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**Language Maintenance and Language Shift among  
Kabyle Speakers in Arabic Speaking Communities  
The Case of Oran**

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To the sweet memory of Ali Bouamrane,  
To the sweet memory of Rachid Benali Mohamed,  
To my mother and father,  
To my sisters and brothers,  
To all my family members,  
To my good friends,  
With love, respect and profound gratitude.

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## **List of abbreviations**

AA: Algerian Arabic

SA: Standard Arabic

F: French

K: Kabyle

CS: Code Switching

H: High

L: Low

L1: First language (mother tongue)

L2: Second language

## Phonetic symbols

### 1. Vowels:

Short	Example	Gloss	Long	Example	Gloss
æ	[mf æt]	she went	æ:	[ktæ:b]	Book
a	[duda]	a worm	a:	[ħa:wə l]	Try
i	[lila]	a night	i:	[fi:l]	Elephant
e	[fatema]	Fatima	e:	[mre:đ ]	ill (sing.masc)
u	[X uja]	my brother	u:	[f u:f]	look!
ɑ	[mređ ɑ]	ill (sing. fem)	ɑ:	[ṭ a:r]	it flew
ə	[qbə l]	Before	ɔ :	[ftɔ :r]	Lunch

### 2. Consonants:

SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʔ	ʔ æna	Me	đ	đ ɑ lə m	unjust
B	bæb	door	ṭ	ṭ ɑ:r	it flew
T	tæf i	mine	ð	ðuba:b (CA)	flies
θ	θ af lə b	fox	ɸ	ɸ æ:m	one year
ɖ	ɖɸf æ:n	hungry	ʎ	ʎ æli	Expensive
ħ	ħammæm	bath	F	fu:l	broad beans
X	X ə msa	five	Q	qamar (CA)	moon
D	dunja	Life	k	Kæjə n	there is
ð	ðæ:lika (CA)	that	L	li:l	night
R	rə mla	sand	M	mdi:na	town
Z	zi:n	nice	N	nsi:t	I forgot
S	saha	all right	H	huwa	Him
f	f bæ:b	beautiful	W	wæ:d	River
ʃ	ʃ ɑ :m	he fasted	J	jæbə s	Dry
v	vviʋ	I want	G	gælli	he told me



## Abstract

The present study investigates the Kabyle minority group living in Oran. This group was chosen because it makes use of a variety which is totally unintelligible with the other components that consist Oran speech repertoire, and because it outnumbers the other minority groups.

Within this work we intend to study the speech behaviour of this minority group in relation to a variety of social variables. The question is to know whether, as a minority group, Kabyle speakers of Oran will maintain their mother tongue, despite the environment that seems hostile to the maintenance of their native language, or shift to other languages that exist in Oran.

Knowing that language attitudes play an important role in language choice, this study aims at investigating the different attitudes this group would display towards the four languages that consist their speech repertoire i.e. Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and Kabyle. It also intends at analysing their attitudes towards code switching, the contact phenomenon that characterises the sociolinguistic situation of this bilingual environment.

To achieve the above goals, we started by shedding some light on the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in terms of diglossia, bilingualism, code switching and borrowing, and then we tried to relate our data to linguistic models such as the one developed by Myers Scotton. Similarly to previous investigations on Berber studies in Oran, Benhattab (2004, 2011) and Benali Mohamed (2007), we opted for a questionnaire made up of three sections that deals with different aspects of language attitudes and behaviours. This was distributed to a selected population to obtain a representative sample.

The findings of this work come out with the conclusion that the Kabyle speakers of Oran under study manifest positive attitudes towards their native language. These positive attitudes may play a significant role in the maintenance of the Kabyle variety in the speech community of Oran where the predominant language is Algerian Arabic. We may also say that members of this minority speech group express their belonging and loyalty to the Kabyle language and culture through the use of their minority language in different contexts.

## Résumé

Ce travail enquête sur la minorité Kabyle d'Oran. Ce groupe a été choisi parce qu'il fait usage d'une variété qui est totalement inintelligible avec les autres variétés utilisées à Oran, et parce qu'il surpasse les autres minorités Berbères.

À travers cette étude, nous projetons d'étudier les préférences linguistiques de ce groupe minoritaire en relation à une variété de facteurs sociaux. La question est de savoir si, autant que minorité, les Kabyles d'Oran maintiendront leur langue maternelle, en dépit de l'environnement qui paraît hostile au maintien de leur langue natale, ou bien changeront pour d'autres langues.

Sachant que les attitudes de la langue jouent un rôle important dans le choix de la langue, cette étude vise à analyser les différentes attitudes de ce groupe envers les quatre langues qui consistent leur répertoire linguistique : Arabe Standard, Arabe Algérien, Français et Kabyle. On voudra aussi analyser leurs attitudes envers l'alternance codique, le phénomène linguistique qui caractérise la situation sociolinguistique de cet environnement bilingue.

Pour atteindre les objectifs de ce travail, nous avons commencé par parler de la situation sociolinguistique en Algérie en matière de diglossie, bilinguisme, alternance codique et emprunt linguistique.

Suivant les travaux de Benhattab (2004, 2011) et Benali Mohamed (2007), nous avons opté pour un questionnaire composé de trois sections qui traitent les différents aspects des attitudes de la langue et les préférences linguistiques. Cela a été distribué à une population sélectionnée pour obtenir un échantillon représentatif.

Vers la fin, on peut conclure que les Kabyles d'Oran montrent des attitudes positives envers leur langue natale. Ces attitudes positives peuvent jouer un rôle considérable dans le maintien de la variété Kabyle dans la communauté linguistique d'Oran où l'Arabe Algérien est la langue prédominante. Nous pouvons aussi dire que les membres de ce groupe linguistique sont loyaux envers la culture et la langue Kabyle et font usage de leur langue minoritaire dans différents contextes.

# **General Introduction**

Linguistically speaking, Algeria is characterised by the co-existence of many languages: Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, Berber and French. This linguistic heterogeneity gives birth to different speech communities: Berber speaking areas like the region of Kabylia, and Arabic speaking areas like Algiers, Oran, and Constantine.

Usually, societies are in perpetual contact with one another. The nature and motivations of contact may be different. Among the reasons behind contact are populations' movements and economic exchanges.

Being a big economic centre and the second largest capital of the country in terms of economy and also in terms of demographic density have made the city of Oran such an important destination attracting many people from different regions of the country to settle in for reaching, security and housing and economic opportunities.

The arriving of different peoples having different languages at Oran creates a linguistic contact which sometimes gives birth to the emergence of linguistic minorities. Benhattab (2004, 2011) was the first to deal with Kabyle speakers in Oran as being minority speakers living in Algerian Arabic urban centre.

Berber speakers in Algeria and Kabyle in particular, constitute a relatively small number of the population which makes of Kabyle a minority language. This linguistic group is characterised by the use of a variety which is almost totally unintelligible with the other varieties' speakers in Oran.

Broadly speaking, we can generally distinguish three broad kinds of contact situation: those involving language maintenance, those involving language shift, and those that lead to the creation of new contact languages.

The coming into contact of the Algerian Arabic speech community with the Kabyle one in Oran may either result in language maintenance or shift. Thus it would be interesting to see whether, as a minority group, Kabyle speakers in Oran will maintain their mother tongue, or shift to other languages.

The present research is directed towards the Kabyle minority of Oran. It aims at investigating the sociolinguistic situation of Oran, and also examining the different attitudes and linguistic habits this group would have towards the different languages that are at their

disposal. It also aims at observing the phenomenon of code switching as it is displayed by this minority group.

The question is to know whether, as a minority group, Kabyle speakers in Oran will maintain their mother tongue, or shift to other language(s).

This work is composed of a general introduction, four chapters, a general conclusion, and two appendices.

In the first chapter, the theoretical part, an attempt is made to shape out the real sociolinguistics situation of Algeria in general and Oran in particular in terms of diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, and borrowing. It also intends at pointing out the linguistic components of the Algerian people, i.e. Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, Berber and French, and highlighting the real place that each language has in our society.

The second chapter touches on the phenomenon of code switching from a social perspective. It aims at investigating the codes used by the members of the Kabyle speech community in Oran and the motivations that stand behind their choice in shifting from one variety to another.

Similarly to Bentahilla and Davies (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Benali Mohamed (2007) and Benhattab (2004, 2011), the data for this chapter is based on a corpus which was collected through recording Kabyle interlocutors' conversations.

Our corpus is made of several hours of conversations which took place in several situations such as: home, administration, university, TV and radio programs... The recorded participants are both sexes who belong to different age groups, and occupying various functions such as: housewives, clerks, students, journalists, civil servants...

The third chapter is a brief overall view of Kabyle speakers' attitudes. The aim behind this chapter is to know whether the Kabyle Speakers of Oran are maintaining their mother tongue or shifting to other language (s) in an environment where the dominant language is Algerian Arabic. This can be checked through the analysis of their attitudes towards the different existing languages in the speech community of Oran, as attitudes play a significant role in the maintenance or shift of a language.

The fourth chapter deals with patterns of language use among Kabyle speakers' inner-group in relation to a variety of factors. The different factors relevant to language choice are: types of interlocutor, types of setting, types of topic, types of communicative purpose, types of mood, preference for the modern means of communication, and preference for the media.

The data for this part of investigation was collected through a questionnaire distributed to a selected population of Kabyle speakers in Oran. This method allows us to obtain a representative sample, and to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. It is worth stating that, whatever method one chooses, it is very difficult to measure attitudes which are inner mental states that can never be directly observed.

The questionnaire is written in Arabic and French, and provides information such as age, gender, occupation, educational background. It is divided into three sections. Section A is a list of questions that touch on Kabyle speakers' attitudes towards the varieties existing in the linguistic environment of Oran (Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and Kabyle). Section B contains questions that deal with Kabyle speakers' attitudes towards the phenomenon of code switching. Section C is a series of questions that revolve around patterns of language use among Kabyle speakers' inner-group in relation to a variety of factors. 120 questionnaires were handed to both males and females belonging to different age groups and occupying different functions such as unemployed informants, pupils and university students, public professions and wage earners, liberal professions, traders and others, but only 100 were given back to me with answers.

# **Chapter One:**

## **Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation**

### **1.1. Introduction:**

The present chapter aims at presenting some aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It highlights the different periods which marked the history of the country, and the role of the various invaders who participated in the shaping of the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria. It also points out the components of the verbal repertoire of the Algerian speech community: Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and Berber, and the different statuses given to them. We will also point out some preliminary general information on Berber with a particular interest to the issue of its unity and diversity, and its geographical distribution in the country. Besides, this chapter is also an attempt to discuss briefly the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in terms of Diglossia, Bilingualism, Code Switching, Code Mixing, and Borrowing.

### **1.2. A Brief Historical Background of Algeria:**

Throughout different periods of its history, Algeria was the object of many invasions and conquests which favoured the coming of many peoples, and the establishment of various cultures, civilisations, as well as different languages.

Algeria was originally marked by the Berber<sup>1</sup> presence, followed by the Carthagi civilisation established by the Phoenician traders who came to North Africa. After being successively defeated by the Romans in the Punic wars, Carthage declined and Romans took control of the area. Six centuries later, Vandals came to substitute the Roman Empire in Algeria. Berber, Punic and Latin were then the languages in use at that time.

After a settlement of more than a century, the Byzantines put an end to the Vandal domination. Some years later, the Byzantine control was finished by the invasion of the Arabs. The Arab conquest's aim was to implement and introduce the Arabic language and the Islamic religion. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Algeria knew the Spanish settlement which, after a considerable period of time, was followed by the Ottoman Empire who came to save Islam and put Algeria under the Turkish protectorate until 1830, during more than 300 years.

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<sup>1</sup> Berbers are known to be the original inhabitants of North Africa who emerged as a result of the mixture of peoples coming from the east "the Libou" with North Africa's prehistoric inhabitants.



The Turkish rule was ended by the French, who occupied Algeria for the period going from 1830 to 1962, within which they could influence the Algerian society both at the cultural and linguistic levels.

Because of the various civilisations established in Algeria, the original and successive inhabitants were exposed to different languages. This has made of Algeria a bilingual<sup>2</sup> country.

Among all the above cited languages only three still have a deep impact on the Algerian society: Berber with its varieties, Standard and colloquial Arabic, and French.

### **1.3. Today's Algerian Verbal Repertoire:**

Similarly to most Maghreb's countries, Algeria has always been characterised by the existence of many linguistic varieties. The languages of today's Algeria may be classified as follows:

#### **1.3.1. Arabic:**

Arabic may be represented as the following:

##### **1.3.1.1. Standard Arabic:**

It is the official language of all Arab countries where it is used in the oral and written form on formal settings and official circles.

The wide range of Arabic varieties all over the Arab World is mainly divided into Eastern and Western vernaculars. The fact that colloquial Arabic in the Orient is highly influenced by English goes back to the English colonisation of the Middle East countries, and their economic relations with the English speaking countries. While the deep impact French has on the Maghreb dialectal Arabic is related to the fact that some North African countries were colonised by France, and to the economic and cultural exchanges between these countries and France. These influences and differences are reflected throughout different contact phenomena and processes such as the phonological, morpho-syntactic adaptation of some borrowings.

Modern Standard Arabic may be roughly classified as a modern version of Classical Arabic, with additions from foreign languages that are suitable to the scientific and technological needs of modern life. Ennaji (1991: 9) states in this vein that:

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<sup>2</sup> In the present work, bilingualism will be used with the following meaning "The use of two or more languages".

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

### **1.3.1.2. Algerian Arabic:**

Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian population. It represents the language of daily use. It exists in various forms which consist of regional varieties. We can distinguish three major regional varieties: the eastern variety, the western one, and the central one.

Algerian Arabic reflects the folk’s culture and oral heritage of popular songs, stories and sayings. Taleb Ibrahimi says that:

*“These Arabic dialects constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people (at least for those who are originally Arabic speakers), the language of the first socialisation, of the basic community. It is through it that the imaginary and the affective universe of the individual is built up.”<sup>3</sup>*

Taleb Ibrahimi (1995:33)

### **1.3.1.3. Educated Spoken Arabic:**

The phenomenon of diglossia has given birth to a middle variety called “Educated Standard Arabic”. It can be used by educated people for communication in semi-formal situations such as interviews. It is a modernized and simplified version of Standard Arabic which serves for formal written and spoken communication in the media, politics, and business.

### **1.3.2. French:**

The wide spread use of French in different domains such as education, administration, press, the mass media and family reveals that this language is deeply implanted at both formal and informal levels, and remains a significantly important language in Algeria , in spite of the official marginalisation and the concentrated efforts made by the government to get rid of it.

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<sup>3</sup> The original text reads as follow: *“Ces dialectes arabes constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité du peuple algérien (du moins pour les arabophone d’origine), la première socialisation, de la communauté de base. C’est à travers elle que se construit l’imaginaire de l’individu, son univers affectif. «*

It is undeniable that many Algerian speakers are influenced by French culture and language. In an attempt to describe the linguistic situation in Algeria, Bouhadiba (1998: 1\_2) asserts that French is “*Strongly implanted at the lexical level*”.

A great number of French borrowings, both adapted and non-adapted, can be attested in the verbal repertoire of many Algerian speakers. Algerian Arabic has been influenced by French to the extent that some Algerian Arabic sociolinguists like Bouamrane (1986) talk about “Franc-Arabic” when referring to AA.

In Algeria, it does not sound weird at all to hear people saying utterances where we find a great number of French words:

(1) Eg : /ʒ ætni/ **une crampe** /fi/ **mon cœur la nuit passée** (I had a heart cramp last night)

The impact French has on Algerians’ verbal repertoire can also be observed in their frequent use of the “ready-made” phrases such as: “**C’est bon**” (It’s alright) which can be employed in sentences like:

(2) **C’est bon** /sə gamtha/ (It’s alright, I repaired it)

Despite the process of “arabisation” that Algeria has known after independence and which aimed at the implantation of the Arabic language in the Algerian society, French could remain as one of the languages of education in Algeria. The rich specialized registers it possesses make of it the language of modernity and give it a considerable prestige in society.

Taleb Ibrahimi (1995:108) says that it is:

*“The language of modernity, techniques, the language of social promotion, the language of opening on the world”<sup>4</sup>*

In fact, it is the language of techniques in the sense that scientific and technological university studies such as medicine and architecture are taught in French, since the related technical terminology is available in this language. It is also the language of social promotion in the sense that individuals who master French are well considered.

The presence of French in the Algerian society may also be illustrated throughout the speakers’ familiarity with this language and the culture it carries. The presence of French is also visible in the mass media; this may be noticed through the importance and credibility of a

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<sup>4</sup> The original text in French is : « *La langue de la modernité, des techniques, la langue de la promotion sociale, la langue de l’ouverture sur le monde.* »

significant number of newspapers in French such as “Le Quotidien d’Oran” and “El Watan”, and the popularity of the national TV channel “Canal Algerie”, as well as the radio station “Alger Chaîne 3” which broadcast in French.

### **1.3.3. Berber:**

The present section aims at presenting some general information on Berber.

#### **1.3.3.1. General Information on Berber:**

One of the most debatable questions that arise about Berber is whether it is a language or not. Linguistically speaking, if we consider a language “any linguistic system that permits communication between individuals” then Berber is a language since it corresponds with these criteria. However if we consider that “a language is standard” than we can not talk about Berber language since it hasn’t reach the standard status yet. Concentrated efforts are made by many specialists of Berber who are working on the process of its standardization throughout the development of dictionaries and grammar books, etc... In his work on Tamazight, Benali Mohamed (2007) talks about “Semi Standard Tamazight”.

Tackling this issue from a non-linguistic point of view, one can easily notice the fact that almost every Berber variety is surrounded by Arabic speakers on all sides, and it is spoken in states whose official language is Standard Arabic, and in which French remains significant in official domains, as it is the case in Algeria. This seems to represent an obstacle to the Berber language evolution and its official recognition.

Berbers are a large and varied ethnic group whose ancestors once occupied most of Northern Africa from the Atlantic coast of Mauritania to the Red Sea. They still maintain a certain numerical consistency and a specific cultural identity despite integration with other ethnic groups. In order to have a full understanding of the present Berber population in Algeria (and in the Meghreb region generally) it is worth stating that in various historical periods, the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines and Turks tried to occupy the Berbers’ territories, but only the Arabs managed to conquer their lands and merge with them in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, imposing profound changes in their culture and language, and introducing them to the Islamic religion. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, large Arab tribes (in particular the Banu Hilal) immigrated en masse to North Africa emerging a great number of Arabic-speaking groups. This was considered to be a turning point in the Arabisation of the area. Because they needed to reach a respected social status, Berber speakers gradually shifted to Arabic which had the religious, scientific and literary prestige at that time. Some have done so

within living memory; for example, the village of Sened in Tunisia was still largely Berber-speaking at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but is now entirely Arabic-speaking. The long-standing influence of Arabic is reflected in the majority of Berber varieties. In this respect, Chaker (1996: 17) writes: “*Arabic is the only non autochthonous language which got solidly and definitively implanted in the Maghreb*”<sup>5</sup>

Mansouri (1997: 45) points out that Berber has always been downgraded. He relates this downgrade to the Berbers’ dependence on other centres at the formal levels, and to the fact that this language always lacked a written script-codification as it most of the time relied on the spoken form. However history reveals that throughout different epochs Berbers tended to transmit their cultural legacy throughout the conquerors languages such as Latin and Arabic. Even under the reign of the great kings such as Massinissa and El Kahina, the language of government and written literature was not Berber i.e. Latin during the period of Massinissa and Arabic during the period of Al Kahina.<sup>6</sup>

We found it not wrong to mention that Tifinagh<sup>7</sup> is the Berber writing system which is believed to have a Phoenician origin similarly to most semitic and ancient Mediterranean alphabets. It was written on stones and in caves, and had a restricted usage such as dedications, intimate exchanges, menaces and declarations of love at that time.

Because of the various linguistic traits shared between Berber, Arabic, Hebrew, ancient Egyptian, and other African languages from Tchad and Nigeria, many scholars such as Cohen (1924, 1947, and 1975) and Bloomfield (1933) talked about the link that exists between these languages, and point out their belonging to the Hemitic Semitic language family. Present Berber is also believed to be a descendant of Libyan which was the language of the Berbers’ ancestors who lived in North Africa during the antique period<sup>8</sup>.

In addition to being separated by natural barriers such as mountains and deserts, the different Berber speaking communities are also often linguistically and geographically separated by large Arabic speaking areas. They are scattered in Morocco, Algeria, Mali, Niger, Libya, and Tunisia.

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<sup>5</sup> The original text reads as follow: “*L’Arabe est la seule langue non autochtone qui se soit solidement et définitivement implantée au Maghreb*”

<sup>6</sup> In Haddadou (2000: 87)

<sup>7</sup> The word “Tifinagh” is consisted of “Tifin+nagh” which means “our discovery”

<sup>8</sup> In Haddadou (2000: 224).

### 1.3.3.2. Geographical Distribution of Berber in Algeria:

Berber is one of the national languages of Algeria. It is also known as Tamazight. It is the most ancient variety that exists in the whole Maghrib, and has never reached the standard official status. It is the native language of approximately 30% of the Algerian population<sup>9</sup>.

The different Berber varieties used in Algeria are:

- **Taqbailit (Kabyle):** It is an important Berber variety. This importance goes back to the fact that Kabyle speakers outnumber the other Berber speakers in Algeria. It is spoken in the central north of the country. The Kabylia region is made up of Tizi Ouzou, being the capital city of Great (High) Kabylia, and Bejaia, representing the main centre of Small (Low) Kabylia. In addition to other urban centres such as Boumerdes, Bouira and Bordj Bouariridj.
- **Tashawit (Chaoui):** It is spoken in the Aures mountains area in the eastern south of Algeria. This area is made up of different urban centres such as Batna, Souk Ahras and khenchla.
- **Tamzabit:** It is the variety spoken by the Mzabs in the centre of Algeria. The fact of being a good conservative speech group settled in different urban centres of the country, has made of it an important Berber community.
- **Tamahaq:** It is spoken in the Ahaggar and the Tassili areas in the south of Algeria. It represents together with Tamasheq, and Tamajeq the main sub-branches of the Tuareg variety which is largely spread in Mali and Niger.

**Tachenwit:** It is spoken in the cities of Tipaza and Cherchell in the west of Algiers.

- In addition to the above cited important Berber speaking areas, there are other small Berber speaking communities in Ouargla, (the Touat' Ksour), Bechar, Ain Sefra, The Gourrara' Ksour in Timimoun, Jbel Bissa (in the Area of Tenes).

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<sup>9</sup> The percentages are taken from Haddadou (2000 :22)

The spread of Berber in Algeria is not exclusive to the above cited Berber speaking areas. Indeed, a considerable number of Berber speakers live in different Arabic speaking areas of the country (mainly the biggest urban and economic centres such as Algiers, Oran, Constantine, etc...).

### 1.3.3.3. Berber: One Language or Many Languages:

Many researches have been undertaken to determine whether Berber is one language or various languages. The studies that were conducted on the issue of uniformity of the different varieties of Berber may be divided into two groups in relation to their implying principles:

- Scholars who think that Berber is made up of many languages. Those scholars have as their implying principle the idea that Berber is constituted of so many varieties which share a low degree of mutual intelligibility that it can never be one language.

Differently from the French tradition which has always considered Berber as one unified language, Applegate (1970) talks about Berber languages. His argument is the fact that different Berber speaking communities are not united in one geographical sphere, and that there is a large communicative gap between them.

Establishing his hypothesis on the Berber varieties' lexical diversity, Vycichl (1991:77) also regards Berber as different languages. He found that the word "house", for example, is called:

- /tigemmi/ in Chleuh.
- /axxam/ in Kabyle.

He enforces his assumption by the comparison he makes between Berber varieties and the Roman, the Germanic and the Slavic languages in Europe. He asserts that:

*"...The Berber speakers who live far from each other do not understand each other and speak French or Arabic..."<sup>10</sup>*

(Vycichl, 1991:77)

For Vycichl, the mutual intelligibility between the speakers is a significant feature that determines whether different varieties belong to the same language or to different ones. Yet, this parameter does not seem to be that evident since it can not be applied for other cases.

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<sup>10</sup> The original text reads as follows : "*...Les berbères qui habitent loin les uns des autres ne se comprennent pas et parlent arabe ou français....*"

The situation of Berber varieties is comparable with the one of Arabic varieties. A case in point would be Algerian Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic which are not mutually intelligible, but which are considered as two varieties of the same language.

Relying on recent scientific methods of glottochronology, Militarev (1991:91) does not consider the Berber varieties as a dialect continuum but as different varieties descending from a language family that goes back to the last third of the second millennium B.C. He speaks about the split of Proto-Berber into different branches and suggests the following classification:

- **Proto-East:** Spoken by the East Berber group which is made up of Siwi, Guadamsi, Awdjila, El Fodjaha, Sokna and probably many other Berber languages spread in the Lybian desert and Fezzan.
- **Proto-South:** The Tuareg language with its three main varieties: Tamahaq, Tamasheq, and Tamajeq, which corresponds roughly to the three political divisions: Algeria, Mali, and Niger.
- **Proto-West:** Zenega in Mauritania.
- **Proto-North:** Spoken by the Northern Berber group which is made up of the Atlas sub-group including: Tashelhit, Tamazight, Zenatia and Kabyle.

- Scholars who believe that Berber is one language. Those scholars have as their implying principle the idea that all these varieties descend from the same mother language. Many specialists in Berber studies such as Basset (1969:42) talk about the unity of Berber. She states that: “*Berber is only one language and each dialect is just a regional variety of it...*”<sup>11</sup>

Joining the same range of thoughts, Nait Zerrad (1995: 5) speaks about “Berber language”. His argument is that Berber varieties have the same fundamental morpho-syntactic structure and a common lexical base.

Chaker (1996:6) also takes the same position and asserts that recent research is supporting the idea of Berber unity. He says that:

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<sup>11</sup> The translation is taken from Benhattab (2011: 17). The original text reads as follows : ‘...*la langue berbère est une et chaque dialecte n’en est qu’une variante régionale...*’



*“...all the recent studies confirm the classical assumptions made by the French Berber studies: The infinite trans dialectal interrelations of the isoglosses; The high interdialectal variability, even in the central points of linguistic structures... characteristic features which prevent us to put forward that the Berber variety of a given region is a language”<sup>12</sup>*

(Chaker, 1996: 6)

He talks about the many studies undertaken on Berber by the French scholars which have always considered “Berber as one and each dialect as a regional variety”.

According to Chaker (1996: 8) the different varieties of Berber may be divided into two groups that make a hierarchy. This division is established on the basis of the degree of mutual intelligibility as well as the distance between the areas where these varieties are spoken.

- Regional varieties: They share some degree of uniformity at the phonetic, lexical and even grammatical levels. They are used in areas which are geographically separated, and they are considered as being the most important varieties. The Kabyle used in Algeria, the Tamazight and Chleuh used in Morocco are regional varieties.
- Local varieties: They are to some extent less heterogeneous compared to the regional varieties. They are featured by slight dissimilarities that do not have an effect on the mutual intelligibility between the different speakers. The Kabyle used in Tizi Ouzou, and the one used in Bejaia are not regional varieties of Berber but are rather local varieties of Kabyle.

Chaker (1996: 10) claims the unity of Berber in the sense that although Berber varieties are different from one another, they all share regular structural mechanism i.e.: phonological, grammatical, and lexical systems. Following the reasoning of Benhattab (2011: 17, 18) we may point out:

- The core phonological inventory, which is recurrent in all the dialects, and which has been established by Basset in 1945 and has been accepted by the specialists

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<sup>12</sup> The original text reads as follows: “...*Tout les travaux récents confirment les constats et enseignements classiques de la berberologie française: L'enchevêtrement trans-dialectal infini des isoglosses; la variabilité interdialectal très grande... Traits caractéristiques qui interdisent de considérer, sur des bases strictement linguistiques, le berbère de telle ou telle région comme langue particulière* ”

since then. He gives features such as: the opposition voiceless/ voiced, pharyngealisation and nasality which exist in almost all the varieties.

- The syntactic characteristics such as the cyclical morphology which combines a verbal or a nominal stem with cyclical morphemes showing aspect, number and gender on both sides of the stem.
- The lexical divergence between the different varieties is the most salient one. Yet, this variation is a relative one since it is sometimes due to minor differences in the semantic functions given to particular words. . In other words, a given word may be used in different varieties with different meanings, but when having a closer look at these differences, one will observe that the uses actually belong to the same semantic field.

In addition to the above cited linguistic point of view, Chaker (1991: 129) touches on the diversity of Berber from a sociolinguistic angle. He says:

*“The notion of the ‘Berber language’ is a linguistic abstraction and not an identifiable and localisable sociolinguistic reality. The only observable reality are the local effective usages”<sup>13</sup>*

The issue of unity and diversity of Berber is a complicated one. The reasons that stand behind its complexity are related to the fact that the different Berber varieties are spoken in discontinuous geographical areas where the socio-political realities are different from each other. In Algeria and Morocco, for instance, the regimes are strongly turned to the Arab nation, while the Mali and Niger governments are rather turned to France and to western Africa (Chaker1991:140).These factors may lead to the emergence of a considerable number of sociolinguistic variations which sometimes obstruct mutual intelligibility between the different varieties over these countries. In the same sense, Achab (2001) asserts that *“the lack of contact between these areas has led to a dialectalization process”*

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<sup>13</sup> The original text reads as follows: « *La notion de ‘langue berbère’ est une abstraction linguistique et non une réalité sociolinguistique identifiable et localisable. La seule réalité observable sont les usages locaux effectifs* ».

#### 1.4. Today's Algerian Linguistic Profile:

The present section is an attempt to discuss important sociolinguistic concepts such as “diglossia” and “bilingualism”.

##### 1.4.1. Diglossia:

Diglossia may be broadly defined as a linguistic situation in which different language varieties, being genetically related or unrelated, hold different statuses and fulfil different functions which are determined by official language policy and social agreements in the community.

William Marçais was the first to set up the term “diglossie” in 1930 and used it to describe the linguistic situation in three North African countries: Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. He says:

*“The Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects:*

- 1) a literacy language so called written Arabic or regular, or literal, or classical; the only one that had always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which still today are written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles judiciary acts, private letters, in a word, everything that is written, but which, exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere, and which, in any case, is not spoken now anywhere;*
- 2) spoken idioms, patois...none of which has ever been written...but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultured circles”.*<sup>14</sup>

(Marçais, 1930: 401)

For Marçais, Arabic has two forms. The first variety is classical, literary, purely written used for sciences, newspaper and literature writing, and also for judicial matters. The second one is oral used for daily conversation by all the speakers and it is never written anywhere.

This definition does not seem to be applicable for all Arabic speech communities where non-standard forms of Arabic begin to have some weight in the written medium. In Algeria for

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<sup>14</sup> The English translation of this passage is taken from Bouamrane (1986:2). The original text reads as follows: «*La diglossie arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire, dit arabe écrit ou régulier ou littéral, ou classique, qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, Bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous n'a peut-être jamais été écrit mais qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés* ».

instance, Algerian Arabic seems to be one of the languages used in some folk poems. It is widespread throughout advertising written slogans of many companies such as “Nedjma” and “Mobilis”.

Marçais considers Classical Arabic as the language which has always been written but not spoken. Yet, history reveals that this language was not written in the pre-islamic period, it was not even written during the Advent of Islam. He makes no distinction when referring to literary, written, regular, literal, and Classical Arabic while many linguists differentiate between them. Badawi (1973) talks about different levels of Arabic language: classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, literary Arabic, etc.

Ferguson was the first to introduce the term “diglossia” into English by late fifties. He uses this concept to describe the sociolinguistic situation of Arabic speaking countries as well as in the German, the Greek and the Haitian communities where two varieties of the same language are used for different purposes. He describes diglossia as:

*« A relatively stable 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 sector of the community for ordinary conversation”.*

(Ferguson, C.A., 1959: 16)

Ferguson’s definition is basically established on the following points:

- The H/L dichotomy.
- The complementary distribution of H and L.
- The specialization of functions fulfilled by these varieties.
- The stability of diglossia.
- The genetic relationship between H and L.

He talks about the high (H) variety of the language, the standard form, in opposition to the low (L) variety, the dialectal form. He sharply differentiates between the different forms of the Arabic language and divides them according to their functions. The H variety is used for formal circles and official settings, whereas the L variety is used in more private, intimate situations.

The following table is an illustration of some functions of the H and L varieties attributed by Ferguson:

Sermon in church or mosque	H	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		L
Personal letters	H	
Speech in parliament, political speech	H	
University lecture	H	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		L
News broadcast	H	
Radio 'soap opera'		L
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	H	
Caption on political cartoon		L
Poetry	H	
Folk literature		L

Many linguists like Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), El Hassan (1977), Bouamrane (1986), have been interested in the issue of middle varieties and have highly criticised Ferguson for the sharp distinction he made between the different levels of the Arabic language.

Blanc (1960) tries to depart from the clear cut H/L dichotomy and talks about a third level of Arabic that he calls Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). The fact that this middle form comes to cover up to some extent both official and unofficial domains, makes Ferguson's H/L

complementary distribution no longer suitable for today's Algerian speech community or any other Arabic-speaking community. In relation to this issue, Ferguson himself recognises the progress of Arabic diglossic situations and says that:

*“Intermediate between the two varieties, relatively ‘pure’ Classical and Colloquial,  
there are many shading of middle language”*

(Ferguson: 1970)

The other criticism that has been made to Ferguson’s definition is related to the stability of diglossia. Diglossic situations are not always stable and may change in the sense that the H variety becomes L and vice versa. In some cases, the L variety gains prestige and enjoys the speakers’ positive attitudes and becomes L together with the standard. In this respect Kaye states:

*“Arabic diglossia is not a relatively stable situation...Diglossia in Arabic (perhaps elsewhere too) involves the interaction of two systems, one well defined, the other ill-defined”.*

(Kaye: 1972, 47)

Kaye’s claim is based on a study he made in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon where he finds that a middle form of Arabic, which is a mixture of H and L, is used by both educated and uneducated speakers.

Differently from Ferguson who exclusively illustrates his concept of diglossia throughout the complementary distribution of colloquial and standard Arabic in the Arab world, all together with the alternation of Swiss, and standard Deutch in German speaking Switzerland, the one of Dhimhotiki and khatarevousa in Greece, and Haitian Creole, and Standard French in Haiti, Fishman goes beyond this restricted definition to deal not only with varieties descending from the same source but also with genetically unrelated ones. He extended the occurrence of diglossic situations both to monolingual societies and bilingual ones. In this respect, he states:

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

(Fishman, 1972:92)

Fishman establishes his definition of diglossia on the basis of a study made by Rubin (1968) on the sociolinguistic situation of Paraguay where Spanish is the H variety and Guarani (an Indian indigenous language which is genetically unrelated to Spanish) is the L variety.

The important point in Fishman's definition of diglossia is that all societies, being monolingual or bilingual ones, where "*two or more varieties are used in given circumstances*", are characterized by diglossic situations.

Two types of diglossia have been recognized in relation to the genetic relationship between the varieties in question:

- Intra-lingual diglossia: when the varieties in question are genetically related. As it is the case in Algeria where Standard Arabic is the H variety and Algerian Arabic is the L variety.
- Inter-lingual diglossia: when the varieties in question are not genetically related. As it is the case in Algeria where French is the H variety and Berber is the L one.

#### **1.4.2. Bilingualism:**

Bilingualism may be defined as a situation where two or more languages are used by a person or a group of people.

In an attempt to study bilingualism, the major specialists in this branch of linguistics give it numerous definitions which are, to some extent, vague and relative.

- Weinrich (1953: 5), for instance, defines it as "*the practice of alternately using two languages*".
- Mackey (1957: 51) states that it is "*...the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual...*"
- Haugen (1981: 74) considers it as the "*the knowledge of two languages*".
- For Bloomfield (1933: 1) being bilingual equals being able to speak two languages. He suggested defining a bilingual as someone who has "*the native-like control of two languages*".

These definitions may be challenged on a number of grounds i.e. they give little information on the degree of mastery of the languages in use, and the bilinguals' speaking, writing, reading and listening abilities.

Following Bouamrane's combination of several scholars' definitions, bilingualism may be given the following definition:

*"The use by an individual, a group or a nation (Bell, 1975: 165)  
of two or more languages (Mackey, 1968: 555) in all uses  
to which they put either". (Halliday, 1968:141).*

Quoted in Bouamrane (1986: 15)

One of the most important distinctions that can be made in this field is the one between societal and individual bilingualism. While Downes (1998:46) defines societal bilingualism as *"the situation in which two or more distinct languages form the repertoire of a community"*, Fishman (1971) considers bilingual any individual who has got more than one language at his disposal.

The relation between the two can be made in the sense that a speaker can be bilingual in a monolingual society, as it is often the case with immigrants, and vice versa. Belgium and Switzerland, for instance, are clear illustration of societal bilingualism where some individuals do not master more than one language.

The extent of bilingual competence differs from one person to another. Different categories of individual bilinguals are distinguished in relation to the mastery of the languages. These are:

- Active bilinguals: who are able to understand both languages, speak, read, and write them.
- Passive bilinguals: who can understand both languages but cannot easily speak them, and can not read or write them.

Bell (1983:120) suggested another classification of bilinguals:

- Compound bilinguals: whose two languages form a merged language. As in the case of Kabyle speakers of mixed marriages.
- Co-ordinate bilinguals: whose two languages are different from one another.
- Subordinate bilinguals: who most of the time rely on translation because they cannot think in the second language.

Bilingualism seems to be present in Algeria to different degrees. There are more bilinguals in the big urban cities, such as: Algiers, Oran and Constantine than in small towns. This may



be related to the flow of people who move to these large economic centres for various reasons.

An additional differentiation in bilingualism is the one related to the objectives behind learning or acquiring a second language. In this sense, Haugen (1981: 75) recognises three types of bilingualism:

- Supplementary bilingualism: it occurs when the individual learns the second language just for occasional needs such as travelling to a foreign country.
- Complementary bilingualism: where the individual acquires the second language which can fulfil functions that his mother tongue cannot.
- Replacive bilingualism: it obtains in situations where the individual replaces his mother tongue by the second language in all the communicative functions and needs, who, therefore gradually loses his mother tongue. As it is the case of Latin Americans in Japan “Dekasegi”.

Pohl (1965) talks about another typology of bilingualism:

- Horizontal bilingualism: where two languages have equivalent status at the official, cultural and familial level of a given community. This type is mostly found among upper-level speakers such as the educated Fleming in Brussels (using Dutch and French), and the Catalans (using Catalan and Spanish)
- Vertical bilingualism: where a standard language, together with a distinct but genetically related dialect are used by the same speaker. This situation is more known by diglossia, and it exists in many parts of the world, including Bali (Balinese and Indonesian) and Walloon Belgium (Walloon and French).
- Diagonal bilingualism: where a standard language, together with a genetically unrelated non-standard language. As it is the case in Louisiana in the United States (Louisiana French and English) and in German Belgium (Low German and French).

Yet, this typology has not gained the widespread recognition it deserves.

The distinction between bilingual and diglossic situations can be made in the sense that bilingualism is used to refer to a situation whereby two varieties fulfil the same functions, while diglossia is used to describe a situation in which two varieties fulfil different functions to some extent.

### **1.4.3. Language Contact Dynamics:**

The presence of many languages and their coming into contact create a particular sociolinguistic situation which “*may lead or involve phenomena such as code switching and borrowing*”. (Trudgil: 1992, 45)

#### **1.4.3.1. Code Switching:**

In sociolinguistics the term “code switching” refers to the use of two different languages within the same utterance. It is a situation where we use two distinct codes in our discourse. This happens very often among bilinguals who often switch between their languages in the middle of the same conversation.

Gumperz defines it as “*The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems*”. (Gumperz, 1982:59).

While Trudgill defines it as “The process whereby speakers indulge in code switching between languages of such rapidity and density, even within sentences and phrases, that it is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking”.

In the Algerian context, the speaker tends to switch between AA/K, AA/F, K/F and sometimes between AA/K and F.

Hamers and Blanc (1983) mention that code switching is a form of incompetence in both languages. The speaker shifts from one code to another as a result of his lack of competence in one or another language.

Traditionally, code switching has been considered by some linguists as a random process that could be explained by interference. However, others do not agree with this point of view since they have found that code switching occurs according to a number of constraints, and many social motivations stand behind it.

Different types of code switching have been recognized in relation to the kind of switch:

- Extra-sentential code switching: The insertion of a tag, such as phrase markers, Exclamations from one language into an utterance that is entirely in another language.
- Inter-sentential code switching: Switching at clause or sentence boundary. One clause in a language, the other being in another language.
- Intra-sentential code switching: It is switching within clause boundary. Some specialists call it code mixing. It is the most important kind of alternation as it is the most difficult in terms of interpretation.

Code mixing is to some extent different from code switching. They are so linked to each other that it is difficult to distinguish between them. We speak about code mixing when a word or an item of the second language is interposed into an utterance which remains in the native language. It means that we change codes from one language to another, alternatively, in the same utterance.

Within the same conversation, some words are taken from one language and others are taken from the other variety and are mixed together. Sometimes, a mixed code can serve as a marker of higher social prestige, of religious identity or professional status.

#### **1.4.3.2. Borrowing:**

When people from two different speech communities come in contact, they influence each other. There is a tight link between bilingualism, code switching and borrowing. We cannot speak about bilingualism and code switching without speaking about borrowing because this phenomenon occurs in bilingual societies where people mix between the different codes to which they are confronted.

Borrowing is one of the processes that take place frequently when two languages come into contact. It is the introduction of elements from one language into another as a consequence of close contact (AA/Ber), the domination of some languages by others (for cultural, economic, religious, or other factors), a sense of lack in one field or another (education or technology). Haugen (1950: 212) defines it as “*the attempted reproduction of patterns previously found in another language*”.

The borrowed items may be more or less assimilated to the host language. They may or may not be adapted to its linguistic systems. Borrowing is sometimes simple and limited: lexical borrowing (borrowing of nouns, verbs, adjectives) which is common, and sometimes complex and extensive: structural borrowing (adaptation into the host language’s features in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics).

In the Algerian context, for example, a great number of French words have slipped into Algerian Arabic and Kabyle, some being adapted morphologically, and others, being used with no modification.

### **1.4.3.3. Code Switching Versus Borrowing:**

Code switching (micro-phenomenon) is a communicative strategy used by bilingual individuals which may or may not be accepted by all members of the speech community. Borrowing (macro-phenomenon) is social by definition, it is a collective behaviour, and its use is generalized in the community. According to Myers Scotton (1993) and Gardner Chloros (1995) borrowed items start as individual code switches, which may be accepted by members of the speech community in which they become adopted forms. Then, they may be through use transmitted to younger generations and therefore become part of their own speech repertoire.

### **1.5. Conclusion:**

The sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is a complex one. It has been highly influenced by the different invasions and conquests which favoured the infiltration of many peoples, and the establishment of various cultures, civilisations, as well as different languages, each variety is the reflection of a specific origin testifying one period of history.

The presence of many languages: Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and Berber, and their coming into contact create a particular sociolinguistic situation which gives birth to phenomena such as bilingualism, diglossia, code switching and borrowing.

# **Chapter Two:**

## **Social Aspects of Code Switching**

## 2.1. Introduction:

The present chapter will be devoted to the analysis of code switching from a social perspective. It aims at investigating the factors that can motivate and explain this contact phenomenon.

The beginning of the study of code switching goes back to the 1940's and the early 1950's. Similarly to most contact phenomena, code switching did not attract the scholars' attention as it was seen as an abnormal and a random process. Weinreich (1953:1) says that code switching is a "*deviant behaviour pattern*".

As early mentioned, in this study a spot of light will be shed on the Kabyle community living of Oran. Before we go in the details of our study we would like to have some brief clarifications about the two key concepts we will be using all along this investigation.

- **Language Maintenance:**

It is simply when a speech community preserves its native language from generation to generation in environments where conditions, consequently to a variety of factors, are hostile to the maintenance of the mother tongue.

This implies that the language changes only by small degrees as a result of the limited contact with other languages. Consequently the features of the language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and core lexicon) remain relatively intact.

- **Language Shift:**

It is well known that when two different speech communities come into contact, there is always one which has the status of the majority and the other the status of the minority.

Benali Mohamed (2007: 215) defines language shift as:

*"A process whereby people who habitually speak one language, most of the time the minority language, switch to speaking another language, the majority language, and in the process give up using their first language".*

We found it essential to briefly talk about the factors that might be implied in the shift from one language to another.

- **Reasons behind Language Shift:**

What factors lead a community to shift from using one language to another?

- The most obvious factors that lead the community to shift from using one language to another is that community is socially, economically and politically motivated to learn L2 i.e., the speakers see in L2 an opportunity to get a good job and to reach high level in politics.
- The second factor is that a community sees no reason to take active steps to maintain its ethnic language because it may not consider it as offering any advantages to its children, or it may not realize that it is in any danger of disappearing.
- Demographic factors :
  - 1- It is noticed that in urban areas language shift is faster than in rural areas, because rural groups are somehow isolated from the centres of political powers and they meet most of their social needs in the ethnic or minority language.
  - 2- The size of the group is sometimes a crucial factor; Spanish has survived in the USA due partially to the large number of speakers, so isolated migrant families will have few opportunities to use their language.
  - 3- Inter-marriage between groups can accelerate language shift.
- Language shift tends to be slower among communities who highly value the minority language and see it as a symbol of ethnic identity and also the languages that have prestige in the world.
- The number of group's political and economic influence and power play a role in language shift or maintenance<sup>15</sup>.

According to Downs (1998: 61), a number of factors are involved in whether or not bilingualism leads to language maintenance or language shift. We mainly cite: Language dominance, language loyalty, economic factors, domain allocation, language competency, language attitudes, identity and values, ethno and cultural factors...

## **2.2. The Data:**

Similarly to Bentahilla and Davies (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Benali Mohamed (2007) and Benhattab (2011), the data for this study is based on a corpus which was collected through recording Kabyle interlocutors' conversations.

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<sup>15</sup> In Holmes (1992: 65)

Our corpus is made of several hours of conversations which took place in several situations such as: home, administration, university, TV and radio programs (which is not always spontaneous speech).

The recorded participants are both sexes who belong to different age groups, and occupying various functions such as: housewives, clerks, students, journalists, civil servants...

In order to get spontaneous and undirected speech, the informants did not know that they were recorded. Apart from the technical problems (noise and sound quality), this method did not really allow us to obtain the passages that contain code switching and comprise all the instances we wanted. Yet, we made sure to take the passages that we found most interesting, we transcribed them and then tried to relate them to the appropriate type we will be studying.

### **2.3. Situational Code Switching:**

In their study of the speech habits in Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed that the speakers use both Bokmal (the standard dialect) and Ranamal (the local dialect) for different purposes. This assumes a direct relation between social situation and code choice. 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, 1972:425)

They argued that language choice is determined by social rules. This type is controlled by non linguistic factors such as: topic, setting and participant...

In her study on the Saurian community in Italy, Denison (1971) found that most speakers use Saurian in their inner domains and Standard Italian in the formal situations. She noticed that it is the situation that determines the language choice. 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)''<sup>16</sup>*

To illustrate this type, we took the following passage from a conversation held by two colleagues in their work office:

(3) A: **Tu as remarqué ces derniers temps un abus des retards du personnel?**

(Have you noticed recently that there is an abuse of lateness of the staff?)

B: **Je crois qu'il y a une indiscipline et non respect de la loi du travail.**

(I think that there is a lack of discipline and non respect of the law of work)

A: **Tu sais que parfois, la gentillesse du directeur mène a ce genre de comportements.**

(You know, sometimes the kindness of the director leads to this kind of behaviours)

B: /lajtedə n ə l asr, dʒ a Y sil Xudma, aka:r anrɔ :ḥ anazal/

(It's Asr prayer time, forget about work, stand up let's go pray)

In the above example, we can easily notice that the code switch is due to a topic change (from a formal to informal context). The first topic of the dialogue is a serious one that concerns work. This situation dictates that both interlocutors make use of French as it represents formality. Later on, in the last line, interlocutor (B) switches to Kabyle as far as the situation has changed and has become a familiar discussion between two colleagues who belong to the same speech community.

#### **2.4. Metaphorical Code Switching:**

Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish another type of code switching which they call metaphorical code switching. In this type, the switch depends exclusively on the speaker who controls the codes he uses. It is the speaker who decides to switch to a language which is not expected to be used in a given situation in reaction to the topic of conversation or the addressee for instance. They claim 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)

In an attempt to distinguish between situational and metaphorical switching, Gumperz and Hymes (1972) say that:

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<sup>16</sup> In Hudson (1996 : 53)

*“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 other words, we may say that in situational code switching language choice is determined by the situation, whereas it is the language that determines the situation in the metaphorical switching. The following is an illustration of this type:

(4) A: /asagi atas ine $\chi$ də m, mu:θa $\gamma$  si agu :/

(Today, we have worked too much, I am dead of tiredness)

B: /aje $\chi$ ti/ **obligé**, /aθben jek i $\chi$ adə mən/

(We are obliged sister, all workers get tired)

A: /a walah lukən maf i fearawiw u: $\chi$ adə mrara JeK/

(I swear that I would not work if I had not my children)

B: **Ah oui**, /tava $\gamma$  kulf i  $\gamma$ laj, jiweθ/ **la paye** / u:teskidara/

(Oh yes, anyway every thing is expensive, one salary can never be enough)

A: /ekemini af  $\gamma$  al jets $\chi$ alis argazim/ ?

(And you, how much is your husband paid?)

B: **De toute façon on essaye de dépenser selon nos revenus**

(Any way, we try to spend depending on our incomes)

The above example is a passage taken from a recorded conversation held between two women colleagues in an administration office.

The dialogue started in Kabyle, later in the last line, interlocutor (B) switches to French. This unexpected switch may be interpreted as a deviation of the conversation.

We may suggest that interlocutor (B) changes the code in an attempt to put an end to the conversation as a reaction to the question of interlocutor (A) that she found embarrassing. She switches to a more formal variety to express a certain distance and to remind her colleague that the question she asked was a personal one that she wouldn't ask.

## 2.5. Conversational Code Switching:

The third type proposed by Blom and Gumperz (1972) is the conversational code switching. It is not guided by social norms, but rather by speakers' communicative intentions and conversational purposes. They define conversational code switching as:

*“The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”*  
Blom and Gumperz (1982:59)<sup>17</sup>

This type is characterised by being individual, rapid, unconscious, non normative. Scholars like Bouamrane (1988: 6) and Hudson (1996: 53) call it code mixing.

Across their study of code switching in the village of Hemnesberget in Norway, the two scholars found that the speakers make use of both Bokmal (the standard dialect) and Ranamal (the local dialect) within the same interaction in the course of a morning spent at the community administration office.

Social norms dictate that the use of Ranamal which is a dialectal variety in such formal situation (administration office) is inappropriate. Such code choice does not fit the formal context, however it carries social meaning and signals ethnic belonging, loyalty and allegiance to the local community. Blom and Gumperz state that:

*“Conversational code switching can be between participants turn so that one speaker speaks in one code, and the response comes in another, or alternatively, any one speaker can code switch between sentences, intersententially, or within a sentence intrasententially”*  
Blom and Gumperz (1982, 59-60)<sup>18</sup>

The following is an example taken from our data:

(5) **Ah oui** / *hadi hija avu: sneθ jiweθ aketruh/*  
( Oh yes this is it, you can't have everything)

Auer (1985, 1995) showed interests in the findings of Blom and Gumperz (1982) in the analysis of code switching at the micro level of conversation and studied it from a different perspective. His approach is based on the conversational analysis of code switching which

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<sup>17</sup> In Downes (1998: 80) in Benhattab (2004: 10)

<sup>18</sup> In Benhattab (2011 :65)

takes into consideration the speakers' interactional intentions, conversational norms, and socio-cultural norms that are shared by speakers<sup>19</sup>.

## 2.6. The Markedness Model:

In her study of Swahili/ English code switching in Nairobi, Kenya, Myers Scotton (1993) claims that bilingual speakers make use of code switching to determine their positions and relation to the addressee. They switch from one code to another to gain various statuses as they are aware that each variety holds a particular social meaning. To combine micro and macro approaches of code switching, Myers Scotton (1993) developed a whole model that she calls "The Markedness Model". This model is based on speakers' socio-psychological motivations for code switching. Relying on these principles, Myers Scotton puts forwards three choice maxims in relation to the markedness criterion.

### 2.6.1. Unmarked Choice Maxim:

We talk about an unmarked choice maxim when a speaker switches from one code to another in a situation where the switch follows the norms and rules of communication. In other words, an unmarked choice is accepted and considered as being normal because it is argued between the members of the bilingual community that each of the codes that constitute their speech repertoire is determined by particular social norms, situations and usages.

When a particular conversation is held in a given language and then the speaker follows the change of the context by switching to another variety which is appropriate to the new situation, here we can talk about an unmarked code switching.

Because it is the situation that determines both of them, we can easily notice the close relation that exists between this unmarked CS and the situational code switching of Blom and Gumperz. (Myers Scotton 1993).

We may illustrate this with the following example:

(6) A: /e haka iŋ aɜ vek/ **le match** /gedali/?

(By the way, did you like the match of yesterday?)

B: /lu:kan akini Y u:θwali Yara / **méme pas**

(To tell you something, I did not even watch it)

A: /af u: Yar ? delXir kan/

(Why? Hope nothing bad)

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<sup>19</sup> In Auer (1995:324) in Benhattab (2011: 43).

**B: Non, c'est juste que j'étais très occupé à préparer la nouvelle base de données, parce que je dois remettre la nouvelle version avant la fin de semaine.**

(No, I was just very busy on working on the new database, because I have to prepare the new version before the end of the week).

In the above interaction between two Kabyle engineers talking about a football match, the conversation started in Kabyle, but as soon as the discussion shifted to work and information technology, speaker B switches to French in line 4. This is an unmarked code switching because French is the appropriate variety in such a context.

### 2.6.2. Marked Choice Maxim:

Differently from the unmarked choice maxim which is governed by the rules of rights and obligations, the marked code switching occurs in situations where it is not suppose to emerge. It is the speaker who imposes his code regardless of the social norms concerning the interaction. He switches from an unmarked code to a variety which is not appropriate to the context. The following is a case in point:

(7) A: */aθnin ʧuri si laχmis neðan/*

(They are home since last Thursday)

B: */waʃ ri:n inɛvgawə n ʒ ɛrvaʧ imaniw/*

(It is not easy to have guests at home, I know what it is)

A: */ahakan jezmə r ə l hal u:tsrohuʧara azaka , neʧ m a:ʃ li f /?/*

(Oh yes, I don't think I can come tomorrow, is it ok?)

**B: Je ne pense pas que ça sera possible.**

(I don't think that it is possible)

The above example is a conversation held between an employee and her superior in an administration office. Speaker (A) started the conversation in Kabyle and speaker (B) in return replied in the same variety as a sign of understanding and closeness. As soon as speaker (A) asked for an illegal favour, speaker (B) switched to French in the last line to express her authority and mark distance with her interlocutor. Here the Kabyle variety which is supposed to be an intimate language is replaced by French which is a formal language that puts distance between the interlocutors.

### 2.6.3. Exploratory Choice Maxim:

The third choice maxim put forward by Myers-Scotton is the exploratory one. This may take place when the situation is not clear and the interlocutor is confused about the appropriate

language that fits this given situation. This results in language negotiation and disagreement on the unmarked choice between the interlocutors.

To illustrate this, Myers Scotton (1993) gives the example of a sister who talks to her brother in their mother tongue “Lwidakho”, while the brother responds in Swahili to show her that he considers her as one of the other customers present in the office. Yet, the sister did not respect the rules of rights and obligations of the situation and did not follow the unmarked choice of her brother who redirected the role relationship between them to what is considered as the norm in the community for such a situation<sup>20</sup>.

## **2.7. Motivations for Code Switching:**

In this section we aim at citing the most important motivations that stand behind code switching.

### **2.7.1. Linguistic Deficiency:**

Among the reasons that stand behind code switching is the linguistic incompetence in one or more of the languages that constitute the speaker’s repertoire. In an attempt to explain Crystal’s point of view (1987) about the linguistic deficit that leads to code switching, Skiba (1997) says that:

*“....a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking in the other language for a while.”<sup>21</sup>*

When the speaker holds a conversation in a given language and that he does not know the appropriate term in this language, he switches to another variety that he masters better to well express himself and to maintain his conversation. This may be illustrated through the following examples:

(8) /*θu:ra/ les maisons d’edition /maf i am zik/*

(Now publishing houses are not like before).

The above extract was encountered during an interview on Berber TV which was supposed to be undertaken in Tamazight. In a response to the journalist’s remark, the publishing house’s representative started his sentence in Kabyle and then switched to French. The use of “Les maisons d’édition” instead of “*tizriJin*” may be justified by the fact the speaker does not know or forget this word in Kabyle as it is new for him.

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<sup>20</sup> In Myers Scotton (1993: 144) in Benali-Mohamed (2007: 112)

<sup>21</sup> In Benali-Mohamed (2007 : 103)

Another case in point is the one of the Kabyle speakers born and brought up in Oran, who rely on Algerian Arabic even within their Kabyle conversation as in the example below:

(9) /*asarwel agi mokar feli, ilæ:k asʃadmaʃ el hazama*/

(These pants do not fit me, I have to wear a belt).

Here we may suggest that the speaker used “*el hazama*” rather than “*taʃogat*” because she belongs to the second generation and does not master Kabyle. She switches to Algerian Arabic in order to finish her sentence.

Our data showed that in some cases the speakers find themselves obliged to switch to a foreign language although they are very good at their L1 because a given term does not even exist in their native language. This usually happens with technical and medical terms as it is the case in the following example:

(10) /*ma tweleð imenim u:tehliðra amefkeʃ / un corticoide*

(If you see that you haven't recovered yet, I'll give you a corticosteroid)

Here the speaker switched from Kabyle to French and used the term “corticoide” because she did not find another word in her variety that can fulfil her need.

### 2.7.2. Solidarity Marker:

Among the reasons that motivates a speaker to switch from one code to another is the will to mark solidarity with a given social group. Skiba (1997) explains that:

*“...Switching commonly occurs when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group. Rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the listener responds with a similar switch.”<sup>22</sup>*

When a conversation starts in a given language and then one speaker switches to another variety, the other speaker responds by using the same type of switching in order to show linguistic solidarity with his interlocutor.

Among the examples that may illustrate this strategy is the one of Kabyle speakers living in Oran who try to express solidarity and their belonging to the same minority group by using code switching.

Because they live in an Arabic speaking community, it happens that Kabyle speakers of Oran communicate with one another in Arabic, yet as soon as one of them switches to Kabyle, the other interlocutor also uses the same type of switch i.e.: Kabyle to show his belonging to the same community.

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<sup>22</sup> In Benali-Mohamed (2007: 104)

(11) A: */ntija tani maʔ ə ndek hata wahad jʔ ə slek ə dar/*

(You too, you have no one to keep the house for you)

B: */ə la hamdu:ə lah ə ʔ ʒ u:zti ʒ et men bled / la semaine passée*

(Non, thanks God my mother in law came from the village last week)

A: */ajarezgim, ihi tarwem lku:θ nelkbajel/*

(Oh lucky you, so you eat a lot of Kabyle food)

B: */ʔ adid saʕam azaka amneʕdem ajen tevʕid/*

(Come to my home tomorrow, we can prepare you anything you want)

A: */ ʕ ahikim awaltma letskasireʕ ken/*

(Thank you my sister, I'm just kidding)

Here we can easily notice that the conversation started in Algerian Arabic, and once speaker B switched to Kabyle in line 3, speaker A also responded in Kabyle. We may say that the purpose behind this switch is to show solidarity between the two interlocutors.

### 2.7.3. Marker of Attitude Towards an Interlocutor:

Another motivation that incites the bilingual speaker to make use of code switching is the change of attitude towards his interlocutor. A switch from a formal variety to an informal one may be considered as an invitation to familiarity and intimacy. The opposite process, i.e. switching from informal to formal code, may be used to show distance and deference that may exist between the interlocutors.

To relate this case with the one of our study, we may mention the example of a Kabyle speaker of Oran who in a course of conversation with both Kabyle and Arabic speakers switches to his mother tongue when addressing his Kabyle friend. Here the use of code switching may be explained as a means to exclude the other people who do not speak or understand this variety.

The extract below is taken from our data. The participants in this discussion are two university comrades who talk about their exams.

(12) A: **S'il te plait**, */wa ntəja ʔ andek hadu:k/ les photocopies ?*

(Please, and you, have you those handouts?)

B: */wah, rahom ʔ andi gə ʔ / presque*

(Yes, I have almost all of them)

A: */tə qder tʒ i:bhumli ʕædwa, taʔ refrani ʕajfa/*

( Can you bring them to me tomorrow, you know I am afraid)

B: **T'en fais pas**, */aklih dagi amdawiʕ ajen tevʕid/*



(Don't worry, i am here, I'll bring you

A: **Ah c'est gentile.**

(Oh, that's kind from you).

Here the dialogue started in a mixture of French and Algerian Arabic. In line 4, speaker B switched to Kabyle in an attempt to reassure his comrade. We can notice that he aimed to get closer to his comrade by using a more familiar variety.

## **2.8. Conclusion:**

In this short overview, we presented the most important social perspectives of study to code switching. At the beginning of its study, we can say that this contact phenomenon did not receive a big importance since it was considered as a deviant behaviour, but later on, many researchers recognized its importance and studied it from different perspectives.

Some researchers worked on the linguistic side of CS, others interpreted it as a social behaviour, and they developed models for its analysis.

We tried above to point out the different motivations that stand behind CS, and we mentioned the most important types developed by the pioneers of this field.

We opted to relate our data to the situational, metaphorical and conversational code switching of Blom and Gumperz (1972). We also tried to apply our examples recorded from the Kabyle speakers of Oran to the Markedness model of Myers Scotton (1993).

# **Chapter Three:**

## **A Brief Overall View of Kabyle Speakers' Attitudes**

### **3.1. Introduction:**

The present chapter is made up of three sections. The first section will go over some of the definitions about what is language attitude. The second part will describe the research strategy we followed to best reach the objectives of this study. The third section will analyse and comment our results in relation to our research questions.

### **3.2. An Overall View on Language Attitudes:**

The present section aims at presenting some of the definitions about what is language attitude. The concept of Language attitude is one of the most significant issues in language contact. The importance and status of a given language in a given society and within an individual are determined by the speakers' attitudes.

Before we begin our discussion about language attitudes, one should start by shedding some light on some definitions of the concept.

In order to have an inclusive understanding of the concept of "language attitudes", we found it important to begin by defining the term "attitude". Generally an attitude is an opinion or a general feeling about something or someone. Triandis (1971) defines it as: "*a manner of consistency toward an object*".

The heavy weight these attitudes gain makes this field of study attracts the interest of many researchers from different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, linguistics, social psychology of language, cultural anthropology, ethnography, education, and sociolinguistics. One of the complicated points about attitude studies is that a number of theories are based on two major approaches. The first one is the "behaviourist" view, according to which attitudes must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages. On the other hand, the "mentalist" view considers attitude as an internal, mental state, which may increase certain forms of behaviour.

Following the mentalist view, Williams (1974: 21) defines attitude as "*an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response*". This definition may be criticised for the fact that attitude is considered as an internal state rather than an observable response. Therefore, researches will be difficult to be undertaken in the sense that they necessitate self-reports and indirect inferences.

In the opposite side, the behaviourist researchers will not be obliged to depend on the individuals' reports about their attitudes.

Crystal (1997:215) states that attitudes are “*The feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others*”.

In other words, attitudes represent internal thoughts, feelings and tendencies in behaviour across a variety of contexts. An attitude is personal, but it has origins in collective behaviour, it is learnt, it is not inherited, it is also likely to be relatively stable, and it has a tendency to persist.

The above mentioned definitions are given by various researches from diverse study fields with different perspectives that is why there is no one accepted definition of language attitudes. Yet, we may say that an attitude involves both beliefs and feelings which influence behaviour, and that language attitudes are shaped according to opinions about one’s own language, to foreign speakers of a given language, to foreign languages, and official policies regarding languages.

### **3.3. The Data Collection:**

The data for this investigation was collected through a questionnaire distributed to a selected population of Kabyle speakers in Oran. This method allows us to obtain a representative sample, and to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. It is worth stating that, whatever method one chooses, it is very difficult to measure attitudes which are inner mental states that can never be directly observed.

The questionnaire provides information such as age, gender, occupation, educational background. Our goal was to collect data as heterogeneous as possible. The objectives of the questionnaire are:

- A brief overall view of Kabyle speakers’ attitudes towards the languages existing in the speech community of Oran. That is Algerian Arabic<sup>23</sup>, Standard Arabic, French, and Kabyle<sup>24</sup>.
- A general check of Kabyle speakers’ attitudes towards the phenomenon of code switching.
- A brief examination of patterns of language use among Kabyle speakers’ inner-group in relation to a variety of factors.

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<sup>23</sup> Throughout this work we will be using the term Algerian Arabic as a cover term to refer to the different varieties of Algerian Arabic used by Kabyle speakers.

<sup>24</sup> In this work, the terms Kabyle and Tamazight are considered synonymous.

### **3.3.1. The Respondents:**

There are 100 respondents representing the Kabyle minority living in Oran. The female respondents are 45 while the male respondents are 55.

The informants are aged between 16 and 70 years old. To be explicit, the age groups may be divided into four groups:

- Group one: 16- 24 years old (32 informants)
- Group two: 25- 34 years old (24 informants)
- Group three: 35- 44 years old (22 informants)
- Group four: 45 years old and above (22 informants)

In order to have the best representative sampling, the questionnaire was distributed to informants occupying different functions that may be grouped as follows:

- Group one: Unemployed informants (housewives, retired persons...) (19 informants)
- Group two: Pupils and university students (21 informants)
- Group three: Public professions and wage earners (administrators, teachers...) (25 informants)
- Group four: Liberal professions (doctors, architects, lawyers, managers...) (13 informants)
- Group five: Traders and others (taxi drivers, hair dressers, waiters, ...) (22 informants)

### **3.3.2. The Type of Questionnaire:**

The questionnaire used is a sample questionnaire adapted from Bentahila and Davies (1983), Bouamrane (1986), Benhattab (2004), Benali-Mohamed (2007). It is directional and guided (the respondents are guided in their answers, they are asked to give only one answer out of two, three or four choices).

The questionnaire<sup>25</sup> is written in Arabic and French, and it is divided into three sections. Section A is a list of questions that deal with Kabyle speakers' attitudes towards the varieties existing in the linguistic environment of Oran (Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and Kabyle). Section B contains questions that deal with Kabyle speakers' attitudes towards the

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<sup>25</sup> See the appendices

phenomenon of code switching. Section C is a series of questions that revolve around patterns of language use among Kabyle speakers' inner-group in relation to a variety of factors.

The grouping of questions is adapted from Benhattab (2004).

### **Section A:**

- Question 1 (Which language do you consider as the most beautiful?) is grouped with Question 2 (Which language do you consider as the richest?) to deal with beauty and richness of the language.
- Question 3 (What language do you think Kabyle speakers should use the most?) is grouped with Question 9 (What language do you like the most?) and Question 10 (What language do you like the least?), they are linked to language loyalty and language preference.
- Question 4 (What language do you find the easiest?) is grouped with Question 5 (What language do you find the most difficult?) to touch on easiness and difficulty.
- Question 6 (What language do you find the most practical in everyday life?) is grouped with Question 7 (What language do you find the most practical?) to deal with practicality.
- Question 11 (What language do you consider as the most necessary?) is on its own and deals with necessity.
- Question 12 (What language do you find the most modern?) is grouped with Question 18 (What language do you think is able to adapt to modern life?) and with Question 19 (Which language do you consider as lively?) to deal with modernity and vitality.
- Question 14 (What language do you consider as your native language?) is grouped with Question 15 (In which language do you feel the most proficient?) to deal with proficiency.
- Question 16 (To which language do you identify most?) is grouped with Question 17 (To which language do you identify least?) to deal with identity.
- Question 8 (What language do you find useless?) is grouped with Question 13 (What language do you find outdated?) and Question 20 (Which language do you consider as dead?) to treat negative aspects of the languages.

## Section B:

- Question 1 (Do you code switch from Kabyle to other languages?) is grouped with Question 6 (When you code switch, you do it: consciously, unconsciously ...?)
- Question 5 (Kabyle speakers who code switch are: literate, illiterate...?)
- Question 2 (Code switching is: good, bad...for Kabyle?) is grouped with Question 3 (Will code switching make the Kabyle language lose its purity?), Question 4 (Kabyle speakers code switch because of: competency, incompetence in their language...?), Question 5 (Kabyle speakers who code switch are: literate, illiterate...?) and Question 7 (Code switching will destroy the Kabyle language?)
- Question 8 (Is code switching a sign of a lack of identity?) is grouped with Question 9 (Is code switching a sign of a dual identity?)
- Question 10 (Is code switching a problem?)

## Section C:

- Question 1 (Which language do you use the most?) is grouped with Question 2 (Which language do you use the least?) to deal with general tendency of language use.
- Question 3 deals with types of Interlocutor:
  - A- Grand parents
  - B-Parents
  - C- Brothers and sisters
  - D- Kabyle Friends
  - E- Kabyle Strangers
- Question 4 deals with types of Setting:
  - A-Home
  - B- Café
  - C-Work
  - D- School/university
- Question 5 deals with types of Topic:
  - A- Religion
  - B- Politics
  - C- Science
  - D- Music
  - E-Sport

- Question 6 deals with types of Communicative Purpose:
  - A- Telling Jokes
  - B-Insulting
  - C- Greeting
  - D- To Flatter
- Question 7 deals with types of mood:
  - A- Tired
  - B- Angry
- Question 8 (What language do you use to write: A- SMS, B- E-mail to Kabyle speakers?) is grouped with Question 9 (What language do you use when speaking to Kabyle speakers on the phone?) to deal with the preference for the modern means of communication.
- Question 10 ( Do you watch Tamazight TV?) is grouped with Question 11 (Do you listen to radio Chaine2?) to deal with the preference for the media

### **3.4. Results and Discussion:**

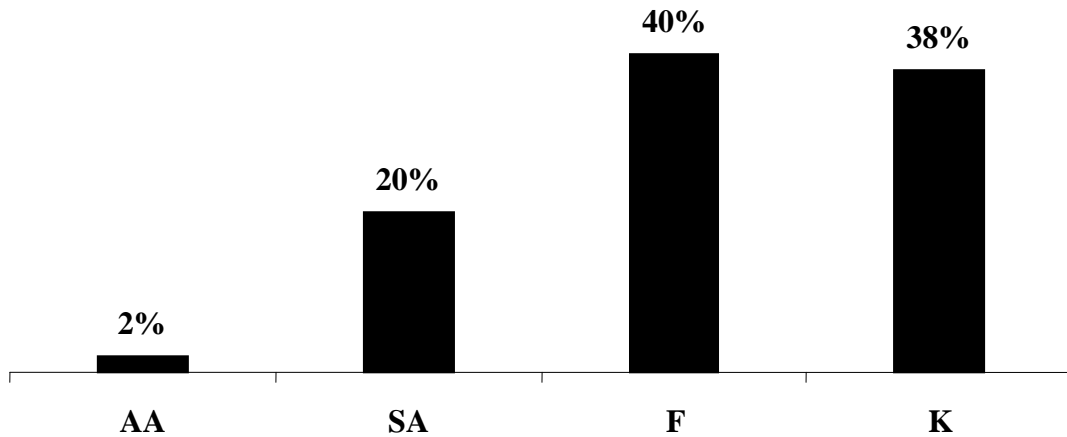
The analysis of the questionnaire will be done on the basis of percentages obtained from the calculated results of the different questions interpreted by graphs. This will follow the previous grouping of the questions.

#### **3.4.1. Kabyle Speakers' Attitudes towards their Languages:**

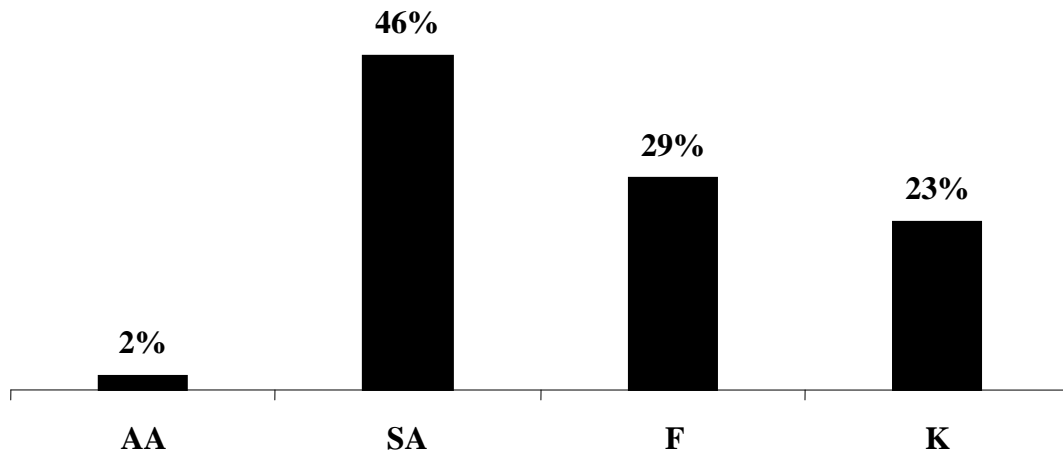
**Question 1(What language do you consider as the most beautiful?) is grouped with Question 2 (Which language do you consider as the richest?)**



### Question 1



### Question 2



The graphs for Question 1 and 2 indicate that French and Standard Arabic score high percentages as far as the beauty and richness of the languages are concerned. The fact that our informants associate the two varieties to correctness, prestige, knowledge, education, respect, and formality due to standardisation, and the use of these languages in official domains are among the reasons behind such attitudes. This may be related to Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian's (1982) advanced acceptance of the codified form of a language. The literary heritage and the relation it has with Quran may be another reason that makes Standard Arabic raking high for these two questions. As to French, the relation it has with science and technology, might be the factor that explains its high rate for these questions.

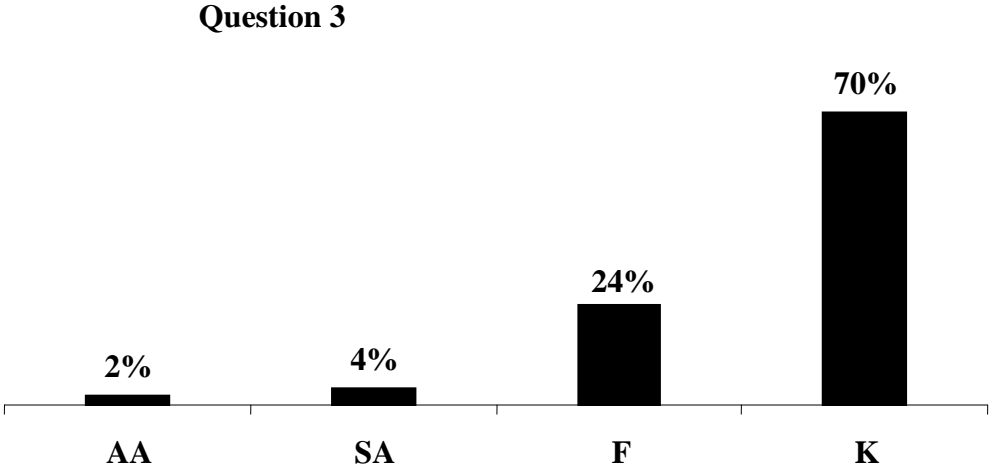
As far as Kabyle is concerned, it scores high percentages (38%) for “most beautiful” and (23%) for “the richest” as a result of the positive attitudes Kabyle speakers might have

towards their language which is considered as their premier symbol that differentiates them from other groups. The high score got by Kabyle reveals the strong will of the speakers to preserve and show their loyalty to their mother tongue. In this respect Bourhis, Carranza, and Weinreich (1963) assert that:

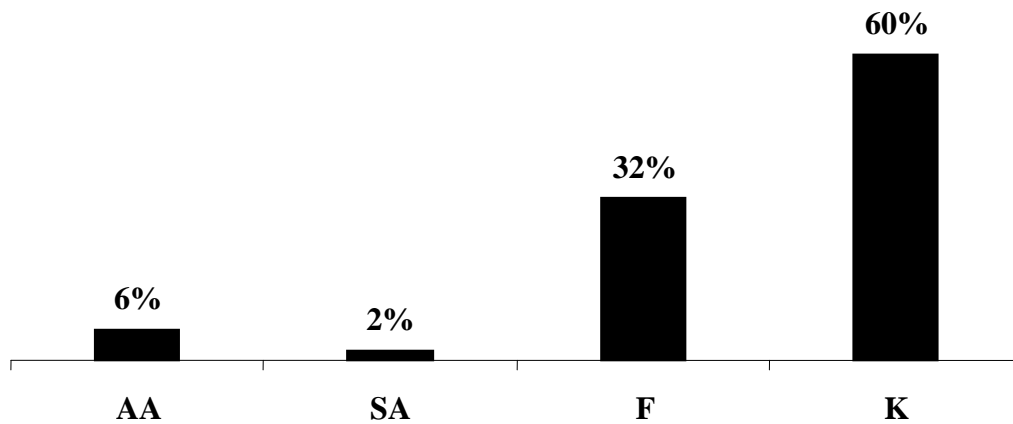
*“One’s native language typically elicits feelings of attraction, appreciation and belongingness. In situations where a group’s identity is threatened, the variety with which it is associated can become a key symbol of the group’s culture and identity”*

Our respondents consider Algerian Arabic as being the least beautiful (2%) and the least rich (2%) variety. This can be explained by the fact that Algerian Arabic is considered as the language of the others.

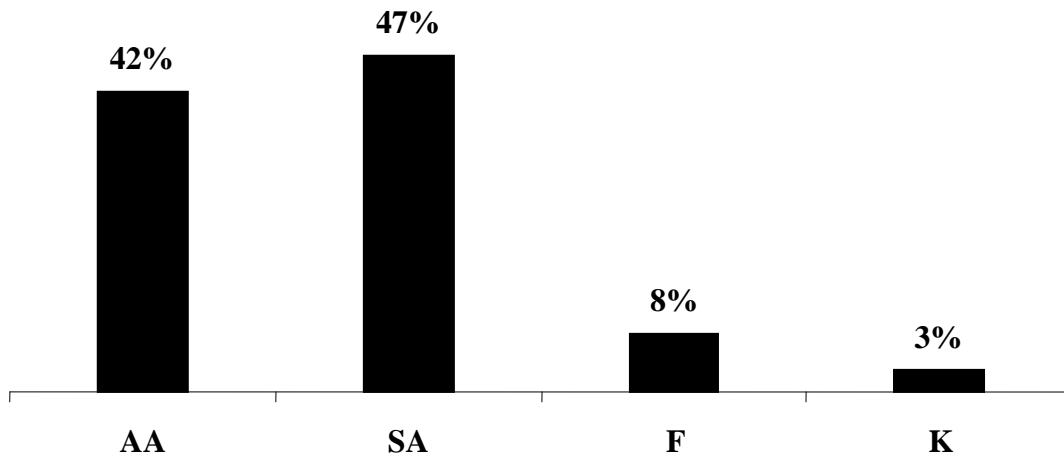
**Question 3 (What language do you think Kabyle speakers should use the most?) is grouped with Question 9 (What language do you like the most?) and Question 10 (What language do you like the least?)**



### Question 9



### Question 10



The graphs for Question 3 and 9 show that our informants assume that the Kabyle variety is the language that Kabyle Speakers should use most (70%), and that it is the one they like most (60%). The respondents want to value themselves by saying that they should use their mother tongue. This may be linked to Katz's (1960) value expressive function<sup>26</sup>. Such an answer can be interpreted as a favourable social attitude to a particular variety in a given social group.

The next language these respondents like most and want to use most is French. We expected to have Algerian Arabic ranking second for this question, but it is the second language they like the least (42%), as the graph for question 10 shows. AA is seen as the

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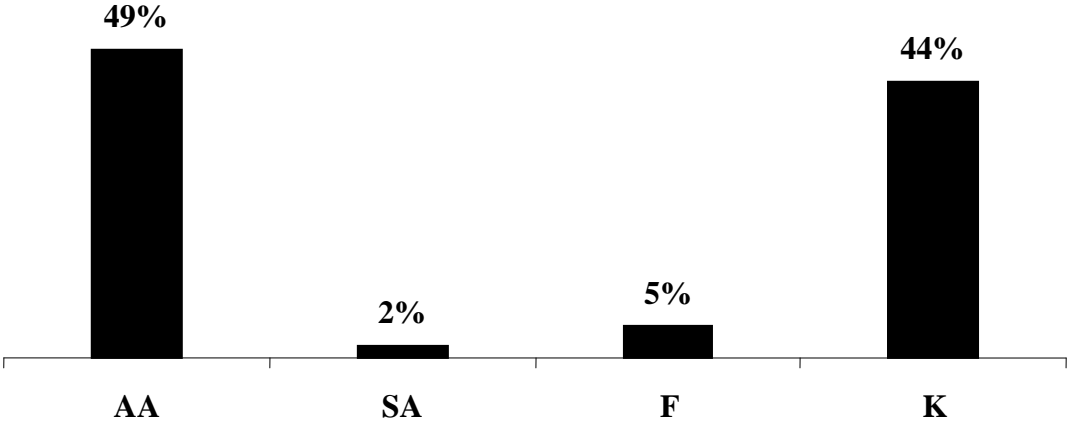
<sup>26</sup> In Benali-Mohamed (2007: 178)

language of the majority and it is considered as a threat to the maintenance of their mother tongue.

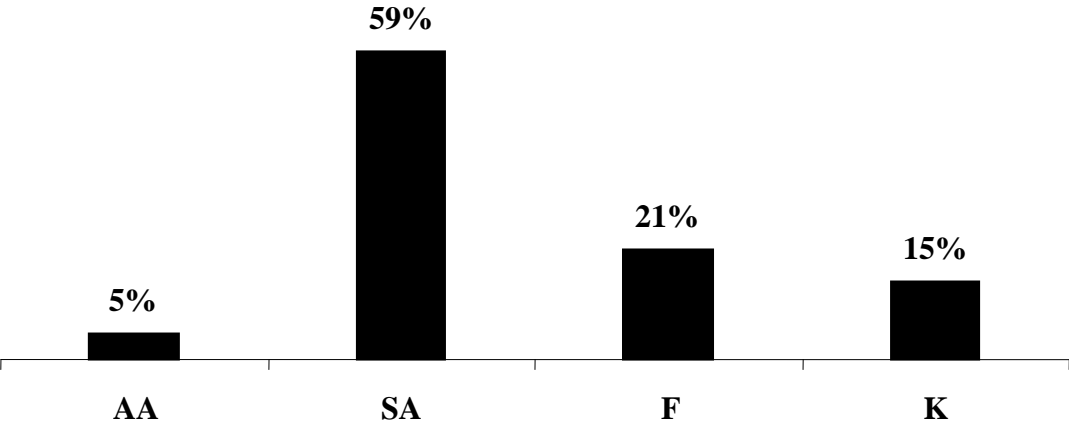
As far as Standard Arabic is concerned, it is the language that our respondents like the least (47%). The reason for this may be related to its difficulty<sup>27</sup> and the fact that Kabyles in general are not keen on it.

**Question 4 (What language do you find the easiest?) is grouped with Question 5 (What language do you find the most difficult?)**

**Question 4**



**Question 5**



<sup>27</sup> See the graph for question 5

The graphs for Question 4 and 5 reveal that Algerian Arabic (49%) and Kabyle (44%) are considered by our informants as the easiest languages. This is simply due to our respondents' familiarity with these two varieties which are frequently used in daily interactions.

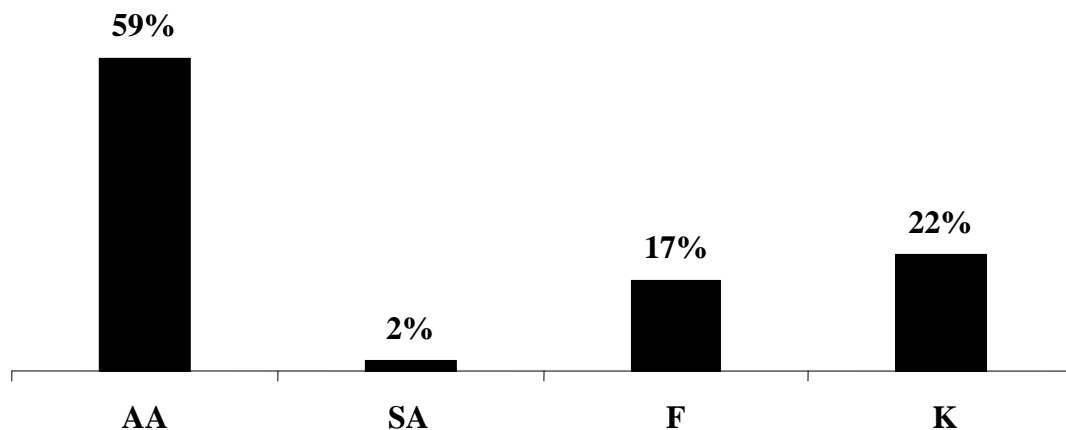
As far as Standard Arabic is concerned, it is assumed to be the most difficult language (59%). This high score might be interpreted by the fact that SA lacks vitality, i.e. it is nobody's mother tongue, and that it is somehow a complex language in terms of grammatical and lexical structures<sup>28</sup>.

French ranks second (21%) for "most difficult language". The score of (21%) comes mainly from those who left school at an early age and had not the opportunity to learn this language.

We expected our informants to express complete easiness for the use of their mother tongue, yet this was not the case, (15%) of them find that Kabyle is a difficult language. The reason for this is probably due to the fact that those who answered as such are second generation's respondents who are not acquainted to it and to its structures.

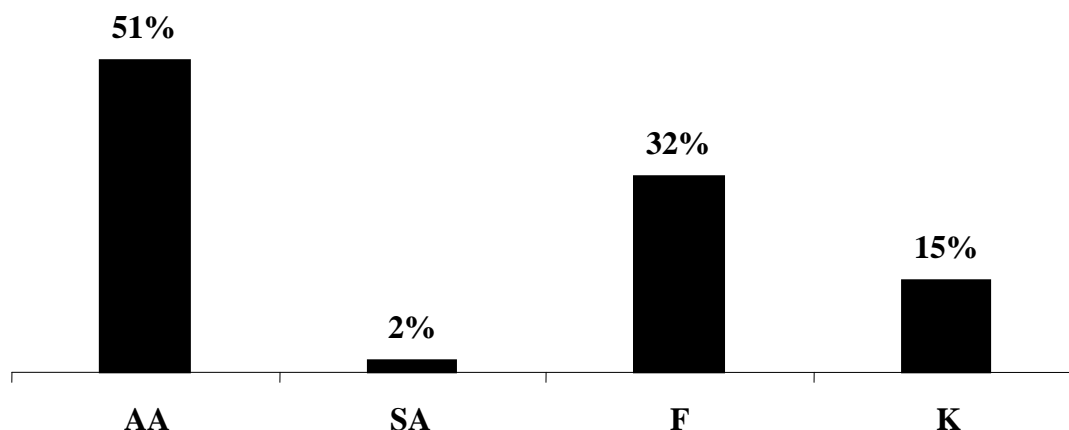
**Question 6 (What language do you find the most practical in everyday life?) is grouped with Question 7 (What language do you find the most practical?)**

**Question 6**



<sup>28</sup> The difficulty of SA is asserted even by famous Arab writers like Taha Hussein. In (Iddou, 2001: 29).

### Question 7



The graphs for Question 6 and 7 indicate that Algerian Arabic ranks first (59%) as far as Practicality in everyday life is concerned; it also scores high percentage (51%) for “practicality”. This is mainly due to the fact that our respondents live in Oran where AA is the majority language which may be used to communicate with Arabic speakers and even between themselves in some sociolinguistic situations.

French is the next language which comes after Algerian Arabic in ranking (32%) as far as practicality is concerned. This may go back to the fact that our informants think that F (as being the language of technology, progress, and modernity<sup>29</sup>) is practical in education, medicine, administration and mass-media.

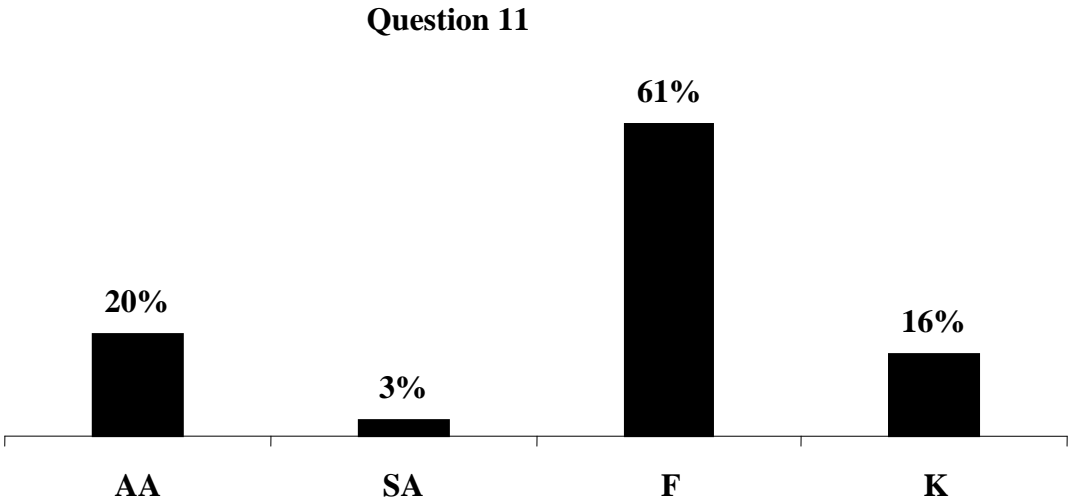
It is unsurprising that our respondents consider the Kabyle variety (22%) as practical for their daily concerns. This may be justified by the fact that K is their mother tongue. It is a simple, natural and spontaneous language that permits to be easily understood by all the community of practice.

Standard Arabic gets the lowest percentage (2%) for both “practical in everyday life” and “practical as a general concept”, because it lacks vitality which makes it difficult to communicate in.

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<sup>29</sup> See the graphs for Question 12 and 18

**Question 11 (What language do you consider as the most necessary?)**



The responses to question 11 show that our participants scored the French language (61%) as being the most necessary variety. This percentage goes back to the fact that they associate their choice to the different advantages this language may offer to its users as it represents knowledge and social promotion.

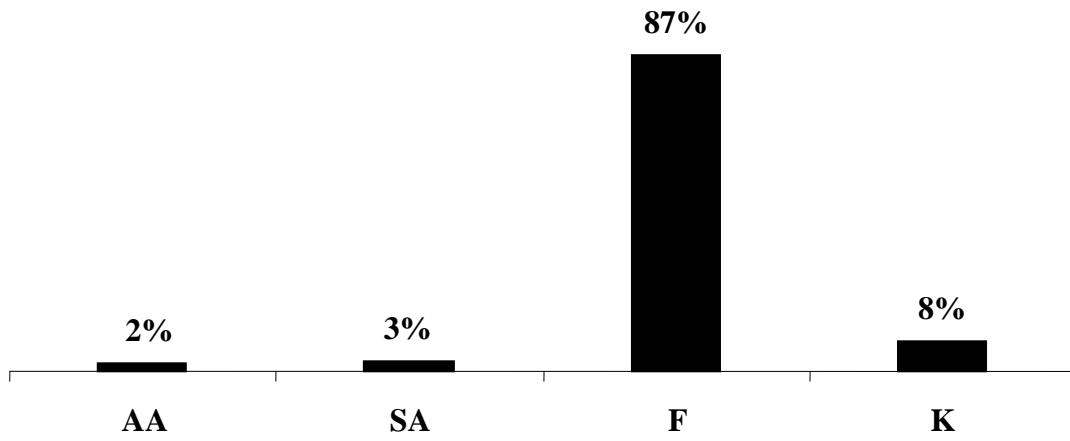
As far as necessity is concerned, our respondents ranked Algerian Arabic second (20%). The reason behind such response is that this variety may be beneficial to this minority group in the sense that Kabyle speakers make use of Algerian Arabic at different occasions, as they belong to the Arabic speech community and as being an active working community living in Oran.

As to Kabyle, it gets (16%) for this question because our respondents believe that they can preserve the Tamazight tradition and culture via the continual use of this language whose survival is important to their identity and existence as a minority group. This is often the case among minority groups who strongly defend their mother tongue.

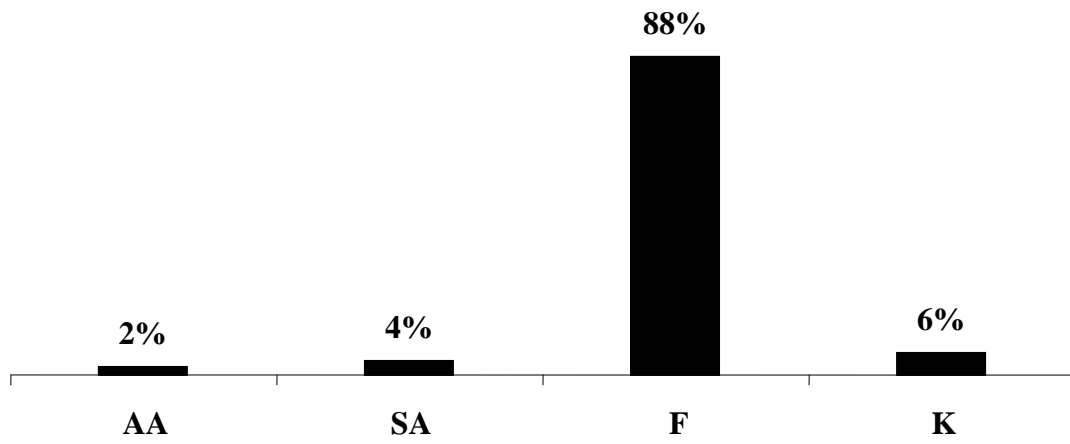
Standard Arabic, although being the official language of Algeria, does not seem to be the favour of our respondents when asked to choose necessary languages.

**Question 12 (What language do you find the most modern?) is grouped with Question 18 (What language do you think is able to adapt to modern life?) and Question 19 (Which language do you consider as lively?)**

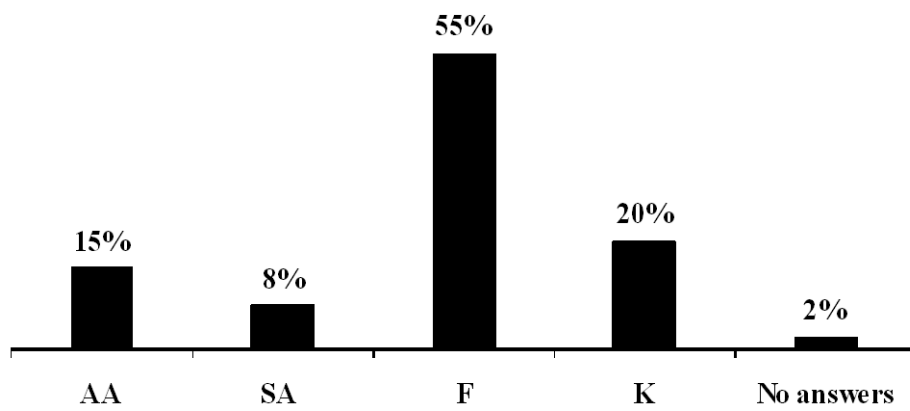
**Question 12**



**Question 18**



**Question 19**

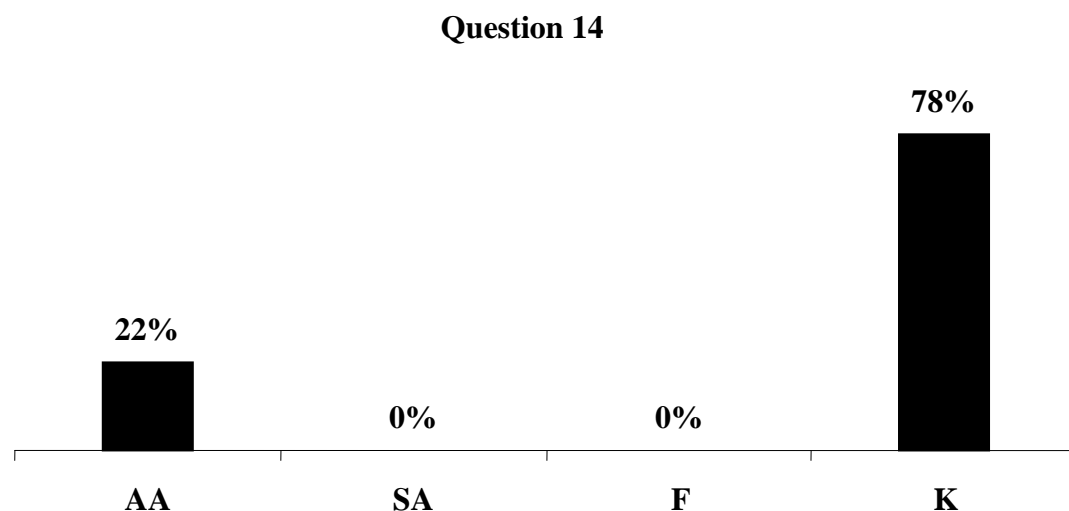




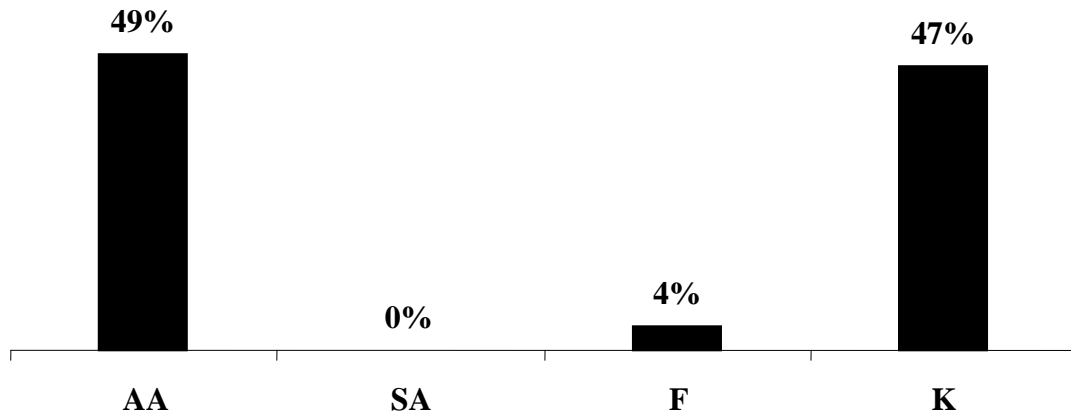
The graph for question 12 clearly shows that the French language has the lion's share (87%) as far as modernity is concerned. This high score may be related to the combination of many factors. The other factor of explanation is that our respondents value French language and associate it to modernity because they are impressed by its prestige and are attracted by its speakers. This may be related to the 'theory of attraction' "*a preference for a language variety in effect reveals one's attraction to a particular group of speakers*" (Byrne, 1969: 25).

The results of question 18 and question 19 come to confirm the previous graph. The majority of our respondents believe that French is able to adapt to modern life (88%) and that it is a lively language (51%). This may be related to the rich registers this language possesses, and to its large use in both formal and informal domains, as well as its big number of speakers.

**Question 14 (What language do you consider as your native language?) is grouped with Question 15 (In which language do you feel the most proficient?)**



### Question 15



The graph for question 14 shows that the majority of our informants (78%) present Kabyle as their native language.

(22%) of informants who define themselves as native speakers of Algerian Arabic are probably the younger generation who were born in Oran. This can be explained by the fact that the youngsters are more integrated in the Arab speech community of Oran where Algerian Arabic is the predominant variety.

The graph for question 15 indicates that a large proportion of our respondents (49%) express their comfort as to the use of Algerian Arabic. This proficiency goes back to the fact that they have more and more opportunities to practice this majority language than their own language which is limited to their inner group. Such attitudes may be related to the impact of the process of language shift which is step by step leading the Kabyle speakers to replace their native language by another language that may cover all the needed situations.

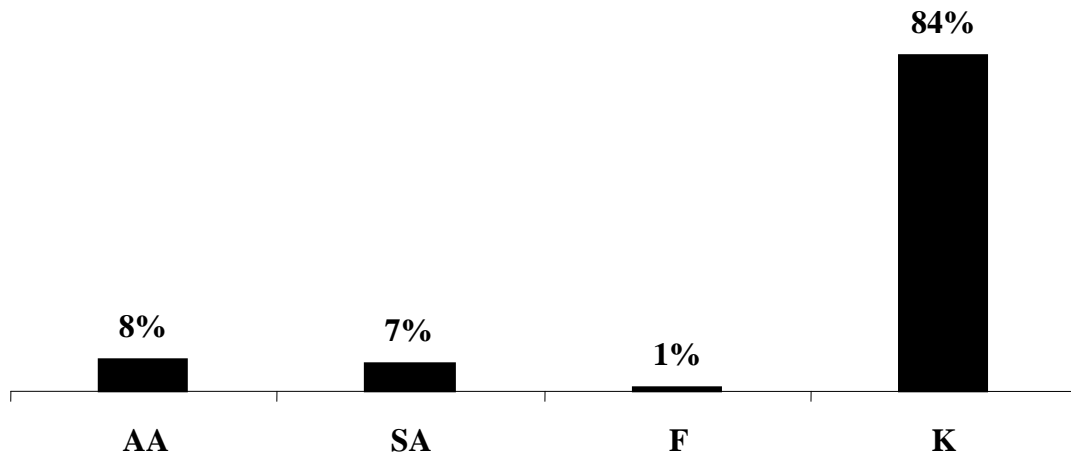
As far as language aptitude is concerned, Kabyle gets the score of (47%). This competence may lead to the maintenance of this variety among the members of the community of practice in question. In this respect Landry and Allard (1994) states that:” *a group member’s choice to use a language depends first on his language competence*”.<sup>30</sup>

**Question 16 (To which language do you identify most?) is grouped with Question 17 (To which language do you identify least?)**

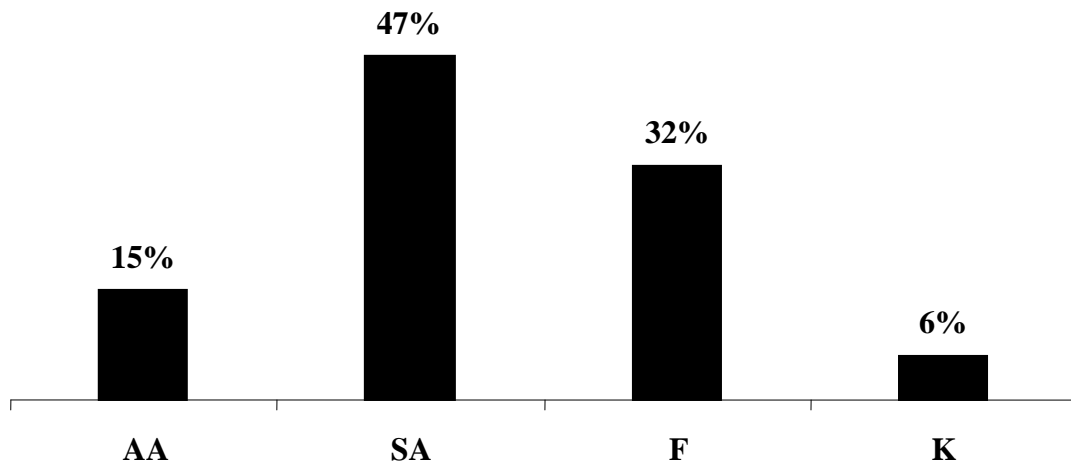
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<sup>30</sup> In Blanc (2000: 280)

### Question 16



### Question 17



The graph for Question 16 indicates that the majority of our respondents attribute the highest score (84%) to the Kabyle variety when asked ‘which language identifies them most’. This score may indicate how much our respondents cherish their minority language and want to define themselves as Kabyle speakers. According to our discussion with our informants, we may say that Kabyle is the aspect through which they express and show their difference. It is the distinctive feature of their group which characterises them from the other groups in Oran<sup>31</sup>. In this respect, Downes (1998: 64) states that “*a distinct language is a perfect way to enact an identity while simultaneously excluding speakers of other languages from that identity*”.

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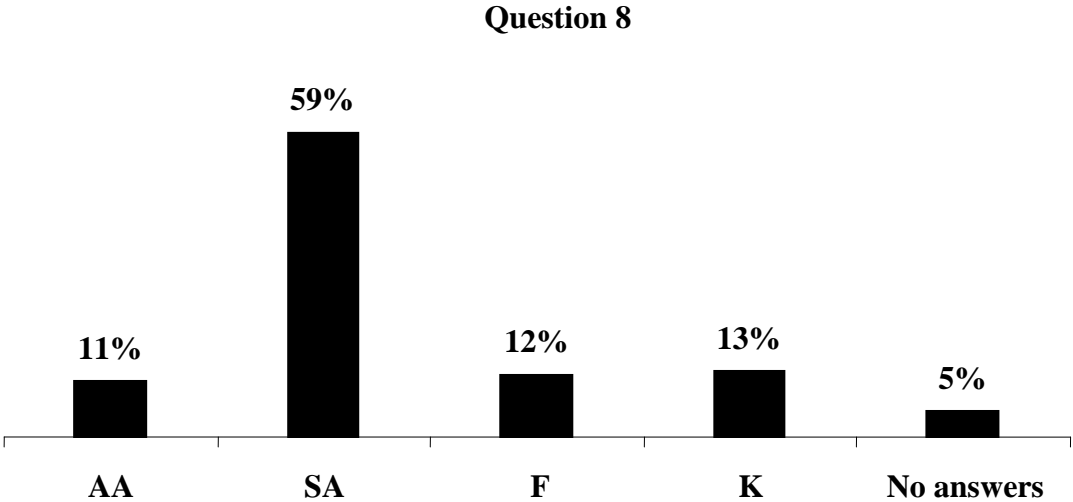
<sup>31</sup> One informant said that a Kabyle who does not master the Kabyle language is not a Kabyle.

The majority of our informants do not identify with French. Among the explanations that might be given to this low score (2%) is the fact that our respondents associate this language with the period of colonisation. Religious considerations may be another reason that influences our informants' attitudes in the sense that French represents the western societies and the occidental customs which are far from being related to Islam.

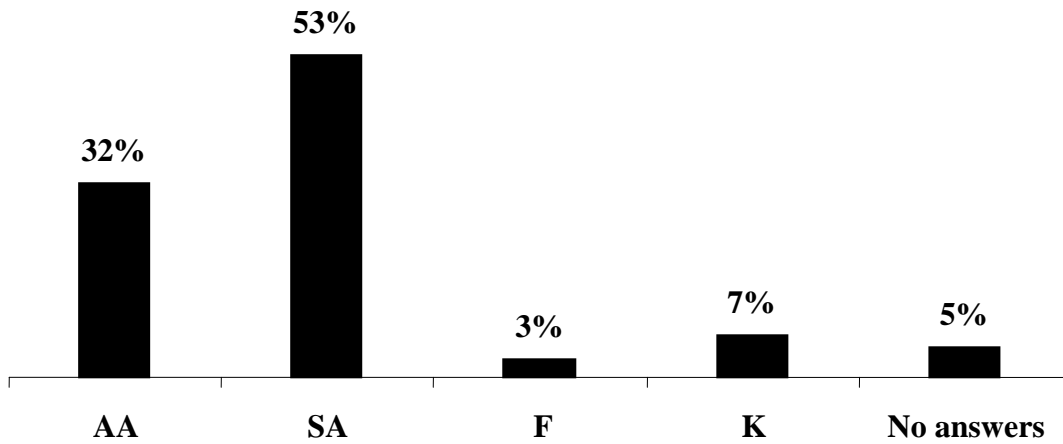
The graph for question 17 indicates that (47%) of our respondents do not identify themselves with Standard Arabic. These attitudes may be a reaction to the fact that SA symbolises the Arab identity and that Kabyle speakers in general believe that they are not Arabs. They do so because of political considerations and the non-recognition of Tamazight as one of the official languages of the country.

As far as Algerian Arabic is concerned, our respondents rank it third (15%) for this question. Linguistic awareness and loyalty towards Kabyle may justify the fact that our informants do not identify with Algerian Arabic.

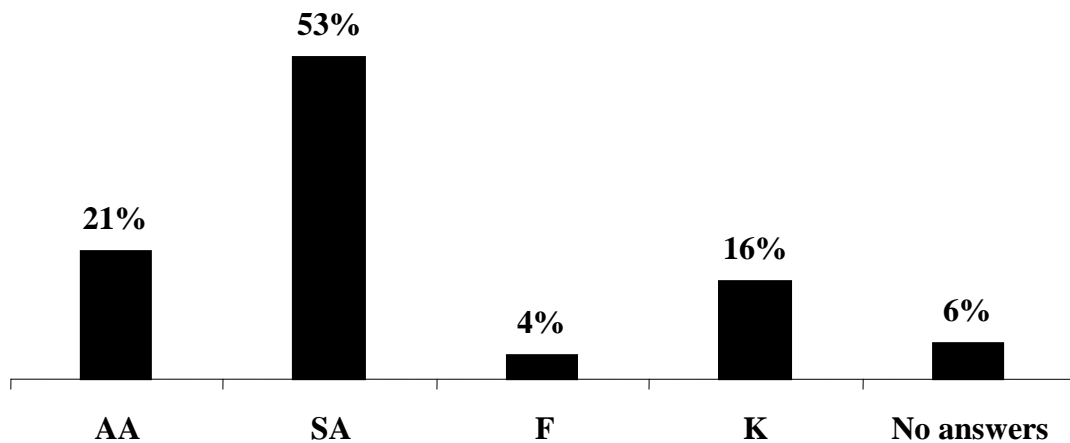
**Question 8 (What language do you find useless?) is grouped with Question 13 (What language do you find outdated?) and Question 20 (Which language do you consider as dead?)**



### Question 13



### Question 20



The fact that Standard Arabic is the language of almost all official documents and administration in Algeria, does not prevent our respondents to give it the highest percentages when asked to choose the most useless, outdated and dead language. It scores (59%), (53%), (53%) correspondingly. These negative attitudes may be explained from a psychological point of view in the sense that people in general express rejection towards the things that have been imposed on them<sup>32</sup>. According to our discussions with our Kabyle interlocutors, we may also say that those who answered as such are non-educated people who find Standard Arabic very difficult for use or simply unfashionable. When comparing these high scores with the low

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<sup>32</sup> Some informants said that they have always been imposed the idea that Algeria was Arabic whose sole official and national language is Standard Arabic.

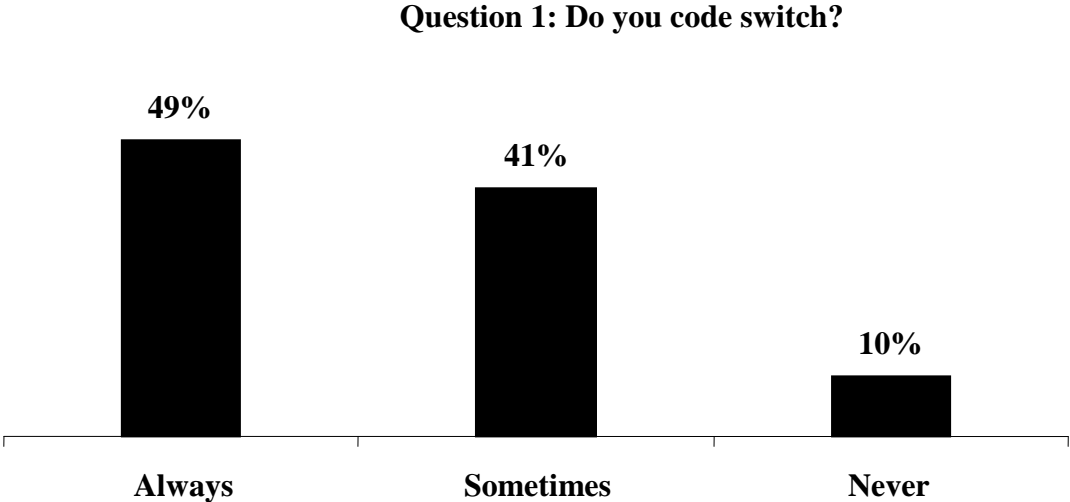
percentages obtained by French, we may deduce that our informants highly esteem French and like to favour it over Standard Arabic.

Algerian Arabic is considered by our informants to be useless (11%), outdated (32%) and dead (21%). In fact, these results seem to be inconsistent, because such negative attitudes towards AA do not correlate with our previous findings where it was attributed high percentages as far as practicality is concerned. It is our guess that these responses come mainly from language purists who develop refusal and hate towards their mother tongue's rival in reaction to faithfulness and solidarity with their minority group.

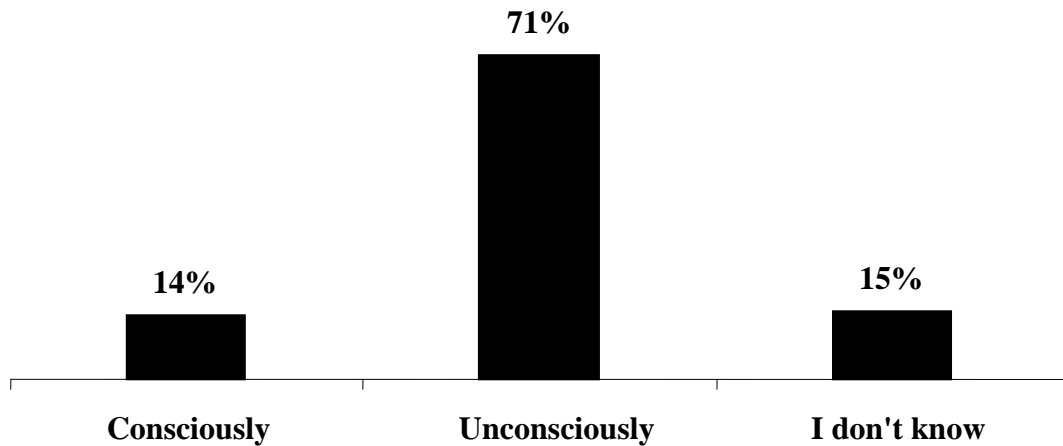
We may suggest that the minority who gave no answers to these questions are those who didn't want to associate negative characteristics to neither of the suggested choices. They do so because they believe in the importance of the four languages which constitute their speech repertoire and build their bilingual community.

**3.4.2. Kabyle Speakers' Attitudes towards Code Switching:**

The questions for this section are the same as the ones followed by Benhattab (2004). **Question 1 (Do you code switch from Kabyle to other languages?) is grouped with Question 6 (When you code switch, you do it: consciously, unconsciously ...?)**



**Question 6: When you code switch, you do it?**



The graph for question 1 shows that our respondents attributed the highest score (49%) to the choice ‘always’ when asked if they code switch. This response may be related to the fact that Kabyle speakers in general do not maintain the exclusive use of their mother tongue, they often switch from Kabyle to other varieties mainly Algerian Arabic, French and sometimes Standard Arabic.

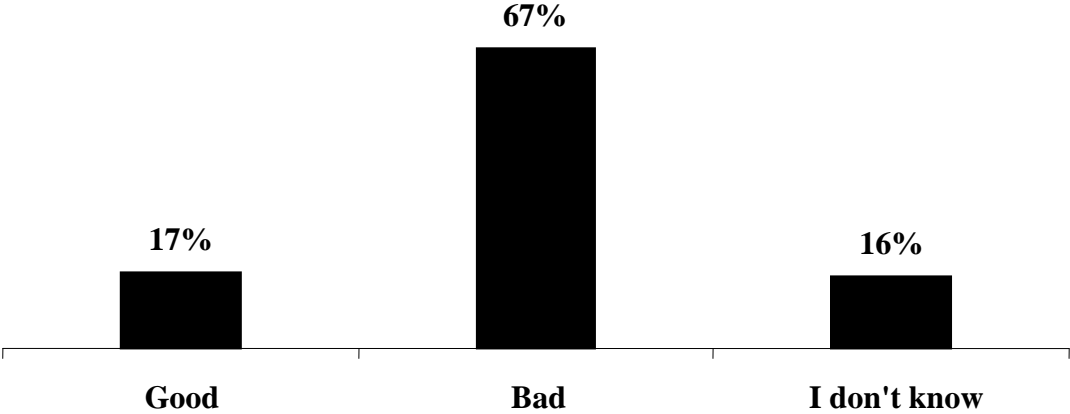
Our results also reveal that (40%) of our informants chose “sometimes” to answer the same question. The explanation that may be given for this response is some respondents add that they can not always insert Kabyle into their speech as they are not in frequent contact with other Kabyle speakers.

The graph for question 6 shows that the majority of our respondents (71%) answered that they are not conscious when they code switch. According to Benhattab (2004: 106), this is mainly due to the fact that they have the tendency to use insertional code switching. They are not aware of it because they always insert single items from other varieties into their Kabyle speech.

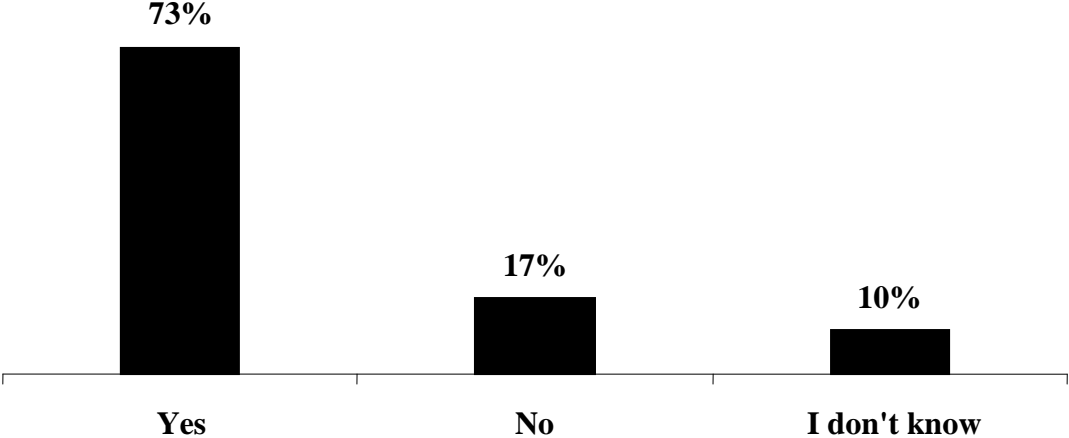
We may also notice that (14%) of our informants answered that they code switch ‘consciously’. These responses come mainly from those who make use of alternational code switching. They make use of this type because of their proficiency in the other languages (Algerian Arabic, French, and Standard Arabic) that permits them to easily switch from one variety to another.

**Question 2 (Code switching is: good, bad...for Kabyle?) is grouped with Question 3 (Will code switching make the Kabyle language lose its purity?), Question 4 (Kabyle speakers code switch because of: competence, incompetence in their language...?), Question 5 (Kabyle speakers who code switch are: literate, illiterate...?) and Question 7 (Code switching will destroy the Kabyle language?)**

**Question 2: Code switching for Kabyle is?**

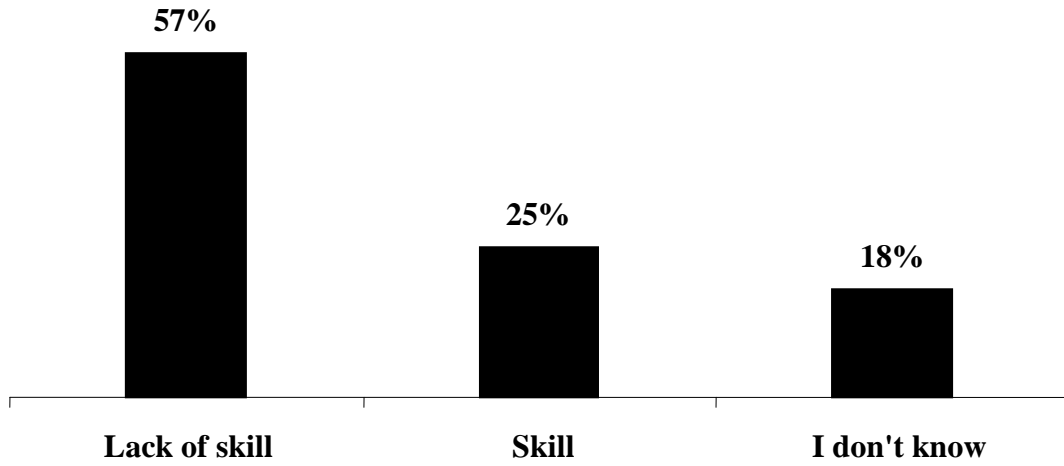


**Question 3: Does C.S make Kabyle lose its purity?**

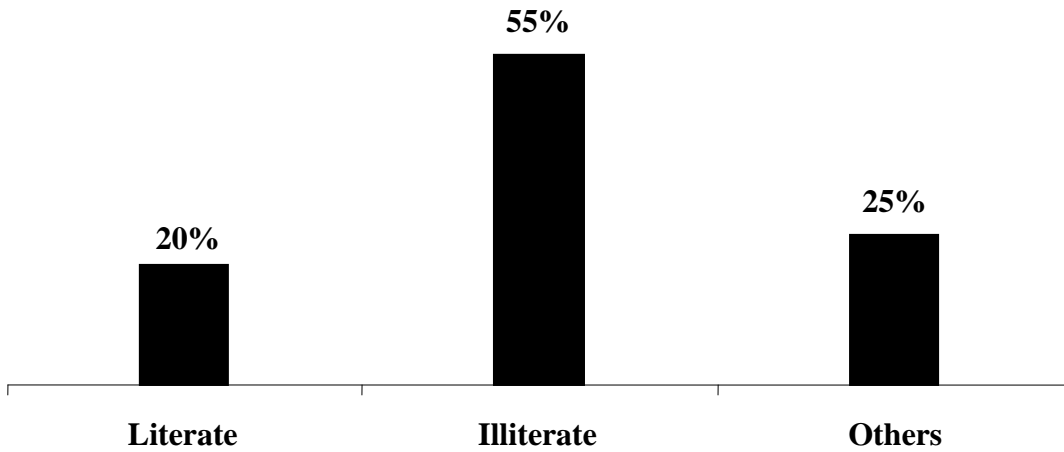




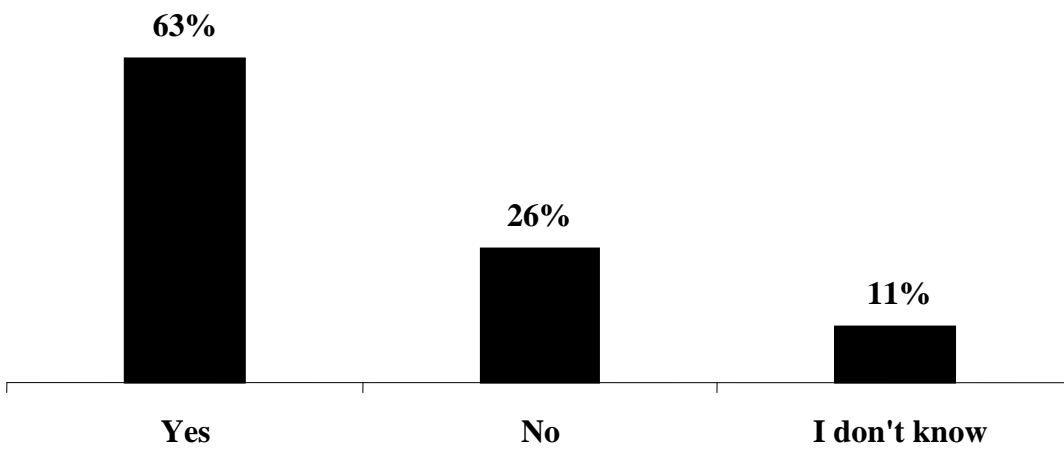
**Question 4: Kabyle speakers code switch because of?**



**Question 5: Kabyle speakers who code switch are?**



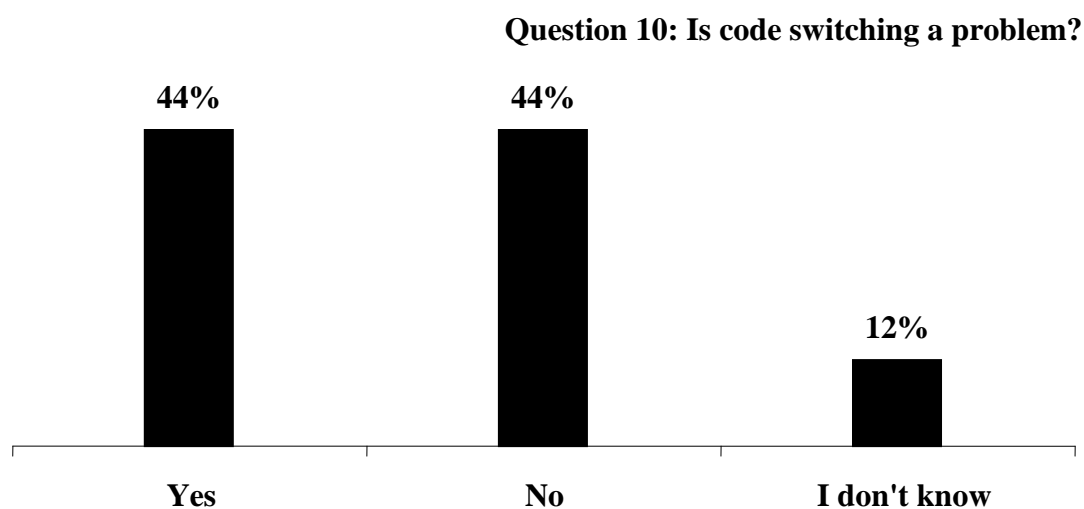
**Question 7: Destroy the language?**



The graph for question 2 shows that (67%) of our informants think that code switching is bad for Kabyle. The percentages we obtained for question 3 indicate that the biggest proportion of our respondents (73%) believes that code switching makes Kabyle lose its purity. Our speakers under study seem to be consistent in their answers. The scores given for question 4 reveal that (57%) of them associate code switching to incompetence in their language. This is confirmed by the scores we got for question 5 where (55%) of our informants answered that people who code switch are illiterate. The results for question 7 come to confirm the previous findings where (63%) of the respondents believe that code switching will destroy the Kabyle language.

Following Benhattab's (2004: 108) reasoning, such results may be interpreted as negative attitudes to this process. This is probably done in reaction to their fear towards code switching that is seen as a threat to their identity as a minority group. Yet, one should not ignore the other group of informants who expressed acceptance to this contact phenomenon.

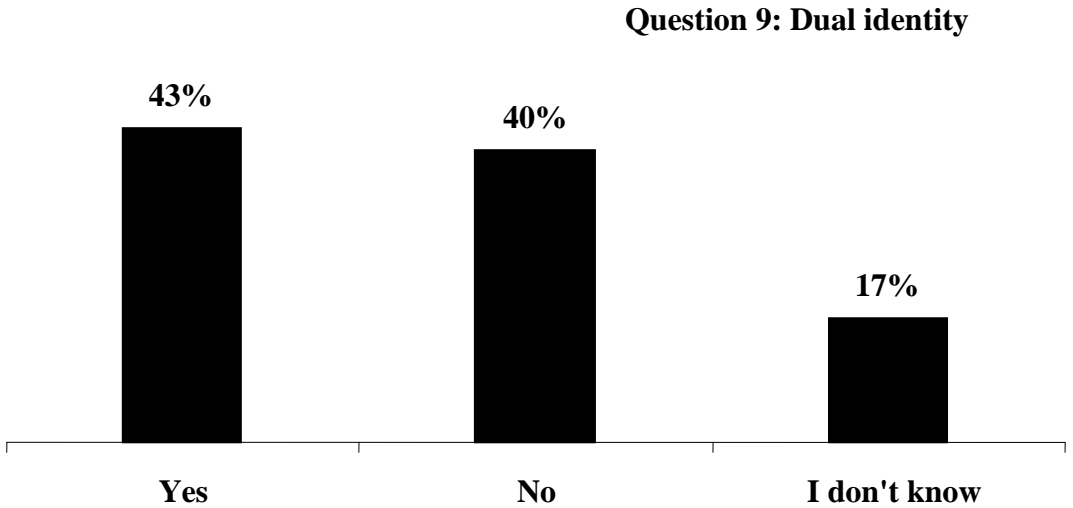
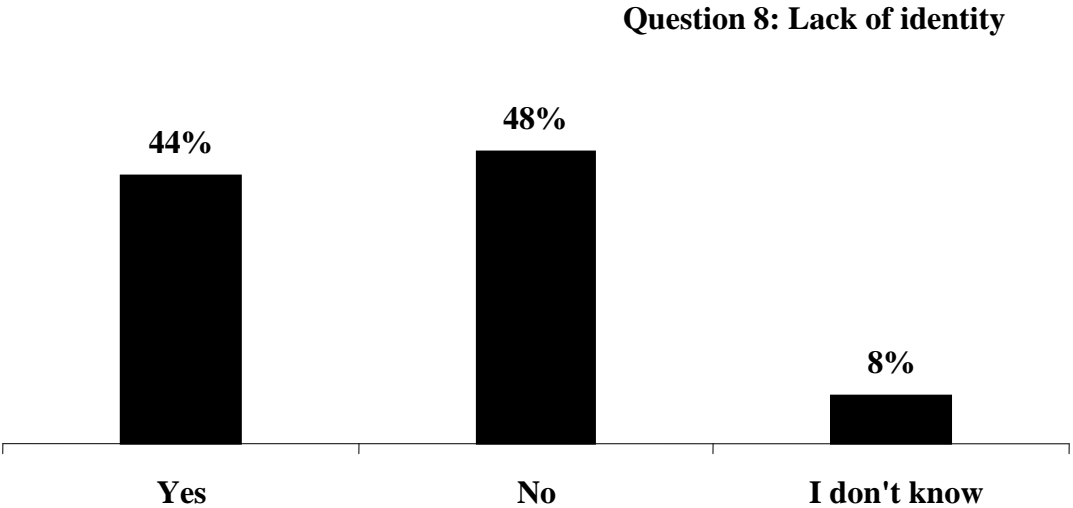
**Question 10 (Is code switching a problem?)**



The graph for question 10 indicates that our informants may be divided into two groups. The first group represents (44%) and considers code switching as a problem. The other (44%) of our respondents does not see this contact phenomenon as a problem. According to the above negative attitudes our Kabyle interlocutors expressed towards code switching, we expected the majority to answer by “yes”. Yet, some informants explained that they answered

by “no” because they relate code switching to bilingualism which creates a balanced linguistic situation that decreases the tension that existed between Arabic and Berber in Algeria.

**Question 8 (Is code switching a sign of a lack of identity?) is grouped with Question 9 (Is code switching a sign of a dual identity?)**



The graph for question 8 indicates that (48%) of our respondents do not see code switching as a lack of identity. Joining the same line of thoughts as Benhattab (2004: 110), the explanation that may be given to such attitudes is that Kabyle speakers are open to code switching and believe that this is how they can signal their belonging to both speech communities: Algerian Arabic and Kabyle. As to those who see code switching as a lack of

identity (44%), we suggest that they are for their majority first generation speakers who highly esteem their mother tongue and are stick to the idea that language is identity<sup>33</sup>.

The graph for question 9 shows that (43%) of our respondents believe that code switching is a sign of dual identity. This is mainly due to the fact that they are well integrated into Oran speech community and feel that they belong to both groups: the minority and the majority groups at the same time.

The results also reveal that a considerable proportion (40%) of our respondents does not agree with the idea that code switching is a sign of dual identity. Those who answered by 'no' are probably language purists who refuse to signal loyalty to other languages apart from their native language.

### **3.5. Conclusion:**

Differently from the conclusion reached by many specialists in attitudinal research on minority groups, (Labov (1972) on Black minority in USA and minority speakers of Hawaiian Creole in Hawaii), which argues that minority speakers tend to have positive attitudes towards the standard form and negative attitudes towards their native variety, and similarly to the one deduced by Reyhner (1995) among Navaho speakers, which says that minority groups often strongly defend their mother tongue, the findings in this section reveal that the respondents may relatively have positive attitudes towards both the standard forms and the mother tongue.

The results obtained from the above investigation also show that although Algerian Arabic is negatively viewed by our respondents, it seems to displace Kabyle in terms of practicality.

The loyalty to Kabyle noticed in our respondents' attitudes may be the cause of the maintenance of this language. According to Downes (1998: 218), the positive attitudes towards a particular language engender language loyalty which itself engenders language maintenance.

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<sup>33</sup> One informant said that if he does not speak pure Kabyle he does not feel that he is a real Kabyle.

# **Chapter Four:**

## **Patterns of Language Use among Kabyle Speakers' Inner-group**

#### **4.1. Introduction:**

After having examined the speakers' attitudes towards their four languages: AA, SA, F, and K, we will now examine the speakers' language choice in relation to a variety of factors which help to determine language preference in terms of use.

#### **4.2. Factors Relevant to Language Choice:**

Language choice is determined by social activity. In his approach, Fishman is first concerned with relatively stable socially agreed norms of choice and daily use of language. He clearly asserts that:

*“There is an almost direct relationship between linguistic codes and social activities in the speech community. This would mean that appropriatelanguage usage imposes on the speakers the obligation that only one of languages available or varieties will be chosen by particular types of interlocutors on particular situations to discuss particular kinds of topics”*

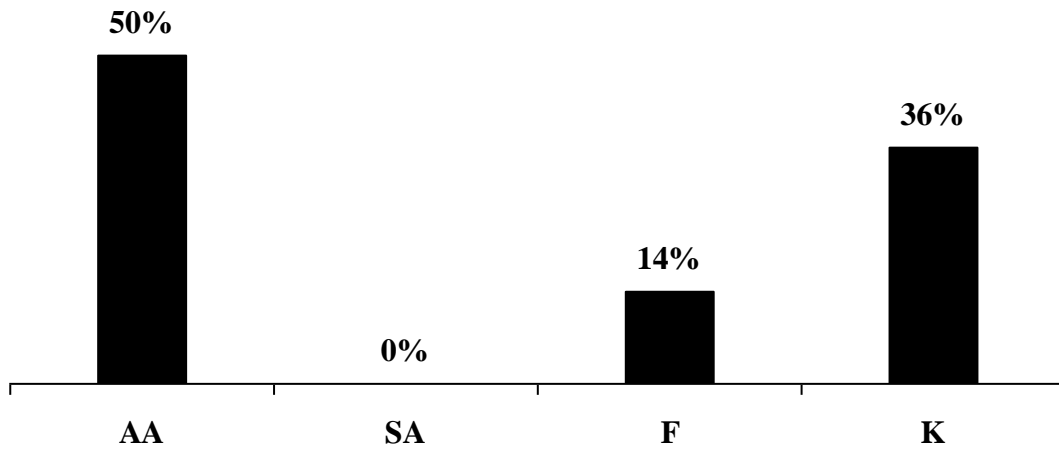
Fishman (1972: 437)

The choice of language may be influenced by many factors. These factors are interlocutor, topic, setting or content, channel, message form, mood or tone, and intention and effects. Of the above factors, the most important ones are interlocutor, setting and topic. Similarly to Bouamrane (1986), other factors will be taken into consideration, such as: communicative purpose and written medium. Others will be left for future research.

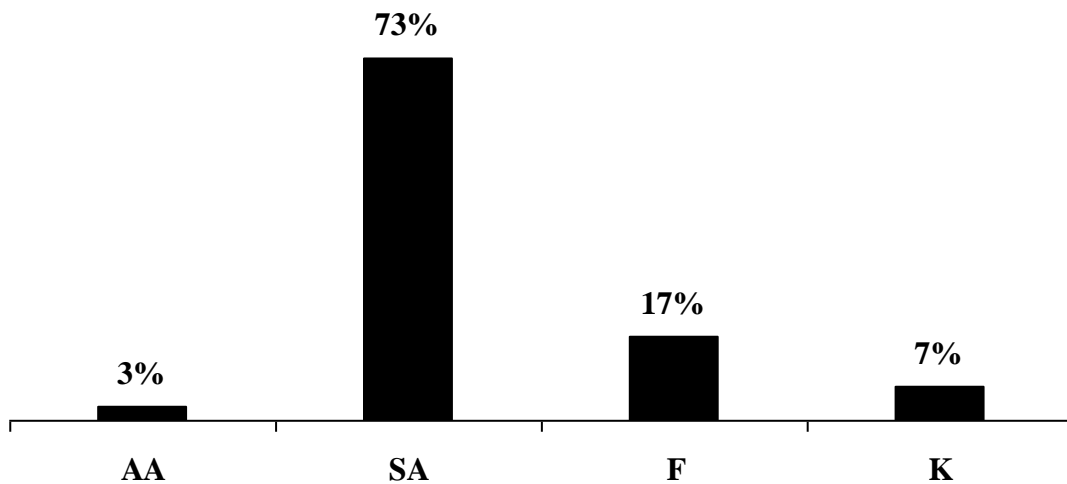
*“The choice of language is dependent on whom the speaker is addressing, what channel he is using, in what setting he finds himself, what he is communicating about, what are the functions of his communication, and what are the linguistic resources at his disposal”*

Hasselmo (1970: 183-4)

### Question 1: Use the most



### Question 2: Use the least



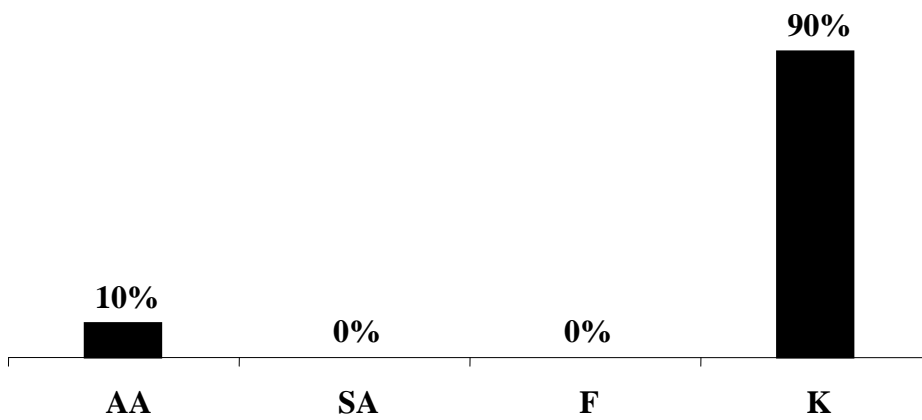
The graph for questions 1 indicates that (50%) of our informants answer that Algerian Arabic is the language they use most. The reason that could be invoked to explain this high score is that these speakers live in a context where this variety is predominant.

Kabyle ranks second (36%) for this question. This may be related to the fact that it is their native language which is used within their inner social networks.

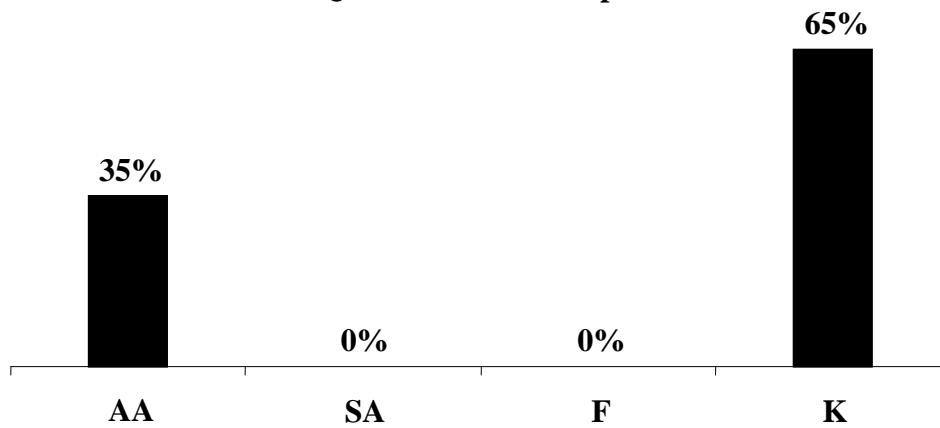
In terms of language use, the graph for question 2 shows that Standard Arabic stands as the language they use least (73%). This is probably due to its difficulty and to the fact that this language lacks vitality and has a restricted domain allocation such as religion.

#### 4.2.1. Types of Interlocutor:

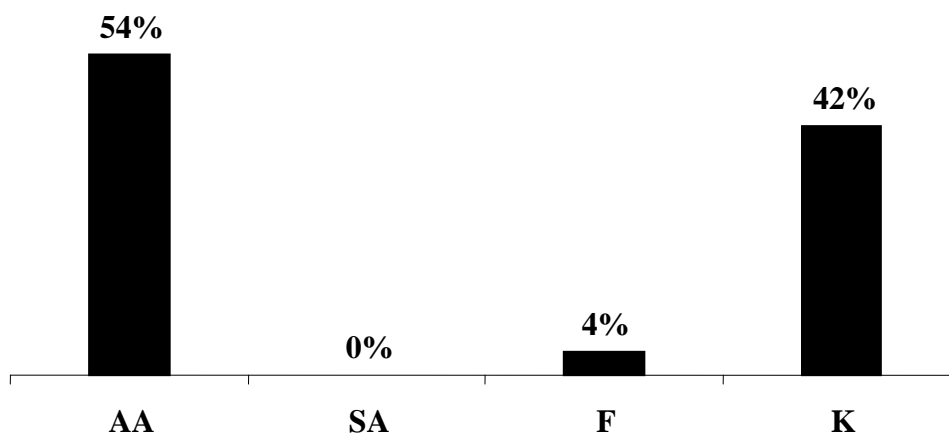
**Question3: A. Your grand-parents**



**Question 3: B. Your parents**



**Question 3: C. Your brothers and sisters**

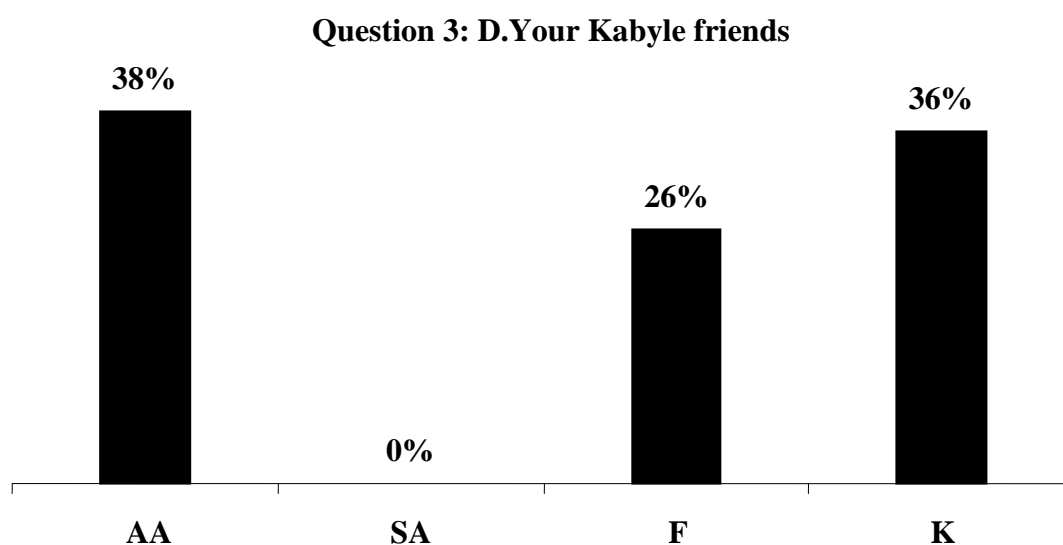


The graphs for question 3: A, 3: B, and 3: C indicate that the biggest proportion of our informants attributed high scores to Kabyle when asked which language they use with their



grand parents (90%), their parents (65%), and their brothers and sisters (42%). This linguistic preference reveals that Kabyle is still maintained as the in-group language of intimacy.

The difference between question 3: A (grand parents) and question 3: C (brothers and sisters) as far as the use of Algerian Arabic is concerned, indicates that there are signs of inter-generational language shift. The respondents tend to use this variety more with their brothers and sisters (54%) than with their grand parents (10%), as the older generation is generally viewed as conservative of its native language and as not well understanding AA. According to Benali-Med (2007: 123), the bigger the gap is between the generations the smaller the percentage of AA use is.



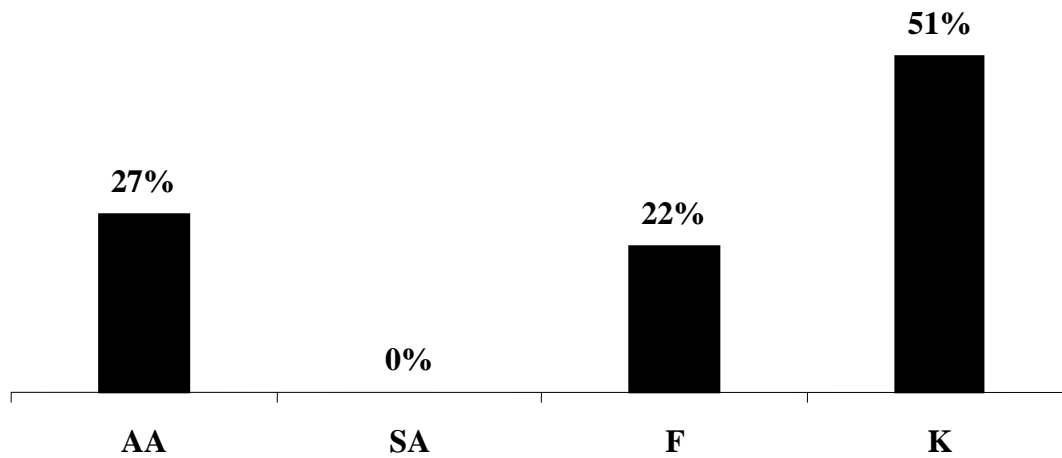
The graph for Question 3: D indicates that both Algerian Arabic and Kabyle get a high rating, (38%) and (36%). The respondents seem to be free to choose their language when speaking with their friends because they have many things in common: age, interest and background. This is called by Brown and Gilman (1968) “a solidarity relationship”<sup>34</sup>.

French scores a considerable percentage (26%) for this question. According to our discussions with the respondents, we may say that these answers come mainly from young ladies as they see F as a prestigious language, as well as highly educated persons who are skilled in this variety. Taking this fact into consideration arises the idea of future investigations focused on other social factors such as: gender and level of education.

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<sup>34</sup> In Idou (2001: 39)

### Question 3: E. A kabyle that you don't know



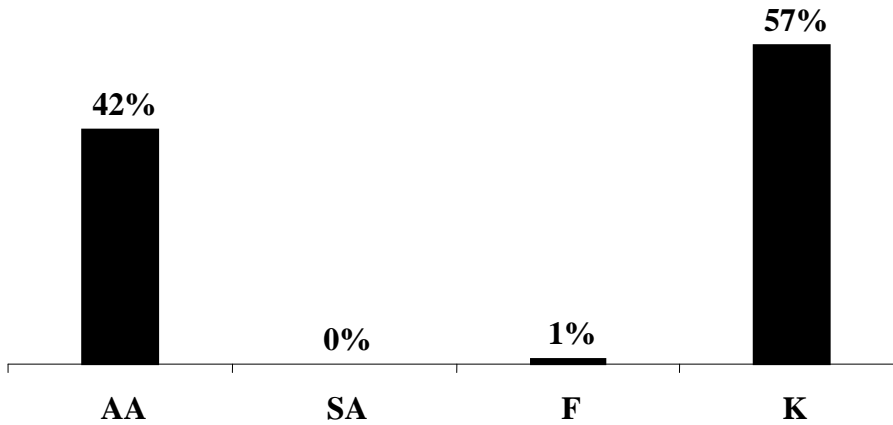
The graph for Question 3: E indicates that (51%) of our informants prefer to use Kabyle when addressing a Kabyle that they do not know. This linguistic behaviour may be interpreted as an act of solidarity among members of their minority speech community.

The choice of Algerian Arabic (27%) may be related to the fact that the origin of this type of interlocutors (strangers) is unknown, and that AA is supposedly understood by everybody as it is the majority language in Oran.

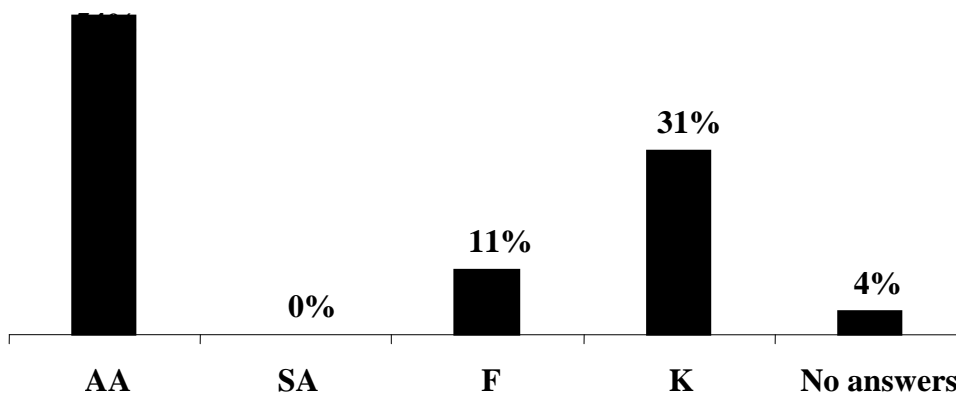
As to French, the percentage it scores (22%) goes back to the fact that this language is seen as a language of formality which is used to show a certain distance and deference that may exist between strangers.

### 1.2.2. Types of Setting:

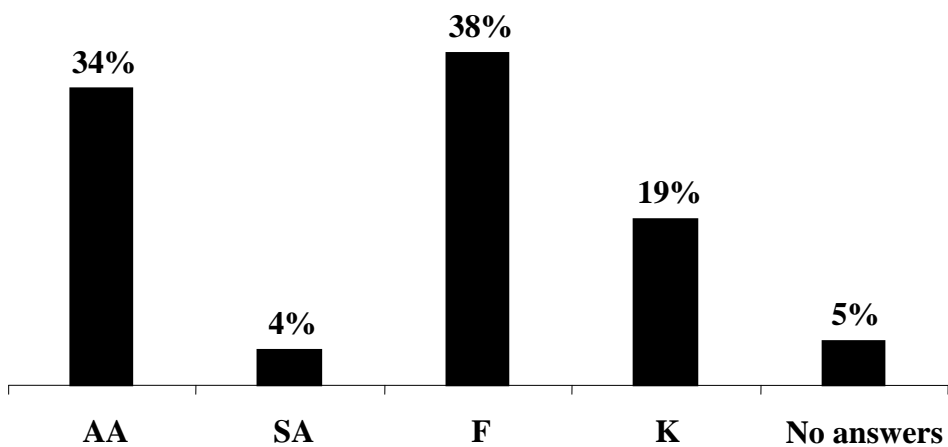
Question 4: A. At home



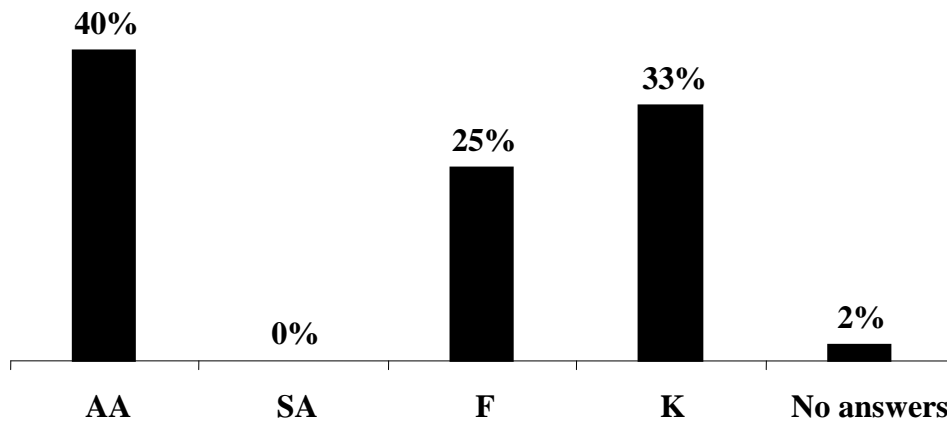
Question 4: B. At café



Question 4: C. At work



#### Question 4: D. At school/ university

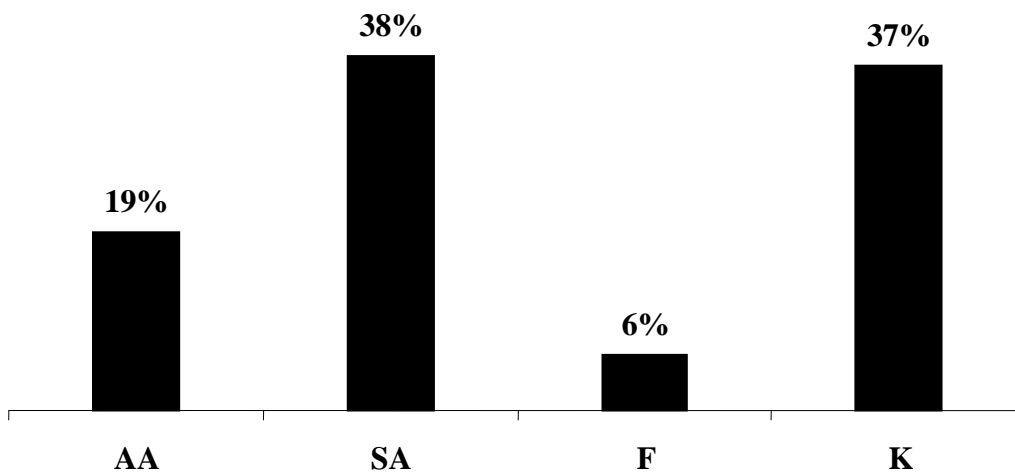


The above four graphs show that our respondents attribute significant percentages to Kabyle. It scores (57%) for “home”, (31%) for “café”, (19%) for “work”, and (33%) for “university”. One important element to be perceived is that, as the language of a minority group, Kabyle tends to be used more often within more familiar contexts. These findings are a clear manifestation of this minority group’s will to bring support to its native language in order to preserve it and maintain it in the speech community of Oran.

For the same questions, Algerian Arabic obtains the scores of (42%), (54%), (34%), (40%) correspondingly. Here again these results may be interpreted as a sign of language shift among our respondents. This confirms our previous observation that Kabyle speakers are well integrated in the speech community of Oran and adapt the majority linguistic conducts.

#### 4.2.3. Types of Topic:

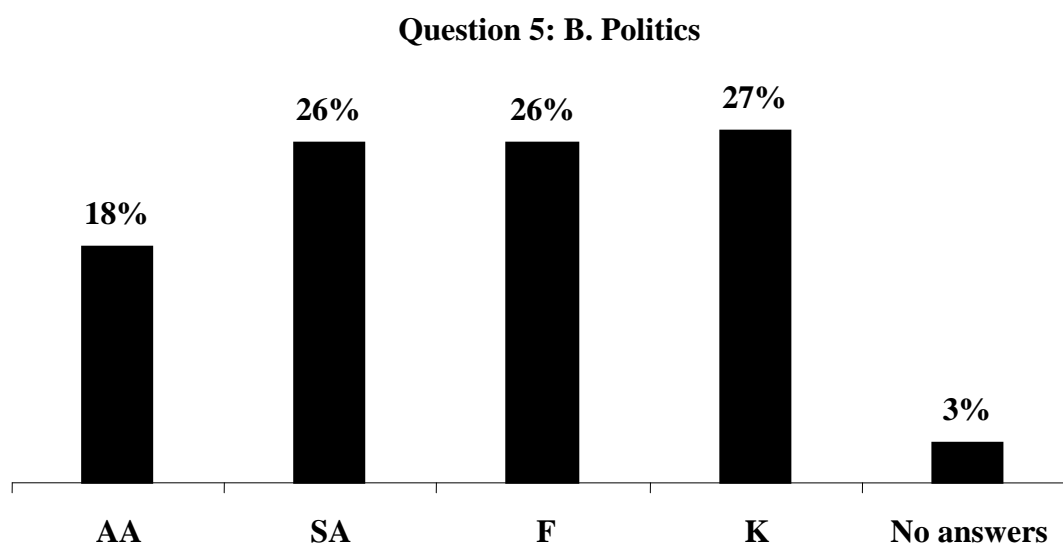
#### Question 5: A. Religion



The graph for question 5: A indicates that Standard Arabic scores (38%) as far as religious topics are tackled. The reason that might stand behind this percentage is that the respondents, most of the time, relate this language to Islam.

Kabyle follows SA in ranking, it gets (37%) for this question. This variety seems to be able to fulfil religious matters. This, according to Benali-Med (2007: 129), is due to the historical relation that exists between the two which led to the borrowing and integration of great deal of religious terms into Tamazight, and that SA is not well understood by illiterate people.

In addition to SA and K, Algerian Arabic receives a score of (19%) for this question. This goes back to the close relation it has with the language of religion.

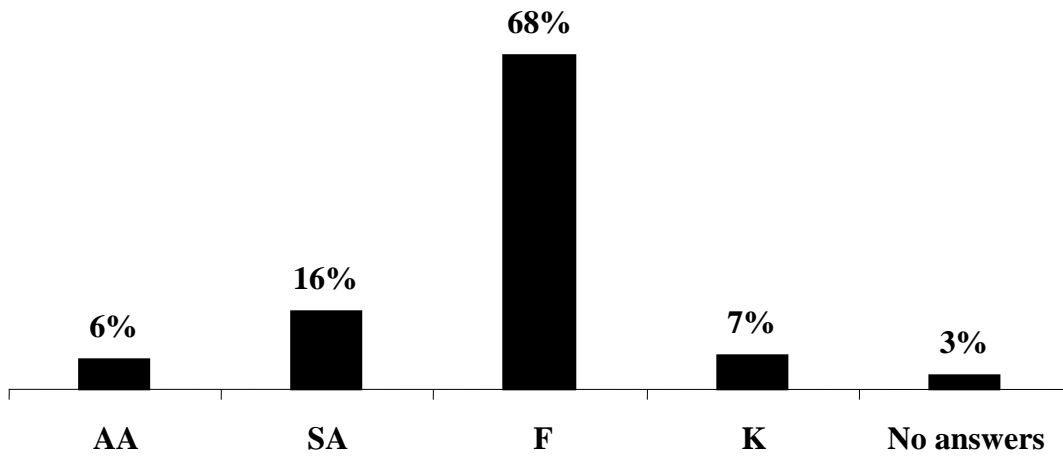


The graph for question 5: B shows a balanced distribution of the four varieties as far as political matters are concerned.

The considerable percentage (27%) Kabyle scores for this question reveals that our Kabyle speakers are willing to maintain their mother tongue in the speech community of Oran.

The other element to be noticed within this graph is that Standard Arabic obtains a score of (26%) for this question. This may be related to the Arabisation process and to the fact that the respondents who answered as such are influenced by Arabic news channels such as “El Jazeera” which starts to gains important weight in the Algerian society.

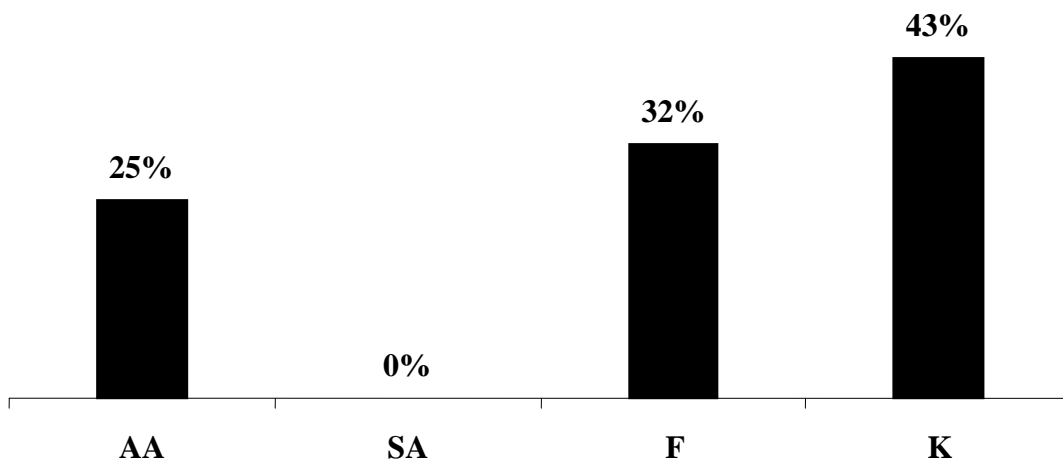
### Question 5: C. Science



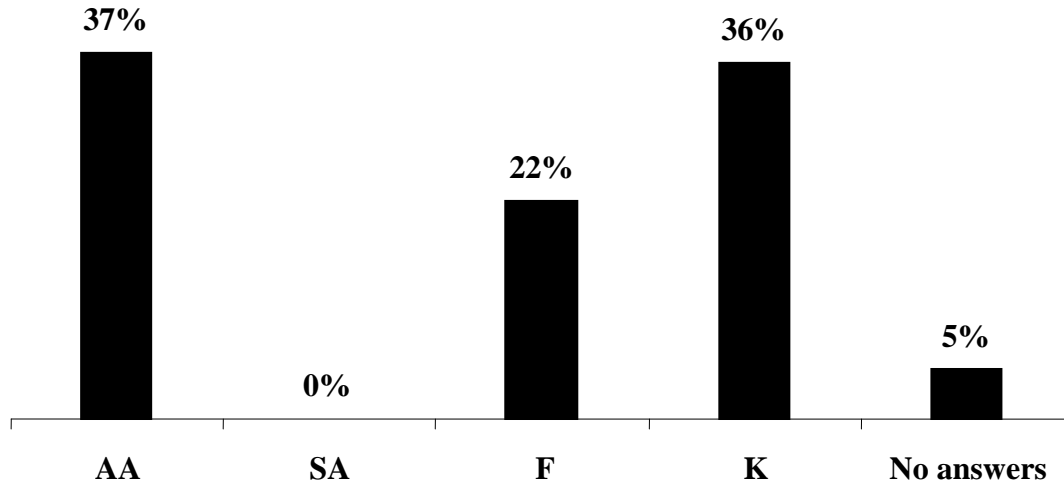
The graph for question 5: C shows an overwhelming dominance of French (68%) as far as scientific topics are concerned. The high rating French receives for this question can be linked to a variety of reasons. We first mention the fact that the respondents consider F as the language of modernity, technology, and opening on the world. Another reason may be the fact that technical terminology related to scientific topics is generally known in French, e.g.: some medical terms, diseases, medicines are known or exist only in French. Yet one should not deny the displacement of French by English.

In spite of the predominance of F, we can notice the use of SA (16%). This is probably due to Arabisation and the media which have helped in the spread of the vocabulary concerning science in SA.

### Question 5: D. Music



### Question 5: E. Sport



The graphs for question 5: D and 5: E indicate that the majority of our informants prefer to use both Kabyle and Algerian Arabic to talk about music and sport. This linguistic choice may be attributed to the fact that these two domains are informal and intimate ones that are not associated to formality. The respondents who choose Kabyle to be the first most used language when talking about these matters are probably language conservatives who seek to use their native language for whatever topic to maintain its usage as much as possible.

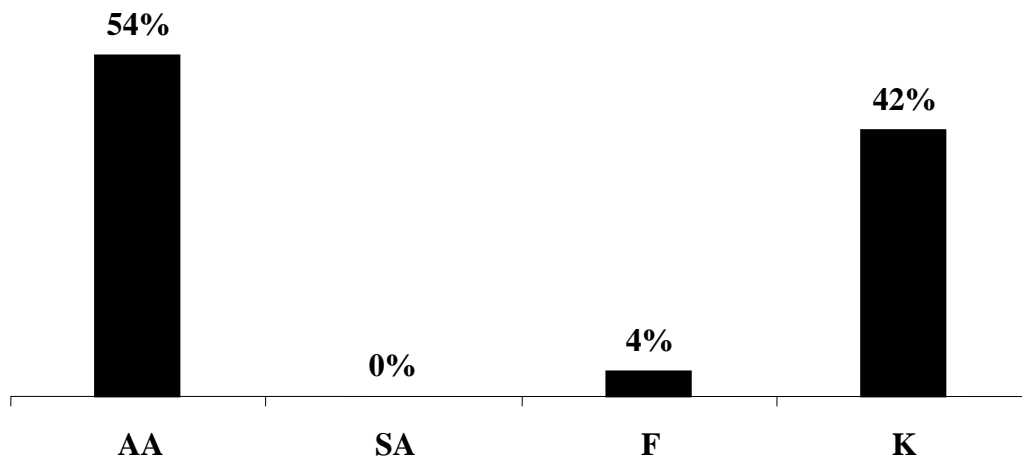
The important rating Kabyle receives for the above questions supports the fact that domain allocation is an important indicator of language maintenance. According to Downes (1998:64), the more the domains where a variety is used the bigger the chance it has to be maintained<sup>35</sup>.

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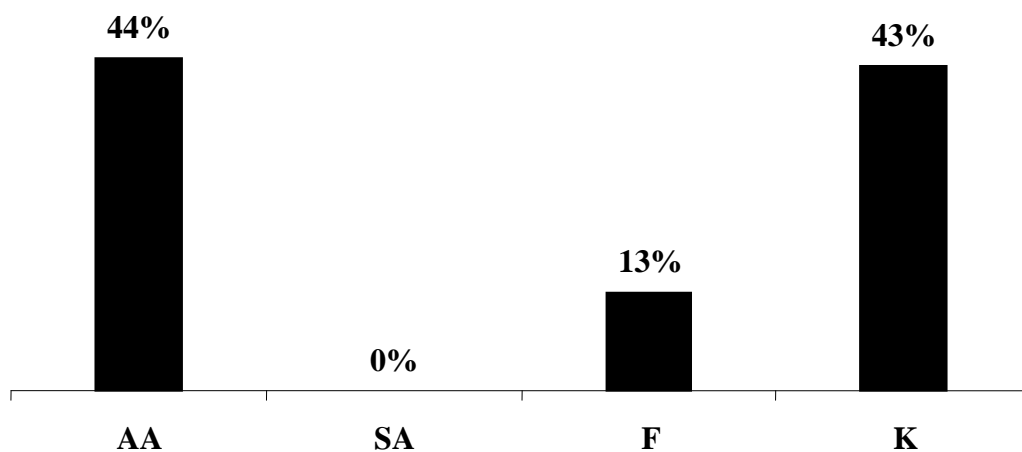
<sup>35</sup> In Benhattab (2004: 115)

#### 4.2.4. Types of Communicative Purpose:

Question 6: A. Tell jokes



Question 6: B. Insult



The graphs for question 6: A and question 6: B reveal that AA ranks first as far as telling jokes (54%) and insulting (44%) are concerned. Popular jokes are linked to Algerian culture and day-to-day events, they are funny when they are spontaneous and said in Algerian Arabic.

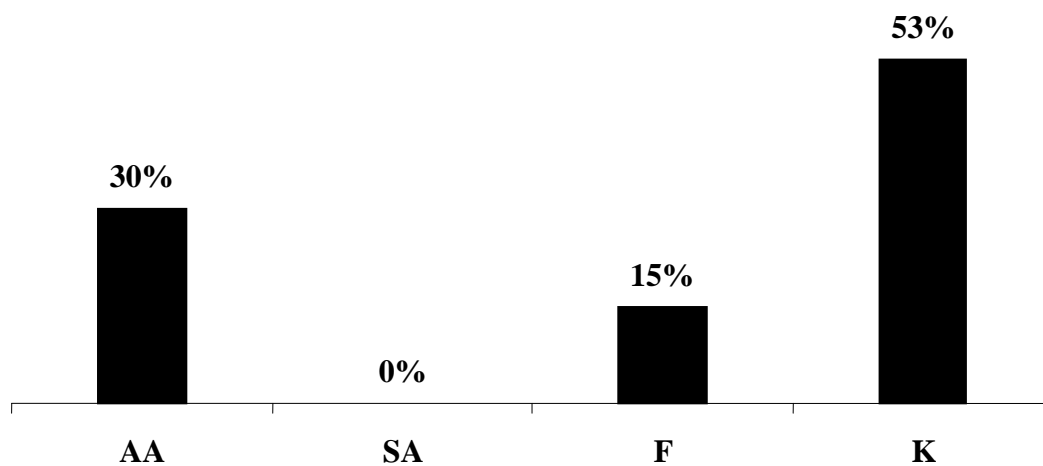
Another factor that could be invoked in the interpretation of these percentages is that the respondents, as minority speakers living in a majority speech community, tend to follow the same rules of conduct as the majority group where they live. According to Benhattab (2004, 2011), Kabyle speakers are more socially and culturally integrated in Oran speech community than the other Berber groups who tend to be more conservative.



It is our guess that the respondents who use Kabyle for telling jokes (42%) and insulting (43%) are first generation's Kabyle speakers who want to maintain the Kabyle culture via the use of Tamazight in these cultural behaviours.

The small percentage French receives for this question might be linked to the few respondents who want to show politeness or keep their status of superiority and avoid taboo words.

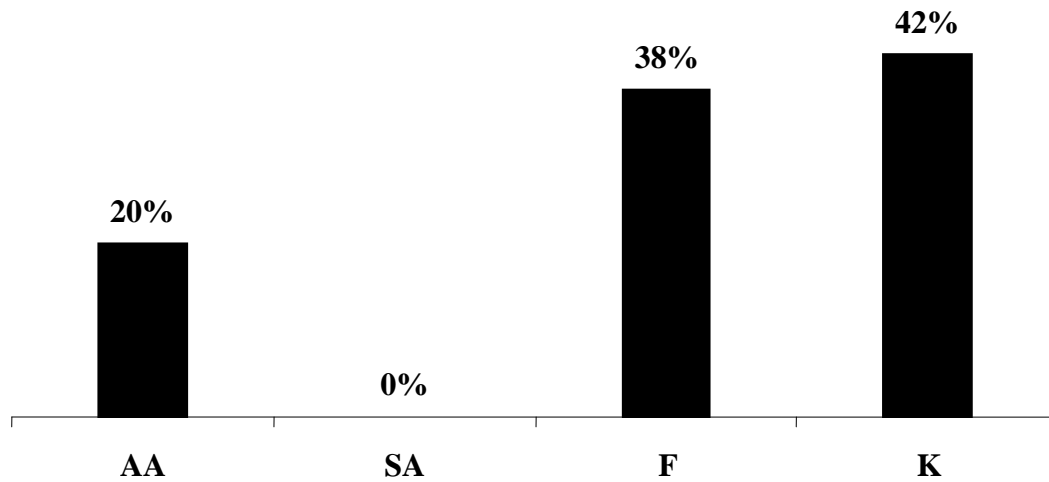
#### Question 6: C. Greet



The graph for question 6: C indicates that the majority of our informants (53%) use Kabyle when greeting other members of their speech community.

The analysis of the present data also shows that our respondents rank Algerian Arabic second as far as greeting is concerned. In this respect Bentahila (1983) asserts that: *“Greetings are among the kinds highly stereotyped phrase which perhaps remain more available to the bilingual in his first learnt languages”*.

### Question 6: D. Flatter



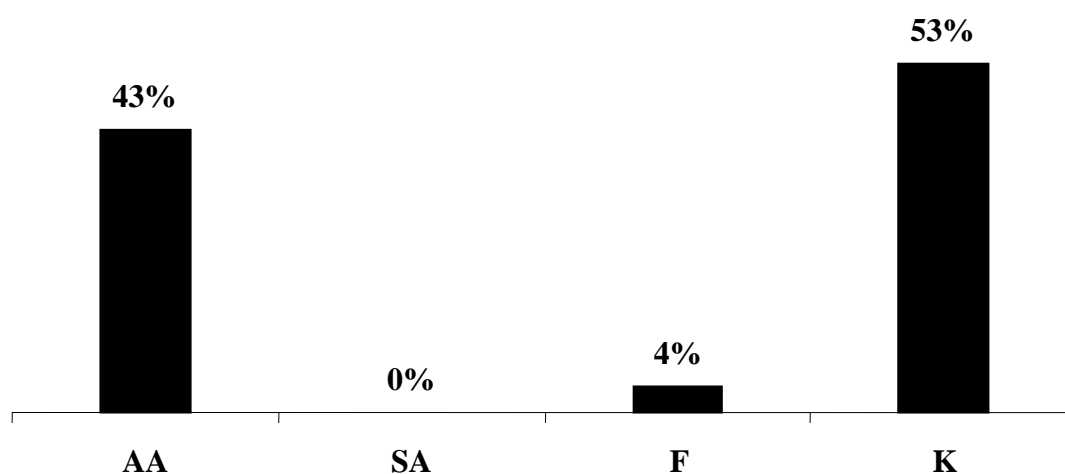
The graph for question 6: D indicates that (42%) of our respondents rely much on Kabyle when they want to flatter someone and try to have an impact on him. This goes back to the fact that it is their mother tongue through which they can easily and sincerely express themselves.

As to French, data shows that it obtains a score of (38%) for this question. Here again French is associated to prestige, respect that might be considered as a reason why our interlocutors make use of it when complimenting the others.

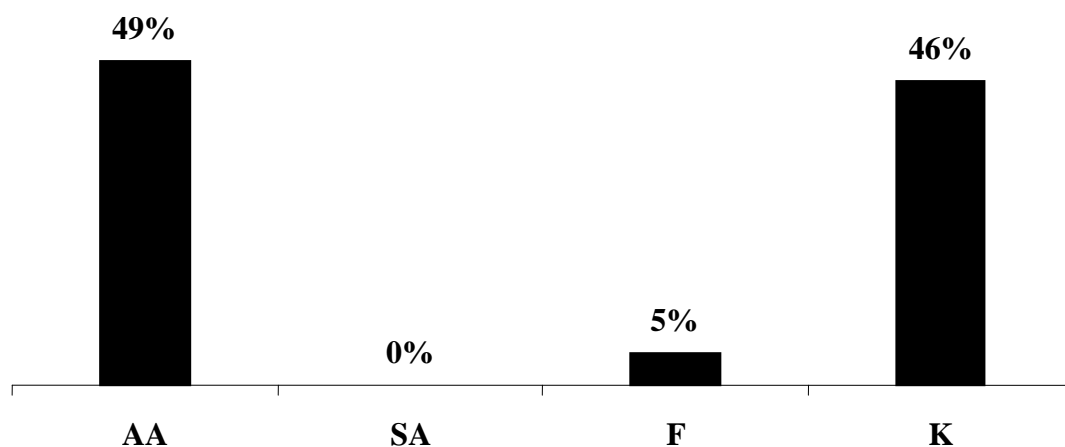
Our findings confirm that language choice related to cultural aspects depends on speakers' competence in one or another variety and will to maintain a given culture in a sense that language is the vehicle of culture. In this respect, Fishman (1964) argues that "*language maintenance is favoured in the ethno-cultural group that values its language as the vehicle of a culture*".

#### 4.2.5. Types of Mood:

Question 7: A. Tired



Question 7: B. Angry

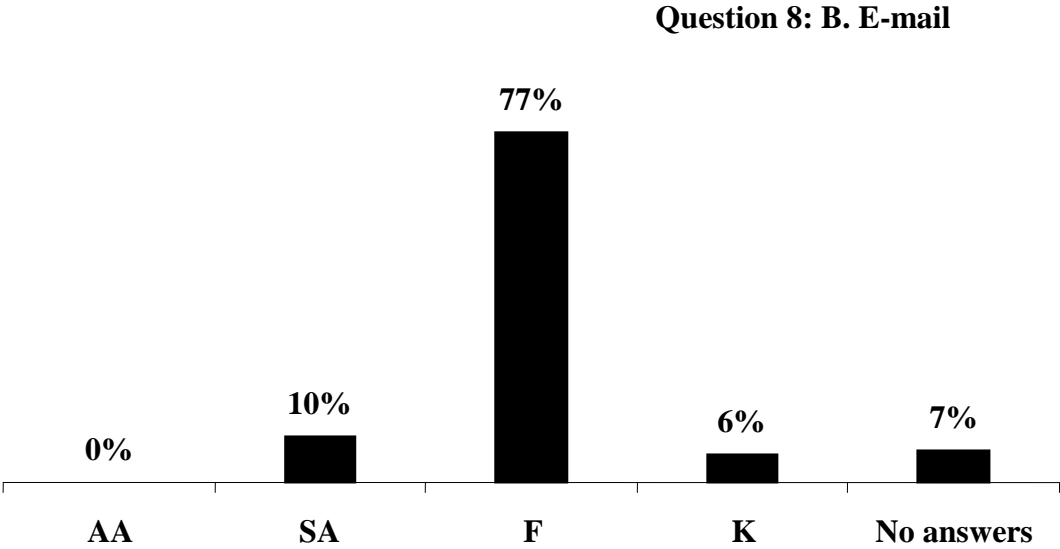
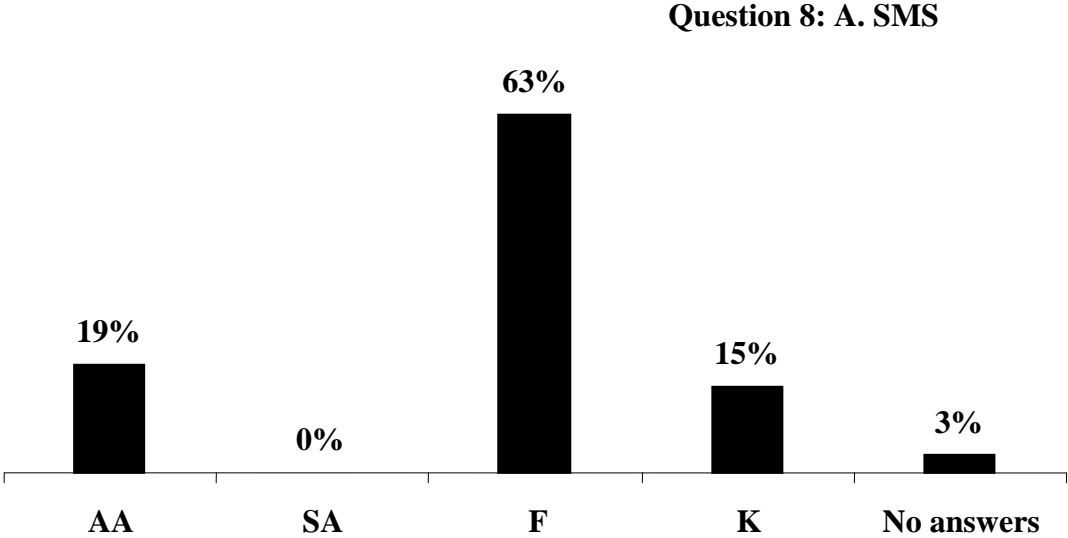


The graphs for questions 7: A and 7: B indicate that (53%) of our respondents use Kabyle when they are 'tired' and (46%) use it when they are 'angry'. In her study of bilingual speakers in Paraguay, Rubin (1968: 110) notices the same tendency. She states that "*angry discourse is usually conducted in the first language*".

Data also show that Algerian Arabic gets (43%) for 'tired' and (49%) for 'angry'. According to Benhattab (2004: 119), these scores may go back to the fact that those who

answered as such are interlocutors who have been brought up in Oran and consequently are much more culturally integrated into the speech community of Oran than the other minorities.

**4.2.6. Preference for the Modern Means of Communication:**

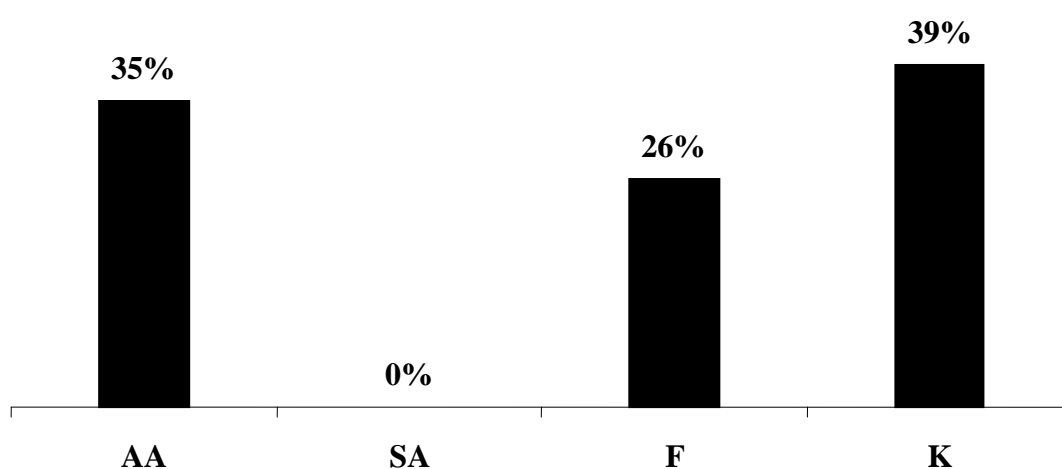


The graphs for question 8: A and question 8: B denote a general preference for French when writing concerns vital and daily communicative purposes. The predominance of F in writing SMS (63%) and e-mails (77%) may be justified by the habit of tackling technological matters in French. The other element of explanation may be the fact that in Algeria, mobile phones and computers are in general designed in French or in English where the keys are in Latin scripts.

Our results also show that (10%) of our informants choose Standard Arabic to be the second most used language to write e-mails. One may suggest that this score comes mainly from second generation's speakers who were educated in this language.

We may also notice that the use of Kabyle is almost absent. This might be due to the fact that Kabyle speakers are still unfamiliar with the Berber writing system since the new Tifinagh alphabets are still regarded as the alphabets of specialists. Yet, the score obtained by K for writing SMS reveals our speakers' ability to write their native language through the use of ASCII characters<sup>36</sup>.

### Question 9: The most to talk on the phone

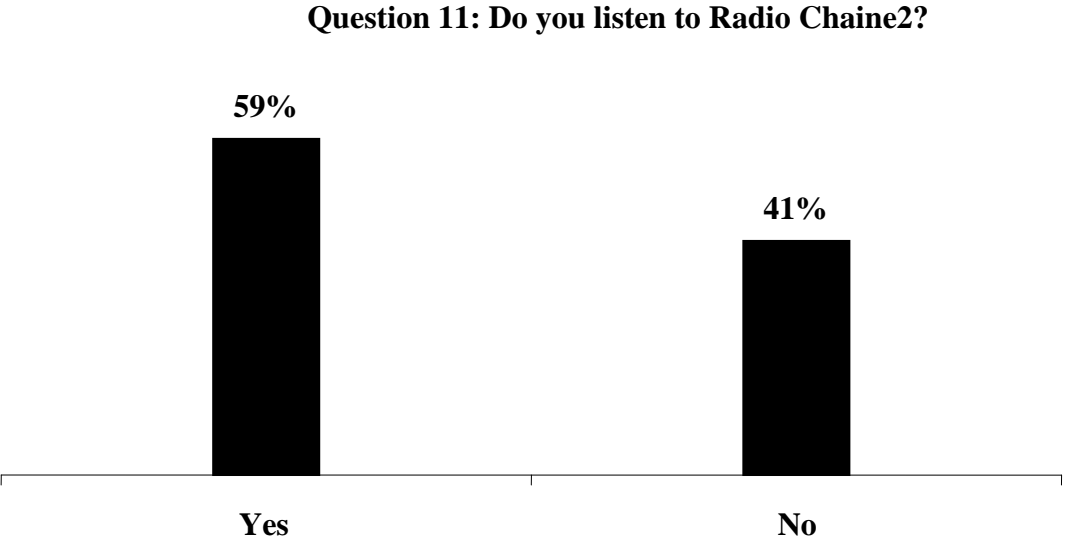
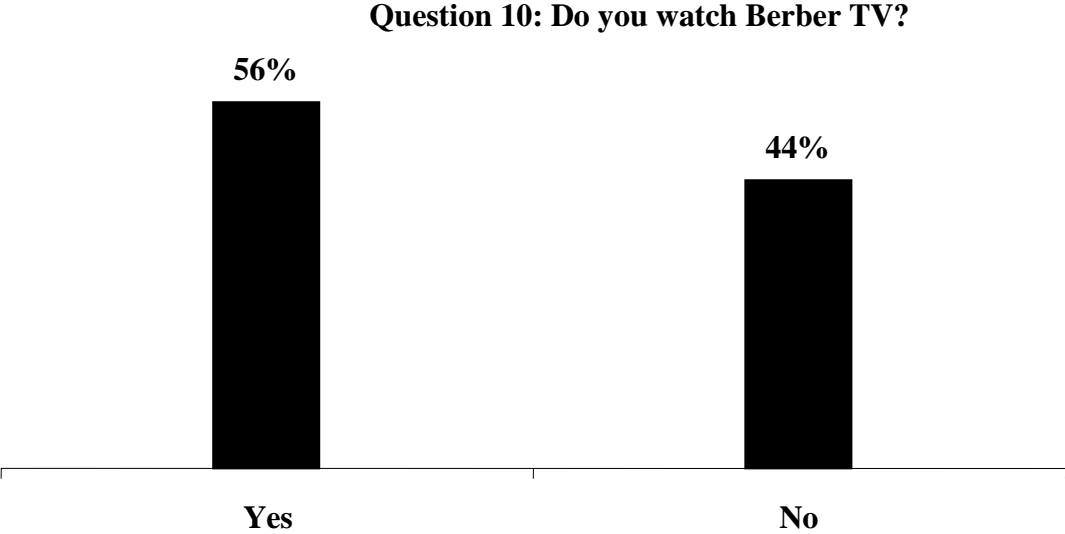


The graph for question 9 shows that (39%) of the respondents choose Kabyle when talking on the phone with other members of their speech community. This linguistic habit may be interpreted as a willingness to maintain their mother tongue in the face of the more dominant language.

For the same question, (35%) of our informants put Algerian Arabic in the second position. We may suggest that those who answered as such are interlocutors who are well assimilated to the mainstream of Oran.

<sup>36</sup> ASCII characters are roman alphabets used creatively by speakers of Berber to replicate the sounds of their native language. (In Benhattab: 2011).

**4.2.7. Preference for the Media:**



The graphs for question 10 and question 11 indicate that (56%) of our respondents watch Berber TV and (59%) of them listen to Radio Chaine 2. Among the reasons that might stand behind these percentages is that our Kabyle interlocutors want to be in close contact with their culture and language through modern media. This behaviour is often found among minority groups who use another language apart from the one used by the majority group.

As far as preference for media is concerned, data also show that (44%) of our respondents are not interested in watching TV programs in Berber and (41%) do not listen to Radio Chaine 2.

These scores reveal that this group is not interested in the Berber culture as they are culturally well integrated in the speech community of Oran.

#### **4.3. Conclusion:**

This brief examination of language use confirms to a great extent the view stated by Fishman (1972), “*attitudes don’t have to be correlated with real language use in natural multilingual settings*”, that is speakers’ attitudes do not always reflect their real language use, which is often the case in contact situations. Despite the loyalty to Kabyle noticed in our respondents’ attitudes, we observe a partial maintenance of this language at the level of intimate domains which are supposed to be strong indicator of language maintenance. We also noticed that Kabyle relatively resists shift in different domains of life such as greeting and flattery. The degree of formality different domains necessitate seems to be an obstacle to the maintenance of Kabyle in Oran, what makes some of our respondents shift to the standard varieties when they talk about formal topics such as religion and science.

Brenzinger’s (1998:276) views that “*a limited use of the minority language leads to limited exposure to that language which results in increasing reliance of the dominant language in domains of daily life which itself leads to its displacement*”. According to the results we obtained, this is to some extent, but not completely the case for Kabyle as this language is partially used in some domains as shown in the graphs above.

As to the cultural aspect of Tamazight language, we notice that while some of the respondents maintain their native language which is the vehicle of Tamazight culture as a manifestation of their strong allegiance to their culture, others shift to the dominant language as a result of the ongoing cultural and social assimilation of this particular group to Oran mainstream culture and social behaviour.

Although Kabyle is partly maintained in various domains of daily life such as “home” and “moral topics”, it seems not to be maintained as far as the written medium is concerned, it is displaced by French which seems to have a considerable weight in our respondents’ speech.

However, this conclusion needs further investigations. We shall leave it open for future analysis

# **General Conclusion**



Our brief discussion about the different aspects of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria came to confirm that the linguistic profile of Algeria is a one of a multilingual country. It is characterized by the co-existence of different language varieties i.e. Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber, and French. The relationship between these varieties and their coming into contact gives birth to contact phenomena such as diglossia, bilingualism and other contact phenomena.

The fact that Oran is a big urban city which offers opportunities for a better life attracts many people from different regions of the country. These movements create linguistic contact which sometimes gives birth to the emergence of linguistic minorities.

The present study was interested to the Kabyle minority group living in Oran. This minority has as a characteristic feature a mother tongue which is almost totally unintelligible with the other varieties in Oran. The coming into contact of the Algerian Arabic speech community with the Kabyle one in Oran may either result in language maintenance or shift.

The aim behind the present investigation was to know whether the Kabyle speakers of Oran are maintaining their mother tongue or shifting to other language (s). We tried to check this through the analysis of their attitudes towards the different languages that exist in the speech community of Oran, and through the examination of some patterns of language use in relation to a variety of factors.

Our work was based on the hypothesis that as minority group, Kabyle speakers display positive attitudes towards their mother tongue and that these positive attitudes can be considered as a key element in the maintenance of this linguistic variety. This hypothesis was built through our previous readings on minority studies such as Benhattab (2004, 2011).

The fact that code switching is one of the contact phenomena that characterises any bilingual community, led us to shed some light on this bilingual strategy from a social perspective. We tried to relate our gathered data to models developed by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Myers Scotton (2003). Throughout a brief analysis, we could reach the conclusion

that our Kabyle speakers tend to use conversational, metaphorical and situational code switching. We may also deduce that they make use of code switching as an unmarked choice as well as a marked choice. They also switch the code consequently to various reasons such as linguistic deficiency and solidarity marker.

The questionnaire results reveal that considerable proportion of this minority group are maintaining their mother tongue. This is reflected in the informants' patterns of language use (inner network) where Kabyle is used as the in-group language. (See pages 73, 74, 75).

The important rating Kabyle receives for the different questions supports the fact that domain allocation is an important indicator of language maintenance. According to Downs (1998:64), the more the domains where a variety is used the bigger the chance it has to be maintained.

Among the aspects to be perceived from our results is that the use of Kabyle decreases from informal to formal situations. Our informants tend to use their mother tongue in sociolinguistic situations where the degree of familiarity and intimacy is higher.

The other important element to be noticed in this investigation is that they also show interest in the use of French in several domains. For instance, speakers under study attributed considerable scores to French when discussing the following topics: politics (26%), music (32%) and sport (22%). (See pages 80, 81, 82). This linguistic behaviour may be interpreted as a sign of language shift among our respondents. They tend to shift to French as a result to their conception about this language which is seen as a language of modernity that may enable them to be communicatively competent in different domains.

This work ends with the conclusion that most of Kabyle speakers living in Oran tend to have positive attitudes towards their native language, and view negatively Algerian Arabic. We hypothesised then that these positive attitudes would engender language loyalty which itself engenders language maintenance, yet this was not always the case, as attitudes do not always influence behaviours.

There are many social indicators that may be involved to check if this is true for a larger minority group or whether this is just for our limited population. We shall leave this open to debate and for further investigations in the future.

By the end of this work, one should confess that this kind of research was not an easy task for both researcher and informants because it is difficult to evaluate one's own language attitudes and language preference which are inner mental states. There were some hesitations from the informants on their responds which have affected the results.

# Appendices

## The Questionnaire in French :

Ce questionnaire rentre dans le cadre d'une recherche en vue d'une thèse. Il est anonyme, c'est-à-dire que vous n'avez pas besoin d'indiquer votre nom. Je vous prie de le remplir soigneusement. Répondez par une seule réponse.

Age :

Sexe : Féminin / masculin

Fonction :

Niveau d'instruction :

Génération :

### Section A :

1\_ Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus belle ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

2\_ Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus riche ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

3\_ Quelle langue pensez-vous que les Kabyles devraient utiliser le plus?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

4\_ Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus facile ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

5\_ Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus difficile ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

6\_ Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus pratique pour la vie de tous les jours ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

7\_ Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus pratique ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

8\_ Quelle langue vous semble inutile ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

9\_Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le plus?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

10\_Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le moins ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

11\_Quelle langue considérez-vous comme la plus nécessaire ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

12\_Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus moderne ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

13\_Quelle langue vous semble démodée ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

14\_Quelle langue considérez-vous comme votre langue natale ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

15\_ Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous le plus compétent ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

16\_ A quelle langue vous identifiez-vous le plus ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

17\_ A quelle langue vous identifiez-vous le moins ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

18\_Quelle est la langue que vous pensez capable de s'adapter au monde moderne ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

19\_Quelle est la langue que vous pensez être vivante ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

20\_Quelle langue vous semble morte ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

## Section B:

1\_ Alternez-vous le code ?

Souvent

Parfois

Jamais

2\_ L'alternance de code est pour le Kabyle ?

Bonne

Mauvaise

Je ne sais pas

3\_ Est-ce que l'alternance de code ferait perdre au Kabyle sa pureté ?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

4\_ Les Kabyles font usage de l'alternance de code à cause :

De lacunes dans leur langue

Compétence

Je ne sais pas

5\_ Les Kabyles qui usent de l'alternance de code sont :

Lettrés

Illettrés

Autre

6\_ Quand vous alternez de code, vous le faites...

Consciemment

Inconsciemment

Je ne sais pas

7\_ L'alternance de code détruira la langue Kabyle ?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

8\_ Est-ce que l'alternance de code est un signe d'un manque d'identité ?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

9\_ Est-ce que l'alternance de code est un signe d'une dualité d'identité ?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

10\_ Est-ce que l'alternance de code est un problème ?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

## Section C:

1\_ Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus ?

Arabe Algérien

Arabe Standard

Français

Kabyle

2\_ Quelle langue utilisez-vous le moins ?

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

3\_ Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus avec :

A. Vos grands parents

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

B. Vos parents

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

C. Vos frères et sœurs

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

D. Vos amis Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

E. Un étranger Kabyle

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

4\_ Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus quand vous êtes :

A. A la maison

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

B. Au café avec vos voisins Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

C. Au travail avec vos supérieurs Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

D. A l'école /université avec vos camarades Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

5\_Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus avec des Kabyles pour discuter de :

A. Religion

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle



B. politique

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

C. Sciences

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

D. Music

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

E. Sport

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

6\_Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus avec des Kabyles pour :

A. Raconter des blagues

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

B. Insulter

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

C. Saluer

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

D. Flatter

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

7\_ Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus quand vous êtes :

A. Fatigué

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

B. Énérvé

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

8\_Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus pour écrire :

A. Un SMS à des Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

B. Un e-mail à des Kabyles

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

9\_Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus pour parler au téléphone avec des personnes Kabyles :

Arabe Algérien  Arabe Standard  Français  Kabyle

10\_ Est-ce que vous regardez Tamazight TV ?

Oui  Non

11\_ Est-ce que vous écoutez radio Chaine 2 ?

Oui  Non

**The Questionnaire in Arabic :**

ذكر:  انثى:

المهنة:

المستوى الدراسي:

الجيل :

(I

1- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأجمل؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

2- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأغنى؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

3- ما هي اللغة التي من المستحسن أن يستعملها القبائل؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

4- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأسهل؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

5- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأصعب؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

6- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأحسن من حيث الاستعمال اليومي؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

7- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها الأكثر فعالية؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

8- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها غير مفيدة؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

9- ما هي اللغة التي تحبها الأكثر؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

10- ما هي اللغة التي تحبها الأقل؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

11- ما هي أكثر لغة تحتاج إليها؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

12- ما هي اللغة التي تعتقد أنها عصرية؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

13- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها قديمة؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

14- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها لغتك الأم؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

15- في أي لغة تعتبر نفسك الأكثر كفاءة؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

16- ما هي أكثر لغة تعبر عن هويتك؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

17- ما هي اللغة التي لا تعبر عن هويتك؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

18- ما هي اللغة التي تتماشى مع الحياة العصرية؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

19- ما هي اللغة التي تعتقد أنها الأكثر حيوية وديناميكية؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

20- ما هي اللغة التي تعتبرها مينة؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

(II)

1- هل تقوم بعملية المزيج اللغوي؟

دائماً  أحياناً  أبداً

2- كيف يعتبر تأثير المزيج اللغوي على اللغة القبائلية؟

جيد  سيء  لا اعرف

3- هل تعتقد أن المزيج اللغوي يفقد اللغة القبائلية أصالتها؟

نعم  لا  لا اعرف

4- القبائل يقومون بعملية المزيج اللغوي بسبب؟

نفاص في اللغة القبائلية  قدرة لغوية في القبائلية  لا اعرف

5- القبائل الذين يمزجون اللغات ينتمون إلى فئة ؟

المتقنون  غير المتقنين  فئة أخرى

6- عندما تقوم بعملية المزيج اللغوي تقوم بذلك ؟

عن وعي  عن غير وعي  لا أعرف

7- هل تعتقد أن المزيج اللغوي يقضي على اللغة القبائلية ؟

نعم  لا  لا اعرف

8- هل تعتقد أن المزيج اللغوي دليل على نقص في الانتماء الامازيغي ؟

نعم  لا  لا اعرف

9- هل تعتقد أن المزيج اللغوي يعبر عن ازدواجية في الهوية ؟

نعم  لا  لا اعرف

10- هل تعتقد أن المزيج اللغوي مشكلة ؟

نعم  لا  لا اعرف

(III)

1- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها الأكثر ؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

2- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها الأقل ؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

3- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها مع:

أ- جديك

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- والديك

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ج- إخوانك وأخواتك

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

د- أصدقائك القبائل

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

هـ- قبائلي لا تعرفه

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

4- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها في:

ا- البيت

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- المقهى مع جيرانك القبائل

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ج- العمل مع مسؤوليك القبائل

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

د- في المدرسة / الجامعة مع زملائك القبائل

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

5- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها مع القبائل للتحدث عن:

ا- الدين

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- السياسة

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ج- العلوم

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

د- الموسيقى

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ه- الرياضة

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

6- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها مع القبائل:

ا- لتحكي نكتة

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- للشتم

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ج- للتحية

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

د- للمدح

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

7- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها عندما تكون:

ا- متعب

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- متوتر

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

8- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها لكتابة :

ا- رسالة قصيرة

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

ب- رسالة الكترونية

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

9- ما هي أكثر لغة تستعملها للتحدث بالهاتف مع القبائل؟

الدارجة العربية  العربية الفصحى  الفرنسية  القبائلية

10- هل تشاهد القناة الامازيغية؟

نعم  لا

11- هل تستمع إلى راديو 2 chaine؟

نعم  لا



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## **Abstract**

The present study investigates the Kabyle minority group living in Oran. This group was chosen because it makes use of a variety which is totally unintelligible with the other components that consist Oran speech repertoire, and because it outnumbers the other minority groups.

Within this work we intend to study the speech behavior of this minority group in relation to a variety of social variables. The question is to know whether, as a minority group, Kabyle speakers of Oran will maintain their mother tongue or shift to other languages that exist in Oran.

Knowing that language attitudes play an important role in language choice, this study aims at investigating the different attitudes this group would display towards the four languages that consist their speech and towards code switching.

To achieve the above goals, we started by shedding some light on the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in terms of diglossia, bilingualism, code switching and borrowing, and then we tried to relate our data to linguistic models such as the one developed by Myers Scotton. Similarly to previous investigations on Berber studies in Oran, Benhattab (2004, 2011) and Benali Mohamed (2007), we opted for a questionnaire made up of three sections that deals with different aspects of language attitudes and behaviours. This was distributed to a selected population to obtain a representative sample.

The findings of this work come out with the conclusion that the Kabyle speakers of Oran under study manifest positive attitudes towards their native language. These positive attitudes may play a significant role in the maintenance of the Kabyle variety. We may also say that members of this minority speech group express their belonging and loyalty to the Kabyle language and culture through the use of their minority language in different contexts.

## **KeyWords:**

Language Maintenance; Language Shift; Language Attitudes; Language Choice; Minority Language; Majority Language; Kabyle Speakers Of Oran; Code Switching; Preservation Of Berber Culture; Berber And Its Varieties.