algerian identity, 38% out of the total number answered no.

13. Do you think that French will disappear from Algeria?

Yes	No
14	86

Table 3.33

The majority of the respondents thought that French would not disappear from Algeria; they argued that it is present in all domains such as education, administration and economy. Only 14% thought that it would disappear from the country because the younger generations do not master it as well as the older ones.

14. Do you think that French is necessary for the Algerians?

Yes	No
95	05

Table 3.34

An overwhelming majority of my informants thought that French was necessary for the Algerians since it plays an important role in their daily life.

15. Do you want your children to learn French?

Yes	No	I do not know
92	05	03

Table 3.35

From the above table, we notice that 92% of the informants wanted their children to learn French against 05% who said no and only 03% who answered that they did not know. The high rate of "yes" for this question is considered as a positive attitude towards French. However, the "no" rate can be explained as a negative attitude. Most of my respondents show interest in teaching their children in French.

16. Do you want your children to be:

Monolinguals	Bilinguals	Multilinguals
01	37	62

Table 3.36

According to table 36, 62% of my respondents preferred their children to be multilinguals, 37% opted for bilingualism and only 01% who preferred them to be monolinguals. We can see that most of my informants wanted their children to be

multilinguals which can be explained as positive attitudes for multilingualism or plurilingualism.

3.5.3. Attitudes towards Code Switching:

This section is devoted to check the attitudes of my informants towards code switching, its frequency and the reason why they code switch.

1. **What is your mother tongue?**

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	45	45	04	06

Table 3.37

From the above table, we notice that both Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic share the status of being the mother tongue of my informants with a percentage of 45%, but what I noticed is that those who opted for the choice of Classical Arabic did it because they have a great esteem for it. If we come to the reality we find that Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of most of the respondents since no one acquired Classical Arabic at home. French was chosen by 06% of the informants and finally Berber with only 04%.

2. **Do you to alternate between codes (languages)?**

Yes	No	Sometimes	Never
65	01	34	00

Table 3.38

Table 38 shows that 65% of our informants are frequent code switchers and 34% do code switch occasionally. There is only one person who claimed not to switch between languages at all.

03. If yes, do you alternate between:

CA/AA	CA/B	CA/F	AA/B	AA/F	B/F	No answer
11	01	17	00	68	02	01

Table 3.39

As far as question three is concerned, we notice that Algerian Arabic/French code switching receives the highest score with 68%. This high score for AA/F code switching is due to the fact that most of our informants are competent bilinguals. Classical Arabic/French code switching comes in the second rank with 17% followed by Classical Arabic/Algerian Arabic with 11%. We can deduce that Arabic/French bilingualism is a salient characteristic of the Algerian society in general.

3. When you alternate between codes (languages), is it with?

Your family	Your friends	Your colleagues	other	No answer
31	39	23	06	01

Table 3.40

Code switching is practised everywhere and with different people, here we see that 39% out of our informants do code switch with their friends, 31% with their family members, 23% with their colleagues and 06% said they code switch with others.

4. When you alternate between codes (languages), is it?

Consciously	Unconsciously	I do not know	No answer
42	50	07	01

Table 3.41

Half of my respondents said that they were unconscious when they code switch between languages, 42% said that they did it on purpose and only 07% answered that they did not know that they were code switching.

5. When you alternate between codes (languages), is it to?

Fill in gaps	Prove your mastery of both languages	As a habit	I do not know	No answer
15	07	70	07	01

Table 3.42

This table indicates that 70% of my informants answered that code switching was a habit for them, 15% said that it helps them to fill in gaps, 07% told me that they used it to prove their mastery of both languages. Only 07% did not know what to answer.

6. How do you consider the alternation between languages?

Good	Bad	I do not know
55	29	16

Table 3.43

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From the above table, we notice that 55% of our informants qualified code switching as being good. Then, 29% thought that it was bad. However, there were 16% who gave a null answer by choosing "I do not know". It is clear from the above table that more than the half of our respondents has a positive attitude towards code switching.

7. Do you think that the alternation between languages is a problem?

Yes	No	I do not know
37	53	10

Table 3.44

When I asked my informants if they considered code switching as a problem, 53% of them answered with "no", 37% said yes and 10% said they did not know. Here also we notice that our informants hold positive attitudes towards code switching.

8. Do you think that the alternation between languages will destroy any of them?

Yes	No	May be	I do not know
30	43	18	09

Table 3.45

43% of our respondents thought that the alternation between languages would not destroy ant of them, 30% said they thought it would, 18% answered with "may be" and only 09% did not know what to answer.

9. How do you consider people who alternate between languages?

Literate	**07**
Illiterate	**05**
Normal	**66**
Abnormal	**02**
Intelligent	**10**
Complexed	**03**
Bizarre	**03**
Show-off	**04**

Table 3.46

From the above table we notice that 66% of our informants considered those who code switch as normal persons, 10% intelligent, and 07% literate, 05% illiterate, 04% show-off, 03% bizarre and complexed. Only 02% considered them as being abnormal persons.

3.5.4. Language Use According to the Different Interlocutors, Topics and Settings:

In this section my informants were asked to select the language they use depending on some extra-linguistic factors such as the type of interlocutor, the setting, the topic as well as the norm of appropriateness.[6]

1. Which language do you use most with these interlocutors?

Interlocutors	AC	AA	B	F
Parents	06	78	03	13
Brothers / sisters	05	71	03	21
friends	04	52	01	43
Colleagues	08	45	01	46
Doctor	07	21	00	72
Other	07	53	02	38

Table 3.47

From the above table we notice an overwhelming dominance of Algerian Arabic with parents, brothers and sisters, friends with 78%, 71%, 52% respectively. French was the dominant language with colleagues with 46% followed by Algerian Arabic with 45%. However, with doctor French got the highest score with 72% followed by Algerian Arabic with 12%. Finally, Algerian Arabic came to be the language which my informants used most with others.

2. Which language do you use most to talk about these topics?

Topics	AC	AA	B	F
Daily life	08	62	00	30
Work	09	33	01	57
Politics	12	29	02	57
Sport	02	52	01	45
Religion	61	30	00	09

Table 3.48

Table 48 indicates that the majority of my informants used Algerian Arabic when talking about daily life topics with a percentage of 62% followed by French with 30% of the total number. However, they opted for French when discussing work topics with 57% followed by Algerian Arabic with 33%. The same score was attributed to French concerning topics related to politics. Here Algerian Arabic came in the second rank with 29% followed by Classical Arabic with a score of 12%.

As far sport is concerned, we notice that 52% out of my respondents chose Algerian Arabic as their language of interaction followed by French with a percentage of 45%. Finally, we notice a clear predominance of Classical Arabic when dealing with topics related to religion because for my informants this language is the most suitable in giving examples from the Quran or the Hadith[7]. Algerian Arabic scored 30% out of the total number followed by French with only 09%.

3.   Which language do you use most when you are in these settings?

Setting	AC	AA	B	F
At home	04	87	01	08
In a café	02	85	01	12
In the street	02	86	02	10
At work	11	41	01	47
In the cabinet	07	27	00	66
Other	08	54	01	37

Table 3.49

In different settings, we can see that there is an over dominance of Algerian Arabic such as at home, in a café or in the street, this may be explained by the fact that in informal situations AA is the most suitable means of communication. At work, French was preferred by 47% followed by Algerian Arabic with 41%. However, Classical Arabic got only 11% out of the total number.

4.   Which language do you use most in these situations?

Situations	AC	AA	B	F
Happy	07	58	03	32
Tired	06	80	03	11
Angry	04	68	03	25
Other	10	54	02	34

Table 3.50

From the above table, we notice that whether the speakers are happy or angry they use their mother tongue (Algerian Arabic).

When the speaker is happy, he uses Algerian Arabic 58% more than French 32%. In being angry he over uses his mother tongue 68%, probably because he may use vulgar words (which are most of the time in AA) to express his anger. French got a low rate with only 25% in situations of anger.

The most important remark in the above table is the over dominance of Algerian Arabic with a rate of 80% when the speaker is tired, which may be explained by the fact that he does not resort to other languages when he is tired.

In other situations, my informants also preferred using Algerian Arabic with a rate of 54% rather than using other languages. French came in the second rank with 34% followed by Classical Arabic with only 10%.

5.   Which language do you use most to write?

Objects	AC	AA	B	F
A job application	22	00	00	78
A love letter	15	01	00	84
A letter of complaint	27	01	00	72
Other	21	07	00	72

Table 3.51

In the last table of this section, it is clear that French is the dominant language with 78% in writing a job application, 84% for a love letter and 72% in writing a letter of complaint. Even writing for other purposes French got a high rate of 72%. This over dominance of the French language is due to the fact that the majority of my informants do master French in a good way and have a weak level in Classical Arabic. Another remark can be added here is that when dealing with love matters, French is more suitable than Classical Arabic or Algerian Arabic because it is more fashionable.

As far as Classical Arabic is concerned, we can see that it got low rates vis-a-vis French with only 25%, 15% and 27% in writing a job application, a love letter and a letter of complaint respectively.

3.5.5. Attitudes Towards The Arabisation Process in Algeria:

This section will be devoted to the Arabisation process in Algeria and it will check people's attitudes towards it.

1.   Which language expresses better yourideas?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	22	20	02	56

Table 3.52

From the above table, we notice that 56% out of my informants answered that French expresses better their ideas followed by Classical Arabic with 22% then Algerian Arabic with a rate of 20%. Finally Berber got only 02% of the total number.

2.   Which language expresses better your feelings?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	20	24	01	55

Table 3.53

Table 53 indicates that French is the dominant language in expressing people's feelings with a score of 55% followed by Algerian Arabic with 24%. As far as Classical Arabic is concerned, we can see that it got 20% and in the last rank Berber with only 01%.

3.   Which language is the most suitable for the teaching of literary subjects?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	65	04	00	31

Table 3.54

When I asked my respondents which language was the most suitable for the teaching of literary subjects, Classical Arabic was chosen by 65% of them followed by French in the second rank with 31% and finally Algerian Arabic with only 04%.

4. Which language is the most suitable for the teaching of the scientific and technological subjects?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	10	00	00	90

Table 3.55

In this part, we focused on scientific and literary matters. Thus, there was an overwhelming majority represented by 90% out of the total number who opted for French for the teaching of scientific and technological subjects. However, there were only 10% of the informants who preferred Classical Arabic.

The high rate of French can be explained by the fact that it is keeps with pace of scientific and technological development, and that an important number of scientific discoveries and inventions have been done in French. On the contrary, Classical Arabic does not follow the scientific development, the reason why it scored a low rate.

5. Do you think that the Arabisation of the educational system in Algeria is:

Good	Bad	I do not know
36	41	23

Table 3.56

From the above table, we notice that 41% out of my respondents thought that the Arabisation of the educational system in Algeria was bad, 36% thought that it was good and there were 23% who gave no answer.

From the above results, we deduce that the Algerians have negative attitudes towards the Arabisation process since it was imposed on the population at the dawn of independence. The Algerian authorities at that time wanted only to restore the Algerian identity through the implementation of Classical Arabic in all domains of life but at the same time they neglected the opinion of the specialists and the population in general.

6. Do you think that the educational system in Algeriashould be?

Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual
05	51	44

Table 3.57

Table 57 indicates that more than the half of my informants 51% opted for a bilingual educational system in Algeria followed by 44% who preferred multilingualism and only 05% said that they were for monolingualism which means that they had negative attitudes towards bilingualism and multilingualism.

7. How do you consider Classical Arabic?

A dead language	Stagnant language	A language without a value	I do not know
02	45	05	48

Table 3.58

When I asked my informants how they considered Classical Arabic, there were 48% of them who gave a null answer" I do not know". 45% thought that it was a stagnant language since it did not follow the pace of scientific and technological developments. In addition, there were 05% who told me that it was a language without a value and finally 02% said that it was a dead language.

8. Do you want Algerian Arabic to become a national and official language?

Yes	No	I do not know
41	49	10

Table 3.59

In this section we tried to know if my informants wanted Algerian Arabic to become a national and official language. Thus, we notice that 49% said that they did not want it be an official language. There were 41% who accepted the idea of having Algerian Arabic as a national and official language. Only 10% out of the total number answered with "I do not know".

9. Do you think that Algeria needs a new multilingual linguistic reform?

Yes	No	I do not know
87	07	06

Table 3.60

Table 60 indicates that the majority of my informants represented by a percentage of 87% thought that Algeria needed a new multilingual linguistic reform. 07% gave a negative answer by saying "no" and only 06% gave a null answer "I do not know".

10. In your opinion, which language best represents the Algerians?

languages	CA	AA	B	F
percentage	30	37	00	33

Table 3.61

When I asked my informants which language best represented the Algerians, their answers were nearly equal. 37% opted for Algerian Arabic to better represent the Algerians followed by 33% who preferred French and 30% said they prefer Classical Arabic to represent the Algerians.

3.6. Conclusion:

Based on the foregoing, it all boils down to attitude, that is, attitude towards the language, attitude towards learning the language, attitude towards the language teacher, attitude towards school in general, and level of responsibility.

This chapter had as objectives to examine people's attitudes towards languages present in their daily life and the motivations that lead them to prefer one language rather than another in different situations and with different interlocutors. We can also say that by asking the informants various types of questions, the analysis of the results obtained enabled us to highlight several points in relation to people's preferences to use their languages taking into account the extra-linguistic variables such the topic, the setting, the interlocutor and the purpose.

In analysing the questionnaire's results, I discovered that the French language is deeply rooted in the minds of my interlocutors and they hold positive attitudes towards it. The older

generations who have lived during the colonisation period were able to get a good level in French because it was the first language of instruction.

Because of the big influence of the French colonisation on the country, people today live in bilingualism, code switching and many other sociolinguistic phenomena resulting from the contact between French and Arabic.

As far as the first section of the questionnaire is concerned, we notice that my respondents say that they are more competent in French than another language; they also consider it as the easiest to learn, to speak and to understand. They see that French is the most useful language for studies and they like it more than other languages.

The linguistic reality shows that French is part of the daily life of Algerians, it plays an important role as a means of communication and it is found in several domains starting from education, administration to economics. Today French is omnipresent in the mass media such as TV channels, radios, newspapers and magazines. Despite the fact that it is considered as a foreign language, it remains part of the Algerian linguistic profile because of the effect resulted from 132 years of the French occupation.

As far as Classical Arabic is concerned, we can say that it is seen by the most of the respondents as the noblest, the purest and the most beautiful language. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of my informants have a great esteem for the language of the Holy Quran and it is also deeply rooted in their minds as the most prestigious language. However, we can say that Classical Arabic is not the natural language of Algerians as the government claims because it use is very limited vis-à-vis Algerian Arabic or French.

In the second part, we notice that Algerian Arabic/French code switching constitutes part of the daily life of my informants; they use it as a habit to interact with different interlocutors especially their friends and family members.

As it was expected, the questionnaire's findings revealed that the older generations have a great respect for the French language and they master it to a good extent. On the contrary, they seem to be weak in Classical Arabic, but they do believe that it is the noblest, the purest and the most beautiful language.

Notes to chapter three:

1. Direction de la planification et de l'aménagement du territoire. Tiaret

2. Quoted in Appel. R and Muysken. P (1987: 16)

3. CF2 meanscour de fin d'étude 2

4. C.E.P stands for certificatd'étudeprimaire

5. C.A.P means certificat d'aptitude professionnel.

6. Fishman (1971:23) says that:

   "Language choice is much clearer cut and polarised in 'usual' situations governed

   entirely by sociolinguistic norms of communicative appropriateness".

7. 'Hadith' refers to the sayings that were recorded by the followersof Prophet

   Mohamed peace be upon him.

Chapter four

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EXPLORATION OF THE DATA GATHERED

4.1. Introduction:

In the previous chapter, I dealt with the respondents' language attitudes and the non-linguistics factors that may influence language choice within the older generations in Tiaret. In the present chapter which is the last one in this research, I will analyse the data which I gathered through recording my informants in different settings talking about various subjects.

In the first part of this chapter, I will examine one of the salient outcomes of language contact which is borrowing. The latter was defined by Gumperz as "the introduction of single words or short frozen idiomatic phrases from one language to another"[1]. I will draw tables to present lists of the borrowed items which have been used by my informants when they were recorded.

Following Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Bouamrane (1986), I will shed light on the most significant outcome of language contact which is code switching and I will also present some of the syntactic possibilities of switching between Algerian Arabic/French code switching in the speech of the older generations in Tiaret.

This chapter will also encompass the study of the social meaning of code switching including Bentahila and Davies's categories (1983), Poplack's (1980) and Cram's (1981) ones. The categories proposed by these linguists will be illustrated by examples taken from the data gathered.

4.2. The Present Study:

The phenomenon of code switching which appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century as a random and a deviant process became the most studied subject in sociolinguistics. Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) say that "perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research is code switching". The practice of mixing two languages in the same utterance has been studied from different angles. Some researchers focussed on the sociolinguistic aspect of code switching in trying to show why bilingual speakers tend to mix languages in conversation, other scholars concentrated on the psycholinguistic side of this speech behaviour by presenting the aspects of language capacity that allow speakers to switch easily between languages, while others studied the linguistic perspective which is concerned with establishing grammatical constraints on code switching.

In the present work. I intend to study Algerian Arabic / French code switching, borrowing and code mixingamongst the older generations in Tiaret. These phnomena which are the most salient effects of language contact.

4.3. The Data:

The corpus provided for this study has been collected by recording spontaneous conversations.It is not an easy task to make a good investigation on natural conversations of bilingual speakers if the latter are aware that they are being recorded, because these speakers will tend to modify their way of speaking in order to satisfy the linguist. So as to have reliable and valid data, I carried out oral recordings of the speech of a number of old men using Algerian Arabic / French code switching without the respondents prior knowledge.

As far as my investigation is concerned, it is founded on the speech of a group of men belonging to the older generations who live in Tiaret and its surroundings. The conversations took place in different informal settings such as the street, the café and home and in a formal setting which is the post office.

In what follows, I will try to make the analysis of the data gathered during my investigation. The first phenomenon which is going to be examined is borrowing because it represents one of the important effects of language contact especially in the Algerian society.

Most of the Algerian speakers use a large number of words and expressions which areborrowed from the French language because of the deep influence of French during and after the occupation period.

4.4. Borrowing:

It is very noticeable that when people speaking two different languages are in contact, two major effects can result from this situation:

1) The first consequence is that speakers from both sides are going to learn how to say some useful words and expression from the other language.

2) The second important effect is that one of the groups in contact is going to include some words from the other group's language into his language to refer to things, concepts or activities which are new for him.

4.5. Reasons for Borrowing:

In the literature on borrowing, most of the researchers agree that there are various motivations that push speakers of a language to borrow items from other languages. But here we will not mention all of them. Instead, we will shed light on the most important ones namely: the prestige motive and the need-filling motive.

4.5.1. The Prestige Motive:

At any given time in any given place, different languages may come in contact. In such situations, one of these languages acquires more prestige than the others. However, this prestigious language is going to exercise some kind of linguistic influence on the other languages used or spoken in its vicinity. As a result, speakers of the less prestigious languages become very eager to show off their mastery of the prestigious language by adopting some of its words or phrases into their own speech. For instance, during and after the French occupation of our country, French enjoyed more prestige than Arabic. Consequently, a huge number of French words and phrases have found their way to Algerian Arabic.

4.5.2. The Need-Filling Motive:

The second important motive is called the need-filling motive. The latter has relation with technological advances, modern methods of education, scientific discoveries and trade.

 When new experiences, practices and items enter the language they bring with them new words into the language system. Consequently, speakers will be obliged to use the new loan words. One can cite many examples which are used in our daily life such as: la photocopieuse, l'aéroport, l'ordinateur, le tableau (the photocopying machine, the airport, the computer, the blackboard) respectively.

4.6. Types of Borrowing:

In the literature on borrowing, there is a clear distinction made between lexical borrowing and structural or "grammatical" borrowing. The latter may comprise phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic borrowing, whereas the former stands for the borrowing of words. In dealing with lexical borrowing, linguists based their studies on various classifications of this linguistic phenomenon. These classifications can be reduced to four basic types:

a- The first important classification is based on the kind of hierarchy between the varieties of speech affected: borrowing between national languages "cultural borrowing" versus "dialect borrowing" in Bloomfield (1933: 444-45)[2].

b- The second type of classification deals with the kind of relationship between the affected languages: Bloomfield (1933: 461) distinguishes between "ordinary cultural borrowing" versus "intimate borrowing"[3].

c- The third kind of classification is based upon the degree of modification of the lexical units of the source or donor language. Here the distinction is made between "loanword" and "loan translation/calque".This classification was first introduced by German scholars such as Werner Betz, and later it was refined by two of the most influential American descriptivists Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen, who distinguish "importation" (straight loanword), "substitution" (loan-translation, loanshift), and "loanblends/ hybrids,"

d- The last classificationhas to deal with the level or sub-system of the receiving language affected by a given fact of interference. This classification of borrowing was first devised by Jean Darbelnet in his studies of English influence on Canadian French.

4.7. Lexical Borrowing

Most researchers agree that lexical borrowing is by far the most common type of transference between languages. One may cite the example of Sapir (1921) who points out that the simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the "borrowing" of words.When we use the term "lexical", we refer to the incorporation of content words such as nouns or verbsfrom one language (the **donor language**) [4]in another (the**recipient language**) [5].Following the formal criterion set up by the American descriptivist E. Haugen (1950), that is the degree of modification of the lexical units of the model language, we have three main types of lexical borrowing based on the distinction made between "importation" and "substitution"[6].

4.7.1. Loanwords

This type is defined as the direct transference of a lexeme, it includes both meaning and form and it is based only on morphemic importation without substitution. Some loanwords may be phonologically adapted to the receipt language system; others may be used without any modification. In the daily life of Algerians, there are so many words and expression which have been borrowed from French into Algerian Arabic. Here are some of these words which were used by my informants in their conversations.

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Algerian Arabic	French	English
/lbis/	Le bus	The bus
/larmi/	L'armé	The army
/kaskiTat/	Les casquettes	Caps
/Tabla/	Une table	A table
/lbola/	Le ballon	The ball
/spania/	L'Espagne	Spain
/lmerikan/	L'Amérique	America
/franSa/	La France	France
/Lbu:mba/	La pompe	A pump
/nimro/	Le numéro	The number
/vista/	La veste	A vest
/formage/	Le fromage	Cheese
/ʃambra/	La chambre	The room
/filejkom/	Ton village	Your village
/lbidgi/	Le budget	The budget

Table 4.1: Some borrowed nouns recorded during a conversation.

The table below illustrates verbs which were recorded during a conversation; some of them are integrated either to the phonological or morphological system of Algerian Arabic.

Algerian Arabic	French	English
/ki tsoni/	Quandellesonne	When it rings (the bell)
/vizitina/	Nous avons visité	We visited
/yrizervu:lna/	Pour nous réservé	They booked rooms for us
/ydimissioni/	Il démissionne	He resigned
/ydiʃifri/	Il déchiffre	It decrypts
/yakseptu:k/	ils vont l'accepter	They will accept you
/mdominyin/	Ils dominent	They dominate
/yekmaci/	Il commence	He begins
/decido/	Vousdécidez	You decide
Algerian Arabic	**French**	**English**

Table 4.1: Some borrowed verbs recorded during a conversation.

4.7.2. Loan Blends

These terms were defined by Haugen as "those instances of lexical borrowing, in which both "importation" and "substitution" are found" [7]. "Loan blends" also called "hybrids", are little distinct from loanwords, in thatthe former borrows the meaning and only a part of the formfrom the source language. Here is the example taken from my corpus.

1. "/matkuneʃ/ negatif" is a loan blend since it is made of two parts, the first one being in Algerian Arabic and the second in French. Most Algerians use this word to advise to people to be positive in their life.

4.7.3. Loan Shifts

When we make a complete morphemic substitution of lexical units of the language model we produce the category known as "loan translation", also known as "calque".A loan translation consists of the reproduction of a foreign lexical complex by means of native material, usually after having analysed the elements of this foreign complex. Haugen (1950:214)mentionsthe German example"Wolkenkratzer"(literally'cloud scratcher'), French"Gratte-ciel"(literally 'scratch-sky')andSpanish "Rasca-cielos" (literally "scratch-skies"), which are all modelled on English "skyscraper". Here are some loans translations taken from my corpus:

1. La Chine un milliard cinq cent millions /tdur ki saʕa/, un milliard cinq cent…)
   (Lit. China one billion and five hundred million inhabitant turns like a watch, one billion and five hundreds…)
   The expression /tdur ki saʕa/ is a loan translation of the French expression (**elletournecommeunemontre).**

2. /huma gabdu trig/ weħna jina felbis.
   (Lit. they took the road and we came back by bus)
   Most of the older generations in Tiaret use this expression to show that a person or a group of persons left a place to go to another, the expression /gabdu trig/ is a direct translation of the French expression (**ils ontpris la route).** The same meaning is kept in both expressions but only wordsare translated.

3. Mr Koufin, saʕfa, /ʃu:f tgu:l ʃem riħet eθawra/ cinquantecinq rah.
   (Lit. Mr koufin, basket, look! As if he smelled the odor of the revolution fifty five (he) left.
   This expression is calqued on the French expression (**il a sentil'odeur de quelque chose),** meaningthatsomeone has supposed the occurrence of something before it happens.

4. /dayer maħkama w teħkem lennas, walakin **nta sarek lekbir**/
   (Lit. you have made a court and you judge people but you are the biggest thief).

This expression is a direct translation of the French expression (**tues la plus grand voleur)** meaning thatsomeone steals money but judges the other people and forgetting himself at the same time.

4. 8. Cultural and Core Borrowings:

Another important distinction is made between cultural borrowings and core borrowings. This distinction was subject of discussion in detailsin Myers-Scotton (2006).

4.8.1. Cultural Borrowings:

Myers-Scotton uses the term cultural borrowing to refer to a loanword whichis adopted to express a concept that is new to the recipient language speakers' culture. There is a total agreement between most linguists that cultural borrowings are used to fill lexical needs when new concepts or objects enter into a culture. Myers-Scotton (2006:212)defines this type in the following way:

"Cultural borrowings are words that fill gaps in the recipient language's store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language's culture."

The best example which may illustrate the category of cultural borrowings around the world isthe use of the different versions of the English word *automobile* or *car*. This word spread quickly nearly in all countries around the world because of the contact with the different Western cultures. Consequently, they adopted the same word to refer to the new concept of car.

As far as my corpus is concerned, I noticed the use of the same word by one of my informants. He employed the word /lwaTa/ which is the plural form of /loTo/ coming from French "automobile" but shortened in "auto", which is itself borrowed from English.

There are various casesin which names of articles of clothing or types of food new to a culture are borrowed with the item itself. We may cite examples such as *"blue jeans"* which found its way from English to German and English which has borrowed *"pizza"* from Italian along with this favoured food.

In our daily life, most Algerians use words such as jeans, velour, pantalon and chemise (jeans, velvet, trousers and shirt respectively) to refer to some articles of clothing. In addition, they also employ words such as /slaTa/, /slada/ or /ʃlaTa/, /gazouz/, confiture (salad, gaseous drink or lemonade and jam respectively) to refer to names of food and drinks.

4.8.2. Core Borrowings:

In Carol Myers-Scotton's work, a core borrowing refers to a loanword which is usedin spite of the fact that a word for the same concept already exists in the recipient language. Her definition of core borrowings is as follows:

"Core borrowings are words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store..." (Myers-Scotton 2006:215)[8].

Here are some examples of core borrowings taken from my corpus.

The borrowed words	The Arabic equivalents	The English meaning
La ville	El madina	The town
Le Volant	El mikwad	The wheel
L'étage	ETabik	The floor
L'hotel	El fondok	The hotel
La douche	El miraʃa	The bathroom
Le restaurant	El matʕam	The restaurant
Le group	El majmouʕa	The group
Le directeur	El muːdir	The headmaster
La date	Ettariχ	The date
Quatres mois	Arbʕato aʃhor	Four months
Un ingénieur	El muhandis	Engineer
Le lycée	Eθanawia	Secondary school
La mairie	El baladia	The town hall
Le passport	Jawaz essafar	The passport
La bibliothèque	El maktaba	Library
Un accident	El ħadeθ	The accident
La carte grise	El bitaka erramadia	The grey card
Le permet	Roχsat essiaka	The driving licence
Le pharmacien	Essaydali	The chemist
Le sport	Erriyada	sport

4.9. Social Functions of Code Switching:

The question which was asked by many linguists is the following: why do people switch between languages in their speech? In trying to present the different reasons that lead people to switch between languages, linguists refer to the most important functions of this phenomenon. Code switching is said to have several functions, here are the most significant ones.

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First, CS has a referential function which means that it is used in situations where speakers can not continue their speech in the opening language because they do not have enough vocabulary in some topics. As a consequence, they tend to switch between languages to promote communication. Most speakers are conscious of this type of code switching simply because they do not know the word or expression they need in the opening language, or they prefer to discuss some topics in the other language. For instance, when my respondents want to talk about technical topics they always switch from Algerian Arabic to French. Here are some technical terms used by my informants: l'atelier, la garniture métallique, le charbon and les produits chimiques (the workshop, the metallic trim, the thistle and the chemical products

Second, code switching can serve a directive function since it is directed only to the interlocutor. This function can be used in different forms first by excluding other speakers from the conversation or by including them in using their language (s). In talking about this type of switching, we can mention the speech accommodation theory proposed by Howard Giles in which the speaker accommodates his speech according to the addressee to whom he is talking. The best example which can illustrate this purpose is that of parents who use a foreign language when they do not want their children to understand what is being said or the reverse because nowadays young people also use an in-group language which is not understood by their parents.

Third, Poplack (1980) says that code switching can fulfil an expressive function in the sense that bilingual speakers employ two languages in the same conversation to show their mixed or multiple identities. This type of switching is used a lot by Algerian immigrants who tend to use Algerian Arabic and French to show their mixed identity.

Fourth, code switching expresses a phatic function when the speaker makes a change in his/her tone. Gumperz and Hernandez Chavez (1975) named this type "metaphorical switching".

Fifth, code switching can serve a metalinguistic function when it is used to show one's linguistic skills. This is the case when two persons switch languages to impress the audience

and show their mastery of the languages concerned. We can cite some examples of this type such as immigrants, salespeople, performers, politicians, etc.

Sixth, code switching may have a poetic function when bilingual speakers include puns, jokes, etc in their conversations.

Seventh, CS can also be used for the sake of clarification, to illuminate and explain a concept.

The second and most salient outcome of language contact that I am going to analyse is CS; I will try to study the different possibilities of switching which can occur in the speech of the older generations in Tiaret.

4.10. Switching at Category Boundaries:

Due to the French colonisation of many countries in North Africa, the French language has been in contact situation with different colloquial dialects of Arabic creating many language pairs. The latter were studied by many researchers such as Bentahila & Davies (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Belazi (1991) and Redouane (1995) who concentrated on the syntax of code switching and proposed various constraints of this phenomenon.

My study is based on the work of Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Bouamrane (1986) who investigated the syntax of Moroccan Arabic/French code switching and Algerian Arabic/French code switching respectively. I will follow the same method to investigate the occurrence of switching at several syntactic boundaries (within the sentence).

4.10.1. Switching Between a Main Clause and a Subordinate Clause:

As far as my corpus is concerned, there is only one example of switching which encompasses an embedded interrogative sentence.

(1) rana 15 melyun qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire?
   "We are 15 million what will we do?"

My data also revealed cases of switching in clauses of purpose (2-3) and reason (4-5), here come the examples:

(2) ils font lerecensement beʃ yʃofo ʃhal ziada welli met.

"they do the census in order to see how many births and deaths".

(3) Ylik tsisaʕ lard pour nourrir les gens.

"You have to expand the land to nourish people."

(4) Kmassi telbes hwayjek parce que yχabrok.

"Start wearing your clothes because they will tell you"

(5) Tu dois valider les terrains parceque lhiha ʕlabalek belli lgwer ʃaydiro.

"You must validate the land because there you know what do the foreigners do?"

Switches between two coordinating clauses are also possible, but they can be in two different forms. Firstly, the switch can take place at the end of the first clause. However, the coordinating conjunction is going to be in the same language as the second clause as indicated in examples (6) and (7).

(6) Vous êtes dix huit w Taħet niʃen.

"You are eighteen and it is exact".

(7) il a été observé par un savant w bda yeχdem ʕlih.

"It was observed by a scientist and he started to work on it".

Secondly, the switch may occur at the sentence boundary as in the following examples:

(8) rani dey ʕbaya w tricot de peaux.

"I will take a dress and a knitting skin".

(9) gʕadna quatres mois w deux jours.

"We stayed four months and two days".

There are also instances where the switched coordinating conjunction is in a different language from both clauses or in different positions either at the end of the first clause or at the second one as shown in examples (10) - (12).

(10) le vol a continué sept wella huit heurs.

   "the flight lasted seven or eight hours of flight".

   (11) Hada howa el moʃkil mais howa mayχalikeʃ taʕraf.

   "This is the problem but he will not let you know".

(12) dans le temps le voyage sept millions wella huit millions.

"At that time the trip was seven million or eight million".

4.10.2. Switching within the Clause:

My data yield two examples of switching after a relative pronoun. The latter must be in the same language as the rest of the clause as stated by Abassi (1977) as in (13) and (14).

(13) nta sarek lKbir qui n'a jamais existé.

   "You are the biggest thief who has never existed".

(14) yjik ygul qu'il est docteur.

"he come to you to tell you that he is a doctor".

   Bentahila and Davies (1983: 311) claim that "hypothetical examples were judged perfectly natural by respondents when the switch was from Arabic to French, but odd when it was the converse". However, Bouamrane (1986: 124) says that examples ((27) (28) p. 311) which were proposed by Bentahila and Davies to refute Abbassi's (1977) claim that a relative

pronoun must be in the same language as the rest of the clause, were judged unacceptable by his respondents.

My corpus contains an example which resembles Bentahila and Davies's example (27).

(15) Bessah kayen lli il a les moyens.

"But there is who has means".

Switching from Arabic "wh" words to French verbs is not possible unless these "wh" words are followed by NPs or past participles. The following examples illustrate this possibility.

(16) ʃtaho le magister.

"What is the magister?"

(17) ʃadar Chirak.

"what did Chirak do?"

(18) ʃtaho Le recensement.

"What is the census?

4.10.3. Switching within the Sentence:

Following Bouamrane (1986), switches between NP and VP at the major constituent boundary are not possible in both directions as it was claimed by Bentahila and Davies (1983); my data yield various examples of switches between NPs in French and VPs in Arabic.

(19) ʕandhom les usines partout.

"They have factories everywhere."

(20) derna escale technique.

"we made a technical landing"

(21) huma ʕandhom levolant à droite.

"They have the wheel on the right."

(22) ħesbuna des Américains.

"They thought we were Americans"

(23) ʕaTyilna des instructions.

"They gave us instructions".

Switches between an Arabic disjunctive pronoun and a French verb are possible, but the latter must be accompanied by its clitic pronoun. The coming examples illustrate this possibility.

(24) hia elle a continué le chemin.

"Her she has continued the way."

(25) howa il a fait un accident fatal.

"him he has made a deadly accident."

(26) howa il est rigid.

"(The boat) it is rigid."

(27) ntuma vous êtes dix huit.

"You you are eighteen."

Switching at the boundary of an adverbial phrase is possible. The adverbial phrase may be placed in different positions as exemplified in the following sentences.

(28) hia normalement la, kum wella Tallag.

"Normally no, take your responsibility or leave it."

(29) makaʃ absolument rien.

"There is absolutely nothing."

(30) lJazayer toʕlin officiellement l'augmentation de dix pour cent.

"Algeria announces officially an increase of ten percent"

(31) tu va faire un bon avenir themmak.

"you will make a good future there"

Switching from Arabic to French within the major phrasal categories is possible. Firstly, switching within verb phrase is allowed between a verb in Algerian Arabic and an object NP in French.

(32) yʃufo le nombre de mortalité et le nombre de natalité.

"they see the number of deaths and the number of births"

(33) ʕaTyilna des instructions.

"They gave us instructions."

(34) derna escale technique.

"We made a technical stop."

(35) kemelna la visite.

"We finished the visit."

Switching can also take place at the boundary of a prepositional phrase within the VP. The following examples from my corpus illustrate this situation.

(36) huma kano bʕad ʕla la ville.

"They were far from the town."

(37) bnawha sur des fondations, sur des piliers

"They built it on foundations, on pillars."

(38) lazem tetʕawed ʕla l'honnêteté.

"You have to get used to honesty."

(39) jibohom ʕla la ligne Tokyo- Anchorage.

"Bring them on the line of Tokyo-Anchorage."

In their study of Moroccan Arabic /French code switching, Bentahila and Davies (1983) assert that switches between an Arabic auxiliary and a French main verb is possible. However, Bouamrane (1986) says that such switches are not permitted unless these main verbs are adapted to Arabic.

(40) mabrate∫ tabondoni

    "She did not want to abandon."

  (41) rahi tsurvilli fihom.

    "she is watching them. "

(42) rahom mdominyin le monde.

    "They are dominating the world."

From the above mentioned examples, we remark that the verbs (abandoner), (surveiller) and (accepter) to abandon, to watch and accept respectively have been phonologically and morphologically integrated to the host language i.e. Algerian Arabic. Consequently, we no longer have instances of code switching but these are borrowings.

Examples (43) - (46) show that it is also possible for an Arabic preposition to govern an NP in French.

  (43) fi l'enveloppe.

    "In the envelope."

(44) ʕla la ligne.

"On the line."

(45) fi la fin.

"In the end."

  (46) fi chimie

"In chemistry."

Secondly, within NPs switches can arise between an Algerian Arabic determiner and French nouns such as the coming examples.

  (47) gaʕ el groupe

"The entire group"

(48) hadek el iceberg.

    "That iceberg"

Bouamrane (1986: 137) claims that in a switch from Arabic to a French noun, it is necessary to use a French indefinite article before this noun or "wahed" "la" or "les", the following examples are representative.

(49) keyna une ligne

"There is one line."

(50) ʕandeh wahed les ailles.

"It (the bird) has wings."

(51) tʕawed une demande.

"You make an application."

(52) ħesbuna des Américains.

"They thought we were Américains."

(53) ʕTawni une tenue.

"They gave me a suit."

There is another type of switching within noun phrases in which two determiners meet at the N boundary. Examples (54) – (56) may illustrate this.

(54) hadik la ligne.

"That (the) line."

(55) hadu les choses.

"These (the) things."

(56) haduk les iceberg.

"Those (the) iceberg."

In addition, we can have other examples which include possessives (57) – (59), quantitative (60) and ordinals (61).

(57) le budget ntaʕ sleħ.

"The budget of arms."

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(58) kawareθ ntaʕ les montagnes glacières.

"Catastrophes of the icebergs."

(59) deux jours ntaʕ le vol.

"Two days of the flight."

(60) ʃwiya l'aluminium.

"Some aluminium."

(61) le vol lowel.

"The first flight."

4.11. Bentahila and Davies's Hypothesis:

In their study of Moroccan Arabic/ French code switching, Bentahila and Davies assert that Moroccan speakers use Arabic for grammatical items or function words such as determiners, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions since it is the first language that they acquire at home, whereas they turn to French for lexical items, especially nouns. The first category that they include in their study is that of determiners.

4.11.1. Determiners:

As far as this category is concerned, Arabic determiners can accompany French nouns but not the reverse. The Arabic definite article [el] can precede French masculine nouns but not feminine or plural ones. Here are some examples that illustrate this.

(62) el groupe.

   "The group."

(63) el budget

   "The budget."

(64) el iceberg.

   "The iceberg."

There are other examples which include feminine and plural articles in French.

(65) hadik la ligne.

   "That (the) line."

(66) ha la demission.

    "Here is the resignation."

(67) jaw les Canadiens.

    "Came the Canadians."

    What can be noticed from the above examples is that the French articles "la" and "les" are used to mark gender and number, which suggests that their function is grammatical and not social.

4.11.2. Prepositions and Conjunctions:

In most of the instances of Algerian Arabic /French code switching, prepositions tend to occur in Arabic. Bouamrane (1986:158) states that such switching might be used as a strategy of economy especially in prepositional phrases. My corpus yielsd the following examples:

(68) fi l'alemagne

      "In Germany."

(69) fi la realisation.

"In the realisation."

(70) le budget ntaʕ la mairie.

"The budget of the town hall."

    (71) lazem tetʕawed ʕla l'honnêteté.

      "You have to get used to honesty."

    [fi] and [ʕand] plus an inflected pronoun are used to express the French verb avoir (to have, to possess). Here are some examples.

(72) tkun ʕande-k la conscience tranquille.

"You will have a quiet conscience."

    (73) huwa ʕande-h l'avantage.

"He has advantage."

(74) gaʕ nnas fi-ha l'attention.

"All people have attention."

Conjunctions also tend to occur in Arabic especially [wa] (and) and [wella] (or), they function as ethnic identity markers.

(75) sept heur wella huit heur de vol.

"Seven or eight hours of flight."

(76) roħna mars dix huit, avril, mai, juin w juillet jina.

"We went on the eighteen of March, April, May, June and July we came back".

4.12. Poplack's Categories:

The second most important categories that we must study are those proposed by Poplack (1980), these categories include interjections, idiomatic expressions and quotations.

4.12.1. Idiomatic Expressions:

Before dealing with this category, I must give a clear definition of the word idiom which is used to refer to a group of words whose meaning is different from the meaning of the individual words [9]. Examples of idiomatic expressions from my corpus are the following:

(77) gallak elle a continue le chemin.

"It is said that she continued the way."

(78) gallak vous les Arabes vous avez des ressources.

"It is said you the Arabs you have resources."

(79) w ygollak le mois d'avril il ne faut pas ...

"and it is said that during the month of April we should not ..."

(80) c'est un produit gallak qui est très couteux.

"This is a product it is said that it is very expensive."

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Cram (1981:253)says that the categories of phatic expressions and idiomatic expressions "function as a means of establishing or cementing interpersonal relationships" [10]. This means that they have a social duty rather than a grammatical one.

4.12.2. Quotations:

Quotations are said in the original language in which they have been altered; my corpus yields only two examples of quotations.

(81) galna "vous êtes les ambassadeurs de l'Algérie »

"He told us "you are the ambassadors of Algeria."

(82) kima gal rabbi "هل يستوي الذين يعلمون و الذين لا يعلمون "

"As God said "are those who know the same as those who do not (know)"

4.13. Cram's Categories:

Following Cram (1981), we will study a number of categories namely:Personal epithets, personal names and modes of address, topographical names and phatic expressions.

4.13.1. Personal Epithets:

Cram (1981:240)definesthis category as the "set of nouns whose semantic function is to express the speaker's attitude to the person or persons referred to and whose typical grammatical use is not unlike that of interjections" [11]. Here are some examples taken from my corpus.

(83) le budget ntaʕ la mairie ya si Mohamed.

 "The budget of the town hall O Mohamed."

(84) ah oui ya χuya ʕandi le passeport.

"Oh yes O brother I have a passport."

4.13.2. Personal Names and Modes of Address:

The first category that we have to talk about is personal namesbecause the latteroften occur in Arabic in code switching instances. Most of the my informants who belong to the

older generations do not pronounce Arabic names in French even if the they have a good mastery of this language and prefer to pronounce them in Arabic. There are some names which have been used by my informants such as Mohamed, Khaled, Rachidi and Boumedienne.

The second category included in this section has to deal with modes of address. The latter tend to occur in Arabic or in French for different reasons. One of the most used titles in Arabic is "si" which corresponds to English "sir" rather than French "monsieur".

As far as my corpus is concerned, I noticed that most male titles do occur in French such as "directeur" (director), "docteur" (doctor), "maire" (mayor), "ministre" (minister) and "professeur" (professor) because they are unknown or they do not exist in Arabic.

4.13.3. Topographical Names:

As far as this category is concerned, most of the topographical names which have been recorded do occur in French such these examples:

(85) jibohum ʕla la ligne Tokyo, Anchorage, l'Allemagne et la Suisse.

"Bring them on the line Tokyo, Anchorage, Germany and Suitzerland."

(86) Japan fani kanet une puissance.

"Japan also was a great power."

(87) la medicine teddik lCanada.

"Medicine will take you to Canada."

(88) Alger mliħa.

"Algiers is good."

4.13.4. Phatic Expressions:

This category refers to the type of "Language used more for the purpose of establishing an atmosphere or maintaining social contact than for exchanging information or ideas"[12].

My data yield some phatic expressions which are used for greetings or leave-taking; they can be in either language.

(89) salam ʕlikom.

"Peace on you."

(90) ça va, labas, lħamdollah

"All right, no problem, thank God."

There are also some phatic expressions which are related to religion such as the following examples:

(91) nʃallah   "God willing"
(92) lHamdullah   "Thanks to God.
(93) sobħana allah   " sobhana Allah"
(94) allah yjazik   "God rewards you"
(95) astaġfir allah   "God's forgiveness"

My corpus also yields other phrases which are used to express thanks, agreement, disagreement and correction. These phrases tend to occur in Arabic more than in French. Here are some of them.

(96) la la meʃi men la Suisse.

"no no not from Switzerland."

(97) wah c'est pas facile.

"Yes, it is not easy"

(98) ah oui a χuya ʕandi lPasseport.

"Oh yes O brother I have a passport."

(99) la la ġir un tour.

"no no just a turn".

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4.14. Conclusion:

Based on the foregoing, we can say that contrary to Bentahila and Davies's (1983) claim that "code switching is freely permitted at all boundaries", there is a number of constraints that regulate switches between Algerian Arabic and French and that these constraints may sometimes be violated because they were proposed for other pairs of languages.

Borrowing of words is an important phenomenon which the older generations resort to use because they acquired a rich vocabulary from the French colonisers, but most of these borrowed words have been integrated phonologically, morphologically and syntactically to the Arabic language.

The second important remark that we should make is that the older generations do not resort to French for lexical items only but they also switch between languages for concepts which do not exist in the colloquial dialect.

From this study, we also conclude that the older generations do not switch languages randomly but they are restricted by some non linguistic factors such as the relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor, the topic of the discussion, the mood and the impression which the speaker wants to convey.

The last but not least note is that the older generations use more French in their speech than Arabic. This is due to the fact that they have a good mastery of the French language because it contains the necessary bulk of scientific and technological concepts that they need to use in their daily life.

Notes to chapter four:

1. He continues to say that "the items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structure". Quoted in Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:106)

2. Bloomfield (1933: 444-45)says that "in dialect borrowing, the borrowed features come from within the same speech-area (as *father, rather* with [a] in an [ɛ]-dialect)and in cultural borrowing, the borrowed features come from a different language.

3. Bloomfield (1933: 461)says that "intimate borrowing occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. This situation arises for the most part by conquest, less often in the way of peaceful migration. Intimate borrowing is usually one-sided....and it oftenextends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties"

4. Terms like "donor language", "source language" and "borrower language" are used interchangeably to refer to any language that provides therelevant input.

5. Terms like "receipt language", "receiving language", "borrowing language" and "host language" are used to refer to any language that incorporates features from another language.

6. For Haugen, "importation" involves bringing a pattern to a language, and "substitution" means replacing something from another language with a native pattern.

7. Weinreich (1953) used the terms "transfer" and "reproduction" to refer to "importation" and "substitution" respectively.

8. She adds "…They are gratuitous – by definition, another layer on the cake, because the recipient language always has viable equivalents. Then, why are they borrowed? One answer is cultural pressure: When two languages are spoken in the same community, but one language prevails in most public discourse and certainly in all status-raising discourse, then **the other language loses some of its vitality** to that language, and it becomes the recipient language in borrowing and will even replace its own words with words from the dominant language.

9. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, seventh edition. Oxford University press. P 740.

10. Quoted in Bouamrane (1986: 175).

11. Quoted in Bouamrane (1986: 164).

12. T. Mc Arthur (ed) (1992). The Oxford companion to the English language. Abridged Edition. Oxford University press. P 765.

4.16. General Conclusion

From this short investigation, we can say that it has thrown some light on the speech of an important category of the Algerian society which is represented by the older generations. The latter switch languages more than any other category because of their mastery of the French language.

The first chapter of this work highlighted the historical background of languages present in Algeria. Today we can say that the Algerian sociolinguistic situation is characterised by the double phenomena of diglossia and bilingualism. The former means two varieties or two languages which fulfil different functions or different purposes, one reserved for formal use the other for informal. The latter phenomenon means the use of two varieties or two languages for the same purpose. We can also say that many Algerians have knowledge of at least two languages, a mother tongue (Berber and/or Algerian Arabic) plus a written variety of Arabic, French, and English.

Furthermore, I noticed that the Algerian political system still considers classical Arabic as the sole national and official language of the country since the independence, and still neglect the multilingual aspect of the Algerian society.

In spite of the fact that the Algerian government has lunched successive processes of Arabisation since the sixties, French is still used in many domains such as administration, university lectures and economics, it is also considered as the language of modernity and technological development.

Algerian Arabic and Berber are considered as vernacular languages which are reserved for informal situations and daily life conversations. The latter are also used along side with the high varieties namely classical Arabic and French for complementary distributions.

After examining the literature on code switching in the second chapter, I noticed that since the fifties no other linguistic phenomenon has received as much intention from researchers as code switching because it represents the most salient outcome of language contact and it characterises all the bilingual or multilingual societies of the world. Moreover, I noticed that it has been subject of research in different disciplines namely: the sociolinguistic, the syntactic and the psycholinguistic point of view. However, a great number of studies concentrated on the social and the functional factors that operate to constrain it.

As far as the third chapter is concerned, it aimed at examining language attitudes of the older generations. The results obtained from the questionnaire I used revealed the importance of many non-linguistic variables such the topic, the addressee, the setting and the mood in determining language choice. Classical Arabic and French are highly esteemed by the older generations since the first one is the language of the Holy Quran and it represents the Islamic religion, and the second one is the language of modernism and prestige.

In the last chapter of this work, I analysed the data collected from my respondents in different situations. As a result, I perceived that the phenomenon of lexical borrowing is very frequent with the older generations who tend to borrow verbs from the French language to use them in their daily life conversations, and they also borrow nouns which are unknown or which do not exist in the Arabic language.

In dealing with code switching, I wanted to put some emphasis on the fact that this communicative strategy is not a random process of mixing two languages without respecting the syntax of either language, but it is a rule governed technique that the bilingual speakers resort to in different situations.
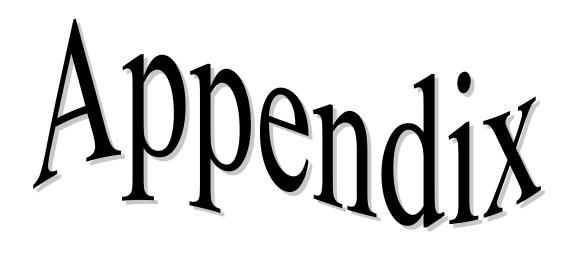
It should be noted, however that this study has surveyed only a specific category of the Algerian society to know if the older generations do switch languages a lot or not. As expected, the survey showed that these bilingual speakers always have recourse to this strategy in their daily life interactions.

Generally, the findings of the study indicate that the phenomenon of code switching is a strategy that allows continuity in speech rather than an obstruction to communication.

To sum up we can say that despite its limitations, this study may offer some insights to the learners of sociolinguistics that the phenomenon of code switching is a rule governed process which is guided by a number of linguistic constraints plus other non-linguistic factors. The older generations resort a lot to this strategy of communication for technical and scientific vocabulary.

Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE

Ce questionnaire entre dans le cadre d'une recherche scientifique en vue d'un mémoire de magister en sociolinguistique.

Les informants qui rempliront ce questionnaire le feront d'une façon <u>anonyme</u>.

Les résultats de ce questionnaire pourront être publiés par l'auteur dans un but purement scientifique et informationnel.

Veuillez suivre strictement les énoncés des questions. Il n'est pas permis d'ajouter d'autres réponses que celles qui sont proposées.

Merci.

Mr. Belarbi Khaled

Coordonnées de l'informant:numéro: ……….

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Niveau d'instruction:

Les abréviations utilisées dans le questionnaire:

AA: Arabe Algérien**.**

AC: Arabe Classique**.**

B: Berbère.

F: Français

Section A: Attitudes envers les langues présentes en Algérie

Mettez une croix dans la case qui correspond à votre choix.

1. Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous le plus compétent?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

2. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus facile?

langues	AC	AA	B	F
à apprendre?				
à parler?				
à comprendre?				

3. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus difficile?

langues	AC	AA	B	F
à apprendre?				
à parler?				
à comprendre?				

4. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus pratique?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

5. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus utile pour les études?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

6. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la moins utile pour les études?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

7. Quelle langue aimez-vous le plus?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

8. Quelle langue aimez-vous le moins?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

9. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus démodée?

☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

10. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus moderne?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

11. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus belle?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

12. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus riche?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

13. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus prestigieuse?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

14. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus pure?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

15. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus noble?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

16. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus ancienne?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

17. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus vulgaire?

☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

Section B: Attitudes envers le Français

1. Connaissez-vous le Français?

☐ Oui ☐ Non

2. Comment est votre niveau en Français (en général)?

☐ Tés bien ☐ Bien ☐ Mal ☐ Très mal

3. Comment parlez-vous le Français?

☐ Tés bien ☐ Bien ☐ Mal ☐ Très mal

4. Comment écrivez-vous le Français?

☐ Tés bien ☐ Bien ☐ Mal ☐ Très mal

5. Comment lisez-vous le Français?

☐ Tés bien ☐ Bien ☐ Mal ☐ Très mal

6. Avez-vous appris le Français?

☐ Oui ☐ Non

7. OÙ avez-vous appris le Français?
☐ À la maison   ☐ À l'école   ☐ Ailleurs

8. Aimez-vous le Français?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

9. Regardez-vous les chaînes Française?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

10. Ecoutez-vous les radios qui émettent leurs programmes en Français?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

11. Lisez-vous en Français?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

12. Pensez-vous que le Français fait partie de l'identité Algérienne?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

13. Pensez-vous que le Français va disparaître de l'Algérie?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

14. Pensez-vous que le Français est nécessaire pour les Algériens?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non

15. Voulez-vous que vos enfants apprennent le Français?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non   ☐ Je ne sais pas

16. Voulez-vous que vos enfants soient:
☐ Monolingue   ☐ Bilingue   ☐ Multilingue

Section C: Attitudes envers l'alternance ou le mélange des codes (langues)

1. Quelle langue considérez-vous comme langue maternelle?
☐ AC   ☐ AA   ☐ B   ☐ F

2. Vous arrive-t-il de mélanger ou d'alterner entre les codes (langues)?
☐ Oui   ☐ Non   ☐ Parfois   ☐ Jamais

3. Si oui, vous le faites entre:
☐ AC/AA   ☐ AC/B   ☐ AC/F   ☐ AA/B   ☐ AA/F   ☐ B/F

4. Quand vous faites usage de l'alternance de codes (langues), c'est avec:
☐ Votre famille   ☐ Vos amis   ☐ Vos collègues   ☐ Autre

5. Quand vous faites usage de l'alternance de codes (langues), vous le faites:

☐ Consciemment   ☐ Inconsciemment   ☐ Je ne sais pas

6. Quand vous faites usage de l'alternance de codes (langues), c'est pour:

☐ Combler vos lacunes   ☐ Prouver votre maîtrise des deux codes

☐ Une question d'habitude   ☐ Je ne sais pas

7. Pensez- vous que l'alternance de codes (langues) est:

☐ Bonne   ☐ Mauvaise   ☐ Je ne sais pas

8. Pensez- vous que l'alternance de codes (langues) est un problème:

☐ Oui   ☐ Non   ☐ Je ne sais pas

9. Pensez- vous que l'alternance de codes détruira n'importe quelle langue?

☐ Oui   ☐ Non   ☐ Peut être   ☐ Je ne sais pas

10. Pensez-vous que ceux qui alternent entre les codes sont:

☐ Lettrés   ☐ Illettrés   ☐ Normaux   ☐ Anormaux

☐ Intelligents   ☐ Complexés   ☐ Frimeurs   ☐ Bizarres

Section D: Usage de languesd'après l'interlocuteur, le sujet et le lieu.

1. Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus avec ces interlocuteurs?

Interlocuteurs	AC	AA	B	F
Parents				
Frères / soeurs				
Amis				
Collègues				
Docteur				
Autres				

2.   Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus quand vous parlé de ces sujets?

Sujets	AC	AA	B	F
La vie quotidienne				
Travail				
Politique				
Sport				
Religion				

3.   Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus quand vous êtes dans ces lieux?

Lieux	AC	AA	B	F
A la maison				
Au café				
Dans la rue				
Au travail				
Au cabinet				
Autres				

4.   Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus dans ces situations?

Situations	AC	AA	B	F
Heureux				
Fatigué				
En colère				
Autres				

5. Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus pour rédiger?

Objets	AC	AA	B	F
Une demande d'emploi				
Une lettre d'amour				
Une plainte				
Autres				

<u>Section E</u>: Attitudes envers l'arabisation en Algérie

1. Quelle langue exprime le mieux vos idées?
☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

2. Quelle langue exprime le mieux vos sentiments?
☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

3. Quelle langue est mieux adaptée pour l'enseignement des matières littéraires ?
☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

4. Quelle langue est mieux adaptée pour l'enseignement des matières scientifiques et technologiques?
☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

5. Pensez-vous que l'arabisation du système éducatif en Algérie est:
☐ Bonne ☐ Mauvaise ☐ Je ne sais pas

6. Pensez-vous que le système éducatif en Algérie devrait-il être?
☐ Monolingue ☐ Bilingue ☐ Multilingue

7. Considérez-vous que l'Arabe Classique est une langue:
☐ Morte ☐ Stagnante

☐ Sans valeur ☐ Je ne sais pas

8. Voulez-vous que l'Arabe Algérien devienne une langue nationale et officielle?
☐ Oui ☐ Non ☐ Je ne sais pas

9. Pensez-vous que l'Algérie a besoin d'une nouvelle réforme linguistique plurilingue (multilingue)?
☐ Oui ☐ Non ☐ Je ne sais pas

10. D'après vous, quelle langue représente le mieux les Algériens?
☐ AC ☐ AA ☐ B ☐ F

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ABSTRACT

The present work is intended to study the speech behaviour of the older generations in Tiaret. It will also shed some light on the different language attitudes and the non-linguistic variables that may play an important role in language choice.

This modest work aims first to examine the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and to give a brief description of the different languages present on its ground. The second vital goal of this memoire is to throw some light on the attitudes that the older generations in Tiaret hold vis-à-vis their languages. The last but not least purpose of this study is to analyse the most salient sociolinguistic phenomena such as code switching, code mixing and borrowing.

In order for us to examine the language attitudes of our informants, we will use a questionnaire. The latter will encompass five subsections each one dealing with a specific kind of attitude.

The most important part of our work is the analysis of the data gathered. Algerian Arabic/ French code switching instances will be analysed following the models developed by Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Bouamrane (1986) who studied Moroccan Arabic/ French and Algerian Arabic / French code switching respectively.

Keywords:

Older Generations In Tiaret; Language Contact; Bilingualism; Diglossia; Code-Switching; Borrowing; Code Mixing; Language Attitudes; The Choice Of Language; Arabization.