Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Oran 2

Faculty of Foreign Languages

Department of English

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the Degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics

ALGERIAN ARABIC/ FRENCH CODE-SWITCHING BETWEEN INTENTIONAL MOTIVATION AND STRUCTURAL UNIFORMITY

Submitted by: **Supervised by**

MENDAS Djamila   BENHATTAB Abdelkader Lotfi

Members of the Jury

President: DJAILEB Farida	Prof	Oran University 2
Supervisor: BENHATTAB Abdelkader Lotfi	Prof	Oran University 2
Examiner: HAMANE Soraya	MCA	Oran University 2
Examiner: SENOUCI Meberbeche Faiza	Prof	Tlemsen University
Examiner: BOUHASSOUN Azzedine	Prof	Temouchent University
Examiner: ZIANI Melouka	MCA	Mostaganem University

Academic Year 2021-2022

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter One : A Preliminary to the study and Research Methodology

Chapter Two: Structural Approaches to the Study of Code-switching

Chapter Three: Quantitative analysis and Functional Interpretation of the Corpus

Chapter Four: The Structural Analysis of the AA/French Code-Switching

DEDICATION

"THE PRICE OF SUCCESS IS HARD WORK, DEDICATION TO THE JOB AT HAND, AND THE DETERMINATION THAT WHETHER WE WIN OR LOSE, WE HAVE APPLIED THE BEST OF OURSELVES TO THE TASK AT HAND."

VINCE LOMBRDI

I DEDICATE THIS MODEST RESEARCH

TO MY BELOVED PARENTS FOR TEACHING ME STRENGTH TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES

TO MY DEAR HUSBAND FOR HIS CONTINUOUS SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING

TO MY DEAR LOVELY DAUGHTERS FOR SHARING THEIR TIME WITH THIS THESIS AND WITHOUT WHOM IT WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETED EARLIER

TO MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS FOR THEIR LOVE AND ENCOURAGEMENTS

TO MY PARENTS AND SISTERS IN LAW

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the socio-pragmatic motivations and functions delineating the linguistic practices of English teachers during their regular meetings at the English department at the *École Normale Superieure* of Oran (ENSO) in the presence of four main languages Algerian Arabic, French, English and Standard Arabic. The second main purpose of this research work is to describe and analyse the morpho-syntactic mechanisms underlying Algerian Arabic/French code switching as displayed by our informants. In order to discern the main sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors that affect the use of code switching among our community of practice, our multilingual data is interpreted using an eclectic perspective that combines Myers-Scotton's (1993) socially-oriented 'Rational Model' and Auer's Conversational and Sequential-based approach both of which are subsumed under the paradigm of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982). For the purpose of explaining the grammatical regularities depicted in code-switching occurrences among university teachers our corpus is analysed within Myers-Scotton's (1993, 1997, 2002) Matrix Language Frame model and its supportive models -the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model. We have opted for Muysken's (2000) typology for the classification of alternational and insertional code-switching types. Our investigation of bilingual language behaviour of university English teachers is conducted from a micro sociolinguistic perspective. This perspective is couched within the general field of contact linguistics. The approach used in the analysis of our data is to its majority a qualitative one. Our study is backed up by a quantitative analysis of recurrent code-switching patterns as well as an inventory of each grammatical category will be provided in the appendices. Our findings are also compared to other code-switching corpora especially those involving Arabic as a Matrix Language.

The functional analysis of bilingual exchanges shows that code-switching as practiced by our informants is quite often, a conscious activity that reflects the speakers' perception of the various coats of identity and social relationships that the different languages at their disposal carry with them. As a result, switches tend to perform conversational functions (i.e. as talk-organizing devices) and social functions (as identity markers). The prevalent pattern of code-alternation in our informants' exchanges could be classified as the unmarked code-choice that is characterized by intensive inter-sentential/ intra-clausal and insertional/ alternational patterns of mixing; yet using Algerian Arabic/ French code-switching as a default medium does not mean that it is void of any intentional or functional meaning. Indeed, this mixed medium of speech bridges the gap between what is purely professional and what is social, between what is objective and what is subjective and it decreases the distance between asymmetry in levels of competence/performance and in language prestige.

At the structural level, the quantitative analysis reveals that French monolingual CPs prevail over Algerian Arabic monolingual clauses and bilingual CPs which is attributed to the formality of the context and to our informants proficiency in the languages involved. This orientation may classify our corpus as belonging to the alternational type of code-switching; however, the striking asymmetry between Algerian Arabic and French as dominant languages when they both assume the role of Matrix Language in the present data enhances Myers-Scotton's insertional paradigm and settle the strenuous question of equal / unequal partnership between languages involved in code-switching at least in our context. Despite the formality of

ABSTRACT

the academic professional context and our informants' level of proficiency and the high frequency of French monolingual CPs over Algerian Arabic ones, intra-sentential code-switching is most of the time insertional and submit to Algerian Arabic (ML) structural requirements even at the expense of French (EL) structural well-formedness in the case of insufficient congruence. Indeed Algerian Arabic as a dominant language influences even the structural make-up of some French monolingual CPs. Thus, the newly added Uniform Structure Principle by Myers-Scotton which enhances the notion of asymmetry seems to be efficient to a large extent in the analysis of Algerian Arabic French code-switching patterns. While Algerian Arabic is the language that dominates at the structural level, French insertions are significant and they are to their majority French noun phrases that are classified as core insertions. This tendency is due to the preponderant role of French in the academic and administrative life of our informants.

Another important conclusion that we can draw from our corpus is that even though the sociolinguistic variables (formal vs. informal, high/low competence) affect code-switching patterns in terms of diversity, richness, and length of inserted EL material, it does not radically change the directionality of switching or the types of embedded elements.

KEY WORDS: code-switching, structural uniformity, intentional motivation, congruence, asymmetry.

RESUME

La présente étude examine les motivations et les fonctions socio-pragmatiques délimitant les pratiques linguistiques des professeurs d'anglais lors de leurs rencontres régulières au département d'anglais de l'École Normale Supérieure d'Oran (ENSO) en présence de quatre langues principales : l'arabe algérien, le français, l'anglais et Arabe standard. Le deuxième objectif principal de ce travail de recherche est de décrire et d'analyser les mécanismes morpho-syntaxiques qui sous-tendent l'alternance de codes arabe algérien /français tels qu'ils sont mis en évidence par nos informateurs. Afin de discerner les facteurs principaux sociolinguistiques et pragmatiques qui affectent l'utilisation du changement de code au sein de notre communauté de pratique, nos données multilingues sont interprétées à l'aide d'une perspective éclectique qui combine le « modèle rationnel » à orientation sociale de Myers-Scotton (1993) et le modèle conversationnel et séquentielle d'Auer qui sont subsumées sous le paradigme de la sociolinguistique interactionnelle (Gumperz 1982). Dans le but d'expliquer les régularités grammaticales représentées dans les occurrences de changement de code chez les enseignants universitaires, notre corpus est analysé dans le modèle insertionnelle de Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997, 2002). Notre enquête sur le comportement linguistique bilingue des professeurs universitaires d'anglais est menée d'un point de vue micro sociolinguistique. Cette perspective s'inscrit dans le domaine général de la linguistique de contact. L'approche utilisée dans l'analyse de nos données est majoritairement qualitative. Notre étude est étayée par une analyse quantitative des schémas récurrents de changement de code ainsi qu'un inventaire de chaque catégorie grammaticale sera fourni dans les annexes. Nos résultats sont également comparés à d'autres corpus de changement de code, en particulier ceux impliquant l'arabe en tant que langage matrice.

L'analyse fonctionnelle des échanges bilingues montre que le code-switching tel que pratiqué par nos informateurs est bien souvent, une activité consciente. En conséquence, les commutateurs ont tendance à remplir des fonctions conversationnelles (c'est-à-dire en tant que dispositifs d'organisation de la conversation) et des fonctions sociales (en tant que marqueurs d'identité). Le modèle prédominant d'alternance de code dans les échanges de nos informateurs pourrait être classé comme le choix de code non marqué qui se caractérise par des modèles de mélange inter-phrastique/intra-phrastique et insertionnels/alternatifs intensifs ; pourtant, l'utilisation de l'alternance de code arabe algérien/français comme médium par défaut ne signifie pas qu'il est dépourvu de toute signification intentionnelle ou fonctionnelle. En effet, ce médium mixte fait le pont entre ce qui est purement professionnel et ce qui est social, entre ce qui est objectif et ce qui est subjectif en diminuant la distance entre l'asymétrie dans les niveaux de compétence/performance et dans le prestige de la langue.

Au niveau structurel, l'analyse quantitative révèle que les CPs monolingues français prévalent sur les phrases monolingues algériennes et les CPs bilingues, ce qui est attribué au formalisme du contexte et à la maîtrise des langues concernées par nos informateurs. Cette orientation peut classer notre corpus comme appartenant aux types d'alternance de code-switching ; cependant, l'asymétrie frappante entre l'arabe algérien et le français en tant que langues dominantes lorsqu'ils assument tous deux le rôle de langage matrice dans les données actuelles renforce le paradigme d'insertion de Myers-Scotton et règle la question ardue du partenariat égal / inégal entre les langues impliquées dans le changement de code à moins

dans notre contexte. Malgré le formalisme du contexte professionnel académique et le niveau de compétence de nos informateurs et la fréquence élevée des CP monolingues français par rapport aux CP algériens, lorsque le code-switching est intra-phrastique il est la plupart du temps insertionnel et soumis à les exigences structurelles de l'arabe algérien (ML) même au détriment de la bonne formation structurelle française (EL) en cas de congruence insuffisante. En effet, l'arbe algérien en tant que langue dominante influence même la composition structurelle de certains CPs monolingues français. Ainsi, l'USP nouvellement ajoutée par Myers-Scotton qui améliore la notion d'asymétrie semble être efficace dans une large mesure dans l'analyse des schémas de changement de code arabe algérien/ français. Alors que le dialecte algérien est la langue qui domine au niveau structurel, les insertions en français sont importantes et ce sont majoritairement des constituants nominaux en français qui sont classées comme des insertions de base. Cette tendance est due au rôle prépondérant du français dans la vie académique et administrative de nos informateurs.

Une autre conclusion importante que nous pouvons tirer de notre corpus est que même si les variables sociolinguistiques (formelles vs informelles, compétence élevée/faible) affectent les schémas de changement de code en termes de diversité, de richesse et de longueur du matériel inséré, cela ne change pas radicalement la directionnalité de l'alternance ou les types d'éléments intégrés.

MOT CLES : Alternance codique, uniformité structurelle, motivation intentionnelle, congruence, asymétrie

ملخص

تبحث الدراسة الحالية في الدوافع والوظائف الاجتماعية البراغماتية التي تحدد الممارسات اللغوية لمدرسي اللغة الإنجليزية خلال اجتماعاتهم المنتظمة في قسم اللغة الإنجليزية بالمدرسة العليا في وهران (ENSO) في سياق يتميز بوجود أربع لغات رئيسية هي اللغة العامية والفرنسية والإنجليزية و العربية الفصحى. الغرض الرئيسي الثاني من هذا العمل البحثي هو وصف وتحليل الآليات الصرفية النحوية الكامنة وراء التحول اللغوي من الدارجة الجزائرية الى الفرنسية كما يظهر من قبل أفراد عينة الدراسة. بهدف تمييز العوامل اللغوية الاجتماعية والبراغماتية الرئيسية التي تؤثر على هذا التحول اللغوي، سيتم تفسير بيانات الدراسة باستخدام منظور انتقائي يجمع بين "النموذج العقلاني" الذي وضعته مايرز سكوتون (1993) والموجه اجتماعيًا. والنهج القائم على التسلسل، وكلاهما مدرج تحت نموذج علم اللغة الاجتماعي التفاعلي (Gumperz 1982). لغرض شرح الانتظامات النحوية الموضحة في حالات الامتزاج اللغوي (code switching) بين الدارجة العربية الجزائرية و الفرنسية بين اساتذة الجامعة ، تم تحليل مجموعة موادنا ضمن نموذج مايرز سكوتون ونماذجها الداعمة. تبنت الدراسة المنظور اللغوي الاجتماعي في تحليل السلوك اللغوي المتعدد اللغات لمدرسي اللغة الإنجليزية بالجامعة. تمت صياغة هذا المنظور في المجال العام للغات الاتصال. طغى على الدراسة استخدام المنهج الكيفي المدعوم بالتحليل الكمي لأنماط تبديل الشفرة المتكررة بالإضافة إلى جرد لكل فئة نحوية سيتم توفيرها في الملاحق. تتم مقارنة النتائج التي توصلنا إليها أيضًا مع مجموعات تبديل الكود الأخرى خاصة تلك التي تتضمن اللغة العربية كلغة مصفوفة.

يظهر التحليل الوظيفي للتمازج بين اللغات أن المزج اللغوي كما يمارسه مفردات عينة الدراسة غالبًا ما يكون نشاطًا واعيًا يعكس تصور المتحدثين لمختلف طبقات الهوية والعلاقات الاجتماعية التي تحملها اللغات المختلفة الموجودة تحت تصرفهم. نتيجة لذلك، تميل المفاتيح إلى أداء وظائف المحادثة (مثل تنظيم المحادثات) والوظائف الاجتماعية (مثل علامات الهوية). يمكن تصنيف النمط السائد للمزيج اللغوي في تبادلات المبحوثين لدينا على أنه اختيار يتميز بأنماط مكثفة بين الإرسال لخارج وداخل الجملة و بين الإدراج و التبادل ؛ ومع ذلك ، التحول اللغوي من اللغة العامية الى اللغة الفرنسية كوسيط افتراضي لا يعني أنه خالٍ من أي معنى مقصود أو وظيفي. في الواقع، هذه الوسيلة المختلطة من الكلام تسد الفجوة بين ما هو مهني بحت وما هو اجتماعي، بين ما هو موضوعي وما هو ذاتي، وتقلل المسافة بين التباين في مستويات الكفاءة او الأداء وفي هيبة اللغة.

ملخص

على المستوى الهيكلي، يكشف التحليل الكمي أن الجمل الفرنسية أحادية اللغة تسود على الجمل الجزائرية أحادية اللغة و ثنائية اللغة والتي تُعزى إلى شكليات السياق وإلى إتقان المبحوثين للغات المعنية. قد يصنف هذا التوجه مجموعتنا على أنها تنتمي إلى النوع التبديلي من المزج اللغوي؛ ومع ذلك ، فإن عدم التناسق اللافت للنظر بين العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية كلغات مهيمنة عندما يضطلع كلاهما بدور اللغة المصفوفة في البيانات الحالية يعزز نموذج الإدراج لمايرز سكوتون ويحل المسألة الصعبة المتمثلة في الشراكة المتساوية / غير المتكافئة بين اللغات المشاركة في المزج اللغوي. على الرغم من شكليّة السياق الأكاديمي المهني ومستوى إتقان المخبرين لدينا والتردد العالي للجمل الفرنسية أحادية اللغة على اللغة العربية الجزائرية ، عندما يكون المزج داخليًا ، يكون في معظم الأحيان إدراجًا يخضع إلى المتطلبات الهيكلية العربية الجزائرية حتى على حساب متطلبات اللغة الفرنسية في حالة عدم التطابق الكافي. في الواقع ، تؤثر اللغة العربية الجزائرية كلغة مهيمنة حتى على التكوين البنيوي لبعض الجمل الفرنسية أحادية اللغة. وبالتالي ، فإن مبدأ الهيكل الموحد الذي أضافته مايرز سكوتون حديثًا والذي يعزز فكرة عدم التماثل يبدو فعالًا إلى حد كبير في تحليل أنماط المزج اللغوي بين الفرنسية و العامية الجزائرية. في حين أن اللغة العامية الجزائرية هي اللغة السائدة على المستوى الهيكلي ، فإن الإدخالات الفرنسية مهمة و يرجع هذا الاتجاه إلى الدور الغالب للفرنسية في الحياة الأكاديمية والإدارية لمخبرينا.

هناك استنتاج آخر مهم يمكننا استخلاصه من مجموعتنا وهو أنه على الرغم من أن المتغيرات اللغوية الاجتماعية (الرسمية مقابل الكفاءة غير الرسمية ، الكفاءة العالية / المنخفضة) التي تؤثر على أنماط المزج اللغوي من حيث التنوع والثراء وطول التراكيب المدرجة ، فإنها لا تغير اتجاه التبديل أو أنواع العناصر المدرجة بشكل جذري.

الكلمات المفتاحية : المزج اللغوي ، التوحيد الهيكلي ، الدافع المتعمد ، التطابق ، عدم التناسق.

Symbols and Abbreviations

1/2/3PL: first, second or third person plural.

1/2/3PR: first, second or third person present.

1/2/3SG: first, second or third person singular.

AA: Algerian Arabic.

Adj: adjective.

Adv: adverb.

ART: article.

Aux: auxiliary

CA: Classical Arabic.

COMP: complimentizer.

COP: copula

CP: complement phrase or projection of complementizer.

CS: Code-switching.

DEF: definite article.

DET: determiner

DEM : demonstrative.

Det: determiner.

Dual: a dual suffix.

EL: embedded language.

ENSO: Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Oran

F: French.

FAgr : feminine agreement.

FUT: future.

GB: government and binding.

INDF: indefinite article.

INFL: inflection

IP: inflectional phrase.

MA: Maroccan Arabic.

ML: matrix language.

MLF: matrix language frame model.

MSA: monolingual structure approach.

NP: noun phrase

Obj: object.

Poss: possessive

PPart: past participle

PR: present

PRD: predicate adjective

PreP: preposition phrase

Pro: progressive

quant: quantifier.

Subj: subject.

SA: Standard Arabic.

SGF: singular feminine.

SMP: system morpheme principle

Spec: specifier.

Suff: suffix.

SVO: subject verb object word order

USP : uniform structure principle

V: verb.

VSO: verb subject object word order

List of Tables

List of Figures:

General Introduction

Language contact is a meeting ground where linguistics intersects with a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, ethnography, politics, sociology, etc. As one of the most engaging aspects of language contact phenomena, research on code-switching has been fragmented within various sub-disciplines making it difficult to review the theory of code-switching or to come across a unified definition and methodology of investigation. Since this phenomenon has established itself as a specific research subject, studied in itself and for its own sake, the pace of publications has become almost vertiginous, and the approaches very diversified. This theoretical diversity actually results both from the multidimensional nature of this verbal strategy and from the multiplicity of levels and contexts where this phenomenon can be studied.

Two broad areas of the study of code-switching –the practice of using two or more languages within the same conversation- have flourished during the last decades receiving numerous books, articles and dissertations that deal with sociolinguistic and grammatical properties of bilingual conversations and language choice. The former focus on structural issues related mostly to intra-sentential code-mixing and is based on formal syntactic and psycholinguistic approaches to language. The latter area of research focuses on identifying the the social and discourse functions and meanings of code-switching patterns, and the social motivations that affect speakers' choices. It applies methods of discourse and conversation analysis.

Despite the growing interest in code-switching as a subject of investigation on its own rights and despite the growing evidence that code-alternation is now a prolific area of research, and the subject of many doctoral and master's theses worldwide, studies of attitudes to code-switching have generally confirmed that people are not proud of it and often claim to disapprove of code-switching arguing that it stems from speakers' lack of competence in one or all the languages involved. Sociolinguistic studies do show that people code-switch more and more within the clause, when they are at ease, in informal situations. This association of code-switching with informal interactions is not absolute and in several cases, the opposite has been shown to occur. This is exactly the case of our informants who are teachers of English at university and who alternate between the varieties at their disposal during their formal pedagogical meetings and informal side-meetings.

The alternation and mixture of Algerian Arabic and French caught our attention from the first research that we carried out in partial fulfilment of our MA degree (Mendas 2013) and which focused on informal conversations between university students in different departments. Similarly, other studies have been done in the context of university between

students including Moroccan Arabic/French CS, Ziamzari: 2003; Algerian Arabic/French CS, Ouhmiche, 2013, Tunisien Arabic/ French CS, Heikel Ben Mustapha: 2016 among others.

The choice of university is first motivated by the strong existence of the different language varieties compared to pre-university stage where Standard Arabic could progressively replace French and has eventually become the exclusive medium of instruction since the late 1980s; French is now no other than a subject of instruction. Higher education remains linguistically divided with some fields offered in Arabic (e.g. humanities, economics, etc) and others basically taught in French (technology and sciences). This abrupt switch in the medium of instruction, from Arabic to French seriously impedes efficient learning of scientific content for many students and affects cross-generational communication. From our observation we could notice that there is a tremendous change in students' behaviours nowadays.

What we are interested in is linguistic behaviours; the majority of students of my generation did not dare to address teachers using the Algerian dialect. They either used French, SA or English in English department. Though our corpus does not focus on the teachers-students interactions but rather on teacher-teacher exchanges, we could record many passages where students usually start their turn in English and then switch to Algerian Arabic with occasional French and English insertions and they even claim when teachers address them using French that they do not understand. This is not only the case of English department, French and Arabic departments also complain about the fact that students cannot express themselves properly using French or SA. We can see how linguistic behaviours reflect a broader picture than just being a mere means of communication. Indeed, students' linguistic choices are not only the result of their lack of competence in such or such language but indeed they are partially victims of the lackadaisical attitude of those who are responsible for language policy. Nonetheless, their linguistic choices could be seen as a sign of self-confidence i.e. the fact that they express their opinions and needs regardless of what code is expected to be expedient in such context. Approval of code-switching in such cases tends to coincide with a tense attitude towards authority.

It should also be emphasized that we evolve in social situations where the alternation of codes, Algerian Arabic/ French if is not the least marked form of speech, at least the most frequent linguistic behaviour: we are, in fact, exposed daily to this kind of phenomenon, in various contexts and spaces. Yet code-switching has started to gain ground and to spread in domains where previously was shunned. This crucial observation is what sparked our interest to record teachers of English during their pedagogical meetings. Our choice was motivated by

the amount and richness of structures and choices that these speakers naturally and easily produce using the different codes in their repertoire such as the following utterance where the speaker moved smoothly from SA to AA to French to English 'jaɛni annahɔ diːɾi *un travail en bonne et due forme* **fulfilling the methodological requirements'**; translated as (it means that do a task in good and due form fulfilling the methodological requirements).

Our corpus is not empty of these multi-dimensional structures that pass unnoticed by the speakers themselves who are often unaware of the codes used at such or such a moment in the conversation since during production the attention of the speaker is less focused on the varieties of languages as *systems of signs* that are organized in one way or another, than on the very *process of communication*. Besides, looking at the above utterance at the first sight may give us the impression that it is a mere juxtaposition of many chunks of speech; however, such sentences are the subject of on-going debate in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and cognitive science as the production of such a sentence may involve a set of complex operations at the syntactic and the conversational levels which needs a certain level of competence in all the four languages at work, the least of them is to enter into this multilingual mode and activate the four codes. Hence, the speaker may not be aware of every single morpheme they utter but the decision to use the four varieties in the same token of speech is conscious. The same speaker wouldn't have produced the same utterance with other interlocutors or in a different context. The puzzle is still unresolved and very little is known about language processing in bilingual speech.

The objective of this work is mainly to describe and analyse the internal organization of the code-switching phenomenon as it is practiced by our respondents. For this objective, the present work will adopt the Matrix Language Frame Model as a theoretical frame for the morphological and the syntactic description of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus. Myers-Scotton's insertional model has become the most influential approach compared to the linear[1] and grammar-based approaches[2] in general and the other insertional

---

[1]The linear approach to code switching as it has been expounded by Poplack and her associates (1981, 1988, 1995, 1998, and 2000) is mainly based on the notion of symmetry between the linguistic systems. This approach uses word order in order to explain CS patterns by allowing switching between words or constituents that share the same surface order in both languages and prohibiting switching when the word order is not shared by these languages.

[2] The grammar-based approaches to code switching as they have been advocated by Muysken et al (1986), Belazi et al (1994) MacSwan (1999, 2000, 2005), and Mahootian (1993, 1996) stipulate that bilingual patterns of language production are generated by the same mental processes as monolingual ones. These patterns, consequently, obey the same generative rules as their monolingual counterparts. Proponents of these

approaches in particular[3]. Myers-Scotton[4] and Myers-Scotton and Jake's prominent publications since the early 1990s have not only investigated various code-switching data sets but they have also questioned psycholinguistic and neuro-linguistic findings about the nature of language production and processing phenomena.

The MLF model supported by the 4-M model of morpheme classification relies on principles of hierarchies and asymmetries and is founded on the idea that language processing begins with the construction of a morphosyntactic frame set by a Matrix Language into which Embedded Language elements are inserted. The insertional approach's main concerns are how the syntactic frame, or matrix, can be identified and what types of elements can be inserted and under what condition insertion is possible. Answering those questions relies on three basic concepts that underlie MLF model's principles and hypothesis and constitute the explicative power of Myers-Scotton's model. In fact, these notions are in one way or another, the reason behind the failure of some previous approaches in accounting for many code-switching patterns and are considered by the community of researchers as essential components that should be taken into account when formulating any constraints on code-switching. These are asymmetry between the two languages involved in code-switching, different status of content and system morphemes and congruence or equivalence. To these, Myer-Scotton added the Uniform Structure Principle which according to her clarifies and strengthens the Matrix Language Frame model, as a model of code-switching.

Our second objective is to identify the communicative functions and sociolinguistic motivations of bilingual discourse and to question the role of the code switches that occur in our informants' conversations. Sociolinguistic approach is not directly related to the grammatical characteristics of code-switching although they share the same overall goal – understanding the workings of code alternation practices. Indeed, the sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching are credited with driving attention to code-switching as a topic of systematic study and stimulated research on code-switching in other fields namely linguistics. Code-switching is an important meaning making resource, the understanding of which implies regularity in language use in order to be understood by the listener. As any other languages, bilingual speech is a social activity whose functions are not only to convey

---

approaches tried to apply Chomsky's monolingual syntactic models such as X-bar theory (1970s) government and binding theory (1980s), and the minimalist program (1990s) in order to formulate CS constraints

[3] This has been recognized by many researchers working within the same field (Eliason, 1995; Backus, 1996; Boumans, 1998; Gardner Chloros, 2009; Muysken, 2000)

[4] Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997, 2002) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995, 1997, 2000, 2001)

factual information, but also to fulfil other socio-pragmatic meanings. Our study intends to clarify the nature of social factors that have an impact on the structure of code-switching practices and to find out how our informants use code-switching as a sign of expressive and pragmatic abilities beyond those of monolingual speakers. For this we opt for Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model that sees speakers' choices as indexical of the social and pragmatic context and Conversational analysis (Gumperz 1972, Auer, 1998) which in addition to social indexicality, it gives more importance to interaction-internal factors.

As we have mentioned, our main target is to explain the grammatical regularities depicted in code-switching occurrences among university teachers in their regular meetings and their functional load. In order to reach these objectives, we will depend on naturalistic data. Our corpus consists of more than twenty-two hours of audio-recorded conversations between teachers at the English department at the *École Normale Superieure* of Oran (ENSO) during twelve meetings from June 2017 to July 2019. All the meeting were held at university which represents a formal context; however, the speech situations range from formal exchanges of professional matters to informal personal chatty conversations. The teachers were informed of the fact that they are going to be recorded from time to time for research purposes about language use; however, when exactly the recording will take place was not revealed in order to get spontaneous and natural recordings of language practice.

Our work is subsumed under a micro sociolinguistic perspective to contact phenomena. The approach that we will use in the analysis of our data is to its majority a qualitative one. The interpretation of bilingual code-switching structures will be obtained using individual utterances that have been produced by informants in the data. Yet the sociolinguistic analysis of the functional roles of language choices will be done with reference to the whole conversation taking into consideration contextual information, turn organization and even prosodic features and therefore the entirety of conversations are transcribed. The qualitative perspective in the analysis of code switching and related phenomena has shown its efficiency in the interpretation of bilingual phenomena. However inducing generalizations from individual language utterances in this field of research is quite difficult.

We aim through this research to examine the structural properties of mixed-codes and thus a qualitative descriptive study would be more preferable. Nevertheless, in order to arrive at a satisfying qualitative interpretation of our informants' formal and functional features that underlies their interactional activities, a quantitative investigation of the data involving all the four language varieties as well as monolingual and mixed utterances will be needed to get more accurate results. This will help us to define the directionality of switching, the types and

grammatical functions of embedded material which in turn can be related to sociolinguistic variables namely language proficiency, proficiency in code-switching, power relationship, identity construction among others.

Identity construction in social practices has become one of the most central notions in sociolinguistics. The theoretical frame of reference for the study of identity has shifted from the variationist-oriented perception that correlates linguistic variables with pre-defined social categories to a model which centres on the negotiation of social categories through language use. Based on this idea, researchers have revealed that speakers build self-images which do not pre-exist social practices where identity is constructed in varied settings. In this study, we will try to find out more answers about identity construction when Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and English are fused within the same token of speech as all or some of these languages carry social, linguistic, and political implications for their speakers. We will also discuss the reasons motivating them to make such choices given that not all inserted constructions are the result of the search for the right or appropriate expressions nor are they used to fill lexical gap. In this respect we will try to answer the following questions:

- What are the factors that trigger off the alternate use of many languages (Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, and English) within the same discourse?

- To what extent are the speakers' linguistic competence and preferences relevant to the different manifestations of CS patterns in this corpus?

- In what way can code-switching be used as a device of identity construction in the case of our community of practice (English teachers at university)? And how is this identity negotiated through various code-choices?

- What is the result of the contact between AA and French at the morpho-syntactic level?

- What type of structures does the insertion of French morphemes and constituents into AA matrix structures, and the insertion of AA elements into French matrix frames generate?

- To what extent does the MLF model succeed to account for CS structures produced by speakers in the AA/French CS data of the present study? And How can the presence or the absence of sufficient congruence between so different languages as AA and French interpret linguistic phenomena generated by both of them?

- Does asymmetry between AA and French as interpreted at the morpho-syntactic level reflect asymmetry in bilinguals' competence?

As for the organization of the research work, four chapters make up the construct of this thesis. The first chapter describes the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and outlines some historical events that left traces on its linguistic scenery. It also discusses the status of the different languages that make up the linguistic landscape in Algeria. The second section provides a general overview of multilingualism and different contact phenomena with special interest in the policy of Arabization and diglossia and their impact at the societal and individual level. we will focus more particularly on the question of code-switching, the main subject of our research work, through the multiple definitions which this aspect of bilingual speech has received over the last decades, in order to identify a definition that allows us to understand its multidimensional character. Then, we will tackle the delicate task of drawing, when possible, a line of demarcation between code-switching and another related manifestation of bilingualism namely borrowing. The third section deals with the methodological considerations of the study. It therefore summarizes the overall methodological approach in terms of the study design, the choice of informants, the collection of the data, and types of data (qualitative and quantitative). It also sketches the techniques used for data elicitation.

Chapter two discusses the debate concerning the different proposed models and constraints that try to describe the structures of code-switching. These models are classified into three main approaches: the linear or the surface-based approaches, monolingual grammar-based approaches and the insertion-based approaches. We will try to show their contributions and limitations using the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus of the present study. In the course of this chapter we will point out the considerations leading to our preference for the insertion approach in analysing the syntactic and morphological aspects of code-switching namely the definition of the concept of Matrix Language, asymmetry and congruence. The MLF model on which the morpho-syntactic analysis of the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus is based is the main object of the second chapter. This model will be discussed along with its supporting models i.e., the 4-M model and the abstract level model. We will highlight Muysken's (2000) typology of code-mixing as it will help us to differentiate between insetional and alternational types of switching in terms of core and peripheral code choices.

Third chapter is divided into three sections. First section provides quantitative analysis of the data. Quantification of the data will allow us to define the amount and the way each of

the language varieties available contribute to the formation of this multi-lingual discourse. The quantification concerns monolingual and mixed utterances, the different constructions generated from the contact between Algerian Arabic and French, types of intra-sentential insertions into Algerian Arabic and French structures and the nature of the switched elements and constituents (core vs. peripheral). Second section proceeds to the functional interpretation of our interlocutors' mixing patterns using an eclectic approach that combines conversational analysis techniques and Myers-Scotton's Markedness or Rational model. The focus will be on studying the role of code-switching as a resource for the organization of speech in interaction and the achievement of common interactional goals. We will give a special interest to explain the timid occurrences of English and Standard Arabic in our respondents' interactions. Third section gives an inventory of the different types of inter-sentential switching between Algerian Arabic and French. This type of switching between coordinate and subordinate clauses is free from matrix language considerations and is therefore studied at the level of discourse.

Chapter four is devoted to the qualitative interpretation of the grammatical make-up of the corpus. We will describe both directions of code-switching i.e. when both languages are Matrix Languages and Embedded Languages, The latter direction of code-switching i.e. when French provides the morpho-syntactic frame for AA insertions, revealed an apparent asymmetry between the two languages in their roles as Matrix Languages. This allows us to include bilinguals' competence and preference as fundamental parameters in interpreting some code-switching phenomena within the MLF model. This chapter will use the notion of congruence in trying to interpret frequency of some structures and the rarity of others testing, thus, testing its rigor in explanation. It will also test the Uniform Structure Principle that has been newly added by Myers-Scotton (2002) in her later publications. This principle further enhances asymmetry by giving priority to Matrix Language grammatical procedures in keeping the ML structure uniform across the sentence and restricting the contribution of the Embedded Language. The final section will investigate the status of some discourse markers in code-switching at the supra-clausal level. This type of switching has been marginalized in Myers-Scotton's work (2002) despite the fact that they belong to Myers-Scotton's complement phrase's syntactic analysis.

1   A Preliminary to the study and Research Methodology

1.1   Introduction

The present chapter is a preliminary to the investigation of the sociolinguistic and linguistic practices of our respondents and the patterns of switching they display in the presence of four linguistic codes namely Algerian Arabic, French, English and Standard Arabic. This chapter opens with a presentation of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and the different linguistic phenomena that arise from the contact of different languages. The most prominent factors leading to situations where languages are brought into contact are also discussed in the light of Algeria's long history of invasions and colonization that still shape our linguistic profile and orient our language policy. More recently, the proliferation of the audiovisual sector and the relative "democratization" of computing and multimedia have clearly contributed to the provocation of contact and the spread of some world languages namely English. Education in general and university in particular has always been a fertile field for language policy fluctuations. As such, sketching the impact of these policies on education is necessary for the understanding of our respondents' language practices and attitudes.

The co-existence of different language varieties generates certain linguistic phenomena. The linguistic forms that are generated in the same situation pose difficulties in analysis as to the distinction and delimitation between them. When it comes to describing and explaining code-switching, it becomes imperative to define it and distinguish it from borrowing. Indeed, this is a methodological necessity that governs any linguistic study of either phenomenon because of the diversity of conceptual understandings and the divergent frameworks. In this perspective, one of the objectives of this chapter is to address some definitional concepts that are basic to our research work and to situate the present work in respect to terminological quarrel and to the debate concerning the distinction between CS and borrowing with illustrations from the corpus of the present study.

The studies undertaken on code-switching in different contexts are characterised essentially by different problematic issues, different methodologies and subsequently different types of analysis. This chapter aims at drawing attention to some methodological issues concerning the gathering and analysis of CS data and presenting the methodological design adopted for this research work. Thus, third section introduces two essential components in any study i.e. the corpus and the subjects participating in this research. It also describes the different speech situations which were all recorded in the same context –university.

1.2   The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria and The status of the different languages

Algeria is a culturally diverse and linguistically heterogeneous country. The linguistic landscape of Algeria, a product of its history and its geography, is characterized by the coexistence of several language varieties - from the Berber substrate to the different foreign languages which have more or less marked it, including the Arabic language, vector of the Islamization and Arabization of North Africa. Dynamic in the practices and behaviours of speakers who adapt diversity to their expressive needs, this coexistence turns out to be stormy, fluctuating and sometimes conflicting in a symbolic and cultural field crossed by relations of domination and linguistic stigmatization, relations aggravated by the effects of a unanimous, proactive and centralizing policy.

The Algerian sociolinguistic diversity and complexity is marked by the existence of a melting pot of languages: Standard Arabic (hereafter SA) which, according to Algerian Constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989, 1996), has always been crowned the sole official and national language of Algeria until recently; Dialectal Arabic or Algerian Arabic including its regional varieties (hereafter AA) which is the native language of the majority; the middle languages[5] which are intermediate forms between CA and AA (Modern Standard Arabic MSA, Educated Spoken Arabic ESA, and Literary Arabic); Berber (with its different varieties) which is also the native language of a considerable minority and which, after years of struggle has been recognized as a national language then has gained the status of a joint-official language (Algerian constitution 2002, 2011, 2016); and French a vestige of colonial history that is omnipresent in various spheres of Algerians' life. The presence of these varieties in Algeria's repertoire with all the historical, political, ethnic, ideological and socio-cultural load that each variety entails have identified Algeria as a multilingual and a diglossic speech community and a fertile field of language contact phenomena.

In order to understand the sociolinguistic landscape in Algeria and the heterogeneity characterising the Algerian speakers' behaviour we shall give a brief description of each language in relation to other existing languages and shed some light on the socio-political endeavours that have triggered this complex situation.

---

[5] This issue has attracted many scholars from different perspectives (Blanc1960, Kaye 1972, Al Hassan 1977, Meisles 1980, Bouamrane1986, and Benali Mohamed 1993). They see these middle varieties as being part of a continuum rather than clear cut distinguished varieties.

Algeria's cultural and socio-ethnic heterogeneity may be attributed partly to the various invasions and conquests and the long-term contact with the languages and the cultures of the invaders throughout its history (Phoenician, Carthaginians, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Spanish, Turkish and French). However, the most significant impact on the indigenous language -Tamazight or Berber- had been Arabic due to the Islamic expansions to North Africa and the integration of Arabic into local cultural milieus. Algeria's complex linguistic composition may also be ascribed partly to the different policies during French colonial era and post-colonial era. Falling under French colonialism from 1830 until 1962, Algeria was subject to a rigorous assimilation, or precisely acculturation policy and French served as the official language during the long-lasting colonial era which extended for a century and thirty-two years. After independence, Algerian nationalist leaders led a linguistic campaign through enacting strict legislations aimed at promoting the status of Classical Arabic and giving to Algeria its Arabo-Muslim identity and depriving French from its colonial stand. Despite the fact that French has lost a lot of domains in favour of Arabic in the long run and has been politically referred to as 'foreign' language, nonetheless, on linguistic grounds, French is actually a second language alongside Arabic and continues to fulfil important linguistic tasks in the social life of Algerians.

As for Tamazight/Berber which was the native language of the indigenous people in Algeria and south Africa is nowadays an umbrella term under which a number of linguistic varieties reside. Such idioms, which are more or less mutually unintelligible, are spoken in parts of Morocco and Algeria, but they are also used in some other African countries, such as Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, etc. The four major varieties of Tamazight[6] in Algeria in terms of the number of speakers are Taqvaylit (the Kabylian's variety), Tashawit spoken by the Shawi group, Mozabit and Tamashaq used by Mozabites and Touareg respectively.

The government's intensive campaigns of Arabisation had always put aside Tamazight with no political mention. Such explicit negligence of the Tamazight culture and language, as components of the Algerian identity gave a strong push for pan-Berberism to rise, especially in Kabylia. After years of struggle, increased social pressure and the Tamazight activists' calls for officialisation, Tamazight was declared as a national language in 2002 and it was until 2016 that Tamazight was assigned the status 'joint-official' language after a constitutional amendment that was approved through a parliamentary vote.

---

[6] There are other small Berber spoken varieties such as Chenoua, Tarifit, Taznatit, ...etc.

In the following section we will try to draw a concise picture of the different languages that contributed to the mosaic linguistic composition of the area and the relationship they exhibit with each other. Yet we will not tackle the matter of Berber varieties since this subject is beyond the scope of our research inquiry. The focus will rather be given to Arabic language, Algerian Arabic, French and English to a lesser extent. Although the linguistic policy does not constitute the focal point of this research, it is still paramount to sketch briefly some aspects of colonial policy and language planning as it occurred in Algeria.

1.2.1   Layers of Arabic

Arabic[7] or classical Arabic (hereafter CA), a south western Semitic language that is believed to be the native language for 315 million people around the world making it the fifth most-spoken language globally behind Mandarin, Spanish, English and Hindi. It is claimed as an official or co-official language in most countries in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East and a national language or a recognized minority in Iran, Turkey, Niger, Senegal, Mali and Cyprus.

CA is the language of a large body of classical literature (prose but especially poetry) and it is the language of divine revelation (i.e. language of Muslims holy book, the Quran) as well as the source out of which classical grammarians (e.g. Abu Al-Aswad Al Duali, Al-Khalil, Ibn Djinni, etc.) inspired and laid down the rules of correct usage. It is of significance to point out that CA remains basically unchanged to this day (Freeman, 1996) due to the direct link with the Quran which makes CA a "cherished" variety and a sacred language in the belief of the Muslims. It enjoys an eminent and prestigious position[8] among Arabic speaking communities and even non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities around the world.

Despite the fact that most of the world's Muslims do not speak Classical Arabic as their native language, many indeed can read the Quranic script and recite the Quran. CA is restricted to religious settings and functions and only few have a fluent grasp of it because of its high level of lexical and syntactic codification. CA, however, according to western

---

[7] The "Arabic language" is a cover term that include many varieties that are related to a lesser or greater extent with different status and domains of use as described in many linguistic studies.

[8] " l'Arabe Classique, a pour lui le prestige, un immense prestige, qui se multiplie encore par deux, car il est double : prestige de grande langue de culture …, prestige de langue religieuse". Fleish (1964:3) "classical Arabic has for him the prestige, an immense prestige which is multiplied by two because it is twofold: the prestige of a great language of culture … and that of a language of religion".

linguists is but a variety in a continuum of varieties even if the users of Arabic are aware of only two varieties of their language: Literary and colloquial.

Many terms have been attributed to Arabic in several research inquiries interested in the linguistic situation in the Arab world namely L'Arabe Classique or Classical Arabic (Marçais 1930), Modern Arabic (Monteil: 1960, Stetkevych: 1970, Blau: 1981, Holes: 2004), Modern Written Arabic, Modern Literary Arabic (Meiseles: 1977[9], Gully, 1993), Modern Standard Arabic (Kaye: 1987, Parkinson: 1993), Standard Arabic (Blanc 1960[10]), etc. Nonetheless, identifying a whole range of Arabic varieties is still a matter of debate in that many native scholars do not consider other than two varieties.

The usually known varieties besides Classical Arabic and Colloquial Arabic[11] are Modern Standard Arabic and Educated Spoken Arabic[12]. Although widely known and recurrently used by language scholars especially in western linguistic literature about Arabic, the concept Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)[13] is not distinguished by the majority of Arabs from Classical Arabic. Indeed, they see it as *al Fusha* (Classical) Arabic itself.

Some researchers have shown that Literary Arabic which comprises contemporary Arabic literature is a distinct variety from MSA[14] which covers journalistic language of the media. In the same vein, Kaye (1987) draws a clear-cut distinction between CA and MSA. Still other linguists such as Van-Mol (2003), Sharkawi (2002), Owens (2001) considers that it is difficult to draw the line between CA and MSA. Parkinson (1993:47) has remarked that the native speakers of Egyptian Arabic are unaware of these differences and recognize *El Fusha* as a unifying medium pointing out that "although scholars have no trouble distinguishing

---

[9] Meiseles categorized Arabic into four styles: 1). Literary Arabic or Standard Arabic, 2). Oral Literary Arabic (OLA), 3) Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), and 4). Plain Vernacular

[10] Blanc distinguished five varieties as follows: 1). Standard Arabic, 2). Modified Classical, 3). Semi-literary or Elevated Colloquial, 4) Koineized Colloquial, and 5). Plain Colloquial.

[11] Colloquial Arabic incorporates the many regional dialects scattered throughout the Arab World. Such dialects form a geographical continuum; the further we move from one point to another in a particular direction, the larger linguistic differences will become. Within the same Arabic speaking country, there may exist a variety of regional dialects with slight to significant differences at one or more levels of linguistic analysis.

[12] Badawi (1973: 89) identifies five levels of Arabic: 1. Classical Arabic, 2. Modern Standard Arabic, 3. Educated Spoken Arabic, 4. Semi-literate Spoken Arabic, and 5. Illiterate Spoken Arabic.

[13] It is now adopted locally by a large number of native researchers.

[14] MSA is the most widely used version of Arabic today. It is used in every media outlet from TV to movies to newspaper to radio broadcasts and used in printed Arabic publications, education, government, court and the media.

MSA from Classical Arabic on formal grounds, native speakers in Egypt do not typically distinguish between the two, using the term *Fusha* for both".

Modern Standard Arabic is the form that has emerged in the nineteenth century as a simplified[15] and modernized[16] version of Classical Arabic. Efforts have been made to modernize the latter and make it effective enough to meet the demands of modern life, mainly at the lexical level. It is seen today as more useful and comprehensive than CA.

> 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" (Ennaji, 1991: 9)

The main differences between CA and MSA relate to stylistics and vocabulary as it is derived from the former through lexicon reform and style modification. As far as phonology, rules of morphology and syntax are concerned; CA and MSA are very similar: they practically share the same sound system and follow the same grammar rules, with CA seen as the norm. MSA is given other labels such as "Literary Arabic" or journalistic Arabic as Benrabah (2007: 46) defines it: "a written form of Arabic readily associated with the modern media which was developed in the 19th century as part of the cultural Revival, or *Nahda*, in the Middle East"

Standard Arabic (hereafter SA) is a term which is widely used to denote the standardized variety of Arabic used for written and spoken purposes in formal settings. SA has the status of official language in some twenty countries stretching from Morocco and Mauritania on the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the shores of the Arabian Gulf States in the east. Yet it has no community of native speakers if we accept that the mother tongue is acquired at home without formal instruction. Thus, since recognizing MSA as a different variety is still a matter of controversy, and since the differences between the two varieties is relatively small and the latter generally follows the same rules as the former (Bentahila 1983; Grandguilaume, 1990), the term Standard Arabic (SA) will be used as a cover term for both CA and MSA to avoid any terminological problems.

---

[15] While CA has a considerably large body of vocabulary, MSA has a relatively smaller lexis which is mostly taken from the mother source. *Lisān al-Arab Dictionary* counts tens of words to refer to lion, horse, sword, etc. lexicographers state that each item has a different meaning and no two items are fully synonymous.

[16] MSA includes ample instances of loanwords, such as /dʒuɣraːfja(h)/, /diːmuɣraːfja(h)/,/klaːsiːkiː/ /bjuːluːʒja(h)/, (Geography, demography, classical, biology, respectively) which is a natural and essential part of language development to meet contemporary communication needs. However, the terms generally borrowed are from foreign sources (especially English and French) with or without morpho-syntactic integration into the host language; rather than coined terms on the basis of Arabic.

Educated Spoken Arabic (hereafter ESA) known as 'Middle Arabic', 'the elevated colloquial', "the colloquial for the educated"[17] etc.; is called "*al-lugha al-wustaa*" (the middle language) in Arabic, it is a hybrid language as Mitchell and EL Hassan (1994: 2) consider that "ESA, both within and across national boundaries, is a mixture of the shared written language and regional varied vernaculars or mother-tongues" or as Altoma states:

> Between these two forms of Arabic there exist a variety of intermediary Arabic often called /al-lugha alwusta/, "the middle language", and described as a result of Classical and Colloquial fusion. The basic features of this middle language are predominantly colloquial, but it reveals a noticeable degree of classicism especially in the use of lexical items. (Altoma, 1969: 4)

ESA plays an intermediary role between the high variety (SA), which may be incomprehensive for many illiterate Algerians, and the low variety (colloquial Arabic) which is often stigmatized by educated speakers. It is basically used by educated native speakers and is "employed for semiformal discussions, and on other social occasions when the colloquial is deemed too informal, and the literary, too stilted" (Ryding, 1991: 212). In this respect Abu-Absi (1990:41) notes that:

> ESA is assumed to be readily understood by most speakers regardless of their degree of education and it serves as a convenient tool among bilinguals who may not share the same foreign language and find it cumbersome and unnatural to communicate in MSA. The frequent use of ESA by politicians, religious leaders, and educators has brought this variety closer to the people and made it a viable means of communication among all Arabs. Abu-Absi (1990:41)

However, some linguists questioned whether the so-called ESA is actually a variety on its own or it is the result of code-switching between CA and MSA and colloquial Arabic especially that such variety is constantly manipulated by speakers depending on many variables. Educated people tend to switch back and forth between the standard and the vernacular when they come to converse Taha (2008). Blanc (1960) reveals that ESA is largely close to Colloquial Arabic; it takes from SA vocabulary more than anything else. Eid (1988) assumes that there exists a clear structural divergence between Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic and considers them as separate languages claiming that SA and Dialectal Arabic illustrate a case of code switching. Brahimi (2000) acknowledges that the different approaches distinguishing SA from native Arabic are misled by the use of both varieties, suggesting the term of "regionally-based koine" to handle this controversial issue. She (ibid: 374) states that:

---

[17] As it was called by Badawi (1973) who took Fergusson 's dichotomy of Arabic Diglossia H/L and included three additional levels of spoken and written Arabic.

> Both of these approaches are contradicted by the actual usage of Standard Arabic and native Arabic. Even in the case of North African dialects, which are relatively distinct structurally from Standard Arabic, the commonalities between the two predominates, rendering it difficult to speak of two languages, as a Code-Switching approach would require. The educated spoken Arabic approach is feasible, though only within broadly-defined boundaries, as one and the same speaker, according to context, region, addressee and other factors will produce distinct varieties of educated spoken Arabic. Against the background of an increasing integration of Standard Arabic loanwords in native language, it is possible to speak of this variety in terms of regionally-based koine. (Brahimi, 2000: 374)

In the same vein, Boukous (2005: 95) estimates that the standard Arabic/ dialectal Arabic diglossia tends to transform into a linguistic continuum by the emergence of a median variety, a mesolect being inserted between the two distant varieties, it follows that the passage from the high variety to the low variety or the reverse is not done abruptly by leaving one linguistic system for another, but takes place smoothly and continuously, because the structural basis of the middle Arabic is in a way the common denominator of the structures of the two basic systems, that of standard Arabic and that of dialectal Arabic.

ESA has received a lot of scholarly attention, particularly outside the Arab World. The diglossic nature of Arabic pushed some researchers to encourage the teaching of such a form in foreign institutions.

This categorization of Arabic varieties is not a question of mere naming but rather represents approaches and frameworks elaborated to describe the linguistic contact or conflict between the different forms of Arabic. However, a shared ground among linguists has not been achieved yet and this is due to the interplay of different linguistic and extra linguistic factors that have painted Algeria's sociolinguistic picture. Besides, a close consideration of CA and MSA on the one hand and ESA and Colloquial Arabic on the other hand will reveal that such linguistic systems should be better treated as close varieties of the same language that form together a continuum instead of significantly different linguistic forms.

We will see next how the French colonial policy had greatly impacted the future linguistic choice and orientations of the Algerian authorities in a specific way.

1.2.2 Foreign Languages in Algeria between Historical impact and New Perspectives

The long stay of the Ottomans from the sixteenth century has, without upsetting the linguistic landscape shared between Berber-speaking regions and Arabic-speaking regions, significantly influenced urban language varieties (Algiers, Béjaïa, Médéa, Constantine and Tlemcen) which have borrowed a number of Turkish words in various areas of daily life

(cooking, clothing, trade names, surnames etc.). Throughout this period and even before the arrival of the Ottomans, Algerians also came into contact with European languages notably Spanish. The Spanish presence in the west of the country for almost three centuries was due to the Spanish colonial occupation of the city of Oran from 1509 to 1708. The contact with Spanish persisted later under French occupation from 1830 to 1962 as the result of the presence of a large proportion of colonists of Spanish origin, economic refugees taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the development of the new colony or Republican refugees fleeing repression. This was also the case for Italian in the coastal cities of the East, long in contact with the major Italian ports (trade, rivalries between Italian sailors and Algerian corsairs), then became host cities for Italian settlers also were attracted by French colonization.

However, it is French that has influenced and disrupted the Algerian linguistic and cultural space the most, greatly impacting the future linguistic choice and orientations of the Algerian authorities. The circumstances of its intrusion into this space gave it a special status in Algerian colonial and post-colonial society. French, a language imposed on the Algerian people by fire and blood, was one of the fundamental elements used by the colonial power to perfect its grip on the conquered country and to accelerate the enterprise of destructuration, depersonalization and acculturation of a territory that has become an integral part of the "mother country", France. The results of the colonial policy continued to pervade even after independence and till nowadays. They are regarded as the most evident impacts on the current Algerian linguistic situation.

Implementing a malicious policy within the framework of this francization enterprise resulted in a veritable "disarabization" of Algerians, confining the majority of them to orality, illiteracy and ignorance despite the fact that from 1880, the attitude of Algerians towards the French School had changed significantly, from staunch refusal to the demand for the right to education. Dissociated from other aspects of colonization, School, was soon seen as a necessity and a means of economic promotion and social inclusion. But even more, they understood that it was necessary to appropriate the language of the occupier and his way of thinking to counter him on his own ground, and that they had to arm themselves with his own weapons to enter the modern world, to better oppose the colonial presence and defend against oppression and injustice. The country had to emerge from the world of ignorance in which the majority of the people lived at all costs.

It should be noted, however, that the results have been very modest. Schooling ultimately affected only a small part of the population: 2% in 1888, 3.5% in 1902, 4.5% in

1912, barely 5% in 1914, 8.9% in 1938 and only 15% in 1954, with 85% illiterate, a rate of up to 98% for the female population in some regions. In addition, social and regional disparities remained very strong: relatively high schooling in large urban centres but differentiated results in rural areas, explained by the strong opposition of the settlers to any effort to educate "indigenous Muslims", while opening its doors to children of the upper and lower middle classes, thus fostering the emergence of a French-speaking and Francophile elite which will form the backbone of the young state after Independence.

Paradoxically, it was after 1962 that the use of French spread. The immense efforts of schooling deployed by the young State with the cooperation of the former colonizer easily explain the expansion of the use of the French language, becoming by force of things the language of the administration, the proportion of literates in this language far surpassing that of literates in Arabic.

Until 1978, the effective date of the implementation of the fully Arabized Fundamental School, linguistic duality characterized the school system. For a third of the classes, instruction was entirely in Arabic, while for the remaining two thirds, the Arabic language applied to literary subjects and the French language to scientific subjects. After this date, French was only taught from the third year of primary school, then a little later from the fourth year and now again from the third year. As for secondary education, it became fully arabized at the end of the 1988-1989 school year. The teaching of French as a foreign language had largely declined in some regions of the interior and the south.

However, a significant gap persists between Arabized secondary education and higher education where French remains the language of instruction for many scientific fields. An upgrading of students is necessary, the wastage is enormous and the repetition rate is particularly high.

It is to try to remedy this situation that the authorities have started a vast program to rehabilitate the teaching of the French language but also of other foreign languages as part of the reform of the Algerian School initiated at the beginning of the years 2000. As far as higher education is concerned, this involved initiating intensive training actions for medical students and other scientific and technical training (actions carried out in cooperation with French Cultural Affairs). However, it was the introduction of the teaching of French from the second year of primary school that was the most spectacular measure, applied in September 2004, but very quickly called into question by the constraints of the field (lack of qualified teachers to teach the language to very young children, lack of books and adequate teaching materials). It

was then introduced in the third year of primary school from the start of the 2006-2007 school year.

All these measures have contributed, in a constant way but without being integrated into a vision or a policy openly assumed and recognized, in establishing a state of de facto, if not de jure, bilingualism in the education system and throughout society[18] and raised the issue of the place of the French language in the Algerian society since Independence. It constantly oscillates between the status of a second or vehicular language and that of a privileged foreign language.

Divided between the "official" denial, on the one hand, and the significance of its symbolic power, on the other hand, French status translates the ambivalence of the position of a country which is the largest French-speaking country after France, but only joined – belatedly- the bodies of the French-speaking world[19] as an observer. The ambiguity of the place of the language of the former colonizing power is one of the features of post-colonial societies of which Algeria is perhaps the most exemplary case.

In addition to French which is seen as the vehicle for technology, English is joining the sociolinguistic scene. The presence of a second foreign language, English, after French, has been dramatically increasing in Algeria. This language gained prominence in 1990, when the then Minister of National Education *Ali Benmohamed* introduced it alongside French as a first foreign language in the fourth year of some primary schools. Parents had to choose one of the two languages for their children to study. The experience was then generalized throughout the national territory in 1995 (CNRSE, 2000). Nevertheless, as Rezig (2011: 1329) stated, the experience of integrating English in Algerian primary schools doomed to failure because the majority of parents preferred French to English. However, according to *Benmohamed*, the reform was sabotaged by the Algerian Francophone lobby (Liberté, 2015).

Since 1995, Algeria has witnessed lots of new developments regarding language policy and the possible role of English in the country. In 2008, the British Council partnered with the Ministry of National Education to develop English language teaching and learning in

---

[18] the French language still occupies an important place in the written media. Among the audiovisual media, the French-speaking radio channel enjoys remarkable success and an audience as does the Canal Algeria television channel, which in principle targets an emigrant audience. In the field of book publishing and distribution, the French language continues to enjoy a significant place as well.

[19] After four decades of independence and four decades of total refusal to join the Francophonie, the Algerian government has on October 17th, 2002, officially attended the Bayreuth Summit on Francophonie, for the first time ever in the history of independent Algeria. In his own words the previous president of Algeria declared French to be an asset and no longer a problem for and in the making of this nation.

Algerian middle schools. In 2012, the British Council, in partnership with the Echorouk newspaper, started offering printed as well as electronic entertainment and educational articles and exercises for all citizens interested to learn English. In 2013, the US Embassy in Algeria and Berlitz Center launched a programme to offer free English language classes for learners of different ages. In addition, new educational programmes promoting English were designed as an attempt to reduce the impact of French at all levels of schooling, research, science and technology.

Having recently announced the launch of a survey on strengthening the use of English in higher education, the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, *Tayeb Bouzid* ordered university rectors to ensure the success of the exploration process on promoting the generalized use of English at Algerian universities. *Bouzid* wrote to the university rectors: 'Within the framework of the policy to encourage and strengthen the use of English to give better visibility of education and scientific activities in higher education, I urge you to use both Arabic and English in official documents. Even though *Bouzid*'s initiative has been warmly welcomed by many sides of the population, the minister has faced criticism by a lot of university researchers (Idir, 2019; L'expression, 2019; Meddi, 2019; Rafa, 2019).

Even the Minister of labor, Tidjani Haddam Hassen has brought up the same subject saying he hopes English will replace French. Although this suggestion raises a lot of suspicions and questions as why the Bedoui government decided to tackle the issue of languages now in the middle of "Hirak", it somehow reflects the on-going tensions that the Algerian linguistic landscape witnesses. Again, this is an old-new issue; the promotion of English has and still is only a political tactic, a policy of replacement based on the idea that English could be more accepted because it is void of direct colonial implications at least for the Algerians. Besides by welcoming the substitution of French by English under the pretence that English is a faster way to scientific development and a gate to multilingualism which will eventually lead the nation towards international recognition, It has been thought to be the means to ease the tensions of the linguistic conflict between Arabic and French and to temporarily calm down the repeated claims for a tougher generalization of Arabic.

Nonetheless nowadays the new generation are opting for English; many students in fact are very good in English than in French. So, what is really needed is to take the linguistic matter seriously through an exhaustive language planning and not hasty political decisions.

1.3   Multilingualism and other contact phenomenon

A careful review of the literature on bilingualism reveals that the proposed definitions are very diverse, and sometimes even diametrically opposed. These notional differences are due to several factors. The more obvious is the angle from which the phenomenon is defined i.e. the definition will differ depending on whether the researcher envisages the phenomenon from the point of view of use, competence or psychological dimensions.

An exaggerated or extreme vision of bilingualism can be read in the definition proposed by Bloomfield (1933: 56) who defines bilingualism as "The native-like control of two languages". A similar description is provided by J. Marouzeau (1951) who affirms that the notion of bilingualism refers to the quality "of a subject or a population that commonly uses two languages, with no marked aptitude for one over the other "[20]. This means that a bilingual individual or society must have a balanced command of the two languages in which they serve. The definitions proposed by Bloomfield and Marouzeau do not seem operational in the sense that the speaker's native competence is a very variable reality within the same community. What then to say when it comes to a case of bilingualism?

Taking a fairly similar point of view, Macnamara's (1967) description reflects another extreme or even opposite position. He rejects the idea of an ideal bilingual speaker and argues that a bilingual is someone who has at his disposal a minimal competence in one of the four language skills -listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, in a language other than one's own mother tongue. If we follow the logic of this linguist, we can, consider as bilingual any person who has taken L2 courses during a short period of time without being able to use it in a communication.

So, while Macnamara claims that the bilingual can acquire competence in the second language after a learning process, Bloomfield considers bilingualism as the result of the acquisition of two languages in a natural context of acquisition and not that of learning. This show how difficult is to arrive at a shared ground when trying to provide a concise definition of bilingualism even if it is considered from the same angle. Indeed, between these two extremes, there is a whole array of definitions as Hamers and Blanc (2000) note.

Einar Haugen (1953: 7) thinks that bilingualism refers to the ability of an individual to produce "complete and acceptable statements in the other language" (complete meaningful

---

[20] La notion de bilinguisme renvoie à la qualité « d'un sujet ou d'une population qui se sert couramment de deux langues, sans aptitude marquée pour l'une plutôt que l'autre » J. Marouzeau (1951) cited in Mackey (1962 :26).

utterances in the other language). For linguists who focus more on the use of languages in contact, like Uriel Weinreich (1953)[21] or William Mackey (1976)[22], bilingualism refers to the alternate employment of two languages by the same individual.

Hamers and Blanc (1983), distinguish between the concepts of *bilingualism* from that of *bilinguality*. The concept of bilinguality refers to "a psychological state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication". As for the concept of 'bilingualism', according to the two linguists refers to:

> The state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilinguals (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (individual bilingualism). (Hamers and Blanc, 1983: 21)

A similar distinction is proposed by Baetens-Birdsmore (1982) between the so-called individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism. The first refers to the representation of languages and the usage that make individuals in a situation of linguistic contact, while the second refers to language policy issues and social values of the choice of one language or another. Downes (1998: 46) defines societal bilingualism as ―the situation in which two or more distinct languages form the repertoire of a community. The latter type of bilingualism is referred to as "bilingualism of the mass" by J-B. Marcellesi (2003), and it is characterized by the use of the non-mother tongue, by members of bilingual society. In addition, this non-native idiom plays a role in the life of such a society.

In the current Algerian context, the sociolinguistic profile reveals the existence of many language varieties notably Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and Berber as well as the diversity and complexity of the nature of contact between these languages which is mainly characterized by the existence of two major phenomena: Diglossia and Bilingualism. In some situations, only one variety is appropriate, either the High variety (e.g. parliament speeches, the news) where Standard Arabic is used, or the Low variety (e.g. informal situations, conversations with family and friends) where Algerian Arabic or Berber is used. However, the distinction or the functional specialization is not clear cut and the result is not always a diglossic situation. The existence of French, which is used in both formal and informal settings, sometimes as an H along with Standard Arabic and sometimes as an L

---

[21] Bilingualism is "the practice of alternately using two languages" Weinreich (1953: 5).

[22] Mackey (1957: 51) defined bilingualism as "the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual"

along with Algerian Arabic and Berber, entails the existence of bilingualism at the societal as well as the individual level.

The notion of bilingualism observed at the individual level has experienced several variations. Thus we can read, depending on the dimension of bilingualism observed by the researchers interested in contact linguistics, labels like "Balanced bilingualism vs. Dominant bilingualism ", when the focus of the study is on the skills reached by an individual in the two languages; "Early bilingualism, bilingualism of adolescence or of adulthood ", when the preferred angle of study is the age of acquisition languages ; "Additive bilingualism vs. Subtractive bilingualism", if the study emphasises the relationship of the cultural statuses of the two languages; "Coordinated bilingualism vs. Compound bilingualism" when the linguist chooses to describe the semantic organization of languages in the brain of the bilingual individual in relation to his language history, etc., to name just some.

Among these dichotomies, it is the opposition "Compound vs. Coordinated "which has aroused much interest among researchers. According to Ervin and Osgood (1954) this distinction refers to the organization of languages in the brain of the bilingual. These two linguists claim that the semantic organization of the two languages is markedly different for these two types of bilingual individuals. For a compound bilingual, which learns the languages simultaneously in the same context, there exists such a semantic interdependence between the two languages that their semantic representation in his brain is the same. A typical and extreme example of a compound bilingual is that of a translator for whom "every word or expression he hears or he uses in a language calls in his memory its equivalent in the other language" Penelope Gardner-Chloros (1985: 52).

On the contrary, for the coordinated bilingual, who learns the languages in separate contexts, linguistic varieties rather, demonstrate a great deal of semantic independence. The individual corresponding to this type of bilingualism has a double semantic representation, one for each word.

This distinction between the two dimensions "Coordinated vs. Composed" prompted several debates. Hamers and Blanc (1983: 24) emphasize that "this distinction is not absolute" and that the differences between the two "lies on a continuum from a compound pole to a coordinated pole ". This means that the degree of semantic interdependence/ dependence is variable: a bilingual individual may be relatively composed for some concepts whereas more coordinated for others as these two researchers state. In other words, with the same bilingual, some concepts can have a double semantic representation, while for other concepts this same individual may have only one. However, F. Laroussi (1991: 23) brings into notice the

reservation that this dichotomy reduces language "to a repertoire of words, and therefore linguistic knowledge to purely lexical knowledge".

Besides, all these definitions may be disputed on the basis that they provide less significance on the degree of the mastery of the two languages in use as competence and mastery of languages differ from one speaker to another. In this respect many linguists differentiate between *Active bilinguals* -the ones with the ability to understand, speak, read and write both languages and *Passive bilinguals* -the ones with the exclusive ability to understand both languages. Baker (2006) for instance classifies bilingualism in terms of receptive (listening, reading) and productive (speaking, writing) skills. There exist people who are able to speak a language but also have the ability to read or write it. Yet, others with the ability to understand perfectly and also read, but with no ability to speak or write in that language. These cases reveal that the four basic language skills are very large and may range from simple and basic to fluent and accomplished.

We would like to point out here that our point of view is not to say that these dichotomies are unnecessary, in fact, this dichotomy can prove to be very successful when it comes to explaining certain occurrences of lexical code-switching. This notion of bilingualism is, moreover, often linked to that of diglossia as we will see in the next section.

1.3.1   Diglossia

Diglossia was first introduced as a term by the French linguist William Marçais (1930) as 'La Diglossie Arabe'[23] who was one of the pioneers to describe the linguistic situation in the Arab World. However, it was with Charles Ferguson (1959) that the concept of diglossia gained currency as a sociolinguistic theory based on his influential study of four languages, Arabic, Greek, Haitian Creole and Swiss German. He defines diglossia as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for

---

[23] " 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 a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé dans laquelle seule aujourd' hui sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais pas exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous n'a peut –être jamais été parlée nulle part. 2) Les idiomes parlés, des patois … dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit mais qui, partout, et peut- être   depuis longtemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans les milieux populaires et cultivés" Marçais (1930 : 40)

most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, 1959b: 336)

According to Ferguson (1959), diglossia is the side-by-side existence of two structurally and historically related language varieties, a High variety (hereafter H) and a Low variety (hereafter L), throughout a community. The most important differences between the two varieties, according to Ferguson, are the linguistic features of H and L (lexicon[24], grammar[25], phonology[26]) their respective uses (i.e. they are functionally differentiated)[27] and their sociolinguistic differences in terms of prestige[28], literary heritage[29], the way they were acquired[30] and standardization[31]. Within the Algerian speech community, the diglossic features are present to some extent, covering only part of the Algerian linguistic situation.

Classic diglossia is commonly attested in Arabophone geographical areas and concerns Standard Arabic and Dialectal (Algerian) Arabic. Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic are genetically related; however, they differ from each other in terms of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation as well as in terms of prestige, acquisition, literary heritage, function and standardization. Standard Arabic, the official language of the state, is allocated to formal usage; Dialectal Arabic is ascribed to informality and is typically used in casual conversations and intimate contexts.

Ferguson's original discussion, what is now referred to as "classic" or "narrow" diglossia[32] (Myers-Scotton, 1986), had undergone some changes when Fishman (1972) refined the definition arguing that diglossia can also be extended to cover situations where

---

[24] Lexicon: the presence of paired lexical items, in the sense that H and L possess different terms for the same object.

[25] Grammar-morphological forms of L are simpler than those of H. also cases and verb inflections are reduced.

[26] Phonology: L has evolved away from H and has borrowed some sounds as a result of contact with other varieties.

[27] Function-H is reserved for formal and public speech. L is an informal variety which is limited to daily conversations.

[28] Prestige-Attitudes towards L are less positive compared with H which enjoys a superior status.

[29] Literary Heritage-unlike L, 'there is a sizable body of written literature in H which is held in high esteem by the speech community…' (Ferguson, 1959: 238).

[30] Acquisition- learning H is through institutions; however, L is normally acquired as a first language.

[31] Standardization: H is standardized, codified and preserver in dictionaries and grammar books therefore it is more stable. L is not codified nor has grammar books this is why it is exposed more to change and variation.

[32] Different alternative labels have been suggested to specify the type of diglossic situation including *triglossia* situations where there are two Hs and one L or one H and two Ls (Swann et al, 2004). *Polyglossia* situations that involve more than two codes for different purposes (Holmes:2008).

two (or more) genetically unrelated or at least historically distant language varieties occupy the H and L niches as far as they are functionally distinguished. (Schiffman, 1997); this is referred to as "extended diglossia". Applying the term to monolingual as well as bilingual societies, Fishman (1972b) 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, 1972b:92)

Nevertheless Fishman (1967) emphasizes a neat distinction between diglossia and bilingualism, arguing that the former is a feature of society to be dealt with by sociologists and sociolinguists, whereas the latter is a matter for psychologists and psycholinguists as it refers to an individual's ability to behave linguistically in more than one code. By 1980, Fishman listed four taxonomies which may hold between the H and L varieties:

- Feguson's (1959) original conceptualization, such as in the case of Arabic (Classical Arabic vs. Vernacular Arabic).

- H and L are genetically unrelated: H is the classical variety and L is the vernacular, such as textual Hebrew (as H) and Yiddish (as L).

- H and L are unrelated: H is written and formally spoken and L is vernacular, such as Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay. (Fishman, 1971).

- H and L are related: H is written and formally spoken and L is a vernacular, such as Standard English and Caribbean Creole. (Fishman, 1980).

The extended definition of diglossia[33] can cover another part of the situation in Algeria. The existence of French as another H variety, which is genetically unrelated to Algerian Arabic and Berber, and Berber as another L variety, that is genetically different from Algerian Arabic and Classical Arabic, display the following diglossic relations within the Algerian context:

- Extended diglossia basically concerns Arabophone areas where French is the H variety and Dialectal Arabic is the L variety. Though it has no constitutional stand, French is a workable language that fulfils formal and official linguistic tasks along Standard Arabic. Considering higher education as an instance, French is indeed the medium of instruction in a number of faculties in the Algerian university. Lectures in technical

---

[33] In the Algerian situation Bouamrane (1986) rather opts for intralingual diglossia in case of genetically related varieties (SA/AA) whereas employs interlingual diglossia when the codes are genetically unrelated (SA/AA, FR/AA)

and scientific majors, such as architecture, civil engineering, computer sciences, etc, are all exclusively conducted in French. In such contexts, French is allocated to formal usage, namely instruction/learning and thus has the H function. Algerian Arabic is the L, the vehicle of communication amongst learners outside the classroom.

- Extended *triglossia*[34] is a unique feature of Berberophone regions. In such localities, Standard Arabic and French, like in other parts of the country, are used in government official domains, administration and education and thus have the H functions, whereas local Berber varieties (such as Kabylian, Mzabi and Shawi) - which are historically distant to Arabic and French- play the role of the L variety, being the day to day idioms of communication. Here, it is of prime importance to mention that the attitudes towards Standard Arabic or French may differ among individuals; it would be unsound to assert that the L variety (Berber vernaculars) is downgraded.

Thus, Algeria not only represents classic diglossia but is also a defining case of extended diglossia. The point which should be emphasized is that both linguists, i.e., Ferguson and Fishman, insist on the core theoretical claim, with H being reserved for formal contexts and L designed for informal situations, and, as Fasold (1984: 53) puts it, "only function remains unchallenged; it is the very heart and soul of the diglossia concept".

The Ferguso-Fishmanian model has been the subject of several critics: Calvet and Dreyfus (1992) criticize this theoretical framework, stating "diglossic model", to be "the product of an 'in vitro' analysis which ignores the linguistic field "in vivo". Moreover, one of the faults of this theoretical proposition as Schiffman (1997: 210) underlines it is that it suggests a stable distribution, not involving any functional overlap nor any tendency for one language to supplant the other; while, in reality, competition, even conflicts are observable. He further affirms that:

> Extended diglossia is usually unstable, unless certain conditions having to do with power are not met. Classical diglossia, usually thought to be more stable than extended diglossia, can also be shown to be unstable under certain conditions. It may also be the case that the type of diglossia in question may also itself change, i.e.; a narrow kind of diglossia may be replaced by a broad form without much overt awareness on the part of the speech community. Calvet and Dreyfus (1992: 50)

In this same perspective, Myers-Scotton (1986) asserts that there are few true diglossias, because it is extremely rare that a context meets the two defining conditions of

---

[34] situations where there are two Hs and one L or one H and two Ls (Swann et al, 2004).

such a situation, namely that everyone speaks the low variety as a mother tongue and the high variety is never used in informal situations.

Many later sociolinguists have held reservations about Marçais' (1930) and Ferguson's (1959) categorization concerning the diglossic situation in the Arab world in general and in Algeria in particular and raised some important points considering the relationship between the H/L dichotomy in these bilingual societies. Concerning the sociolinguistic situation in many Arabic countries, the existence of what linguists including Ferguson (1990) have called middle forms or varieties (MSA, ESA) blur the opposition between H and L. these varieties form a whole linguistic continuum making it sometimes difficult even to decide which variety is being used because of the frequent switching between these varieties in the same course of speech. Many studies have been conducted to examine and describe the nature of structural mix between H and L, yet no consensus has been achieved in regards to these layers of middle varieties nor in regards to the possibility of defining them as cases of code-switching.

In the same vein Boussofara-Omar (2006) describes Ferguson's diglossia as very idealistic and is no more sufficiently workable to reflect the current sociolinguistic situation in the way it takes place in the Arab world as it neglects the permanent overlapping and contact between H and L. In addition, the author claims that H is no more restricted to privileged literate elites stating that "Ferguson's impressionistic and perhaps idealistic characterisation of the two varieties as being in complementary distribution functionally is removed from the reality of Arabic-speaking communities" Boussofara-Omar (2006:630). As for Marçais's (1930) view concerning the first form of Arabic as being exclusively written, Benali-Mohamed (2007:19) clearly affirms that this statement holds true for official documents, judiciary acts and teaching, yet it is not the case for certain newspapers of which the written language is neither colloquial nor standard but indicated as the middle form. Others have raised the issue of speakers' attitudes change towards their varieties.

1.3.1.1   Arabic under Diglossia between negation and claim for integration

What really seems to draw most attention concerning diglossia is its implication in education. Diglossia has been seen by many researchers in and outside the Arab world as a severe problem that hinders learners' achievement. Moreover, many among them attribute the low education results and high illiteracy rates in the Arab countries to the use of Standard Arabic in formal schooling (e.g. Maamouri, 1998; Ayari, 1996; Queffélec et al. 2002; Saiegh-

Haddad, 2003) which creates a serious challenge to learners and teachers alike due to the significance difference between Standard Arabic -the H variety which is not the native language of any sector in the community and children usually become aware of it until school age - and colloquial Arabic which despite being highly stigmatized is the naturally acquired mother tongue that is used on a daily basis.

In this vein, Chelli (2011) claims that there is a wide gap between the official language and the dialects to the point that most of Algerian speakers could not understand it which makes the situation even more complex and psychologically traumatic for infants at school who find themselves, from the first day of school confronted with a new language and compelled not to practice their respective first languages. Besides, he ascribes the decay of the educational system and in particular language teaching to a negating policy which makes of Arabic the official language of the state. He even claims that Literary Arabic is an abstract language imposed on Algerian's life and particularly at school where it has greatly increased illiteracy and reduced the real native languages into spoken dialects without a written code, notably Algerian Arabic.

Following this line of thoughts, a number of proposals have been suggested to cope with diglossia and its negative repercussions on quality education, perhaps the most outstanding proposal was promoting Colloquial Arabic in schools which is according to Zughoul (2007) an old enterprise that has been supported by many western researchers to be adopted later by westernized Arab researchers who worked in foreign institutions and received education in a western countries[35]. As such these attempts and proposals have been perceived by the native speakers of Arabic as a conspiracy against their Arabo-Muslim identity.

Although such efforts could not discard Standard Arabic and no dialect could join the status of national language, the philosophy of dialect standardisation still persists. This is obvious in the media in some countries. Many translated movies, series, TV shows, etc,

---

[35] Zughoul (2007) equates between the crusades and western encouragement of the promotion of national dialects at the expense of Standard Arabic. Zughoul (ibid) recognizes three periods that revolve around the standard-dialect conflict: 1/ Period of Western interest since the 1720s, a number of European institutions in Austria, Britain, Italy, France and Russia elaborated programmes to teach the vernacular relying on Arab teachers; 2/ Period of nationalism when in some parts of the Arab World, mostly in Egypt and the Levant, a number of writers opted for the promotion of the local dialects to serve as national languages and indexes of identity (some wrote in the vernacular, some others worked on elaborating dictionaries for the dialect, and still others proposed substituting Arabic letters by Latin alphabet); 3/ Period of Arab Awareness: after WWII and with the rise of independence waves in the Arab World, there was a clear refusal of the idea of dialect standardisation. Instead, the interest moved towards the instauration and facilitation of the standard language.

imported from non-Arabic-speaking countries, which were previously presented on the public TV in Standard Arabic appear in the local vernaculars[36].

In Algeria, promoting Colloquial Arabic in schools did not receive the same apparent efforts like in the Middle East and the Levant at least after independence. However, calls for such a project have always been present (e.g. Ayari, 1996; Benrabah, 1999, 2007; Abu-Haider, 2000; Grandguilaume, 2003, 2004)[37]. No doubt that Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians but upgrading a vernacular, if it is to be implemented, is no easy task. This makes it a must to go through a whole language standardisation process which will raise endless questions and discussions as which regional variety to choose? What syntactic structures and morphological forms are to be permitted? Can they challenge foreign languages? Last but not least, standardisation of a dialect must consider the degree of social *acceptance* which would be a very challenging element if not impossible.

The minister of National Education (Nouria Benghabrit) faced intense reactions from political parties, teachers' unions, educationalists, and became a subject of mockery even for the illiterate lay when she declared (August 2nd, 2015) that the National Forum of the Ministry of National Education ended up with a decision to use colloquial Arabic in the first and second grades (primary school). Thus, it becomes clear that the slightest intention to bring the subject of promoting Colloquial Arabic at the expense of Standard Arabic into discussion will be faced with heated social reactions and accused of serving western agendas due to the status of Standard Arabic in the eyes of people i.e. (Arab) Muslims, being literate or illiterate, do care about Standard Arabic due to its direct association with the Quran (sacred book) and religious practices (e.g. daily prayers).

Furthermore, from a purely linguistic point of view such scenario would lead to a number of Arabics, each with its own linguistic characteristics which would increase mutual unintelligibility as the different national dialects are diffused on a large geographical area that stretches from the Ocean (Morocco) to the Gulf (Iraq), this mutual intelligibility is sometimes even missed in the same country. Moreover, it is more likely that the diglossic situation will

---

[36] Turkish series, which have a huge number of fans in the Arab World, are currently presented in Lebanese Arabic, Moroccan Arabic or Tunisian Arabic; some cartoons are delivered in Egyptian Arabic; and still a number of Mexican series appear in Moroccan Arabic.

[37] a proposal of such a kind came first from Benzaghou (member in the Commission of Education) during the Fourth Congress of the FLN in 1979, but it did not receive any support (Othmane Saadi 2015).

persist replacing the Standard Arabic as a H with the newly standardized varieties as in the case of Tamazight[38].

It is unfair to relate diglossia directly and solely to low literacy rate in the Arab world though it clearly takes part of the responsibility. There are other extra-linguistic factors that have had severe impacts on education. Colonialism and the illiteracy policy they followed for decades towards the locals are an important historical factor. Most Arab countries in the late 1950s and early 1960s were either under direct colonialism (e.g. Algeria) or protectorates (e.g. Morocco), and therefore low literacy rates are expected in these states.

Poverty and low standards of living which are tightly associated with other features like weak infrastructure and limited education budget is another reason that should be taken into account. Other reasons may include the difficult conditions in a number of countries: the long Palestinian struggle against Israel; Iraq suffered from a long blockade ended with an American invasion; Algeria went through a bloody decade which paved the way for illiteracy conditions to take place (school damages, elite threatening, brain drain, etc).

Besides overestimating the '*foreignness*' of Standard Arabic and exaggeratedly describing the conflictual relationship between Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic is just a figment of imagination. The observation of the real linguistic practices among Algerian speakers reveals the opposite, more and more Algerians learn and understand Standard Arabic perfectly and many of them are fluent speakers due to the increased exposure to Standard Arabic before the age of six either in kindergartens or in schools that teach the Koran; many parents nowadays encourage their children to learn the Koran by heart and send them to koranic schools.

Moreover, educative TV channels like Toyor El Djenna, El Jazeera kids, Majid kids, Ajyal TV, Baraeem, Karameesh, Spacetoon, etc. offer a wide variety of educational programmes in an entertaining way. Many parents expose their children to these TV programmes often with the ultimate purpose to make children feel at ease but also to provide them with cultural, scientific, historical, ecological and sociological feed-back. Most importantly though such channels involve a linguistic contact and constitute de facto linguistic aid resources.

Recently even old people -especially woman- also go to Koranic schools to read and learn the Koran. More and more Algerians listen to religious TV programmes and channels. It

---

[38] One of the important aspects which has caused a disinterest in learning Tamazight is its diglossic nature. Standard Tamazight is not the vehicle of everyday communication; it is a learned form, accessible through schooling.

should be noted also that Arabic satellite channels like Al-Jazeera as well as religious channels are increasingly watched.

Linguistically homogeneous communities are the exception rather than the norm and diglossia is indeed the rule throughout the vast majority of world languages (Fishman 1967). Moreover, linguistic diversity in Algeria is but a normal state of affairs, Therefore, before thinking of promoting Arabic dialects, it is worth considering whether or not such communities, including America, England, France, etc., build their education systems on dialects or at least incorporate them in their syllabi.

Since developing and implementing regional/national dialects of Arabic is a highly complex process not mentioning the fact that the dialect is still far from receiving social approval, besides we think that neither Berber nor Algerian Arabic possess the power to encounter the new challenges. We rather advocate that attempts would be directed in the opposite direction. So instead of attempting wrongly to foster the idea that Standard Arabic is overvalued at the expense of the local varieties claiming the legitimacy of native varieties, the main means of communicative exchange what is needed in Algeria is to reduce the gap between the spoken varieties and the written language through awareness about common and separate structures and why not increasing the use of Standard Arabic colloquially, starting from home.

In fact, in addition to religious load, Arabic has played an important role in unifying Arab populations, preserving the Arabo-Muslim identity, facing the various occupations and it was at a certain time a language of science. Contrariwise, the problem with the Arabic language lies mainly in the restrictions imposed on it and the constraints enforced on its use which is unfortunately largely dependent on political fluctuations and the inability of the Arabs to transcend their disagreements and to think about their union.

In the meantime, the problems of adapting and modernizing Arabic are still of acute relevance. The issue of neological creation and scientific terminology, the key to adapting the Arabic lexicon to modern life, remains inextricable. As for the controversy over the reform and simplification of grammar, it reflects a great confusion between scientific grammar and educational grammar. Furthermore, a language is also brought to evolve by the use made of it by its users in all sectors of life and its involvement in the movement of production of ideas and meaning. And it is precisely in this area that the deficit is still too high if we consider the tiny share occupied by Arab intellectual production in the world.

1.3.1.2   The Process of Arabization

In Algeria, language policies have been predominantly concerned with the process of Arabization. Arabization is a linguistic policy adopted by Algerian to promote Arabic and strengthen its position as the sole 'national official language' through the introduction of more than thirty decrees, laws, and ordinances. The policy was endorsed few days before the official declaration of independence (July 5, 1962) in an attempt to eradicate French which was imposed during colonialism as an official language from public life and restore the oppressed Arabic language to its role as national language as a means to recover both linguistic and Arab Muslim identity of the independent Algerian society. Arabization was motivated by three essential elements: Arabic mirrors cultural independence; Arabic is the language of Islam; Arabic is the language of the Arab nation to which Algeria should be firmly bound (McDougall, 2006).

Arabic has witnessed a steady spread in various domains, including public administration, justice, army, to name but a few. However, it was in the educational sphere that important linguistic legislative measures were taken as the school was the first sector to be Arabized. Even prior to independence, the National Liberation Front (FLN), known as the prime nationalist movement during the Algerian war, dedicated itself to the restoration of Arabic in the educational system in 1961.

Arabic was first introduced (October 1962) as a subject of instruction with seven hours per week then with ten hour per week by 1963. Arabization took a new drive with Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi- minister of education (1965-1970). Arabizing the primary school was done grade by grade, and by 1974 primary education was entirely arabized; secondary education was in the way. Since 1989, Arabic has become the sole medium of instruction in the primary, middle and secondary schools. French lost its function as a "language of instruction" and became no other than a "subject of instruction" (foreign language) studied since the fourth grade (now, since the third grade).

In higher education, the Arabization policy has been implemented in a variety of disciplines including humanities, social sciences, economics, management, commerce, etc. whereas French has remained the predominant medium of instruction in scientific and technological branches.

One of the challenges that floated to the surface as the result of an *early* Arabization of the school which was described by many as a hasty and reckless decision was the scarcity of Arabic reading materials as well as linguistically competent teachers who can deliver lectures

in Standard Arabic which led to an even bigger dilemma. As a remedial action, the regime recruited thousands of teachers from Egypt and Syria the majority of whom were non-qualified (Grandguillaume, 1983; Benrabah, 2004). Thus, the Algerian schools were divided into Arabized sections and bilingual sections (dominated by European teachers) for many years, "each with their own teachers and their own methods […]. This juxtaposition of methods and curricula led to a parental preference for the bilingual sections and a certain devaluation of Arabization. Especially since the economic sector, and the administrative sector to a large extent, still relied on the French language" (Grandguillaume, 2005: 9). This has augmented the feeling of exclusion of the Arabized fraction from higher state services and the economic sector management positions (Madi, 1997: 137) and deepened the conflict between the two groups.

Bilingual sections were abandoned by the late 1980s and pre-university education has become since then entirely monolingual. However, the split into Arabophones and Francophones has persisted among the Algerian teachers who gradually replaced the foreign teachers reproducing the pattern of conflict between a modern system and an archaic one which still exists among at least university intellectuals.

In addition, the shift of the medium of instruction from Arabic in basic education to French in higher education for scientific fields has hindered learners' achievement at the university level and created what many researchers (Entellis, 1981, Taleb Ibrahime, K.,1997, Grandguilaume, 2002) has referred to as semi-lingual i.e. students with an incomplete command of Arabic and French. The ineffectiveness and malfunction of Arabization lies in the slow development and promotion of the use of Standard Arabic in many fields and this is mostly because political priorities often take precedence over linguistic requirements for successful implementation.

The colonial policy of deculturalization and the anti-Arab-Muslim drives explain the heated motivation to combat French as early as independence through the policy of Arabization which was seen as a key to social harmonization and socio-political integration. For revolutionary nationalists, French was a colonial hangover that should be eradicated by whatever means. Thus, Defending Arabic became a duty especially that it was associated with defending Islam, identity, and customs. This vision found a responsive audience within the society for whom Arabic, Islam and the Koran cannot be dissociated for they form one and the same thing. In this respect, K. Taleb Ibrahimi (1995 :184) argues that Arabization is a return to authenticity, retrieving the attributes of the Arabic identity which can only be

achieved by the restoration of the Arabic language, recovering the dignity denied by the colonizers, and the elementary condition to reconcile with oneself.

Besides, Arabization was but a reflection of the prevailing policies during the 1960s and 1970s. The notion of one nation one language was a very popular one "which at least implicitly informed language planning in decolonized states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East" (Ricento,2000b:11). At the same time, linguistic diversity (i.e. multilingualism) was seen as a hindrance to nation-building (Ricento, ibid). As such, establishing Standard Arabic as the sole official and national language was believed to assert unity and homogeneity as far as the religious aspect is concerned and at the same time was an essential prerequisite to confirm allegiance to the Arab-Muslim world.

However, what was considered at a time as a logical and justifiable decision to confront the colonizers who were preaching assimilation and annexation soon turned out to be an impulsive political post-colonial reaction and Arabization has become a matter of political and ideological controversy that brought about an excessive amount of criticism for the next decades. First and foremost, it has been criticised on the basis of neglecting the de facto multilingual composition of Algeria. In this respect Grandguilaumme (2004: 9) has associated Arabization to monolingualism which negates bilingualism marking Algerian policy.

The policy of Arabization has been accused of creating a condition of linguistic conflict in which Standard Arabic has to face the local languages i.e. Algerian dialects and Berber along with French. The true conflict though has always been between Arabic and French or properly speaking between fragmented negatively charged Arabophone and Francophone elites. From one side, pros of Arabic argue that political independence must go hand-in-hand with cultural independence and this is possible only if French, as an aspect of cultural neo-colonialism, is excluded from all active sectors. They are described as traditionists who favour a total Arabization and are imprisoned within an over-rigid fashion as a way for self-defence centred on authenticity and specificity attributes through the re-evaluation and glory of Arabo-Islamic history to slash off the western values. On the other hand, the modernist in favour of the western world adopting its universal values to displace the archaic ingrained aspect underlying the failure of the Arabo-Islamic culture. For such a group, French is not the property of the old enemy but rather an indispensable linguistic resource as it is a door towards modernity.

At the socio-political level, Arabization has been marked by contradictions, ambivalence and discontinuity. The contradiction lies in the presence of an incoherent language policy situation in Algeria. This situation is apparent in the gap between the stated

Arabization policy objectives and the actual language use i.e. between the official claim for the determination to use Arabic efficiently since 1961 and the preservation of French as the working language up to this day. Knowing that French would remain necessary to social and economic advancement; elites have promoted Arabization while they continued to teach their own children bilingually (Boukous, 1995, p. 53). Arabization has served mainly the benefits of different political ruling classes to maintain power reflecting what Myers-Scotton (1993) calls elite closure[39] and what Shohamy (2006) refers to as *covert language planning*. Thus, the political overt or explicit status of French does not truly reflect its linguistic covert or implicit status. The pace and scope of arabizing the different sectors has been also marked by discontinuity as it depended largely on which of these groups has had more power in the government at a given time.

Dealing with the problem of identity, Hermassi (2004: 165) refers to the fact that independence authorities showed little concern to the assets of identity. This issue was displaced to a lower scale within the hierarchy of priorities revealing that the enthusiasm during the colonial period was but a tactical policy.

Diglossia has also been implicated in criticizing the policy of Arabization as we have already mentioned. Boukhchem and Varro (2001: 12) point out that Literary Arabic taught as a High Variety is far from being a means of individual identity structuration since it is distant from daily usage. They add that Arabic crystalized resistance against colonial powers but after independence native and local languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber) have been completely ignored. Thus, far from being the tool of people's liberation and the recovery of local languages, Arabization hence represents a new settlement. Chelli (2011: 12) considers that the diglossic pattern is more appropriate to the political power that used it to reinforce its supremacy and strengthen its legitimacy. The introduction of Arabization policy is merely an act which aims at reducing the mother tongues into patois and deviant forms of a norm "Standard Arabic".

In the same vein, Queffélec et al. (2002: 47) consider the status assigned to Arabic language in the Algerian policy as a psychological manipulation since language policy in Algeria consists in instrumentalizing and using popular mental representations related to the notions of "Arabic Language" and "Islam" and their legitimizing and sanctifying power; deeply internalized in the Algerian people's consciousness. This conception implies that

---

[39] Elite closure refers to the fact that persons in power establish and maintain their power and privileges via linguistic choices.

Literary Arabic has been placed on a peak of value hierarchy because of its prestigious and symbolic power.

Following the same reasoning, Nait Brahim (2006: 112) affirms that the relationship between Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic is absolutely not innocent as those who take it for diglossia tend to suggest. According to him the linguistic situation in Algeria, where Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Tamazight and French coexist is but a case of colinguism[40]. Classical Arabic is maintained in a privileged position enjoying undeniable prestige at the expense of other languages – Algerian Arabic, Tamazight and French- because it serves to maintain the political status quo. He further adds that maintaining languages other than Standard Arabic in Algeria in an inferior position it is maintaining the cultures that these languages transmit in a position of suspicion on the part of the people who see in them, wrongly, a threat to his Arabo-Muslim identity.

A look at the main conceptions associated to the Standard variety of Arabic shows that most of researchers agreed on one main idea which ponders Classical Arabic or even MSA as having a coercive status, associated to failure and linguistic schism considering *Arabic*[41] and the process of Arabization to be the major source of language problems in Algeria and often have contributed intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously in imposing a shift in the Algerian identity definition by introducing not only Berber as being depreciated and out casted by the Arabic language "the school language" which is considered to be a foreign language as it used to be defined by the colonial authorities[42] but also dialectal Arabic. Ait Kaki (2004: 82) argues that this strategy intends to couple dialectal Arabic to Berber and dissociates dialectal Arabic from its membership and affinity to the Arabic language project to

---

[40] The concept refers to an essential element in any language development or planning, that of institution of languages. Colinguism is the result of an institutionalization of a language giving it a privileged status, and consequently the means to access to it, to the detriment of other languages present in a society, depending on what it can serve politically Unlike diglossia, where the positions and the roles of languages are determined almost naturally according to what they can offer practically and objectively. Forge par R. Balibar, ce néologisme est défini comme « l'association, par l'enseignement et la politique, de certaines langues écrites faisant communiquer des partenaire légitime » (1993 : 7). Ce concept renvoie à un élément essentiel de tout aménagement ou planification linguistique, celui de l'institution des langues (Charaudeau et Maingueneau 2002 : 101).

[41] It seems that SA is targeted more than the Arabisation policy which has in reality, directly or/and indirectly aggravated the conflicts of the elites.

[42] While downgrading the written Arabic language, banning its teaching and declaring it a foreign language in its own country, France wanted to encourage the teaching of Arabic dialects or rather of what was called Algerian Arabic, an artificial construction of a speech supposedly common to all Algerians. This policy has so far induced a defiant and hostile attitude to any attempt to restore Arab dialects to their place in society, and suspected of folklorizing any attempt at research in dialectology and promotion of popular cultural heritage.

cultivate doubt as to the real origin of the speakers of dialectal Arabic as being Arabized Berber.

Algeria, a multilingual country, rich in its diversity, in its plural cultural references, unfortunately seems unable to transcend these ideological escalation and demagoguery, and respond to the aspirations and frustrations of young people confronted daily with academic failure, unemployment, poverty, lack of prospects and hope.

1.3.2   Code-switching: problematic definition and terminological dispute

The term code-switching was originally coined by Vogt (1954) in his review of Weinreich's seminal work *Language in Contact* (1953). Nevertheless, the term as well as the definition of code-switching have grown over time and have taken different shapes and dimensions, from being aberrant, deviant and random behaviour that is not worth investigating (Bloomfield, 1935) to approaching code-switching from a monolingual perspective which sees code-switching as a type of bilingual skilled performance (Haugen, 1950: 211[43]; Weinreich, 1953: 45[44]). Criticizing this approach Gardner-Chloros states with a critical eye that:

> A lot of effort has been expended within the field of code-switching on setting up a new orthodoxy to replace the old orthodoxy of monolingual norms. This consists in defining code-switching as a special form of skilled bilingual behaviour, to be distinguished from the aberrant manifestations of bilingualism which involve one language influencing another. Gardner Chloros (2009: 27)

In the first research carried out on the problem of general bilingualism and language contact, the phenomenon of code alternation, though not really named, has been subsumed under the concept of linguistic interference. This notion conceptualized by Haugen in the 1950s schematically refers to inappropriate employment by the speaker of elements or features of a language A when he expresses himself in a language B. Thus defined, the notion of interference qualifies all the phenomena that may result from contact of languages. Haugen, first, does refer to the fact that in some situations the speaker alternates between two languages. According to him, however, there is no question of a mixture of languages, the two languages each retains certain integrity:

---

[43] "The speakers may switch rapidly from one language to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even if they resort to the other for assistance" Haugen, 1950: 211.

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

> Except in abnormal cases speakers have not been observed to draw freely from two languages at once. They may switch rapidly from one to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even when they resort to the other for assistance. The introduction of elements from one language into the other means merely an alteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two. (Haugen, 1950: 211)

Weinreich (1953) also does not name the phenomenon which he believes is the result of excessive linguistic interference in an utterance:

> Finally, a bilingual's goals speech may suffer from the interference of another vocabulary through mere OVERSIGHT; that is, the limitations of the distribution of certain words to utterances belonging to one language are violated. In affective speech, when the speaker's attention is almost completely diverted from the norm of the message to its topic, the transfer of words is particularly common. (Weinreich, 1953: 60)

Haugen clearly refutes the idea of a mixture of codes resulting in a single language. With Weinreich; however, at least, there is a kind of reflection on the context of the emergence of code-switching and its functions; a question that has been widely explored in the 1960s, notably by Gumperz, the pioneer in the field of interactional sociolinguistics. What he brings is a distinctly more "positive" approach of code-switching; it is no longer perceived as a linguistic deficiency or a language disability but more as bilingual competence and communicative strategies. After Gumperz's work in the 1970s, code-switching began to receive sustained attention as an independent topic of study as it is put forward by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 9) "Thereafter the subject took off and there has been no sign of a downturn – as people realized that codeswitching was not an isolated, quirky phenomenon but a widespread way of speaking".

The universality of the phenomenon explains the growing number of studies which have involved different social contexts and a variety of language typologies with varying degree of bilingualism. Besides code-switching has been the subject of a variety of scholarly perspectives, rooted in different theoretical outlooks, relying on different methodologies, and pursuing different goals. One of them was to prove that even proficient bilingual speakers employ code-switching at different levels (discourse, sentence, word, and morpheme) and for different purposes. Indeed, as Gardner-Chloros (1995: 68) argues: "Code-switching should instead be considered as a much broader, blanket term for a range of interlingual phenomena within which strict alternation between two discrete systems is the exception rather than the rule".

Against this eclectic background, one of the difficulties that the researcher faces when he begins to study code switching is how to develop the definition of a phenomenon as complex and as multidimensional as code-switching. This difficulty is the result of the fact that it is a subject of study that has attracted the attention of researchers working in various disciplines e.g. linguistics, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, psycholinguistics and conversational analysis.

In addition, the side by side existence of code-switching with other inter-lingual phenomena (borrowing, interference, pidginization[45]) in a bilingual community makes code-switching a 'fuzzy-edged' construct[46] that cannot be easily distinguished from other bilingual manifestations. Gardner-Chloros (1995: 71[47]) has pinpointed to the difficulty of defining code-switching as a 'unitary phenomenon' saying that: "even within what are generally accepted as code-switches, we are dealing with a number of overlapping phenomena".

Indeed, Language Phenomena resulting from contact with languages are assigned a large number of names and their classifications are becoming increasingly blurred. Winford (2007) raises the problem of terminology and classification which characterizes the subject of code-switching stating that:

> Whether one examines code-switching, bilingual mixed languages, pidgins or creoles, one confronts a variety of competing definitions and classifications. For instance, there is still no agreement on what constitutes code-switching as opposed to borrowing, as opposed to code-alternation, etc." (Winford, 2007: 3).

Clyne (2003) as well mentions this aspect stating that "…the term 'code-switching' has now become so polysemous and unclear that it is necessary to find more precise terms to map out the boundaries and interfaces." (ibid: 72). Although much has been written about code-switching, there is a lack of consensus among linguists and sociolinguists about what the definition of code-switching actually is. The variation in the definition of the term is due to the ambiguous definition of the word "language" itself. What is more, the issue of

---

[45] Although code-switching and pidginization have never been systematically compared, Gardner Chloros (1995: 73) argues that despite the fact that code-switching is not necessarily accompanied by pidginization, yet evidence shows that code-switching does occur in pidgin/creole-speaking areas. She also adds that there are linguistic phenomena which might be conceptualized both as code-switching and pidginization as in the case of new verb-formation.

[46] Clyne (1987:740–741) pinpointed the crucial distinction between those who consider code-switching to be "fuzzy-edged", i.e. on a continuum with respect to borrowing, syntactic merging, etc., and those who consider it as the one form of language contact which does not involve convergence of the two systems.

[47] In Milroy and Muysken (1995: 71).

terminology in code-switching research has long been a serious bone of contention among researchers. This problem was outlined by Milroy and Muysken (1995) who claim that:

> The field of CS research is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon sometimes the referential scope of a set of these terms overlaps and sometimes particular terms are used in different ways by different writers. Milroy and Muysken (1995: 12)

The terminological confusion is the result of variations in using the term code-switching. These variations are sometimes perceived as different outcomes (nonce-borrowing, code-switching, language choice) and are sometimes subsumed under the blanket of code-switching (as code-switching types e.g. alternation vs. insertion[48], intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential code-switching) but they are given different names (code-mixing[49], code-alternation[50], transfer[51]). These concepts are either used alongside code-switching in complementary way, or in contrastive way (i.e. to distinguish the former from the latter).

For instance, some authors, including Gumperz (1976), consider code-switching as the result of a change in situation, for others it is Language Choice[52]. Still others exclude switching of single words, considering them as nonce borrowing (Poplack, 1980). Some

---

[48] Muysken (2000:3) distinguishes between insertion and alternation as two processes of intra-sentential code-mixing found within the clause (**insertion** of lexical items or entire constituents from one language into a shared structure of the other language. **Alternation** occurs between structures of the two languages). The third process of intra-sentential code-mixing is **congruent lexicalization** which is the insertion of materials into shared structure.

[49] Some researchers (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Kachru, 1983; Singh, 1985, Bokamba, 1988) prefer to use code-mixing for intra-sentential switches while reserving the term code-switching for inter-sentential switches only. On the other hand, Muysken (2000:4) uses the term code-mixing as a neutral term to describe intra-sentential CS i.e. code-mixing refers to 'all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence' and considers the term CS appropriate only for alternational type of code-mixing which often takes place within the clause as well i.e. code-switching refers to 'the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event'. Meisel (1989) employs code-mixing for the fusion of two grammatical systems, whereas he describes code-switching as the pragmatic skill of selecting the language according to the interlocutor, topic, context, etc.

[50] 'code-alternation' has been adopted by conversational analysts such as Auer (1995:119), Gafaranga (2000:310), and Wei (2000:1) as a hyponym to replace CS.

[51] 'Transfer' is used by Auer (1995:132) to mean insertion of a word or another structure from language B into a language A frame (i.e. insertional type of code-switching) and code-switching is used for the alternational type of code-switching.

[52] Trying to distinguish between code-switching and language choice, Ad Backus & Nadia Eversteijn state that *"the main problem for demarcating language choice and codeswitching seems to be that, on the assumption that language choice always involves a rational decision by a speaker, on the basis of conscious motivations, codeswitching sometimes IS language choice (i.e. a conscious decision), while at other times speakers seem to have produced it more or less without thinking"*.

scholars define code-switching as a skilled behaviour, distinguishing it from the aberrant forms of bilingualism (i.e. intra-word switching and morphological integration) which is the norm and the common kind of code-switching in some societies (i.e. code-switching an unmarked choice, in Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002, 2006).

Unfortunately, as Gardner Chloros (2009: 11) states "both halves of the term CS are misleading". The term 'code'[53] is reserved by some researchers (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993) to describe switching between languages. Other extend the meaning of 'code' to encompass switching between dialects or varieties of the same language (Gumperz ,1982; Gardner-Chloros ,1991) and even style-shifting in monolingual speech (Romaine, 1995: 122). An extreme definition to the term 'code' is suggested by conversational analysts (Auer, 1998; Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998) who propose to draw a line between what counts as distinct codes by linguists (linguistic varieties) and what counts as distinct codes by bilingual speakers themselves (communicative codes)[54].

The consequence of the multidimensionality of this phenomenon is that when we carefully observe the range of definitions proposed in order to describe this linguistic manifestation of bilingualism which is the alternation of codes, we can see easily that the definition of this very aspect of bilingual speakers is not really the subject of a consensus among researchers interested in it.

Hence, the conceptualization of the code-switching phenomenon has not ceased to be refined and adapted to the research objectives that have been presented by the many linguists who have dealt with this phenomenon. For three decades, the proposed definitions have in fact become more specific, although they often show a lot of differences. We believe that these notional differences are due to the fact that studies which are devoted to this subject take two different orientations[55] among researchers: one sociological focusing on functional

---

[53] "Nowadays code is understood as a neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles/registers, etc., and partly usurps the place of the more usual "catch-all" term variety to cover the different sub-divisions of "language". Gardner Chloros (2009: 11)

[54] The notion of a code defined communicatively rather than structurally underlies conversational perspectives on code-switching, which propose a distinctive set of definitions for code-switching and code-mixing. In the perspective taken by Auer (1998, 1999), 'code-mixing' (or 'language mixing') is opposed to 'code-switching' (or 'language alternation') on the ground of the degrees of pragmatic salience of structural switch points. Whereas the pragmatic salience of structural switch points is relatively low in code-mixing/language mixing - to the point that structurally distinguishable codes are not communicatively distinguishable, it is conversely relatively high in code-switching/language alternation, whereby speakers show awareness of alternating between two structurally distinguishable codes.

[55] There other approaches to the study of CS including psycholinguistic studies, second language acquisition, etc.; we have mentioned only the linguistic and sociolinguistic studies for their relevance to our research.

definition of the phenomenon and the other linguistic dealing with the structural aspects of code switching.

In the functional approach of code alternation, the definition proposed to describe this phenomenon emphasizes the social function that it fulfils in a given community. In other words, the definition takes more into account the communicational value of code-switching. The pioneers of this approach are unmistakably Blom and Gumperz (1972) with their study of the Hemnesberg community in Norway. For these researchers, code-switching refers to "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems', in the words of Gumperz (1989a: 58).

It is clear that this definition is part of a functional perspective of interactional orientation. It is essentially based on conversational fact where the speakers are unconscious because the main objective is inter-comprehension, and that is why John Gumperz distinguishes between conversational coding-switching and situational code-switching, to which we are going to return later. However, what attracts attention in this definition is the linguistic aspect which characterizes the verbal exchange by the presence of statements from two different systems, where juxtaposition and succession suggest that speakers produce bilingual utterances grammatically structured without there being a break in the form. In this case, it is about acquired or learned verbal habits specific to the bilingual speaking subjects, which also provides information on the partial or total appropriation of the grammar of the two languages as well as a common grammar having a regulatory function of exchanges.

Other linguists tend to describe the structural aspects of this feature of bilingual speech. Poplack (1993) who is one of the main theorists of the formalist approach of code-switching defines code-switching as follows: "Codeswitching is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance." (Poplack, 1993: 256).

Since the publication of Shana Poplack's article (1980) we can state that the proposed structural definitions tend more to limit this aspect of linguistic behaviour that characterizes the bilingual speakers to the syntactic frame of the sentence (intra-sentential code-switching); the majority of recent research work on the intra-sentential dimension judged by this linguist as the prerogative of balanced bilingual, whose language skills are fairly advanced in both languages. This methodological choice to observe this aspect of multilingual speech in general has led to the emergence of increasingly restrictive definitions but still divergent.

Poplack, for example, asserts that by alternating codes intra-sententially she intends to designate the juxtaposition in the same sentence of elements or entire syntactic constructions belonging to several linguistic systems. This juxtaposition, she adds, must be done in accordance with the syntactic rules of languages involved in the bilingual statement. On the other hand, for other linguists, notably Carol Myers-Scotton (1993a; 1997; 2002) or L. Boumans and D. Caubet (2000), the phenomenon is seen as the insertion of different elements from a language A known as "embedded language" in a syntactic framework determined by a language B known as the "Matrix Language". We will come back to these two concepts with more details during the presentation of the insertional model.

Beyond this divergence which may seem simply conceptual, these two points of view pose otherwise the fundamental problem of structural research in the code-switching area, at least one of the most interesting: it is a question of knowing if the sentence obeys one of the grammatical systems involved, or if the mixed statement is the result of two unilingual grammars that participate equally in the structuring of the sentence, or if this type of language production is produced by a third -mixed- grammar. This questioning is also at the centre of our concerns, but it seems to us that it is better to ask it when we will proceed to the systematic analysis of our corpus, because these are the conclusions which results from the analysis of the productions of our informants which will allow us to advance our point of view on the matter.

Many authors have dealt with the issue of terminology in the literature; however, they could not come across uniformly standardized terminology to be used (Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 12). Nevertheless, to avoid potential confusion, each researcher has tried to locate his position within the field and to define the meaning of terms that he uses. Following the same tradition, we will try to take position in respect to the terminology and the definition that the chosen term will imply.

As a whole, this present volume deals with code-switching as conceived of in the broadest terms. We believe that using different terms to describe different sides of the same phenomenon will create unnecessary bewilderment. Hence, throughout the study, the term 'code switching' (hereafter: CS) will be used as a generic term transcending the occasionally perceived opposition between code-switching and code-mixing, while potentially subsuming all definitions, both grammatical and conversational, that code-switching and code-mixing have been given. This implies that 'code-switching' will be considered as a blanket term subsuming both the communicative and structural definitions of 'code' that includes different outcomes, ranging from single morpheme insertion to alternating between

languages according to change in situation. Besides, the terms[56] *intra-sentential* CS and *inter-sentential* CS as well as *insertional* and *alternational* switching will be used to refer to CS types. The terms code-mixing and code alternation may be used occasionally as synonymous to code-switching only for the sake of style.

We tried to give some hints about terminological issues that have been discussed in code-switching research; however, what seems important to the present study and to any code-switching research is the issue of distinguishing code-switching from borrowing as Gardner Chloros (2009: 73) states: "The researcher transcribing and analysing code-switched data therefore inevitably has to face the problem of drawing the line between the two categories". (i.e., code switching and borrowing)

We will deal with these concepts in some details in the next section in order to show the difficulties that their kinship poses when it comes to think about a line of demarcation that allows locating code-switching easily.

1.3.3   Distinguishing code-switching from borrowing

The field of contact linguistics and specially the study of code-switching have flourished in the last decades structurally and socio-linguistically. In spite of that, distinguishing code-switching and borrowing "is perhaps the thorniest issue in the field of contact linguistics today." Poplack & Dion (2012: 311). This issue has been endlessly discussed in code-switching literature without achieving any real commonality. The problem of whether a code-switched item is an established borrowing remains a controversial issue both in terms of structural and sociolinguistic analysis of code-switching (Myers-Scotton: 1993b).

Most criteria proposed in the literature deal with the issue of distinguishing single-word switches from borrowed ones because longer stretches of switching are considered by the community of researchers as code-switching. Clyne (2003: 71) states that: "codeswitching is employed for both single-word and multi-word elements; borrowing is limited to the former." According to this author, the loan term refers strictly to simple lexical units whereas the term code-switching can designate both simple lexemes and foreign language segments. Onysko (2007: 36) also notices that this criterion is applied to differentiate the two concepts: "a distinction is drawn between multi-element syntactic units (code-switches) and single

---

[56] Intra-sentential refers to the presence of different languages within a single clause or simple sentence, whereas inter-sentential CS refers to switching as sentence boundaries e.g. between a main clause and a subordinate clause. Both terms will be defined in the second chapter when we analyze the corpus.

lexical items (e.g. borrowings, compounds, derivations). One reason why this question has been raised so often according to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 30) is that single-word code-switches/loans are, in many situations, though not always, the commonest kind of code-switching.

Nevertheless, this traditional distinction between Code-switching and borrowing also turns out to be controversial since code-switching can sometimes consist of a simple lexical unit and vice versa, a loan can be a complex lexical unit, made up of several elements as Onysko (2006) notes: "While surface form and the degree of syntactic complexity might adequately describe canonical examples of borrowing and code-switching, they fail to account for the possibility of single-word code-switches and multi-word borrowed units.".

we can conclude that though not common, borrowing is not limited to a lexicon phenomenon and that it can go from the phoneme and even from the phonological level, up to the phrase through morphemes and lexemes and from the smallest semantic feature to entire expressions as noted by Boeschoten & Huybredgts (1999) that any aspect of a language, including its structures, can be borrowed.

Thus, the distinction between code switching and the phenomenon of linguistic borrowing is not easy to establish, since in both cases the speaker uses foreign words. The complexity of the task made some researchers abandon the idea of distinguishing the two processes at least at the grammatical level arguing that there is no clear line between code-switching and borrowing (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Thomason, 2001; Treffers-Daller, 1994, 2010) and that the two are on a diachronic continuum: loans start off as code-switches and then gradually become established as loans (Gardner Chloros, 2009: 12; Gardner-Chloros & Edwards, 2004: 1437). In this vein, Eastman (1992:1) states that "efforts to distinguish code-switching ... and borrowing are doomed", and that it is crucial that we "free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch"

Nonetheless, we will attempt, despite both theoretical and methodological difficulties, to expose the different criteria proposed in the literature to assess the line of demarcation that separates the concepts of "code-switching" and lexical borrowing ". Indeed, often, in the literature dealing with the immediate manifestations of bilingualism, the two concepts in question tend to be confused. This confusion is clearer when the alternation of codes takes on a lexical character, in other words when it comes to "lexical alternation" as we have mentioned earlier.

As such it is important to refer to these criteria with reference to Algerian Arabic and French code-switching corpus of the present study in order to decide how to use both concepts when analysing code-switching data.   These criteria[57] include, first, the status of foreign lexemes depending on their occurrence in the speech of monolingual speakers; second, morphological integration of foreign lexemes; third, their frequency; Finally, we will try to address the different views about the relationship between phonological and morphological integration and time depth in relation to Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus of the present study.

1.3.3.1   Monolingual vs. bilingual speakers and the status of foreign words

In his book "Bilingualism and Contact of Languages", Mackey (1976) uses the term lexical interference to denote cases of alternation or a single implied word. Using Ferdinand de Saussure's dichotomy 'Language vs. Speech', he proposes a distinction or an opposition between these two aspects of bilingual speech i.e. borrowing and code-switching. According to this researcher, interference (lexical alternation or code-switching) belongs to "speech", while borrowing belongs to "language". From this point of view, borrowing is the integration of elements at the level of 'langue', and code-switching is the integration of language items at the level of 'parole'.

Many writers indeed (Muysken, 1995, Pfaff, 1979) agree on the fact that borrowing (hereafter B) is a collective behaviour of the whole speech community. Borrowed forms are viewed by most linguists as part of the language in which they occur and they do not require a bilingual situation. However, code-switching forms are considered to be part of the other language. Code-switching is a strategy of communication used by individual speakers and presupposes a certain degree of bilingual competence. Or, as Muysken (2000: 69) puts it: "Code-mixing involves inserting alien words or constituents into a clause; borrowing entering alien elements into a lexicon".

Myers-Scotton (1993: 170) also mentions this distinction that has been made by many writers between "code-switching as a bilingual's behaviour and borrowing and other phenomena[58] which are within a monolingual's ability" although she recognizes that "even here the line may not be so distinct" (ibid: 170).

---

[57] Our taxonomy is adapted from Boumans' (1998:60) classification of the different criteria that distinguish CS from borrowing.

[58] By other phenomena, Myers-Scotton refers to Joshi's (1985: 190) distinction between 'intra-sentential CS' and 'other interferences, such as borrowing, learned use of foreign words, and filling lexical gaps, all of which

This distinction seems to be apparent when we refer to the status of foreign words in a monolingual speech community or for monolingual speakers. However, the distinction is not a clear-cut one when we deal with these phenomena in a bilingual community. In fact, the distinction becomes blurred in the case of bilingual speakers because not all foreign lexemes uttered by these speakers are perceived to be code-switching forms as Boumans (1998) puts it:

> We can exclude the possibility that foreign lexemes uttered by monolinguals are CS forms, however there is no implication that all forms uttered by bilinguals or even the forms produced exclusively by bilinguals, are automatically CS forms. We cannot exclude the possibility that the distribution of a B form is restricted to a community of speakers who all happen to be bilingual. Boumans (1998: 52)

Gardner-Chloros (1995) also reports the difficulty of drawing a line between the two categories stating that:

> Although everyone would probably agree that loans used by completely monolingual speakers in highly focused communities should be regarded as being psychologically separate from code-switching, this provides little help when what you are dealing with is bilingual or plurilingual speakers in bilingual or plurilingual contexts. Gardner-Chloros (1995: 74)

Relating this criterion to our speech community, the problem arises not only in the case of bilingual speakers, who use borrowed forms as well as code-switched forms with different strategies (adoption, adaptation), but also in the case of some monolinguals who pick up some code-switched forms and expressions from the bilingual speakers surrounding them. This in turn takes us back to the controversial definition of bilingualism (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

One of the sentences found in our previous corpus (2013) is uttered by an old illiterate feminine speaker who mostly knows and uses Algerian Arabic and never went to school. She was talking about her son when he was a baby and had bronchitis. She did not even use the French word for the disease '*bronchite*' which is used as a borrowed word instead she uses the old Algerian Arabic one 'kan mrɪd bəʒnabah' (he was ill in his sides), yet she said the following sentence:

---

can be exhibited by monolingual speakers'. She also refers to Poplack's (1988) notion of nonce borrowing (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:170).

[01] dar-ət-l-ah waħd d-dwa taɛ ɛrab ja ȷ-mʊt ja ja-ħja, ja *perdu* ja *gagné*[59].

Made-3SGF-for-him INDEF-medicine of Arab either 3PR-died-3SG or 3PR-live-3SG, either lost or won.

'She treats him with herbal medicine, so that he either would die or survive, either there is a hope or there is no hope to recover'.

In the case of our respondents who are university teachers, there is an example in our corpus that illustrates the confusion to decide whether the word is a borrowed form or a code-switched form even in the case of words that we think of as established loans. The following extract is taken from recording 4 and it is an informal conversation between three female teachers at ENS on the side of a CPC meeting. GF is talking about a problem that happened to her because there is another teacher of English at secondary school that has the same family and first name and the same address.

[2] FK) ((..)) hadu *ça arrive. On a les mêmes noms, les mêmes prénoms* kajni:n.

((..)) those *they happen. We have the same last names, the same first names* there-are.

'It happens that two people have the same last name and the same first name.'

[3] FG) *Mais* balɑ:k *pas et la même adresse.* daɾwek l((..)) l ((..)) kisamu:h mɔwazziɛ l-baɾi:d (…) ?

But maybe *not and the same address.* Now, the ((..)) the ((..)) how it is called the mailman ((..))?

[4] DM) *Le facteur*

'The mailman' (in french)

[5] FG) *le facteur* jaɛɾef FG waħda fe l-ħu:ma ajja hɑ:ki *la convocation.* hadi fi hadi ħatta ɛandki wi:n tqad tawsal.

'The mailman knows one person called FG in the neighborhood so he gave her *the convocation*.'

The word '*le facteur*' (mailman) here is a French word that is used with a French definite article and respect French pronunciation (i.e. it is not phonologically integrated) and it

---

[59] She means by saying 'he, either die or live', that if he will feel better after this medicine he will recover and will live, however if his health stays unchanged, he will probably not recover and may die.

is considered as a code-switched form. The borrowed version of this word is phonologically integrated /fakt3ːɾ/ or as /fektuːɾ/ used mostly in informal situations. It seems that the respondent (GF) has forgot the French and even the borrowed word so she used its Standard Arabic equivalent 'mɔwazziɛ l-baɾiːd' (mail man), which is almost exclusively used in schools, to ask about the French word. We can conclude two things here, first even the words that we think of as established loans are not that deeply entrenched. Second, the Standard Arabic equivalent seems inappropriate in this context i.e. an informal conversation between teachers at university. Standard Arabic is used from time to time by our informants but not because of a lexical gap but to fulfil other purposes namely quotation, objectivation, formality when treating certain topics related to Arabic history, religious and cultural concepts. The extract above shed the light on some aspects of the arabization policy and its impact on the Algerian Arabic speakers' speech repertoire namely the generational gap between those who attended French schooling and the ones who were subject to the arabization process.

Hence, speaker's monolingual or bilingual status may not be in many cases a useful way to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing as Myers-Scotton (1993b: 193) claims: "The quandary which arises in defining the speaker as bilingual or monolingual suggests that one should discount the speaker's status as a way to label the forms, he/she uses as either CS or B forms".

1.3.3.2　Morphological integration

Many researchers (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, 2006, Gardner Chloros: 2009; Boumans: 1998; Backus 1996, 2015; Halmari 1997; Thomason, 2001; Van Coetsem, 2000, Hlavac 2000) treat singly occurring embedded language items as code-switching forms along with inserted language phrases and claim that the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is not critical in the morpho-syntactic analysis of bilingual speech at least from a synchronic point of view.

Myers-Scotton (2002: 153) clearly argues that "from a synchronic point of view, there is no need to make the borrowing vs. code-switching distinction" since "both established borrowings and singly occurring code-switching forms largely are integrated into the morpho-syntactic frame of the recipient or Matrix Language." (ibid, 153). Backus (2015: 26) also emphasises this point stating that "for the synchronic description of code-switching patterns, it doesn't seem to matter whether the other-language single-word items are called loanwords or insertions." The same point is raised by Gardner-Chloros (2009: 31) claiming that "there is no reliable way of distinguishing synchronically between loans and code-switches; loans must

start life as codeswitches and then generalize themselves among speakers of the borrowing language"

The main advocate of the distinction has been Shana Poplack and her associates (1980, 1986, 1988, 2006, 2012) who argue that lone other-language items insertion are borrowings and are different from longer stretches of switches, which are defined as CS forms. Therefore, borrowings should be excluded from the analysis of code-switched utterances. Despite the fact that Poplack's (1980, 1981) definition of code-switching does not consider single-lexemes to be code-switched forms, she proposes three criteria (syntactic, morphological and phonological integration) to determine the status of other language lexical items in the recipient language. In cases where a lexical item shows only syntactic integration, or only phonological integration, or no integration at all, it is considered to be an instance of code-switching. However, in cases where the lexical item shows all the three types of integration it is identified as borrowing.

The criterion of phonological integration was later omitted due to its controversial nature as she states in her later works "recipient-language phonology often colours donor-language items even in the absence of mixing ("foreign accent"), so phonological criteria are not reliable indicators of loanword integration." Poplack (2012: 284), and the concept of 'nonce borrowing'[60] has been introduced as an intermediary category again to exclude single lexical items from code-switching analysis. Nonce forms have been defined by Poplack & Dion (2012: 297) "as unattested lone other-language items uttered once by a single speaker, more frequent items are those that occurred at least twice, and code-switches are multiword sequences of English preceded and followed by French."

Poplack summarises the differences between the three types or as she calls them strategies of mixing (established borrowing, nonce borrowing and codeswitching) in the following table taken from Poplack & Dion (2012: 310):

---

[60] Nonce borrowings are single lexical items or bound morphemes, which satisfy the criteria of morphosyntactic integration; but they may be or may not be phonologically integrated. They differ from established loan words in the frequency of use and degree of acceptance, and they are part of the speech of bilingual speakers not monolinguals. All lone English-origin words that met the following technical definition of nonce form: uttered exactly once, by a single speaker in a given corpus. Poplack & Dion (2012: 286)

	Diagnostics	Multiword CS	Nonce Items	More Frequent Items
Linguistic	Lexical constitution	Content words ≈ Function words	Preponderance of nouns Lack of function words	
	Syntactic integration	Donor language	Recipient language	
	Morphological integration	Donor language	Recipient language	
	Phonological integration		Variable	
Social	Knowledge of donor language	Required	Unnecessary	
	Level of diffusion	Restricted	Diffused	
	Frequency	Rare	Frequent	

Table 1.1. Poplack's classification of the different language mixing strategies Poplack & Dion (2012: 310)

In her later research Shana Poplack has gathered impressive quantitative data on other-language single-word items in a variety of language pairs (see Poplack & Dion 2012). The data support the generalization that single-word insertions show the same morphosyntactic behaviour as native words, whether or not they enjoy widespread use in the community (if they don't, they are called 'nonce borrowings') (ibid: 309).

Despite the fact that many researcher (e.g., Bentahila & Davies, 1991; Boyd, 1993; Boztepe, 2003; Clyne, 2003; Eliasson, 1989; Field, 2002; Haspelmath, 2009; Heath, 1989; Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 2002, 2006; Thomason, 2003; Treffers-Daller, 2005; Winford, 2009) insist that there is no reason to differentiate all kinds of code-switches, single- and multiword, from borrowed forms because they undergo the same process, or represent different points on the same continuum, Poplack still insists on "the necessity! —of distinguishing them (nonce borrowing), not from other borrowings, as they are identical to them in linguistic structure, but from code-switches, single- and multiword." Single code-switches here refer to words that are not morphologically adapted or integrated in the recipient language as she clarifies stating that:

> The other alternative is to simply leave the other-language item as is, which implies incorporating it along with its associated grammatical properties, a process to which we have been referring as code-switching. The results of the research reported here, as well as much previous work, shows that this almost never happens with single words.[61] Poplack & Dion (2012: 309)

---

[61] It is rarely attested in the literature on codeswitching to find unassimilated or unintegrated single CS items. Most of them are morphologically and syntactically inserted into the base language.

Consider the following example provided by Poplack & Dion to illustrate single words switches:

Cinq-cents piasses par trois jours, avec tes **tips** [**s**].

Five hundred bucks every three days, with your tips.

According to Poplack et al (2012), based on the criterion of retention of donor-language grammar, this is code-switching at the equivalence site between determiner and noun not nonce borrowing because the [**s**] marking the plurality in **tips** is pronounced unlike in French where plural [**s**] is written but not overtly realized. The following examples are taken from our corpus:

[6] gal-ha **doss**iːk ɾɑːh fi **doss**ijja. (R4)
He told-OBJ **file**-POSS is in **file**-POSS
'He told her that your file is inside mine.'

[7] kɑːn-ɔ m-daχliːn-əh fiø **dossier** taɛ ʔostɑːd waħdɑːχɔɾ.
Be-SUB put in-ODJ in **file** of teacher another.

'They had put it inside another teacher's file.'

[8] mambaɛd **le dossier** sɑːb-t-əh. (R4)
Afterwards, **the file** found-SUB-OBJ
'Afterwards, she found her file.'

So, if we apply Poplack's criteria to distinguish between nonce borrowing and code-switching then, the word file in example (6) is considered nonce borrowing because it is morphologically adapted (AA possessive clitic pronoun and indefinite zero article) while in example (7) it is a code-switching as the word retain its morphological properties from the donor language and even the definite article in example (8).

Even Sankoff (2001) who still supports Poplack's idea that there is an essential distinction between the two, somewhat paradoxically describes code-switching as the "royal road" to borrowing. In this regard, Muysken (2000:60) claims that "the phenomena of borrowing, nonce borrowing, and constituent insertion all fall within the same general class and are subject to the same conditions". He (ibid: 75) further argues that "there is not a single borrowing process, just like there is no single code-mixing process. In addition to the familiar pattern of insertion, there is a pattern of alternation involving interjections and conjunctions." He (ibid: 75) brings into notice the fact that lexical borrowing has been associated with

insertional code-mixing because nouns are the class of elements borrowed par excellence and also the prime example of insertion under categorical equivalence.

According to Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006), Poplack and her associates in fact recognize the resemblance between single-lexeme code-switched and borrowed forms by creating this intermediate category which they call 'nonce borrowing'. Backus (2015) also makes a similar point saying that:

> The irony is that this also supports the rival view: both established and "nonce" words get inserted into base language clauses in the same way as native words do, in a pattern referred to as 'insertional code-switching', to be distinguished from 'alternational code-switching'. Backus (2015: 26)

Myers-Scotton argues that borrowed forms and singly occurring code-switched forms undergo ML morpho-syntactic procedures in the same way during language production, and are part of a single continuum (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 163). However, "the lexical entries of CS and B forms must be different, since B forms become part of the mental lexicon of the ML, while CS forms do not" (ibid,163). Myers-Scotton (1993a) summarizes her objections concerning the criterion of morphological integration as follows:

> The problem with morphological/syntactic integration as a criterion for B forms versus CS forms is that several different patterns of integration occur, not just one. This survey has pointed out four patterns: (a) not all B forms show complete morphological integration; (b) most CS forms in ML+EL constituents regularly show near-complete morphological integration; (c) when there is incomplete morphological integration, it may characterize both B and CS forms in contrast to indigenous forms; and (d) both forms show syntactic integration. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 191)

Concerning the fact that not all B forms show complete morphological integration here we have an example from our corpus (recording 4) that illustrates this:

[9] `tlaq-i:t` waħda **`lafamij`**[62]. (R4)

    I met one family

    'I met a relative of mine.'

Here, the word *`lafamij`* or else *`fəmi:lja`* or *`fəmi:lti`* from the French "*la famille*" (the family) is a definite NP; however, it is borrowed into AA and used as one word that means a relative as in (`hadik` la famille `taɛi`) if we translate it in English it gives us (*this is my family*) which is a wrong interpretation. The meaning here is (*this is a relative of*

---

[62] The word *`lafamij`* here is a borrowed form from French and it is originally two words '*la famille*' but it is used as one word interchangeably with the words *`fəmi:lja`* or *`fəmi:lti`* to mean 'my relative or a relative of mine'. So here it is not a case of code-switching.

mine or *a member of my family*). This is one of the words that we have borrowed along with its definite articles as one word. Examples such as these may include `larbi:t` from French definite noun 'l'arbitre' (the referee); `zu:fri` based on the French plural "les ouvriers" (the workers); `zalami:t` formed on the basis of the French plural noun "les alumettes" (matches); `loɫɔ` 'a car' from French definite noun 'l'auto' (the car) here we even use it in plural 'lwɑ:ɫa', etc.

In addition to the above objections to the morphological integration, Boumans (1998: 53) cites two other factors that complicate the use of morphological integration in distinguishing code-switching from borrowing as follows: "Firstly, not all morphological processes in a language are equally productive and secondly, productive morphology is more characteristic of some languages than of others".

By comparing Moroccan Arabic and Turkish as immigrant languages in the Netherlands, Boumans[63] (1998) found that in the case of Moroccan Arabic, no morphological process is applied to embedded Dutch words or constituents. Turkish, however, which is an agglutinative language with a wide range of nominal affixes marking plural, case, possessive and derivation is perfectly productive with embedded Dutch nouns. Boumans noticed that the grammatical categories that are marked by affixation in Turkish are marked by means of an analytic construction (possessive) or by-word order and prepositions (case) in Moroccan Arabic. So, according to Boumans, morphological differences between the two languages is what makes the morphological integration of EL words in Turkish much easier than in MA, rather than the status of EL words as CS forms or B forms (this explains his second statement in the above quotation).

He further explains that the morphological integration of Dutch nouns in Turkish does not mean that Turkish borrows only Dutch nouns; rather the morphological integration of Dutch nouns is due to the Turkish morphological process which is more productive with respect to nouns i.e. a wide range of affixes marking plural, case, possessive and derivation are attached to nouns (this explains his first statement in the above quotation).

In the case of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching, we have also noticed that morphological integration characterizes French verbs (i.e., French verbs are inflected with Algerian Arabic inflections marking tense, subject agreement and object suffixes) more than

---

[63] Boumans (1998) points out to the fact that both Moroccan and Turkish immigrations started in the 1960s and have similar bilingual social circumstances, which exclude the duration and intensity of language contact from explaining the different patterns of integration.

nouns. Only very few French nouns show morphological integration (i.e. French nouns are not modified by Algerian Arabic affixes marking number and gender). Moreover, they tend to be inserted with their articles as NPs (this will be explained in later chapters).

In the same vein, Pfaff (1979: 298) observes different degrees of morphological integration for different syntactic categories, stating that: "The relationship between morphological adaptation and lexical incorporation is gradient and depends on the functional load of morphological marking for different syntactic categories". Pfaff (1979: 298) has also pointed to "the predominance of morphological adaptation in verbs" that has been noticed in other language-contact situations. A tendency that is explained by Haugen (1973: 536)[64] as: "The centrality of the verb in the sentence supplements the fact that tense is an obligatory category in (at least) the Indo-European languages".

So, according to Pfaff (1979: 300), verbs are frequently morphologically adapted because of the requirement to mark tense, aspect, mood and subject-agreement. Poplack also noticed the same thing in relation to nonce verbs (or what most researchers consider as inserted code-switched verbs) arguing that: "On the measure of verb morphology then, there is no support for the idea that nonce forms become integrated into recipient-language grammar gradually, in tandem with increases in frequency and diffusion. They do so categorically at first mention." (Poplack & Dion: 2012: 289)

This is true in the case of Algerian Arabic /French code-switching data at hand. Most French code-switched verbs are inflected with Algerian Arabic inflections for tense, aspect and agreement and are combined with Algerian Arabic object clitic pronouns.

Thus, the morphological adaptation is not a useful way to distinguish between code-switched forms and borrowed forms especially in the case of verb stems. Otherwise, all the inserted French verbs in this corpus will be treated as borrowed verbs, which is not the case because they are not used by all speakers and their equivalent verbs in Algerian Arabic are used.

Another problem with morphological integration is when we deal with bilingual speakers in bilingual context as noted by as Backus (2015):

> It is important to recognize that in bilingual contexts, where speakers will usually be able to recognize from which language a particular word originates, a word can *be* an established loanword and at the same time *function* as a codeswitch. It is for this reason that I prefer to call single other language items insertional codeswitches rather than nonce borrowings. (Backus; 2015: 27)

---

[64] It is cited in Pfaff (1979: 298).

Gysels (1992) takes this idea even one step further by claiming that whether a 'lone other-language item' is a switch or borrowing in fact cannot be determined because the same form may be interpreted as either a borrowed item or a code-switch one depending on the overall discourse structure. The same reasoning is shared by Muysken (2000:69) who notes that nonce borrowing are so controversial due to the fact that they constitute a class of elements that formally might be grouped with borrowing, and functionally can, in certain circumstances, be grouped with code-mixing, namely when the borrowing primarily has a symbolic function.

1.3.3.3   Frequency

Frequency is used by Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) as a criterion along with degree of acceptance, to distinguish between what they call 'nonce borrowing' which just satisfies the morpho-syntactic integration and 'established borrowing'. Thus, according to Poplack and her associates, lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum ranging from established loanwords to nonce borrowing. But neither code-switching is considered to be part of such a continuum nor are nonce borrowings seen as instances of code-switching as advanced in her recent work:

> Nonce borrowings share nothing with single word code-switches but their etymological origin. They share all their linguistic properties with established loanwords, which in turn mirror those of the language into which they are incorporated. The only exceptions involve their nonlinguistic (i.e., social) characteristics of recurrence and diffusion. It follows that nonce borrowings are not code-switches. They manifestly can (and must) be distinguished from code-switches." Poplack & Dion (2012: 310)

Frequency, on the other hand, according to Myers-Scotton (1993) is the most reliable criterion to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing since both "are part of the same developmental continuum, not unrelated phenomena" (1993: 163). According to Myers-Scotton, the fact that B forms have become part of the ML[65] mental lexicon[66] of those ML speakers who use them means that B forms are accessed as ML morphemes in code-switching and are not governed by the restrictions which the MLF model imposes on CS forms. This difference in status of B forms and CS forms will affect their frequency of appearance. She

---

[65] According Myers-Scotton, ML (matrix language) is identified as the language governing the syntax of the sentence in utterances showing CS. The same ML is also the recipient language in the case of borrowing. The EL is the source of CS forms and B forms (1993: 163).

[66] Levelt (1989: 6) defines the mental lexicon as the store of information about the words in one's language cited in Myers-Scotton (1993: 163).

adds that "CS forms may become B forms through an increase in their frequency and their adoption by monolinguals" (1993: 182).

Frequency is also used to distinguish between what Myers-Scotton calls cultural borrowings and core borrowings. According to her lexical borrowing is not used only to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language instead B forms are divided into cultural borrowings and core borrowings.

Cultural borrowings are "words that fill gaps in the recipient language's store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language's culture" (2006: 212). They appear in the ML *abruptly* because they are needed to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language. Cultural borrowing may appear in the monolingual speech of either bilinguals or monolinguals.

Examples of cultural borrowing in our data include objects of technology: *portable* (mobile), *réseau* (network), *internet* (internet), *micro* (computer), and names of diseases: *cancer* or *tumeur* (tumour), *bronchite* (bronchitis), *oreillons* (mumps), names of utensils mixeur (mixer), séchoir (drier), spatule (spatula), ascenseur (elevator) administrative concepts: *la carte bleu* (the blue card). At university we can have words such as *cours* (lecture), *TD* (tutorial), *mémoire* or *thèse* (dissertation or thesis), *l'amphi* (amphi-theatre), etc

Core borrowings are "words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:215). According to Myers-Scotton (2006) core loans meet no real lexical needs and may be entirely redundant and one of the reasons that they are borrowed is cultural pressure i.e. when two languages are spoken in the same community, but one language prevails in most public discourse and certainly in all status-raising discourse, then the other language loses some of its vitality to that language and becomes the recipient language in borrowing. The other motivation for core borrowings is that they occur in the speech of bilinguals who regularly use both of their languages.

It seems that both these elements are present in the Algerian context. Myers-Scotton (1993: 169) also suggests that core loans often enter the recipient language gradually through code-switching, and they are used largely by speakers with fluency in both languages. Examples of core borrowing include names of clothes, *pantalon* 'trousers' (instead of `sar`wal), *carte d'identité* 'identity card' (`nakwa`), la mairie (instead of `baladijjaà` French numbers, *pince* pliers (instead of `kola:b`), 'betterave' beet (instead of `barba`), escalier (instead of `drɔӡ`) stairs, enveloppe (instead of `braɟɟa`). The status of a word as a core borrowing or a code-switched item is relative because while some words are considered as

borrowed forms for some speakers, they are still CS forms for others. "What appears to be a nonce borrowing, or an occasional code-switch, for one speaker, could be an established morpheme for another speaker" (Aikhenvald, 2002:197).

Myers-Scotton (1993) explains how she uses frequency to distinguish between code-switching and the two types of borrowing as follow:

> The status of an EL-origin form as a B form or a CS form can be established by measuring the frequency with which it occurs representing the concept or object it encodes in relation to the frequency of the indigenous form for the same concept of object. Cultural B forms are predicted to show high (if not categorical) relative frequency, since there is no indigenous form in competition with them. Core B forms will show high (relative) frequency in relation to those EL forms which are CS forms. Myers-Scotton (1993: 207)

So, Myers-Scotton (ibid) uses 'relative frequency' as a more precise criterion to distinguish between code-switching, core borrowing and cultural borrowing. Relative frequency according to her is the frequency of a word's occurrence in relation to its indigenous counterpart. In the case of cultural borrowing where there is no indigenous counterpart, Myers-Scotton (1993b:176) considers that "The only way that one can produce a relative frequency statistic for cultural B forms is to compare them to possible indigenous calques or paraphrases".

Nevertheless, even 'relative frequency', as Myers-Scotton (1993b: 204) herself recognizes, "will not always prove a workable criterion". She further admits that deciding '*how much*' relative frequency is '*enough*', is an arbitrary decision. Boumans (1998) further comments on the inadequacy of the frequency of occurrence as a criterion by saying that:

> The problem with word frequency in smaller data corpora is that it is highly dependent on coincidental circumstances of the recorded discourse such as the topics under discussion, the speech style and the interlocutors present. Moreover, the repetition of lexical items as a means of creating textual cohesion increases the frequency of an item once it has been used irrespective of its being a CS or a B form. (Boumans, 1998: 57)

There are also idiosyncratic differences, i.e. not all speakers use the same EL words and expressions with the same frequency. So, depending on the criterion of frequency some words may be considered as B forms for some speakers and at the same time as CS forms for others. A fact, that has been acknowledged by Myers-Scotton (1993b: 195) when she studied the English numbers in Shona. English numbers in Myers-Scotton's corpus are highly frequent in respect to their Shona counterparts, but still represent CS forms for certain

individuals. This is true in the case of core borrowings, which are used by some speakers more frequently than their AA counterparts, yet they are still used occasionally by others. We also noticed that some speakers tend to use some French words frequently, e.g. *logiquement* (logically), *normalement* (normally), *donc* (thus), *parce que* (because). Some expressions are also regularly repeated e.g. *pour le moment* (for the moment).

As Boumans (1998: 75) has mentioned, even the same speaker will vary over time with respect to the use of new EL lexical items and with respect to the frequency with which s/he uses particular lexical items.

1.3.3.4   Time depth and phonological and morphological integration

Phonologically and morphologically integrated EL lexical items are considered by many researchers as B forms. Some researchers further assume that the integration is the result of time depth (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Van Coetsem, 1988, Bernsten, 1990, Heath, 1989; Norties & Schatz, 1988, among others)[67] . However, the assumption that phonological and morphological integration of loanwords is the outcome of time depth seems to be controversial. Some earlier researchers have pointed to the impact of other variables on the process of integration, including Haugen (1950)[68] who states that time-depth is not as important a factor in determining integration as the borrower's bilingual ability or the sociolinguistic situation.

Boumans (1998) also observes that integration over time is more likely when the influence of the donor language diminishes or even stops. Coming up to the Oranian context, this reminds us of the Spanish borrowed words that are integrated in the AA variety of Oran and that are still used by most speakers as part of their everyday speech. Most speakers don't even know that they are borrowed from Spanish[69] e.g. liχija (a bleach), garfɔ (a fork), sabbaɫ (a shoe), sbiɫaːr (a hospital), kɔzɪna (a kitchen), seddarijja (couch), etc.

Boumans (1998: 56) goes further to support the opposite trend which considers that time depth in some cases, lead to minimal phonological and morphological integration of loanwords, stating that: "This is only true when the impact of the culturally dominant donor language and culture increases over time and the bilingual population gains more access to that language".

---

[67] Cited in Myers-Scotton (1993b: 177-79) and Boumans (1998: 55).

[68] Cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 178

[69] From Spanish : lejía, zapato, hospital, cocina, esterilla.

Boumans points to the fact that the highest degree of phonological and morphological integration is often found with the oldest foreign lexemes. The reason, he argues, is that the oldest foreign lexemes in a bilingual community result from the earliest stages of bilingualism or language contact when the speaker of the native language has little knowledge of the donor language. However, when exposure to the culturally superimposed donor language increases and becomes more intense over time, the bilingual community makes more use of the donor language, knows that language better, and therefore more recent foreign lexemes tend to be less integrated than the older ones.

Myers-Scotton (2006) has made a similar remark concerning phonological integration wondering if speakers are able to sound like they speak the donor language. She points to the fact that if users of borrowed words in the recipient language are not also speakers of the donor language, the more phonological integration there seems to be. She further argues that bilingualism in the donor language seems to go against tendencies toward phonological integration of borrowed words from that language.

In the context of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching in Oran, this correlation between morphological and phonological integration and intensity of contact between Algerian Arabic and French seems to be true to some extent. Many older B forms are more phonologically and morphologically integrated. Consider the following pairs from Algerian Arabic that illustrate the difference between old borrowed lexemes and new ones in terms of phonological integration:

Old lexemes	New lexemes
kɔfɪɫa (from *couverture)* blanket	**kevʀeli** (from *couvre-lit)* bedspread
məʃwara (from *mouchoir)* handkerchief	**papimuːʃwaːʀ** (from *papier-mouchoir)* tissue
viːsta (from *veste)* jacket	**mɔnɫɔ** *(from manteau)* coat

Boumans (1998) further adds that in some cases the increasing knowledge of the super-imposed language, even leads to replacement of older integrated loanwords with the same words of the source language, a process known as *Denativazation* (Haugen, 1953: 393-4)[70]. Mougeon and Beniak (1991)[71] use the term '*disintegration'* to describe the same

---

[70] Cited in Boumans (1998:56)

[71] Cited in Myers-Scotton (1993b: 180).

phenomenon taking place in some areas in Canada regarding English loans in Canadian French. Myers-Scotton (2006: 223) reveals that when the donor language is associated with extensive formal education and is the language of more socio-economic prestige, this will increase the non-integration of loanwords, suggesting that the same psycho-sociolinguistic[72] factors favouring the borrowing of core lexemes from an EL also favour the non-integration of any type of B form from that language.

This situation can be observed among linguistic minorities, either indigenous or immigrants, as is the case with former colonial languages in Asia and Africa and presently with English as the language of science and education world-wide. Speakers try to pronounce the words as close as possible to the way a native speaker of that language pronounces them.

Those are some widely discussed criteria that are proposed in the literature to separate borrowed instances from code switched ones. Yet no one of these criteria has really proved to be useful in setting apart code-switching from borrowing. Indeed, we have seen that the various ways of approaching and analysing code-switching and borrowing overlap and occasionally conflict and that there are more similarities than differences between code-switching and borrowing, especially at the structural level. This reality makes many researchers, including Myers-Scotton (2006), Boumans (1998), Backus (2015), Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) and Gardner-Chloros (2009) argue that there is very little reason to draw a clear-cut line between single word switches and borrowed words, at least in trying to formulate grammatical constraints on code-switching.

However, that does not mean that we will treat all the inserted French items as code-switching. There are, of course, borrowed lexemes, but identifying them does not depend on clear-cut criteria rather it depends on the researchers' perception of how the dichotomy will help them to describe and analyse their data according to the sociolinguistic context of their studies[73], to the morpho-syntactic typologies[74] of the languages involved in code-switching,

---

[72] Among the psycho-sociolinguistic factors that Myers-Scotton mentions is the fact that being able to pronounce loanwords in a way approximating their original form gives the speaker a certain prestige and associate him or her with the donor language's culture. (2006, 223).

[73] Sociolinguistic context includes the status of the languages involved in CS, the degree of bilingualism of the speakers and the type of contact between the two languages during time.

[74] Language typologies have been already mentioned when we talked about morphological integration as a criterion to distinguish between CS and borrowing. Some languages (agglutinative) are morphologically productive, which facilitates the morphological integration of code-switched items, unlike the analytic languages for instance. In addition, within the same language, some word categories are more morphologically productive than other classes.

and according to the perspective from which the researchers will approach the phenomenon. Boumans (1998) reaches such a resting harbour, claiming that:

> The difference between B and CS is not a fact of nature; it is about how scholars decide to classify a set of data. Indeed, in view of the lack of consensus that generally governs the domain of linguistic terminology; the task of defining the terms one uses becomes imperative. A criterion that is relevant to one research context may not be relevant to another. Boumans (1998: 58)

In the same vein Gardner-Chloros (2009) states that:

> CS is not an entity which exists out there in the objective world, but a construct which linguists have developed to help them describe their data. It is therefore pointless to argue about what CS is, because […] the word CS can mean whatever we want it to mean". Gardner-Chloros (2009: 10)

In what follows we are going to talk about these criteria with relation to our corpus. First, we are going to tackle the issue of phonological assimilation in French borrowing and the morphological adaptation of French verbs into AA structure, then, the different phonological and morphological realization of borrowed French nouns and try to decide how to treat them. Finally, we have to decide which status we should attribute to the frequent words and phrases that are linked to university context in general.

1.3.4   French borrowing into AA

Borrowing into Spoken Algerian Arabic has occasionally been carried to an extreme degree, rendering sentences syntactically Arabic, whose elements conform to Arabic phonological and morphological rules, but whose lexicon comes almost entirely from French. The following example illustrates this reality:

kraʃaːtu l-maʃiːna w ramasaːwah muːrsɔwaːt muːrsɔwaːt[75].
The train crushed him and they gathered him piece by piece

It is obvious that the whole sentence is of French origin since all the lexical items (except the coordinating conjunction "w") are French words. It conforms to Arabic grammar and morphology. The word order of the sentence has been changed from SVO in French to VSO in Arabic. In addition, all lexical items have taken inflectional affixes specific to Spoken Algerian Arabic so that the sentence appears to be entirely Arabic.

Some of the productive phonological processes operating when French loanwords are simplified and reduced to fit into the requirements of Algerian Arabic rules lead to

---

[75] Derived from the French sentence (La machine l'a écrasé et ils l'ont ramassé morceaux par morceaux) (in Benabdi, 1980:98).

internal modifications. This set of phonological processes includes truncation or reduction, consonant cluster simplification, disyllabification, etc. most of these modifications occurred to old lexemes i.e. words that were borrowed during French colonial or postcolonial period when most people were not bilinguals i.e., they didn't use to speak the donor language.

These lexemes[76] underwent deep phonological changes and they are completely adapted to Algerian Arabic phonology and morphology that many speakers think that they belong to Algerian Arabic lexicon and have no idea they come from French (in many cases it would be difficult to make the connection between them and their French original counterparts). Indeed, the proposed criteria converge in the case of these lexemes, and set them clearly as B forms (they are used by monolingual as well as bilingual speakers; they are widely spread and phonologically and morphologically integrated). The following table provides some of these lexemes:

borrowed French words	The original French words	English translation
sakɔdɔ[77]	sac à dos	Rucksack
simana	semaine	week
bɔʃɫa	Poste	post office
farʃiːɫa	Fourchette	Fork
məʃwara	Mouchoir	Handkerchief
sarbiːta	Serviette	Towel
ʒiːppa	Jupe	Skirt
bluːza	blouse	blouse
ʒɔrnan	Journal	Newspaper
barwiːɫa	Brouette	Wheelbarrow
trisiːnti	Electricité	Electricity
fərmlijja	Infermière	Nurse
barasjʊn	Opération / intervention	surgical operation
bərmasjuːn	Permission	military leave

---

[76] We have acquired and used these words without knowing that they are of French origin. Until we grew up that we started to know either from the others or by trying to find their origin in CA or French, that they are borrowed from French. Indeed, there are still some borrowed words in our daily speech that we haven't yet made their connection to their corresponding French original forms. To give just an example that happened to me. The AA word 'tpɔ' in 'trɪkɔ tpɔ' (undershirt), I did not know that it is adapted from French (tricot de peau) because I use it without thinking about its meaning. In fact, many other persons whom I have asked about this did not know it. Indeed, there are many borrowed lexemes that speakers do not thing about their origins because they are naturally acquired as part of their language.

[77] Here there is a funny incident that happened while we were shopping. My sister wanted to buy a rucksack for her daughter so she asked the buyer for the price " ʃɛɑːl had s-sakɑdɔ?" (how much is this rucksack?) he answered her "s-sakɔdɔ!? (you mean "rucksack") with correction. She said yes. After we left the shop, our cousin asked her why did you say "sakɑdɔ"? it is "sakɔdɔ". Then, my sister explained to her that it is "sakadɔ" from the French word "sac à dos"

wzi:n	Usine	factory
mdaglas	Dégueulasse	disgusting
siʄʄi	essayer	to try
saɾba	servir	to serve
bantaɾ	peindre	to paint
su:ɾa	assurer	to insure
vajjis	Vicier	To vitiate
ski:va	Esquiver	To dodge

Table 1.2: French borrowed words into AA

These words have been completely assimilated into Arabic morphology and phonology and are indistinguishable from the other Arabic words. These lexemes are still known and used, but there is a tendency among the educated speakers and especially women in some situations to use the exact words from the donor language especially nouns and even to use them with their articles (most French nouns in this corpus occur with their articles as inserted French NPs rather than as inserted French nouns). Instead of the above integrated words, we will probably hear more the following words: *la table* (the table), *la couverture* (the blanket), *le cartable* (the school bag), *le sac à dos* (the rucksack), *la poste* (the post office), *la fourchette* (the fork), *le mouchoir* (the handkerchief), *la serviette* (the towel), la *jupe* (the skirt), *le journal* (the newspaper), *l'opération* or *l'intervention* (the surgical operation), *dégueulasse* (disgusting). Our informants are totally aware of the stigmatisation involved with these old phonologically and morphologically adapted lexemes i.e. they are used by illiterate speakers or in informal interactions. They seem to be avoided in certain contexts such as university. The following two utterances include two phonologically and morphologically adapted words; one is a French verb '*chercher*' (to look for) and the other is a French noun '*cartouche*' (cartridge).

> **[10]** gɔttalha:saħħa ɾu:ħi tɑ:k nɛɑ:wed **ki gɑ:tlək ʃ-**
> **ʃibɑ:nijja nʃerʃi:lək fi ʒi:ha waħdɔχɾa** ((laughter)). ***La***
> ***prochaine fois*** tɑ:k tʃu:f ***je vais confisquer le portable***. R7

'I told her: ok go I will as the old woman said I will inspect another side ((laughter)). Next time she will see I will confiscate her mobile phone.

> **[11]** ɬiti:h kaɾtuʃa, ***une cartouche*** ʃufi wɑ:ʃ jdi:ɾ bi:ha. R8
> You gave him cartridge-FEM, a cartridge see what he will do with-it
> You gave him a cartridge wait and see what he will do with it.

In example [10] above, the underlined utterance where the adapted French verb 'ʃerʃi' is used is introduced by the phrase '**ki gɑ:tlək ʃ-ʃibɑ:nijja**' as an old woman said to create a kind of sarcasm i.e. the use of these expression is metaphorical and the teacher laughed at the end of the utterance. The borrowed French noun '**kartuʃa**' is followed by its French exact version and even used with French indefinite article as a kind of self-repair.

Not far from this extreme are nouns which are well integrated morphologically but not completely adapted phonologically; they may be partly adapted phonologically. They are usually used by educated people who know French, as is the case with our sample. And even newly borrowed words seem to be less integrated e.g. micro, jet d'eau (fountain), climatiseur (air conditioner), machine à laver (washing machine), portable (mobile), and internet (internet)…etc.

Other phonological processes are simpler and do not lead to deep transformation of the stem. These concern phonetic variations of French vowels and consonant when borrowing takes place as vocalic conversions between oral vowels and nasalized vowels. Algerian Arabic possesses a number of pharyngealised coronal consonant called "mufaχχama" as "ł, ḍ, ṣ" which affect preceding and following vowels as the lowering of the vowels /i, u/ to /e, o/ and the backing of the front vowel a to ɑ, as rołɑ:r (late) in "en retard"; rupu (a rest) from French "repos »; łabla (table), karłɑ:b (a schoolbag) from French "cartable" etc. Most of the time, our informants retain the French pronunciation of such vowels and even the exact pronunciation of the consonant /r/.

Algerian Arabic morphology is insertional i.e. vocalic patterns are inserted among radicals. Most French verbs receive phonological and morphological incorporations relevant to Algerian Arabic structure as: diklara (déclarer) to declare, rijjɑ:ʒa (réagir) to react, kuvra (couvrir) to cover.

Based on this fact and on what we have advanced before concerning the functional load and the centrality of the verb in the sentence as put forward by many linguists we are not going to treat all the inserted French verbs into the Algerian Arabic framed CPs as borrowing. On the contrary many of them are code-switched forms as they have their Algerian Arabic equivalents and many of them are not used by monolinguals. Besides almost any French verb (be it from the first, the second or the third group) can be integrated into Algerian Arabic morphological structure. Nonetheless, our informants rarely use adapted verb forms; we have

counted 62 instances of embedded French verb stems and that represent only 1% of all the inserted elements and constituents in our corpus which clearly reflect the general tendency of educated people to avoid these adapted forms. The following examples from our corpus illustrate some borrowed verbs (they are underlined):

[12] waħda ***dernièrement*** <u>suːtn</u>-et ɣi takwɑːɾ. (R1)

Someone recently defended-Subj just bullshit

'Someone has recently defended her PhD thesis which is bullshit.'

[13] w membaɛd tʃuːfi fe **l-ʒamːiɛa** ki ɾɑːhɔm <u>j-ɔnkadɾ</u>-ɔ.

And after you'll see in the university how they are Pres-supervise-Subj

'You will see how they supervise at university.' R1

[14] ***la mère*** tɔgɛɔd <u>t-suːfɾ</u>-i. (R1)

The mother remains 3rdP Fem -suffer-Subj.

'The mother suffers for a long time.'

[15] <u>ma-j-viɾifj</u>-ɔ ***la date de naissance*** ((..)). (R1)

Neg-Pres-check-Subj ***the date of birth***

'They don't check the date of birth!'

The French verb stems '**suːtn**' (**soutenir:** defend), '**ɔnkadɾ**' (**encadrer:** supervise) are French borrowed verbs that are phonologically and morphologically adapted and which fill lexical gap i.e. they are cultural borrowing that have no AA equivalents and which are generally related to university context and widely used among university students, teachers, administrators and even outside university (they became relatively wide spread). '**suːfɾ**' (suffer) is also an old cultural borrowing that is part of our daily life. '**viɾifj**' (check), is a French borrowed verb that is not necessarily related to higher education. This word is a core borrowing as it has its AA equivalents e.g. jʃuːfɔ for jviɾifjɔ (they check). Here the French word 'vérifier' (check) is more precise in meaning then (jʃuːf) (to look) which fulfils other meanings, so here this core borrowing does not add a meaning but does add a dimension (Myers-Scotton 2006: 227).

French nouns are adapted to Algerian Arabic morphological system by combining French stems with affixes marking gender, number and possession. In Algerian Arabic nouns, gender depends on the presence or absence of final (-a) in nouns. The same pattern is applied on French borrowed nouns for example "ɫabla" for French (une table) or "fɾɑːns-a" for French (France) illustrate this regular conversion rule:

[16] ma-n-kamluː-ʃ mɛa **frɑːns-a** ɣi bə-l-lɔɣa.

NEG-1P PERF-finish-NEG with **France**-FEM just with language.

'We don't finish our relation with France just by stopping to use French as the 2nd language.'

Plurality is marked either by adding the suffix (-ɑːt) at the end of borrowed French nouns e.g. kajijɑːt (cahiers, copybooks); trikawɑːt (tricots/ T-shirts) in the case of regular plural or through an internal change in the case of irregular plural e.g. lwɑːɫa (autos/ cars).

AA expresses the relationship of possession on the basis of pronominal suffixes attached to the noun. In the case of borrowing, these affixed are added to French nouns e.g. famiːl-ti (my family), viːstet-ti (my suitcase).

Nonetheless in our corpus nouns are rarely integrated into AA morphological structures. There are only three French nouns that are attached to Algerian Arabic pronominal suffixes expressing possession as follow:

[17] ħna bruːħna **niveau**-na jatkarkar (R9)

We ourselves **level**-Poss is degrading.

Our level is already degrading.

[18] gal-ha **dossi**-ːk rɑːh fi **doss**-ijja. (R4)

He told-OBJ **file**-POSS is in **file**-POSS

He told her that your file is inside mine.

The words "niveau" (level) and dossi (file) are borrowed nouns. This synthetic construction marking possession is very restrictively used with French nouns except with really established borrowed words and even with these words the preference goes to the analytic construction using prepositions as illustrated in the following example from our corpus with the same word:

[19] ʃuːfi n-**niveau** taɛ-hɔm ki dɑːjer (R9)

Look Def-**level** of-them how it is

Look at their level! It's really good!

So here instead of using the synthetic construction as in the previous example (*niveau*-hɔm) (literary: level-them), the speaker has used the analytic structure for possession (n-*niveau* taɛ-hɔm) (literary: the level of them). Using other words, it is the analytic construction expressing possession which is the unmarked choice with borrowed French

68

words as well as with code switched nouns. Suffixes marking number and gender are also rarely attested in our corpus except for those entrenched borrowed lexemes as in the following example. Example [18] and [20] are produced by students not teachers.

> **[20]** *class*-a taɛi saqsi:thɔm (R9)
>
> classroom-Fem of-me I asked them
>
> 'I asked my classmates.'

Indeed, distinguishing CS from borrowing becomes more complicated when an element which is supposed to be phonologically and morphologically integrated is realised for one reason or another in the source language. What shall we conclude when a word like "frigo" (fridge) is sometimes pronounced as /fɾi:gu/ and other times as /frigɔ/ ? or a word like "dossier" (file) when sometimes bears Algerian Arabic morphology as in "dossi:k", "dossijja" and other times retains the source language morphology as in "le dossier" as example [8] above. Shall we say that it is a borrowed word in the first case and a code-switched form in the second? In other terms, is it pertinent to treat the same word differently i.e. to consider it as a borrowed word if its morphology and pronunciation is far from the prosodic scheme of the source language and as code switching if the phonology and morphology of this word is drawn from the receipt language? To give an answer to the above question, consider the following examples from our corpus:

> **[21]** χti kɑ:net mwaʒdettelhɔm <u>l-gɑ:łɔ</u> fe *la table*. R1
>
>   'My sister had put <u>the cakes</u> on **the table'**

> **[22]** gattelha *l'encadreur* taɛi ddi ddi <u>***les gateaux.***</u> R1
>
> 'The supervisor told her to take **the cakes'**

The word 'la table' (the table) in example [21] retains French morphology (is used with French definite article that marks also gender). The borrowed version is realized as 'łɑ:bla'. What is more interesting, however, in the above examples is the word 'les gateaux' (the cakes) in example [22] which is realized in the donor language morphology and phonology, the same word is realized according to the receipt language morphology and phonology as 'l-gɑ:łɔ' which is underlined in example [21]. There is no doubt that 'l-gɑ:łɔ' is a French borrowed word, but how shall we treat the word 'les gateaux' here? The same question stands for the following nouns in the following examples:

> **[23]** ki daɾtelha *la radio.* (R1)
>
> When made-for-her the **x-ray**;

When she made the x-ray.

[24] deɾt nʒiːb *ø chocolat.* (R1)

I wanted to bring **chocolat.**

[25] nalqɑːhɔm des fois ɛand *la boucherie.* (R4)

'I meet them sometimes at **the butcher shop.'**

[26] mɛalgiːn ħatta t-*tablier.* (R4)

'Even the **pinafore** is hanged for him.'

[27] gɑːlli tɾɔddi ddɾɑːhəm lə-*la banque.* (R4)

'He told me to take back the money to **the bank.'**

[28] hɔma ki daχlɔ lə-*la chamber.* (R4)

'When they entered **the bedroom.'**

[29] ʃet *le bureau* tɑːɛhɔm. (R4)

I saw **the office** of-them

'I saw their office.'

[30] dɾabli **le téléphone** le recteur en personne. (R4)

Rang me **the phone** the rector

'The rector called me.'

[31] ana dɑːjmen nzaɾbaɛhɔm fi wasɫ *les cabas.* (R4)

I always IMPERF-put them in **the bags**

'I always put the jewelry among the clothes in the bags.'

The nouns in the above examples are all realized according to the source language phonology (French) and retain French morphology. The adapted borrowed version of these lexemes are in order: ɾ-ɾadju, ʃikuːɫa, l-buːʃɾi, ɫ-ɫɑːblijja, l-bɔnka, ʃ-ʃombɾa, l-biːɾu, t-tilifuːn, l-kabɑːt. These are words that are used daily by monolinguals and bilinguals.

Since our study of the phenomenon of code-switching is structural and functional in its scope, we are going to treat the nouns that retain the source language morphology and phonology as code switching forms as we believe that speaker's choice to use the exact version of the borrowed words is rational and intentionally motivated. Indeed, it is very common to hear very close approximations of how the borrowed word is pronounced in the donor language among bilingual speakers who are fairly fluent in the donor language.

Furthermore, French nouns that are integrated into Algerian Arabic morphological frame are different from those that are inserted as phrases with their French morphology at the cognitive level (activation of the donor language).

Another difficulty that arises concerning the distinction between code-switching and borrowing in our context is the fact that the recipient language (Algerian Arabic here) is a spoken variety limited to daily life and enjoys a relatively low status. So, we find ourselves, in a context as university for instance which is our concern, faced with a range of new vocabulary which are most of the time in French. As illustrated by the following extract from recording (5) our corpus:

> **EXTRACT [1]**
>
> LD) gɑːlləkdiːɾɔ **une réunion** ɛajɫuːlha **CCS 'comité de coordination de spécialité'**. jaχχalɛuːkɣib-**les abréviations**.
>
> 'He told us to arrange a meeting and call it '**a specialty coordination committee'**. They confuse us with these abbreviations.'
>
> KK) wɑːh! ʃetti **l'abréviation** taɛ **ø stagiaire** wella **ø doctorant** wella **ø maitre de conf** wella **ø prof**! w ana nħawwəs wiɾɾɑːni!
>
> 'Yes! you know the abbreviations **a trainee**, or **a PhD student**, or **a lecturer** or **a prof**! and I wonder to which rank I belong!!'

The above examples clearly illustrate that teachers are aware of the situation and feel sometimes confused in trying to use the bulk of the new words. Some of these words are sometimes phonologically and morphologically integrated and more or less commonly used as: *relevé* (transcript of records), *barème* (grading scale), *surveillance* (proctor), *stage* (training), *sujet* (examination question), *photocopié* (photocopy), *vacances* (vacation), *rattrapage* (make-up exam), *vacataire* (part-time teacher), *binôme* (pair), *module* (module), *mémoire* (thesis), *soutenance* (viva), *jury* (examination board), *licence* (license), *master* (master), *doctorat* (doctorate).

However, many other words remain new and we learn them through their context such as the word '*canevas*' (canvas), for instance a word that came along with the new LMD system and has become abruptly used by many teachers and workers at university.

Most of these words are nouns that are related to university context and which actually fill lexical gap as they have no equivalents in Algerian Arabic and sometimes, we don't even

know their equivalent in Standard Arabic as it is the case of the French noun 'canevas'[78] (canvas). Indeed, many speakers are used to French words that in many cases they don't know their equivalents in Standard Arabic. This is also true in the case of the words that are widely spread and used despite the fact that Standard Arabic is being more and more used at university especially in official and administrative documents. The following extract taken from recording (9) will give you a clearer picture about this:

> **EXTRACT [2]**
>
> *FK) Le rachat ce n'est pas un droit, le rachat c'est une faveur. Alors* `fe l-qnun el((…)), el((…)), kisammu:ha r-ɾɑ:ʃa be-l-ɛaɾbijja ? el ((…))`
>
>> *'Point redemption It's not a right, it is a favour. Then,* in the law the ((…)), the ((…)). How it is called the point redemption in Arabic? The ((…))'
>
> **The other teachers:** ((…))!!!
>
> **[**FK) `el-ʔinqɑ:ð` !! `el-ʔinqɑ:ð lajsa ħaq. el-ʔinqɑ:ð` d-*décid-i:h* `laʒnet l-mɔdɑ:walɑ:t.`
>
>> 'Redemption !! redemption is not a right. Redemption is decided by the deliberations committee.'
>
> FK) `ana` *personnellement* `makɑ:ʃ el-ʔinqɑ:ð had l-ɛɑ:m.`
>
>> 'Me *personally* there will be no redemption this year.'

In the above examples the teacher was talking about '*le rachat*'[79] (redemption) and for some reason she wanted to use the Standard Arabic equivalent but it seems that she couldn't find the word. She asked the other teachers who apparently didn't remember or may be didn't know the Standard Arabic equivalent of the word. Eventually she could remember the word. Here the borrowed noun '`r-ɾɑ:ʃa`' which is used in the above examples along with the French noun '*le rachat*' and Standard Arabic '`el-ʔinqɑ:ð`' is known even to pupils at middle schools but it is not the case for its Standard Arabic equivalent '`el-ʔinqɑ:ð`'.

Since our study is grammatical in its scope, we are going to treat frequently used words that fill lexical gap and that are related to university context as code-switching except

---

[78] I have asked many teachers about the SA equivalent of the word 'canevas' (canvas) even teachers who work in departments that are known for their use of SA more than French (e.g. Arabic department, human sciences, Islamic sciences, etc) but they said that they use the word 'canevas' as it is.

[79] It is a decision that is taken by teachers which gives the students who are very close to the average the opportunity to pass.

for those that are morphologically and phonologically integrated they will be considered borrowed forms. So examples [37-42] that include the French words '*soutenance*' and '*sujet*' are all considered forms of code-switching. In examples [37] and [40], the words 'soutenance', 'sujet' are integrated into AA morphological structure i.e. used with AA zero article 'ø' for indefiniteness, and AA 'l-' contracted to 's-' for definiteness. In examples [38], [39], [41] and [42] the same words are used with French definite and indefinite articles that mark number and gender.

> **[32]** fe s-*soutenance* gɑːlli ɣɑːdi ndawbeh. (R1)
>
> The day of **the-viva** I will be tough on him.

> **[33]** wsalt nhɑːɾ *la soutenance*. (R1)
>
> I arrived the day of **the viva**.

> **[34]** nhɑːɾ tlɑːqɔ fe *une soutenance.* (R1)
>
> 'One day they met in **a viva.'**

> **[35]** *ø Sujet* taɛ *mille-huit-cent*. (R1)
>
> **'a topic** that belongs to one thousand eight hundred year.'

> **[36]** ɛɫiːh *un sujet.* (R1)
>
> 'Give him **a topic.'**

> **[37]** Déjà *le sujet*, gɑːlli *le sujet* ø sɑːmeɫ. (R1)
>
> **'The topic** already, he told me **the topic** is boring.'

The noun 'ʒ-ʒɔrnɑːn' and 'simɑːna' in examples [44] and [46] below, on the other hand, are borrowed forms as they are fully integrated to Algerian Arabic phonology unlike their French versions 'un journal' in example [43] which are switched NPs.

> **[38]** ɛlɑːh matħalliːʃ *un journal*. R4
>
> Why don't you open a newspaper?

> **[39]** kɑːtbiːn ɛliːh bezzɑːf fe ʒ-ʒɔrnɑːn. (R4)
>
> They have written about him a lot in newspapers.

> **[40]** *Est-ce que* nziːd *deux semaines, trois semaines* wella ɣi **une semaine**. R9
>
> 'Shall we add two weeks, three weeks or just one week.'

> **[41]** gɑːl baqiːlna simɑːna simɑːntin qbel l-ɛiːd. R9

'He said there is one week, two weeks left before Eid.'

These cases of switching that are frequent in our corpus are reminiscent of French numbers that are widespread and used by almost everyone, yet Algerian Arabic numbers are also used even in the context of our recordings as the following examples illustrate:

[42] *Cinquante devisé par huit* ((...)) `ngu:lↄ setta`. (R9)

Fifty divided by eight ((...))we can say six

[43] *On est* ((...)) *attend* ((...)) `tmanja`. (R9)

We are ((...)) wait ((...)) eight

We have tried to justify our decision concerning the distinction made between borrowing and code-switching by giving concrete illustrations and examples produced by the informants of the present study. This community of English university teachers exhibit intense mixing patterns and heavy insertions involving different languages namely AA and French.

1.4 Methodological considerations of the study

> The work of the last thirty years has produced an impressive corpus of bilingual speech illustrating CS and a host of other language interaction phenomena. Clearly the field owes whatever achievements have been attained to this technique[80]. (Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken; 2009: 23)

As the study of code-switching has evolved over the past decades especially at the grammatical level, the research techniques employed in the study of CS have also progressed in their method of data collection from individual and subsidiary observation to giving importance to the relative frequencies in the observed data.

Earlier studies on CS were based on written observations of naturalistic speech (e.g. Weinreich, 1953), or through the study of texts containing CS (e.g. Studying literary texts[81] Timm 1978, Studying archival material (e.g. trade registers) in which two languages are systematically used (e.g. Middle English and Latin)). With the development of good recording techniques, many researchers (including Poplack, 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993, Treffers Daller 1990, Hamlari 1997, Backus 1996, Boumans 1998, Auer 199 among others) appealed to

---

[80] Referring here to recording naturally-occurring conversations.

[81] Studying literary texts that included CS involved studying literary authors who represent the CS of their characters. The best known of these is Tolstoy, who represents Russian–French CS in War and Peace (Timm 1978) or studying poetic genres where bilingual language use and CS are central to the genre itself; an example could be the *calypso* of Trinidad and the bilingual Quechua–Spanish *wayno* of the Andes (Muysken 2005)

record naturalistic data in a variety of settings: the public domain, peer group interactions, family gatherings, sociolinguistic interviews, classroom interactions, etc. the informant are generally unaware that they are being recorded since the objective of such data collection is to get natural/ spontaneous speech.

Other techniques that have been used quite extensively in social sciences in general and in linguistic studies in particular are semi-experimental in nature and range from controlled elicited production tasks[82] to grammaticality or acceptability judgment tasks. Among the researches seeking the formal constraints regulating code-switched utterances which have opted for judgment of well-formedness as an experiment paradigm are works conducted by Gumperz (1976) and Kachru (1977). The two authors have used elicitation experiment in which speakers are requested to judge grammaticality/acceptability of bilingual utterances.

Cornip and Plato (2005:941) consider the elicitation of well-formedness judgments as an adequate method which helps identifying the bilingual's competence pointing out that "question about the (un) grammaticality of syntactic features may provide insights into a speaker's competence far more readily than spontaneous speech". That is to say, the bilingual speaker's judgments on the grammaticality/ acceptability of code-switched utterances allow the identification of the types of utterances that do not exist in a corpus of naturally occurring data.

Grammaticality judgment has been subject to criticism even when it involves judging the well-formedness of monolingual structures. In this respect Cantone (2007: 67) argues that grammaticality judgments are marked mainly by subjectivity and should be considered with careful attention, as he states: "However, judgments themselves call for careful treatment, too, since they are affected by subjectivity opinions, behaviour and performance". Some critics go further to incite to abandon the use of judgment altogether: "I… regard the 'linguistic intuition of the native speaker' as extremely valuable heuristically, but too shifty and variable to be of any criterial value" House-Holder: 1965: 15). Gethin (1990) believes that grammaticality judgments are useless. Becker (1975: 70) finds their very lack of communicative function problematic.

Even though Schütze (2016: 3) sees that eliciting linguistic judgments is problematic in a number of respects stating that: "Not only is the elicitation situation artificial, raising the standard issues of ecological validity, but the subject is being asked for a sort of behaviour

---

[82] Experimental techniques, usually conducted in the laboratory, involve strict designs with a balanced set of experimental and control conditions and test and filler items.

that, at least on the face of it, is entirely different from everyday conversation", he suggests that what is needed is a standard experimental control over the techniques used. The same point was raised by Derwing (1973: 250) who argues that:

> All that is necessary is 'to replace intuition by some more rigorous criterion' (Chomsky 1962: 24) and attempt to establish, under controlled experimental conditions, whether naive native speakers really can do all the things which Chomsky says that they can (such as make consistent judgments of grammaticality). (Derwing 1973: 250)

As for naturally-occurring speech some limitations have been pointed out by Bentahilla and Davies (1983) and Toribio (2001). These authors insist on the fact that naturalistic data may consist of speakers' performances marked by hesitations, grammatical irregularities, intonational patterns, and even structural disjointedness and thus ignore CS instances reflecting this type of irregularities. Bentahilla and Davies (1983: 308) state that:

> The structural disjointedness of some utterances involving switching, for instance, could be attributed to the changes of structure which characterise spontaneous speech rather than taken to imply that the syntactic rules for code-switching allow such fusion of structures. Fortunately, other features of the utterance, such as intonation and hesitations, help to identify such performance features.

In the same line of thought, McClure (1981:72) notes that speakers' judgment about grammaticality/ ungrammaticality of an utterance in a string of speech determine their linguistic competence and therefore should be integrated into the methods of data collection provided that utterances influenced by performance factors should not be taken into consideration.

What's more, Toribio (2001) considers naturalistic data and interviews as restrictive and lacking reliability and adds that apparent counter-evidence to her Functional Head Constraint stems out of differences in methodological frames. Hence, she claims for grammaticality judgment as a basic source of data collection in addition to naturalistic data. Criticizing the inefficiency of interviews and self-report, Toribio (2005: 406) states that:

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

Toribio (2005) notes another problem related to intra/inter speakers' variability and even variability among communities. According to the author what is considered as well

formed construction by certain speakers within particular communities may be regarded as ill-formed by others. The differences portrayed in CS utterances between Moroccan Arabic/ French and Algerian Arabic/ French according to Ouahmich (2013) illustrate this. A number of CS utterances recorded in Bentahila & Davies (1983) have been rejected by Bouamrane (1988) for ill-formedness according to the judgments of his informants and similar reactions have been noticed among Ouahmich's informants. The following Examples taken from Bentahila & Davies's (1983) MA/ French CS corpus are unacceptable in AA context:

<div align="center">

Des `mraja:t`   Un `ʔaskri`
"Some mirrors"   "A soldier"

</div>

First of all, we can understand from Toribio's criticism that acceptability judgment can vary from speaker to another which is a shortcoming to the grammaticality judgment method itself. Second, Bentahila & Davies (1983) mentioned the above cited example because they occurred in their corpus and they didn't say anything about their acceptability. Third and most importantly one similar example occurred in our CS corpus which doesn't make of this CS pattern a well-formed constituent but it reflects the nature of the spontaneous bilingual speech. In the following example the AA 'ʂwɑ:laħ' (things) is inserted into French NP headed by the French indefinite article 'des':

[44] *Y a des* ʂwɑ:laħ ja-wwasl-u ħna ma-naffahmuhɔmʃ. R8
<u>There are INDEF things</u> IMPRF-arrive63PLSubj we NEG-IMPERF-understand-3PLSubj-Obj-NEG
'There things that we hear but we don't understand them.'

Most of the above cited objections to the spontaneous data gathering refer to the issues related to bilingual speaker's competence and performance. However, the same issue constitutes a major drawback in the use of grammaticality judgment as exposed by Schütze:

> An additional rationalization for the use of grammaticality judgment data in some cases seems to have been related to Chomsky's competence/performan distinction. Actual speech production and comprehension are supposedly fraught with errors of all kinds, such as false starts, and are subject to human memory limitations. These so-called performance variables serve to obscure a speaker's underlying competence. But what if we could relieve subjects of the "cognitive burden" of actual production or comprehension and present them with ready-made sentences such that the only task would be to judge their grammaticality? Would this not allow us to get much closer to people's true competence? Unfortunately, there is ample evidence that it would not. While grammaticality judgments offer a different access path from language use to competence, *they are themselves just another sort*

of performance[83] (Birdsong 1989; Levelt et al. 1977; Bever 1970b; 1974; Bever & Langendoen 1971; Grandy 1981), and as such are subject to at least as many confounding factors as production, and likely even more. Schütze (2016: 6)

Other techniques beside recording naturalistic data and judgment of well-formedness involve controlled or experimental methods[84] which are still relatively rare but promising. Unlike Semi-experimental techniques that include controlled elicited production tasks to grammaticality or acceptability judgement tasks. Experimental techniques are usually conducted in the laboratory and involve strict designs with a balanced set of experimental and control conditions and test and filler items.

After pointing out the drawbacks of the naturalistic data method as being complicated, costy, and lacking accountability (due to competition between researchers, the privacy of the bilingual speakers recorded, incomplete or fragmented transcription, negligence) in their article entitled 'Research techniques for the study of code-switching', Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken (2009) expose the experimental methods for the study of CS reviewing the experimental techniques and highlighting the challenges[85] involved in choosing tasks that ensure ecological validity of experimental data, that take the sociolinguistic and contextual sensitivity of CS into account.

Nonetheless, the authors clearly state that despite the tension between naturalistic, ecologically valid approaches and more artificial, controlled, experimental techniques, this controversy should be embraced as a source of complementary information rather than as a false dichotomy between "good" and "bad" approaches to the study of CS and that the only way to gain benefits from integrated studies is through validating experimental methods and data against naturally occurring CS. The authors (ibid : 39) add that : 'Despite the recent trend toward more experimental techniques, it should be clear from this chapter that, even though naturalistic data have their limits, experiments can never fully replicate or replace observations of naturalistic CS'.

---

[83] Our emphasis

[84] Experimental methods can be divided into off-line techniques, where no time constraint is involved and participants can reflect on their responses as long as they like, and on-line techniques, where the time course of language processing itself is at stake. These different methods rely on different measures or dependent variables. Off-line methods often draw on metalinguistic judgements or written production. On-line methods typically involve measuring response/reaction times, and accuracy or error scores. Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken (2009 :26)

[85] The overarching methodological problem regarding experimental techniques is how to study CS without compromising the phenomenon, i.e. how to induce, manipulate, and replicate natural CS. Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken (2009 :21)

Reviewing the psycholinguistic approaches to CS, Gardner-Chloros (2009) in her book entitled "code-Switching" made a similar point stating that:

> …looking at the same phenomenon both from a psycholinguistic and a sociolinguistic/interactional point of view could add considerably to our understanding. The main impediment to such cross-fertilization is the methodological divide. Psycholinguists generally avoid engaging with spontaneous, natural language, preferring to use controlled, experimental data – language elicited in a laboratory, measurable along as many dimensions as possible, and often simplified so as to bring out the role of particular variables in the context of replicable studies. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 118)

The following figure[86] represents the set of linguistic methods for the study of code-switching:
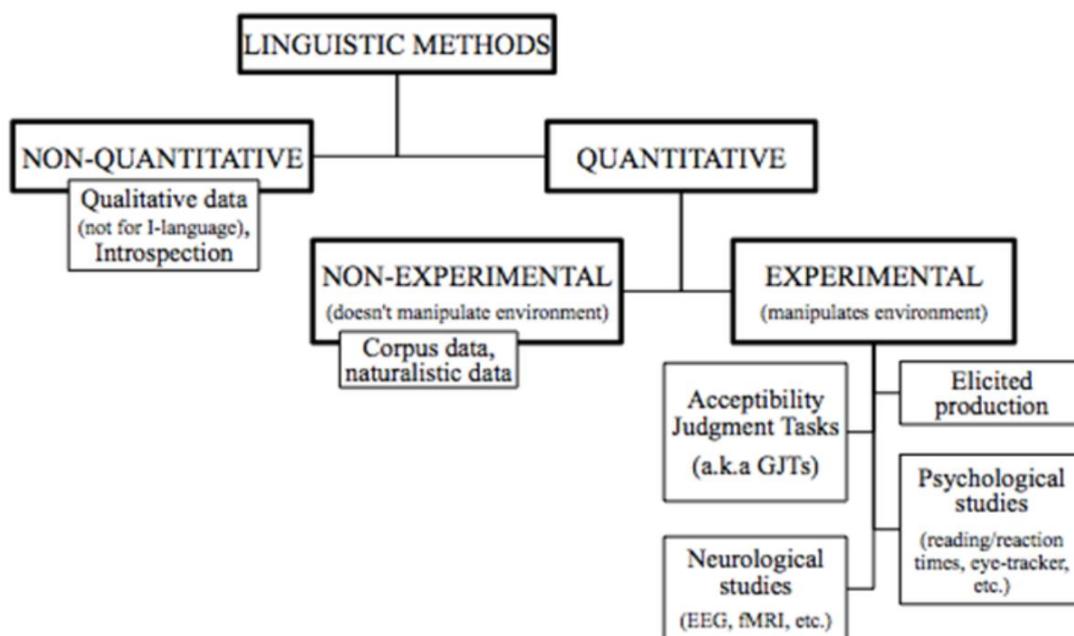
Figure 1.1: Methodology in Linguistics

As far as our study is concerned we resort to spontaneous data collection for the following reasons; First, as advanced by Gullberg, Indefrey & Muysken (2009: 22):

> Depending on whether the focus of interest is on language switching or on CS, on sociolinguistic aspects, grammatical constraints, phonetic properties, development, on-line processing, bilingual memory, the cost of switching, or the neurocognitive underpinnings of CS, different techniques must be employed.

---

[86] Figure () is taken from Kay González-Vilbazo, Laura Bartlett, Sarah Downey, Shane Ebert, Jeanne Heil, Bradley Hoot, Bryan Koronkiewicz & Sergio Ramos (2013), 'Methodological Considerations in Code-Switching Research'.

Our main target is to explain the grammatical regularities depicted in CS occurrences among university teachers and their functional load. In doing so, we will depend on naturalistic data as many researchers in this field have favoured this method and have come up with effective results. Besides, the implications of what experimental studies have achieved in the field of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics though humble[87], have contributed to the understanding of bilingual speech (e.g., Levelt's 1989 production mechanisms[88] underlying Myers-Scotton's MLF model).

The second reason is what Gardner-Chloros (2009) has referred to as methodological divide i.e. as CS is principally a spontaneous and informal phenomenon; however, studying it in its naturally occurring state is largely incompatible with standard psycholinguistic methodological approaches.

The third reason is the limitation related to the field of experimental studies especially in our context. That is to say, there is neither training provided nor the means to conduct such experimental research, as Schütze (2016: 6) states:

> Obviously if this trend of linguists basing their theories on experimental data is to continue and grow, linguists will have to be trained in areas that they traditionally have not been required to know anything about: statistics and experimental design in general, and the psychology of grammaticality judgments in particular. I would echo Greenbaum's (1977) recommendation that every linguistics department should offer a course in experimental linguistics.

The other obstacle is that the AA varieties are not written forms with standardized grammar books and rules underlying their use. All what we know today about our native dialects is through the standard variety or thanks to these bilingual studies. This makes grammaticality judgment and other experimental techniques not reliable in our bilingual contexts given that these techniques have raised much controversy even in monolingual studies since the larger open question of the existence of linguistic competence and its role in language processing remains a major unresolved issue in the psychological investigation of language processing.

---

[87] Within its own terms, neuro/psycholinguistics seems to be making relatively slow progress – as his parting shot to his 1999 Neurolinguistics of Bilingualism: an introduction, Fabbro laments the poor state of knowledge of the "physiology of language". Gardner-Chloros (2009: 118)

[88] Production mechanisms (a sequence summarized in the title of Levelt's (1989) book, Speaking: from intention to articulation).

1.4.1 The informants of the study and the data collected

The present research work is based on data of audio recordings of conversations between teachers at the English department at the *École Normale Superieure* of Oran (ENSO)[89] during different meetings. This research project is a continuation to a previous work[90] submitted in 2013. However, unlike the previous work which was based on spontaneous informal conversations recorded by five informants in their daily lives, the current study depends on naturally-occurring conversations between teachers conducted by the researcher of the present study. The conversations in which we took part are drowned from formal meetings and informal side-meetings.

As an English student at university I have always wondered about the medium used by teachers at the English department while holding their meetings especially when we tackled concepts like diglossia, bilingualism and code-switching in sociolinguistics and the notion of formal/informal setting. Having become an English teacher, I finally got the opportunity to be part of this fertile language experience. It was really interesting and at the same time unexpected to see how teachers use the languages at their disposal.

Our corpus consists of more than twenty-two hours (22hours 18 minutes) of audio-recorded conversations during twelve meetings from June 2017 to July 2019. All the meeting were held at university which represents a formal context; however, the speech situations range from formal exchanges of professional matters to informal personal chatty conversations. The teachers were informed of the fact that they are going to be recorded from time to time for research purposes about language use; however, when exactly the recording will take place was not revealed in order to get spontaneous and natural recordings of language practice.

We have chosen to record teachers of English at the department of languages at the ENSO for different reasons among them the varying degrees of competency that they display in the different languages at their disposal (Algerian Arabic, French, English and Standard Arabic). In addition, being an English teacher at ENSO involves certain language dynamicity and language practice within university as a result of the traditional relationship between the Arabic department and the French department on the one hand as outlined in this chapter and

---

[89] ENSO 'Ecole Normal Supérieur d'Oran' is a college or 'High school' that trains primary and secondary school would-become teachers. It comprises three departments: the Arabic department, the department of languages divided into two sections –section of French and section of English; and the department of exact sciences.

[90] The work was entitles the grammatical aspects of the AA/French Code-switching initiated in 2010.

the preference for English on the other hand. This preference for English has been noticed among teachers and students from other streams especially exact sciences. Besides, learning English has become a serious matter in the political and academic spheres. In fact we had the chance to record conversations in which the subject of learning and speaking English as opposed to French was discussed on different occasions. Furthermore, our choice to record English teachers in their regular meetings as a major context may reinforce our assumptions relating what can be termed elaborated bilingual speech correlates[91] and competency-based knowledge in the different varieties involved in bilingual speech.

The following extract taken from recording (2) involves a discussion between a teacher of English (FB) and a teacher of mathematics at ENSO about the importance of English:

EXTRACT [3]

BK) *A cause de français on est handicapés parce que même* ʃə *les voyages* ʃə *les destinations on est limités.*

> *Because of French we are handicapped because even* in *the travel* in *the destinations we are limited*
> 'We feel handicapped because we talk only French even in traveling we are limited concerning the choice of destination'.

FB) *pourquoi vous n'avez pas étudié* ʃə *l'anglais.*

> 'Why didn't you study English'?

B) ɛla bɑ:lek *la nouvelle* ((..)) ɛla bɑ:lek anaja daɾwek *je suis très proches des étudiants, des jeunes et tout*. ɛla bɑ:lek hɔma *Ils veulent l'anglais, les jeunes*.

> You know *the new ((...))* you know I now *I am very close to students, to teenagers and all*. You know they *they want English, the teenagers*
> 'You know that I am very close to students and to teenagers and do you know that they want English, the teenagers.'

B) *D'abord, un, il est beaucoup plus facile que le français. C'est une langue* zaɛma *directe.*

> *'To begin, first, it is easier than French. It's a language,* how to say it, *direct.'*

---

[91] What is meant by elaborated bilingual speech is the speech which comprises elaborated constructions from Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, and English in an adequate manner compared to other bilingual speeches which characterize other communities with a lesser level of education in an Algerian context.

B) *Français*, lla, llah ɣɑːleb, *la formulation de la phrase, le pluriel, le féminin, les accents, je sais pas quoi*. lla *L'anglais il est directe et pragmatique* w *les étudiants ils demandent l'anglais*.

> French, no, God is almighty, the formulation of the sentence, the plural, the feminine, the accents, I don't know what? No, English, it is direct and pragmatic and the students, they want English.
> 'French is difficult you have the formulation of the sentence, the plural, the feminine, the accents but English is direct and pragmatic and students want to learn English.'

The extract below is taken from recording (12) where teachers of English are discussing the fact of doing a public survey talk about the fact that many people in Algeria are in favour of promoting English in schools:

EXTRACT [4]

BN) ɛlɑːʃ s-*sondage parce que* s-*sondage* ɛla bɑːlhɔm belli nnɑːs *la plupart* ɣɑːdijvuːłɔ *pour l'anglais*.

'Why the *survey*? *Because* the *survey* they know that people, *the majority* are going to vote *for English*'

BN) *les générations* lli ɾɑːhɔm ʒɑːjjiːn, *les étudiants* tawaɛna jaɛaɾfɔ l-*français* ? ki tʃuːfi *les étudiants* tawaɛna taɛ *l'anglais* w taɛ *sciences exactes ils sont meilleurs en anglais qu'en français*. kɑːn ɛandi *les étudiants* taɛ *technologie* majaɛaɾfuːʃ *français* χlɑːs w *l'anglais ils sont bons*. kɑːn ɛandi *les étudiants* fe *l'anglais* χiːɾ men *des fois des étudiants* tawaɛna hnɑːja taɛ *l'anglais*.

> 'The coming generations, our students, do they know French? When you see our students of English and of exact sciences they are better in English than in French. I had students of technology who don't know French at all and English they are good. I had students who were in English better sometimes than our students here of English.'

The following extract taken from recording (12) highlights the tense relationship between the three language departments (Arabic, French and English). Here the teachers of English are discussing the necessity to have their own department after a conflict that happened between the head of Arabic department and the head of the English section. Besides, they are questioning why Arabic is a department knowing that it forms primary school teachers and have only three cohorts and the total number of students do not exceed

seventy while English is a section along with French making up the department of Foreign Languages knowing that both of them form secondary school teachers and they have five cohorts and the total number of their students exceed two hundred. The English teachers also deny the fact that the head of the department of Foreign Languages is always chosen from French section.

EXTRACT [5]

FK) ħna tɑːni kima jguːlɔ taɛ l-ɛaɾbijja 'ɾad ʔiɛtibɑːɾ'. bɑːʃ jgɔlna ntuma ɣi *filière* !

> We also as they say of Arabic 'rehabilitation'. To say you are just a section!
>
> 'We also have to rehabilitate our section's reputation and make them regret saying that you are just a section.'

FB) *l'approche* l-lɔwla *c'est d'avoir un chef de département des langues étrangères et deux chefs de filière* wɑːħed taɛ *l'anglais* w wɑːħed taɛ *français.*

> 'The first approach is to have a head of department and two heads of section one of English and the other for French.'

BN) *mais ici* ʃakɑːjen ? *ça n'a aucun sens et ça donne plus de poids* lə-l-ɛaɾbijja *pour justement parce que* hɔma bɾuːħhɔm *ça part de là* belli *puisque c'est un département* w ħna *on est une filière donc automatiquement ils ont plus de droits à des postes décisionnel* kima hagda *que* ħnɑːja.

'But why is that? that doesn't have sense and it gives more weight to the department of Arabic because it starts from here that since it is a department and we are a section so automatically they have more rights to decision-making positions like this than we have.'

ZA) *même* d-*département de français ils ont leur* **policy** w ħna ɛanna **our policy**.

> 'Even the department of French have their policy and we have ours.'

Thus, as it is clear from the above examples, our informants display different relationships with respect to their languages. Indeed, they constitute a community of practice[92] rather than a social network.

---

[92] Community of practice is defined by Lave and Wenger (1991: 464) as: "An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices –emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour. As a social construct, a

The analysis and the interpretation of the data will be mainly limited to 14 participants (5 males and 9 females) most of whom were regularly present during the twelve recorded meetings. The sociolinguistic information on the participants in this study was provided directly through questions or indirectly via our acquaintance with the subjects under study. These facts include the languages spoken in formal and informal settings, their degree of proficiency[93] in the languages involved in CS, their historical background and socio-cultural situation. Here are the details about the respondents who were given pseudonyms to facilitate their identification when analysing the data as illustrated in the following table:

Informants	Sex	Age	Linguistic dominance	Unmarked language choice in CPC meetings
BN	M	48	French	French/ AA
DS	M	45	Algerian Arabic	French/ AA
FB	M	46	Algerian Arabic	AA/ French
SF	M	47	French	French/ AA
MB	M	49	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
FK	F	47	French	French/ AA
KK	F	43	Algerian Arabic	AA/ French
ZA	F	42	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
NB	F	43	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
LA	F	41	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
LD	F	40	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
SM	F	38	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
FG	F	36	Algerian Arabic	AA/French
DM	F	37	Algerian Arabic	AA/French

Table 1.3: the respondents' profiles

Before introducing the speech situations of the recorded conversation it is important to mention the general context of our English section. Most if not all the professional emails exchanged at the level of the English section with really very few exceptions are written in French. The regular meetings are held every six weeks. Yet this is not always the case as meetings are sometimes postponed. Usually teachers of English talk to students' representatives about usual matters such as lesson progression, examinations, etc. in English;

---

community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages."

[93] The degree of our informants' proficiency in the languages involved was based on personal observations and self-reports. The respondents assessed their level of competency in the languages they have in their repertoire by intuition. Nonetheless, self-reporting is considered by some researchers as a reliable criterion of bilinguality measurement. Some considered themselves as balanced bilinguals because they use these languages frequently without disjointedness or hesitation while others judged themselves as relatively good in FR and SA and as being native speakers of AA.

however, when there are other more specific problems the students shift to Algerian Arabic or they switch between AA and French. Students of English usually claim that they don't understand French. What is also important to mention is the fact that all the teachers came recently to this new institution (ENSO). Some of them even came later (in 2019) so most of the teachers did not know each other i.e. they were on the way of getting to know and to deal with one another.

Here is the description of the different speech situations from which the data are gathered with special focus on monolingual AA and French CPs and bilingual CPs with either AA or French as a ML because they form the biggest parts of our corpus. These recording that carry the data collected are listed in the table (1.4) below including the duration, and the year of recording:

Recording	Year of recording	Duration of recording	AA CPs	French CPs	AA as ML	FR as ML
1	06- 2017	1h 39mn	180	149	288	53
2	11- 2017	1h 25mn	25	89	112	37
3	11- 2017	1h 05mn	18	24	23	08
4	6-7- 2017	2h 3mn	653	318	610	70
5	9-1- 2018	1h 32mn	107	336	239	54
6	20-02-2018	41mn	107	155	130	30
7	18-04-2018	44mn	109	189	131	31
8	30-05-2018	56mn	364	370	254	62
9	05-06-2018	2h 45mn	495	512	565	21
10	10-10-2018	1h 20mn	126	807	110	78
11	08-05-2019	46mn	103	176	112	43
12	08-07-2019	1h 49mn	644	712	300	81

Table 1.4: classification of the recordings

Recording (1): lasted for one hour thirty-nine minutes and took place in August 2017 during interviews[94]. It comprises two conversations. The first was between five teachers (4 females LD, FK, KK, DM and a male DS) and it tackled different subjects: politics, presidential elections, the Algerian colonial history and the film 'Colonel Lotfi', exams and baccalaureate, family and kids, medical control among others. The second one occurred next day and it was between three female teachers (FG, FK, DM) who smoothly changed from one topic to another such as: personal experiences about doctorate studies, thesis writing, supervisors and teachers; food, neighbours and students. We can say that these two conversations were informal even if they happened at workplace (ENSO). Different constructions are figured out in this speech situation with the prevalence of mixed CPs with AA as a matrix language (288 tokens) then respectively AA monolingual CPs (180), French monolingual CPs (149) and bilingual CPs with French as a ML (53).

Recording (2): covers mixed dialogues that lasted for one hour and twenty-five minutes and took place in November 2017 during a student strike. The teachers gathered outside the campus discussing the matter and waiting for the students to stop the strike and open the building. These discussions involved four teachers of English (three females FK, MD, LD and a male FB), two teachers from exact sciences (a male BM, and a female B) and a teacher from the French department. Monolingual as well as bilingual clauses were present in the bilingual speech of the informants and here again mixed CPs with AA as a ML constitute the majority of the clauses (112) despite the fact that monolingual French CPs (89) outnumber AA CPs (25) then come bilingual CPs with French as a ML (37).

Recording (3): includes a recorded meeting conducted in November 2017. It lasted for approximately one hour and five minutes; however, the quality of the recording was not good. Besides, it was mostly realized in English because the discussions between teachers and students' representatives involved formalities concerning exams and make-up lessons as such little has been retained from it. Six teachers of English participated in the meeting (six females FK, ZA, LD, DM, SM, GF, and a male FB). The number of French monolingual CPs (24) and mixed CPs with AA as a ML (23) are very close. Then, we have AA monolingual CPs (18) and last as usual mixed CPs with French as a ML (08). The particular thing about this recording is the presence of a new teacher who had recently joined us at ENSO.

---

[94] These interviews are conducted by the teachers of the different departments at ENSO with the pupils who have passed their baccalaureate in order to be accepted as students at ENSO.

Recording (4): covers a conversation between seven female teachers that took over two hours. The meeting was supposed to discuss the ENSO curriculum; however, as teachers questioned the timing of this step and its purpose, the meeting turned up into a social meeting about personal matters, tensions and problems at work and ended up discussing briefly the problem of the curriculum. This meeting was categorized by extensive use of the mother-tongue constructions. AA monolingual CPs scored the first place in this recording (653). Mixed CPs with AA as a ML (610) came in the second place, French monolingual CPs (318) third place and lastly bilingual CPs with French as a ML (70).

Recording (5): embraces a meeting between six female teachers (ZA, LD, FG, SM, DM, KK) and a male teacher (FB) to discuss the canvas of the ENS as part of the on-going meetings of the international pedagogical commission (CPN) for the purpose of unifying the canvas of all the National Superior Schools (ENS). The teachers were supposed to highlight any problems or anomalies concerning the title, the content and/or the objective of the modules, the coefficients and the number of hours allotted for each module and to suggest any changes or modifications. This conversation which lasted for more than an hour and a half and unlike the other meetings between English teachers was characterized by a strong presence of English (72 English monolingual CPs and 51 mixed CPs containing English elements inserted into AA and French structures). Nonetheless, monolingual French CPs ranked first (336). Bilingual CPs with AA as a ML come in the second place (239) followed by AA monolingual CPs (107) and mixed CPs having French as a ML (54). The strong presence of English can be explained by the fact that the discussion were mainly about the modules and their contents which are taught in English that triggered the use of English. However the extensive use of French here is due to the fact that the topic tackled is academic and scientific in its nature and in this case AA cannot fulfil this function.

Recording (6): contains one of the typical meetings between teachers and students in order to discuss the date of the examination and progression of lessons. It took about forty minutes. Here students had reservations concerning two modules so the discussion shifted from English to the spontaneous use of their daily codes. In addition there was the problem of the strike and make-up lessons. Here, also there was a significant presence of English (62 monolingual English CPs) as the discussion involved English students. The order of the other structures is as follow: French monolingual CPs (155), AA mixed CPs (130); AA monolingual CPs (107) and French mixed CPs (30)

Recording (7) took place in April 2018 and lasted for forty-five minutes. The meeting, in which eight teachers took part, discussed different points the most important are students absences, the election to choose scientific committees, and the intention to make the teachers sign up their presence in a register. French monolingual CPs come first (189) then AA mixed clauses (131), followed by AA monolingual CPs (109) and French bilingual CPs (31). There was also a minor presence of English CPs (15)

Recording (08): The meeting was arranged by the teachers of English (six females LD SM FG ZA DM KK and a male FB) on the 15th May 2018 and lasted for approximately one hour. The meeting was a reaction to express teachers' disapproval of the register that was put at the level of the administration for the teachers in order to sign up their presence. French and AA monolingual CPs are very close rating respectively (370) and (364) then follow bilingual CPs with AA as a ML (254) and with French as a ML (62). No presence of English clauses

Recording (09): occurred on the 5th June 2018 and it took two hours and forty-five minutes. The teachers were angry with students because not only were the majority of them on strike for more than a month, but also they wanted to take a week before and a week after Aid El Fitr. In addition, some teachers raised the problem of students' misbehaviour and their bad marks in the first semester. There was also a disagreement between teachers concerning second semester exam timetable. Moreover, teachers discussed some issues concerning students' training, report and dissertation writing, graduation since this was the first cohort to graduate from ENSO. Bilingual CPs with AA as a ML constitute the majority of the CPs (565) in this recording; then, with a slight difference French monolingual CPs (512) outnumber AA monolingual CPs (495) followed by French mixed CPs (21). The presence of English monolingual CPs is remarkable (114) in this meeting.

Recording (10): includes a meeting that was conducted by teachers of English (eight females FK, ZA, DM, FG, SM, KK; LD, LA and two males FB, BN) on the 10th October 2018 to discuss the problem of disparity between the marks given to students in certain modules. The meeting turned into a serious disagreement between two teachers about the marks of the 'oral expression'. The discussion which lasted for one hour and twenty minutes was almost entirely conducted in French. The high amount of French monolingual CPs (807) compared to monolingual AA CPs (126) and mixed AA CPs (110) can be explained by the tension and the distance between the teachers while expressing their disagreement with some marks in certain

modules. Another important variable to mention is the fact that a new teacher joined us in this meeting. French mixed CP constitute (78)

Recording (11) took place on the 8th May 2019 and lasted for more than forty-five minutes. The teachers (seven females KK, FK, ZA, FG, SM, DM, LD and three male FB, BN, SK) met to discuss the possibility to postpone the exams, to constitute the juries of viva and to settle some problems with the delegates. French CPs (176) are classed in the first place, then come mixed CPs with AA as a ML (112) in the second place, the third place goes to AA CPs (103) and finally French bilingual CPs (43). Eng CPs (1)

Recording (12) was about a side meeting on the day of deliberation. However, as the head of English section and the students of English had been offended by the head of Arabic department the previous day during the ENSO's annual ceremony, the deliberation turned into a serious meeting to discuss the problem. French monolingual CPs (712) are followed by AA monolingual CPs (644) then come AA bilingual CPs (300) and French mixed clauses (81). Eng CPs (3)

1.4.2   Conventions for Data Representation and Transcription

The data at hand is a number of recorded conversations. In order to analyse the corpus morpho-syntactically, we will adopt the main procedures established within contact linguistic frameworks. First of all, after the corpus had been recorded our corpus was compiled. We got twelve recording during twelve speech situations; each recording was transcribed separately and arranged into turn taking utterances. In this respect Backus argues that the transcription of the corpus should take into consideration contextual information and therefore the entirety of conversations should be transcribed for not mislaying the meaning of mixed utterances:

> When the data are recorded, a corpus must be compiled, one way or another. Ideally, everything on the tape must be transcribed. We can also be satisfied with just transcribing those passages where code-switching occur, but then the researcher has to be very careful not to lose valuable contextual information. Moreover, transcribing partially means that we lose the possibility of searching the L1 for L2 influence on the various linguistic levels. (Backus, 1992:42)

Thus our informants' recorded speech was entirely transcribed except of course those sequences or fragments[95] that needed to be eliminated for one reason or another simply

---

[95] Some conversations included unclear passages where the speech was too low or too fast to understand. There are also passages where turn takings were not respected and speakers spoke at the same time producing interrupted utterances.

because we are dealing with spoken discourse which does not always contain fully fledged elements. Those passages that contain only mixed codes were then typed and each utterance was segmented into sentences, clauses and phrases in order to classify and analyse the passages that involve instances of Code-switching and borrowing.

The presentation of the data will follow the general tendency in code switching research. First, the languages involved in CS will be separated. Since Algerian Arabic is mostly spoken and not written, it will be transcribed using the SIL[96] Manuscript phonetic alphabet[97]; while French and English constructions are retained in their original written forms.

The data are presented as follow: the first line is datum; the second one is the morphological parsing of the datum with a gloss morpheme by morpheme, followed in the third line by an approximate translation into English between double quotes. In the gloss line, bound morphemes are separated by a hyphen (-) and free morpheme by space. The meanings of many functional/ inflectional morphemes are glossed in capital letters, as is conventional in linguistics discussions. The process of transcription and coding is illustrated by the following examples from the corpus of the present study:

- AA elements are transcribed in normal fonts when AA is the ML example [45] and in bold fonts when AA is the EL example [46]:

> **[45]** daɾwek walliːt *même pas* ma-n-diːɾ-ʃ *la remarque.* R9
>
>   Now PERF-become-1SSubj not even NEG-IMPERF-do-NEG the remark
>   'Now I don't even give them the remark'

> **[46]** *Ils sont pas conscients* b-had swɑːleħ. R9
>
>   They are not conscious **of-these things**
>   "They are not consciously aware of these things."

- SA elements are transcribed in underlined bold letters:

> **[47]** hɑːda jɔ-dχɔl fi <u>**malmaħ l-ʔostɑːd**</u> tɑːni. R9
>
>   This IMPERF-enter in profile the teacher also
>   "This is part of teacher's profile"

---

[96] SIL International (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics) is an organization that has produced several font sets over the years that allow for the transcription of linguistic data using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

[97] The SIL IPA Fonts are scalable outline fonts for both Macintosh and Windows systems. They contain every base character, diacritic, and supra-segmental mark currently prescribed by the International Phonetic Association. They are intended to provide as complete a solution as is possible in one font for the display and publication of phonetic texts using the current IPA.

- French elements are spelled in *italics* character when French is the ML example [46] and [48]; and when it is the EL example [45]; However, in order to illustrate each type of inserted elements or constituents (e.g. the insertion of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, noun phrases, or prepositional phrases) separately from other inserted French elements during analysis, the study will present it in *italics* and **bold** characters example [49]:

> **[48]** *Y a aucune différence* binɑːt-na ħna w biːn *les autres universités*. R8
>
>> There is no difference **between-1PL us and between** the other universities
>> "There is no difference between us and the other universities."

> **[49]** t-ʃakɾɔ *la réaction* taɛ-kɔm l-lɔwla. R9
>
>> IMPERF-remember the reaction of-you DEF-first
>> "Remember your first reaction."

- English elements are spelled in **bold** characters:

> **[50]** kima ddiːɾ-ɔ **strike** ʃe l-ʒamiːɛa diːɾ-ɔ **strike** ʃe *la cite*. R9
>
>> As do-2Subj strike in the-university do-2Subj strike in the campus
>> "As you do strikes at university do strikes on campus."

All the examples drawn from our corpus are numbered and followed by the number of recording that they are taken from. Illustrations from other CS data are not numbered and they are kept in their original form[98] with the same phonetic symbols used by their authors.

The system adopted in our study for phonetic transcription of AA and SA sounds is displayed in table (1.5). Some sounds that are used in our study are followed by their equivalents in other studies:

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION	ARABIC SOUNDS	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
[ɛ]/[ʕ]	ع	[ɛaʃriːn]	Twenty
[s]	س	[sma]	Sky
[r]	ر	[raːs]	Head
[z]	ز	[zalamiːt]	Matches
[j]	ي	[jum]	Day
[ħ]	ح	[waːħed]	One
[h]	ه	[hɔwa]	He
[ɣ]/[ġ]	غ	[lɔɣa]	Language

---

[98] The transcription of the data varies from one corpus to another. Generally, switches are signalled according to the following procedures: The code-switched elements may be transcribed in **bold**, in *italics* or underlined.

[ʒ]/ [ž]	ج	[ʒbəl]	Mountain
[ʃ]/ [š]	ش	[ʃba:b]	Handsome
[d]	د	[darba]	Smack
[b]	ب	[ba:b]	Door
[k]	ك	[kta:b]	Book
[a:]	ا	[na:r]	Fire
[ɫ]	ط	[lɔɫɔ]	Automobile
[ʔ]	أ	[ʔɔsta:d]	Teacher

Table 1.5: the system of phonetic transcription of certain sounds

Other transcription conventions are developed mainly from previous studies on conversational studies on conversational analysis approaches on code-switching and other contact phenomena like Gumperz (1982) and Alvarez-Caccamo (1990). These conventions include:

- o **Pausing**: ((..)) short pause (less than 0,5 sec), ((…)) long pause (more than 0,5 sec), ((PAUSE)) very long pause.
- o **Voice overlapping**: [beginning and end of simultaneous talk]
- o **Bold Font**: prominent phrase
- o **Sound lengthening**: : :
- o **XX**: unintelligible
- o **Raising tone**: ➚
- o **Falling tone**: ➘
- o **Laughter**: ((laughter))

1.4.3   The approach advocated in the study

One of the main issues faced when approaching contact linguistics in general and code-switching in particular is the quantitative/ qualitative debate. In order to arrive at an appropriate method to analyse and interpret data we shall be discussing the way these methods have been used in the literature and for what purpose.

Researchers such as Poplack (1981, 1990), Poplack and Meechan (1998), Owens (2005), who advocate for a quantitative approach, use statistical analysis programs such as the CLAN software and the Combo statistical software in the interpretation of bilingual data. This statistical software is used to measure the frequency of specific categories and constructions. According to them the quantification of CS data helps to arrive at better results in an objective way.

Poplack is one of the main advocates of the variationist paradigm who relies significantly on the quantification of corpus data. For instance, in order to test the hypothesis

that equivalence is essentially determined by the degree of o bilingual ability and that the main violations of the Equivalence Constraint are due to non-fluent bilinguals, Poplack (1980) analysed the speech of 20 Puerto Rican speakers exhibiting varying degrees of bilinguality. Thus, variations in CS patterns were related to bilingual ability measurement. Likewise Poplack (1984) and Poplack et al (1988) conducted other studies based on data quantification.

On the other hand, some scholars have referred to the difficulty of quantitative analysis. Boumans (1998: 154) states that: "quantitative information becomes useful only if it exists for all categories that are in complementary distribution".

Boumans (ibid: 154) further explains that "in addition to counting CS instances, a word count for sufficiently large samples of the monolingual would be required". For instance in order to count English lexical insertions that incorrectly lack Nigerian Arabic (NA) definite article[99] (bare forms), Owens (2005) has compared the English inserted bare nouns into NA matrices with those English inserted nouns that are marked for the definite article and with those that are correctly unmarked[100]. Then these English insertions in CS corpus are globally contrasted with the monolingual corpus.

Indeed many researchers in code switching research and especially those working on the morpho-syntactic aspects of CS structure within the sentence rely on spontaneous conversations of recorded data gathered from micro sociolinguistic environments that rely on individual speakers and micro-scale contexts. These methods of research give them more freedom in analysing and interpreting sociolinguistic phenomena and it has been efficient in deriving some general constraints.

In addition, the field of contact linguistics in general and code switching research in particular has tremendously advanced in the last decades due to the findings of these qualitative studies that have provided a large body of CS literature from typologically diverse languages (Myers-Scotton, 1993, Muysken, 1987, Boumans, 1998, Backus, 1996, Romaine, 1989, Gardner-Chloros, 2009). The qualitative examination of different data sets shows that even some CS strategies (i.e. double morphology, bare forms, bilingual compound verbs and flagged CS) are indeed universal strategies that are shared by many bilingual speakers.

In fact many authors have drawn on a variety of recent studies and data sets that have a qualitative perspective in approaching CS from a theoretical perspective, including Myers-

---

[99] 'The English inserted nouns that incorrectly lack the NA definite article' are English nouns that are inserted in NA matrices without the NA definite article, in contexts, where it is expected (Owens, 2005: 6).

[100] 'Correctly unmarked nouns' means that they are indefinite nouns i.e. in Arabic an indefinite noun is unmarked while the definite noun is marked by the definite article prefix (el). (Owens, 2005: 5)

Scotton (2002) who has revised and extended her model, and Boumans (1998) who has proposed his Monolingual Structure Approach. Muysken (2000) has also relied on these qualitative findings to widen the empirical basis of the study of code-switching by including a richly diverse range of contact settings to propose his bilingual speech taxonomy[101]. Indeed in doing so, these researchers have used an integrative type of research methodology which focuses principally on integrating both methods quantitative and qualitative. Sommer (1997) argues in favour of integrated quantitative-qualitative methods to realise satisfying results and findings. The author (ibid: 65) states that:

> In addition, ethnographies of language shift also rely on qualitative research strategies rather than aiming on mere quantification of linguistic and sociolinguistic data (Appel and Muysken 1987, Romaine 1989). This preference seems to be determined by characteristics of the setting (usually situated in a rural community with close-knit social networks) and the fact that language shift is never triggered off by objectively measurable socio-economic facts and factors alone. On the contrary, it is the subjective, personal evaluation of individual bilingual speakers that has to be taken into account. This in turn is best achieved with the help of qualitative research strategies. (Sommer, 1997: 65)

This work has a micro-sociolinguistic perspective which relies basically on qualitative descriptive methods. Nonetheless, we resort to a quantitative analysis as well to get more accurate result. Our prime objective justifies such a choice. We aim through this research to examine the structural properties of mixed-codes in the light of Myers-Scotton's models in particular and other approaches in general and to search for the syntactic constraints regulating AA-French code-switching patterns. This model proves to be operative in the case of typologically different languages and in situations where bilingual proficiency is asymmetric[102]. In addition, in the case of our informants, qualitative descriptive analysis will help us to delve deeply into the actual use of the different language varieties at our

---

[101] Muysken (2000) prefers the term code mixing (hereafter CM) instead of CS and proposes a kind of a taxonomy or a synthesis that ''depart from the enormous variation in code-mixing patterns encountered, variation due to language typologicall factors in addition to sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors'. Muysken's eclectic approach distinguishes between three processes of intra-sentential CM (alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization) that correspond to the earlier proposed CM models in the literature arguing that no single set of grammatical rules can currently account for all instances of code-mixing.

[102] According to Muysken (2000: 9), "Insertion *is frequent in colonial settings and recent migrant communities, where there is a considerable asymmetry in the speaker's proficiency in the two languages*". The informants in our recordings do not have the same proficiency in AA and French. AA is the mother tongue for the respondents and it is the grammatical source for most utterances in our corpus. French, on the other hand, is present in daily conversations. Yet it is not as controlled as AA. This difference between AA and French competence is not an obstacle to the linguistic analysis of AA/French CS since Myers-Scotton's insertional model does not require bilinguals to have equal proficiency in both languages and it is based on the asymmetrical participation of the two languages in CS (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 25).

informants' disposal. Qualitative methods may furthermore help us to find out if there is any specificity to this corpus and to better interpret our data. The quantitative analysis, on the other hand is needed for we intend to count the bilingual CPs compared to monolingual CPs in both AA and French and to check the directionality of switching from AA to French and vice versa. Quantitative analysis seems also useful in contrasting the non-recurrent patterns of CS with those frequent ones in statistical way.

We will also follow cross-linguistic comparisons[103] and see if our findings corroborate the findings of other CS studies in general and those involving Arabic languages in particular (Moroccan Arabic/ Dutch CS, Boumans, 1998; Algerian Arabic/French CS, Boumans and Caubet, 2000; Moroccan Arabic/French CS, Ziamari, 2003, AA /Berber CS Benhattab, 2011; AA/FR Ouhmiche 2013, Arabic/English CS; Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha, 1996).

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides the ground for the grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis of the observed patterns of language mixing. The interplay between different historical, political and sociolinguistic factors on current linguistic situation in Algeria in general and on education in particular has been outlined in connection to our context which is university. University has always been a reflection of what is happening in the political, economic and social spheres and the traces of the linguistic policies are still clear today, at least towards de facto multilingualism. Indeed, the interactions of our informants incarnate those ideological policies and attitudes which lead to different patterning of the available codes at their disposal in order to construct and deconstruct sociolinguistic meanings and identities.

The contact situation between the different languages in the sociolinguistic context of the present study is characterized by the presence of different phenomena. That which is the object of this study is code-switching. In order to study and analyse the sociolinguistic and grammatical aspect of code-switching, as practiced by Algerian speakers in Oran, first we have tried to elaborate a definition of this multi-dimensional phenomenon and to define the concepts related to it. The second issue has been to find out how to set apart code switched forms from borrowed ones. To do so, we have tackled some major criteria dealing with this issue trying to attest them to our context. However, it turns out that they cannot help us to draw clear-cut boundaries between both phenomena. Nonetheless, the different classifications

---

[103] In many code-switching studies, researchers refer to contrastive instances of CS where they compare the pattern of CS obtained in their corpus with other corpora characterising other community types such as Boumans (1998), Backus (1992), Muysken (2000), MacSwan (2005).

and all the criteria evoked in the code-switching borrowing debate have contributed to our understanding of bilingualism and its multi-faceted consequences and in a way helped us to explain the observed irregularities and to arrive at a resting harbour.

Having provided some background knowledge about the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and the different contact phenomena and conceptual issues concerning our research topic, we have proceeded with setting the methodological frame. This involves a micro sociolinguistic presentation of the informants, the description of the speech situations, the approach advocated in the study and the techniques of data collection.

2   Structural Approaches to the Study of Code-switching

2.1   Introduction

Structural study of code-switching has been prolific in the last decades, resulting in a number of models that try to find grammatical regularities across mixed sentences. Studies that try to describe the linguistic structure of code-switched utterances are interested in intra-sentential code-switching in which the grammars of the languages involved in code-switching are in contact. This study is primarily directed to code-switching from a structural perspective. This chapter centers on some prominent syntactic models in code-switching research in order to justify our choice and preference for the insertion-based approach. The discussion of linguistic models will raise the issue of the theoretical framework that will contextualize the present study and explain the different patterns of code-switching among our informants who have Algerian Arabic as their L1, French as L2 and English as L3.

In this study, these models are grouped into two opposing poles: the alternation perspective to code-switching also named surface-based or linear approaches that are based on a list of the possible points of juxtaposition of elements from both languages involved in code-switching. The asymmetry-oriented approaches, on the other hand, incarnate the very notion of a Matrix Language, base structure or basic code. The role of the matrix language in all matrix language approaches is that it provides the frame or template of a given sentence.

Although the notion of the Matrix Language is not new and has a long history, the most spelled out model which employs this term is the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model developed by Myers-Scotton (2002, 1998, 1997) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (Jake and Myers-Scotton, 2009; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2010, 2000, 1995). The MLF model explicitly defines the roles of the two languages using a series of principles and hypotheses that are going to be discussed in this chapter and illustrated by tokens from our corpus.

2.2   Alternation Perspective to Code-switching

2.2.1   The Linear Approach and the Idea of Alternation

The earlier proposals suggesting constraints on code-switching in terms of surface structure began as early as 1970s, and were limited to specific structure or constituent, often inhibiting switching between certain lexical categories. These constraints include: the coordinating conjunction constraint (Gumperz, 1976); the complementizer constraint (Kachru,

1980; Singh, 1981); the clitic constraint (Pffaf, 1979, Timm, 1975); the adjective order constraint (Pfaff, 1976, Timm, 1975) among others.

Working on Spanish/English code-switching data, Timm (1979: 477-9) proposes the following constraints preventing switching between a verb: and its subject or object pronoun, its infinitive complement, its auxiliary, and its negation. The other constraints inhibit code-switching between nouns and adjectives in certain noun phrases containing an adjective, considering that the combinations Det + N + Adj and Det + Adj + N cannot be mixed.

Pfaff (1979: 306), also states the following restriction concerning noun/adjective code-switching: "Adjective/noun mixes must match the surface word order of both the language of the adjective and the language of the head noun." According to Pfaff (1979) adjective switching is limited to adjectives which precede noun in Spanish[104] as well as in English. Pfaff (ibib: 303) also proposes the clitic constraint that concerns only object pronoun stated as follows: "Clitic pronoun objects are realized in the same language as the verb to which they are cliticized and in the position required by the syntactic rules of that language".

Most of earlier studies were based on Spanish/English data, suggesting a list of lexical categories that could not be switched, and describing certain favourable switch sites. However, "an important finding of this early descriptive literature", as MacSwan (2004: 285) emphasizes, "was the observation that code switching behaviour like other linguistic behaviours, was rule-governed and not haphazard". This important finding set the stage for more general and universal constraints that become the "classical studies" on code-switching (Appel & Muysken, 1987: 121).

Most researchers in the 1980s onward tried to explain the earlier observed language-specific constraints, by formulating more general constraints on code-switching, to which they claim universal validity. The first attempt to provide such a general approach to code-switching constraints appears in the work of Sankoff & Poplack (1981) and Poplack (1980, 1981). Their approach is known as the equivalence-based approach.

---

[104] In Spanish, adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify, but there are some adjectives that precede their nouns, and in this case, switching is possible between Spanish nouns and English adjectives (i.e. because In English, adjectives precede the nouns they modify.

2.2.2   Poplack's Equivalence-Based Approach

Although many studies in the 1970s and early 1980s have provided a large body of analysed code-switching data, most of which drew on Spanish-English data recorded from conversations by Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, it was Poplack who attracted much attention with her Equivalence and Free Morpheme constraints for being "the major impetus for a more systematic exploration of bilingual data" and "the principle exponent of the alternation perspective". (Muysken 2000: 13)

Stressing the importance of linear equivalence between the languages participating in code-switching at the point of the switch,   Poplack (1980) has proposed the equivalence constraint stating that:

> Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other. Poplack (1980: 586)

So, the equivalence constraint states that code-switching between two sentences' elements belonging to two different languages will take place at sites where the elements are ordered in the same way (i.e., when the two languages share the same surface structure). Otherwise the switch is blocked.

This means that switches in the case of Spanish/English code-switching may occur between determiners and nouns (*El* man/ *The* man/ *El homber*), because both languages share the same word order, but not between nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase, because of the non-equivalent surface structure for adjective placement in both languages (i.e. in English adjectives precede the noun whereas they follow the noun in Spanish). Other possible switches in Spanish/English code-switching are between Verb and object NP, between auxiliary and verb, between preposition and NP, before or after coordinate and subordinate conjunctions. However, it is prohibited between negation and verb, because negation precedes the main verb in Spanish, but follows an auxiliary or a model in English, and between object pronoun and verb, because object pronoun precedes the verb in Spanish, and follows it in English[105].

---

[105] The three prohibited sites (adjective/noun, negation/verb, and object-pronoun/verb) that were mentioned by Timm (1975) as a list of restrictions on CS betwen certain categories are cited by Poplack under one general constraint, the equivalence constraint.

The equivalence constraint has attracted attention from the beginning and quickly received many counter-examples especially from typologically different language pairs including: Nartey (Adaŋme/English CS, 1982), Bentahila and Davies (Moroccan Arabic/French CS, 1983, Berk-Seligson (1986) and Myers-Scotton (1993b: 28) among others.

In Algerian Arabic declarative sentences, a verb may precede or follow the subject (i.e. AA accounts for both SVO and VSO patterns), while French calls for SVO ordering (i.e. verb must follow the subject). Yet, switching between a subject and a main verb when the word order is not shared by Algerian Arabic and French are attested in the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching data of the present study (AA verbs are underlined):

> **[51]** <u>jdiːɾ-ha</u> *le chef de filière*. R2
> <u>Make-it</u> *the head of department*.
> The head of department does this job.

> **[52]** l-ɛɑːm lli fɑːt <u>ɣalbu-hɔm</u> *les étudiants*. R4
> Last year defeated-them *the students*.
> Last year the students defeated them.

> **[53]** χɔs <u>tɾuħ</u> *la crème* lə-ttaɛliːm. R6
> Should <u>go</u> *the cream*[106] to education.
> The best students should become teachers.

> **[54]** <u>wsal</u> *la crème de la crème*. R6
> <u>Arrive</u> the cream of the cream.
> The best of the best arrives to this position.

> **[55]** l-ɛɑːm lli fɑːt <u>sɾa</u> *un problème* tɑːni. R9
> Last year <u>happened</u> *a problem* also.
> Last year a problem happened.

> **[56]** ɣɑːdi jɔχɾɔʒ gɑːɛ *un corps special*. (R9)
> Will <u>appear</u> all *a body specific*.
> A totally different body will appear.

> **[57]** <u>jwalli</u> *l'enseignant aggressive*. R10
> <u>becomes</u> *the theacher* aggressive.
> 'The teacher become aggressive.'

> **[58]** ajja <u>bdɑːt</u> *la débandade*. R11

---

[106] the *cream* here is figurative and it means *the best students*.

Thus, <u>started</u> *the stampede*.
Thus, the stampede started.

[59] <u>χalɛa-h</u> ***le discours****.* R12

<u>Shocked-</u>him *the speech*.

'the speech shocked him.'

In the above examples French subjects follow the AA verbs (jdiːr 'do', ɣalbuhɔm 'defeat', tɾuħ 'go', wsal 'arrive, sɾa 'happen', jɔχɾɔʒ 'appear', wallet 'become', bdɑːt 'start', χalɛa-h 'shock'). These examples which include different Algerian Arabic verbs are violations to the equivalence constraint and they are abundant in our data (there are 82 tokens that display the Algerian Arabic VSO ordering see appendix 1). In addition to the above Algerian Arabic verbs which constitute 39 instances in our corpus, it is the Algerian Arabic verb 'ʒa' (come) which forms most of the VSO sentences in our study (43 tokens). This same verb appeared in Bentahila and Davies' (1983) Moroccan Arabic/French study as a counter-example to Poplack's Equivalence Constraint as follow:

ža   *le contrôle* 'Came *the checking-time*'

(Moroccan Arabic/French CS, Bentahila and Davies, 1983: 319)

Bouamrane (1986:13) states that the examples given by Bentahila and Davies (1983) on cases of structural non-equivalence with respect to declarative sentences are fairly accepted instances among Algerian bilingual speakers but do not constitute good examples to refute Poplack's constraints. The author argues that constructions like "ža   *le contrôle*" are likely to occur in MA since its corresponding construction in French would be (*il est venu le contrôle*). Nevertheless, examples from the corpus of the present study that involve switching between the Algerian Arabic verb 'ʒa' (come) and French subjects are abundant and varied and they clearly constitutes counter-examples to Poplack's Equivalence Constraint as illustrated by the following instances:

[60] ***Les professeurs*** <u>j-ʒ-ɔ</u> mɛn *Alger par avion*. R4

The professors <u>IMPER-come-3PL</u> from *Algiers by plane*.

The professors come from Algiers by plane.

[61] ***Les textes*** ʒɑː-w had *la semaine* ʒdɔd ɛla l-maʒɑːlis l-ɛilmijja.

The texts <u>came-3PL</u> *this week* new-PL about DEF-councils DEF-scientific. R7

new texts about scientific councils came this week.

[62] bassaħ *la plupart* ma-kanu:ʃ jʒɔ. R7

But *the majority* NEG-be-NEG <u>IMPER-come-3PL</u>.

But the majority didn't use to come.

[63] ki <u>jʒ-i</u> *le premier novembre, …*

When <u>come-3SING</u> *the first of November, …*

When the first of November comes, …

[64] ma-kanu-ʃ <u>j-ʒ-ɔ</u> *les enseignants*. R8

NEG-be-NEG <u>IMPER-come-3PL</u> *the teachers*.

The teachers didn't use to come.

[65] ki <u>dʒ-i</u> *la réunion* nnɑ:s tɔskɔt.

When <u>come-3SING</u> *the meeting* peoples stop talking.

In the meeting people don't talk about their concerns.

[66] ki <u>ʒɑ:-t</u> *la consultation* ɛɑ:d ɬalɛɔ ɾisɑ:nhɔm.

When <u>came-FEM Agree</u> *the consultation* raised-3PL heads-their.

When I started the consultation, they raised their heads.

Examples [60], [61] and [62] adheres to the Equivalence Constraint as the forms of Algerian Arabic verb 'ʒa' (come) which are underlined follow the French subjects. However, examples [63], [64], [65] and [66] violate its prediction since the Algerian Arabic verb 'ʒa' (come) precedes the French subjects.

Other counter-examples to the Equivalence Constraint though limited include switching between the AA adjective[107] "waħdaχɔɾ" (other) which follows the noun in Algerian Arabic. However, in French this adjective 'autre' (other) precedes the noun it modifies. The same is said for the Algerian Arabic adjectives 'ʃɑ:bi:n' (beau/beautiful) and 'ʒdɔd' (nouveau/new) which follows the noun in Algerian Arabic and precedes it in French:

[67] kɑ:jen *un problème* <u>waħdɑ:χɔɾ</u>. (R9)

There is a problem <u>other</u>

'There is another problem'

---

[107] Adjectives in AA follow the nouns they modify, which is also true for most French adjectives. However, there are some French adjectives that must precede their nouns.

[68] ma-ɛanɑː-ʃ bezzɑːf *les endroits* <u>ʃɑːbiːn</u>. (R1)

    NEG-have-NEG many *the places* <u>beautiful-PL</u>

    'We don't have many beautiful places.'

[69] *Les textes* ʒɑːw had *la semaine* <u>ʒdɔd</u> ɛla l-maʒɑːlis l-ɛilmijja. (R7)

    The texts came this *the week* <u>new </u>about the scientific councils.

    'The new texts concerning the organization of the scientific councils came this week.'

The above examples do not corroborate with the predictions of the Equivalence Constraint. Code-switching operates between French nouns (un problem, les textes) and the underlined Algerian Arabic adjectives "waħdaχɔr″ and ″ʒdɔd″ regardless of surface structure differences between French and Algerian Arabic.

Poplack (1980: 585) adds another constraint which prohibits switching between a bound and free morpheme called the Free Morpheme Constraint formulated as follows: "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme". To illustrate this, Poplack (1981: 190) gives the following example where the Spanish bound morpheme iendo (-ing), ar, ear are affixed to the English free morphemes 'eat, watch, quit'.

    *estoy **eat**-iendo.
    'I-am eat-ing'

    * **watch**-ar
    'To watch'

    * **quit**-ear
    'to quit'

This, according to Poplack, is prohibited except for free morphemes that have been integrated in the host language as she puts it:

> Switches take place only at full word boundaries; two morphemes, one of which is bound to the other, must originate in the same language unless the free morpheme has been linguistically integrated into the language of the bound one, i.e., has been borrowed. (Poplack et al, 1990: 73)

According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 31-2) the Free Morpheme Constraint was somehow accepted in the 1980s unlike the equivalence constraint, which received many counter-examples. This is due to the fact that many researchers at that time regard the

switching of single-words or free morphemes as borrowings. Very few counter-examples to the Free Morpheme Constraint were cited in the literature, as in the case of Bentahila and Davies (1983: 315) and Berk-Seligson (1986: 333).

Nonetheless, soon a number of counter-examples and criticisms were raised to both the Equivalence Constraints and the Free Morpheme Constraint, often involving typologically more different language pairs namely agglutinative languages, where code-switching violate both constraints at the same time such as Swahili/English CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993b), Maori/English CS (Eliasson, 1989), Turkish/Dutch CS (Backus 1996), Japanese/English (Nishimura, 1997), Morroccan Arabic/Dutch (Boumans, 1998), Algerian Arabic/French (Bouamrane, 1986, Ouahmiche, 2013), Berber/French (Benali, 2007; Benhattab, 2011) and Algerian Arabic/Berber (Benhattab, 2011).

These constraints to which Poplack claims universal applicability, turned out to be only characteristic of the Spanish/English data they studied[108], most of which was mentioned earlier. Actually, even for the Spanish/English code-switching data the validity of both constraints is questioned as intra-word switches are also found in the case of non-agglutinative languages. Working on Spanish /English code-switching data from the Hispanic community in Northeast Georgia, Daniel James Smith (2002) found the following examples in which Spanish suffixes (-ar,-ear) are attached to English verb stems : watch-*ar* (to watch), quit-ear (to quit) and check-*ear* (to check). He emphasizes that: "The pattern of creating a verb from an English stem with a Spanish verb ending is a productive one, at least incipiently, in the Hispanic community of this study" (2002: 40).

Gardner-Chloros (2009) provides similar patterns of switching whereby the following example contains a Cypriot-English verb stem combined with a French infinitive suffix:

> Tu peux me *pick-up*-er?
> You can me pick-up- INF suffix
> Can you pick me up?   (French/English CS, Gardner Chloros, 2009: 97)

Testing the Free Morpheme Constraint on our data allows us to share the same conclusions. The French verb stems are frequently inflected with AA inflectional morphemes

> **[70]** ma-t-***réfus***-iːʃ. R8

---

[108] Boumans (1998: 14) states that: "These rules appeared to be only characteristic of the Spanish/English data they used, rather than universally applicable. Actually, both constraints are reminiscent of earlier work on Spanish/English code switching". Gardner Chloros (1995: 95) makes a similar remark stating that: "These appeared simple enough to be universally applicable and have been widely discussed".

NEG-IMPER 2-*refuse*-2S-NEG

'Don't refuse.'

[71] ana ħsabt belli ***tranch***-iːna.

Me thought-1S that *settled*-PERF-1P

'I thought that we have settled the problem'.

[72] l-qanuːn ɣɑːdi jet-***appliqu***-a ħatta l-*trente juin*.

The law will be IMPER-*apply*-3S until DEF-*June the 30*[th].

'The law will be applied until June the 30th.'

Concerning French switched nouns, the Algerian Arabic affix that is regularly attached to them is the Algerian Arabic definite article 'l-' as illustrated by the following example:

[73] ɣɑːdi n-ʃuːf-ɔ l-***filtre*** lli ɣɑːdi jasɾa fe *la promotion*.

Will IMPER-1PL-see-PL DEF-*filter*- that will happen in *the cohort*.

'We will see the students that are going to pass'

In example [73], we have two French nouns, the first is attached to the Algerian Arabic definite article (l-*filtre*: the-filter) and the second is inserted with the French definite article (la promotion: the cohort). There are other Algerian Arabic affixes that are occasionally attached to French nouns such as possessive adjectives in examples [17] and [18] in chapter 1 that include the Algerian Arabic nouns (*niveau*-na, *doss*iː k, *doss*-ijja).

Poplack et al[109] acknowledges that equivalence-based switching as in the case of Spanish/English code-switching of Puerto Ricans in New York City may be an extreme case. In many subsequent publications, the equivalence constraint has been presented as one of the four strategies of code-switching used by bilinguals to avoid producing ungrammatical utterances. So, in addition, to 'smooth switching at equivalence sites'[110] which obeys the equivalence constraint; there are 'constituent insertion', 'flagged switching' and 'nonce borrowing'. All of them are used to explain the counter-examples to the Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint.

---

[109] Poplack and associates or Poplack et al (1990) is used to refer to Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan's article 'the case of the nonce loan in Tamil' (1990).

[110] Smooth code switching is described by Poplack (1993, 276) as a 'real' or 'true' code switching at equivalent sites and as "the only mechanism which does not involve insertion of material from one language into the sentence of another" (ibid, 282).

Despite the fact that Poplack acknowledges the processes of word insertion (nonce borrowing) and constituent insertion, she does not consider them as 'real' or 'true' code-switching but only strategies or "bilingual mechanisms" to solve the problem "of word-order discrepancies between the two languages" (Poplack et al, 1990: 98).

Poplack et al (1990) classify single-word switches that appear to violate both the Equivalence Constraint (i.e. that are syntactically integrated) and the Free Morpheme Constraint (i.e. that show morphological integration in the host language) as nonce borrowings, as in the following statement:

> An inflection from one language on a word from the other could automatically be classified as a nonce loan rather than as a violation of the free morpheme constraint, whereas one of the bilingual pair of words on each side of a prohibited, non-equivalent boundary could also be considered a nonce loan rather than as participating in a violation of the equivalence constraint". Poplack et al (1990: 74)

A Nonce borrowing according to Poplack (1990) is the syntactic, morphological but not necessarily phonological integration of an element from one language into the other. Nonce borrowings resemble established borrowings in terms of linguistic integration, in that they differ from code-switching which remain unintegrated. Yet nonce borrowings differ from established borrowings "only *quantitatively*....in frequency of use, degree of acceptance, level of phonological integration...etc" (Poplack et al, 1990: 282).

Instead of strengthening the position of Poplack's syntactic constraints, nonce borrowing created much confusion to the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 182) many researchers reject the category "nonce borrowing" as a resting place that "permits Poplack and her associates (1988) to set aside the single lexeme items which figure prominently in counter-examples to the two constraints they have proposed".

Flagged code switching[111] is characterized by an interruption in speech, marked by a pause, hesitation, repetition, tag, interjection, discourse marker, or complementizer, to signal a

---

[111] Poplack (1993: 283) makes a distinction between what she calls a functional (or discourse) flagging reported among French/English bilinguals in Ottawa-Hull, that corresponds to switch-signaling function, and materials flagging in Finnish/English CS which is associated with production difficulties. Finnish speakers in Poplack's sample did not belong to a community in which borrowing and CS are a discourse mode. This is why their switches are flagged. In fact, what she calls materials flagging are inserted bare English nouns in Finnish that are not case marked (show no integration and cannot be classified as nonce borrowings). So according to Poplack, they "are most logically treated as flagged, non-smooth single-word switches" (ibid: 281).

change in the language being used or to introduce a code-switched material. Flagged switching differs from code switching at equivalent sites, constituent insertion and nonce borrowing which are all ways of alternating two languages smoothly within the sentence (Poplack, 1993: 281). The following example illustrates this type of switching:

[74] _C'est-à-dire_ ʃe _l'encadrement_ madabijja jkuːn … _c'est-à-dire je propose que …_ zaɛma jkuːn _une certaine homogénéité … c'est-à-dire_ mʃi _les bons éléments_ jɾuːħɔ gɑːɛ ɛand waħed wella zuːʒ w ……

That is to say in _supervision_ I would like if there will be … _that is to say_ I propose that… that is to say … there will _a certain homogeneity_ … _that is to say_ not _the best elements_ will go all to one or two.

'I would like if there will be certain homogeneity in supervising the students that is say that not one or two teachers will supervise the best students and the others are left with average students.'

The Algerian Arabic and French adverbials 'zaɛma' and 'C'est-à-dire' (that is to say) respectively are flags that are preceded by silence and hesitations.

Constituent insertion is the insertion of an entire constituent such as a noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase from one language into the other. The internal structure of the constituent is determined by the grammar of the language it comes from; its location in the sentence is determined by the grammar of the recipient language. According to Poplack (1993), intra-sentential switching may occur at equivalence sites (where permissible switch points are constrained by the same word order between switched constituents), or, more _rarely_, consist of constituent insertion (where word-order constraints across switch boundaries need not be respected for switched constituent).

Sankoff and her associates resort to "_constituent insertion_" as a separate strategy to cope with problems of non-equivalence developed in certain contexts, mainly that advanced by Nait M'barek and Sankoff's (1988) in their study of Moroccan Arabic/French code-switching. They found that the most frequent type of intra-sentential code-switching in Moroccan Arabic/French code-switching corpus is the insertion of French NPs that include determiners and nouns which can be classified neither as nonce borrowing nor as switching at equivalence sites.

Indeed, those types of switching (i.e. NP insertions) are found to be very recurrent in MA/French code-switching data studied by Nait M'barek and Sankoff's (1988) compared to switching between Arabic articles and French nouns which have equivalent order in both languages. So, Poplack (1993) decides to call this switching type as 'constituent insertion' and presents it as a code-switching strategy. The following examples taken from our present data illustrate this strategy of switching:

> **[75]** muːɾ had *le vol* ɾakbətni waħd *la dépression*. (R4)
>
> After DEM *DEF theft* PERF-came-3SGSubj-me INDEF *DEF depression*
> 'After this theft, i underwent such depression.'

> **[76]** ki tɔddɔχli fe *l'administration* t-walli taɛɛaɾfi bezzɑːf *les lois*. (R4)
>
> When 2IMPER-work in *the administration* 2S PERF- become-2S IMPER-
> know-2S many *the laws*.
> 'When you start working in the administration you will know more laws.'

In Algerian Arabic, a sequence of two determiners is permitted within a noun phrase whereas French grammar rules disallow such a cluster. Despite this difference, code-switching is recurrent at this particular switch points. Example [75] violates French grammar (French demonstratives precede directly the noun); however, it satisfies Algerian Arabic sub-categorization as two determiners are clustered, the demonstrative 'had' and the French definite article 'le'. Likewise, the same example comprises a cluster of an indefinite article 'waħd' from Algerian Arabic and the French definite article (la). Example [76], on the other hand, includes embedded French definite noun after the Algerian Arabic quantifier 'bezzɑːf' (many). This quantifier in French is followed by a preposition and a noun without a definite article (*beaucoup de*).

There are numerous counter-examples like the above; where word order is not shared between the two languages, yet code switching is accomplished. However, the most important weakness of the equivalence constraint as has been noted by many researchers in the literature including Bentahila and Davies (1983), Discuillo et al (1986), Romaine (1989) and Muysken (1995), is the fact that it depends on syntagmatic relations between categories neglecting the categorical equivalence. This implies that the two languages involved in code switching have the same categories.

Muysken (1995: 193) points to some mismatch in categorical equivalence across languages that include: clitic versus non-clitic pronouns, types of determiners and

demonstratives, and types of auxiliaries stating that: "Word order equivalence is a sub-case of categorical equivalence […]. In fact, there is no exact match between categories in different languages". Romaine (1995: 128) also makes a similar observation arguing that: "The equivalence constraint assumes that the two languages in contact share the same categories and does not make predictions about category mismatches". Criticising Poplack et al's (1990) strategies Boumans (1998) states:

> This constellation leaves little space for falsification of the Equivalence Constraint as there is a strong general tendency for codeswitching to occur either at constituent boundaries or as content word insertion. Whenever both languages happen to permit the attested word order, such switch sites can be said to conform to the equivalence constraint; in case of divergent word order the 'same' phenomenon will be called constituent insertion or nonce borrowing" Boumans (1998: 16)

In this respect, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 97) states that: "the circularity of this argument dealt the modal what many considered to be a fatal blow". Romaine (1995: 286) goes further to suggest that: "Poplack's defence of the structural integrity of linguistic systems is motivated less by the evidence than by the desire to justify the validity of a particular theoretical model of code-switching".

While the introduction of insertion as a distinct possibility seems to solve the problem of the under-prediction of the Equivalence Constraint in the case of typologically different languages, it actually over predicts in the case of languages that share the same word order (e.g., French/Italian code-switching in Montreal and Spanish/English code-switching) because "it leaves unexplained for the Spanish-English case why certain allowable switch points show hardly any or no cases of switching" Discuillo et al (1986: 4). In the same vein, Boumans (1998) argues that "according to the constraint there is no restriction on the insertion of single function words, as long as the word order of both languages is respected. However, with the exception of conjunctions and discourse markers, the insertion of single function words is rather uncommon".

The inadequacy of the linear approach became more apparent with the introduction of nonce borrowings and constituent insertions as strategies to overcome criticism and to account for most counter-examples provided in the literatures. This lead Boumans (1998, 18) to certify that Poplack's CS approach: "is in reality, often an insertional approach in disguise" and that "the elements of insertion, and consequently, that of matrix language, was implicitly

present from the beginning. […] Yet the existence of a matrix language is not made explicit or, still further, it is even explicitly denied"[112].

Poplack's linear approach is credited with turning attention to the linguistic aspect of code-switching, when most studies on code-switching concentrate on its social and functional factors. However, it was strongly criticized in code-switching literature and "its interest has become largely historical" (Boumans, 2001: 438).

The linear approach along with the earlier code-switching constraints are described by Myers-Scotton (2002: 13) to be descriptive (i.e. they are not motivated by any particular theoretical approach). MacSwan (2000: 56) also makes a similar observation stating that: "A shortcoming in Poplack's constraints is that there is no attempt to EXPLAIN[113] the facts. In addition, because the constraints are taken to be principles of the grammar, this approach suggests that code switching is governed by a sort of 'third grammar".

2.3 The Concept of the Matrix Language and Asymmetry in Code-switching

The term "matrix language" and the idea of asymmetric switching is one of the most influential concepts in bilingualism research today. Indeed, the observation that in highly mixed sentences only one language regulates most of the sentence structure echoed in several researchers' proposals that have brought up various ways to differentiate between the languages involved in code switching. These proposals can be tracked back as early as 1970s in the work of Hasselmo[114] (1974, 1975), Baustiba[115] (1975), Wentz[116] (1977); however, their work received little attention at that time. Other proposals include Sridhar & Sridhar (1980), Joshi (1981, 1982, 1985), Pandit (1986) and Petersen (1988).

---

[112] In fact, the term intra-sentential CS suggests an embedding sentence structure.

[113] The emphasis in the above quotation is MacSwan's.

[114] Hasselmo (1974, 1975) presented a model for bilingual speech behaviour among American Swedes called Ordered Selection, which describes how English elements can be integrated in Swedish utterances.

[115] In her 1975 dissertation, Baustiba designed a model of bilingual speaker based on a corpus of radio broadcasts in which CS between Tagalog and English was commonplace.

[116] According to Wentz (1977) the language of the sentence is the one in which the determiner and the main verb are produced.

Joshi[117] (1985) may not be the first to talk about the different roles of languages in code-switching, but he is the first to introduce the terms 'Matrix Language' (henceforth ML) and 'Embedded Language' (henceforth EL). Joshi's paper influenced much of later work, in particular the papers of Doron (1983), Ewing (1984), Klavans (1985), Schmid (1986), Nishimura (1986), and Azuma (1990) as well as it is an important source of inspiration for the model developed in the 1990s by Myers-Scotton.

Joshi studied Marathi/English code-switching data and proposed the asymmetric role of both languages involved in code-switching, suggesting that code-switching can occur in one direction from the matrix language to the embedded language. Joshi (1985:191) defined the Matrix Language on the basis of speakers' judgment stating that: "Despite extensive intra-sentential switching, speakers and hearers generally agree on which language the mixed sentence is coming from. We can call this language the Matrix Language and other language the Embedded Language".

While the insertional models and especially the MLF model is supported by many code-switching data, the most controversial issue that the model tries to deal with, is the identification of the Matrix Language. This has been undertaken from different angles including sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and discourse related criteria which are deemed inappropriate by many linguists (Muysken, 2000, Boumans 1998, Backus 1996) in the determination of morpho-syntactic structures.

Structurally, the concept 'Matrix Language' refers to the notion that when elements from two languages are present in a single structure they can be attributed to the grammar **or** morpho-syntactic rules of one of these languages (i.e. the ML) not to the grammar of both languages, nor to the overlap of both grammars or to a third (code-switching) grammar. Many criteria have been proposed to identify the Matrix (base, host, etc) Language such as that proposed by (Klavans, 1985; Traffers Daller, 1990), which is based on the language of the verb stem and those in terms of left-to-right parsing (Doron 1983, Joshi 1985) which consider that the first word or set of words in the sentence determines the base language. Muysken

---

[117] Joshi's (1985) work is influenced by Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) work. Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) advocate an insertional approach to CS using the term host language (the equivalent of Joshi's 'matrix language'), and guest language (which is the equivalent of Joshi's 'embedded language'). Sridhar and Sridhar's (1980) claim mainly concerns constituent insertion formulated in the Dual Structure Principle without defining their terms "Host Language and Guest Language".

(1995) for instance suggests that the language of the verb of the main clause determines the language of the whole sentence:

> In a structurally oriented model, some elements or set of elements determine the base language: often the main verb, which is the semantic kernel of the sentence, assigning the different semantic roles and determining the state of even expressed by the clause, is taken to determine the base language. (Muysken, 1995: 182).

In the same stream, Treffers-Daller (1990) considers that the ML is identified based on the language of the main verb:

> Another major difference between this approach and the other ones follows from the acceptation of the notion of a base language, defined by the finite verb (see section 3). I assume that switched constituents are syntactically integrated into the host language and that their placement does not necessarily correspond to the placement rules of the guest language. (Treffers-Dallers, 1990: 263).

Adoption of the main verb in determining the base language is misleading as in many languages there is a strategy to incorporate alien verbs into the base language morphology framed by inflections or auxiliary verb.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1997, and 2002) has modified her definition of the Matrix language several times due to the criticism and the ambiguity that her criteria have arisen which clearly reflects the difficulty of the task. After pointing out the circularity of the structural definition of the Matrix Language, Myers-Scotton (1993: 66) decided to define the ML empirically and independently of the structural role it plays. She, thus, proposed the relative frequency of ML morphemes and EL morphemes in a discourse sample i.e. morpheme counting stating that: "The ML is the language of more morphemes in interaction types including intra-sentential CS" (1993b, 68).

Myers-Scotton (1993: 68) recognizes that how large a discourse sample should be "is an unresolved issue", yet she suggests that a discourse sample means more than one sentence. Trying to give a more specific definition to the discourse sample Myers-Scotton (1995:238) re-articulated her understanding as follow: "a discourse sample of at least two sentences (within the same turn or across speakers) is a minimum". In other words, a sample to be analysed implies "minimally two sentences, either from a single speaker or from an adjacency pair produced by two speakers" (ibid: 96). She (ibid, 68) also suggests excluding cultural borrowing from the count as EL forms.

The statistical criterion at the discourse sample was criticized by many researchers. Muysken (2000: 66), for instance, points to the fact that "morpheme frequency is dependent

on the typology of the languages involved" i.e. the agglutinative languages[118] show more morphemes than isolating languages[119].

Bentahila and Davies (1995 :136) also questioned the validity of the quantitative criterion, wondering if an interaction containing two sentences dominated by one language followed by other six sentences dominated by another language, should be analysed as having a single Matrix Language depending on counting morpheme frequencies, or should one recognize a change of Matrix Language within the interaction. Consider the following examples from our corpus:

[77] *à partir du M1 toutes les universités* jqaʁʁɔ *en anglais en France* fə *le pays du français.* (R2)

> *Starting from M1, all the universities* study *in English in France* in *the country of French.*
> "Starting from M1 all universities in France will teach in English".

[78] fe *les sciences exactes d'une manière générale la disponibilité* kajna fe l-*physique. (R1)*

> In *exacts sciences, in general, the availability* is in DEF-*physics*
> "In exacts sciences, in general, teachers of physics are available".

[79] daʁwek *le fait de trouver un prof de math* jdiʁlek ø *double correction jeudi après-midi* manalqɑːʃ (R1)

> Now *the fact of finding a professor of maths* who will do for you *double correction Thursday afternoon* I won't find.
> "I won't find a professor of maths Thursday afternoon to do double correction"

[80] *Avec un claquement de doigt* nʒibɔ *un vacataire.* (R1)

> *With a snap of a finger* we bring *a part-time teacher.*
> "With a snap of a finger we can find a part-time teacher".

Based on the criterion of morpheme count, the ML in the above sentences would be French as French morphemes outnumber Algerian Arabic morphemes in all the examples.

---

[118] An agglutinative language is a language in which words are made up of a linear sequence of distinct morphemes and each component of meaning is represented by its own morpheme e.g. **Unfortunately,** is a single word consisting of three morphemes (un, fortunate, ly).

[119] An isolating language is a language in which almost every word consists of a single morpheme e.g. **man** is a single word consisting of a single morpheme (man).

However, French cannot account for the overall structures of those CPs as the verb and other function morphemes are from Algerian Arabic.

Myers-Scotton (1995: 77) cites some additional criteria: the ML is the language that is the unmarked or expected choice, and "the language which the subjects engaged in CS will identify themselves as the main language being used". These criteria which are no less problematic are reminiscent of Jushi's definition of the ML which is based on speaker's judgement. Trying again to arrive to an adequate definition of the ML, Myers-Scotton & Jake (1995) propose a three-part definition as follow:

> The ML is the language projecting the morph-syntactic frame for the entire CP which shows intra-sentential CS. Two other parts of the definition have to do with morpheme frequency: (a) generally, the ML is the language contributing more morphemes is a sample of discourse-relevant intra-sentential CS (minimally two contiguous CPs, either from a single speaker or from an adjacency pair produced by two speakers); (b) It is also generally the language of more morphemes in the discourse as a whole, including monolingual stretches. Myers-Scotton & Jake (1995: 983)

Criticising these criteria, Boumans (1998: 50) wonder how the ML is determined in cases where Myers-Scotton's three criteria do not converge and if the MLF model is upheld in the case when only one of these criteria points to the right ML.

Myers-Scotton (1997: 246) herself admits that her earlier definition of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1997: 66-9) is 'misguided' and 'misleading' because it attempts to identify the ML empirically. Given the difficulties and ambiguities with all of these criteria, a return to a structural definition of matrix language seems inescapable.

2.4 The Government Models & Matrix Language like Properties

A more theoretical approach departs from the government models which are based on constituent structure (DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986; Belazi, Rubin and Torbio, 1994). Here the notion of base or matrix language is inferred in these models as advanced by Muysken himself (2000):

> In the perspective of the government model (DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986), there need not to be a single base or matrix language for the clause. Still, there is a notion of base or matrix present in that model: each governing element (e.g. verb, preposition, auxiliary) creates a matrix structure, namely its maximal projection." Muysken (2000:67)

Nonetheless, the major weakness of these models is that they prohibit switching between the governing element and its maximal projection. Dicuillo et al[120] (1986b) define lexical categories (N, V, P, Adj) as heads of phrases inhibiting switching between them and their complements or maximal projections. This government constraint was an easy target for falsification since it fails to account for many common switches that were attested in the literature, such as those between Verb and Adverb, Preposition and the Noun Phrase or Verb and its Complement which is actually more recurrent than switching between a subject and a verb. The following examples from our corpus illustrate these types of switching:

[81] ɛlɑːʃ majʒuːʃ jeddɔ men ɛandhɔm ***les témoignages***. (R1)

     Why they don't come to take from them *the testimonies* (V/VComplement)

     Why don't they take their testimonies?

[82] *Le son voilà* kiːʃ janktab b-***les lettres***. R5 (Prep/NP)

     The sound here how it is written with-*the letters*

     Here how the sound is spelt.

[83] dɑːteh ***difficilement*** hadɑːk le sept. R9 (V/Adv)

     Took-3FEM-3Obj with difficulty that DEF-seven

     'She got seven with difficulty.

Belazi et al (1994) maintain a rather different conception exploiting the relation between the functional heads (Complementizer, Inflection, Negation, Determiners) and their syntactic environment in formulating code-switching constraints. This constraint 'The Functional Head Constraint'[121] would not permit switching between functional heads and their complements, and permit it between lexical heads and their maximal projections.

Belazi et al (1994: 228-229) restrict code-switching between complementizers and complement clauses (C°/IP), between model auxiliaries and verb phrases (I°/VP), between

---

[120] Using Chomsky's Government and Binding theory, Discuillo et al (1986a) formulate a constraint on code mixing in terms of government stating that: "Whenever constituent X governs Y, both constituents must be drawn from the same lexicon, or must have the same language index q[120]: (if X governs Y: Xq...Yq...)" (1986a: 4). In other words, "whenever constituent X governs Y, both constituents must be drawn from the same language" (Muysken, 1987:365).

[121] Belazi et al (1994) propose the Functional Head Constraint (hereafter FHC), assuming that language is one of the features being checked by a functional head, i.e. a functional head requires that the language feature of its complement match its own language feature. The FHC is formulated as follows: "The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head". Belazi et al (1994: 228)

determiners and noun phrases (Det°/NP), between quantifiers and noun phrases (Q°/NP), and between negative particles and their verb (Neg°/VP). The FHC has failed empirical testing, and many examples that have already been cited in CS literature present counter-evidence to the above cited switching sites FHC. These examples include frequent switching between: complementizers and complement clauses, between determiners or quantifiers and NPs and between Auxiliaries and verb complements (Bentahila and Davies, 1983; Woolford, 1983; Pfaff 1979; Discuillo et al, 1986: 14, 17; Benhattab, 2011).

Closer to the notion of insertion and more successful in terms of making the right predictions are the government approaches that permit insertion i.e. that allow switching between a head and any other constituent in its maximal projection be it a single word, a phrase or a clause as far as it obeys the syntactic properties of its head. Such propositions are developed by Mahootian and Santorini (1996: 470) who assert that: "Heads determine the syntactic properties of their complements in code switching and monolingual context alike" (ibid, 470). The same conception can be found in Pandit (1990:43) stating that "code switching must not violate the grammar of the head of the maximal projection within which it takes place". Similarly, Halmari (1993: 1061) notes that "An English lexical item can be inserted in the terminal node, provided that when a government relation is involved, Finnish morphosyntactic rules are not violated".

Despite the fact that these proposals depart from the same general principle of phrase structure, they differ in terms of which elements are defined as phrasal heads. In this regard, Pandit for instance identifies the Noun as the head that governs the relative order of noun and determiner whereas Mahootian and Santorini identify the Determiner as a head which is more reliably attested by many CS data. Pandit (1990) considers verb Inflection (INFL) as a phrasal head, however, she emphasises that INFL and Verb must come from the same language. Mahootian and Santorini (1996) on the other hand do not count inflectional features such as Tense as separate heads in phrase structure, but assume that they are "instantiated as syntactic features on lexical heads".

As long as the insertion of content words and constituents is allowed and functional categories are identified as heads of phrases, the models provided by (Mahootian and Santorini, 1996; Pandit, 1990; Halmari, 1993) can account for many code-switching data. However, this is not the case due to the different interpretations and the frequent redefinitions of the notion of 'government'. Indeed, there is much controversy among the researchers in

respect to what counts as government relation, what the governing categories are and how they apply to code-switching (Gardner Chloros, 2009: 98).

In addition, what make the insertional variants of the government theory an easy target for falsification is that as Boumans (1998: 24) indicates "in the case of inserted governing verbs, government models frequently make the wrong predictions" since the insertional government models do not account for switching that involve verbs from one language inflected with bound morphemes from another language, which is a common switching type in many code-switching data including Algerian Arabic/French code-switching data of the present study.

The advantage of the government model over Myers-Scotton's MLF model according to Boumans (1998)) is that it allows the description of insertions without the necessity to identify a ML. This advantage can be found in any type of grammatical analysis that recognizes an ordering of constituents in a hierarchy of structural layers without the necessity of identifying a governing morpheme that creates the constituent structure.

Furthermore, according to Boumans (1998: 47), taking as its point of departure the idea that each governing element creates its own matrix structure, the government model can easily deal with successive layers of insertion. This point will be further elaborated when we will expose Boumans' (1998) Monolingual Structure Approach.

2.5 Matrix language in Myers-Scotton's Insertion-based Model

Most grammatical analyses of code-switching in the literature have been directed towards finding CS constraints within sentence, considering the sentence as the syntactic unit of analysis (Bentahila and Davies, 1983: 304; Poplack, 1980; Discuillo et all, 1986; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Depending on the sentence as a unit of analysis, most researches refer to the distinction between intra-sentential, inter-sentential and extra-sentential code-switching in the structural analysis of code-switching, paying more attention to intra-sentential code-switching within which the grammar of both languages interact. The three types of code-switching are illustrated by examples from Algerian Arabic/French code-switching data of the present study as follows:

> **[84]** l-*prof* taɛ *l'anglais surement* kɑːnet χɑsɑːtəh *une cigarette*
> The-*teacher* of *the-English surely* needed *a cigarette*
> The English teacher surely needed a cigarette.

Example [84] illustrates Intra-sentential type of code-switching where the switching takes place within the same sentence, from single morpheme level (as *prof, surement*), to higher -phrase/ clause- levels as in (*l'anglais, une cigarette*).

> **[85]** qɾiːna waħd ttɑːɾiːχ ! *C'était du bidon, un grand mensonge.*
>
> Studied-we a history**!** *it was a fake, a big lie*. R1
> We studied such a history! It was a fake, a big lie.

> **[86]** l-ħɑːʒa l-mliːħa manʃɔfɔhɑːʃ. *Toujours on dépouille la personne*. R12
>
> The thing the good we don't see it. *Always we strip the person of their attributions*
> We never see the bright side. We always judge the person negatively.

Examples [85] and [86] embody inter-sentential code-switching i.e. switching from one language to the other occurs at sentence boundaries or between sentences.

> **[87]** *C'était* zaɛma *une urgence*. R4
>
> *It was* kind of *an emergency*.

> **[88]** daɾwek ħna ki daɾna *cinquante (50%) cinquante c'est faisable et c'est* kima gɑːllek *justifiable.* R9
>
> Now when we did it *fifty (50%) fifty, it is feasible and it is* as they say *justifiable*.

Examples [87] and [88] reflect the concept of Extra-sentential code-switching which is an insertion of a tag such as a phrase marker, sentence filler, or an exclamation from one language into an utterance that is entirely in another language; also called tag switching or emblematic switching. Here 'zaɛma' and 'kima gɑːllek' are tags from Algerian Arabic inserted in otherwise French sentences.

Nonetheless, even within the same sentence the grammar of both languages may not be in contact, as Myers-Scotton (2002: 55) argues in her subsequent publications, because a sentence can have different structural configurations (i.e. simple, compound, or complex sentences). So, while a bilingual simple sentence consists of a single CP[122], a compound or a

---

[122] CP (projection of complementizer) refers to specific type of maximal projection or constituent headed by an element in COMP position; although the element is often null. CP is the highest level in a tree of syntactic structures (i.e. the highest unit projected by lexical elements) that contains other constituents or maximal projection as NPs, VPs, and PPs. Both independent and dependent clauses are CPs. A CP is "the syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus any additional structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and the logical form of that clause" (Myers-Scotton, 2002:54).

complex bilingual sentence may contain two or more CPs each from a different language, like in the following examples from our AA/French code-switching data:

[89] kɔlʃi mʃi niʃɑːn, fiː men t-ʔemmen *et tu veux les gens se sacrifier ?* R1

> Everything is not clear, in whom to believe / *and you want the people to sacrifice their lives?*
> There is nothing clear, in whom to believe and you want the people to sacrifice their lives?

[90] *Tant que tu es à l'université* ɾɑːhɔm ɛɑːɾfiːn belli *tu es besoin de sortir.* R1

> *As long as you are at university, /* they know that/ *you need to travel abroad.*
> '*As long as you are at university,* they know that *you need to travel abroad.*'

In example [89], we have three monolingual CPs. The first two clauses are in Algerian Arabic; the third compound clause is in French. Example [90] also contains three monolingual CPs; two French CPs '*Tant que tu es à l'université*' (As long as you are at university), '*tu es besoin de sortir*' (you need to travel abroad), and one Algerian Arabic CP 'ɾɑːhɔm ɛɑːɾfiːn belli' (they know that).

The following example from Myers-Scotton's (1993b: 72) Swahili/English code-switching data clearly illustrates how Myers-Scotton herself was mistaken by taking a sentence as a unit of analysis:

Mpango huu ni *the customer fills forms and surrenders* kiasi   fulani ch-a   pesa
    Plan   this is   amount   some CL 7-of
money
Say like 200 shillings every month for two years.

'This plan is (that) the customer fills forms and surrenders some amount of money, say like 200 shillings, every month, and for two years." (Swahili/English CS, Myers-Scotton, 1993: 72)

According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 72), the Matrix Language of this sentence is Swahili, in which the following El islands are inserted *the customer fills forms and surrenders*, *say like 200 shillings, every month*, and *for two years*. This example led Muysken (2002: 65) to criticize Myers-Scotton stating that "it is hard to see what purpose is gained and what criteria can be used to assume that Swahili is the matrix language throughout".

In her book 'Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounter and Grammatical Outcomes' and with the introducing the CP as a unit of analysis, Myers-Scotton (2002: 54) has revised the above example admitting that she was confused in considering some full CPs[123] as EL islands[124] and making clear that '*the customer fills forms and surrenders* kiasi fulani ch-a pesa *say like 200 shillings every month for two years*' is a full CP with English as a Matrix Language and Swahili direct object ('kiasi fulani ch-a pesa' an amount of money) as an embedded island.

Realizing the limits and confusion of taking a sentence as the reference point of structural analysis, Myers-Scotton (1997, 2002) introduces the bilingual CP (projection of complementizer) as a proper unit of analysis, within which the grammars of the two languages are in contact. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 55), taking a CP as a unit of analysis will avoid the confusing problems of code-switching within a sentence, and will account for constituent with null elements that have been called extra-sentential code-switching (e.g. what ? or never !), by considering them as monolingual CPs, that include a number of null elements.

After choosing the CP (the projection of the complementizer) as a unit of analysis instead of a sentence, Myers-Scotton (1997: 247) defines the ML in terms of its structural role within a CP showing code-switching as follows: "The ML controls grammatical configurations within all constituents of a mixed CP. […] this control is formalized in the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme Principles". According to Myers-Scotton (ibid) only one language which is the ML sets the grammatical frame i.e. supplies system morphemes [function words and inflections] and imposes morpheme order of all mixed constituents within a CP showing code-switching.

In this vein, Muysken (2000:67) states that "the purely structural definition is somewhat circular if the matrix language thus determined is then invoked to explain the origin of system morphemes such as the verbal inflections and the complementizer". He further adds (ibid: 68) that "the notion of matrix language is essentially an empirical one – it may be there, or not – rather than a theoretical prime". On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (2000:59) claims that the terms 'morpheme order' and 'system morphemes:

---

[123] Both CPs and EL islands are constituents, but islands are contained within CPs.

[124] Embedded language Islands are embedded language constituents that show structural dependency relationships (they must consist of two or more morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 2002:54).

"are independent of the theoretical construct, the Matrix Language. That is, they do not depend on the predicted Matrix Language – Embedded Language hierarchy for their existence; morpheme order and the type of system morpheme specified have an objective reality. Once more they can be defined objectively. This is what makes the principles testable hypotheses."

Moreover, she (ibid: 60) states that "the language whose structural role is critical- *within the terms of the principles* – is the one that receives the label 'Matrix Language'. By extension, 'the Matrix Language' becomes the label for the frame providing morphosyntactic structure for the bilingual CP"[125].

With the introduction of composite code-switching[126], Myers-Scotton (2002: 66) extends the definition of the ML stating that: "The Matrix Language is not to be equated with an existing language; rather one should view the Matrix Language as an abstract frame for the morphosyntax of the bilingual CP". The source of the ML frame may be one language, as in classical code-switching, or more than one language, as in composite code-switching.

As a response to many researchers (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Muysken, 2000; Gardner Chloros, 2009), who have wondered whether the ML as structurally defined concept can be identified as the 'dominant language' in psycholinguistic terms, and as the 'unmarked choice' in sociolinguistic terms, Myers-Scotton (2002: 62) clearly affirms that "the Matrix Language differs from both of these designations because it is a grammatically based construct" that applies only to a mixed CP. Yet, she does not deny the fact that the ML may coincide with a dominant language or unmarked choice in discourse (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 246).

Myers-Scotton (2002:66) also claims that the ML can change from one CP to the next for some speakers, but it does not change within the same CP. The following examples illustrate how the ML changes from one CP to the other within the same sentence:

[91] ki nasmeɛ *l'enseignant, je peux déchiffrer* <u>wɑːʃ rɑːh j-gʊːl</u>.

When I listen to *the teacher*, *I can decipher* <u>what he is saying</u>

When I listen to the teacher, I can understand what he is saying

---

[125] According to Myers-Scotton (2000:60) a circular definition would state that the Matrix Language is the frame (or is a label for the frame) providing structure for the bilingual CP because the Matrix Language is the frame.

[126] Myers-Scotton distinguishes two types of intra-sentential code-switching: classic and composite CS. In classic CS, only one of the participating languages provides the morpho-syntactic structure of bilingual CP as opposed to composite CS in which two languages are the source of the structural frame.

[92] *Les garçons malgré que le niveau* tasɦɔm ø ʃwijja <u>bassaħ</u> *ils sont disciplinés.*

The boys even if the level their ø a little <u>but</u> *they are disciplined.*

The boys even if their level is not very good, they are disciplined.

In example [91], we have two CPs in the same sentence. The first CP "ki nasmeɛ l'enseignant" (When I listen to the teacher) is a dependent clause with Algerian Arabic as a ML in which the French NP "*l'enseignant*" (the teacher) is embedded as an object to the verb "nasmeɛ". The ML in the second CP which is an independent clause "*je peux déchiffrer* wɑːʃ ɾɑːh j-gʊːl" (I can decipher what he is saying) is French and the Algerian Arabic inflectional phrase (hereafter: IP) "wɑːʃ ɾɑːh j-gʊːl" (what he is saying) is inserted as an object to the French verb "*déchiffrer*".

In example [92], we have two CPs. The ML in the first CP "*Les garçons malgré que le niveau* tasɦɔm ø ʃwijja" (The boys even if their level is not very good) is Algerian Arabic marked by zero copula (ø) in which the French NPs '*Les garçons*', '*le niveau*' and the adverbial conjunction '*malgré que*' are embedded. The ML in the second CP is French "*ils sont disciplinés*" preceded by the Algerian Arabic conjunction "<u>bassaħ</u>" (but).

The above examples illustrate the fact that the ML does change from one CP to the other in the same sentence as claimed by the MLF. Nonetheless, even within the same CP the base language can change as many examples from different code-switching data including ours show and as we will see next, but before we shall examine the following example which is considered as a counterexample to the MLF model:

[93] hadi *normalement* tanqbelləh *parce qu'il a eu beaucoup d'exceptions* <u>fe</u> *le cas LMD.*

This *normally* should be accepted *because there were many exceptions* <u>in</u> *the case of the LMD system.*

Example [93] contains two CPs; the first in an Algerian Arabic CP in which the French adverb "*normalement*" (normally) is inserted. The ML in the second CP is French; however, what can be considered as a potential problem to the MLF model is the embedded Algerian Arabic preposition 'fe' (in). Prepositions are considered as system morphemes that set the frame in which content morphemes are embedded and they are not inserted alone according to content/system morpheme hypothesis. They can be inserted within well-formed

EL islands according to the Blocking hypothesis. Examples of this type of insertion are not few in our corpus, so how they are going to be treated under the insertional models of code-switching?

2.6   Matrix Language and Layered Insertion

In his model the Monolingual Structure Approach[127](hereafter MSA), Boumans (1998) identifies two main types of matrix structure, the finite clause[128] and clause constituents headed by one of the major word categories; Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverb and Preposition. The MSA has been developed by Boumans on the basis of his analysis of Moroccan/Dutch CS corpus and it is an insertional model that views CS as: "… The insertion of smaller or larger constituents from one language, to be called the Embedded Language, into a syntactic frame set by another language, the Matrix Language" (Boumans & Caubet, 2000: 113).

Boumans (1998: 66) defines the ML on the constituent level as "the language to which the internal structure of the constituent as expressed by the distribution of all morphemes within the constituent can be attributed. The distribution of a morpheme concerns both its occurrence and its order relative to other morphemes that make up the constituent.". According to Boumans (ibid), the ML determines which function morphemes should or should not surface, and is responsible for the relative order of the function and content morphemes that make up the constituent.

Boumans (1998: 76) adopts Klavans' (1985) definition of what she calls the Base Language for the ML on the finite clause level cited as follow: "the Matrix Language (ML) on sentence level is the language of the inflection bearing element of the tensed verb". So according to Boumans, the verbal inflection (i.e. inflection for tense) is the best indicator of the ML on the finite clause level; because of the constant correlation between the language of the inflection of the finite verb and the language to which basic word order[129] (the order of the verb and its arguments) must be attributed. In addition, there is more variation in verbal

---

[127] The MSA is an insertional approach that is based on insights from a number of scholars including Hasselmo (1972, 1974), Bautista (1975, 1980), Klavans (1985), Nishimura (1986) and Myers-Scotton (1993).

[128] Boumans (1998) takes the finite clause rather than the complementizer phrase as a ML for different reasons that will be explained later when we will be dealing with discourse markers.

[129] The relationship between verbal inflection and basic word order has been observed before in linguistic theory. Treffers-Daller definition of the base language of the sentence as the language of the finite verb stems from the fact that "the sentence is defined as the maximal projection of inflection (I) in modern linguistic theory (IP)" (1994: 204)

inflection systems than in constituent order which makes the inflection of the finite verb as a reliable criterion in cases where the languages differ in word order and in cases where the languages share the same word order (ibid).

In that the MSA does not differ from the MLF model; both are insertional models arguing that a grammatical structure containing morphemes from two languages can be attributed to the grammar of only one of these languages, i.e. the ML, rather than to the grammar of both languages or to the overlap of both grammars. Yet, the major difference between them lies as Boumans states in "the scope of the ML" (Boumans & Caubet, 2000: 114).

Unlike the MLF model, which defines the ML solely at the CP level, the MSA identifies the ML at two levels the finite clause level and the phrasal constituent level independently, assuming that, the ML of the finite clause is not necessarily the ML of each constituent or island inserted within this clause (Boumans, 1998: 77). This means that EL constituents (i.e. embedded language noun phrases and prepositional phrases) may also be themselves matrix structures in which elements of the other language are inserted (Boumans & Caubet, 2000: 117). Boumans call the insertion of an element or a constituent from one language into a constituent structure of another language, which is inserted again in the finite clause structure of the former language, LAYERED INSERTION[130]. The following examples from our corpus will illustrate the point:

> **[94]** *Tu as raté* <u>waħd</u> *la discussion*. (R4)
>
> > *You have missed* <u>INDEF</u> *DEF discussion*
> >
> > "You've missed a really interesting discussion"

> **[95]** *Donc c'est légitime d'avoir* <u>had</u> *la frustration*. (R6)
>
> *So, it is legitimate to have* <u>DEM</u> *DEF frustration*
>
> "So, it's legitimate to have such frustration"

> **[96]** *Tous ces conflits-là sont en partie à ce statu minorisé* <u>taɛ</u> *l'anglais et c'est ça la force* <u>taɛhɔm</u>. (R12)
>
> > *All these conflicts here are partially due to this inferior status* <u>of</u> *DEF*
> > *English and this is DEF force* <u>of-them</u>
> > All the conflicts here are partially due to this inferior status of English

---

[130] Layered insertion as a concept is not new. Baustiba (1980) and Nishimura (1986) propose a layered insertion analysis for some of their Tagalog/English and Japanese/ English data, respectively. In addition, the government approaches illustrate this notion.

[97] *Les sociétés qui ont réussi, ils ont investi* ƒℇ *l'éducation*. (R6)

The societies which have succeeded, they invested <u>in</u> the education.

"The societies which have succeeded, they invested in education."

Using the concept of layered insertion of the MSA, examples [94], [95] and [96] are analysed as French finite clauses in which are inserted Algerian Arabic NPs 'waħd la discussion', 'had la frustration' and ''la force taɛhɔm'. These Algerian Arabic NPs are themselves matrices on the constituent level that embed French definite NPs 'la discussion', 'la frustration', and 'la force'. Likewise, the embedded Algerian Arabic PPs (taɛ l'anglais, ƒℇ l'éducation) in French finite clauses in examples [96] and [97] include inserted French definite NPs (*l'anglais*, *l'éducation*).

In those examples, French is the ML at the finite clause level. Yet, determiners and prepositions are realized in Algerian Arabic, the EL, creating structures that resemble those observed when the same language (i.e. Algerian Arabic) is the ML of the whole finite clauses. Examples such as [94-97] are difficult to be dealt with in the classical MLF model, due to the difficulties in defining the matrix language. The problem stems from the possibility to consider such instances as insertions of single Algerian Arabic system morphemes into French matrix structures which would necessitate, according to Boumans (1998: 77), the introduction of 'function morpheme insertion as an additional insertion type, a type for which there is little evidence in CS data generally'.

Moreover, even if the possibility of function morpheme insertion is considered, there still remains a problem to deal with in the case of the insertion of Algerian Arabic (waħd , had, and taɛhɔm) in examples [94-96]. The sequences (indefinite + definite article) in [94], (Possessive + definite NP) in [95] and (demonstrative + definite article) in [96] are perfectly interpretable within Algerian Arabic grammar, whereas they would be ungrammatical sequences in French NPs. All the above cited examples make the possibility of treating Algerian Arabic elements as inserted system morphemes into French matrix structures improbable since French grammar cannot account for this type of insertions.

It was shown that the internal structure of the NPs is Algerian Arabic, and only Algerian Arabic as the ML can account for the occurrence of the French definite article in these examples. This is in accordance with the definition of the ML at the constituent level independently from the ML at the finite clause level. Thus, as Boumans (1998: 81) argues

"Layered insertion can account for what seems to be a counter-example to the generalisation that single function morphemes are not insertion".

Such insertion types are quite common in some code-switching corpora. In code-switching literature many linguists, including Benhattab (2011), Bentahilla and Davies (1983), Boumans (1998), Nishimura (1986), Poplack (1981), Treffers-Daller (1994), and Ziamari (2003), have presented instances from their corpora characterized by this phenomenon. Here are some examples from different data sets to illustrate the insertion of single system morphemes:

> *Elle me pique* ʄ *la figure.*
> *It bites me* **on** *the face*.
> (MA/French CS, Bentahilla & Davies, 1983: 325).

> *Where are they*, **los**   *language things*?
>   DEF'
> Where are they, the language things'?
> (Spanish/English CS, Poplack, 1981: 175)[131]

> *Ik ben niet tevreden   over eh__kwaliteit* **dyal** *eh, ja,* **dyal**__*faculteit.*
> I am not satisfied   about er [the] quality   of   er, well,   of   [the] faculty.
> "I am not satisfied with er the quality of er, well, of the faculty".
> (MA/Dutch CS, Boumans, 1998: 317)

> *Een boekbespreking, ik heb het gedaan* **f** *Tilburg.*
> A   book-review   I have it   done   in Tilburg.
> 'A book review, I did it in Tilburg'.
> (MA/Dutch CS, Boumans, 1998 : 316).

> *Je sens* waħd *la froideur* ʄ dak *la personne.*
> I feel INDEF-DEF-coldness in that –DEF- person.
> 'I feel coldness in that person'.
> (Maroccan Arabic/French CS, Ziamari, 2003: 232).

Hence, the layered insertion analysis offers a solution for seemingly problematic cases of function morpheme insertion in a variety of other language pairs.

Although not directly stated, Muysken (2000) also refers to the notion of layered insertion and adopts Klavans (1985) theory in defining the ML at the clause level which is the

---

[131] Cited in Boumans (1998: 80) and in Mahootian (2006: 520).

language of inflection on the finite verb, however in the subordinate clauses, the complementizer determines the ML of the clause as follow:

> … each governing element (e.g. verb, preposition, auxiliary) creates a matrix structure, namely its maximal projection. If the chain of government were unbroken, the highest element in the tree would determine the language for the whole tree; this would often be the inflection on the **finite verb**, as in the theory proposed by Klavans (1985) and taken up by Treffers-Daller (1994). In subordinate clauses, this would be the **complementizer**. Muysken (2000: 67)

Despite the fact that layered insertions provide an interpretation to the problematic cases in this data, that involve the frequent insertion of Algerian Arabic single system morphemes when French is the ML of the CPs, it constitutes at the same time counter-evidence to the MLF model because it proves that the ML does change within the same CP. The fact that two morpho-syntactic sources can structure the complementizer phrase has been categorically rejected by Myers-Scotton (1993b, 2002). Since the first version of the MLF model (1993) to the latest version (2002), Myers-Scotton (2002) defends her point of view stating that:

> The Matrix Language can-and does-change from one CP to the next for some speakers in some corpora, even though there are not many examples of this in the codeswitching literature. This fact does not change the finding that within a single CP itself, evidence to date indicates the Matrix Language does not change within that unit. Myers-Scotton (2002: 66)

If we compare the two counter-examples, i.e. the insertion of Algerian Arabic single system morphemes into French CPs and the fact that ML can change within the same CP, we find that the first counter-evidence seems to hinder the efficiency of the two hierarchies (the ML vs. EL opposition and the content vs. system morpheme opposition), on which the MLF model is based. However, accepting layered insertion, i.e. the fact that ML can change within the same CP, as an explanation to the above code-switching instances, will still allow us to approach this type of switching within an insertional paradigm.

In this vein the matrix language would need to be defined more broadly as "the language which projects the grammatical frame for the unit showing intra-sentential CS" (Myers-Scotton et al., 1996: 16), where unit is the crucial term, as opposed to "the language that projects the morpho-syntactic frame for the CP" (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995: 983; Myers-Scotton, 1997: 223).

Despite the fact that Myers-Scotton acknowledges in her later publication (2016) the possibility that both languages may contribute in framing the grammatical structure within the

same clause (the notion of layered insertion), she does consider such roles only to be theoretical i.e. it doesn't happen in actual speech as stated in the following quotation:

> When the two languages are used within the same clause, theoretically both could control aspects of grammatical structures. For example, noun phrases (nouns and their modifiers) could meet the well-formedness conditions of one language, and verb phrases (verbs and their predicates) could be structured by the other language. However, that does not happen. Empirical evidence shows that the grammatical structure of one language prevails in what we call **classic codeswitching**. Myers-Scotton (2016: 241)

Nonetheless, empirical evidence shows that this does happen and it is indeed recurrent in various code-switching data (Bentahilla and Davies 1998, Boumans 1998, Ziamari 2003, Benhattab 2011, Ouahmiche 2013) including the one under study.

Despite the strenuous problem of formulating adequate criteria for the identification of the ML and the persistent criticism put forward to the insertional models, the notion of insertion and hence the concept of the ML proves to be a useful notion in providing some general constraints on code-switching and limiting the number of patterns and explanation; an advantage over the linear or alternative approach that is based on the enumeration of possible juxtapositions. For instance, Sankoff & Poplack (1981: 34) observe that one of the favourite switch sites is between a determiner and a noun, while in fact single nouns are frequently inserted irrespective of the preceding word. Thus, it is more reasonable to refer to noun insertion rather than to enumerate all categories of words that may occur adjacent to a noun. The following examples from our corpus will explain this more:

[98] *La mère* tɔ-gɛɔd t-suːfɾ-i . (R4)

    The mother IMPERF-remain IMPERF-suffer-3Subj

    The mother suffers

[99] ʒa ɛand-i *un cousin*. (R1)

    PERF-come to-me *a cousin*

    'A cousin came.'

[100] hijja lli dɑːt *le travail. (*R1)

    She who PERF-take *the task*

    'She took the task.'

[101] *L'initiative* ⌀ mliːħ. (R4)

    The initiative ⌀ good

The initiative is good.

[102] kɑːn-et fe *l'ambassade* tɑɛ *l'Allemagne*. (R1)

IMPERF-be-3SGSubj in the embassy of German

'She worked in the embassy of German.'

[103] waħd *la candidate* te-ʃk-iː-l-i. (R1)

INDEF *the candidate* IMPERF-complain-3SGSubj-to-me

'A candidate tells me.'

[104] ʒab-u-l-i haduk *les copies. (*R1)

IMPERF-bring-3PLSubj-to-me *the copies*

'They brought me the copies.'

[105] ja-kl-ɔ bezzɑːf *les légumes*. (R4)

IMPERF-eat-3PLSubj many the vegetables.

'They eat a lot of vegetables.'

[106] ana ħsab-t gɑːɛ *les langues*. (R4)

I IMPERF-think-1SGSubj all the languages

'I thought all languages.'

The above-cited examples can be described in terms of linear approach as switches between Algerian Arabic and French word categories or/and grammatical functions. In the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus of the present study, it is possible to switch between a French NP (being a subject or an object or a complement) and an Algerian Arabic verb as in examples [98], [99] and [100], between French NPs and Algerian Arabic adjectives (zero copula) (example [101]) and between French NPs and Algerian Arabic prepositions (example [102]). Switching can also occur between the French NP and the Algerian Arabic indefinite article 'waħd' (example [103]), Algerian Arabic demonstrative adjective (example [104]), and Algerian Arabic determiner 'gɑːɛ' and quantifier 'bezzɑːf' as in the last two examples.

Hence, instead of citing all the possible switch points, one would investigate the distribution and/or the functions of the NPs in the corpus. In this way we can state that the distribution of French NPs is ascribed to Algerian Arabic grammar which is the ML in these examples. In this respect Boumans (1998: 64) notes that "the concept of insertion adds a level of explanation by assuming a fundamentally distinct role for each language, and by attributing

the bulk of the attested regularities to the grammar of one of them, the matrix language…. as one type of insertion summarizes a large number of linear switch points". The notion of alternation and insertion are reassumed by Muysken (2000) in considering the different mechanisms involved in bilingual speech.

2.7 Muysken's Code-switching Typology

Muysken's Bilingual Speech (2000) offers an integrated framework showing that each of the grammatical frameworks so far proposed to account for code-switching regularities offers only a partial description of the grammatical possibilities in code-switching speech. Thus, his book is an attempt to present a general account of intra-sentential code-switching phenomenon, giving attention to the crucial role of sociolinguistic factors influencing code-switching. His structural typology comprises three distinct but potentially overlapping types, namely insertional (insertion of lexical elements or entire constituents from one language into a structure from the other language), alternational (alternation between structures from the two languages respecting each other morphosyntactic frame), and congruent lexicalization (the two languages converge and share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language).The notion of congruent lexicalization according to Muysken (2000) underlies the study of style shifting and dialect/ standard variation rather than bilingual language use proper.

Trying to bring the three processes (insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization) to the same empirical ground as that covered by some of the major models namely Poplack's and Myers-Scotton's approaches, Muysken (2000:32) proposes the following figure to which he adds style shifting to make it comparable to these models:
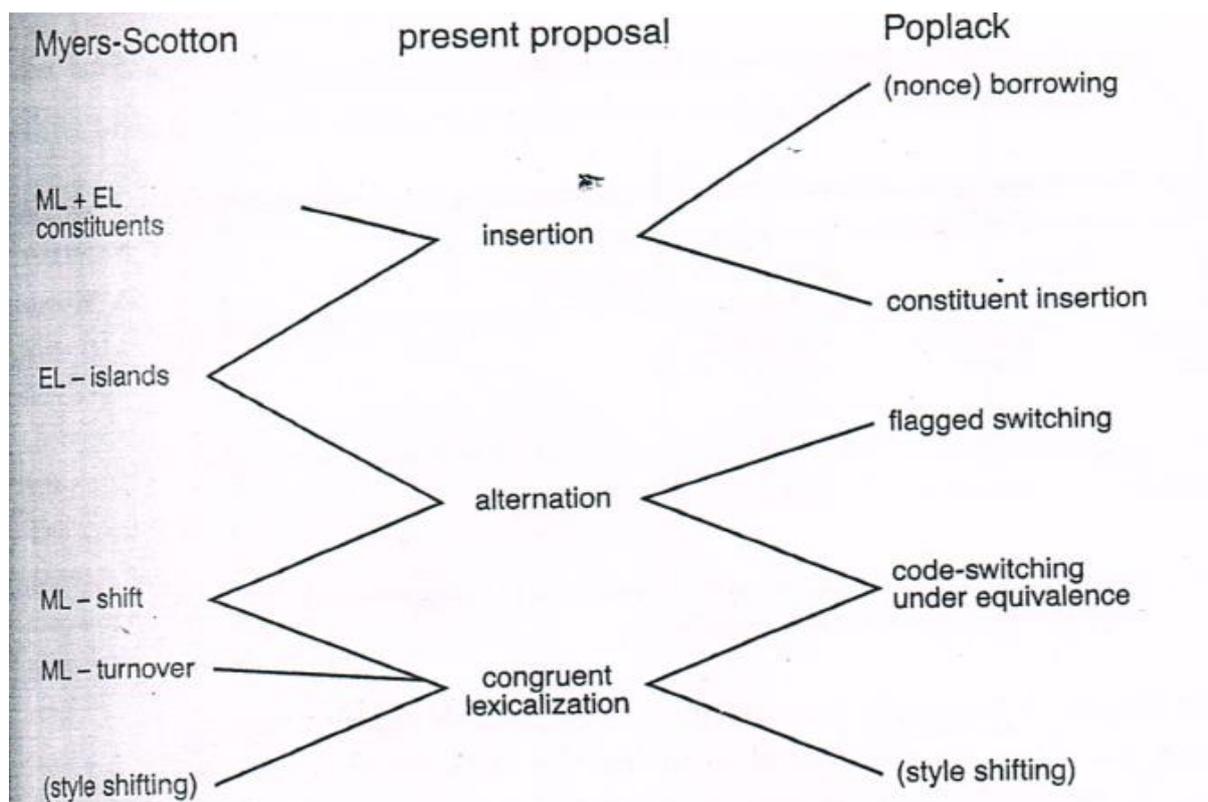
Figure 2.1: the present classification of language interaction phenomena as compared with that of Myers-Scotton and Poplack.

Indeed, Muysken's (2000) notion of congruent lexicalization is very similar to Myers-Scotton's (2002) composite code-switching even though the former type is more restricted in its grammatical scope than the later since, according to Muysken, congruent lexicalization is typical for contact between closely related languages. In this respect Muysken states that: "For **congruent lexicalization**[132], [….], it is quite possible that there are no structural constraints since all is involved is insertion of words into one single syntactic structure". Hence, the complex issue of constraints on code-mixing reduces to the study of alternation and insertion on which we are going to focus while exposing Muysken's interpretation of these two mechanisms of intra-sentential code-mixing[133] as being complementary rather than unique and contrastive.

---

[132] Author's emphasis

[133] Muysken (2000) avoids using the term code-switching as a cover term for the general process of mixing because of two reasons: the first is that the term code-switching is less neutral as it suggests something like alternation as opposed to insertion, secondly, it separates code-mixing too strongly from phenomena of borrowing and interference.

2.7.1   Insertion

Muysken (2000:68) emphasises the fact that there is much evidence that indeed in many cases code-mixing is asymmetrical and involves a 'dominant', 'base', or 'matrix' language. However, he clearly states that in other cases it is not. Muysken (ibid: 64) summarises the main features of insertional code-mixing as follow: "insertions tend to be single, nested[134], often selected[135], often morphologically integrated constituents, often content words". He further adds the adjacency principle stated as follow:

> If in a code-mixed sentence two adjacent elements are drawn from the same language, an analysis is preferred in which at some level of representation (syntax, processing) these elements also form a unit. (Muysken 2000: 61)

He gives the following example from Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Swahili/English data:

Ni-ka-*wash all the clothes*.
1sg-PST-wash all the clothes
'I washed all the clothes.' (Swahili/English; Myers-Scotton 1993b:80)

So, here according to the adjacency principle *wash all the clothes* is a single switch (an entire switched VP) rather than an inserted verb stem '*wash*' and an embedded determiner phrase '*all the clothes*'. Nevertheless, Muysken's analysis concerning VP seems inadequate since the verb phrase includes inflection along with the verb stem which in the above example happen to precede the verb 'wash' making it adjacent to the direct object. The following examples from our data include embedded French verb stems and French direct objects, however, they cannot be considered as the insertion of one constituent (the verb phrase) as the Algerian Arabic inflection intervenes between the French verb stems and the French direct objects so they cannot be considered as two adjacent elements:

[107] j-***gonfl**-uː-l-hɔm **les notes**. R4
    IMPER-inflate-for-them *the marks*.
    They inflate student's marks.

[108] n-ɛɑːwed n-***rattrap**-i **les cours**. R9
    IMPER1S-*repeat* IMPER1S-make up-1Subj *the lectures*
    'I will make up again for the lectures.'

---

[134] Insertion tends to exhibit a nested structure i.e. fragment preceding the insertion and the fragment following are grammatically related.

[135] Selected elements mean objects or complements rather than adjuncts.

[109] ɣɑːdi t-***pos***-i ***sa démission***. R9

Will IMPER2S-*put*-2Subj *her resignation*

'She is going to resign.'

[110] ħnɑːja nə-***propos***-ɔ ***des thèmes***. R9

We IMPER3PS-suggest-3Subj themes

'We will suggest themes.'

The above examples include singles constituents i.e. noun phrases *'les notes'*, *'les cours'*, *'sa démission'*, *'des thèmes'* and morphologically integrated French verb stems. The adjacency principle seems to be irrelevant for the following example where the French PP '*sur un PV*' (on a PV) and the French noun '*proposition*' (proposition) are two adjoining elements; however, they do not constitute one unit –the French noun is an object inserted in an Algerian Arabic NP framed by the null article (ø) that marks indefiniteness and the French PP is an EL islands:

[111] tɔ-χɾɔʒ ***sur un PV*** ø ***proposition***.

IMPERF 3F-appear ***on a PV proposition***

'It will appear on a PV as a proposition.'

Concerning the second feature of insertion which is a nested a b a structure (i.e. the fragment preceding the insertion and the fragment following are grammatically related) is illustrated by the following example:

[112] ki t-kuːn ø ***conflit*** me l-fuːg.

When IMPER-be ø conflict from above

When there is a conflict at a higher level

Furthermore, insertions, as Muysken (2000) argues, are selected elements i.e., they tend to be objects or complements rather than adjuncts[136] as in the following example:

[113] ana kɔn-t nʃuːf ***la dernière fois la note de DES***. R10

I be-1Subj IMPERF-look at *the last time the mark of the make-up exam*

'I was looking at the mark of the make-up exam last time.'

---

[136] Adjuncts are one of the five major elements of clause structure (subject, verb, object and complement). Adjuncts are sometimes called adverbials. An adjunct is a phrase which is not necessary to the structure of the clause, but which adds some extra meaning to it. A complement, on the other hand, is necessary in order to complete the meaning:

*They waited **outside for ages**. (outside* and *for ages* are adjuncts)

*He put some salt **in the soup**. (in the soup* is a complement*)

[114] *Après les vacances de printemps,* n-diːɾ-ɔ mɛɑː-hɔm *une petite séance de travail.* R11

    After spring holidays, IMPERF-make-1Subj with-them *a short work session*
    'After spring holiday, we'll have a short work session.'

[115] n-qadd-ɔ ndiːɾɔ *un brouillon avant la sortie*. R9

    IMPERF-be able-1Subj *a draft before the holidays*
    We can make a draft before holidays.

The constituents '*la note de DES*', '*une petite séance de travail*', '*un brouillon*', are objects to Algerian Arabic verbs i.e. they are selected elements that characterise insertional code-switching. The French noun phrase '*la dernière fois*', and the French prepositional phrases '*Après les vacances de printemps*', '*avant la sortie*' are adjuncts i.e. non selected elements which reflect alternational code-switching.

However, several constituents in a row do not always form a single constituent as Muysken (ibid) argues. In these cases, insertion becomes less plausible and alternation or congruent lexicalization becomes serious possibilities. The following example illustrates the problem of constituency as it leaves the question of whether or not to consider '*of zo*', in the sentence below, as part of the previous constituent unanswered:

    ẑib li-ya   *een glas water of zo*.   (Maroccan Arabic/Dutch; Nortier 1990:131)
    get for-me   a glass water or so
    'Please get me a glass of water or something.'

A similar example can be drawn from our corpus containing the phrase '*et tout*' (and everything) as follow:

[116] j-dirə-l-kɔm ø *animation* tɑɛ *multimédia et tout*.

    IMPERF-Do-for-3PLObj *ø animation* of *multimedia and everything*
    'He will make for you the animation of multimedia and everything else.'

Myers-Scotton (2006:261) has responded to Muysken's enquiry, clearly stating that the Dutch phrase '*een glas water of zo*' (a glass of water or so) is an embedded language island with 'glas' (glass) as its head and the other elements modifying 'glas'.

While in insertion the notion of matrix language is called for, in alternation it plays no role. Some elements in the sentence have a syntactic relationship; others are simply juxtaposed e.g. dislocated elements, oppositions, interjections and tags, predicative elements and adverbial phrases, which are referred to as alternational or paratactic switches.

2.7.2   Alternation

Muysken (2000) emphasizes the process of alternation in code-switching and borrowing[137], yet he widens the scope of its application to the sentence and discourse grammar. Alternation as Muysken (2000: 121) defines it, is a multi-dimensional process that refers to "a form of mixing in which the two languages remain relatively separate". According to Muysken alternation under the linear equivalence or shared word order as proposed by Poplack (1980) presents only one possibility, adding that much of it, is more like congruent lexicalization- a smooth back and forth between two languages that share a structure[138]. Thus, although Muysken acknowledges alternation as a code-mixing process, he does not share with Poplack the strict definition of the term under the equivalence word order.

First, we are going to consider sentence-internal criteria or features which according to Muysken (2000) are typical of alternational mixing. Based on Treffers-Daller's (1994) work on French/Dutch code-mixing in Brussels[139], Muysken (2000) shows that many patterns in the data are indicative of alternational code-mixing.

Several constituents are expected to be switched since sentence planning takes place in an entirely different language after the switch as in the following examples provided by Muysken:

> Je dois je dois glisser *[daan vinger] [hier]*.
> 'I have to insert/ my finger here.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 213)

> Je telephone à Chantal, he, *[meestel] [voor commieskes te doen] [en eten]*.
> 'I call Chantal, hm, / mostly to go shopping and eat.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 213)

The following examples from our corpus include multi-constituent switches which according to Muysken is indicative of alternation:

> **[117]** *[C'est] [que] [officiellement], [le programme]* kmal. R12
>   *[It's] [that] [officially], [the programme]* has finished.
>   *'Officially, the programme has finished.*

---

[137] According to Muysken (2000) nouns are borrowed through insertion while interjections are incorporated into a language via alternation.

[138] When there is linear word order equivalence between the two languages, alternation and congruent lexicalization are a clear possibility.

[139] French/Dutch code-mixing in Brussels (Treffers-Daller's: 1994) has a number of features typical of alternational mixing.

[118] ntaja mataɛɾafʃ [*sur quoi*] [*l'université*] [*est basé*] [*et conçu*].

You you-don't-know [*on what*] [*the university*] [*is based*] [*and conceived*]. R12

'You don't know on what university is based and conceived.'

[119] ħna fahhamna ɛla hadi [*l'esprit de l'autorité*] [*et le respect*] [*et professionnalisme*] [*entre nous*]. R12

We PERF-explain-3S-Subj-1PObj about this [*the spirit of authority*] [*and the respect*] [*and professionalism*] [*among us*].

'He explained to us the importance of the spirit of authority and respect for each other.'

The second feature concerns non-nested A…B…A[140] sequences where the switched string is preceded and followed by elements from the other language and which are not syntactically or structurally related as illustrated below:

Bij mijn broer *y a un ascenseur* en alles.   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 204)
'At my brother's place, / *there is an elevator*/ and everything.'

Ik heb gehoord van de post he, *que ça pourrait etre une histoire* van racket.
'I have heard of the postal service hm, / *that that could be a story*/ of blackmail.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 199)

This type of non-nested switches can also be found in the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching data under study as follow:

[120] *C'est la 2ème fois*/ ɾɑːni nasmeɛ b-had/ l-manque de respect.

It is the 2nd time/ I hear of-this/ the-lack of respect. R9

'It is the second time that I hear of this lack of respect.'

[121] *Comment ça se fait*/ nti ɾɑːki dɑːjɾa *le nombre de séances*/ kima ħna. R9

How is that possible / *you you have done*/ *the number of sessions*/ like us.

'How is that possible you 've done the same number of session as we have.'

[122] hɔwa *avec sa politique* lli ɾɑːh daɾwak *en train d'observer*.

He/ *with his politics*/ that he-is- now/ *observing*. R12

'He is now just observing everyone and everything.'

---

[140] A, B -refer to languages

Further criteria include *length* and *complexity*. According to Muysken (2000:97) the *more words*[141] a switched fragment contains and the *more complex structure* it has, the more likely that it is a case of alternation rather than insertion as shown in the following extract taken from Treffers-Daller's (1994: 204):

> Ze gaan arrangeren van binnen voor appartementen te doen *parce que c'est comment dirais-je c'est pas antique c'est classé.*
> 'They are going to arrange that inside to make appartments, / *because it is, how shall I say, it is not antique it's classified.*'

The following example from our corpus includes a long and complex fragment from the other language which is French (*une semaine juste pour voir s'ils ont des questions et programmer les examens)*:

> **[123]** *Est-ce que* nzi:d *deux semaines, trois semaines* wella ɣi/ *une semaine juste pour voir s'ils ont des questions et programmer les examens. R9*
> *shall* we add *two weeks, three weeks* or / just *one week just to see if they have questions and to schedule the exams.*

> **[124]** *Ça sera super* kɔn ndi:ɾɔ *des conventions avec des universités européens pour passer automatiquement.* R7
> *It will be super* if IMPERF-do-1Subj *conventions with European universities to pass automatically*
> 'It will be great if we have conventions with European universities. In this way we will get visa easily.'

Alternational patterns, as Muysken argues, show some diversity of elements switched. So, while content words such as nouns and adjectives are likely to be insertions, *discourse particles* and *adverbs* may be alternation[142]. Considering both French mixing in Brussels Dutch and Dutch mixing in Brussels French, Treffers-Dallers finds that there is an apparent asymmetry between the two types of mixing as the influence of French on Dutch is much more massive than the reverse. In Brussels French only 0,8% of the nouns are of Dutch origin,

---

[141] From a psycho-linguistic perspective it is plausible that activation of a matrix language decreases as the number of words in the intrusive language is larger.

[142] Discourse particles and adverbs, according to Muysken (2000: 97), belong to discourse grammar. Sentence grammar and discourse grammar may be relatively autonomous in respect to each other; there is very frequent language choice disparity between these systems.

while for interjections this is 2,5%. In Brussels Dutch, the reverse holds. French nouns constitute 17,7% of the Brussels Dutch nouns, and French interjections 6,8%. Nevertheless, this asymmetry affects nouns much more than interjections.

In the light of these finding, Muysken states that: "if we assume that nouns are borrowed through insertion and interjections through alternation, it is clear that insertional mixing is unidirectional and involves a matrix/ non-matrix asymmetry, while alternational mixing is bidirectional.". The same holds for our Algerian Arabic/French code-switching data, adverbs and conjunctions are switched in both directions, a matter that we will return to when we analyse our corpus.

Other alternation constructions include *tag-switching* or *extra-sentential* or *emblematic* switching. Tags and interjections are often mixed in from another language. An example is '*alors'* (well) from treffers-Dallers (1994) corpus provided by Muysken (2000: 99):

> *Alors*, dat …. Ik zou het niet voor de tweede keer willen doen, hoor.
> '*well*, /that …. I wouldn't want to do it a second time, really.'
> (French/Dutch data Treffers-Daller: 1994)

The following examples from our corpus include interjections such as 'alors' (well), 'eh ben' (well then), 'bon' (well), 'peut import' (whatever, never mind):

> **[125] *Alors*,** ʒeb-te-l-kɔm *la copie*. R9
> *Well*, PERF-bring-1Subj-for-2PObj the-sheet.
> Well, I brought the exam sheet for you to see.

> **[126] *Eh ben*,** daʒaɾ-ɾe-l-hɔm *les cours.* R9
>   *Well then*, PERF-do-3Subj-for-them *the lectures*.
>   'Well then, he has done the lectures.'

> **[126] *Bon*** t-fahamna ɛla l-*mercredi.* R12
> *Well*, IMPERF-agree on DER-*Wednesday*.
> Well, we agreed on Wednesday.

> **[127]** ɛand-i l-ħaq wella ɛand-ək l-ħaq ***peut import***. R12
> Be-1Subj right or be-2subj right, *never mind*.
> 'I have right or you have right, never mind.'

Another difference or feature that sets alternation apart from insertion involves the *structural position* of the switch. If the switch takes place at a major clause boundary it is more likely to be alternation. In this sense, Treffers-Dallers (1994) propose the following

hierarchy for mixability of constituents noting that of all possible subjects, relatively few are in a different language from their predicate:

Coordinated NPs/PPs	*switched more*
Dislocated NPs/PPs	
Adverbial NPs/PPs	
Before subordinate clauses	
Predicative NPs/ APs/ possessive PPs	
Subject or object NPs and clause	
Indirect questions	*switched less*

Figure 2.2: Treffer-Daller's Hierarchy of Mixability of constituents

Muysken (2000: 100) refers to the structural position of alternational switching in terms of *peripherality* i.e. the distinction between alternation and insertion depends on whether the mixing point is marginal to the core proposition (*clause-peripheral*) or at the heart of the clause (*clause-central*). When the switched element is at the periphery of the sentence, alternation becomes plausible. Cases of peripheral switches that qualify as alternations involve *adverbial modification, coordination* either phrasal or clausal, *left or right-dislocated* element, *cleft or fronted* elements.

The following examples from Treffers-Dallers (1994) data include *adverbials* and *coordination (phrasal* and *clausal)* respectively:

En *automatiquement* klapte gij ook schoon Vlaams.
'And/ automatoically/ you would switch to standard Flemish.'

<div align="right">Treffers-Daller's (1994: 178)</div>

Je suis au balcon *op mijn gemakske zo* en train de regarder les étoiles.
'I am on the balcony / at my ease thus/watching the stars.'

<div align="right">Treffers-Daller's (1994: 178)</div>

Nous on parle français le flamand *en de hele boel*.
'we speak French, flemish/ and all the rest.'

<div align="right">Treffers-Daller's (1994: 207)</div>

Nadine est née au mois d'avril *en dan in de maand oktober heb ik een winkel opengedaan in ….*
'Nadine was born in april /and then in october i opened a shop in …'

<div align="right">Treffers-Daller's (1994: 30)</div>

The following examples from our corpus include *adverbials 'facilement', 'entre nous'*:

[127] ɛla bɑ:h ma-bɣɑ:-ʃ j-senji:-l-ək *facilement*. R4

That's why NEG-want-NEG IMPERF-sign-3S-for-you *easily*.

'That's why he didn't sigh it easily'.

[128] bassaħ *entre nous* gɑ:ɛ l-ɛɑ:m w hija fe łłajarɑ:t.R1

But *between us* all the year and she is on planes.

'Don't tell anyone but she is away all year round'.

Examples [129-131] involve coordination; phrasal *'w ainsi de suite'* and '*Le doyen* wella *le chef de département'* and clausal *'mais il ne peut pas imposer'*, '*et elle est la plupart du temps absente'*.

[129] ɣadwa jʒi jqarri wlɑ:dek w wlɑ:d nnɑ:s w *ainsi de suite*. (R9)

Tomorrow he comes to teach your children and other children and so on

'And in the future he will teach your children and other children and so on.'

[130] *Le doyen* wella *le chef de département* jnaʒʒem gɑ:l madabija di:r hadi *mais il ne peut pas imposer*. R2

The dean or *the head of department* can tell would you please do this *but he can't impose*.

'The dean or the head of department can ask you a favor but he can't force you to do it.'

[131] hadi tatsawwar-ha ʔɔstɑ:da *et elle est la plupart du temps absente*. R9

This 2IMPERF-imagine-her a teacher and she is the majority of time absent.

'Can you imagine her to become a teacher and furthermore she is all the time absent'.

The following examples include: a *clefted*[143] Dutch element followed by French clause, a *fronted* French object, and two cases of *dislocation* -the first is a French switched *left-dislocated* element which is referred to again in the rest of the following clause '*ze*' they;

---

[143] In a cleft or divided sentence, information which could be given in one clause is divided into two parts, each with its own verb i.e. cleft sentence: is a sentence in which an element is emphasized by being put in a separate clause, with the use of an empty introductory word such as *it* or *that*, e.g.*:

o   *Vanessa has made the greatset impact. Simple sentence*
o   *It is Vanessa who has made the greatest impact. Cleft sentence*

and the other are two switched *right-dislocated* elements '*Tino Rossi*' and '*moi*' that are anticipated in the main clause with '*ik*' I and '*daarvan*' of him:

'*T is dat* que j'ai dit a madame.   (clefted Dutch element)
'That's/ what I told the lady.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994 : 30)

Le français de Bruxelles speek ik.   (fronted French object)
'Brussels French/ I speak.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 92)

Les étrangers, ze hebben geen geld, hé ?   (left-dislocation)
'The foreigners, /they have no money, huhm?'   Treffers-Daller's (1994 : 207)

Ik moet daarvan niet hebben, *de Tino Rossi, moi*.   (right-dislocation)
'I don't like him, / Tino Rossi, myself.'   Treffers-Daller's (1994: 209)

In the following examples from our corpus, we have cleft French clauses followed by Algerian Arabic clauses:

[132] *C'est une revue internationale* χaʕʒʒat-ha. R12 (cleft)
'It's an international journal (that) has published it.'

[133] C'est ministère de l'intérieur français howa lli saʕraħ. R12 (cleft)
'It's the French interior ministry him[144] that has declared.'

[134] hadu *C'est des trucs* na-hhadʕ-ɔ ɛliː-hɔm. R4 (cleft)
Those *they are things* (that) IMPERF-talk-1PSubj about-them.
'Those are the things that we should talk about.'

Examples [135-138] involve fronted[145] element; the Algerian Arabic adverbial phrase 'fuːgǝk' (above you), the French adverbial phrase '*à ce point*' (to this extent), the Algerian Arabic prepositional phrase 'bi nɑːtna' (between-us) and '*les étudiants*' (the student):

[135] *Parce que* fuːgǝk *il y a le directeur*. R11
Because above-you *is the director*.'
'Because there is the director in superior position.'

[136] nnɑːs ***à ce point*** t-qad ta-ħgaʕ. R4

---

[144] Here the pronoun 'him' is additional used to add emphasis as we have the relative pronoun 'that'.

[145] Fronting refers to any construction in which a word group that usually follows the verb is brought to the front of the clause to put a focus on it, it can be an object, a complement, an adjective or an adverb.

People _to this extent_ IMPERF-be able IMPERF-oppress.

People are able to oppress and harm to this extent'.

[137] ħna bi nɑːtna, _on la remercie beaucoup pour les efforts_ lli dɑːɾethɔm.

We among us, we thank her very much for the efforts which she made.

'We recognise her efforts and thank her a lot.'

[138] tɑːni _les hôtels_, ma-kɑːn-ʃ ɛɑːɾef jatɛɑːməl mɛa _les hôtels_. R12

Also, the hotels, NEG-be-3Subj PERF-know-3Subj IMPER-deal-3Subj with the hotels.

'He didn't know how to deal with the hotels.'

We have also cases of dislocation[146] -right and left (dislocated elements along with the referential pronouns are underlined in the examples). Examples [139-141] include left dislocated French objects '_trois ans_' (three years), '_les enseignant_s' (the teachers), and '_les étudiants_' (the students) whereas example [142] involves left -dislocated Algerian Arabic subject 'kɔl wɑːħed' (each one),

[139] _Trois ans_, χaɫɾaje-dd-iː-ha _anglophone_ χaɫɾa _francophone_.

Three years one-time IMPER-take-3Subj-3Obj English teacher one-time French teacher R12

'One time an English teacher becomes a head of department and another time a French teacher'.

---

[146] A dislocation construction (also called detachment construction) is a sentence structure in which a referential constituent which could function as an argument or an adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs instead outside the boundaries of the clause containing the predicate, either to its left (left-dislocation : the constituent is advanced) or to its right (right-dislocation: the constituent is postponed). The dislocated element is often separated by a pause (comma in writing) from the rest of the sentence and its position within the sentence is coindexed by a pronoun e.g.:

> **My aunt**, _she died when I was six._ the noun phrase _my aunt_ could be the subject of the clause (_My aunt died when I was six_) but is left-dislocated instead and its position within the clause is occupied by a coreferential pronoun _she_.

The following sentence is taken from our corpus and it includes a right dislocated subject (**the rapprochement)** which is replaced by a coreferential pronoun 'it'.

> C'est bien tɑːni pour les étudiants, **le rapprochement**. (R7)
> It's good also for the students, **the rapprochement**. (Right-dislocated subject)

> **Le rapprochement** est bien pour les étudiants.
> **the rapprochement** _is good for students. (_Subject in its normal position)

[140] ***Les enseignants*** tawaɛ-hɔm, ɾɑː-hɔm j-*mont*-uː-hɔm ɛliː-ha.

The teachers of-them be-3PSubj IMPERF-set-3PSubj-them against-her

'They are setting/pitting their teachers against her.'

[141] ɛlɑː ʃ mʃi ***les étudiants*** n-χalluː-l-hɔm *le choix*.[147] R11

Why not *the students* IMPER 1PSubj-leave-for-them *the choice*.

'Why don't we leave the choice for the students.'

[142] kɔl wɑːħed, ***il*** *va évaluer deux à trois résumés avec une grille d'évaluation*. NP R12

Each one, he is going to evaluate two to three abstracts with an evaluation grid

'Each one is going to evaluate two to three abstracts with an evaluation grid.'

The following instances include right dislocated constituents. Examples [143], [144] and [145] contain right dislocated subjects: '*le recteur*', 'ntijja' and 'ntuːma'. The right dislocated subjects in examples [143] and [144] may be triggered by the adverbial prepositional phrase '*en personne*' (personally). The three dislocated subjects add emphasis to the agent. Example [146] contains right-dislocated object

[143] dɾab-l-i *le téléphone* ***le recteur*** *en personne*. R4

He called me the phone the director in person

'The director personally called me.'

[144] *Non !* ***vous*** *êtes pas critiqué* ntijja *en personne*. R10

No! you are not criticised you in person.

No! you are not criticised in person.

[145] ***Vous*** *n'allez pas chômer* ntuːma. *Partiellement, vous êtes enseignants*. R9

You are not going to be out of work you. Partially, you are teachers.

You are not going to be out of work, you are partially teachers.

[146] ta-ɛaɾfiː-ha, ***l'histoire***? R12

IMPER-2Subj-know-it, the story?

You know the story?

---

[147] ***les dix premiers*** na-ɛłu-hɔm *le choix* taɛ ja-χdem ɾ-ɾuːħah. R9
the ten first IMPERF-give-them *the choice* of IMPER-work alone.
'we give the ten first students the choice to work alone.'

Another important distinction relevant to alternation mixing as Muysken notes is that between smooth mixing and flagged mixing. Flagged switching, according to Muysken (2000), is marked by a discourse marker, dummy filler or a [PAUSE] that separate the two languages involved in code-switching and characterizes alternation as the following examples show:

> Daar zetten ze **euh** *des barrières*.
> 'There they put up eh/barriers.'   Treffers-Daller (1994: 204)
>
> Ma ma porte [**PAUSE**] was in brand.
> 'My my door …..../was burning.'   Treffers-Daller (1994 :206)

Muysken (2000:102) has pointed out that flagged code-switching and dummy insertions may result from correction or self-repair which is according to him considered as cases of alternation since the flow of speech is interrupted and the sentence structure is not preserved. The following examples from our corpus involve flagged switching; example [147] is marked by a pause, example [148] is marked by a pause and a dummy filler, and example [149] and [150] are cases of self-repair that are preceded by a pause:

> **[147]** hɔma fe l-*passé* χadm-ɔ ***sur*** ((..)) ɛla ***l'orale***. R10
>   They in the *past* PERF-work-3Subj *on* ((..)) on *DEF-oral*.
>   'In the past, they worked on oral aspects.'
>
> **[148]** ʃɑːf-ni dɑːχla ʒɑːjba ***un*** ((…)) hakka ***truc.*** R12
>   PERF-Saw-me entering bringing *a* ((…)) like-this *thing*
>   'He saw me entering and carrying with something.'
>
> **[149]** ***on va se retrouver*** ((..)) wɑːħed jalqa ɾuːħah mɛa ɛaʃɾa w lɑːχɔɾ *deux*. R11
>   *We are going to find ourselves* ((..)) one is going to find himself with ten
>   and other with *two*
>   'One is going to supervise ten and another two.'
>
> **[150]** Bon, maɣadiːʃ ((..)) ***je vais pas citer le nom***, bassaħ taɛaɾfiːha. R1
>   Well, I'm not ((..)) I'm not going to mention the name, but you know her
>   'Well, I'm not going to mention the name, but you know her.'

Muysken (2000) argues that doubling is an indicative of alternation since it involves an adjustment in the planning of the sentence as the following example show:

145

Mutta se oli *kidney*-sta *to aorta*-an.
But it was kidney-from to aorta-to
'But it was from the kidney to the aorta.'
(Finnish/English; Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1987: 54)

Here both the English **pre**position *to* and the Finnish **pos**tposition *-an* occur. Cases of doubling are not frequent in our corpus, hereafter we have two utterances; one consists of French possessive pronoun 'ton' (your) that precedes the noun and an Algerian Arabic possessive construction 'tɑːɛ-ak' (of-you) that follows the noun, both of them have the same function example [151]. Example [152] illustrates the doubling of the demonstrative pronoun an Algerian Arabic followed by French demonstrative and both of them precede a French noun as follow:

[151] ***Ton*** *imprimante* tɑːɛak fe ddɑːɾ ma-ja-ʃɾuː-l-hɑː-ʃ *les cartouches.* (R11)

Your printing machine of-you at home NEG-IMPERF-buy-for-it-NEG the cartridges.
'They won't buy the cartridges for your printing machine.'

[152] hada ((..)) *ce* ((..)) ***juin*** !? (R9)

This ((..)) *this* ((..)) ***June***
'This June!!?'

All the above cited features or criteria concern alternational code-switching at the sentence level. In addition to the sentence-internal criteria, Muysken (2000) refers to the embedding in discourse which can also be indicative of the type of mixing. The following mixed utterance that starts in a language and ends in another language is a plausible illustration of alternation since a language is maintained across the turn boundary.

We always have opportunities heu xig kei ta dei fong gao wui di yen
We always have opportunities/ to get to know people from other churches

The above mixed sentence is what many researchers call inter-clausal code-switching where both languages are not in real contact. Still others may consider it as the insertion of infinitive phrase. The following examples from our corpus illustrate switching between Algerian Arabic main clauses and French infinitive phrases which is a recurrent type of switching in our corpus as we will see in chapter 3:

[153] bɣa jdiɾəh ***pour réconcilier les esprits***. R12

PERF-want-3Subj 1IMPER-do-3Subj-it to reconcile the spirits

'He wanted to do it to reconcile the spirits'

[154] ɣɑːdi jbalɛɔ hɔma belɛɑːni *pour les faire partir*. R9

FUT IMPERF-close-3PLSubj they on purpose to make them leave

'They will close (the campus) on purpose to make them leave.'

Another aspect of alternation at the discourse level is switching of what Muysken call functional elements namely discourse markers, conjunctions and adpositions. For this category of switching we are going to devote a section for it as it is one of the most debatable subjects in the grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis of code-switching.

The following table summarises the main differences between insertion and alternation according to Muysken (2000):

Insertion	Alternation
▪ Single constituent switched ▪ Nested structure ▪ Selected elements (objects and complements) ▪ Content words ▪ Morphological integration	▪ Several constituents switched ▪ Non nested switching ▪ Non-selected switches (adjunctions) ▪ Long, complex switching ▪ Emblematic or tag switching ▪ Peripheral switches (adverbial modification, coordination, clefting, fronting, left/right-dislocation) ▪ Flagging, dummy insertions and self-repair ▪ Doubling ▪ Inter-sentential code-switching ▪ Adverbs and discourse particles

Table 2.1: Insertional vs. Alternational Types of Switching

Muysken has explored various dimensions of the process of insertion (in which the two language grammars interact) and the process of alternation (a form of mixing in which the two languages remain relatively separate) integrating the results of many different studies. Nonetheless, there is no attempt to provide a unitary frame that explains these findings i.e. the author does not offer theory-based analyses (Myers-Scotton 2016: 252).

2.8 Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model

The Matrix Language Frame Model (hereafter MLF) which is developed by Myers-Scotton (1993b) is devised to account for intra-sentential code-switching. The MLF model

tries to explain code-switching from the standpoint of language production process[148]. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 14), what makes the MLF model different from the other models, is its reliance not just on empirical finding (i.e. code-switching data), but also on psycholinguistic and neuro-linguistic findings about the nature of language production and processing phenomena. The major psycholinguistic theories, that influence Myers-Scotton's MLF model, are the different activation of base and guest language (Grosjean, 1989), the different retrieval process of closed class items and open class items in Garett's speech error study (1975), and aphasia study and lemmas in the mental lexicon linking conceptual information and grammatical function in Levelt's (1989) language production model[149].

Following Joshi (1985), Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF model is based on the concept of asymmetry between the Matrix Language and Embedded Language. She also developed the distinction between closed class items and open class items replacing them by different categories called system morphemes and content morphemes.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1997, and 2002) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, and 2001) have revised and expanded the MLF model several times, and it is considered by many researchers, namely Eliason (1995), Backus (1996), Boumans (1998), Gardner Chloros (2009), and Muysken (2000), to be one of the most influential models to present a comprehensive treatment of intra-clausal code-switching.

In what follow we shall be dealing with Myers-Scotton's classic code-switching model. The MLF model highlights the importance of asymmetry in characterising bilingual speech. This asymmetry is illustrated by two oppositions or hierarchies (the Matrix Language-Embedded Language hierarchy and the Content morphemes/ System morphemes opposition) which are the keys to the nuts and bolts of the MLF model.

2.8.1   The Matrix Language-Embedded Language Hierarchy

The first asymmetry in producing a bilingual CP concerns the participating languages. Myers-Scotton claims for an inequality of partnership between the languages involved in codeswitching. According to this author, only one language called the Matrix Language sets

---

[148] The MLF model makes use of the existing psycholinguistic model of language production (Levelt, 1989) to explain code switching by trying to show 'how surface realizations (i.e. production) are linked to how language is structured (i.e. competence)' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:15).

[149] All the psycholinguistic theories that motivate the MLF model are mentioned with some details in Myers-Scotton (1993: 46-74).

the grammatical frame within a mixed CP by providing system morphemes (function words and inflections) and dictating word order. The other language called the Embedded Language only supplies content morphemes or well-formed phrases in the mixed CP along with the Matrix Language. The premises of the Matrix Language (the unequal participation of two languages and the identification of ML in terms of it structural role) are stated as two principles under the ML hypothesis:

- The Matrix Language hypothesis
  The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML+EL constituents. (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:82)

From this follow two principles:

1) Morpheme-Order Principle: in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents consisting of singly occurring Embedded Language lexemes and any number of Matrix Language morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will come from the Matrix Language. ((Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 83 [1997]; reprinted in Myers-Scotton,2002:59)

2) The System Morpheme Principle: in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents (i.e. which participates in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language. (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 83 [1997]; reprinted in Myers-Scotton,2002:59)[150]

The following examples illustrate these two principles that concern mixed (ML+EL) constituents:

[155] n-ɛawdɔ n-diːrɔ ø *réunion* waħdɑːχɔr. R8
PERF-repeat-1PS PERF-do-1PS INFIN meeting other
'Shall we have another meeting.'

[156] b-*la note* l-lɔwla rɑːni ø *admis*. R1
With-the mark the-first I am ø admitted.
'The first mark allows me to pass.'

[157] ʒɑːt *une note* ɣi ɛanna fe *l'école*. R7
Came *a note* just here in *the college*
A note came just for our college.

---

[150] Under the 4-M model, a new model that refers only to morpheme types, the one type of system morpheme referred to under the System Morpheme Principle is named as an outsider late system morpheme.

[158] w l-*ministère* kɔn j-*impos*-i ɛli:k tχalli:h ʔ R8
And DEF-*ministry* if IMPERF-*impose*-3S on you IMPERF-let-2Sub-3Obj?
'Are you going to accept it if it is the ministry who ordered this?'

The ML in the above sentences is Algerian Arabic. Algerian Arabic provides most system morphemes; the verb inflections of the French verb stem *'impos'* (impose) (example []), the definite article of the French noun *'ministére'* (ministry) (example []), the indefinite article (ø) of the French noun *'réunion'* (meeting) and zero copula (ø) in example []. The Algerian Arabic word order is also respected. Algerian Arabic imposes its VSO word order in example [] (i.e. the French NP 'une note' (a note) which is the subject of the sentence follows the AA verb 'ʒɑ:t' (come). Algerian Arabic imposes its word order concerning adjective placement (example), the adjective (waħdɑ:χɔɾ) (other) and the numeral (l-lɔwla) (the first) which normally precedes French nouns, in examples [155] and [156] they follow the French nouns 'réunion' (meeting) and 'la note' (the mark).

2.8.2 Content Morphemes-System Morphemes Opposition

The second major opposition in the production of bilingual CPs is the content/system morphemes opposition. Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997) distinguishes two types of morphemes, content and system morphemes. These morphemes, according to her, display different functions in monolingual and bilingual speech. Content morphemes are elements that convey semantic and pragmatic aspects of utterances by assigning or receiving thematic roles[151]. System morphemes indicate relation between the content morphemes in building a grammatical frame and they do not assign or receive thematic roles. The importance of the ML/EL hierarchy and the definition of the Matrix Language are based on the way content and system morphemes are distributed within a bilingual CP. This distribution is not equal as Myers-Scotton (2002:15) puts it forward: "All the participating languages may contribute content morphemes to bilingual CPs, but not all can contribute critical system morphemes. This is the domain of the Matrix Language".

---

[151] Thematic roles or theta roles are basically semantic roles that refer to such relations within the sentence as whether a noun is the Agent or the Patient of the verb (Myers-Scotton, 2016: 244). Linguists say that verbs "subcategorize" (i.e. can take) different thematic roles. For example, the verb give subcategorizes for three thematic roles, an Agent, a Patient and a Beneficiary or Recipient e.g.: *Alice (A) gave the dog (R) a bone (P)*. because verbs most typically assign thematic roles and nouns most typically receive them, verbs and nouns are prototypical content morphemes.

Thus, the MLF model makes it clear that while content morphemes may come from both languages in a bilingual CP, system morphemes only come from the ML. However, not all system morphemes come from the ML, i.e. although EL system morphemes cannot be inserted alone into the ML frame, they can appear within EL islands.

In the System Morpheme Principle stated above, Myers-Scotton (1993) does not provide any precise definition of system morphemes that must come from the ML except that they "have grammatical relations external to their head constituents" (ibid: 83). Some researchers including Muysken (2000), and Boumans (1998) argue that this principle is not clear enough.

Because of the prominence of system morphemes in defining the ML and in setting the hierarchies of the MLF model, Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2001) and Myers-Scotton (2002: 87-8) further elaborate the division of content and system morphemes by adding the 4-M model. The 4-M model specifies the type of system morphemes that must come from the ML in a mixed CP as *outsider late system morphemes*. The other types of system morphemes (i.e. 'early' system morphemes and 'bridge' system morphemes), which usually come from the Matrix Language in mixed constituents, may also come from the embedded language but within embedded language islands.

2.8.3   The 4-M Model and the Differential Access Hypothesis

Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2001) have proposed a new sub-model to the MLF model, namely the 4-M model. Under the 4-M model, the system/content morpheme opposition of the MLF model has been refined by dividing the system morphemes into three types according to their relation with lexical heads (i.e. content morphemes)[152]. These are, early system morphemes, and two types of late system morphemes, bridge and outsider late system morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, 2001). The 4-M model keeps the feature [+/-thematic role assigner/receiver] that distinguishes between content and system morphemes under the MLF model, and proposes two other features or oppositions : [+/- conceptually activated] and [+/- look outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form], to account for the new classification of morphemes into four types as in the following figure:

---

[152] Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:1060).

[+/- *conceptually activated*]

[+ *conceptually activated*]
**Content Morphemes &
Early System Morphemes**

[- *conceptually activated*]
Late System Morphemes

[+/- *thematic role
assigner/receiver*]

[+/- *looks outside of
own maximal projection*]

[+ *thematic role*]

[- *thematic role*]

[- *refers to grammatical
information outside of
Maximal Projection of Head*]

[+ *refers to grammatical
information outside of
Maximal Projection of Head*]

**Content
Morphemes**

**Early System
Morphemes**

**Bridge Late
System Morphemes**

**Outsider Late
System Morphemes**

Figure 2.3: Feature-based classification of morphemes in the 4-M model (adapted from Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000b: 1062).

The 4-M model does not only offer a new classification of morphemes but also explains accurately the way these morphemes are accessed in the process of production. The 4-M model is a model of morpheme classification that is based on the notion that lemmas[153] underlying different morphemes are accessed at different levels during language production, which explain their distribution within a sentence. In devising the 4-M model, Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2001) and Myers-Scotton (2002) derive a new hypothesis about differences among morphemes at an abstract level called the Differential Access Hypothesis which explains these observable differences. The hypothesis is as follows:

> Relevant information in lemmas supporting surface-level morphemes does not all become salient at the same level of language production. Information supporting content morphemes and early system morphemes is salient in the mental lexicon, but information about late system morphemes does not become salient until the level of the formulator when larger constituents are assembled. Myers-Scotton (2016:268)

---

[153] Lemmas are abstract lexical entries in the mental lexicon that underlie surface level morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 2002:17).

According to Muysken (2000:181), Myers-Scotton & Jake's the 4-M model is reminiscent of Sapir's (1921) approach to morphological typology. Sapir distinguished four types of concepts:

- Concrete concepts (Myers-Scotton & Jake's directly elected content morphemes)
- Derivational concepts: nominal plural, diminutive (Myers-Scotton & Jake's indirectly elected morphemes)
- Pure relational concepts : subject/object, etc (Myers-Scotton & Jake's structurally assigned morphemes : bridges)
- Concrete relational concepts: agreement (Myers-Scotton & Jake's structurally assigned morphemes: outsiders)

Before introducing the four types of morphemes, a brief overview of some relevant aspects of language production and the abstract level model should be outlined, in order to explain some basic concepts and mechanisms and to better understand the 4-M model.

2.8.3.1   Language Production and the Abstract Level Model:

The Abstract Level model has been elaborated by Myers-Scotton & Jake (1995, 2001) and Myers-Scotton (2002) in order to explain the nature of the abstract morpho-syntactic frame in bilingual CPs and how sufficient congruent constructions occur in code-switched utterances. The major premise underlying this model is that the basis of syntax is the abstract representations underlying lexical items. They are called "lemmas". A lemma is the non-phonological set of information about a lexical item which informs the lexical item's distribution as a surface-level element. It is stored in speakers' mental lexicon of a language. It consists of three subparts:

1. **Lexical-conceptual structure**, i.e. details about the lexeme's semantic and pragmatic properties (e.g. does a noun encode Agent, Patient, or Experiencer? does a verb encode Action, State, or Process?)

2. **Predicate-argument structure**, i.e. details about the lexeme's syntactic properties (namely details about its thematic structure to be mapped on to grammatical relations), e.g. whether a noun conceptualized as Patient is to be expressed as Subject or as Object.

3. **Morphological realization pattern**, i.e. specifications about language specific devices, like word order restrictions, agreement, tense/aspect marking system, etc., for realizing the lexeme's grammatical relations with other lexemes in surface

configurations, e.g. must a Subject come before its verb or may it occur elsewhere? Are case-markers required on the Subject? Etc.

The assumptions about types of morpheme and about their underlying lemmas characterize how language production is conceptualized. Language production is perceived as being modular, involving four stages or levels of operation: the conceptual, lemma, functional, and surface/positional levels. See Table (2.2) below; it is adapted from Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001), Myers-Scotton (2002).

Conceptual Level	At this level, speakers make selections encapsulating the conceptual structures they wish to convey. In other words, pre-verbally speakers make decisions regarding their intentions. Such pre-verbal speaker-intentions (which consist of universally available semantic and pragmatic information) are conflated as specific semantic/pragmatic (SP) feature bundles, which are necessarily language-specific. *Speaker goes into* "BILINGUAL MODE" (Grosjean 2001). Information is sent to the Lemma Level.
Lemma Level	The language-specific SP feature bundles activate entries in the mental lexicon called lemmas, which support the realization of actual surface-level lexemes. For a bilingual construction to result later at surface structure, the SP feature bundles should trigger the activation of lemmas supporting content morphemes from both languages. The content-morpheme lemmas may also point to lemmas supporting early system morphemes. The lexical-conceptual structure of each content morpheme becomes salient at this level. Information is sent to the Functional Level where a control centre known as *Formulator* operates.
Functional Level	The formulator interprets the language-specific lemma information about each content morpheme, which comprises the already salient lexical-conceptual structure and the two other sub-parts of lemma information: the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. Concerning predicate-argument structure, the formulator maps thematic structure onto grammatical relations. For instance, it detects how many arguments a verb takes and what thematic role the verb assigns each argument; it then maps the grammatical relations among all these elements. Concerning the morphological realization pattern, the formulator detects what language-specific devices for word-order, agreement, tense/aspect/mood marking, case marking, negation, etc., are suitable for expressing the content morpheme's grammatical relations with one another. Appropriate language-specific morphosyntactic processes are activated to direct how the content morphemes from both languages are to co-occur in surface structure. Information on the processes is forwarded to the final level.
Positional/ Surface Level	Phonological and morphological realizations take place.

Table 2.2: The language production model in bilingual CS

Language production procedures start with the conceptual level. At this pre-linguistic level, speakers make a number of decisions largely unconscious (i.e. language or stylistic choices that depend on many factors including sociopolitical and psycholinguistic

considerations e.g. situation, setting, proficiency, etc). At this level speaker's pre-verbal intentions which are the result of speaker's decisions are realized in the form of semantic-pragmatic bundles that are language specific. Thus, for a bilingual constituent to be produced, the speaker must enter what Grosjean (2001) calls "bilingual mode" at the conceptual level (if the social setting motivates – à la Myers-Scotton– the interchangeable use of two or more languages)[154]. It is also assumed that if insertional code-switching is intended as a by-product of being in bilingual mode, then the speaker must select an ML at the conceptual level. These language specific semantic-pragmatic bundles (SP feature bundles) are mapped onto entries (lemmas) in the mental lexicon at the functional level as lexical-conceptual structures.

For Classic CS, it is assumed that two inter-connected actions take place at the lemma level. First, EL specific SP feature bundles activate lemmas in the EL mental lexicon that support given EL content morphemes and second, processes are automatically triggered for the activation of lemmas in the ML mental lexicon that support ML counterparts of the EL content morphemes. The essence of the co-activation of the cross-linguistic lemmas is to "match" them for congruence across the three subparts of lemma (cf. Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). The outcome of the matching of lemmas determines the morpho-syntactic environment in which the EL content morpheme is realized. If the EL and ML content morphemes are determined to be sufficiently congruent, the EL content morpheme is expected to be directed into a slot which its ML counterpart projects. Two principles of the MLF model, the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) and the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP), are activated to direct the EL content morpheme into the slot of its ML equivalent.

If the EL content morpheme is not sufficiently congruent with its ML counterpart, it is expected to be blocked from being integrated into a slot that its ML counterpart projects. A compromise strategy is instead used for the realization of that EL content morpheme. Either it occurs as a "bare form" (a form that lacks required ML late system morphemes in its occurrence in a bilingual construction) or it occurs as part of an "EL island" (a multiword EL construction that is placed in a larger ML construction).

2.8.4   The Status of Morphemes under the 4-M Model

Myers-Scotton and her associates revised the definition of system morphemes several times (1997, 2000, and 2002) due to the eminence of these morphemes in the interpretation of

---

[154] CS is likely to be inhibited if the code-switcher is in "monolingual mode" because his addressee speaks only one of his languages.

code switching and because of the strong criticisms and the counter evidence put forward in the code switching literature (Boumans, 1998; Muysken, 2000, Li Wei, 2000).

The 4-M model provides a new classification of morphemes and confines them new statuses in trying to offer a more precise explanation to some of the code-switching data that the MLF model covers. Indeed, the structural analysis of intra-clausal switching relies principally on the accurate identification of morpheme types in mixed constituents. Besides, the different distribution of morphemes within a CP determines widely the patterns of code-switching data and reflects the asymmetries recognized at the level of phrase structures.

2.8.4.1   Content Morphemes

As in the MLF model, content morphemes are defined by the feature [+ thematic role assigner/receiver] that distinguishes them from system morphemes, which have [- thematic role assigner/receiver]. Nouns, adjectives, adverbs, most verbs and some prepositions are content morphemes; they constitute predicate-argument structures[155] by assigning or receiving thematic roles (hereafter θ-role). Nouns are prototypical thematic role receives, while most verb stems (except copula and 'do' verb) are prototypical thematic role assigners. These two categories are most reliable and unproblematic content morphemes across languages which explains the fact that nouns and verb stems are widely switched elements in many code-switching data.

Predicates and arguments are content morphemes, since the former assign θ-role and the latter receive θ-role, as in the following example:

[159] l-*ministère* ɛɫɑː-hɔm *l'accord*. (R4)

      DEF-*ministry* PERF-give-3Obj *the agreement*
      The ministry gave them the agreement.

The subject noun '*ministère*' (ministry) is a content morpheme, since it receives the θ-role of agent. The noun '*l'accord*' (agreement), which constitutes the argument of the predicate 'ɛɫɑ' (give), is a content morpheme that receives the θ-role of patient. The pronoun 'hɔm' (them) is also a content morpheme that receives the θ-role of beneficiary or recipient. The verb 'ɛɫɑ' (give) is a content morpheme that assigns the θ-role of patient to the noun '*l'accord*'.

---

[155] Predicate-argument structures display the way thematic (semantic) roles or structures are mapped onto grammatical relations e.g. mapping of agent to subject, beneficiary to indirect object …etc.

Content morphemes also have the feature [+conceptually activated] which is recently added under the 4-M model. The feature [+conceptually activated] means that Lemmas underlying content morphemes are directly elected[156] as maximal projections' heads e.g. nouns are activated as heads of NPs, verbs as heads of VPs, and prepositions as heads of PPs. Within mixed CPs, content morphemes may come from either language participating in CS.

2.8.4.2 System Morphemes

While content morphemes assign or receive thematic roles, System morphemes[157] do not fulfil any semantic or pragmatic function i.e. they have the feature [-thematic role assigner/receiver]. They neither assign nor receive thematic roles. Myers Scotton and Jake (2000: 1054) argue in this vein that: "The characteristic properties of content morphemes should be largely self-evident; they convey the core semantic/pragmatic content of language. The three types of system morpheme carry the relational aspects of language."

System morphemes are also called functional elements since they have a syntactic function within the clause (Myusken, 2000). System morphemes include inflections (e.g. tense and agreement inflections, gender & plural affixes) and some function words e.g. determiners, copula, expletive pronouns *it* and *there,* etc.

The feature [+/-quantification] has been used by Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997) along with [+/-thematic role assigner/receiver] to distinguish between content and system morphemes. System morphemes have the feature [+quantification][158]. The feature [+quantification] is a construct that specifies the quality of individuals across variables. For instance, determiners (a, the) are system morphemes that specify number, definiteness and gender in some languages as well along with quantifiers (all, some, any), and possessive adjectives (my, its, their). Other system morphemes include degree adverbs or intensifiers (very, fairly, extremely) that specify the extent of a quality or the degree of a frequency. Tense and aspect are also system morphemes.

---

[156] 'Directly elected' means that speaker's pre-linguistic intentions activate semantic-pragmatic feature bundles at the conceptual level, which point to lemmas in the mental lexicon that underlie those surface content morphemes carrying semantic-pragmatic content of a message (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000 :1058).

[157] Bolinger (1968) was the first scholar to use the concept System Morpheme. This concept has since then been used as a cover term for both inflections and function words.

[158] A morpheme showing [+quantification] is a morpheme that restricts possible referents of a lexical category e.g. articles restrict the possible reference of nouns (a boy vs. boys); tense and aspects restrict possible reference of verbs; degree adverbs, such as very, too, restrict the reference for events and adjectives (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995:246).

On the other hand, content morphemes are characterized by the feature [-quantification]. The [+/-quantification] feature is still considered relevant under Myers-Scotton's (2002:70) 4-M model but additional because according to her, the feature [+/-thematic role assigner/receiver] is sufficient alone.

The basic opposition between content morphemes and system morphemes which is based on the feature [+/-thematic role assigner/receiver] is emphasized by the 4-M model and further modified by adding two new oppositions that classify the system morphemes into three types.

2.8.4.3   Early System Morphemes

They are called early system morphemes because they are the only system morphemes that are activated at the early stage of the formulation of the semantic message (i.e. they are activated at the phase of conceptual level); therefore, they behave differently from the two remaining system morphemes. Early system morphemes pattern with content morphemes in conveying conceptual information, and hence, they have the feature [+conceptually activated][159] along with content morphemes i.e. they are activated as soon as the lemmas underlying content morphemes are activated to provide the information needed to complete the speaker's intention conveyed by the content morpheme. In that they differ from other system morphemes.

Early system morphemes however they do not assign or receive thematic roles and they are indirectly elected[160] by their head content morphemes because "they appear in the same surface-level maximal projection as their heads, and they depend on their heads for information about their form" (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 75).

Early system morphemes include determiner (definite and indefinite articles, possessive adjectives, demonstratives, intensifiers, plural affixes and gender affixes[161], and

---

[159] [+/-conceptually activated] refers to the hypothesis that morphemes are accessed differently during production process. That is, lemmas supporting morphemes activated at the conceptual level by language specific semantic-pragmatic bundles are called conceptually activated; those that are activated at the level of the formulator are not.

[160]Indirectly elected means that lemmas underlying early system morphemes are not activated by speaker's intentions (semantic-pragmatic feature bundles) rather they are activated when lemmas underlying content morphemes point to them to complete their semantic-pragmatic features.

[161] Plural and gender affixes are attached to nouns and to adjectives and determiners (articles, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns) in some languages and agree with nouns that they modify.

the satellite preposition (verb particles) in phrasal verbs (e.g. 'de' in 'souvenir de'[162] remember).

French articles and possessives, for instance, are early system morphemes. They are conceptually activated by speaker's intentions to add conceptual information to their heads (i.e. definiteness, possession), and they are indirectly elected by gender and number features of their heads.

Early system morphemes either come from the ML in mixed islands, or from the EL within EL islands as illustrated by the following examples from our corpus:

[160] j-liːq ∅ _**coordination**_ mɛa _**les enseignants**_ taɛ _**l'expression écrite**_.
IMPERF-have to INDEF coordination with the teachers of oral expression
'We need to have coordination with the teachers of oral expression'.

[161] _**beaucoup de lois**_ ma-ja-ɛɾaf-hom-ʃ.
A lot of laws Neg-3IMPERF-know-3PObj-Neg
'He doesn't know a lot of laws.'

[162] ki tɔ-ddɔχl-i fe _**l'administration**_ t-walli taɛɛaɾf-i bezzɑːf _**les lois**_.
When 2IMPERF-enter-2F in the administration 2IMPER-become-2F a lot of the laws
'When you start working in the administration you will know a lot of laws.'

In above cited examples, the early system morphemes in mixed noun phrases come from the ML -the AA indefinite article ∅ and the quantifier bezzɑːf precede French nouns (example). They can also come from the EL but within EL phrases– French definite articles and the French quantifier precede French nouns forming French islands.

Plurals are early system morphemes that add conceptual information to nouns making them plural[163]. Plurals are widely discussed in code-switching studies and often put forward as a counter-example to Myers-Scotton's System Morpheme Principle including Boumans

---

[162] This example is given by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000: 1085) 'de' is an early system morpheme in '_souvenir de_' (remember) and a bridge system morpheme in '_par l'hopital de Montluçon_' (through the Montluçon hospital)

[163] For instance, English well-formedness conditions require that plural is conveyed by an affix and that this affix is a suffix 's' on the relevant noun; but there is nothing about the structure of English that requires nouns to be plural. Rather it is the speaker's intention to convey a certain message that results in the appearance of plural affix. Myers-Scotton (2000: 78)

(1998), Muysken (2000), Backus (1996), and Gardner-Chloros (2012). Referring to double plural marked nouns from both the matrix language and embedded language, Muysken (2000: 173) states: that "in several code-mixing settings, nominal plural is a counter example to the System Morpheme Principle." examples of double plural marking come from different CS data including Backus (1990: 5), Eliasson (1991: 20), Boumans (1998: 181), Appel and Muysken (1987:172) and even Myers-Scotton's (1993:111) Swahili/English code-switching data as follow:

> Tango asubuhi ni kupika ma-*stories* tu
> Since morning is to cook NC6-stories just
> Since morning there's only 'to cook' stories.   (Swahili/English)

Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 344) give a special attention to plural marker in code-switching stating that: "The language of origin of the plural marker in CS varies in four ways: the possible combinations are these: (1.) EL plural marking only, (2.) no plural marking at all, (3.) ML plural marking only, (4.) plural marked from both the EL and ML." In this way, they summarized all the possible configurations of the plural markers in code-switching literature. They add that the last combination i.e. where both EL and ML early SMs occur with an EL content morpheme head or as they call it "double morphology" can occur with other early SMs, but occurs most often with plural affixes.

As far as our Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus is concerned, the first combination is attested i.e. almost all French nouns are inserted with their plural suffix. Indeed, French nouns seem to be implemented in the Algerian Arabic/French code-switching corpus mostly as embedded islands i.e. as full noun phrases. Double morphology is not attested in our corpus, except for three examples below and they do not involve plural marker. The double marking on the French noun '*imprimante*' (printing machine) in example [163] includes the French possessive adjective 'ton' (your) which is an early system morpheme and the Algerian Arabic possessive structure 'tɑːɛ-ak' which is a combination of the preposition 'tɑːɛ' (of) -a bridge system morpheme- and the abject clitic pronoun 'ak' (you) -a late system morpheme. In example [164], the French noun '*groupe*' (group) is marked twice by the Algerian Arabic indefinite article 'waħd' and the French indefinite article '*un*'. The French plural definite NP in example [165] is also double marked by Algerian Arabic and French quantifiers 'gɑːɛ' and '*tous*' respectively:

[163] _**Ton** imprimante_ tɑːɛ-ak fe ddɑːɾ ma-ja-ʃɾuːl-hɑːʃ _**les cartouches.**_ R11

Your printing machine of-you at home Neg-IMPERF-buy-it-Neg _the ink cartridges_

'They don't buy ink cartridges for your printing machine at home.'

[164] _Notamment_ y a w̲a̲ħ̲d̲ _**un**_ _groupe_ ʃafni. R11

Especially there is one a group i sympathised with

'Especially there is a group of students with whom I sympathised.'

[165] mambaɛd χaɾʒɔ _l'idée_ g̲ɑ̲ː̲ɛ̲ **tous** _les examens après_ lɛiːd.

Then, IMPERF-bring-3PLSubj the idea all all the exams after lɛiːd R11

'Then they come with the idea that all exams after lɛiːd.'

Other early system morphemes that have been put forward as counter-evidence to the System Morpheme Principle are present and past participles which according to Muysken (2000: 174) have received little discussion in code-switching research. Muysken has presented some examples from different code-switching data (Clyne 1967, Lipsk 1978, Pfaff 1976, Poplack 1980, Gardner-Chloros 1991) and even from Myers-Scotton own data (1993b) where EL verbs retain EL participles in a passive construction as follows:

tu-ko _confused_
'we are confused'.

wa-tu wa-ko _trained_
'People are trained'   Myers-Scotton (1993b: 115)

Myers-Scotton (1993:115) explains the appearance of what she called 'bare' past participles in the Nairobi corpus as another way in which verb forms avoid ML system morphemes. Nonetheless, with the introduction of the 4-M model, Muysken (2000) notes that:

> nominal plural is a typical indirectly elected morpheme, and this explains its retention on many inserted items. Particularly in lexicalist analyses past and present participle morphemes _-ed_ and _-ing_, can be seen as indirectly elected: participles are then seen as similar to adjectives, derived from verbs through the addition of _-ed_ and _-ing_. A more differentiated view of morphology clearly adds to the predictive power of Myers-Scotton and Jake's model." Muysken (2000:182)

A fact that has been emphasised by Myers-Scotton (2002) later, stating that:

> Under the 4-M model, the Embedded Language affixes on present participles and on at least English past participles and on infinitives in some languages (e.g. French) are early system morphemes; their form depends on their relation to their heads and they add conceptual information to their heads. Because they contain early system morphemes (and not late system morphemes), their congruence with Matrix Language counterparts is less problematic (i.e. they do not encode tense or

aspect, features that are more likely to vary cross-linguistically than the meaning of infinitives or participles). Myers-Scotton (2002: 95)

The following examples include French past participles 'hébergé' (hosted), 'reportés' (postponed) inserted into an Algerian Arabic structure framed by Algerian Arabic auxiliaries:

[166]j-wall-i ***hébergé*** fe l'ENS lli ɾɑːh fiːha. R4

IMPERF-become-3SgSubj *hosted* in the ENS that it is in it

'It is going to be hosted in the ENS where the meetings are held.'

[167] ɣɑːdi j-kun-ɔ ***reportés***. R4

Will 3M-IMPER-be-3PLSubj postponed.

They will be postponed.

Example [166] is a mixed CP that truly reflect the System Morpheme Principle as it includes the French noun '*programme*' preceded by an Algerian Arabic definite article and the French verb stem '*respect*' to which are attached the past participle marker '<u>t</u>', the imperfective prefix 'jə' and agreement suffix '-a':

[168] hada l-***programme*** ja jə-t-***respect***-a niʃɑːn, ja…

This DEF-programme either IMPERF-PART-respect-3SGSubj straightaway
'This programme either has to be respected totally or…'

2.8.4.4   Late System Morphemes

Unlike early system morphemes, late system morphemes are accessed later in the formulator during language production. They are activated when the formulator receives directions from lemmas underlying content morphemes and early system morphemes to build larger syntactic units. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) define late system morphemes as opposed to early system morphemes as follow:

> The information contained in late system morphemes is grammatical as opposed to conceptual. The two types of late system morphemes are not elected to complete a semantic and pragmatic feature bundle with their heads; rather, they are structurally assigned to indicate relations between elements when a larger constituent is constructed. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000: 1063)

Late system morphemes are further divided into two types, bridges and outsider late system morphemes. This division relates to the criteria [+/- looks at its maximal projection'

for its syntactic requirements]¹⁶⁴. The first type of late system morphemes (the bridge system morphemes) look inside their maximal projection in order to have their form and the lexical pieces of information needed for their production. The second late system morphemes (outsider system morphemes) have to look outside their maximal projection to have the form that they are going to take and the lexical information that they need to be produced.

2.8.4.4.1   Late Bridge System Morphemes

Late Bridge system morphemes unite morphemes into larger constituent, in doing so they depend on information inside the maximal projection within which they occur, i.e. they have the feature [-outside information]. This feature is shared with early system morphemes that is to say both of them receive information about their forms from their own maximal projection (NP, PP, VP). The difference between these two types of morphemes is related to their syntactic requirements -while early system morphemes are conceptually activated by their heads (content morphemes) to which they add semantic-pragmatic information, bridge system morphemes occur to complete the maximal projection of their heads without any influence from their heads. The requirements of the constituents on bridges are structural not conceptual to satisfy constituent's well-formedness.

Example of bridges according to Myers-scotton include '*of*' and '*s*' that express possessive relations¹⁶⁵, and their French counterpart 'de'. In Algerian Arabic, it is the possessive preposition 'taɛ' which corresponds to the English preposition 'of' and French 'do'. The Bridge system morpheme 'taɛ' links two NPs. Bridge system morphemes may come from the ML in mixed constituents as well as from the EL within EL islands, as illustrates the following example from the corpus of the present study:

[169] kɑːn-et fe ***l'ambassade*** taɛ ***l'Allemagne***. *R1*

IMPERF-be-3Subj in *the embassy* of *the Germany*

She worked in the embassy of Germany.

---

¹⁶⁴[+/-outside information] is an abbreviation of [+/-look outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form] used by Myers-Scotton (2002:77).

¹⁶⁵ According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009) when two nouns are adjacent in English (e.g. *friend of Bora*) one is the head of the grammatical configuration (here *friend* is the head) and assigns the role of theme to *Bora* as its complement. To be well-formed in English, the complement must reflect its structurally subordinate status. Thus, in head–complement order, the complement is marked by the system morpheme *of*. In complement–head order, the complement is marked with the possessive *-'s* (i.e. *Bora's friend).*

[170] hɔwa kɑːn *attaché* fe **_l'ambassade d'Algérie_**. R1

　　He IMPERF-be attaché in the embassy of Algeria.

　　He worked in the embassy of Algeria.

In example [169], there is two French NPs linked with the Algerian Arabic bridge system morpheme 'taɛ'. The Algerian Arabic bridge system morpheme 'taɛ' forms a mixed prepositional phrase [taɛ *l'allmagne*], which modifies the French embedded noun phrase [*l'ambassade*] in the mixed noun phrase [*l'ambassade* taɛ *l'allmagne*].

In the examples [170], the French prepositional phrase [*d'Algérie*] which is headed by the French preposition 'de' (a bridge system morpheme) is a complement to the French NP '*l'ambassade*' forming a French NP or EL Island [*l'ambassade d'Algérie*].

The Algerian Arabic preposition 'fe' is a content morpheme that assigns a thematic role to its complement as in examples [171] and [172]. Nevertheless, the same preposition 'fe' can be a bridge system morpheme as 'taɛ' as illustrated by example [173]:

[171] ɣi l-bɑːɾaħ ʃɔftuhɔm **_fe la cérémonie_**.

　　Just DEF-yesterday PERF-see-1Subj-them in *the ceremony*.

　　'Yesterday, I saw them in the ceremony.'

[172] nnɑːs **_fe les couloirs_** ja-hhadɾ-ɔ. R12

　　People in *the corridors* IMPERF-talk-3Subj

　　'People talk behind your back.'

[173] kɑːn ɛandi **_les étudiants_** fe **_l'anglais_** χiːɾ men *des fois* _les étudiants_ tawaɛ-na hnɑːja *taɛ* **_l'anglais_**. R12

　　PERF-be have-1Subj *the students* in *English* better *sometimes the students* of-us here of *English*.

　　'I had English students who were better than our English students here.'

The preposition 'fe' in example [173] links the two French NPs in the mixed noun phrase '*les étudiants* fe *l'anglais*' (*the students of English or English students*); and hence, functions as the bridge system morpheme 'taɛ' in the NP '*les étudiants* taɛ *l'anglais*' (the students of English or English students) in the same sentence.

Consider the following examples that include an Arabic bridge system morpheme that occurs in otherwise French CPs, which is normally considered as counter-examples to the MLF model:

[174] *Le statu* <u>taε</u> *les langues étrangères est venu avec la création de faculté des langues étrangères.*

The status <u>of</u> the foreign languages has come with the creation of the faculty of foreign languages.

[175] *Si la 1ère semaine* <u>fe</u> *la reprise,* <u>fe</u> *la rentrée les esprits sont apaisés, ça ne pose pas de problème.* R6

If the 1st week <u>of</u> the return to work, <u>of</u> coming back to school the sprits are conciliated, it won't be a problem.

Referring to Bentahilla and Davies' examples:

…de quel degré de connaissance djal la personne…

'…on which degree of knowledge of the person…'

(MA/French; Bentahilla and Davies 1998:38)

…du moment où tu n'as pas de réduction *f'* le billet…

'from the moment where you have no reduction in the ticket…'

(MA/French; Bentahilla and Davies 1998:38)

Myers-Scotton (2002:114) admits that it is unusual to find an Arabic morpheme in this French NP-NP construction since the rest of the CP is all in French; nonetheless, she doesn't consider such cases to be violation to the system morpheme principle. She asserts that such a bridge is not blocked by any provisions of the model. She argues in this respect that

> EL bridges occur very rarely in mixed constituents, although there is an exception noted in the literature. When Arabic is the EL, sometimes it supplies the bridge djal in a clause framed by French as in French–Moroccan Arabic *connaissance **dyal** la personne* "knowledge of the person" (Bentahila and Davies 1998:38). The presence of *dyal* in such cases does not violate the SMP. It is clearly a bridge SM, not an outsider." Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 346)

Dummy pronouns[166] *it* and *there* are also bridge system morphemes as well as the French dummy pronoun '*il*' as in '*it is raining*' and '*il pleut*' (it is raining) (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 80). The following examples contain the French dummy pronoun '*il*' in the expression '*il se peut*' (it may):

---

[166] In many languages, weather expressions require a bridge. In these expressions, the subject pronoun does not receive a thematic role, e.g. French '*il pleut*' or English '*it is raining*'. In such expressions, the pronoun it is different from referring indefinite/antecedent third person singular it, a content morpheme in English (as in Where is the book? It is on the table.). Similarly, in American English, in certain expressions, determiners are bridges, not early SMs, as in this exchange: Where's John? He had to go to the hospital. No definite hospital is indicated. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009:345)

[176] ***Il se peut*** jabqɑ:-l-hɔm men *d'autres départements*. (R4)

Il may IMPERF-remain-for-them from *other departments*.

'Maybe it will remain from other departments.'

[177] ***Il se peut*** ɣadwa ntijja tkuni *responsable*. (R8)

It may tomorrow you IMPERF-be-2Subj *responsable*.

'May be tomorrow you will be the responsible.'

Copulas are also bridge system morphemes. Similarly, in English, in certain expressions, determiners are bridges, not early SMs, as in this exchange: Where's John? He had to go to the hospital. No definite hospital is indicated (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009: 345).

2.8.4.4.2   Late Outsider System Morphemes

Late Outsider system morphemes like bridges are structurally assigned to construct larger constituents. Unlike bridges, outsiders look outside their immediate maximal projection for information about their forms. Their function is to integrate maximal projections into larger units with the highest units being the CP or a sequence of CPs. Myers- Scotton (2002) argues in this vein that:

> Outsider System morphemes also integrate content morphemes and X-projections into larger constituents but contrast with bridges in regard to the source of information about their form. For outsider system morphemes, this information (usually) is not available until the highest-level projection, the CP, is assembled. Outsider late system morphemes perform the arguably more important function of showing co-indexical relationships across maximal projections. Myers- Scotton (2002: 79)

Outsider system morphemes include tense, modal, and aspect (TMA) markers, agreement inflections, case markers. Subject-verb agreement, e.g. the English third person singular (s) which is attached to the verb in VP; however, it refers to the subject in NP;

Object clitics are also outsider system morphemes such as French clitic pronouns (me, te, le, les…etc) that precede the verbs and Algerian Arabic clitic pronouns (h,ha, hɔm) that are suffixed to verbs. They require information outside their maximal projection to be activated. This information comes from the subject or the object of the verb, as in the following example from our Algerian Arabic /French code-switching data:

[178] *on a reporté* ɛla χɑ:ɫəɾ ***les*** *enfants* j-kun-ɔ daχl-ɔ. *Je peux pas **les** laisser*. R4

> We have postponed because <u>*the children*</u> IMPRF-would-3Subj enter. *I can't <u>them</u> leave.*
> 'We have postponed the trip because children would go back to school. I can't leave them alone.

In the above example, the first underlined definite article '*les*' is an early system morpheme since it is conceptually activated to complete the meaning of its head noun '*enfants*' by expressing gender and number features. The second underlined clitic pronoun '*les*' is a late outside system morpheme because the information required to activate it come from the antecedent noun 'enfants' which is outside its immediate maximal projection (in the previous CP). The following example also includes a clitic pronoun:

[179] *Les locaux* `lli ttaħt` *c'est des magasins vides. Il aurait pu* <u>***les***</u> *acheter* `wjdiːɾ fiː-`<u>`hɔm`</u> *l'IRM. (R1)*

> The premises which are downstairs *they are empty stores. He could have <u>them</u> bought* and make in-<u>them</u> the MRI
> The downstairs premises are empty. He could have bought them and turn them into MRI cabinet.

The second sentence is a compound sentence that contains two CPs. The underlined French clitic pronoun '*les*' in the first CP is an outside system morpheme since it depends for its form on the noun '*les locaux*' (stores) which is outside its immediate maximal projection and even outside the CP to which it belongs. The same holds for the underlined Algerian Arabic clitic suffix '*hɔm*' attached to the Algerian Arabic preposition '`fi`' which refers to the same noun '*locaux*' and depends on it for its shape.

Myers-Scotton gives a special importance to outsider system morphemes and emphasizes the fact that they behave differently from the other system morphemes in many linguistic phenomena (Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) on Broca's aphasia and second language acquisition; Myers-Scotton (2002a) on speech errors and attrition; MyersScotton (2003) on split or mixed languages; and Wei (2000a) on second language acquisition) as she argues:

> Certainly, outsiders are the most crucial and unambiguous purveyors of grammatical structures. They provide a more precise indexing of relations that extends beyond word order and basic constituent structure…. The grammatical relations indexed by outsiders reinforce semantic coherence within the clause and within the larger discourse…. Given that these characteristics define outsiders, it follows that the distribution of outsider late SMs should be the most defining

feature of Classic CS – and it is. With few exceptions, outsiders always come from the ML in mixed constituents." Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009:346)

In some code-switching data sets including ours, ML outsiders such as agreement features occur with EL verbs, as in example [180]: the third person singular suffix -et on the French verb stem '*corrig*' shows the perfective subject–verb agreement, referring to third person singular feminine '*teacher*'. The object suffix -hɑ (it) refers to '*dissertation*'. Both are previously mentioned in the utterance. The suffixed preposition -l and the object of the preposition -i means 'for-me' are content morphemes (assigning and receiving the thematic role of patient or beneficiary).

> **[180]** l-ħaq *corrig*-et-hɑ:-l-i sɫaɾ bə-sɫaɾ.
> The truth correct-3FSubj-it-for-me line by line.
> 'Indeed, she has corrected it in details.'

Other instances of outsider system morphemes in our corpus are the clitic pronouns (**i, ək, əh, ha, na, hɔm, kɔm**) attached to the preposition -tɑɛ (of) in the possessive construction tɑɛ-**i/ək/əh/ha/na/hɔm/kɔm.** These suffixes co-index content morphemes that are outside their maximal projection as in the following example:

> **[181]** lqi:t ɾu:ħi ɣi swɑ:laħ lli ja-χχadm-u:-<u>hɔm</u> fe *les intérêts* <u>tawaɛ-hɔm</u>. R11
> PERF-find myself just things that IMPERF-work-3PSubj-<u>them</u> in *the interest* <u>of-them</u>.
> I found that they care just about things that serve them and their interests.

In example [181], the clitic pronoun (-hɔm) is attached to the verb 'jaχχadmu:' (work) that refer to the direct object (the students). The same clitic pronoun (-hɔm) is suffixed to the preposition tɑɛ in the possessive construction (tawaɛ-hɔm) that co-index (the students). Consider the following example where the Algerian Arabic possessive construction (tɑɛ-əh) occurs in an otherwise French CP.

> **[182]** ħna l-*film* tɑɛ Lotfi t-faɾɾaʒ-nɑ-:h *ça fais quatre ans* wella. *C'était la première sortie* <u>tɑɛ-əh</u>. R
> We DEF-film of Lotfi PERF-watch- 1PSubj -3SObj it's been four years or. It was the first release <u>of-it</u>.
> 'We watched the film of Lotfi four years ago. It was its first release.'

169

Since the clitic pronoun (-əh) in the possessive construction (tɑɛ-əh) is an outsider system morpheme, this is considered as a counter-example to Myers-Scotton System Morpheme Principle and the 4-M model. However, if we analyse it from the standpoint of layered insertion, the AA prepositional phrase 'tɑɛ-əh' can be considered as a constituent that is inserted into larger constituent -into the French noun phrase '*la première sortie* tɑɛ-əh'. The Algerian Arabic prepositional phrase 'tɑɛ-əh' is a complement to the French NP '*la première sortie* tɑɛ-əh'.

2.8.5   The Blocking Hypothesis and the Formation of EL Islands

In addition to the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principle, which limit the role of the EL in mixed constituents to only supplying or providing EL content morphemes, the MLF model also adds a Blocking Hypothesis. The Blocking Hypothesis further restricts the role of the EL by stating that: "In ML+EL constituents, a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with the ML with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding subcategorization" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 120).

This means that not all EL content morphemes can occur freely in mixed constituents, but only those that are sufficiently congruent[167] with their ML counterparts. Sufficient congruence is still not exactly defined in Myers-Scotton's (1993, 1997, 2002) works, however she provides some cases involving mismatch between ML and EL constituents. Problems of congruence include the status of morphemes in both languages i.e., if a given morpheme for instance is a content morpheme in EL but a system morpheme in ML, ML blocks the occurrence of this EL morpheme. If a ML content morpheme is not congruent with its EL counterpart in terms of thematic role assignments (i.e. they assign different roles or have different sub-categorizations), the ML blocks the EL content morpheme from appearing in mixed constituents. Congruence also involves discourse or pragmatic functions that a morpheme encodes.

---

[167] Congruence refers to a match between the ML and the EL at the lemma level with respect to linguistically relevant features. Two linguistic categories are congruent if they correspond in respect of relevant qualities (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 1995: 274). Myers-Scotton (2002:20) insists on the notion sufficient congruent rather than complete congruence because according to her, content morphemes across languages are rarely completely congruent. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000b) also note that while Embedded Language thematic role assigners can match Matrix Language thematic role assigners, in other instances the roles that they assign can be different. Many locative or temporal prepositions are system morphemes.

If the congruence is insufficient, compromise strategies will be used. They include bare forms[168], do-constructions[169] and EL islands as advanced by (Myers-Scotton, 1997:250) "When there is insufficient congruence between the lemma underlying an EL content morpheme and its ML counterpart at one or more of the three levels of lexical structure, the only way to access the EL element is in an EL islands".

Examples of lack of congruence due to the different statuses of morphemes may include pronouns and prepositions. Prepositions do not behave as a uniform class (Abney 1987). Under the 4-M model, prepositions can be content morphemes[170] or any of the three types of SMs. Sometimes the same phonological form fits into more than one category (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009:348). Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009) provide the following examples that include the prepositions 'before' and 'for':

> Labda, […] ***bring it at my home***. U-let-e ***before*** kesho jioni.
> perhaps, bring it to my home. 2s-bring-subjunct before tomorrow evening
> "Perhaps you should bring it to my house. You should bring it before tomorrow evening."
>
> Nikamwambia anipe ruhusa niende ni-ka-*check*   *for you*
>   1s-CONSEC-check   for you
> 'and I told him he should give me permission so that I go and check for you.'
>   (Swahili/English, Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1997:124)

In the first example, according to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009), 'before' occurs in the place of a Swahili counterpart in ML+EL constituent because it is a content morpheme and has the feature [+Thematic Role Assigner] and it is congruent with its Swahili counterpart (*kabla ya*) which is also a content morpheme. However, they note that there are not many examples of such EL prepositions in mixed constituents; more frequently, they occur in PPs that are EL islands. In the second example, '*for*' heads an EL island. *For* is a content

---

[168] Bare form is an EL content morpheme that occurs in an ML constituent, but it lacks the ML system morphemes that make it well formed according to the ML morphosyntax. (Myers-Scotton,2002:21)

[169] Do-construction is another example of bare form. And it is the insertion of an EL verb without inflections or functional morphemes of the ML, instead the EL verb stem is inserted as a bar form but it is accompanied with an ML do verb which takes all ML inflections.

[170] For example, in *He walked across the street*, across assigns a thematic role and is a content morpheme. In CS, content morpheme prepositions can come from the EL.

morpheme that assigns the thematic role of beneficiary or goal; however, it does not have congruent status with a Swahili suffix[171] which is a system morpheme.

      Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009) also mentions examples that include an early system morpheme preposition[172] (these are satellites of phrasal verbs), a late bridge system preposition[173], and a late outsider system morpheme[174]. With the exception of outsider prepositions which are required by the SMP to come from the ML in mixed constituents, the USP stipulates that early system morphemes and bridges come either from the ML or from the EL within well-formed EL islands. However, despite the fact that the distribution of early SMs and bridges in most code-switching supports the USP, cases that involve the insertion of single early system morphemes and bridge are attested in code-switching literature. '*around*' in the following example is an early SM (satellite preposition) and '*djal*' is a bridge SM:

> Sabes los cambian ***around***
> know.pres.2s them change.pres.3pl around
> "You know they change them around."
> (Spanish–English, Pfaff: 1979:303)
>
> … de quel degré de connaissance `djal` la personne…
> '…on which degree of knowledge of the person…'
>
> (MA/French; Bentahilla and Davies 1998:38)

      Pronouns are another lexical category that is not uniform because they can be members of any of the four morpheme types (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009: 349). Some are content morphemes; i.e. they occur in argument position and receive thematic roles. But even when pronouns are content morphemes, EL pronouns occur very infrequently except in EL islands. Pronouns that are considered system morphemes include clitics or affixes licensing

---

[171] A counterpart for 'for' is the suffix in the verbal assembly realized as *-I* or *-e* that assign the thematic role of goal or beneficiary.

[172] Some prepositions can also be indirectly elected at the conceptual level, and are then early system morphemes: in *he comes across as ill-prepared*, across occurs with come, its content morpheme head.

[173] sometimes prepositions are late SMs that are not activated until the level of the formulator; these primarily contribute structure, and not content. For example, prepositions that are bridge SMs make a phrasal constituent well-formed.

[174] In some languages, prepositions are also outsiders. Consider Spanish a. It can be a content morpheme assigning directionality, as in *va **a** Hamburg* "he/she goes to Hamburg," or an early SM, as in *miremos **al** an˜o que viene*, ("we are looking forward to the coming year") (**al** = a + el 'to+the.m.def'). As a bridge, it connects purpose infinitives with matrix CPs, as in *prepare **a** venir* ("prepare to come"). Finally, a occurs as an outsider when it assigns case to animate direct objects, as in *veo **a** Eva* "I see Eva."

null pronouns in argument position; they are outsider SMs and must come from the ML (Arabic, French, etc). Dummy pronouns are free forms however they are also classified as system morphemes. EL content morpheme pronouns that are widely attested in bilingual clauses are named topic pronouns – they establish topics or contrast and convey both conceptual and procedural information (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009: 349).

> **You** estas diciendole [sic] la pregunta **in the wrong person**
> "You are asking the question in the wrong person"
>
> (Sankoff and Poplack 1981:13).
>
> nta **tu va travailler**
> 2S. EMPH. 2S go work-INF
> "You, you are going to work."
>
> (Morrocan Arabic–French, Bentahila and Davies 1983:313)
>
> ʕi hna **we are supposed to be** nudris-**ing**
> 1PL.TOP . . . study-prog
> "We, we are supposed to be studying."
>
> (Palestinian Arabic–English, Myers-Scotton et al. 1996:27)

Each pronoun in the above-cited examples is activated independently and occurs in a separate position in the bilingual CP. for example, the Arabic discourse emphatic pronoun '*nta*' (you) is adjoined under Comp and the French '*tu*' (you) is an agreement clitic not in argument position. A null pronoun is assumed to occur in subject position. The Arabic '*ʔihna*' (we) is adjoined under Comp and English '*we*' occurs in subject position. In the Spanish–English example, the English emphatic pronoun '*you*' is a topic, and a Spanish null pronoun occurs as the subject.

Our corpus exhibits the insertion of pronouns in both direction i.e. French pronouns in Algerian Arabic structures and Algerian Arabic pronouns into French matrices. These embedded pronouns are exclusively limited to indefinite pronouns and discourse emphatic pronouns which are content morphemes.

2.8.5.1   EL Islands

EL islands have been extensively studied by the MLF model and have evoked much debate in the literature concerning such notions as congruence, activation of embedded language and triggering. EL islands are well-formed constituent (i.e. maximal projections) which obey the internal structure of the EL, but which are inserted in grammatically appropriate points in mixed CPs, i.e. "Although EL islands must follow the principles of well-

formedness of the Embedded Language regarding their internal organization[175] (i.e. order within the phrase), they follow the *placement rules of the Matrix Language* within the clause." (Myers-Scotton 2006: 264). Myers-Scotton (2002:139) further insists on the fact that sequences of EL morphemes that are only juxtaposed are not considered as EL islands unless they show structural dependency relations (such as: *building high-rise* in the following example from Poplack's (1987) data which follow the ML word order and thus don't qualify as EL island:

> A côté   il y en a un autre gros **building high-rise**.
> At [the] side there is ART other big   building high-rise
> 'next door there is another big high-rise building.'
>
> (French/ English Poplack; 1987:59)

Myers-Scotton (2002) has subsumed the motivation for the occurrence of most Embedded Language islands under three categories; these are the socio-pragmatic motivation, structurally or grammatically motivated EL islands and the functional explanation for the occurrence of Embedded Language islands.

According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 266), Embedded Language islands may occur as a result of a semantic or pragmatic mismatch between the two languages at the lexical-conceptual level. That is to say, the speaker may have intentions to say something in the EL - as it may express better the speaker's intentions, convey a desired connotation or simply has more cachet- and which could not be realized in ML because there is no Matrix Language equivalent that has the same pragmatic force as the Embedded Language counterpart. These intentions activate "a chain of requirements" at an abstract level resulting in an EL island. Myers-Scotton admits that it is difficult to make a clear-cut argument while dealing with semantics and pragmatics as they are not discrete features. However, what is interesting in the pragmatic reasons put forward by Myers-Scotton is that they end up into EL islands as a result of structural mismatch between the two languages at the abstract level as can be understood when she states that:

> In earlier work, I indicated that sociopragmatic motivations provide explanations for why most Embedded Language islands occur. Now I am less sure that this is the only reason for islands; more and more islands seem to depend on structural

---

[175] EL islandhood must be constrained so that islands are not characterized just as those cases of two or more morphemes to which the ML and Blocking Hypothesis do not apply. EL islands are inherently constrained because they must show internal structural-dependency relations, all islands must be composed of at least two lexemes/ morphemes in a hierarchical relationship. (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 138)

(grammatical) constraints. These may well be in addition to the sociopragmatic motivations, but they are definitely identifiable. Myers-Scotton (2002: 153)

Hence, in addition to pragmatic motivations, Embedded Language islands can be structurally motivated. Structural mismatches or differences in the grammars of the two languages at an abstract level can result in what Myers-Scotton calls *obligatory EL islands* formulated under the *EL Island Trigger Hypothesis* as follows:

> whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML Hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island." Myers-Scotton, (1993b: 7) or as "Activating any EL lemma or accessing by error any EL morpheme not licensed under the ML or Blocking Hypothesis triggers the processor to inhibit all ML accessing procedures and complete the current constituent as an EL island. (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 139)

So, EL Island Trigger Hypothesis complements the ML and Blocking Hypotheses which apply in ML + EL constituents as it claims that the access of any EL morpheme -either intentionally or accidentally[176]- which does not satisfy the conditions of both the ML or the Blocking Hypothesis will trigger an obligatory EL island. The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis predicts that obligatory EL islands will often include quantifiers as they are early system morphemes and this is the only way for them to appear in bilingual CPs[177]. PPs are also expected since prepositions are a heterogenous class of morphemes in different languages. The following examples include EL islands triggered by the French quantifiers 'toutes' (all), 'trois' (three), and 'assez' (enough) (examples respectively) and the preposition 'en' (in) (example):

[183] *Toutes les universités* ja-qɾ-ɔ *en anglais*. R2

    All the universities IMPERF-study-3PlSubj *in English*

    All universities teach in English.

[184] ɛandha *trois garçons*. R1

    Have-she *three boys*

    She has three boys

[185] ħna ma-ɛannɑ-ːʃ *assez d'enseignant*. R4

---

[176] Note that intentionally involves semantic/ pragmatic motivations however accidentally is purely structural.

[177] This suggestion was made by Myers-Scotton in the 1993 *Duelling Languages* and still emphasized in her 2002 *Contact Linguistics*. She also adds that recent quantitative research supports the prediction that many Embedded Language islands are headed by quantifiers and in some data sets they are numerically dominant among EL islands. (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 148)

We NEG-have-NEG *enough of teachers*
'We don't have enough teachers.'

Example [186] includes the French adjective '*dépendent*' (dependent) that triggers an obligatory EL islands as it is followed by a complement [the preposition 'de' (on) + a pronoun].

[186] zaɛma tɔ-ggɔɛd-i ***toujours <u>dépendant de lui</u>***. R4

It means IMPERF-stay-2SFSubj *always <u>dependent on him.</u>*

'It means you always stay dependent on him.'

EL Island Trigger Hypothesis also stipulates that "if an EL morpheme implicating non-ML morpheme order in a constituent is accessed as the initial element in a constituent, this triggers processing of the entire constituent in the EL, thereby forming an EL island." Myers-Scotton, (1997: 139). This hypothesis predicts that in case of the Algerian Arabic/ French code-switching, if a French adjective is accessed before its head, then the adjective with its noun head must form an EL island as Algerian Arabic requires head-first order in NPs with adjectives. The following sentence includes a French island consisting of [French adjective + noun] inserted into Algerian Arabic constituent projected by zero article (ø) for indefiniteness:

[187] kɔnt *ø **jeune fille***. R1

IMPERF-be *ø young girl*

'I was a young girl.'

Structural motivation according to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) can promote even bigger EL islands as the case of IPs in the Palestinian Arabic/ English code-switching which is considered to be the most common type of EL island insertion. The authors attribute the prevalence of this type of EL islands to differences in system morpheme statuses in both languages. According to them, the tense/aspect is structurally assigned in English whereas tense/aspect is indirectly activated in Arabic along with the content morphemes i.e. the verbs specifying them. The following example taken from Okasha's corpus (1996) illustrate the insertion of an entire IP as an EL island in Arabic framed CP:

huma bijedfaɛu:li kɔl ħaga liʔanuhɔm they can afford it

They hab.impf.3p.pay.1s everything because.3pl . . .

'They pay for everything [for me] because they can afford it.'

(Palestinian Arabic–English, Okasha 1999:123)

So, EL islands are considered as compromise strategies in the case of a lack of sufficient congruence between EL elements and their ML counterparts at lemma level.

In addition to the socio-pragmatic and structural motivation for EL islands, Myers-Scotton (1993b, 2002, 2006) opts for a functional analysis to explain which of the potential EL islands tend to occur. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (1993:144) proposes the *EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis*[178] which states that the more peripheral the constituent is to the main arguments of the sentence, and the more formulaic in structure it is, the more likely it is to appear as an EL island.

Thus, the first characteristic of the bulk of EL islands across diverse data sets, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 141), is that they are frequently adverbial phrases of time or place; that is, they are adjuncts[179] which are outside the predicate-argument structure projected by the main clause verb. This idea has been discussed earlier by Treffers-Daller (1991, 1993)[180] and emphasised later by Muysken (2000) and Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006). In the case of the Nairobi corpus, Myers-Scotton notes that of all EL islands (121), 29,5 % (36) are time adverbials, most as two-word expressions or as brief PPs (e.g. next Saturday, every morning, on Sundays). The following examples drawn from our corpus contain adverbials of time 'en 2011' (in 2011) and place 'au fond' (at the back):

> **[188]** j-diːɾ kɔɾsi j-ʒammeɛ ___au fond___. (R2)
> IMPERF-put chair IMPERF-sit ___at the back___
> 'He puts (a) chair (and) sits at the back.'

> **[189]** *Le classique* kməl ___en 2011___. (R2)
> *The classic* PERF-finish ___in 2011___
> 'The classic system finished in 2011.'

---

[178] "There are two distinct typologies characterizing EL islands which provide preferential hierarchies. The first is based on the grammatical function of the constituent, as core or peripheral. The second recognizes that idioms and set expressions from the EL are likely EL islands." (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 143)

[179] Adjuncts or adverbials are 'add-ons' to the main structural/ semantic elements of the clause i.e. unlike subject, verb, object and complements, adjuncts are not necessary structure of the clause but they add extra meaning to it. In example [188] the phrase 'au fond' (at the back) is additional if we omit it, the sentence still has meaning 'he puts the chair and sits down'

[180] In fact, Treffers-Daller (1991, 1993) developed this argument into a hierarchy (figure 2.2)

Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006) notes that another feature of Embedded Language islands is that they are generally collocations[181] -phrases of words that usually occur together- and formulaic in their composition. Phrases with formulaic structure may include idioms[182] and they can be subsumed under what Backus (1999) calls 'chunks'[183] as Myer-Scotton claims. The following examples from our corpus include set expressions '*en plein réunion*' (in the middle of a meeting), '*l'ordre du jour*' (agenda), '*à tour de role*' (in turn), '*chapeaux bas*' (hats off) and the idiomatic expression '*une histoire à dormir debout*' (*a cock-and bull story*) which means an unbelievable tale or story:

[190] t-ʔamni ? ***en plein réunion***, 't-senj-iː-l-ha?' (R4)

IMPERF-believe? *in the middle of a meeting*, 'IMPERF-sign-2SGSubj-for-her?'

'Do you believe? In the middle of a meeting, (he asked him) 'are you going to sign'

[191] bɑːʃ ndiːɾɔ ***l'ordre du jour***. (R4)

To IMPERF-do-1PLSubj *the instruction of the day*

'To put the meeting agenda.'

[192] hɔma wallɔ jɔχχɔɾʒuːlna ***avec des coups bas***. (R12)

They became come out with low blows.

'They are throwing us with low blows.'

[193] ɛɬɑː-t-ək ***une histoire à dormir debout***. (R4)

PERF-give-3SGFSubj-2SGObj *a story to sleep upright/ while standing*

'She told you *a cock-and bull story*.'

---

[181] According to Boumans (1998:100), collocations constitute another category of EL entities that could be admitted in order to save the MLF model. Consequently, the preservation of EL-specific word-order in embedded Noun-Adjective and Verb-Object collocations would no longer be viewed as a counter-example to the model. The preservation of their internal structure could be explained by assuming that collocations, like compound words and some derived and inflected forms, are stored in the speaker's lexicon in a fixed format.

[182] An idiom is a phrase or a clause whose meaning is not the meaning of the sum of its parts.

[183] In his 1990b article, Backus defines a chunk as a conventional unit, stating that 'reference to conventionality is crucial: a chunk must be current …. Novel combinations are put together on the spot, chunks are not' (p.94). Backus claims that 'every multimorphemic Embedded Language insertion is a chunk' (97), including everything from some phrasal verbs (*disgusted with*) to some full CPs (*it was a piece of cake*). He further suggests that 'if two or more Embedded Language morphemes are used in codeswitching and they form a conventional combination in the Embedded Language, then it would be too coincidental if the speaker had produced them by two or more independent switches, compositionally building up a composite expression'.

[194] zaɛma hna wɑːh **_chapeaux bas_** _pour_ hadɑːk _le recteur._
χdem had s-swɑːləħ.

> Well, here yes hats off to that the director He worked these things
> 'Well, here yes hats off to that director, he worked those things.'

Myers-Scotton's (1993:148) asserts that the EL Trigger hypothesis and the Hierarchy Hypothesis help to constrain EL islands as the former predicts which construction *must* be islands and the latter predicts which are *likely* to be islands. The hypotheses as well as the hierarchy will be tested against our corpus though we hypothesise that it doesn't work for the obvious reason that the NP is the category of EL Island that is prevalent and they outnumber even single nouns.

2.8.5.2 Internal EL Island

Internal EL islands are well-formed constituents in Embedded Language; however, they are considered as part of ML + EL constituent i.e. they are inserted into a larger phrase framed by a ML element in head position. Internal EL Islands have been given more importance in Myers-Scotton's later publications (2002, 2006) as they have been attested in some data sets to constitute the majority of EL Islands[184] which, according to Myers-Scotton (2002:152), implies more Matrix Language control and less Embedded Language independence. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (2002) states:

> Embedded Language islands are clear evidence that the Embedded Language is 'on' to some extent in the bilingual CP. However, the type of constituents that occur in Embedded Language islands (largely formulaic expressions that are often adjuncts or internal Embedded Language islands under an abstract Matrix Language larger phrasal category) indicates the level of activation is not the same as that of the Matrix Language when the major constituents of the clause are constructed. Myers-Scotton (2002:152)

As mentioned before, Internal Embedded Language islands must be well-formed constituent in the Embedded Language within ML + EL constituent, however they differ from Embedded Language islands which are maximal projections themselves as illustrated by the following examples from our corpus:

[195] na-ɛɫ-iː-kɔm **_les dessous_**. R12

     IMPERF-give-1SGSubj-2PLObj _the underneath_

---

[184] According to Myers-Scotton (2002 :152) in other data sets, many of those Embedded Language islands that are not adverbial phrase adjuncts are internal Embedded Language islands

'I'll give you the hidden aspects of what going on.'

[196] `madabi:na t-wall-i` _**une tradition**_. R11

We'd like IMPERF-become-3Subj _a tradition_

'We'd like it to become a tradition.'

[197] `ma-t-ɾɔħ-i:-ʃ lə-ddɑ:ɾ` _**dans cet état**_.

NEG-IMPERF-go-2Subj-NEG to-home _in this state_

'Don't go home in this state.'

[198] `nnɑ:s` [_mixed PP_ `fe` [_internal NP_ _**les couloirs**_]] `ja-hhadɾ-ɔ`. R12

People, in the corridor, IMPERF-talk-3PLSubj.

'People talk behind your back.'

[199] _Bon_, `dɑ:ɾ-ɔ`[_mixed NP_ `hadi:k` [_internal NP_ _**l'histoire**_]]

Well, PERF-make-3PLSubj [that [_the story_]]

'Well, they made up that story.'

In the above cited examples, examples [195], [196] and [197] contain EL islands the NPs '_les dessous_', '_une tradition_' and the PP '_dans cet état_'. Examples [198] and [199] include internal EL islands i.e. well-formed French definite NPs '_les couloirs_' and '_l'histoire_' inserted into larger Algerian Arabic prepositional phrase framed by the preposition '`fe`' (in) and Algerian Arabic noun phrase headed by the demonstrative pronoun '`hadi:k`' (that). The insertion of French definite noun phrases as internal EL islands into Algerian Arabic PPs and NPs is recurrent in the Algerian Arabic /French code-switching corpus of the present study.

In fact, this French constituent is very frequently EL island in North African Arabic/French code-switching (Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Poplack and Sankoff, 1988; Lahlou, 1989, Ziamari, 2003, Ouahmich 2013). The occurrence of the French definite noun phrase into larger ML + EL constituent especially NPs framed by an Arabic determiner has evoked much debate in the literature (Myers-Scotton: 1993, 2002, Poplack: 1993; Muysken 1995, 2000).

Myers-Scotton (2002: 140) has expanded her definition of the internal Embedded Language islands to include elements that cannot be considered as embedded single morphemes nor can they be considered as well formed constituents. Thus, according to the author, to qualify as EL islands, Embedded Language constituents including a noun must be well-formed at the NP level, as it _may be well-formed just at the N-bar level_. This is due, as Myers-Scotton (2002: 140) explains, to the fact that as "ML controls the larger constituents, it

may inhibit formation of full NP in the EL *if such an NP is not what would be well-formed in the Matrix Language*." This means that internal EL islands may include nouns with their plural affixes[185], or nouns and their modifying adjectives as in the following examples provided by Myers-Scotton:

> Mu-ku-on-a zi-mene a-va-la. A-va-la **very expensive costume**.
> 'you see what he's wearing. He's wearing [a] very expensive costume.'
> > (Chichewa/English corpus 1995)

Myers-Scotton explains the above-cited example as the fact that the EL may require a phrase including a determiner to be well-formed, but the ML may not have this requirement. In the Chichewa, there are no determiners as integral parts of NPs; thus, '*very expensive costume*' is a well-formed NP according to the Chichewa frame. It is also well-formed as an N-bar in English even though it is less than an NP in English because it lacks a determiner.

The following examples from our corpus illustrate the French internal N-bar elements inserted into larger Algerian Arabic constituents:

[200] n-diːɾ-ɔ [mixed NP Ø[internal N-bar *répartition équilibrée*]]. (R11)
IMPERF-do-1PLSubj ø *division balanced*
'We do a balanced division.'

[201] bassaħ ma-ɾah-ɔ-mʃ baɣ-jiːn j-wall-ɔ ɣi [Ø *Futurs enseignants*]. (R6)
But Neg-be-3PLSubj PER-want-3PLSubj IMPERF-become-3PLSubj just [ø *future teachers*].
'But they don't want to become just future teachers.'

[202] ħna ma-kɔnɑ-ːʃ qɑːdɾ-iːn nə-cri-jjɔ [ø *département d'anglais*].
We Neg-be-Neg able-1PLSubj IMPERF-create-1PLSubj ø *department of English*
'We weren't able to create an English department.'

[203] jliːq t-kuːn fe [mixed NP l-[internal N-bar *conseil de direction*]].
Must IMPERF-be in DEF-board of governing

---

[185] This type of EL islands which were not discussed in the earlier expositions of the MLF model, were raised by Boumans (1998:36-7) as a counter-example to the MLF model stating that: "EL nouns that function as ML plurals are at least as common as double plural morphology. These EL plurals, whether they occur as EL islands or within mixed constituents, typically trigger agreement where appropriate according to the ML grammar.'

'She has to be in the governing board.'

[204] lli tɔ-dχɔl fe **[d-*deuxième semestre*]**.   (R9)

That IMPERF-enter in DEF-*second semester*

'That is part of the second semester.'

Examples [200], [201] and [202] include French [ADJ + N] '*Futurs enseignants',* '*répartition équilibrée'* and [N + COMP] '*département d'anglais'* inserted into the Algerian Arabic frame headed by the zero article (ø) for indefiniteness. Examples [203], [204] consist of French [ADJ + N] '*deuxième semestre'* and [N + COMP] '*conseil de direction'* embedded into Algerian Arabic NPs projected by the definite article 'l-'. The [Adj + Noun] word order in examples [201] and [204] doesn't conform to the Algerian Arabic Noun-Adjective word order and this is why they cannot be considered as embedded EL morphemes and form a potential problem for the MLF model. Hence the only way for them to be analysed under Myers-Scotton's insertional approach is to be considered as Internal EL islands since they are a well formed constituent according to French requirements.

The other constituent behind Myers-Scotton's redefinition of internal EL islands as mentioned above are plural EL nouns which cannot be considered as EL morphemes. This type of EL islands which were not discussed in the earlier expositions of the MLF model, were raised by Boumans (1998:36-7) as a counter-example to the MLF model stating that: "EL nouns that function as ML plurals are at least as common as double plural morphology. These EL plurals, whether they occur as EL islands or within mixed constituents, typically trigger agreement where appropriate according to the ML grammar." Here are some illustrative examples from Boumans (1998) and from Myers-Scotton (1993b):

Leo   si-ku-*come*   na ø-*book-s* z-angu
Today 1s. NEG-Past.NEG-come with CL10-book-PL CL10-my
"today I didn't come with my books." Swahili/English,

Myers-Scotton (1993b:80)

Duk   artikel-en, ila bġi-ti t-teržem-hum,   is echt moeilijk.
DEM.PL article-PL   if want-2SG 2-translate-3PL is really difficult
"Those articles, if you want to translate them, that's really difficult."

Moroccan Arabic/Dutch, Boumans (1998:37)

Embedded language nouns with their plural affix which according to Myers-Scotton (2002:149) are EL islands requiring the least proficiency in the Embedded Language are also attested in the corpus of the present study as follow:

[205] ddɑːbez mɛa ʃɛɑːl men *enseignant-s.* (R2)

PERF-fight-3SG with many of *teacher-PL*

'He has argued with many teachers.'

[206] ʃufi ʃɛɑːl ɛanna men *étudiant-s.* (R4)

See-2SGF how many have-1PLSubj of *student-PL*

'See how many students we have.'

[207] ʃɛɑːl ta-ɛɫ-iː-hɔm men *exemple-s* w men *exercice-s?* (R5)

How many 2IMPERF-give-2SGSubj-3PLObj of *example-PL* and of
exercise-PL

'How many examples and exercises do you give them?'

This type of internal EL islands has a low frequency (only 10 tokens) compared to the insertion of French plural nouns with their definite or indefinite articles.

2.8.6   The Uniform Structure Principle

In addition to the Matrix Language Principle and the Asymmetry Principle, Myers-Scotton (2002) adds another supportive principle i.e. the Uniform Structure Principle (hereafter USP). Defining this principle Myers-Scotton (2002) states that:

> A given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this constituent type must be observed whenever the constituent appears. In bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language (ML) are always preferred. Embedded Language (EL) islands (phrases from other varieties participating in the clause) are allowed if they meet EL well-formedness conditions, as well as those ML conditions applying to the clause as a whole (e.g. phrase placement). Myers-Scotton (2002: 120)

By adding the USP, Myers-Scotton (2002) gives preference to the ML morpho-syntactic procedures, i.e. the principle maintains the ML structural uniformity of the constituent and of the CP in favour of forming EL islands. Yet, some EL structures are allowed if they obey ML restrictions.

The general principle underlying the Uniform Structure Principle is the one of feature distribution and checking across phrases to maintain phrases' consistency. This principle has been expressed in many syntactic models including Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Gazdar, Klein, Pullum, and Sag (1985) and Chomsky's Minimalist Program (1995). The idea of the USP as Myers-Scotton (2002: 121) states is that "Head features (of the Matrix Language) must be observed throughout a maximal projection".

2.8.7   Congruence

Congruence is a crucial concept in code-switching research. The scope of congruence or equivalence has expanded and taken different views beginning by a surface linear equivalence in Poplack's equivalence constraint. Then structural or grammatical equivalence was discussed in Bentahila and Davies' (1983) lexical sub-categorization restriction and in Muysken's syntactic constraints. Finally, under Myers-Scotton's MLF model, the nature of congruence becomes deeper and more complex. It is examined at the three levels of abstract structure of content lexemes (lexical-conceptual, predicate-argument, and morphological realization patterns).

Congruence is represented in the MLF model by the two last hypotheses; the Blocking Hypothesis and the EL Hypothesis. The use of a lexical item is motivated by a match or compatibility between the two languages, in the three abstract structural levels, before the surface realization of the maximal projection of the lexeme. It is the presence or the lack of such compatibility or congruence which in fact defines code-switching structures, i.e. sufficient congruence results in mixed constituents and insufficient congruence creates EL islands. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995: 248) have mentioned this relation between congruence and code-switching choices by stating that: "Variation in congruence (complete, partial, or absent) in the levels of language restricts and therefore structures choices in CS. That is, variation in actual CS realizations reflects variation in congruence at more abstract levels of linguistic structures."

Sufficient congruence as Myers-Scotton (2002: 110) has admitted is not well defined independently from what does occur, yet the MLF model's explicative power relies on the very concept of congruence. Besides, many recent studies have exploited the notion of congruence to explain some problematic code switching instances.

The concept of congruence along with the USP will be used in chapter 4 to explain some observed code-switching patterns and strategies, which are used when Algerian Arabic and French are in contact.

2.9   Conclusion

The linear as well as the government approaches were extensively criticized by many scholars in code-switching literature, including their authors. Poplack, for instance, who remained faithful to her constraints in her subsequent publications, could not deny the prominence of insertion type of code-switching. So she has introduced 'nonce borrowing',

and 'constituent insertion' as two code-switching mechanisms to save the validity of her constraints. Yet, her strategies imply the notion of a matrix structure which she has rejected.

Muysken (2000) on the other hand, has criticized the government approaches, including his and his associates Government and Binding theory (Discuillo, Muysken, and Singh's, 1986), concluding that these approaches could be saved if they take into account two important notions in formulating grammatical constraints. These are the categorical equivalence or congruence which undoes the effect of the government restriction (Muysken, 2000: 25); this means that Muysken acknowledges the process of insertion provided that there is categorical equivalence between grammatical categories of both languages. The second point is the crucial role of the functional elements in determining the overall structure. The notion of categorical equivalence was also implicitly adopted by Mahootian and Santorini (1996) who allow insertion of words and constituents as far as they don't violate the grammar of the head of the maximal projection within which they take place. In that they are closer to Myers-Scotton's model; both claim the unequal role of the languages participating in code-switching i.e., matrix language or governing language (Muysken, 2000). However, unlike Myers-Scotton's model, the notion of matrix or governing language is not explicitly pronounced or defined. In addition, inflections are not included as governing elements that determine the structure of verb phrases.

Three major observations are drawn from reviewing the above approaches. These are considered by many researchers working within the sub-field of structural studies of code-switching as being essential elements that should be taken into account in seeking syntactic constraints on code-switching. These important points, which are either directly stated in the work of Muysken (2000), Boumans (1998), and Myers-Scotton (2002) or indirectly inferred as in Poplack's publications and Mahootian and Santorini's constraints (1996), are first, the unequal role of the two languages involved in code-switching; second, the importance of functional words in structuring mixed sentences and thus differentiating them from content words, and finally the importance of categorical equivalence or congruence between categories of both languages in contact. Indeed, these considerations constitute two major hypotheses in Myers-Scotton's MLF model -The Matrix Language Hypothesis (with its morpheme order and system morpheme principles) and the Blocking Hypothesis.

Even though the idea of a matrix language has been repeatedly challenged even in later work that is based on construction grammar and usage-based principles, the term "matrix

language" and the idea of asymmetric switching remains one of the most influential concepts in bilingualism research and are supported by a good amount of empirical evidence.

This chapter has outlined some important models proposed to account for syntactic constraints on intra-sentential code-switching in order to justify our preference for Myers-Scotton's MLF model.

3   Quantitative analysis and Functional Interpretation of the Corpus

3.1   Introduction

Sociolinguistic factors can be studied at many levels, ranging from the analysis of macro-level social factors of language choice to conversation analyses on code-switching as a contextualization cue in terms of sequences within a conversation (Auer 2000, Gafaranga 2009; Gardner-Chloros 2009). We have already tackled some issues related to Algerian sociolinguistic profile, language contact dynamics and policies in the first chapter. In this chapter, when talking about sociolinguistics, our focus will be particularly on pragmatic/socio-interactive mechanisms in dialogue. But before proceeding to the functional interpretation of our interlocutors mixing patterns, we are going to provide a quantitative analysis of our data in the light of the theoretical frameworks adopted in this research work. The quantitative analysis is the first step in the interpretation of our corpus and the practices of our respondents.

It is certain that attempting to limit the explanation of the alternate use of Algerian Arabic dialect, French, English and Standard Arabic in general and Algerian Arabic and French in particular in the context we are studying to the formal explanation would be to reduce the productions of the people observed to a kind of structural mechanics and, therefore, going against the facts. It is indeed within conversation, the use of a second linguistic variety can be correlated with certain conversational tasks. Code-switching can take place in the form of reiteration of a message, quotation, repetition, reformulation or metalinguistic commentary, allowing the speaker to adjust his speech, to argue, to comment on the speech of his interlocutor, etc. and hence to (re)structure the entire course of a conversation.

However, since our work does not set itself the fundamental objective of studying the conversational functions of code-switching, and we believe that if the findings made on this subject are true, it is downright impossible to list all the functions that could be fulfilled by the often unexpected shifts to a particular code in a given interactional event, we will try to closely analyse a few of these functions using an eclectic approach that combines conversational analysis techniques and Myers-Scotton's Markedness or Rational model.

The presence of English and Standard Arabic in our informants' exchanges adds another sociolinguistic dimension to their meetings. As such we are going to shed the light briefly on the use of these two varieties. Nonetheless, the focus will be on the Algerian

Arabic/ French alternation since they constitute the majority codes in our corpus as will be shown in the quantitative findings below.

This chapter is divided into three main sections; the first section provides a quantitative account of the diverse categories and constructions inserted within different code-switching configurations and the way the varieties involved in this contact contribute to the making of these utterances. The quantification of the data will help us also shed the light on other variables be them social, cognitive or discursive that impact the mix-ability of the different codes. Section two approaches the data from a sociolinguistic/ functional perspective to better understand the linguistic endeavors of our community of practice. Section three exposes the inter-clausal type of switching which does not belong to the structural analysis yet it is part of discourse grammar and part of discourse functions.

3.2 Quantitative analysis

Our study is based on qualitative analysis of the linguistic aspects of code-switching. We will also shed some light on the sociolinguistic side of our data. Nonetheless, we felt the need to back up the qualitative study of the grammatical and functional properties of code-switching in our corpus with interpretation of the quantitative finding so as to obtain an overall understanding of our informants' sociolinguistic behaviour. The results obtained will be discussed in accordance to the main issues raised in this research.

The first step in the quantitative analysis of our data is counting and classifying the utterances into monolingual and mixed-based complementizer phrases in the whole corpus. Table (3.1) presents the result with regard to the distribution of monolingual codes and mixed constructions i.e. bilingual and trilingual CPs, indicating details about each pattern separately in different speech situations:

Types of CPs		R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12
Mono-lingual CPs	AA	180	25	18	653	107	107	109	364	495	126	103	644
	Fr	149	89	24	318	336	155	189	370	512	807	176	712
	Eng	1	0	1	11	72	62	15	0	114	0	1	3
Bi-lingual CPs	AA/Fr	288	112	23	610	239	130	131	254	565	110	112	300
	Fr/AA	53	37	8	70	54	30	31	62	21	78	43	81
	AA/Eng	5	1	3	11	26	4	5	0	12	3	3	2
	Fr/Eng	2	0	5	1	25	2	4	0	2	4	4	1
	AA/SA	0	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	2
	FR/SA	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	2
	SA/FR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tri-lingual CPs	AA/FR/Eng	2	2	6	2	57	2	5	0	11	0	2	3

FR/AA/Eng	0	2	2	3	26	1	0	0	9	0	1	6
FR/AA/SA	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0

Table 3.1: The Distribution of Monolingual, Bilingual, and Trilingual CPs in each Recording.

The analysis of the data shows that three different tokens of CPs appear in the twelve (12) speech situations. These are monolingual utterances that are classified into Algerian Arabic, French and English CPs. Bilingual CPs with Algerian Arabic or French matrices and trilingual CPs with Algerian Arabic and French base structures. The frequency of occurrence of each of these three types in the speech sample collected is illustrated in figure (3.1). The data show that monolingual CPs are found to be dominant making up 65, 36% (7048 tokens) of the entire corpus. Bilingual CPs constitute 33, 28% (3589 tokens). That is half the number of the frequency of monolingual CPs. Last and the least of them are trilingual CPs that form only 1, 36% (147 tokens) of all the CPs in the corpus of the present study.
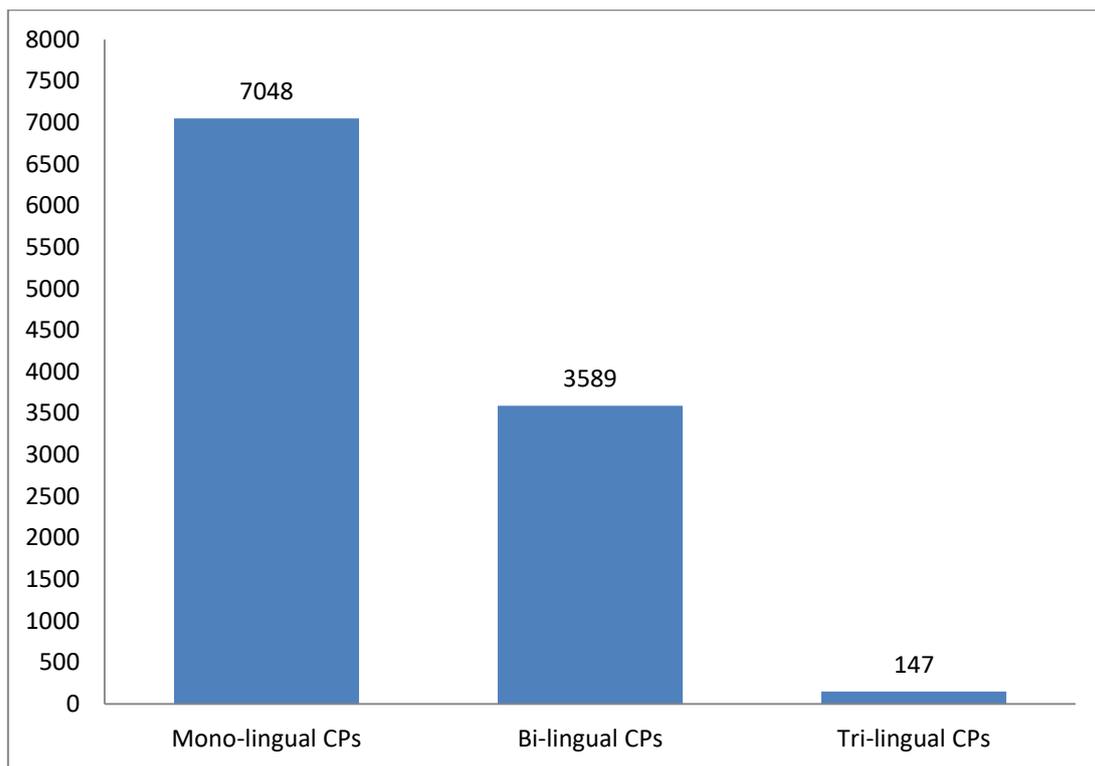
Figure 3.1: Tokens of CP types in the entire corpus

We notice immediately the high frequency of monolingual and bilingual CPs compared to trilingual CPs. This further confirms our qualitative analysis that our informants frequently switch between Algerian Arabic and French within single CPs (i.e. intra-clausal or intra sentential CS that result in bilingual or mixed clauses) and alternate between

monolingual CPs (i.e. inter-sentential or inter-clausal switching). Trilingual CPs are by far the least which reflects the fact that our informants occasionally switch to English and even rarely to Standard Arabic. The same can be said about bilingual CPs that include English and Standard Arabic as they represent 3,48% (125 tokens) and 0,61% (22 tokens) respectively compared to Algerian Arabic and French bilingual CPs 95,90% (3442 tokens). Even the occurrence of monolingual English CPs is very limited 3,97% (280 tokens) compared to French monolingual clauses 54,44% (3837 tokens) and to Algerian Arabic monolingual CPs 41,59% (2931 tokens). Thus, teachers' meetings though are mostly pedagogical and professional, do not only reflect their academic life but strongly signals other traits of their identity and their social network. English is not used in the Algerian speakers' daily life, and the appeal to such English constructions is due to the presence of the English language in the academic life of our informants. The rarity of English monolingual and mixed CPs during our informants' meetings is not due to their competence in English because they held two meetings in 2020 exclusively in English as our institution ENS received a Fulbright fellow who had been given a scholarship by the USA government to Algeria and who was supposed to teach with us for a year. Unfortunately, he left because of the spread of the corona virus all around the world. Nonetheless, we have noticed that our respondents express themselves better using French when they discuss administrative matters.

Having exposed briefly the different types of monolingual and mixed clauses that contains Algerian Arabic, French, English and Standard Arabic, we are going to focus on Algerian Arabic and French code-alternation in our quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic aspect of code-switching due to the prevalence of these two codes in monolingual and mixed constructions in our corpus. Figure (3.2) presents the distribution of tokens of Algerian Arabic and French monolinguals and bilingual CPs.
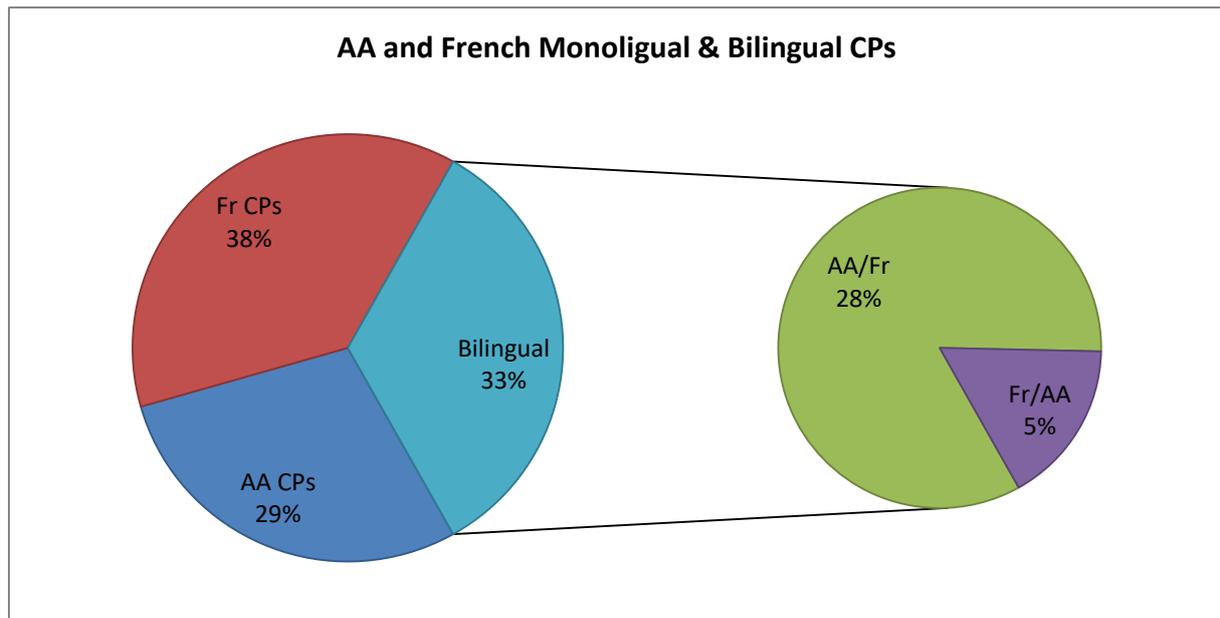
Figure 3.2: The Distribution of tokens of AA and French Monolinguals and Bilingual CPs.

The analysis of the data reveals that French is the dominant code in our informants' exchanges 38% (3837 tokens). Yet this dominance is relative compared to AA CPs 29% (2931 tokens) and bilingual CPs 33% (3442 tokens) and may be explained by the fact that most meetings were to their majority formal and professional. If we take a look at table (3.1) above, it will become clear that French is relatively the dominant language in all the recordings except recordings (R1) and (R4) where AA is the majority code because both of these recordings were about personal informal matters[186]. Recording (R10), on the other hand, is characterized by high frequency of French CPs (807 tokens) compared to AA (126 tokens) which is explained by teachers' disagreement and preference to establish social distance.

Another important observation is that in spite of the fact that French monolingual CPs outnumber AA ones, AA-based bilingual CPs 28% (2874 tokens) prevail significantly over French-based bilingual CPs 5% (568 tokens). AA as a ML dominates over French in trilingual CPs as well scoring 92 tokens for the former and 55 tokens for the latter. This disparity between the number of CPs having AA as a ML and French-structured CPs is an indicative of the difference in our respondents' competence/ performance or proficiency in the codes involved in code-switching. There are 4268 (90%) of French embedded elements and

---

[186] Go to the description of the recordings for further details.

constituents into AA matrices as opposed to 455 (10%) AA inserted patterns into French structures. Figure (3.3) illustrates this:
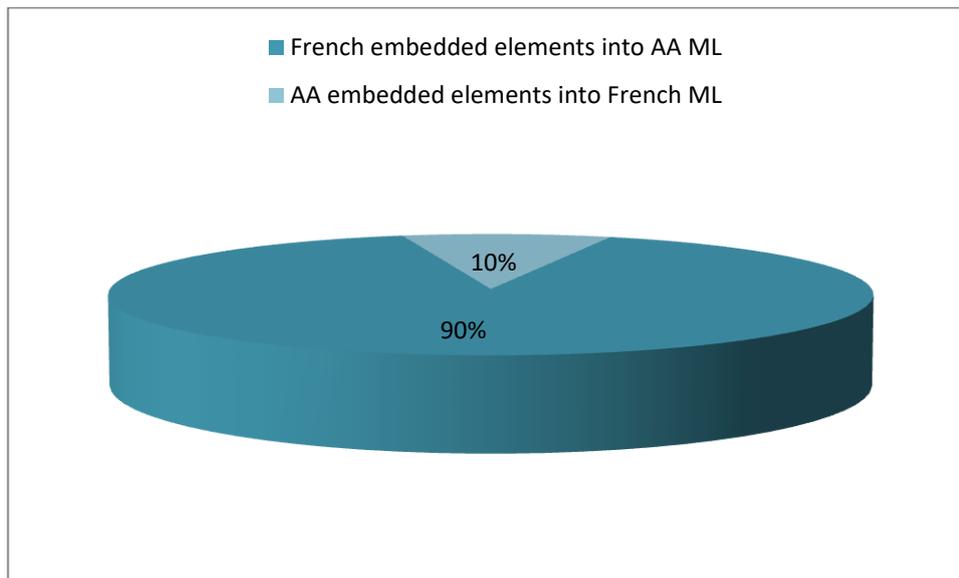
Figure 3.3: The Number of AA and French inserted elements and constituents into AA and French Structures in the data.

Quantitative difference is not only what characterizes switching when AA and French assume the role of the ML; there are important qualitative differences between the two directions of switching as well. The first difference is related to types of insertions. French insertions into AA structures are classified into four main types: insertion of single morphemes 14% (598 tokens) that include nouns, adjectives, verb stems and participles; Internal EL Islands 17% (713 tokens) that consist of definite nouns, noun-adjective and noun-complement combinations; EL Islands 56% (2417) that contain noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, infinitive phrases and inflectional phrases; lastly, extra-sentential switching[187] 13% (540 tokens) that encompass adverbs, conjunctions, discourse markers, question words and topic pronouns. AA constituents that are embedded into French matrices are divided into two categories EL Islands 35% (160) and extra-sentential switching 65% (295 tokens) as illustrated in figure (3.4):

---

[187] These are elements that are juxtaposed or alternated rather than inserted or embedded.
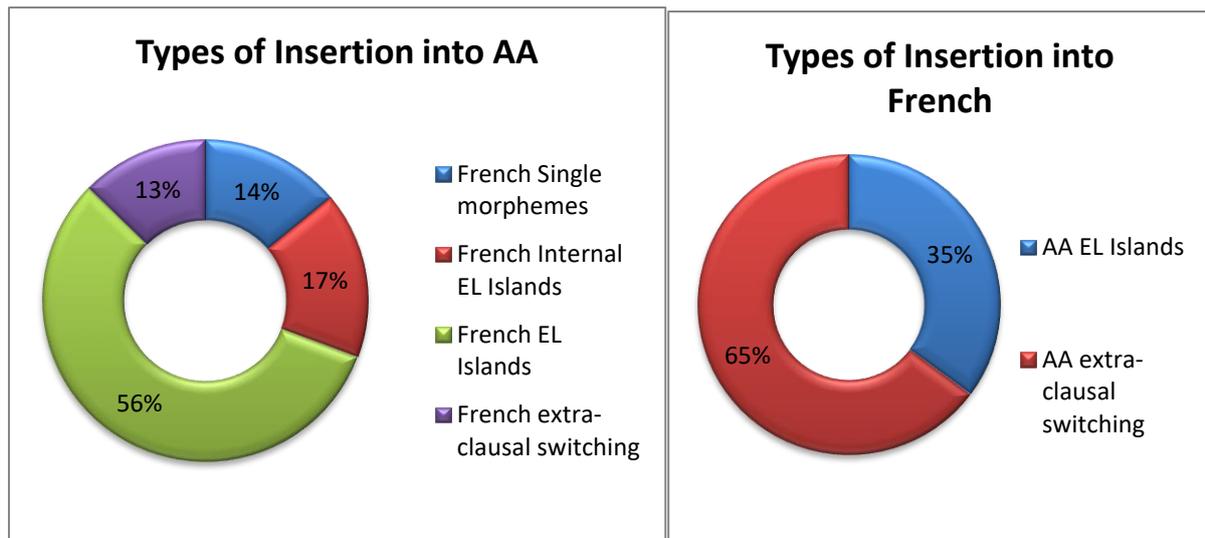
Figure 3.4: The distribution of the different types of insertion into AA and French structures

As we can see in figure (3.4), when AA is the ML, there are three types of French insertions French EL islands (56%), French internal EL islands (17%) and French single morphemes (14%) that together outnumber extra clausal switching which constitutes the least of inserted elements (13%) into AA; whereas when French is the ML there is only one type of insertion AA EL islands (35%) and it is far less numerous than AA extra clausal switching (65%).

The second difference is the variety of switch types in terms of syntactic categories and their functions within the clause. The data in table (3.2) in appendix (2) show in details the diversity in the insertion of syntactic patterns into AA constructions and their frequency levels. Figure (3.5) below exposes these syntactic categories and constituents from the most to the least frequent.

Category	Value
French Topic PRON	2
DEM+N	2
Inflectional Phrases	6
participles	8
Adjective Phrases	17
Infinitive Phrases	18
Question Words	23
FR Auxiliaries	34
N + ADJ	36
POSS+N	55
Quant+N	56
INDEF+N+COM	61
Verb Stems	62
N + COMP	63
Discourse Markers	83
INDEF+N+Adj	92
CONJ	107
NP+taE+NP	112
Adj	120
NUM+N	127
DEF+N+COMP	152
DEF+N+Adj	199
ADV	291
PP	305
INDEF+N	320
N	409
DEF+N	1505
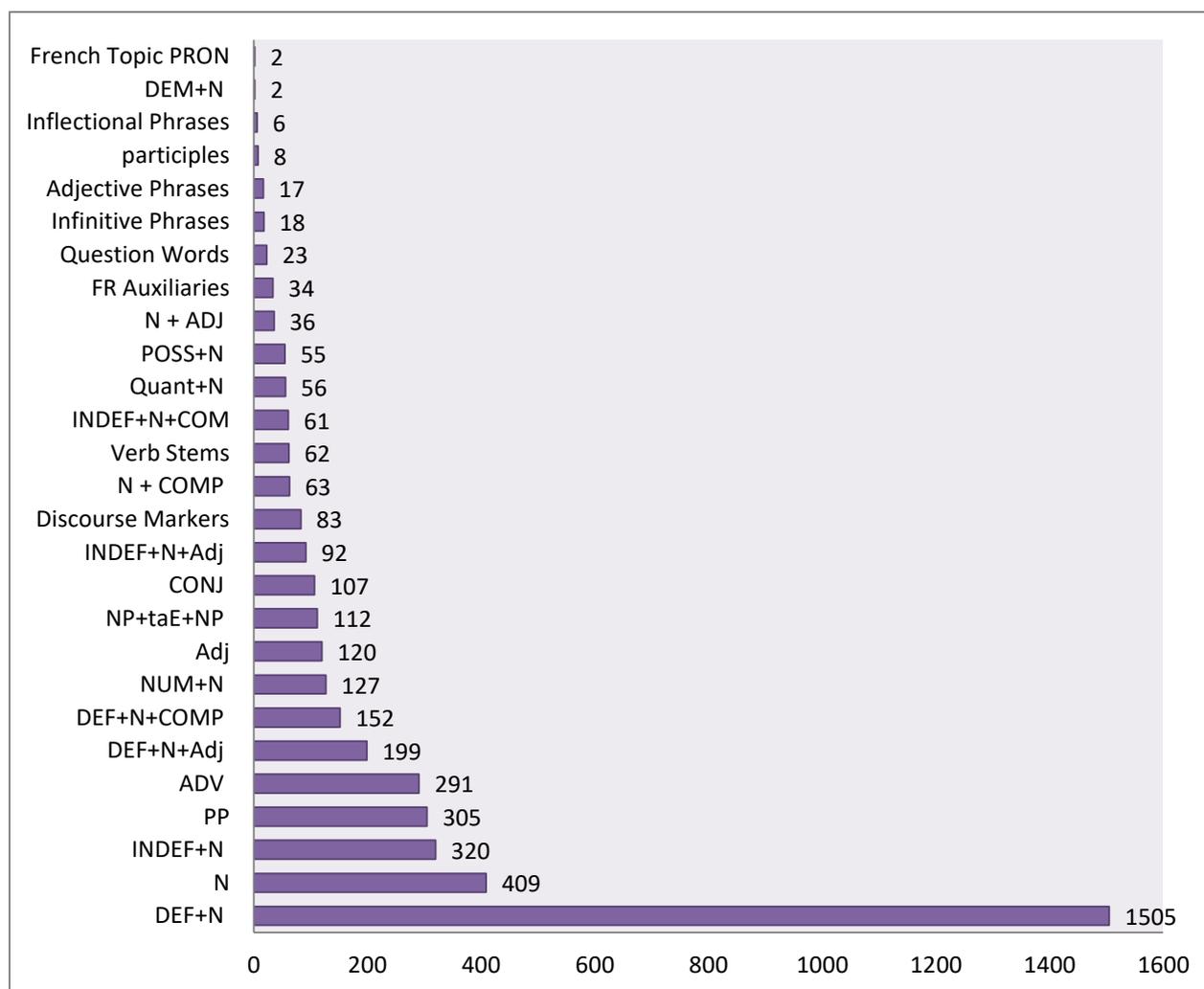
Figure 3.5: The Distribution of French Syntactic Elements and Constituents within AA Clauses

French definite nouns [DEF+N] are by far the category mostly embedded into AA constructions 35% (n=1505) compared to the other types of noun phrases and to other syntactic elements and constituents. They are followed by nouns 10% (n=409) and the other categories that range between 8% and 0%. We have contrasted the insertion of French nouns and their definite articles with the other types of embedded NPs and with other elements and constituents because the gap in terms of frequency of occurrence is significant and will be explained in chapter 4 when we will analyse the data in details.

The data presented in Figure (3.6) below reveal that the overwhelming majority of French embedded structures within each context and in the entire corpus are found to be NP islands 65% (2780 tokens) followed by nouns 10% (n=409), prepositional phrases 7% (n=307), adverbs 7% (n=291), adjectives 3% (n=120), conjunctions 3% (n=107) and then the other categories including discourse markers (n=83), verb stems (n=62), French auxiliaries

(n=34), question words (n=23), infinitive phrases (n=18), adjective phrases (n=17), participles (n=8), inflectional phrases (n=6) and French emphatic pronouns (n=2).
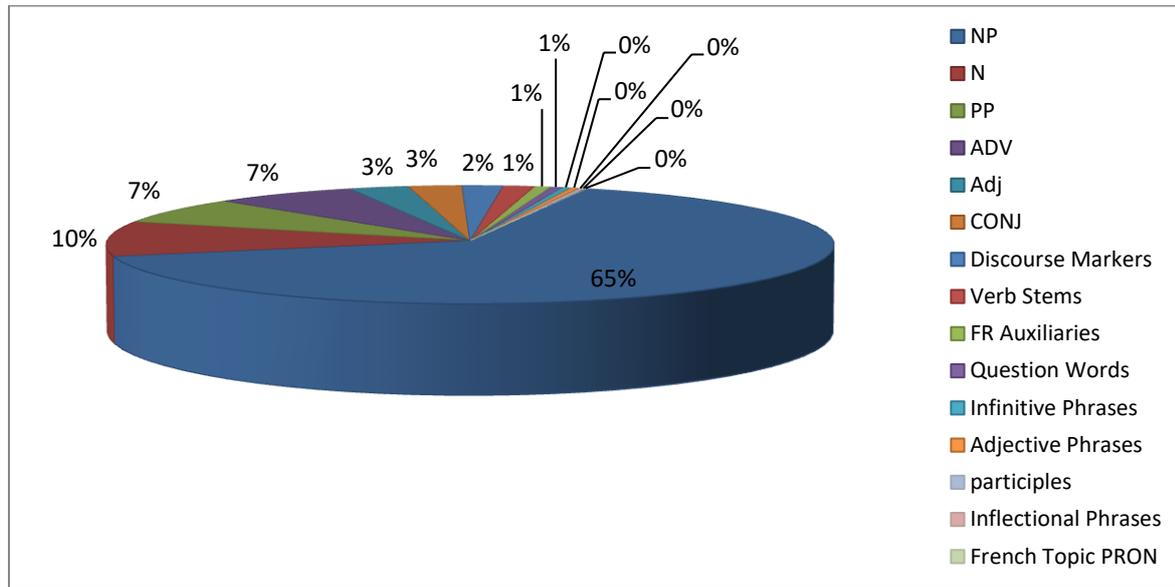
Figure 3.6: Tokens of French NPs embedded into AA matrices compared to other syntactic elements and constituents

The category that includes French NPs in figure (3.6) and which represents 65% of all the embedded categories in AA structures is further divided into different types of NPs in figure (3.7) below. The percentages in figure (3.7) show that the majority of French noun phrases inserted within AA matrices falls in definite NPs 54% (n=1505) followed by indefinite nouns 12% (n=320) and the other eleven types of NPs that range between 7% and 0%.
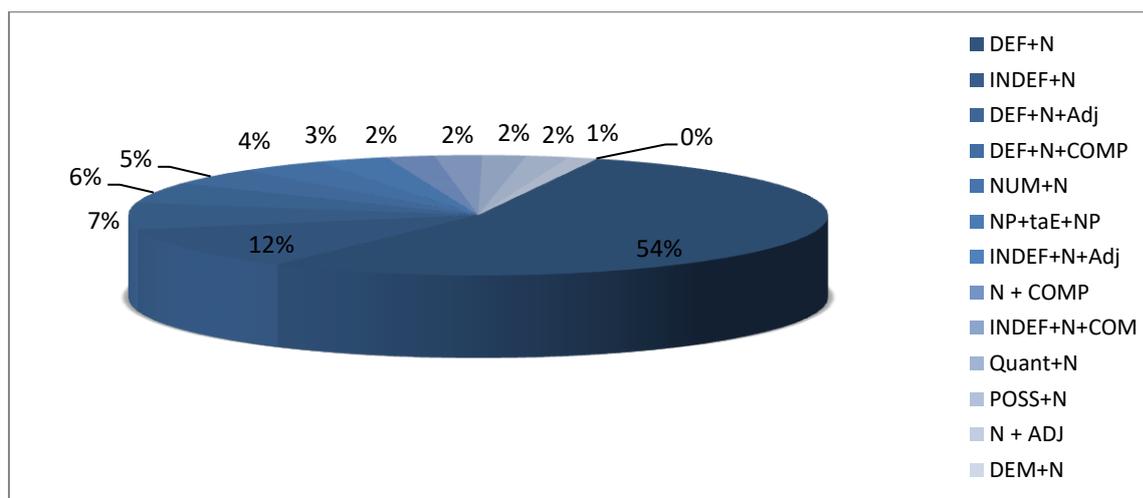
Figure 3.7: Tokens of French Definite Nouns embedded into AA Matrices compared to other types of French NPs

The prevalence of inserted NPs in this corpus leads us to the third difference between the types of insertion into AA and French constructions which involves the *structural position* of the switch. The majority of French embedded elements and constituents are core insertions i.e. selected elements (objects, subjects and complements) rather than peripheral or non-selected switches (adverbials, adjunctions, coordination, clefting, fronting, left/right-dislocation). These core insertions include noun phrases[188] 65%, nouns 10%, adjectives 3%, verb stems 1%, French auxiliaries 1% and participles 1%; making together 81% of all inserted categories into AA frames. Peripheral elements, on the other hand, do not exceed 19% and they include adjunct prepositional phrases 7%, adverbs 7%, conjunctions 3%, and discourse markers 2%.

To obtain an overall picture of both directions of switching, the data in table (3.3) in the appendix (3) presented in figure (3.8) expose the different AA patterns and syntactic categories embedded within French framework from the most to the least frequent occurrences.
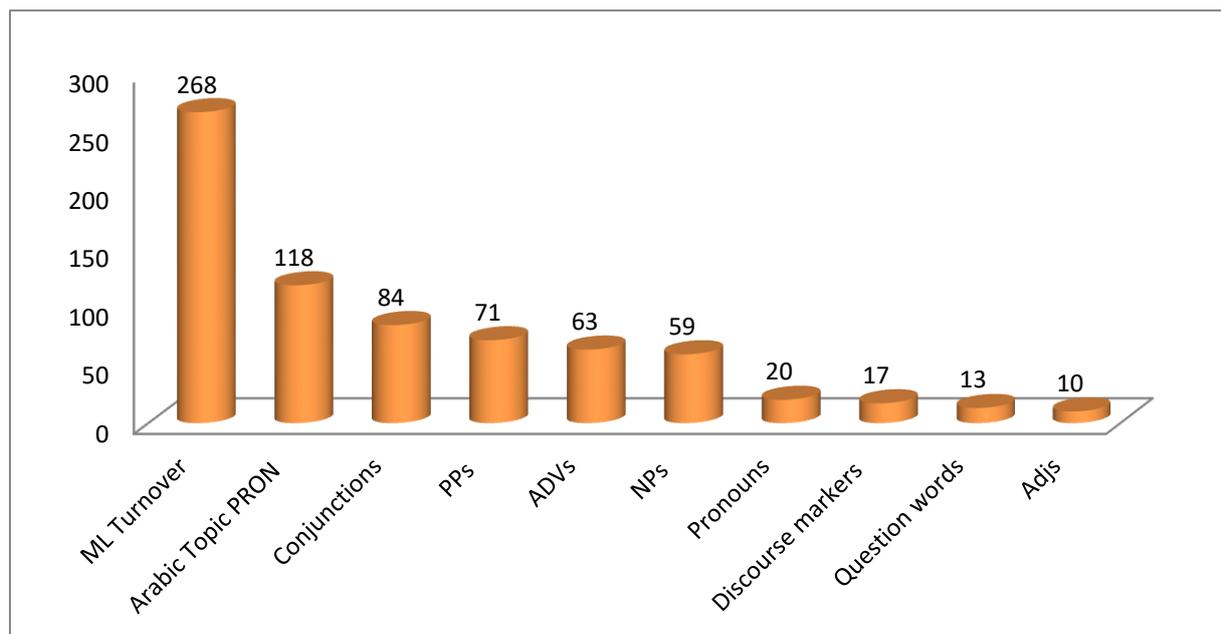
Figure 3.8: The Distribution of AA syntactic elements and constituents within French clauses

---

[188] Most embedded French NPs in AA matrices are clause-central distributed as follow (objects 1388 tokens, subjects 764 tokens, complements 367 tokens, copula predicates 75). These core inserted NPs represent (93%) of all inserted French NPs into AA structures. Dislocated and adverbial noun phrases that are peripheral constituents constitute 40 tokens and 146 tokens respectively, together reaching 7% which is very limited compared to core NP insertions.

The first striking observation that attract our attention when looking at figure (3.8) above is that the largest proportion 37% (n=268) of French-based clauses is found to undergo ML turnover or a change in the ML from French to AA construction known as layered insertion[189]. French in these clauses does not completely fulfil its role as a Matrix Language since some AA linguistic structures are realized in French matrix frames. We have explained Boumans (1998) notion of layered insertion and we will resort to it in chapter 4 when we analyse our corpus.

Figure (3.8) also shows that embedded AA elements within French matrices are very restricted and the realised switches are limited to some syntactic categories that are mainly adjunctions and peripheral constituents namely Arabic topic pronouns 16%, conjunctions 12%, adverbs 9%, discourse markers 2% and question words 2%. In addition, 24 tokens of embedded AA NPs[190] into French matrices are peripheral constituents i.e. dislocated and adverbial NPs that make up 3% of all the embedded elements. AA adverbial or adjunct prepositional phrases[191] that are embedded in this corpus present 5% (n=37 tokens) of all inserted AA elements and constituents. Hence, AA insertions into French matrices are to their majority peripheral insertions 49%. AA core insertions into French templates present only 14%.

Switching between clauses is considered as inter-clausal switching that does not belong to any language matrix structure even if we can consider switching of nouns and their relative clauses as insertion of extended NPs since relative clauses are noun modifiers just like adjectives. Switching between clauses constitutes 388 tokens in the entire corpus and they are divided into the categories presented in table (3.4) shown in figure (3.9) below:

Clauses	AA	French	Both
Relative clause	54	27	81
Subject clauses	10	0	10
Object clauses	21	22	43
Noun complement clauses	1	2	3

---

[189] In chapter 2, we have defined this term that was invoked by Boumans (1998)

[190] We have 59 tokens of embedded NPs; 34 of them are core insertions distributed as follows: Subjects (6), Objects (15), Predicates (6) and Complements of preposition (7). Peripheral constituents, on the other hand make up 24 tokens broken down as follows: Dislocated Subjects (8), Dislocated Objects (2) and Adverbs (15).

[191] AA Prepositional phrases inserted into French structures constitute 71 tokens and are divided into prepositional phrases occurring as complements (being part of the predicate-argument structure 34 instances) and those that are peripheral to the verb i.e. adjuncts or adverbials (37 tokens).

That-clause	11	18	29
Conditional clauses	46	16	62
Time clauses	4	0	4
Contrast clause	7	9	16
Result or Purpose	12	19	31
Reason	4	8	12
Adverbial clauses	6	5	11
Reported Speech	0	38	38
Coordination	4	6	10
FILLERS	15	10	25
Others	2	11	13
Total	197	191	388

Table 3.4: Tokens of different types of clauses in the corpus
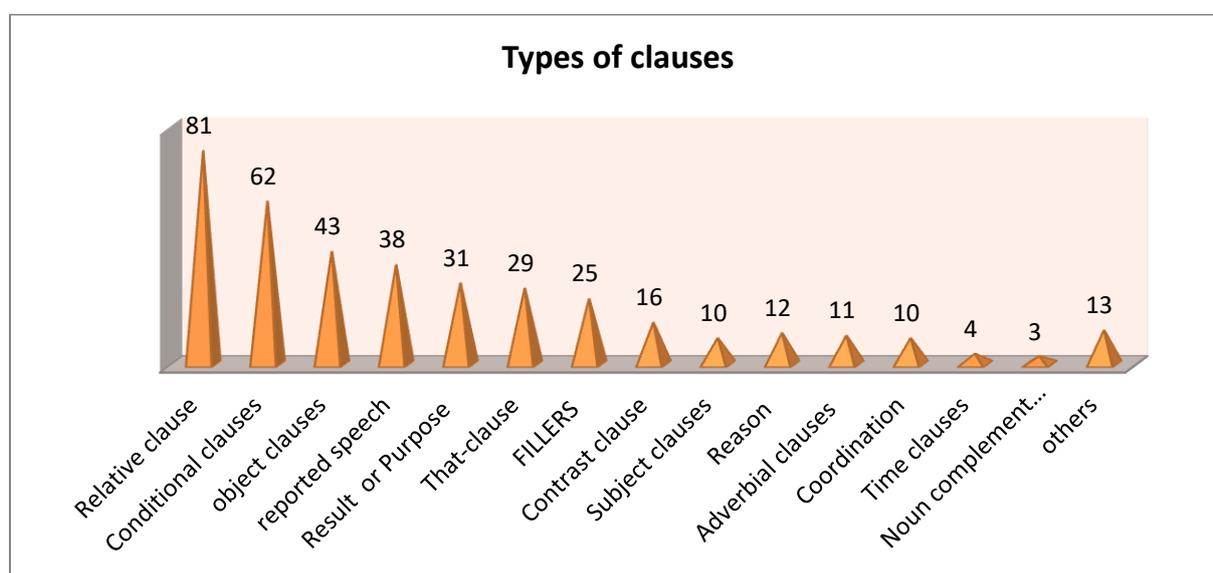
Figure 3.9: Tokens of different types of clauses in the corpus

The results in table (3.4) and in figure (3.9) above indicate diversity of switched clauses in our data exhibiting varying levels of frequency. At the top of switched clauses we have relative clauses 21% followed by conditional clauses 16%, object clauses 11%, reported speech 10%, adverbial clauses of result or purpose 8%, That-clauses 7%, Fillers 6% and the other categories of clauses ranging between 4% and 1%. We are going to provide a detailed description of these types of clauses in this chapter as well as an inventory of all switched clauses in our corpus in appendix (4). Hence the following figure (3.10) groups all the insertions in both directions into four main types these are: single morphemes 11% (n=598),

EL islands 66% (3558 tokens) both of them present intra-clausal switching, extra-clausal 16% (n=835) and inter-clausal switching 7% (388 tokens).
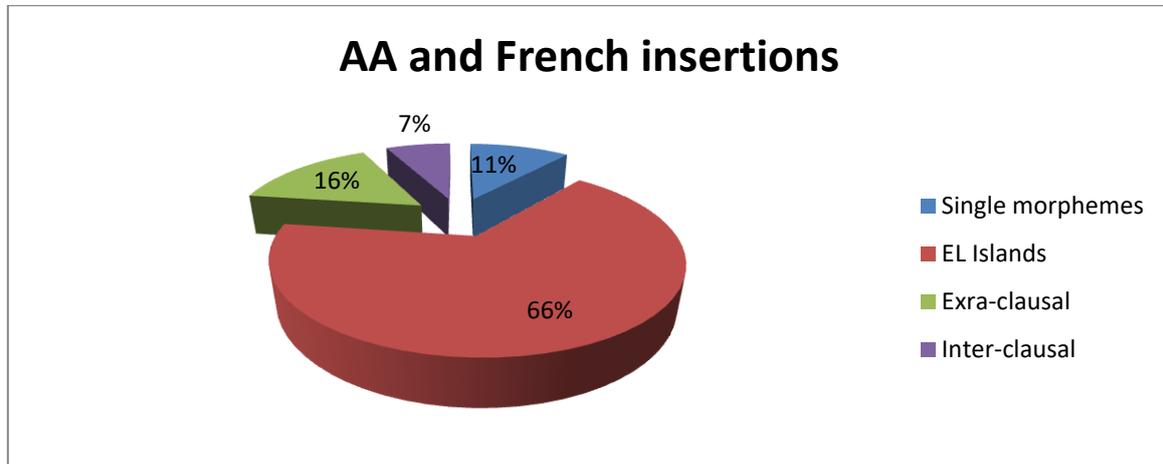
Figure 3.10: Types of insertions in the entire corpus

On the basis of this quantitative investigation of our data we can draw the following conclusions:

First, the results depicted from the tables and figures above show that French monolingual CPs 54,44% (3837 tokens) constitute the majority code in teachers' interactions compared to AA monolingual CPs 41,59% (2931 tokens). Though this difference is not categorical, it is maintained across all the recorded meetings in this corpus except for recording 1 and 4 where AA is the majority code. The co-existence of French and AA sentences and to a lesser extent monolingual English CPs 3,97% (280 tokens) reflect the identity that our informants want to reflect that of Algerian educated teachers of English at university. Indeed, the participants construct multiple identities when switching between AA, French, English and SA. These changes in footing are not just contextually-determined since the physical context is the same but socio-pragmatically motivated. These languages, thus, signal different social, professional and academic dimensions. This became more evident in recording 10 when our respondents maintain French as a medium of interaction with occasional switches to AA due to disagreement concerning students' marks in different modules. The use of French denotes distance and objectivity between speakers. We will explore some of these pragmatic functions of code-switching later in this chapter.

Second, despite the prevalence of French monolingual utterances over AA ones in almost all the recorded exchanges, AA-based bilingual and trilingual CPs 28% (2874 tokens) remarkably outnumber French-based bilingual and trilingual CPs 5% (568 tokens). This

directionality of switching can be attributed to speakers' degree of bilinguality and their linguistic preferences. This will be more evident when we will analyse qualitatively the different switched patterns in this corpus. A look at the obtained statistics reveals that there is a significant asymmetry between AA and French when they assume the role of the ML: AA appears as a ML in almost all bilingual and trilingual CPs (90%) and only few instances are found to have French as a ML (10%) while other codes (SA and English) assume only the role of embedded languages. This inequality is not only quantitative but also qualitative. French insertions into AA framework are to their majority core elements and constituents 81% as opposed to 19% of peripheral categories. A big proportion of French-based CPs, on the other hand, undergo ML turnover and fail to maintain structural uniformity across mixed CPs (37%). In addition, the majority of AA insertions into the remaining French mixed CPs are peripheral elements and constituents 49% and only 14% are core inserted patterns. This quantitative disparity and qualitative asymmetry between both directions of switching further emphasis the asymmetry in our informants' competence.

Third important observation concerns the high frequency of embedded French definite nouns compared to French single nouns, to other types of French NPs and to the other types of embedded categories into AA frames. This type of NP [DEF+N] is embedded as EL Islands and internal EL islands into larger AA noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Indeed, these internal NPs are the constructions that appear frequently in French-based CPs leading to ML turnover. Here the prevalence of French NPs is partly sociolinguistic reflecting speakers' socio-economic status since French is strongly present in administrative and professional contexts sometimes filling lexical gap since AA is mostly limited to domestic uses. However, we cannot attribute the widespread use of French NPs solely to sociolinguistic reasons, linguistic factors also play role. This may be due to sufficient/ insufficient congruence between the languages involved in CS as will be explained in chapter 4 when we will analyse our data.

Fourth, the switches in our data are characterized by high frequency of larger constituents (NPs, PPs, IPs, etc). This finding does not lend support to the general tendency in CS research in which single items mainly nouns form the highest syntactic category to be inserted. Yet, some studies involving Arabic and French collaborates ours including (Moroccan Arabic/French Ziamari, 2003, AA/French Ouahmich, 2013). Our findings are not compatible with Myers-Scotton's (2002) and Muysken (2000) functional perspective that says the more switched categories are those peripheral or marginal to the predicate-argument

structure (adverbials, adjuncts, conjunctions, etc). However, French insertions into AA structures are to their majority core insertions involving NPs that function as subjects, objects and complements in the sentence. Hence, our participants are heavy code-switchers.

We have tried to interpret the quantitative results obtained in this research that will serve our qualitative structural analysis of AA/French and French/AA mixed utterances.

3.3   Sociolinguistic approaches to Code-switching

> All utterances are in a sense *euphemized*: "What is said is a compromise between what would like to be said and what can be said". Bourdieu (P663)

Our community –the city of Oran- in general and our community of practice –teachers at university in particular are characterised by systematic and pervasive use of code-switching i.e. community-wide code-switching, in which the alternation of two, even three languages in everyday interactions is a sociolinguistic norm for the vast majority of speakers. The use of code-switching according to many researchers is associated with informal contexts and a "chatty" register. Nonetheless, there is increasing evidence that code-switching has invaded other settings that have been regarded as formal –one of these contexts is English teachers' pedagogical meetings at university in which language choice is open to interpersonal relationship negotiation and a variety of other factors.

We have recorded so far fifteen conversations of which twelve have been transcribed and used in our study. Based on our analysis and through our constant observation we can say that our context -teachers' formal meetings and informal side meetings- is a typical example of what Myers-Scotton calls "switching as an unmarked choice" (1993). In such cases, in the words of Boeschoten (1998:21), code-switching begins to acquire "language-like" properties. Furthermore, comparing our present data with the previous one (Mendas Djamila, 2013) that is based on purely informal conversations (family, close friends, etc), we can say that code-switching tend to be more frequent, and more intensive, in workplaces, between colleagues or peers than between family members and close friends. The other crucial difference concerns the type of switching which our informants exhibit and which includes much more inter-sentential switching than our previous corpus. This heavy use of French in our context is due to different factors one of them is illustrated by the following extracts from recording (4) which are typical of the switching which occurs as a result of French dominance in official and administrative matters:

Extract (6):

FK) *les états unis* tə-*cliqu*-i teddi *le rendez-vous* tɑːɛak. truħi tfuti *un petit entretien de même pas dix minutes*. temmajgɔllak *je vous accords le visa* wella *je suis navré de* ((…)). membaɛd tfuti fe **les services** taɛ *la photographie* w *les empreintes*. temma *c'est sur place* taɛɛaɾfi ɾuħak w ʃɛɑːl *tu as combien*? ki tkuːn ɛandek *Schengen* tɔddɔχli biha *le premier pays* lli jaɛłiːk w mambaɛd *ça y est tu peux circuler normale*. (R4)

(*The United States* you *click* and take your *appointment*. You go pass *a short interview of less than ten minutes*. There they tell you *I grant you the visa* or *I am sorry for* ((…)). Then you pass *to take photo* and *fingerprints*. There *it's on site* you know yourself and how much, *how much do you have*? If you have *Schengen* you enter the first country that gave you (visa) and then *that's it you can move around normally*.)

Extract (7):

LD) jdiːɾɔ *la valise*. kɔnna naɛłu *le passeport* lə-s-*service* taɛ *la valise*. jeddi *le passeport* w jʒiːblək *le visa* taɛak. mambaɛd dɑːɾɔ *le rendez-vous* tsamma *on doit passer* ɣi *la première fois* bɑːʃ jeddɔ *la photo* tɑːɛak w *les empreintes* w mambaɛd hɔwa jeddi *le passeport*. kɑːn ħatta *l'allocation* jʒibhɑːlna mə-*la banque*. (R4)

They should do *the pouch service*. We used to give *the passport* to the *service* of *the pouch*. He takes *the passport* and brings *the visa* for you. Then they made *the appointment* so *we had to pass* only for *the first time* to take *your photo* and *your fingerprints* and then he take back *the passport*. Even *the allowance* he used to bring it for us from *the bank*.

BN)l-*matériels* miːn taʃɾiːh *l'école* men ɛand *les fournisseurs* ɛandhɔm *des garanties* w ɛandhɔm *la maintenance*. tχɔs *une pièce*. *Tout le matériel* llijanʃɾa fe *un établissement* gɑːɛ *le consommable* tɑːɛah ɾɑːh *inventorié*. *Ton imprimante* <u>tɑːɛak</u> fe ddɑːɾ majaʃɾuːlhɑːʃ *les cartouches* bassaħ *l'imprimante* fe *l'école* l-*magasin* mɛammaɾ b-*les cartouches*. ħna fe *l'école, on avait MCI*. hɔma *qui traitent* gɑːɛ l-*matériel*. (R11)

(The *equipment* when *the school* buys them from *the suppliers* they have *guarantees* and have *the maintenance*. You need *a piece*. *All the equipment*

202

that is bought in an institution all its **consumable** is **in stock**. **Your printing machine** at home they don't buy **the cartridges** but **the printing machine** in **the school** the **magazine** is full of **cartridges**. We in **the school had MCI**[192]. They **treat** all **the equipment**.)

The use of French for the technical terms (*la photography, les empreintes, service de la valise, l'allocation, des guaranties, la maintenance, le consommable, les fournisseurs, etc*) and for the names of institutions, '*la banque*' – along with greetings, numbers, time of the day, days of the week, months, years, are typical features of French switching. The following extract illustrates greetings between a teacher who joined the meeting and the teacher who had been talking:

Extract (8):

1. BN) *bonjour.* (hello)
2. FK) *bonjour ça va* ? (Hello how are you?)
3. BN) laba:s, *j'étais en cours* ɣi s-samħu:li.
   (It's okay. I was in class. Just excuse me)
4. FK) maɛli:ʃ. (it's ok)

As you see right from the beginning teachers use a mixture of Algerian Arabic and French to greet each other. Teachers are engaged in this kind of switching because they recognize a shared social identity, of being Algerian speakers who are educated and therefore speak French.

Unlike other departments such as Arabic, humanities, where Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic and to a lesser degree French are the main medium of interaction, in the English or foreign languages department and other scientific streams it is French along with Algerian Arabic that dominate. However, French is not only the language that is used to fill lexical gap and cover pedagogical and methodological matters in the case of our informants' interactions. English is also present in our participants' meeting agenda but to a lesser extent. The following extract which is withdrawn from recoding (5) include a remarkable amount of English material that illustrates how our informants switch between Algerian Arabic, French and English as naturally as possible:

Extract (9):

FB) *Maintenant on parle du programme,* les **skills are interrelated macro** wella **micro**. *La personne* lli dɑ:ɾet had l-*programme* ki nʃuf *la* **première et la deuxième ligne c'est quelqu'un** ʒmaɛ **deux modules**.

---

[192] Maintenance and Control Interface

jqaʁʁi ***deux modules***. ***Surtout***   miːn dɑːʁ ***expression orale et phonétique***. jqaʁʁi smɑːna b-smɑːna wella ***semestre*** b-*semestre*. ***Je pense que la personne*** wella ***le groupe*** lli dɑːʁah ***c'est dans ce sens-là***. ***Maintenant*** ila nʒi ana nafham belli *je dois* **blend** *expression écrite et grammaire c'est comme je suis en train de dire l'objectif* taɛi *c'est la grammaire dans le premier cas. Vous me dites mon objectif c'est la grammaire et je fais* **focus on grammar through writing**. naʒʒem ndiːʁ l-**focus on grammar through speaking**. Le **focus** taɛak *c'est la grammaire. C'est pas* **writing nor speaking**. *Il faut développer* gɑːɛ haduk *les* **skills** fe *l'écrit. C'est pas* ɣi *la grammaire. C'est logique de dire j'enseigne l'expression écrite mais je fais un* **focus** wella *je focalise sur la grammaire. C'est vrai qu'on doit avoir* **a good writing**. *Donc c'est des* **skills** *qu'on va développer.*

Now we talk about the programme, t**he skills are interrelated macro** or **micro**. ***The person*** who made this ***programme*** when I see ***the first and the second line it's someone*** who combined ***two modules***. He teaches ***two modules***, ***especially*** when he made ***orale expression and phonetics***. He week by week or ***semester*** by ***semester***. ***I think the person*** or ***the group*** who made ***it is in this way***. ***Now*** if I understand that *I have to* **blend** *written and grammar it's like I'm saying my objective is grammar in the first case. tell me my objective is grammar and I make* **focus on grammar through writing**. I can put **focus on grammar through speaking**. Your **focus** *is grammar* not **writing or speaking**. *You have to develop* all those **skills** in *writing, not* just *grammar. It's logical to say I teach written expression but I make a* **focus** or *I focus on grammar. It's true that we have to have* **a good writing**. *So they are* **skills** *that we are going to develop*.)

We can say that the above extract reflects a specific picture of switching between three languages since English in this recording (5) was triggered by the topic of discussion (see recording's 5 description above).

We cannot say that every single switch in the above extracts is meaningful but the overall decision to code-switch was connected with the participants' knowledge that their interlocutors are fellow code-switchers. In the case of English it is the topic of conversation that most of the time leads to switching to English. Though code switching in the case of our interlocutors may generally be considered as unmarked choice, it indeed indexes some social and conversational meanings as will be shown next. Besides code-switching due to necessity and code-switching as the product of choice as Gardner Chloros (2009: 58) notes, are not always easy to separate. Many instances of code-switching are combinations of the two, or

somewhere on the border between the two. Auer (2005) shows that it is not always easy in practice to disentangle discourse-related code-switching from such displays of identity. For this we need to closely analyse our data.

3.3.1   Conceptualizing code-switching: A qualitative perspective

Sociolinguistically oriented work on code-switching has focused on exploring the relationship between the types of code-switching patterns that exist and their functions as well as defining the motivations for code-switching. While many researchers agree that there are several kinds of code-switching patterns beyond the two postulated by structural research – *insertional* and *alternational* code-switching – and that there are significant correlations between code-switching patterns, functions and settings, there is disagreement about the nature of these linkages and ways of examining them. Most of the tension between researchers studying code-switching from a sociolinguistic perspective revolves around the macro-level factors as presented by Fishman's (1965, 1972)[193] model of domain analysis and micro-level factors as reflected in Blom and Gumperz's (1972, 1982) *conversational code-switching* in determining code choice. The former is criticized on the ground that it is too deterministic to explain code-switching in urban contexts as it tells very little about what the speaker accomplishes as a result of alternating between available codes in their linguistic repertoire. The latter, however, is accused of being too isolated from the macro-level factors which, if not determine, at least provide a general framework for its interpretation.

Fishman's (1965, 1972) macro level approach to language choice is manifested by the key concept of *domain* that is based on relatively stable socially agreed norms of choice and daily patterns of language use as he clearly asserts:

> There is an almost direct relationship between linguistic codes and social activities in the speech community. This would mean that appropriate language usage imposes on the speakers the obligation that only one of the languages available or varieties will be chosen by particular types of interlocutors on particular situations to discuss particular kinds of topics. Fishman's (1972: 437)

---

[193] Fishman's (1965, 1972) macro-level approach to language choice focuses on the correlations between code choice and types of activity. Inspired by Ferguson's (1959) seminal article on diglossia, he is primarily concerned with *stable* norms of choice and *habitual* use of language in which there is an almost one-to-one relationship between codes and activities: "'Proper' usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*" (Fishman, 1972, p. 437). This is made manifest in Fishman's (1965, 1972) key concept of *domain*, which he develops in relation to some corresponding typical role relationships.

Domains correspond to typical role relationships in society as shown in the following table:

The Scheme of Relationships in Fishman's (1972) Domain Analysis

Domain	Interlocutor	Place	Topic
Family	Parent	Home	How to be a good son or daughter
Friendship	Friend	Beach	How to play a certain game
Religion	Priest	Church	How to be a good Christian
Education	Teacher	School	How to solve an algebra problem
Employment	Employer	Workplace	How to do your job more effectively

Table 3.5: the Scheme of Relationship in Fishman's (1972) Domain Analysis

Social meaning according to Fishman doesn't lie within the act of switching itself, but in the perceived association between speech activities on the one hand, and norms of language choice on the other. Fishman's (1971) typical example is English/Spanish Code-switching between a boss and his secretary, both Puerto Ricans. The boss uses of English as he dictates a letter to his secretary, but then switches to Spanish for an informal conversation with her about the addressee. The focus here is on the correlations between code choice and types of activity (e.g., Spanish for informal conversation vs. English for business). Such macro socio-linguistically oriented interpretation of code choices are based on socially pre-established macro norms that dictate language alternation.

The micro study of code-switching within the frame of a single conversation was initiated by Blom (1961, 1964) and later by Blom and Gumperz (1972), who is considered by the community of researchers as the father of interactional sociolinguistics. Beyond Weinreich's seminal work *Language in Contact* (1953), it is the research undertaken by Blom and Gumperz (1972) that is credited with laying the foundations for a descriptive framework of social motivations behind code-switching behaviours observed in naturally occurring conversations, and thus giving centre stage to the social dimension of code-switching as a topic of systematic study. Blom and Gumperz put much emphasis on the individual rather than on society in the choice between the languages. Using participant-observation technique and social network analysis to investigate code-switching in the community, Blom and Gumperz (1972) produced the first conversational typology of code-switching[194] in the form

---

[194] Gumperz and his associate Jan-Peter Blom developed the notions of situational and metaphorical CS as a result of intensive field work in a small Norwegian community, where they investigated CS practices between two Norwegian dialects, one regarded as high (Bokmål), the other as low variety (Ranamål).

of a distinction between '*situational*'[195] and '*metaphorical*'[196] code-switching. Although the distinction between situational and metaphorical switching has been challenged as not being clear and that both of them involve the same redefinitions of status and role relationships, it triggered a great deal of research looking for a theory of the social meaning of conversational code-switching and attempting to link the micro-level of conversational interaction to the macro-level societal setting in which it occurs and without which it cannot be interpreted.

Similarly Gumperz's (1982) notion of '*we code*' and '*they code*' is equally influential dichotomy as it indexes the external symbolism of both codes. Seen in terms of its primary function as an indicator of group membership or -solidarity[197]- '*we code*' refers to the ethnically specific minority language that is associated with familiarity, social proximity and domestic in-group and informal activities. '*They code*' refers to majority language and belongs to the professional sphere, mostly associated with more formal, out-group relationship and marked by social distance rather than closeness. The author emphasized that the range of interpretations that results is much greater than one would expect from describing the language usage in terms of the simple "we" and "they" dichotomy and that there are only very few situations where only one code is appropriate. "Elsewhere a variety of options occur, and as with conversations in general, interpretation of messages is in large part a matter of discourse context, social presuppositions and speakers' background knowledge" (1982: 66). In code-switching, the 'we-code' and the 'they-code' are often used within the same conversation.

The findings of Gumperz studies on code-switching at the micro level of conversation have been taken up by two groups of researchers with somehow different perspectives and approaches. socially-oriented approaches namely Myers-Scotton Markedness Model is based on the insights of Blom and Gumperz's (1972) paper *Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway*, which states that alternation between codes has social

---

[195] Situational switching occurs when participants redefine each other's rights and obligations i.e. their status and role relationships. For example, teachers deliver formal lectures in the standard dialect (i.e., Bokmål), but if they want to encourage open discussion, then they will shift to the local dialect (i.e., Ranamål). It assumes a direct relationship between the social situation and code choice.

[196] Metaphorical switching is triggered by changes in topic rather than the social situation. For example, in clerk-resident exchanges at the community administration office, Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed that while greetings and inquiries about family affairs took place in Ranamål, conversations about the business transaction occurred in the standard dialect.

[197] several studies today has revealed that CS functions primarily as a symbol of group identity and solidarity among members of the speech community (Beebe, 1981; Gal, 1978, 1979; Milroy, 1987)

significance – it conveys a change in the extra-linguistic context (situational switching) or functions to assign meaning to an utterance (metaphorical or conversational switching). Conversation Analysis-based models namely Auer's sequential approach to code-switching builds on Gumperz's idea of code-switching as a 'contextualization cue' similar to monolingual choices of prosodic, paralinguistic, syntactic, and lexical features to signal a particular intent. They employ conversation analysis (CA) techniques in their research in order to analyse performance data on code-switching. Before exposing these two approaches we will introduce briefly some of the influential works that tried to answer the two basic questions concerning the sociolinguistic meaning of code-switching; what functions/ meanings code-switching serves in bilingual discourse, and what factors influence code choices or what are the motivations behind code-switching?

Many researchers have tried to define the factors that potentially explain speakers' choices referring to the strong correlation between interlocutor's linguistic utterances and the particular contexts in which those utterances are produced; by context we refer to Blom & Gumperz's (1972) characterization of *setting, social situation,* and *social event* or in Bourdieu's (1977) term, *linguistic markets*[198]. Among the prominent factors that influence interlocutors' choices and which have been termed contextualization cues by Gumperz (1982: 132) are interlocutors' roles within the conversation, the topic, the setting, the degree of formality of the conversation, the social norms, the status of the languages involved and interlocutors' origin, age, sex, instruction level, and socio-economic level. These factors are provided by Grosjean (1982) in a concise and comprehensive list that comprises four main factors –*participants*, *situation*, *content of discourse* and *function of interaction* as outlined by the following list:

---

[198] Given the fact that the properties of linguistic markets provide linguistic expressions with a certain value, part of one's language socialization involves knowing when and how to produce utterances that are highly valued in those markets (i.e., contexts).

Grosjean's (1982, p. 136) List on Factors Influencing Language Choice

---

FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE CHOICE

Participants

    Language proficiency
    Language preference
    Socioeconomic status
    Age
    Sex
    Occupation
    Education
    Ethnic Background
    History of speakers' linguistic interaction
    Kinship relation
    Intimacy
    Power relation
    Attitude toward languages
    Outside pressure

Situation

    Location/Setting
    Presence of monolinguals
    Degree of formality
    Degree of intimacy

Content of Discourse

    Topic
    Type of vocabulary

Function of Interaction

    To raise status
    To create social distance
    To exclude someone
    To request or command

Table 3.6: Grosjean's (1982: 136) List on Factors Influencing Language Choice

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Gardner Chloros (2009: 42) classifies the factors that contribute to the form taken by code-switching in a particular instance into three types as follow:

(1)   Factors independent of particular speakers and particular circumstances in which the varieties are used, which affect all the speakers of the relevant varieties in a particular community, e.g. economic "market" forces such as those described by Bourdieu (1997), prestige and covert prestige (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974), power relations, and the associations of each variety with a particular context or way of life (Gal, 1979).

(2)   Factors attaching to the speakers, both as individuals and as members of a variety of sub-groups: their competence in each variety, their social networks and relationships, their attitudes and ideologies, their self-perception and perception of others (Milroy and Gordon, 2003).

(3)   Factors within the conversations where CS takes place: CS is a major conversational resource for speakers, providing further tools to structure their discourse beyond those available to monolinguals.

Although these sets of factors or some of them are interwoven for any given interaction type, some understanding of the different factors and variables that contribute to the rise of a particular code-switching patterns is of paramount importance.

3.3.1.1   Myer-Scotton's Marledness Model

One of the socially oriented approaches to code-switching is Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model that draws from social psychological theories that link behavioural choices to social constraints, including that on Power and Solidarity[199] (Brown and Gilman, 1960), Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987), Speech Accommodation Theory[200] (Giles and Smith, 1979; Giles and Coupland, 1991) and Conversational Principles[201] (Grice, 1989). Myers-Scotton's (1993) *Markedness Model* is an attempt to integrate the micro- and the macro- perspectives into code-switching research. Nonetheless, the author (1993a: 49) insists on drawing a distinction between the "allocational" paradigm, in which social structure determines language behaviour, and the "interactional" one, in which individuals make "rational choices" to achieve their goals. In the same line of thought, Milroy and Gordon (2003) contrast pragmatic uses of code-switching which exploit the symbolism or connotations of each of the codes, and those which purely exploit the contrast which the two

---

[199] Brown and Gilman (1960) used the two dimensions 'power' and 'solidarity' to refer to the basic factors that influence interpersonal interactions and therefore language choices that speakers make.

[200] Some researchers also considered CS within the speech accommodation theory (SAT) (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Giles & Smith, 1979). The theory posits that speakers adjust their speech style as a way of expressing their attitudes or intentions toward their interlocutors. The two key concepts introduced by SAT are *convergence* and *divergence*. While the former refers to accommodating toward the speech style of one's interlocutor, the latter signals a shift away from it. The notion of convergence is considered to convey a sense of solidarity. In contrast, divergence is a means to create social distance from one's interlocutor through which social disapproval is communicated. In the same line, Bell's (1984, 1991) audience design theory also sees the interlocutor, or the audience, as the main motivation behind variation in speech style. In his approach, accommodating toward an audience is not limited to monolingual style-shifting only, but applies to all codes and levels of one's linguistic repertoire, including switching between languages.

[201] Grice's (1975) cooperative principle is one of the principles of Communication Accommodation Model that tries to explain why people modify their linguistic behaviour in different interactional situations (Blanc 2006: 260). The modifications are used by the interlocutors as strategies to obtain two opposite goals: high degree of communication (convergence) or low degree of communication (divergence). These strategies are governed by four principles: *the Linguistic Competence* principle (the language of the interaction is the language in which interlocutors share the highest degree of competence), *Ethnolinguistic Affirmation* principle (the speakers weighs the cost and the disadvantages of using a given language in a conversation), *interlocutor perceived intention* principle (what are the signals that the speakers perceive from his interlocutor), *Personal, situational, and social factors* principle (the prominent factors influencing convergent and divergent choices).

varieties provide, regardless of their connotations. They emphasize the need to pay attention to both aspects in order to achieve a full understanding of code-switching.

The basic premise of the Markedness Model is that speakers' code choices are rational, strategic and goal-oriented, being determined by speakers' interactional goals and the social characteristics of a given interaction (participants, topic, setting, etc). The key theoretical concept '*markedness*' is understood as synonymous with the concept of '*indexicality*', i.e. linguistic varieties are assumed to be always socially indexical. Through accumulated use of linguistic varieties in particular social interactions these linguistic choices come to index or invoke those relations (also called rights-and-obligation sets -RO sets). According to Myers-Scotton, "as speakers come to recognize the different RO sets possible in their community, they develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 88). Markedness and indexicality are the result of conventionalized exchanges and interaction types.

> A conventionalized exchange is any interaction for which community speech members have a sense of 'script'. They have this sense because such exchanges are frequent in the community to the extent that at least their medium is routinized. That is, the variety used or even specific phonological or syntactic patterns or lexical items employed are predictable. In many speech communities, service exchanges, peer-to-peer informal talk, doctor-patient visits or job interviews are examples of such conventionalized exchanges. Myers-Scotton (2000: 138)

The Markedness Model advances that for each interaction, there are relatively marked and unmarked choices. Unmarked choices are considered comparatively habitual, common or expected and employ the most typical medium for a given interaction that symbolizes the most expected RO set for the current exchange. Marked choices, by contrast, are relatively rare and unexpected making use of non-typical codes and are interpreted as a departure from the normative expected code and RO set for the interaction. They are "a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 160). Speakers select marked or unmarked codes based on considerations of communicative effectiveness and through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, i.e., which choices will maximize interactional rewards and minimize interactional costs. This has been made clear in Myers-Scotton's later development of the model where she presented bilingual speakers as "rational actors"[202] (Myers-Scotton, 1999; Myers-Scotton and

---

[202] Myers-Scotton (Myers-Scotton, 1998, 1999; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001) has reconsidered the model within Elster's (1986, 1989) rational action theory in an attempt to develop an "extended version" of it. In this modified approach, she argues that CS is best explained by the optimal use of speakers' resources in their

Bolonyai, 2001), who are constrained by social norms and conventions but at the same time they have got the freedom to comply with the rights and obligation sets (unmarked choice) or to disagree with these communication norms (marked choice).

Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) posits three types of code-switching. Each one occurs in a different kind of social situation, indexes a distinct self-image of the speaker and his/her view of the relationship between interlocutors (RO set).

The unmarked-choice maxim: "Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set". In discussing the unmarked-choice maxim, Myers-Scotton makes a distinction between *Code-switching* as *a sequence of unmarked choices* also referred to as *sequential unmarked code-switching* and, *codeswitching* itself as *the unmarked choice* or *unmarked code-switching*. The former refers to a change that occurs in the interactional code when situational factors such as the topic, the participants or the setting change during an interaction causing a change in the expected RO set. This type of switching, according to many researchers (Downes 1998, Winford 2003), echoes Blom and Gumperz's (1972) situational code-switching.

The teachers in the CPC meetings usually switch between Algerian Arabic, French when they are alone; however, when the delegates are present teachers switch to English as a medium of interaction. Here, the sequential unmarked code-switching (English) is triggered by participants i.e. presence of students. The following extract taken from recording (6) illustrates this:

> **Extract (10):**
> 1. LD: *on va parler d'examens*
> 2. KK : **concerning the module of applied linguistics, I am ready to take you at one this Tuesday to revise things that you have missed.**
> 3. Student: **Thank you Miss. I appreciate it.**
> 4. FB: **which day?**
> 5. KK: **next Tuesday**
> 6. FB: **next Tuesday, it depends if they join us**.
> 7. KK: **this is what I am telling him. If the number is important I can take you for a revision session**.

It was also noticed that teachers usually switch to English when discussing points related to their modules or to teaching English. The following extract is taken from recording

---

linguistic repertoires. In other words, speakers engage in CS because, through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, they discover that the rewards of CS will be greater than those of maintaining a monolingual discourse pattern.

(4) where teachers mainly switched between Algerian Arabic and French. Nonetheless, when they tackled the issue of the curriculum we noticed frequent switching to English. Thus, code-switching here is triggered by a change in the topic as illustrated below:

> **Extract (11):**
> 1. ZA) tlaqiːt waħda *la famille elle veut faire l'anglais*. gottəlha qɾi men daɾwak l-*phonétique, linguistique* menna. gɑːtli **I'm very good in pronunciation. I don't have to study phonetics**. gottəlha **I do have problems. I'm not a native speaker**.R4
> 2. FK) hɔma maɾahɔmʃfɑːhmiːn belli **problem of pronunciation, I mean, having a class of phonetics is not for the sake of bettering your pronunciation. It's a way of knowing how it functions. Why it is pronounced so**. mʃi hɔma ħɑːsbiːn belli **I have a good pronunciation**. hadi **pronunciation** taɛ l-*film n'est pas* **standard English** *c'est pas* **RP**.

   Code-switching itself as *the unmarked choice* or *unmarked code-switching*, on the other hand, refers to a situation in which speakers frequently switch between two or more languages in the same interaction, that means the bilingual language variety in itself is the default medium of the given type of interaction. This could involve both insertional and/or alternational switches. It differs from the other code-switching types in that 'each switch […] does not necessarily have a special indexicality; rather, it is the overall pattern which carries the communicative intention' (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 117). *Unmarked code-switching* is found in situations in which an ethnic language is highly valued but coexists with another language used for status-raising activities. Interlocutors are generally members of a common peer group and wish to actively invoke their alignment with the two social worlds that these two codes index; it is a way of making aspects of these two worlds salient.

   Unmarked code-switching is what characterizes most teachers' exchanges whether these conversations are formal or informal, professional or personal. The main difference between what is formal or informal lies in the type of switching (insertional vs alternational)[203], and which variety is the dominant one in the exchange in terms of the number of monolingual CPs not in terms of which one is the matrix language. The big majority of bilingual CPs have Algerian Arabic as a base language even when the meeting were highly formal (recording R10). Indeed, Code-switching as a sequence of unmarked

---

[203] Insertional vs alternation switching in this corpus depends also on speaker's competence.

choices or sequential unmarked code-switching as illustrated by extracts (10 and 11) above are extremely scarce in the corpus of the present study. Even when the meeting (recording R5) was mainly held to discuss the canvas of the ENS, to depict the anomalies concerning modules, coefficients, the hourly volume and to propose any possible suggestions, the teachers extensively switched between Algerian Arabic, French and English[204] in the same turn of speech and in the same utterance.

Extract (12) is taken from recording (R5). The teachers open their session discussion by the module of phonetics that is taught in the first and second year and blended in the third year with the module of speaking entitled 'Phonetics and oral expression'. This extract is part of a long discussion about this module and other modules but we have chosen this part to show how teachers after a while of switching between Algerian Arabic and French switched to a trilingual choice i.e. switching between Algerian Arabic, French and English.

Extract (12):

1. LD) ana ħɑːʒa maɛaʒbetniːʃ ***1ère année phonétique cours*** makɑːʃ ***td. C'est difficile*** miːn jkuːn ɛandək ***soixante étudiants*** fe l-*groupe*.
   (Something I didn't like that *1st year phonetics are lectures* there aren't *tutorials. It's difficult* when you have *sixty students* in *the group*)

2. FB) ila nqaɾɾiːh ***la phonétique*** bɑːʃ nɛalmuːh ***comment analyser les propriétés physiques d'un son*** majhemniːʃ(…)) ***C'est-à-dire*** neʒʒem nahdaɾlək ɛla ***la phonétique*** be-l-ɛaɾbijja be-l-*français.* majhemniːʃ ***les compétences linguistiques*** tawɛah. jhemni kima ***la linguistique, l'étude scientifique de la langue, l' étude scientifique de la propriété physique d'un son*** wella ***des sons. Donc*** hna *le* ***cours est suffisant***.

   (If I teach him *phonetics* to make him learn *how to analyse the physical properties of a sound* it doesn't matter. *It means* that he can talk about *phonetics* in Arabic or *French*. It doesn't matter *his linguistic skills*. What matters -like *linguistics, the scientific study of the language-, is the scientific study of the physical properties of a sound* or *sounds. So here lecture is enough*)

---

[204] The meeting was characterized by a strong presence of English (72 English monolingual CPs and 51 mixed CPs containing English elements inserted into AA and French structures). The strong presence of English can be explained by the fact that the discussion were mainly about the modules and their contents which are taught in English that triggered the use of English. the extensive use of French However compared to AA is due to the fact that the topic tackled is academic and scientific in its nature and in this case AA cannot fulfil this function (monolingual French CPs (336), bilingual CPs with AA as a ML (239), AA monolingual CPs (107) and mixed CPs having French as a ML (54)).

3. LD) ***même*** naɛɫuːhɔm ɣi ***la théorie et tous*** w fe l-***groupe c'est difficile***. hɔma dʒiːhɔm ***quelque chose de scientifique et tous***.

   (*Even* if we teach them *theory and all* and in *groups it's difficult*. It seems to them as *something scientific and all*.)

4. FB) *pourquoi tu n'as pas eu cette réaction avec la linguistique ?*

   (Why didn't you have this reaction with linguistics?)

5. LD) *c'est pas la même chose.*

   (It's not the same thing.)

6. FB) *Pourquoi pas ?*

   (Why not ?)

7. LD) ***par exemple la phonétique*** fiha tqarri ***des organes***, ʂwaːlaħ. *C'est plus scientifique que linguistique.*

   (For instance phonetics you teach organs, other things. It'd more scientific than linguistics.)

8. FB) *c'est parce que on enseigne avec l'objectif d'améliorer la prononciation de l'apprenant. C'est pour cela* raki tʃuːfi fi hadaːk *le côté. Il faut juste réfléchir si* nɛalmah *les (..) les (..)* **organs of speech**, *est ce que ça va améliorer sa prononciation. Si j'enseigne les (..) les (..)* **place and manner of articulation,** *est ce qu'on va résoudre un problème* fe l (..) l (..)

   (It's because we teach with the objective of ameliorating the pronunciation of the learner. If I teach the (..) the (..) place and manner of articulation, is it going to solve a problem in the (..) the (..))

9. KK) *le problème c'est pas juste améliorer la prononciation mais* **to make them aware of the right pronunciation** zaɛma **of the system, to raise their awareness**

   (The problem is not just to ameliorate the pronunciation but …)

10. FB) **of what**?

11. KK) **of the correct pronunciation**

12. FB) kifɑːʃ ɣɑːdi jɛɑːwneh fe *la prononciation* ?

    (How it is going to help him in pronunciation?)

13. KK) kɑːjen lli jkuːnɔ **hyper-nasal** *parce que c'est quelque chose qui* ((..)) kifɑːʃ ngɔllek **it sounds regional**. *Donc il faut corriger* had ʂ-ʂwaːlaħ.

    (There are those who are **hyper-nasal** *because it is something that* ((..)) how I tell you **it sounds regional**. So we have to correct these things.)

14. FB) *quand tu passes du temps* fe l-**place and manner** rɑːki tɛalmiːh *l'étude scientifique de son* marɑkiːʃ tɛalmiːh *le son. On a tendance à* ((…)) **take for granted** *l'enseignement de la phonétique c'est pour développer la prononciation de l'apprenant.*

(*When you spend time* on place and manner, you are teaching him the *scientific study of a sound*. You're not teaching him *the sound*. *We have tendency to* ((…)) **take for granted** (that) *teaching of phonetics it is to develop the pronunciation of the learner*.)

15. KK) bassaħ hna *viens la pratique*. (but, here, the practice comes)
16. FB) *ça c'est* **part of orale expression**. même ce qu'on utilise c'est le **bottom-up approach**. *C'est-à-dire* natsawʁo belli nabdɔ me sɣiːɾ ləˈlˈkbiːɾ *c'est-à-dire le son soit voyelle* wella *consonne* w nabdɔ natɬalɛo ħatta **hopefully *un jour*** nawwaslo nqarriːwəh *le* **supra-segmental** *donc c'est* **rythem, intonation** *et tout ça. Ça n'arrive jamais. C'est-à-dire le* **bottom-up approach** *en réalié* jaħbəs ɛand *les sons*. nagdab *un apprenant* bla manqarriːh *la phonétique* nɛalmuːh **overtly or covertly** *le principe de la prononciation* bla manqarriːh **place and manner**.
(This is **part of oral expression**. Even what we use is the **bottom-up approach**. *It means that* we think that we start from the small to the big, *it means the sound either consonant* or *vowel* and we start going up till **hopefully** *one day* I arrive to teach him *the* **supra-segmental** which is **rythem, intonation** *and all this. It never happens. It means that the* **bottom-up approach** *in reality* stops with *the sounds*. We take *a learner* without teaching him *phonetics* we teach him **overtly or covertly** *the principle of pronunciation* without teaching him **place and manner**.)

In turn (8) in the above extract, the speaker used the English phrases '*organs of speech*' and '*place and manner of articulation*' after a pause. This is maybe because he/she didn't find their French equivalent, but this switch triggered other switches to English; some of which are related to the topic of discussion phonetics e.g. *suprasegmental, intonation, rhythm, bottom-up approach*. Others are not such as: *to make them aware of the right pronunciation, overtly or covertly, hopefully*. In turn (14) the switch from the French phrase 'on a tendence à' (we have a tendency to) to the English phrase 'take for granted' was flagged after a long pause because the speaker didn't find at that moment its French equivalent. After the switch the speaker finished his sentence in French. Thus, switching into English to use Grosjean's term (2001) made the speaker enter into a 'bilingual mode' here it is a 'trilingual mode' at the conceptual level apparently because the social setting motivates –à la Myers-Scotton 1993– the interchangeable use of two or more languages (English teachers discussing the English curriculum). In fact, switching between these three codes continues throughout the meeting (recording 5). We have even passages where four language varieties are used

Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and English as in the following passage (SA is underlined, French in italics and bold, English in bold):

> **Extract (13):**
> FB) *quelqu'un qui est formable c'est-à-dire* ɛandeh ***des prérequis***. ɛandəh
> ***les fondations***. kɑːjen ɣɑːdi ***même*** ila mɑɾɑːʃ **ready at one hundred**
> **percent**. kɑːjen <u>qɑːbilija</u> *pour développer ça chez eux* jnaʒʒemj-
> ***avanc***-i. (R5)
>
> (*Someone who is formable it means* he has *prerequisites*. He has *the*
> *foundations*. There are *even* if he is not **ready at one hundred percent**.
> There is <u>susceptibility</u> *to develop this in them*. He can *advance*.)

The second type called *Code-switching as a marked choice* occurs when the speaker selects a code that is seen as a marked choice in the interaction. In contrast to the unmarked variety, the choice of a marked variety makes a statement with respect to the expected RO set; it signals the speaker's lack of agreement with the expected RO set and their attempt to "negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 132). In addition, the use of marked choices according to Myers-Scotton can be used as a means or strategy to signal anger, authority, to exclude outsiders from in-group interaction, to emphasis a message through repetition, and to show more familiarity and solidarity with an interlocutor. Marked code-switching may also account for aesthetic effects in a conversation i.e. highlighting certain creativity in language choice.

The following extract taken from recording (9) involves a CPC meeting between English teachers that took place on the 5th June 2018. After discussing 2nd term exams with the delegate of the 2nd year students and before leaving the meeting room, the delegate wanted to make a request to one of her teachers about an assignment given to them.

> **Extract (14):**
> 1. Student: Mrs. nsiːt! haduːk *les CDs* lli gɔltiːlna ɛliːhɔm. Ms. **we**
> **won't have time**.
>   (Mrs I forgot! Those CDs that you told us about.)
>
> 2. Teacher DM: It is for tomorrow we will discuss it.
> 3. Student: Ms. (interruption)
> 4. Teacher DM: It's a short advert about five minutes
> 5. Student: Ms. we won't have time
> 6. Teacher DM: you have time.
> 7. Teacher FK: ***C'est pas vous qui décidez. C'est l'enseignante qui decide.***

(It is not you who decide. It is the teacher who decide)

> 8. Teacher DM: you are using you phones all the time. Record it on your phone. It's a short advert, not an interview.

The student tried to make the teacher drop the assignment that she had given them because it was the end of the year and Ramadan was coming and they would not have time. Yet the teacher insisted (turns 4 and 6) on handing in the assignment explaining that it would not take a lot of time or energy. The exchange between the teacher and the delegate was in English which is the unmarked medium of speech for such interaction -between English teacher and her student about homework except the opening when the delegate used Algerian Arabic to direct her request. In turn (7) another teacher (FK) intervened in the conversation with a determined voice directing her statement to the delegate using French to make it clear for the student that it is the teacher who decides and you have to respect her decision and stop complaining. Using French here is a marked language choice to signal anger and authority and to settle down the situation in favour of the teacher (the teachers were angry with students who had been on strike for months and; in addition, they wanted to take two weeks off -one before and the other after Eid El Fitr).

Another excellent case of a marked choice in our corpus is recording (R10). Unlike the other meetings that are recorded for the purpose of this study and those that I usually attend which display varying degrees of language alternation (see table 1.4), the meeting in recording (10) was held almost exclusively in French. The main purpose of the meeting was the big disparity between students' marks in certain modules. The high amount of French monolingual CPs (807) compared to monolingual Algerian Arabic CPs (126) and mixed Algerian Arabic CPs (110) can be explained by the fact that some teachers wanted to express their anger and seriousness in a professional way by displaying certain social distance. This meeting in fact turned into a serious disagreement between the teacher of oral expression and the teacher of literature. The real problem was about three students who have got really bad level and bad marks in some modules; yet they could have the average and pass to fourth year.

The meeting opens with teachers in the room waiting for the others and getting ready for the meeting. The last comer is a new teacher that joined us in the ENS. Right from the beginning the teacher start the meeting by imposing an RO set that defines the situation as being highly formal and serious. Our meetings usually open with a kind of socializing phase using Algerian Arabic and French.

Extract (15):

5. FK) *Bon on va d'abord expliquer à Mr. BN l'ordre du jour de cette réunion. C'est par rapport à une évaluation d'un bilan de résultat de l'année qui vient de s'écouler et c'est par rapport au ça on a constaté que certains étudiants par exemple les deux étudiantes redoublés à 3ème année elles ont écrit d'une façon médiocre en civilisation, en literature, en **written**, en **grammar** … tout ça par contre elles sont bon* (interruption)

   (*Well, let's first explain to Mr. BK the agenda for this meeting. It is in relation to an evaluation of a results report for the year which has just passed and it is in relation to that we have observed that some students, for example the two students who repeated the 3rd year, they wrote in a mediocre way in civilization, in literature, in **written**, in **grammar** … all that on the other hand they are good*)(interruption)

6. ZA) *je suis … -entre parenthèse- je suis leur enseignante de l'écriture.*
   I am … -between parentheses- I am their teacher of written.

7. FK) *de **written**, d'accord.* (Of written, ok.)

8. ZA) *Mais on parle le problème est commun.* (But we talk the problem is common)

9. FK) *le problème est commun. Voilà justement on provoque cette réunion parce que…* (continue in french for the next five turns)
   (The problem is common. This is precisely, we are provoking this meeting because …)

10. FK) bassaħ waːħed ki majaɛrafʃ jaktab *en **3ème** **personne du singulier on ajoute un 's'**, alors comment qu'il arrive à être parfait même* ʃe *l'orale* taːɛah.

    (But someone if he doesn't know how to write in 3rd person singular by adding an 'S', so how he is going to be perfect even in his orale.)

11. ZA) lla samħiːli lla samħiːli madame samħiːli hadɾi ɛla *les gens excellents.*
    (no, excuse me, no excuse me Mrs. Excuse me talk about the excellent people.)

12. FK) *non ! Vous êtes pas critiqué* ntijja *en personne.*
    (no ! you are not criticized you in person.)

13. ZA) pardon, ***mais*** ana ɾɑːni naɛłi had ***les notes***. *Je reconnais et j'assume et j'avoue.* (French for the next 15 turns)
    I recognize and I assume and I confess
    (Sorry, but I give these marks. I recognize and I assume and I confess.)

14. ZA) jdiɾuːli ***des exposés impressionnants****. **l'écrit** ɾɑːni mɛɑːkɔm bssaħ ʃe *l'orale si je leurs donne pas des bonnes notes je dois compenser. Ils sont très bons à l'orale.*

They do impressive presentations. Writing, I agree with you but oral if I don't give them good marks I have to compensate. They are very good in oral.)

15. FK) *et si sont bons à l'orale mais pourquoi pas dire que* ana ɣaːdi neddi men ħaq *les modules* loχriːn.

(and is they are good in oral but why don't you say that i'm affecting the other modules.)

16. ZA) *je suis pas d'accord.* **Written skill is different from the oral skill.**
(I disagree. ...)

17. FK) waːh, *oui*, **Written skill is different from the oral skill**, *mais* ħna *on fournit un enseignant qui n'est pas un enseignant ... il va faire spécialité orale !* ... ɣaːdi jqarri ɣi ***orale*** ?

Yes, yes, ..., but we provide a teacher who is not a teacher ... he will do oral specialty ! he is going to teach oral?

18. ZA) *surtout l'orale.* (especially oral)

19. FK) *comment ... comment qu'il va préparer son cours s'il n'arrive à détecter...* (interruption) (how ... how will he prepare his lesson if he can't detect ...

20. *Non ! ce qu'il va enseigner c'est surtout l'orale.*
No! what he's going to teach is mostly oral.

21. *Non ! il va pas enseigner l'oral je regrette. Alors là je regrette madame il va enseigner la langue à travers toutes ses composantes. Il va d'abord préparer* 'mɔdakkirat ddars'. *Si* majaɛrafʃ jaktab 'mɔdakkirat ddars taɛah, *qu'est-ce qu'il va enseigner? Il va chanter. Je m'excuse il va pas enseigner l'orale. il va présenter son contenue. Il va enseigner de la grammaire, Il va enseigner de* **written**. *Il va enseigner de* **reading comprehension**.

(*No ! I'm sorry he's not going to teach oral. So here I regret madam he will teach the language through all its components. He'll prepare first* 'a lesson plan. So, if he doesn't know how to write his lesson plan, *what is he going to teach? He will sing. I'm sorry he is not going to teaching oral. He will present his content. He's going to teach grammar, He's going to teach* written. *He will teach* reading comprehension.)

As you see in the above extract (15) the extensive use of French with occasional switching to Algerian Arabic or English is the main feature of this encounter that reflect the social distance desired on the part of some teachers.

Finally, *code-switching as an exploratory choice* occurs when uncertainty exists about the appropriate RO set for the situation. Interlocutors will then switch between different codes that they share as a means of searching for the right one to use until they find one on which

they can both agree. It is the least common form of code-switching and it may occur in exchanges between strangers as well as in exchanges between acquaintances who meet in unconventional or unfamiliar settings. We have not seen any case of exploratory code-switching in the database of the present study or in our previous corpus (Mendas Djamila, 2013); the reason for the dearth of exploratory code-switching is that the speakers whose interactions were recorded got to know one another, at least some time before the recordings. Nonetheless, exploratory code-switching is sometimes displayed by the delegates when they attend the meeting for the first time. Usually they use English but occasionally resort to alternating between Algerian Arabic and French from time to another to keep the choices open because of the lack of competence in English.

Myers-Scotton's 'Markedness' model or 'Rational choice' approach to code-switching is reminiscent of Bourdieu's theory that sees the creation of social meaning both as a reflection of the social system and as constitutive of it. Given the fact that the properties of linguistic markets (i.e., contexts) provide linguistic expressions with a certain value (Myers-Scotton's indexicality), part of one's language socialization involves knowing when and how to produce utterances that are highly valued in those markets (rational choices as part of speakers' communicative competence). According to Bourdieu, it is the speaker's assessment of the contextual cues and the anticipation of the likely reception of his/her linguistic utterances that serve as internal constraints on his/her code choices.

Proponents of the conversation analysis approach (Auer 1998, Gafaranga 2004, Lei Wei 2005) particularly Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) criticized Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model in its first version for its adoption of Fishman's (1965, 1972) approach where speakers are described as simply following or, not following rules for already existing norms. In a critique of the "Rational Choice" Model (2005), Li Wei (1998a) points out that the model relies in its interpretation of the meaning of switching on external set of norms rather than by reference to the conversation itself. He further adds that Myers-Scotton gives more importance to the analyst's interpretation of participants' intentions rather than to the crucial creation of meaning by participants within conversations.

Nonetheless, these same authors recognized the value of her work. In this respect, Lei Wei (1998) states that Myers-scottons' model is the most influential model since Gumperz made the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching. Auer (133) makes a similar remark noting that "Carol Myers-scottons has shown very convincingly for the African context how code-switching can be used in order to 'negotiate interpersonal

relationships', instead of being determined by them". In respect to Myers-Scotton's classification of code-switching as an unmarked choice, Gafaranga (2007: 294) states that the Markedness Model overcomes earlier criticism put forward by a number of researchers against Gumperz's idea which states that each and every instance of language alternation carries a specific meaning stating that "it is important to recognise this contribution by Myers-Scotton to the rehabilitation of language alternation among bilingual speakers." However, the author (ibid: 295) notes that marked switching "is seriously problematic for it is not clear how it differs from sequential unmarked code-switching." This is a serious issue that we will have to discuss when we deal with Auer's preference-related switching which is also somehow confusing.

3.3.1.2   Discourse Functions of Code-switching:

Apart from the two influential dichotomies situational v. metaphorical code-switching and 'we-code' and 'they-code' that reflect the social dimension of code-switching with special reference to code alternation as identity-based construct, Gumperz in his later publications, focused more on metaphorical or conversational code-switching and its contextualization. contextualization cues as Gumperz defines them are "surface features of message form which […] speakers (use to) signal and listeners (to) interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (1982:131). These cues may be phonetic, syntactic, lexical or stylistic variables consisting of formulaic routines, formulaic expressions, discourse routines such as openings, closings, speech delivery features such as prosody (loudness, tempo, stress, intonation, silence, laughter, back channels) and even of language alternation as Gumperz (1982: 98) explicitly states: "Code switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic lexical processes." Thus, Gumperz refers to code-switching as a "contextualization cue"[205], that is a "verbal or nonverbal cue that provides an interpretive framework for the referential content of a message" (1982:131). Gumperz's notion of 'contextualization cues' is reminiscent of Goffmann's concept of footing, developed with reference to monolingual speech, stating that:

---

[205] For Gumperz, contextualisation cues are conventional in the sense that their meanings and their uses can vary from culture to culture. When these cues are shared by all participants, "interpretive processes are taken for granted and tend to go unnoticed. However, when they are not shared, interpretation may differ and misunderstanding may occur." (1982: 132)

"a change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (1979:5).

Gumperz (1982) identifies six basic conversational discourse functions that code-switching serves in conversation to illustrate its most common uses. These are (1) *Quotations,* (2) *Addressee Specification,* (3) *Interjections,* (4) *Reiteration,* (5) *Message Qualification,* and (6) *Personalization versus Objectivization.*

Quotations are occurrences of switching where someone else's utterance is reported either as direct quotations or as reported speech; nevertheless, the language in which quotes are reported is not always the language in which the original utterance was uttered, Tannen (1989), for example, points out that most reported speech is "constructed dialogue", i.e. has never in fact been spoken. Extract (16) from our corpus (recording 1) illustrates the fact that quotations are not always original i.e. repeated exactly the way they were produced. Here, a teacher is talking about her Turkish neighbour. she made clear that she speaks only Turkish (reported speech is in bold):

Extract (16):

1. *FG) Une turque* ɾaha tesken hnɑ:ja fe *la cité juste en face de moi. Elle parle ni arab, ni français, ni anglais.* ʒɑ:t ɛanna lǝ-d-dɑ:ɾ gɛadna b-*traducteur.* saɛa maski:na *le 20 septembre* gattelna: ***je ne reste pas en Algérie.*** gɑ:tlek: ***j'ai pas pu m'adapter.*** (R1)

   (A Turkish woman is living here in the neighbourhood just in front of me. She talks neither Arabic, nor French, nor English. She came to us we used *the translator.* Unfortunately, the poor *on 20th September* she told us **I'm not staying in Algeria**, she said **I haven't been able to get used to Algeria**.)

2. FG) gɔlnɑ:lha: ***Non tu vas t'adapter.*** gɑ:tli "zizajeɾ azu:ɾ". gɑ:tli benti ʃetti gɑ:tlek "dʒazɑ:jeɾ wɑ:ɛɾa". gɔtelha lla llu:ɣa taɛ dʒazɑ:jeɾ ʒɑ:tha wɑ:ɛɾa.

   (We told her: ***no your will get used to Algeria***. She told me '**Algeria is difficult**'. My daughter told me have you heard her she told Algeria is difficult. I told her no, the Algerian dialect is difficult for her.)

As you see in the above extract the teacher is retelling her colleagues a dialogue that happened between her and her Turkish neighbour, and though she said that this Turkish women doesn't speak any other language beside her mother tongue, she reported her

utterances using French. The occurrence of code-switching in quotation sequences can bring to discourse an additional dimension as stated by Gardner Chloros (2009):

> It is a well-known function of CS to frame a quotation – here the quote was sometimes framed twice over, once with its quotative verb and then with the change in language. The use of CS not only marked the boundary between the quotative verb and the quote itself. It also gave speakers another "voice" in which they could encode expressive meanings. Gardner Chloros (2009: 75)

In this case using French to quote the Turkish neighbour add an extra dimension of being a stranger who came to live in Algeria and who is struggling because she can't understand Algerian Arabic and she can't adapt to the Algerian life. In the second turn, however, she mentioned the original quotation in Turkish because she wanted to highlight her daughter's misunderstanding of what the Turkish women has said (Algerians are difficult) and what she has really meant (Algerian dialect is difficult). Indeed, there are thirty-eight direct and/or reported speech following the Algerian Arabic verb 'gɑːl' (to say/ to tell).

In addressee specification, the switch serves to direct the message to one particular person among several addressees present in the immediate environment. Recording (9) provides an example of addressee specification. After discussing the date of 2nd term examination, fourth year delegates raised other important issues concerning next year, the last year of their graduation since these students were the first cohort to graduate from ENS. They had tackled diverse topics concerning graduation, dissertations, reports, supervision among others. The teachers hadn't had discussed these issues and they were trying to make the students understand that all these points were going to be discussed and that they were going to provide them with answers as soon as possible. Yet, one of the teachers (ZL) wanted to know if supervision of the 5th year students in the ENS will be exclusively limited to teachers from ENS or they can be supervised by teachers from other institutions (turn 2). Here, one of the teachers (FB) interrupted and answered her with reservation (turn 3) that this issue need to be discussed when teachers are alone not in the presence of the students. The following extract illustrate addressee specification in which teacher (FB) used the title '*Doctor*' to address his colleague –usually he addresses her using her first name- and then used English while the discussion had been conducted in Algerian Arabic and French:

Extract (17):
1. FK) *chaque enseignant propose deux à trois thèmes* w mambaɛd ʃfuːtɔ ʃe *le comité scientifique* w *après seront affichés* w mambaɛd hɔma *à choisir. Pour chaque thème* nħɔɫɫɔ *certain nombre d'enseignants.*

(*Every teacher proposes two to three topics* and then they pass in *the scientific committee*, and *after that they will be exposed.*)

2. *ZL) on peut avoir en dehors de l'ENS ?*
   (We can have outside the ENS?)
3. FB) **Dr L we need to discuss this**.

Interjections, on the other hand, simply serve to mark sentence fillers as in the insertion of the English filler *you know* in an otherwise completely Spanish utterance. In our corpus, speakers recurrently insert interjections and fillers which can be one word, a phrase or even a clause in a sequence of speech and they usually do this using a language different from the language of the main speech. These fillers have different functions; they can be used to attract attention example [208] and [209]; to emphasis something example [211], to express a point of view examples [212] and [213]; or simply for self-correction example [210]. Consider the following examples:

[208] *__Tu vois__* ɾɑ:hɔm jaħħasbo. (R9)

Do you see? they are making calculations.

[209] ʃu:fi *le 25 janvier il y avait 16% de 4ᵉᵐᵉ année*. (R9)

'see, the 25th of January there were 16% of the 4th year students.'

[210] *__Un étudiant de français__* gɑ:tl-eh *__c'est une fille__* gɑ:tleh…. (R9)

'A student of French told him she is a girl, told him…'

[211] ana maɛandi:ʃ ø *problème* mɛa had *la promotion __j'insiste__* fe l-*module* taɛi. (R9)

'I don't have a problem with this cohort, *I insist,* in my module.'

[212] mandiɾu:ʃ *en dispersé, __on me semble__*. R9

We don't do the exams scattered, it seems to me

[213] *L'intitulé* taɛ *le module c'est vaste* __tbɑ:nli__. (R5)

The title of the module is vast, it seems to me.'

[214] *__Eh ben__* majastɑ:hlu:ʃ, *__je m'excuse__* wa ʃokɾan. (R9)

'Well, they don't deserve, I'm sorry and thank you.'

In example [211], the teacher had expresses her point of view concerning 3ʳᵈ year students but the other teachers had a different point of view and wanted to influence her to change her opinion, so she made the point again and used the clause '*I insist*' to emphasize

that she is convinced and she won't change her mind about it whatever the others would say. Example [210] illustrates self-correction; the teacher started her utterance saying '*un étudiant*' (a male student), then she used AA feminine agreement. Realizing her mistake, she corrected herself by inserting the clause '*c'est une fille*' (she is a girl). Some of these clauses are cultural or religious expressions as the following:

> **[215]** *Les garçon,* <u>llahɔmma bɑːɾik</u>, *je les prends tout de suite* ndiːɾelhɔm ***promotion*** waħadhɔm. (R9)
> The boys, god bless them, I'll take them immediately and form a group for them alone.
> 'The boys are polite, respectful and they work, if it were for me I would form a cohort only for them.'

> **[216]** <u>*Alors*</u> hadu kiʃethɔm ***les meilleurs parmi les meilleurs,*** <u>***j'ai estimé***</u> <u>***bien***</u>, kiʃethɔm ħaɫɫɔ ɾisɑːnhɔm kɔnt ɣɑːdi ngɔlhɔm makɑːn la les notes lawɑːlɔ w membaɛd, <u>nɛalt ʃ-ʃiɫɑːn</u> *à mi-chemin j'ai arrêté*. (R9)
> Well, those when i saw them *the best among the best*, <u>I estimated well</u>, when I saw them putting their heads down I was going to tell them there will be no marks nothing and afterwards, <u>I cursed the Satan</u> *on half way I stopped*.
> 'Well, when I saw that the best student were putting their heads on the tables, as I estimated well, I was going to prevent them from seeing their marks, but afterwards I calmed myself down and I stopped.'

In the above-cited examples, there are three embedded clauses; example [215] expresses the speaker's feeling of admiration using AA expressions 'llahɔmma bɑːɾik' here the teacher is praising these students; in example [216] 'nɛalt ʃ-ʃiɫɑːn' 'I cursed the Satan' the teacher wants to say that she calmed herself down. Other clauses that are also used as fillers are the AA 'maniːʃɛɑːɾaf' and its French equivalent '*je sais pas*' (I don't know) as illustrated below:

> **[217]** *Elle fait partie de la section* wella *de département* wella, maniːʃɛɑːɾaf kisammuha, taɛ *l'anglais*. (R8)
> She is part of the section or the department or, I don't know how it is called, of English.

> **[218]** χallɑːna fe ***un état***, <u>je sais pas</u>, manɑːʃ ɛɑːɾfiːn ki nfakɾɔ. R8

'He left us in a state, I don't know, we don't know to think clearly.'

[219] jdiːɾɔ hadɑːk **le selfie** <u>ou je sais pas quoi</u> w tʃuːf fi ɾuːħha.
(R9)
'They do the selfie, or I don't know what, and she keeps looking at herself.'

Nevertheless, the most recurrently inserted clause-filler is the AA '`kimajguːlɔ`' (as they say) and its conjugated forms (8 tokens). Consider examples below:

[220] hɔma *ils arrivent à*, <u>kifɑːʃ ngɔllak</u>, *à imaginer* hadɑːk *le mot* w *la prononciation* tɑːɛah . (R5)
'They manage, how to say it, to imagine that word and its pronunciation.'

[221] daɾwek ħna ki daɾna cinquante (50%) cinquante, *c'est faisable et c'est,* <u>kima gɑːllek</u>, *justifiable*. (R9)
'Now when we did fifty 50%, fifty, it's feasible and it is as he said justifiable.'

[222] *C'était,* <u>kima gɑːllek</u>, me *les officiers de l'armé*. (R1)
'He was, as they said, one of the offices of army.'

There are 25 instances of this type of clause switching, ten (10) are French inserted clauses and fifteen (15) are AA clauses, of which eight (8) tokens are AA embedded '`kimajguːlɔ`' (as they say) as in the above-cited illustrations.

Reiteration occurs when one repeats a message in the other code to clarify what is said or even to increase the effect of the utterance as illustrated by the following utterances:

[223] hɔma, ***tous que tu dis sera pris contre toi*. They'll use it against you**. (R9)
'They, all what you say will be used against you. They will use it against you'

[224] hɔma <u>mɔʒtamaɛ nisɑːʔi</u>, *une société féminine*. (R4)
They are a feminine society. A feminine society.

[225] *Il faut toujours garder la porte ouverte*. matbalɛiːʃ **la porte** fi ħjɑːtek.
(You always have to keep the door open. *Don't close the door in your life*.)

[226] w <u>maː ɛala ɾ-ɾasuːli illa l-balɑːɣ</u>. **You are only messengers**.
(All what a messenger can do is to transmit the message. You are only messengers.) (R9)

[227] gⲟttəlha <u>l-laɛɑːb ħmiːda wə r-raʃɑːm ħmiːda</u>. smawɑːthɔm ***sont partout***. (R4)

(I told her that the card dealer is the player himself. Their names are everywhere.)

[229] maɛliːʃ kɑːjen **ups and downs**. kɑːjen l-mliːħ w d-duːni.

It's ok there are **ups and downs**. There are the good and the bad. R11

[230] *le profil d'enseignant,* malmeħ l-ʔⲟstɑːd mⲟhim ʒiddan. R9

Teacher's profile, teacher's profile is very important.

In example [226], the speaker used a Standard Arabic idiom, and then she reiterated it using English sentence. Likewise in example [227], an AA proverb which refers to the fact that there is no division of powers is repeated using French words to clarify that the same people are occupying all the positions.

Message qualification is defined by Gumperz (1982) as an elaboration of the preceding utterance in the other code. In the following extract from recording (09) a French utterance is reiterated in Standard Arabic and then elaborated using SA, AA and French. The teacher used Standard Arabic in addressing the students to give more authority to her statement and to clarify that what she is saying is derived from the law.

Extract (18):

FK) *le rachat ce n'est pas un droit, le rachat c'est une faveur. **Alors** ʃe l-qnun el((...)) kisammuːha r-rɑːʃa be-l-ɛaɾbijja el ((...)) <u>el-ʔinqɑːð</u>!! <u>el-ʔinqɑːð lajsa ħaq</u>. el-ʔinqɑːð d-**décid**-iːh laʒnet l-mⲟdɑːwalɑːt. w ana **personnellement** makɑːʃ el-ʔinqɑːð had l-ɛɑːm. (R9)

*(Point redemption It's not a right, it is a favour. **Then**, in the law the ((...)). How it is called <u>the point redemption</u> in Arabic? The ((...))<u>Redemption</u> !! <u>redemption</u> is not a right. Redemption is decided by <u>the deliberations committee</u>. And I **personally** there will be no <u>redemption</u> this year.)*

Another example of message qualification is the following extract in which the teacher explained the English expression 'socialized error' using French. Actually, this extract includes another discourse function which is the contrast between the *main clause* which is in AA and the *but-clause* that is in French.

Extract (19):

KK) *des fois* jansa *le* **'s'** saħħa bassaħ ***c'est ça se répète*** ʃe hadik *la rédaction* hna (interruption) R10

(Sometimes he forgets the 's' it's ok but if this is repeated in the same piece of writing here (interruption)

FK) *c'est* **socialized error** *ça veut dire dans sa tête c'est comme ça*.R10

(It is a socialized error. *It means in his mind it is like this*.

Finally, *personalization versus objectivization* signals the degree of speaker involvement in a message as in the case of, for example, giving one's statement more authority in a dispute through code-switching. The following extracts are taken from recording (12) may well illustrate this function of personalization versus objectivization.

Teacher (FK) in extract (20) switched from AA structured sentence to French in the middle of turn (1). This switch is a gradual movement from a personal experience in her career to a general reality. She expressed her resentment using AA, then using French she tried to make the others aware of the fact that we should look at this person objectively not subjectively even if he did something wrong because at least he did some work. In turn (2) teacher NB commented using AA stating that this is typically Algerian way of treating people who work. In turn (3) BM further emphasized NB's statement about Algerians using AA. The use of AA in turn 3 and 4 is sarcastic and was accompanied by laughter. In turn (4) NB switched to French to make a comparison between Americans and Algerians ways of acknowledging someone's deeds. So, we can say here that switching made this opposition between 'we' and 'they', between subjectivity and objectivity more salient by using different codes.

Extract (20):

1. FK) ɛlaːʃ lwaːħed ki jɔχraʒ me *l'administration ça y est* jwaliːlkɔm *un ennemi. c'est quelqu'un qui fait du travail beau ou mauvais mais c'est quelqu'un qui fait du travail, quand même* !
(why when someone stops working in *administration* he becomes *an enemy. it's someone who does something, good or bad but it's someone who does work, anyway*.)

2. NB) jabɣuːh miːn jmuːt. (they like him when he dies)

3. BM) jɛalguːləh kaːdar. (they will hang up a picture frame of him)

4. NB) *les américains, ils aiment les héros, les algériens, ils aiment les martyrs.*
(*Americans love heroes, Algerians love martyrs.*)

5. ZA) ħna *les algériens* ɛanna *un grand défaut.* l-ħɑːʒa l-mliːħa manʃɔfɔhɑːʃ. *Toujours on dépouille la personne.*
(We *the Algerians* have *a big flaw.* We don't see the good thing. *We always strip the person.*)

In Extract (21) English teachers were discussing about a conflict that happened between a head of the Arabic department and two teachers of English one of whom is the head of the English section while organizing students' award ceremony. In turn (1), one of the teachers ZA is wondering why the director didn't do anything affirming that it is his duty to settle in this type of conflicts. In turn (2) BM responded in a neutral way because he is one of directors' staff. In turn (3), however, BN's answer is canning and implicitly compares the director's politics to that of the ostrich. The switch to French in turn (3) further makes BN's utterance appear objective and neutral.

> **Extract (21):**

1. ZA) bassaħ *normalement c'est le directeur qui tranche* ki tku:n *conflit* mə lfu:g *c'est le directeur.*
   (but *normally it is the director who settles* when there is a *conflict* at this level *it's the director.*)
2. BM) kɔl wɑ:ħed *et sa politique.* kɔl wɑ:ħed w *sa vision.*
   (Everyone has *his politics.* Everyone has *his vision.*)
3. BN) *même la politique de l'autruche, Ça s'appelle politique.*
   (*Even ostrich's politics is called politics.*)
4. FK) *eh ben je crois* hɑ:di lli rɑ:hi tatmaʃʃa hna.
   (*Well I think* that this politics is the one that is accredited.)

Extract (22) exemplifies a shift from objectivity to subjectivity, from distance or remoteness to closeness or intimacy, and from professional to social. ZA has asked a teacher NB about an email that he had sent the previous day to some of the teachers (turn 1). NB made it clear that he didn't want to discuss the issue in the presence of every one (turn 2). NB used French while addressing everybody to create the desired effect (distance and objectivity) then he switched to AA to talk to ZA personally (addressee specification). Nonetheless, LD felt offended and responded in French implying the opposite of what she said (turn 3). NB still using French (turn 4) assured her that it is for her good, but she insisted on the fact that his action was inappropriate using AA word 'yes' in a sarcastic way then French to express her disagreement (turn 5). At this moment he shifted to AA to calm her down (turn 6), yet she emphasized on her point trying to express the reason for her disagreement (turn 7). Here, other teachers (FK and FB) intervened to calm her down and explain to her that it is not a serious matter (turns 8 and 9). NB once again tried to explain his action by comparing it to a story in the Quran between Prophet Moses and the Wise man. Turns (1-5) were conducted exclusively in French, then from (6-10) the participants shifted totally to AA because the

context became more personal and the speaker NB shifted from showing distance and formality to showing closeness and solidifying in-group relations

Extract (22):

1. ZA) *Mr. N, par rapport à l'émail qu'on a reçu, les associations qui ont causé des problèmes au chef de département*
   (Mr. N, in relation to the email we received, the associations that caused problems for the head of department

2. NB) taɛ hier ? *oui, bon on a réagi mais bon on vous en parlera parce que ça… ça .. je veux pas que tout le monde l'entend pour des raisons spécifiques.* mambaɛd nahdar mɛa:k
   (Yesterday's ? yes, well, we reacted but hey we will talk to you about it because that … I don't want everyone to hear it for specific reasons. After I'll' talk with you.)

3. LD) *merci beaucoup de nous écarter.*
   (Thank you very much for dismissing us.)

4. N) *pour votre bien.*
   (for your good.)

5. LD) wa:h !! *je suis pas d'accord désolé parce que déjà* bɛattɔ *un mail*
   (Yes !! I don't agree sorry because you've already sent a mail.)

6. NB) ma-tatqalqi:ʃ matanwi walɔ
   (Don't get upset don't think negatively.)

7. LD) mʃi mananwi:ʃ lχi:r. *Je me dis que* ħna ga:ɛ rana *concernés.*
   (It is not that i don't think positively. I tell myself that we all are concerned.)

8. FB) mataħafri:ʃ. (don't dig deep)

9. FK) kɔn ngɔllǝk l-ha:ʒa dgu:li ʃa haddarni kɔ ɣi:l sket.
   (If I told you what is it about you would tell me why i talked if only i didn't talk.)

10. NB) ssɔbri mɛa:na ɣi ʃwijja kima rraʒɔlɔ ssa:liħ mɛa si:dna Mu:sa. taɛarf:i:ha *l'histoire*?
    (Be patient a little bit with us like the good man with the prophet Moses. You know the story?)

Another extract (23) in which switching of languages displays the dimension of moving from what is consider personal to what should be considered professional is illustrated hereafter:

Extract (23):

BN) *que s'est passé hier c'était un détournement* taɛ *un évènement institutionnel.* manabɣiha:ʃ. madda:bez mɛa:ha. ɛandi l-ħaq wella ɛandǝk l-ħaq, **peut import**. *Quand je suis responsable d'un évènement*

231

institutionnel ça veut dire si je dois faire appel au chef de département même ila raːni maddaːbez mɛaːha *Je suis obligé* bessiːf ɛlijja naχdem mɛɑːha. *En la touchant cette personne* hija *on a touché le département puisque* hija *elle est au nom de département.*

(What happened yesterday it was a misappropriation of an institutional event. I don't like her; I am in disagreement with her. I have right or you have right it doesn't matter. When I am responsible for an institutional event, it means if I have to call on the head of the department even if I am in disagreement with her I am obliged, I am obliged to work with her. Touching this person, her, we touch the department because she is in the name of the department.)

The teachers of English were angry with the head of Arabic department who was the responsible to organize the student award ceremony. The ceremony which took place the previous day turned into a farce because of a personal conflict between him and two teachers from the English department -one of them is the head of the English section. BN expressed his resentment concerning what happened and described it as a departure from professionalism. Using the contrast between AA and French, he clearly made a line of demarcation between what is personal and subjective and what should be regarded as professional and objective. The above-cited extract includes other meanings for instance in line (5) the reiteration or repetition '*Je suis obligé* bessiːf ɛlijja' is used for emphasis. And the use of the AA pronoun 'hija' twice in an otherwise French sentence expresses emphasis and contrast at the same time.

Workplace situations where employees are colleagues more than friends are not conventionalized and how subjective we can be and what are the limits are not clearly evident. Extract (24) illustrates such context; it was the end of the academic year, the day when the teachers signed up the end of year minutes. Three teachers were at the head of the department's office -all of them female- they were chatting and talking about different matters using AA and French code-switching as a medium of interaction. A male teacher came in to see if the head of the department's office is open. He is a husband of our colleague who was pregnant at that time and was difficult for her to go upstairs to the second floor. after greeting the teachers, one of the female teachers asked him how is his wife :

Exract (24):

1.   FK) kiɾɑhi K w kiɾɑh *le petit* wella *la petite qui est à l'intérieur* ?

(How is K and how is the baby boy or girl who is inside?)

2. DS) ***on attend qu'elle se libère et elle nous libère***.

(We are waiting for her to free herself to free us.)

3. FK) nʃallah. wirrahi K ? maʒa:tʃ ?

(Inshallah. Where is K ? she didn't come?)

4. DS) rahi t-taħt. gɑ:tli 'ɬlaɛ ʃu:f ***s'il y a quelqu'un*** bɑ:ʃ naɬlaɛ'.

(She is downstairs. she told me 'go upstairs and see if there is someone so I go up'.)

5. FK) ndiɾu:lha ***une chaise roulante*** kaɾɾu:sa kima taɛ ʃ-***chef***.

(We will bring for her a wheelchair like the one of the chief.)

Turn 1 and 2 above are almost in French. One of the female teachers asked a male colleague about his pregnant wife and the sex of his unborn baby. The use of French and the indirect question allowed the teacher to ask such a subjective question in a professional way. The male teacher's answer also was indirect using the French third subject pronoun for feminine '*elle*'.

Since then, different taxonomies or typologies of code-switching have been elaborated by other researchers (Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Hill & Hill 1986, Saville-Troike, 1982). These typologies, according to Auer (127) try to find out in which activities bilinguals tend to switch from one language into the other rather than what verbal activities are associated with one language or another. Auer (ibid: 127) provides the following list of 'conversational loci' in which switching is particularly frequent and which according to him is shared by many bilingual communities.
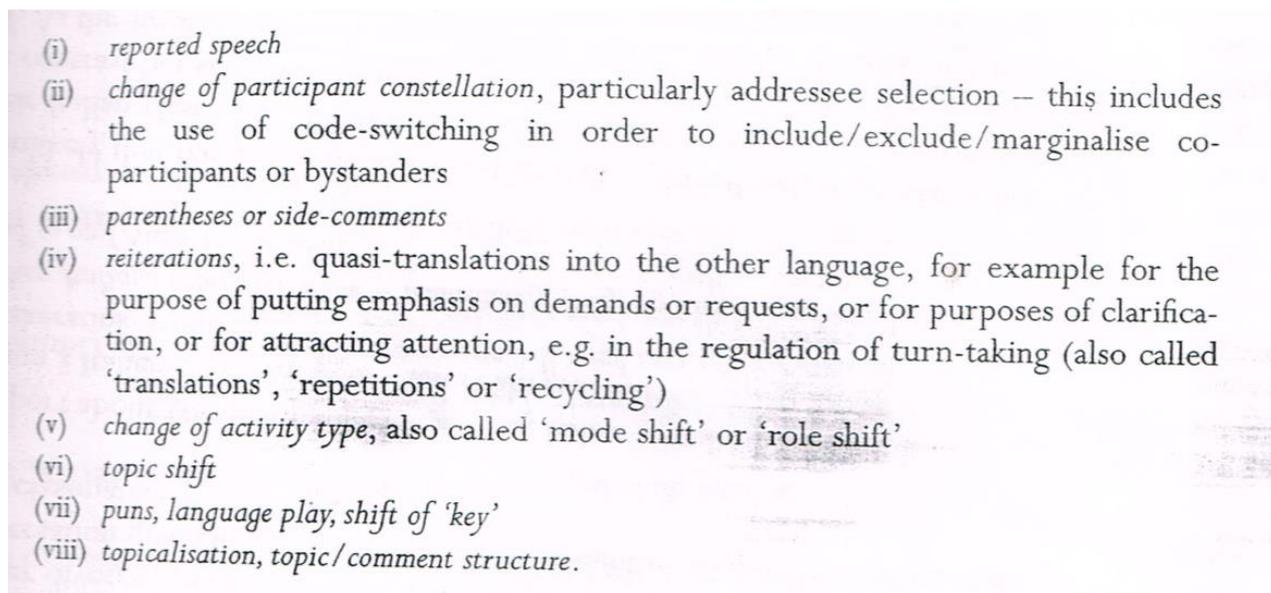
(i)   *reported speech*

(ii)   *change of participant constellation*, particularly addressee selection – this includes the use of code-switching in order to include/exclude/marginalise co-participants or bystanders

(iii) *parentheses or side-comments*

(iv)   *reiterations*, i.e. quasi-translations into the other language, for example for the purpose of putting emphasis on demands or requests, or for purposes of clarification, or for attracting attention, e.g. in the regulation of turn-taking (also called 'translations', 'repetitions' or 'recycling')

(v)   *change of activity type*, also called 'mode shift' or 'role shift'

(vi)   *topic shift*

(vii) *puns, language play, shift of 'key'*

(viii) *topicalisation, topic/comment structure.*

Figure 3.11: Auer's list of code-switching 'conversational loci'

Likewise, in a study conducted by Gardner-Chloros, Charles and Cheshire (2000) on members of a close Punjabi family/friendship network in London, a direct comparison is made between the functions which CS has been shown to fulfil in bilingual conversations, and the equivalent expression of these functions in a monolingual context. Code-switched and monolingual passages within the same conversations were compared concentrating on four common types of transition, which one would expect to be flagged both in monolingual and code-switched conversational contexts. These were: (1) asides; (2) quotations; (3) reiterations; and (4) "but" clauses. They found that code-switchers and monolinguals accomplish basically the same conversational functions with the different means at their disposal and that, except in the case of "unmarked" CS, it is more likely that switches are functional than non-functional. In this respect Gardner Chloros (77: 2009) states that "Although the discourse functions achieved by CS can be performed monolingually, they are more salient when they are marked by CS, because they are marked twice over." Bell (1984:176) writes: "having two discrete languages available rather than a continuum of styles simply throws into sharper focus the factors which operate on monolingual style-shifting. The social processes are continuous across all kinds of language situations."

Quotations, reiterations and asides are illustrated by the examples cited above. Switches right after or before the AA 'bassaħ' (but) and its French equivalent '*mais*' constitute eighty (18) instances in this corpus and are examples of the way the speakers in this study mark textual connections across their utterances twice over – once with the contrastive

conjunction itself and, at the same time, with a contrast in language as illustrated in the following extracts taken from recording (1) and (5):

[231] SM) qrɑ:na waħd ttɑ:ɾi:χ! *c'était du bidon, un grand mensonge*. l-*prof* taɛna *en terminal c'était un as* fe t-tɑ:ɾi:χ. gɑ:lna hada gɑ:ɛ ʒɑ:wbu:h fe l-Bac <u>bassaħ</u> *<u>ce n'est pas vrai</u>*.

> (We studied such a history! *it was junk, a big lie*. Our *teacher in the 3rd year was an ace* in history. He told us: all these use it as an answer in the baccalaureate <u>but *it is not true*</u>.

[232] FB) *c'est* hɔma *ils vont travailler* <u>*mais*</u> **<u>monitored by the teacher</u>**.

> (It is they are going to work but monitored by the teacher.)

The language switch according to (Gardner-Chloros, Charles and Cheshire, 2000:1333–1334) is therefore at the same time both contrastive and cohesive as it links the speaker's utterance to the preceding turn. Indeed, many researchers (Boumans1998, Muysken 2000) have proposed to deal with this type of switching at the discourse level. In our corpus switching that involves discourse markers, conjunctions and subordinating clauses is abundant and includes: discourse emphatic pronouns, conditional clauses, relative clauses, the French *c'est*-cleft clauses, subordinating clauses of contrast, reason and result, left and right-dislocation among others. Like in monolingual discourse, these discourse organizing devices add cohesion, emphasis, and strength to our utterances and sentences. Using different codes accentuate the contrast between the different clauses or conjunctions and the rest of the sentence. Switching at the discourse level will be dealt with in details in section 1.6 below and in chapter 4.

Useful though these lists may seem, the mere listing of such discourse loci is problematic for a number of reasons as Auer explains. The author notes that some of the typologies proposed often confuse conversational structure with linguistic forms and functions of CS. For instance 'emphasis' is a *function* of code-alternation whereas 'reiteration' is a (group of) *conversational structure(s)*. It may or may not serve the function of giving emphasis to an utterance. 'Interjections' and 'fillers' on the other hand, are names for *linguistic structures*. Furthermore, as Auer demonstrates the switched items or stretches of talk do not really tell us what the speaker *accomplishes* in conversation through switching codes. In quotations, for example, it is still unknown what is achieved other than the fact that speakers generally tend to report utterances in the language in which they were originally

spoken. Likewise, such categorization cannot explain what specific discourse functions are fulfilled, for example, by inserting sentence filler or an interjection from one language in an otherwise different utterance.

Thus, as Auer (1995) argues such listing cannot bring us closer to a theory of code-alternation or tell us how code-switching is used in a creative way or why code alternation may have a conversational meaning or function even if it is used only once in a particular conversational environment. According to Auer (1995: 127), "a more in-depth sequential study of, for example, reiteration would make it clear that this category subsumes a number of very different conversational structures." Auer (ibid: 130) stresses the need for sequential analysis of language alternation stating that: "the situated meaning of code-alternation therefore cannot be stated unless a sequential analysis is carried out. The same cue may receive a different interpretation on different occasions."

3.3.1.3   Auer's Sequential Analysis of Code-alternation

The sequential analysis of language alternation was pioneered by Peter Auer in a series of publications (1984, 1988, 1995, 1998, 2000, etc.) in which he argues that code-switching should be investigated on the conversational level as a contextualisation cue as it shares some basic features with the latter[206] (1995: 130). His approach posits that it is the juxtaposition of two or more codes that has signalling power rather than the languages involved or the directionality of change. Like contextualization cues, CS does not have a fixed referential meaning, but makes relevant "some aspects of the context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence." (ibid: 129). This means that the meanings of CS, like that of other contextualization cues, have to be carefully defined using a sequential analysis of interactional choices. The same pattern may, depending on the interaction, perform several functions.

There are two ways in which inferencing generates meaning. CS either creates a contrast to what went on before, indicating otherness such as lack of agreement. Or, in

---

[206] Code-alternation works in many ways just like these other cues. Contextualization comprises all those activities by participants which make relevant some aspects of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence. Such an aspect of context may be the larger activity participants are engaged in (the speech genre or event e.g. lecture, letter, gossip), the small-scale activity (the speech act e.g. question, request, or warning), the mood (or key) in which this activity is performed, the topic, the participants' roles (the participant constellation), the social relation between participants, the relationship between a speaker and the information being conveyed via language (modality), etc. Auer (1995: 129)

addition to signalling otherness, CS, like other contextualization cues, also restricts the number of possible inferences "because cues may have (received) an inherent meaning potential due to conventionalization or frequency of use of the pattern" (ibid: 130). According to Auer (1995: 124), CS also has its own characteristics because "the situated interpretation of code-alternation as a contextualization cue is strongly related to the sequential patterns of language choice." In this respect, Auer distinguishes four patterns of code-alternation.

Before expounding these patterns, it is important to mention that Auer scheme of interpretation identifies two types of language alternation in terms of form or structure –*code-switching* and *transfer*[207] and two types of meanings –*discourse-* and *participant-* (*preference-related* code-switching[208] as emphasized here: "the cross-cutting dichotomies of discourse- vs participant-related code-alternation on the one hand, and code-switching vs transfer on the other, provide a theory for the ways in which code-alternation may become meaningful as a contextualisation cue." (Auer 1995: 132) as the following four patterns illustrate:

The first code-switching pattern is a *discourse-related code-switching*. It represents the case whereby an established language-of-interaction, A, for a certain context is at some point during the interaction switched to language B during turn transition from speaker 2 to speaker 1 (Ia) or within a single speaker's turn (Ib). The switch in language-of interaction is accepted by the interlocutor(s) and the conversation continues in language B. The two variants (Ia) and (Ib) of the first pattern (I) contextualize a change in the characteristics of the interaction such as a change in conversational activity, topic, mode or participants and thus they contribute to the organization of discourse.

Pattern Ia: A1 A2 A1 <u>A2//B1</u> B2 B1 B2

Pattern Ib: A1 A2 A1 A2 <u>A1//B1</u> B2 B1 B2

This pattern of switching is equivalent to Gumperz's (1982) *situational switching* and to Myers-Scotton's (1993a) *sequential unmarked code-switching*. Switching of this type is very limited in our corpus. Extracts (10) and (11) above illustrate this pattern.

---

[207] *Code-alternation* is used by Auer (1995:124) as cover term for *code-switching* and *transfer*. *Code-switching* is a point of departure into another 'language-of-interaction' in the conversation, while *transfer* is the use of an identifiable stretch of talk (e.g. a specific expression) in another language. Auer (1995) suggests that it is advisable to use the term 'insertion' instead of 'transfer' because of the latter's association with a certain theory of second language acquisition. As it has been mentioned earlier, we are going to use the terms 'code-switching' and 'code-alternation' interchangeably here for methodological considerations.

[208] Language alternation generates two types of meanings, meanings regarding the organization of talk (discourse-related) and meanings about participants (participant-related)

A second pattern is a *participant- or preference- related code-switching*, also referred to as language negotiation. Preference- related code-switching involves divergent language choices on the part of the interlocutors. Either such a pattern of language alternation persists (IIa) or is resolved in favor of one of the languages at some point during the interaction (IIb).

Pattern IIa: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2
(sustained divergence of language choices) or

Pattern IIb: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1//A2 A1 A2 A1
(language negotiation sequence: convergence of language choices).

Patterns IIa and IIb signal speaker preference such as in terms of broad political considerations or issues of language competence as Auer (1995: 131) notes "By preference-related switching, a speaker may simply want to avoid the language in which he or she feels insecure and speak the one in which she has greater competence. Yet preference-related switching may also be due to a deliberate decision based on political considerations." Participant-related switching is similar to Myers-Scotton's (1993a) *marked code-switching* and *code-switching as an exploratory choice* though her definition carries a stronger assumption that interlocutors aim towards resolving language choice in favour of one language (Bettina Migge, 2015: 198).

The following extract is taken from Recording (9) illustrate preference or participant related switching. It includes an exchange between English teachers and 2nd year delegates. The meeting was held on the fifth of June to discuss the date of the second term examination. They had two possibilities either to make the exams during the last week of June or to postpone them till September because students had been on strike for months and it was impossible for the teachers to cover the entire curriculum. Students, on the other hand, wanted to have their exams before summer holidays.

Extract (25):

1. LD: nabdɔ b-*les 2ème années.*

   (we will start with 2nd year students)

2. FK: jliːq jaħħadɔ *la semaine* lli *avant* l-ɛiːd *jusqu'au 13, 14* liːlet əʃʃək. jqaddɔ *le 14 à partir de midi* jruːħɔ w jziːdɔ jʒɔ *la semaine* lli *après* l-ɛiːd.

   (They must attend *the week before* l-ɛiːd until 13, 14 is the night before l-ɛiːd. They can go on the 14th from midday and come back after l-ɛiːd)

3. Student: **do they have to attend**?

4. FK: **they must attend**.

5. Student: **ok. Is it sure to have the exams after** l-ɛiːd?

6. T. FK: **nothing is sure.**

7. Student: mʃi membaɛd jgɔluːlna makamməlnaːʃ l-*programme*.
(Not after that they tell us that we haven't finished the program)

8. KK: *on va décider ensemble avec les autres promotions* tahɔma ki jɔddɔχlɔ *les autres délégués.* w membaɛd ɛaːda *les enseignants* jaʒtaːmɛɔ *ils vont décider eux même avec l'administration quelle sera la date* taɛ *les examens.*
(We are going to decide together with other cohorts when their delegates come. And, after the teachers will meet to decide themselves with the administration about the date of examination)

9. FK : *exactement.* (exactly)

10. ZA : *pour les cours de linguistique si je ferai pas le cours ce jeudi je peux pas faire l'examen. Impossible !* truːħɔ lə-djaːrkɔm w membaɛd teddɔ *un diplôme* naːqas.
(Concerning the lectures of linguistics, if i don't do the lecture this Thursday I won't be able to do the exams. It's impossible! You go home and then you take an incomplete degree)

11. Student : mazaːl makamməlnaːʃ ? (we haven't finished yet ?)

12. ZA : baqiːlkɔm **schools of linguistics** ! maddiruhɔmʃ?
(it remains schools of linguistics! Aren't you going to study them?)

13. Student: **I will talk to them. They will come** nʃallah bassaħ **we want to make sure that we don't do the exams after holiday if we attend**.

14. LD: **this is your wish. This is a wish**.

15. Student: **if we attend, I'll ask everyone to attend. Some students want to go home to their families but if we attend we want to do the exams**.

16. FG: **just ask them to think wisely**.

17. FK: **you are only one in the crowd. You are only one promotion among many.**

18. Student: **I think it's better** baːʃ jaʃʃabɛɔ familaːthɔm fe ssajf mʃi jɔggɔɛdɔ jraːʒɛɔ. (in order for them to spend more time with their families instead of revising)

19. FK: *ça se dit pas* -jaʃʃabɛɔ familaːthɔm fe ssajf- *ça se dit pas*. **Be professional**. ɛlaːʃ ɣaːdi *quand ils vont réviser, ils vont s'enfermer du matin au soir pour avoir des notes pareilles*. **That's not an excuse**. jnaʒʒem jrivisi w jaʃbaɛfamiːltəh. **Be professional somehow. We want, we are more in … it will be more at rest if we do the exams before summer holiday to get rid of them**. *Mais maintenant c'est sérieux. Il faut mettre ça dans la conscience professionnelle.* ntuːma tani *il faut être conscient* belli *vous allez devenir enseignants. Votre diplôme est partiellement dans la poche.*

239

Alors je fais pas un discours sur linguistique. Je fais pas un cours de grammaire important et finalement on trouve avec des étudiants qui ne savent pas ni écrire ni comprendre un texte ni comprendre un discours. C'est franchement `hadi` `ʃaha:det zu:r ama:ma l-lah` *parce que* `ntu:ma` *le diplôme est dans votre poche. C'est toute une nation* `raha fe` *les défauts. Alors, il faut réfléchir dans ce sens.*

(*This should not be said* - to spend more time with their families in summer- *this should not be said.* **Be professional.** Why *when they are going to study, they will shut themselves up from morning to night to get such marks.* **That's not an excuse**. He can revise and spend time with his family. **Be professional somehow**. We want, we are more in... it will be more at rest if we do the exams before summer holiday to get rid of them. *But now it's serious. We have to put that in the professional conscience.* you too *you have to be aware* that *you are going to become teachers. Your diploma is partially in the pocket. So I'm not making a speech on linguistics. I'm not doing an important grammar course and finally we find students who can neither write nor understand a text or understand a speech. Quite frankly*, a false testimony before God *because* you *the diploma is in your pocket. It's an entire nation* which is in *faults. So, we must think in this sense.*)

20. Student: **we will try to talk to them we just represent them**.
21. FK : *essaye de leurs expliquer.* (try to explain to them)
22. Student : **I will try to talk to them but you know**
23. FK: **good luck**.

English is the unmarked code choice between teachers and students in the CPC meetings. However, as students' competence in English does not cover other matters than lectures and exams, they usually switch to AA. Switching to AA is makes students at rest and more confident to express their feelings. Turns (3- 6) are in English, the student's switch in turn (7) to AA established a new sequence of language choice (turns 7-12) which is switching between AA and French. In turn (13), the student switches again to English that affects the choice in the following turns (line 13- 17). The delegate switch one more time to AA in the middle of turn (18) which made the teacher switch to alternating between French, AA and English. Actually this switch resulted in divergent language choice (turns 20 and 21) that converged in the end of the exchange (turn 22 and 23).

The above extract presents a preference-related switching (Auer's pattern II) as a result of lack of competence in English on the part of the students where we observe that teachers accommodated to students' choices three times -turns {3-6 (English), 7-12 (AA and French CS, 13-17 (English), 18-19 (AA and French)}. This is followed by a divergent

language choice (20 and 21) which converged in turns (22 and 23). Thus, preference here is not for one code or another but for monolingual medium of interaction and a bilingual one i.e. participants in extract (25) are moving between a monolingual medium of conversation (English) and a bilingual one (AA and French). In this respect, the teachers-students conversation can also be interpreted as sequences of unmarked choices in which one of the sequences is monolingual (English) and the other is Myers-Scotton's category of code-switching itself as an unmarked choice (because even if English is the unmarked choice in this type of exchanges between English teachers and the delegates, the latter switches frequently to AA/French CS whenever they feel insecure about using English and most of the time teachers comply with students' choices).

Nonetheless, Switching to the mother tongue can be further considered as a marked choice by the students (remember the criticism put forward to Myers-Scotton concerning the difficulty of drawing clear cut boundaries between sequential code-switching and marked code choices). We think that this can be achieved if we analyse the choices against the overall context. And this is what we did above when we exposed the examples and extracts from our recordings, we tried to interpret them not only depending on what happened before the switch, in Auer's (1998) terms against the local organization but also against their overall context. This dimension has been emphasized by Gafaranga (2007: 303) who views language choice as an aspect of the overall conversational organization. The author refers to Auer's ambivalence concerning his main contribution to the study of code alternation which is based on the local organisation of talk i.e. sequential analysis of bilingual conversations and the notion of 'language-of-interaction' as implied in pattern II, III, and IV and against which, according to him code alternation becomes meaningful. The concept of 'language -of-interaction' is made more salient in Auer's third pattern.

The third pattern involves switching between languages within single turns that challenges clear establishment of a language-of-interaction (base language). The internal switches, or at least some of them, may have indexicality, i.e. conversational function (e.g. reiteration for emphasis, topic/comment switching). It may as well provide insights into how people view the situation, and are thus both discourse- and participant-related (Auer, 1995: 131). Interlocutors may either decide to carry out the interaction in this mixed mode (IIIa) or adopt one of the two languages (IIIb). Patterns IIIa is similar to *unmarked code- switching* in Myers-Scotton's (1993a) categorization.

Pattern IIIa: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2

Pattern IIIb: AB1//A2 A1 A2

In this case, the sequential analysis of language alternation, as Gafaranga (2007: 303)[209] notes, has its own limitations since as Auer (1984: 84) himself realizes "if more than one participant frequently switches languages within turns (…), it becomes less and less relevant to speak of a language-of-interaction forming the background against which language alternation, must be seen." And this is exactly the case in recording (5) that we have mentioned when teachers adopted a trilingual medium of talk switching between French, AA and English. Here, switching to English in addition to AA and French is understood if we look at the overall construction of the exchange (English teachers discussing the English curricula). So here we cannot assign a functional meaning to every switched element.

Pattern IV involves insertion of single words or phrases from language A into a turn otherwise carried out in language B. Auer refers to these momentary lapses into the other language as *transfer* and argues that it can be discourse- and participant-related in that it may contextualize a particular interactional frame or a person's language competence.

Pattern IV: A1[B1]A1

The following extracts are taken from recording (9) and they illustrate the tension between teachers of English and 3rd year English students as they persist in asking the teachers to take weeks off before exams and on having their 2nd term exams before summer holidays. The medium of interaction is AA and French but there are single switches to English as shown below:

Extract (26):

1. Student): *les restaurants* ɣaːdi jbalɛɔ fe *la cité*.
   (The restaurants are going to close on the campus.)
2. FK) *les restos* maɣadiːʃ jbalɛɔ fe *la cité parce que* ʒaːt *une note* me l-*ministère pour les directeurs des œuvres universitaires et on a eu une copie. Ils seront ouverts jusqu'à la fin* taɛ ɾamdɑːn.
   (The restaurants are not going to close on the campus because a note came from the ministry to the directors of the university student welfare centres
3. Student) fi Belgaid galuːlhɔm ɣaːdi nbalɛɔ.
   (in Belgaid they told them we are going to close)

---

4. FK) *Mais* kijɔggɔɛduːleh temma *il est obligé* jħal.kima ddiːrɔ **strike** fe l-ʒamiːɛa diːrɔ **strike** fe *la cité*.
(But if the students stay there he is obliged to open. As you do strike at university, do strike on campus.)

Extract (27):

SM) *Alors* had l-ɛɑːm fe *le début* ʃwijja w daɾwek fe *la fin* taɛ l-ɛɑːm *ça y est ils sont incontrôlables*. daɾwek maɾahɔmʃ jʒiːbɔ l-**handouts** tawaɛhɔm. daɾwek walliːt *même pas* mandiːɾʃ *la remarque*. w sbɑːħ waħda *carrément son sac* jdiːɾɔ hadɑːk *le selfi ou je sais pas quoi* w tʃuːf fi ɾuːħha tsagged fi χimɑːɾha. *Puis alors* ɾuːħ nta tebqɑːlek l-**motivation** bɑːʃ tkmmel l-**lecture** taɛak. *Tu veilles tard le soir pour préparer* hadɑːk *le cours pour simplifier et en plus* **lack of interest**.

(So this year in *the beginning* a little bit and now in *the end* of the year that's it *they are out of control*. Now they don't bring their **handouts**. Now, I don't *even* give them the remark. And in the morning one *downright her bag*, they do the selfi or I don't know what, and was looking at herself fixing her veil. *Then, well* where to get the **motivation** to finish your **lecture**. *You stay up late at night to prepare for the course to simplify and in addition* **lack of interest**.)

The switches to English in extract (26) using the word 'strike' was ironical i.e. the teacher didn't want the students to go on strike but she wanted to tell the students that the pretext or reason given in order not to come after Eid El Fitr is not valid (the fact that the restaurants are going to close on campus). She also indirectly blamed the students for going on strike without thinking about its consequences. Extract (27) the teacher is expressing her disappointment and anger with students' misbehaviours in the classroom using the English words that are connected with this context '*handouts, lecture, motivation, lack of interest*'.

The switches to English in the above-cited extracts are marked especially when they are used with AA, yet we can say that they are triggered by the presence of the delegates as participants in these conversation. The following extracts, however, are taken from recording (12) where teachers are discussing matters that concern the institution where they work. Switching here to English is not predicted as it is not triggered by participants (students) or by the topic of interaction, besides there was a teacher who is not an English teacher.

In both the following extracts, switching to English expresses otherness or uniqueness compared to the other departments in the ENS. This uniqueness was expressed on different

occasions by different teachers but specifically by those who occupy high position in the ENS and have to deal with all the teachers and administration workers of the other departments as stated in the following utterance:

> **[233]** ħna d-*département d'anglais on est unique peut être* ɛanna **une culture anglophone**. (R11)
>
> We, the department of English, we are unique maybe we have an Anglophone culture.

Consider the following extracts that are taken from recording (12) in which the conversations were conducted in French and AA:

> **Extract (28):**
>
> 1. KK) *les 4ᵉᵐᵉ années sont exceptionnels* bassaħ maɛliːʃ kɑːjen *un groupe* lli jaslaħ, ħna *on va terminer le parcours* taɛna. *Indirectement* tɾabbi *l'étudiant*.
>   (4th year students are exceptional but it is ok there is a group who are good, we will finish our journey. Indirectly we will teach them manners.)
> 2. FK) mʃi *à comparer*. ħna d-*département* taɛna **is safe**. ħna raːna r-raħma raːna l-ʒanna. *Il faut voir les autres départements*.
>   Not to compare. Our department is safe. We are mercy. We are heaven. You have to see the other departments.

In extract (29) below, teachers were discussing the fact that we should have our own department like the Arabic department instead of being a section that is part of foreign languages department or French department.

> **Extract (29):**
>
> 1. N) *la seule façon pour nous défendre c'est avoir le même statue, département, département.* matahdarʃ mɛaːja.
>   (The only way to defend ourselves is to have the same statue, department, department. don't talk to me.)
> 2. ZA) *même* d-*département de français ils ont leur* **policy** w ħna ɛanna **our policy**.
>   (Even the department of French have their policy and we have our policy.)

In extract (28) the teacher made it clear that the English department's staff and students are tranquil compared to the others and using the English verb phrase 'is safe' further emphasizes this dimension of the otherness of the English teachers and students. In extract (29) using the English word 'policy' twice in an otherwise French utterance to describe the difference between English and French policies despite the fact that they both are part of the

244

foreign languages department makes this difference more evident and clear through the contrast implied in the code choice. The switches to English here can also be interpreted as we-code with ironic intent, to show themselves to be a different kind of minority, whose apartness is based on privilege.

In the following extract taken from recording (12) the teachers were discussing the problem that happened with the Arabic department:

> **Extract (30):**
>
> BN) ***c'est des*** ((..)) <u>manduːma taɛ fasɑːd</u>. *Il y a des collègues* fe *les années 70,* ħkɑːwli wɑːħed kɑːn jdiːr ***photocopie*** <u>lə-l-ʔasɑːtiða</u>. ***Des années après*** wella <u>pɾɔfisuːɾ</u> (laughters) wellahi wella <u>pɾɔfisuːɾ</u> w hadi *c'est un fait. C'est pas une anecdote.* ħɑːłłiːnhɔm fe ***les départements*** w *c'est comme ça qu'ils dominent* <u>l-ʒamiːɛa</u>. ***Vraiment*** ɣzɑːw <u>l-ʒamiːɛa</u>.
>
> (***It is a*** ((..)) <u>corruption system</u>. *There are colleagues* in *the 1970s* told me, one used to do *photocopies* for <u>the teachers</u>. ***Years later*** he became a <u>professor</u> I swore he became a <u>professor.</u> *and this is a fact. This is not an anecdote*. They put in *the departments* and *like this they dominate* <u>the university</u>. *Really, they have invaded the university*.)

The underlined words in extract (30) are the Standard Arabic words for '*corruption system, university* and *teachers*'. Using these three SA words, especially *university* and *teachers* which are normally uttered in French by our informants, is linked to the subject that the teacher is talking about -corrupted teachers in the Arabic department. However, what has attracted our attention is the pronunciation of the word 'pɾɔfisuːɾ'[210] which was intentional and made the other teachers laugh. This was done on purpose to imply that this professor has no level, he has been promoted illegally and that he doesn't deserve even to be a teacher at university. So instead of saying directly all this things he just pronounced the word in a sarcastic way. Also the pronunciation of the word 'pɾɔfisuːɾ' here reflect what the speaker has said previously that unlike English and French teachers in the 80s and 90s were tough on their students, the teachers in the Arabic department easily made their students pass their exams and get promoted.

---

[210] NB pronounced the French word 'pɾɔfisuːɾ' in the way old illiterate people who have never spoken French and who occasionally use French borrowed words as if they were AA words (adapted).

Whether the switches as exemplified in the above-cited instances are "rational choices" in Myers-Scotton's terms, or simply take advantage from contrasts within the conversation according to conversational analysts, it has become evident that many switches are indeed motivated. Actually, even though the two models appear to be different, there are important similarities between them. Both models posit patterns or types of code-switching that show correlation when they are closely analysed, the crucial difference being the point of departure. Myers-Scotton's approach gives more importance to the participants' inferential system[211] "that derives pragmatic inferences not just from the current linguistic input, but also from conceptual resources (memory, etc.) based on prior experiences" (2006: 173). In contrast, Auer's approach does not deny the sociolinguistic meanings of the languages involved in code alternation and this is clear when he argues (1998:5) that while discourse-related switching (pattern I) is likely to index elements of the wider context it is the preference-related switching (pattern II) which regularly indexes extra-conversational knowledge. Nevertheless, the social meanings of bilingual choices if they are indexed in the interaction will become available from a close examination (sequential analysis) of the linguistic structures of the interaction and their classification. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (2006) explains the difference between her model and conversational analysis (CA) proponents stating that:

> The Markedness Model is deductive in the sense that it argues from a set of premises about the basis of what is communicated in interactions. That is, its claim is that these premises explain what goes on in interaction. In contrast, CA analysts operate inductively, arguing that conclusions arise in describing details. So there is more of a methodology than a theory, and the premise is that the methodology leads to discovering social meanings. Myers-Scotton (2006: 173)

Switching between AA and French and sometimes switching to English as a third code has proved to be meaningful and does not occur just for the purpose of filling lexical gaps or covering technical terms in certain domains. The use of two codes or more in the case of our informants' context does not only signal shared identity or belonging to certain socio-

---

[211] Humans have inferential mechanisms as part of their cognitive structures. a speaker who is a socialized member of his multilingual speech community is aware of an underlying set of rules that determine why he should choose one code rather than another among them other peoples' thoughts and intentions in the interaction to the extent that whether he follows the rules or breaks them, he is in effect making a statement about the RO set that he wishes to be in force between him and the addressee(s). In other words, according to this model, the linguistic choices speakers make in CS situations are motivated by the social consequences that (they know) may result from making those choices.

economic status but it obviously indexes socio-pragmatic meaning and performs discourse functions. Next we will look closely at switching to English and Standard Arabic.

3.3.2   English a third code

We have analysed some English switches when we exposed the different sociolinguistic approaches to the study of code-switching. Here we are going to examine the occurrences of English words and phrases into AA and French utterances (for an inventory of English insertions into AA and French matrices see appendix 5). Most switched English elements are nouns or noun phrases. We count 177 English nouns (113 of them embedded in AA structures and 64 in French bases). With the exception of nine nouns, all the embedded English nouns are related to teaching and classroom (e.g. topic sentence, extra *session, make up, homework, modern poetry, visiting lecturer*) and some of them cover specific terminology related to different modules (*bottom-up and top-down approach, short stories, sub-skills, stress, rhythm, intonation, commonwealth*). The following examples include nouns that are not related to teaching and classroom:

[234] llah jaħfadkɔm wɑ:h ((...)) c'est **wisdom**. R9
'God bless you, yes ((...)) this is **wisdom**.'

[235] ajja *depuis* dɑ:rɔ sijɑ:sət **divide and rule**. R4
'Since then they set down divide and rule policy.'

[236] *et comme ça* nɫi:ħ niʃɑ:n fe l-**point**. R9
'and like this we get to the point.'

[237] mabɣajtʃ naɛɫi:k l-**key**. R1
'I didn't want to give the key.'

[238] w hada ø **very hard worker**. R1
'This is a very hard worker.'

In addition to nouns which constitute the bulk of English insertion, we have seven (7) adverbs, five (5) adjectives, two prepositional phrases, and one ing-phrase as illustrated below:

[239] Anyway *c'est-à-dire même, même les campus je pense juillet* jbalɛɔ.
Anyway it means even, even the campuses I think July they close. R9

[240] nɛalmuːh **overtly or covertly** *le principe de la prononciation*

We teach him overtly or covertly the principle of prononciation.

[241] kɔlʃi ∅ **fake**. R1

Everything is fake.

[242] twalli ħɑːʒa **boring**. R5

It becomes something boring.

[243] ɛlɑːʃ hada jʒi **before the noun**? R5

Why this comes before the noun?

[244] lɑːχɔr nqarriːh *l'anglais* **as a lingua franca** wella **English as an international language**. R5

The other I teach him english as a lingua franca or english as an international language.

[245] jaɛni annahɔ diːɾi *un travail en bonne et due forme* **fulfilling the methodological requirements**. R1

It means do a work in good and proper form fulfilling the methodological requirements.

[246] hadɔ, *c'est des lectures en parallèle* **to be equipped.**

These, they are some parallel readings to be equipped.

We have only four English verbs that are embedded into French matrix structures and all of them are flagged i.e. preceded by a pause as follow:

[247] *Le producteur c'est Ahmed Rachedi. Ils lui ont laissé une marge de liberté. c'est à dire Comment il a* ((..)) *comment il a* ((..)) *il a dé* ((..)) **depicted** *Boumédiène et Boussouf.* maɫahɔmʃ *un grand rôle*. R1

The producer is Ahmed Rachedi. They gave him a margin of freedom, i.e. How he has ((..)) how he has ((..)) he has ((..)) depicted Boumediene and Boussouf. He didn't give them a big role.

[248] *Maintenant* ila nʒi ana nafham belli *je dois* ((..)) ***blend*** *expression écrite et grammaire c'est comme je suis en train de dire l'objectif* taɛi *c'est la grammaire dans le premier cas*. R5

Now if I understand that *I have to* ((..)) **blend** *written and grammar it's like I'm saying my objective is grammar in the first case*

[249] *On a tendance à* ((…)) **take for granted** *l'enseignement de la phonétique c'est pour développer la prononciation de l'apprenant*. R5
We have tendency to ((…)) **take for granted** (that) *teaching of phonetics it is to develop the pronunciation of the learner*.

[250] bassaħ ki jʃɔfuːha *mentionné sur PV directe* belli zaɛma on les a ((…)) **warned them.** *on les a avertis*. R9
But one they see it mentioned in the meeting minutes that we have ((…)) warned them. We have warned them.

As shown in the above-cited examples switching of English verbs are very limited and rather flagged because the participants in this data are not used to switching between AA or French and English unlike alternating between AA and French. In example [250] the teacher right after the English switch corrected herself by using the French verb. Nevertheless, if we look closely at the switching between English main verbs and French auxiliaries, we will realize that despite the reluctance on the part of the speakers, there seems to be a sort of congruence between English and French at the switching sites. That is to say, in examples [248] and [249], French subcategorise for infinitives and English inserted main verbs are in the infinitive ('blend', 'take for granted'); whereas in examples [247] and [250] French requires past participles and English embedded verbs are in the past participle. This is not the case for AA and French where switching especially within the verb phrase submit to AA structural uniformity even if there is no grammatical equivalence as will be shown in the next chapter.

Here is another example that involves the insertion of an English verb stem into AA structure in the same way as French verb stems are embedded into AA verb morphology. In the meeting in recording (9) and during a discussion between teachers and 4th year delegates, one of the students used an English verb inflected with AA morphology 'n-discuss-ɔ' (we discuss) (turn 1), immediately the teachers exploded in laughter and one of the teachers corrected him by pointing to its French equivalent (turn 2). Embarrassed, the student corrected the verb and continued his speech (turn 3). This illustrates the fact that switching into English is not considered as being part of their spontaneous and natural speech in the same way as switching into French or AA.

Extract (31):
1. ST) ħna madabiːna nabdɔ men daɾwek n-**discuss**-ɔ… (teachers exploded in laughter)

We would like from now to discuss …

2. FB) n-**discuss**-ɔ wella n-***discut***-ɔ

To discuss or to discuss

3. ST) n-***discut***-ɔ w madabiːna taɛɫuːna *les thèmes* bɑːʃ neχadmɔ ɛliːhɔm fe s-sajf

To discuss and we would like if you give us the topics in order to work on them during summer holidays.

Actually, many of the English code-switches in the recordings are, arguably, the result of speakers' inability to find the right French words so they resort to English words. Such switches become marked without signalling any social or discourse message.

[251] lli ɾɑːħɔ lə-**top-down** *y a une amélioration par rapport au* ((…)) **speech, in terms of discourse**. R5
Those who studied **top-down** *there was an improvement in relation to* ((…)) ***speech, in terms of discourse***.

[252] ɛandek ((…)) *des* **scholars** ((…)) *des* **scholars** jgɔllak I'm not an applied linguist I am a TEFLer. R5
You have ((…)) **scholars** ((…)) **scholars** who tell you I'm not an applied linguist I am a TEFLer.

[253] *Si on leur donne des des des ((..))* **handouts** *et la question* me l-**handouts**. R3
If we give them the the the ((..)) **handouts** *and the question from* the **handouts**

[254] *c'est-à-dire exposer à la langue* bassaħ *avec* ((..)) **with raising awarness** *à l'intonation, au rythme* menna. R5
It means expose to language but with ((..)) with raising awarness à l'intonation, au rythme menna.

[255] hna *Ils peuvent avoir les* ((…)) **grammatical rules**. R5
Here *they can have the* ((…)) **grammatical rules**

[256] *Il y aura certainement des masters en ling..* ((..)) **educational linguistics**.
There will be certainly masters in ling.. ((..)) **educational linguistics**. R6

The following extract (32) reflects the hesitation of FB in using the French word '*pragmatique*' instead of its English version '*pragmatics*'. There are two psychological processes going side-by-side in the speaker's mind the first is the activation of two languages

i.e. the speaker entered into a bilingual or trilingual mode and the second is related to triggering since there are many words that are shared between French and English in different domains.

> **Extract (32):**
>
> 1. FB) *ça reste une séance pour étudier le son,* `kima` *la linguistique,* `kima` *la phonologie,* `kima` *la dialectologie,* `kima` `l`-*pragmatique* ((..)) prag ((..)) *en français* !! **I think in English 'pragmatics'** *en français* !!?
>   It remains a science to study the sound, like linguistics, like phonology, like dialectology, like ((..)) prag ((..)) en français !! I think in English 'pragmatics' en français !!?
> 2. KK) *pragmatique* (pragmatics)
> 3. FB) *pragmatique. Donc ça reste des sciences…*
>   (pragmatics, So it remains sciences)

The above-cited example shed the light on the on-going debate in psycholinguistics concerning competence and languages which is out of our reach at this level but what is important to us is that our participants feel more comfortable to use English when they discuss certain topics related to teaching for instance. Flagged switches are sometimes even followed by self-correction when the speakers remember the French words. Example [250] above and the following instances illustrate this:

> **[257]** *on va arriver à un poin*t `wiːn` *les é ((..)) les ((..))* **pupils** ((..)) *les élèves* **middle** `w` **secondary school** `jkunɔ` *plus instruits que l'enseignant* `jla ma,` *si on n'est pas à jour.* R5
> We will arrive at a point where *the ((..)), the ((..))* **pupils**, ((..)) *the pupils* **middle** and **secondary school** will be *more educated than the teacher if we are not up to date.*

> **[258]** *Selon les* ((…)) **suggestions**, ((…)) *selon les propositions proposés par les étudiants…* R6
> *According to the* ((…)) **suggestions**, ((…)) *according to the proposals proposed by the students…*

Switching to English is sometimes motivated by speakers search for *the mot-juste* or the adequate expression as the following examples show:

> **[259]** `ɾɑːh jaʂmaɛ` *La phrase comment* ((..)) **the utterance** *comment elle est structurée.* R10
> He is listening to *the sentence how* ((..)) **the utterance** *how it is structure.*

251

[260] *Quand en face tu as un département* ((..)) **in its own right** kimajgu:lɔ *en anglais*.R12

When opposite you have a department ((..)) **in its own right** as they say in English.

[261] *En anglais* sammu:h **body-trapped parcel** *un colis piégé*. R12

In English it is called **body-trapped parcel** a body-trapped parcel.

[262] ntu:ma daɾwek *les bons étudiants c'est votre rôle de* ((…)) kima gɑ:llek **to raise their consciousness** belli *ce que vous faites c'est un truc politique*. R2

Now you the good students it is your role to ((..)) as they say **to raise their consciousness** that all what you do is political matter.

[263] *Ils n'ont même pas su gérer* **time management** majaɛaɾfu:ʃ jdiɾu:h. R9

They didn't even know how to manage **time management** *they don't know how to do it.*

Switching to English often involves repetition of the word i.e. either the English word is repeated in French or French word is repeated in English. Quite often, for a wide variety of reasons, bilinguals take up a word or, sometimes, an expression formulated in a language A by its synonym of language B, thus creating a bilingual couplet.

[264] ʃe *l'écrit* kɑ:jen ɣi *la grammaire* comme compétence à développer, comme **skill to develop**. R5

In writing there only grammar as skill to develop, as skill to develop.

[265] *On peut remplacer* had *la note* taɛ had l-*module par* **speaking, l'orale**.

We can replace this mark of this module by speaking, speaking. R6

[266] *Il y a un problème avec* l'objectif, **aim** ((..)) *finale*. R3

There is a problem with the objective, **aim** finale.

[267] *Moi je vois beaucoup plus* **the end**, le résultat. R3

I see much more the end, the result.

[268] *Si je pense que la phonétique va aider à l'amélioration de la prononciation chez l'apprenant comment enseigner* de telle sorte *ah* **accordingly**. R5

If I think that phonetics is going to help the amelioration of the pronunciation of the learner how to teach accordingly ah accordingly.

[269] *Y a des bourses qui permettre aller <u>ailleurs</u> **overseas**.* R7
There are scholarships that allow you to go away overseas

[270] *L'anglais c'est des **skills**, <u>des compétences</u>.* R10
English is skills, skills.

The commonest switches to English were *mot-juste* switches, "flagged" switches and switches in the context of explaining/translating which show the speaker's self-conscious and full awareness of using English. Most switches were also English nouns which corroborate the general tendency in code-switching and borrowing that nouns are the category mostly and easily switched. Switching to English on many occasions is primary due to informants' awareness of their belonging to the same community of practice –teachers of English and thus they enter into trilingual mode.

3.3.3   Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic is present in Algerians' repertoire because it is part of their Arabo-Muslim identity; besides, due to its status as a formal language, Standard Arabic is an adversary of French at least in some academic and official domains. Concerning our informants, switching to Standard Arabic is not recurrent except for some scattered switches most of which were triggered either by students' presence (recording 7 and 9) or by the topic of conversation that was mainly about the disagreement with the head of the Arabic department (recording 12).

Here after we have some examples from recording 7 and 9 where teachers resorts to standard Arabic expressions and quotations while criticising students' behaviours and bad manners.

[271] <u>l-ʕaχlɑːq</u> *c'est important* <u>l-ʕaχlɑːq.</u> R9
'Morals are important morals.'

[272] *J'ai monté le taux et tout ça* bassah bi-ʕiħtirɑːm. R9
'I raised my voice and all that but with respect.'

[273] *Moi ce qui m'étonne* kifɑːʃ wɑːħed jʒiːb l-bac rbałaɛʃ w χmesłaɛʃ <u>qaliːlɔ l-ʕiħtirɑːm</u>. R9

'It astonishes me how someone who got his baccalaureate with fourteen and fifteen is disrespectful.'

[274] *Alors* gɔttelhɔm el-ɛilm bidu:n ʔaχlɑ:q ka-l-ʒasadi bila ɾu:ħ. R7

'So, I told them knowledge without morals is like a body without a soul.'

[275] *À chaque fois* ngu:lhɑ:lhɔm fɑ:qidɔ ʃ-ʃajʔi lɑ: jɔɛłi:h. R7

'Every time I tell them no one can give what they do not have.'

Using Standard Arabic can also fulfil another function which is appealing to students' consciousness as Standard Arabic is related to religion:

[276] *C'est franchement* hɑ:di ʃahɑ:det zu:ɾ amɑ:ma l-lah *parce que* ntu:ma *le diplôme est dans votre poche.* R9

'Frankly this is a false testimony in front of god because the degree is in your pocket.'

Likewise Switching to standard Arabic is generally associated with religious culture as exemplified by the following examples:

[277] mi:n sallɔ salɑ:t l-ʒamɑ:ɛa ɛaɾfɔ ɾwaħhɔm *ils allaient tous mourir* fe *la fin*. R1

'When they prayed the congregational prayer they knew that they were going to die in the end.'

[278] nɑ:s jaɛni mɔwaħħidi:n *il n'a pas besoin* ddi:ɾ l-laħja w l-qami:s. R1

'People believers in Allah they don't need to have beard and to put on Qamis.'

[279] ɛlɑ:ʃ jgɔllək 'el ʔaɛrɑ:bɔ ʔaʃaddɔ kɔfran wa nifɑ:qan²¹²'. R4

'This is why they tell you 'The Desert-Arabs are the most steeped in disbelief and hypocrisy.''

Our respondents tend to use Standard Arabic as additional code at their disposal to accomplish certain tasks such as recourse to formality when treating certain topics related to official matters.

---

²¹² This is part of a verse from the Quran surah at-Tawbah (98)

[280] w ɾɑːh wɑːħed fi <u>qajd d-diɾɑːsa</u>. R1

'And there is one under consideration.'

[281] bɑːʃ netfɑːhmɔ ɛla <u>manhaʒijjet ɛamel</u> waħda.R2

'To agree on one working methodology.'

[282] l-programme lli daɾuːh <u>majɾaɛiːʃ l-fɔɾɔqɑːt l-faɾdijja</u>.R2

'The curriculum that they set up don't take into consideration individual differences.'

[283] ɾɑːhɔm dajɾiːnha *genre* <u>waqfa ʔiħtiʒɑːʒija</u>.R2

'They are having a kind of protest.'

[284] *Ça c'est* <u>qiɾɑːʔa</u>. R5

'This is an interpretation.'

[285] *Parce que le texte* ʒa <u>saɾiːħ</u>. R9

'Because the text is explicit.'

We have seen how French and English words are used to fill lexical gap. Except for example (3)[213] where the speaker used a Standard Arabic in order to ask for its French equivalent in (R4), there is no instance found in our corpus where Standard Arabic is used to fill lexical gap. Standard Arabic is selected by our informants consciously in order to convey specific meanings. Backus (2000: 132) refers to this as specificity hypothesis stating that "Code-Switching is likely for embedded language words that are high in specificity, where high specificity means both that the word has a highly specific referential meaning, and that its matrix language equivalent, if there is one, conjures up quite different connotations." The following examples illustrate these specific lexemes and expressions:

[286] ħna tɑːni kima jguːlɔ taɛ l-ɛaɾbijja <u>ɾad ʔiɛtibɑːɾ</u>.

'We too as say of Arabic rehabilitation.'

---

[213] **[3]** FG) *Mais* balɑːk *pas et la même adresse*. daɾwek l((..)) l ((..)) kisamuːh mɔwazziɛ l-baɾiːd(…)?

But maybe *not and the same address*. Now, the ((..)) the ((..)) how it is called the mailman ((..))?

[4] DM) *Le facteur*

'The mailman' (in french)

[287] maɛɬiːtahʃ s-salɑːħijɑːt bɑːʃ jɛɑːjər *les enseignants*. R12

'You didn't give him the powers to insult teachers.'

[288] kidʒi ħɑːʒa fe s-saħ jfuːtɛliːha kima jgollək mɔruːɾl-kirɑːm.R4

'When it is something serious he passes it as they say unnoticed.'

The following examples involve repetition of words or expressions in two different languages one of them is Standard Arabic. Indeed, repetition is a well-known structure of code-switching used quite often, for a wide variety of reasons. This tendency which is very frequent among our respondents, has been also observed when the bilingual speaker expresses themselves in official media: as Saddam (2006) points out, the frequency of the use of French words by their synonyms in Arabic dialect or standard stems from the overcorrection generated by the linguistic insecurity experienced by the people interviewed.

[289] ɾuːħ ʃad l-qanuːn l-ʔasɑːsi ***le statut*** ʔaqrɑːh. R12

'Go take the statute the statute and read it.'

[290] hɔma ø mɔʒtamaɛ nisɑːʔi, ***une société féminine***.R4

'They are a feminine society.'

[291] *C'est pour faire **l'inventaire** dʒas n-nabd*. R6

It is to make an inventory, an inventory

[292] ***le profil d'enseignant***, malmeħ l-ʔostɑːd ø mɔhim ʒiddan. R9

The teacher's profile, the teacher's profile is very important.

In the following extract taken from our corpus and which is mentioned in chapter one an repeated here as extract (33), one of the teachers wanted to repeat the French utterance '*Le rachat ce n'est pas un droit, le rachat c'est une faveur'* (Point redemption It's not a right, it is a favour*)* in Standard Arabic starting her utterance with the SA phrase 'fe l-qnun' (according to the law) (turn 1) but she couldn't find the Standard Arabic equivalent to the French word *(Le rachat)* (point redemption) or its AA borrowed form 'ɾ-rɑːʃa'. She then asked the other teachers who apparently either couldn't remember the word because they are mostly used to French loanwords or they simply didn't know the word (turn 2). Eventually, the teacher found the word and reiterated her utterance in Standard Arabic (turn 3) but still the utterance is not entirely in Standard Arabic as there is the insertion of the French verb stem

'décid'. Here, the use of Standard Arabic in a form of reiteration is intentional and conscience to express the desired effect which is formality, seriousness and by appealing to law, a language that students understand.

> **EXTRACT [33]**
> 1. *FK)* **_Le rachat ce n'est pas un droit, le rachat c'est une faveur_**.
>   *Alors* fe l-qnun el((…)), el((…)), kisammu:ha <u>r-rɑ:ʃa</u> be-l-ɛaʁbijja ? el ((…))
>   *'Point redemption It's not a right, it is a favour. Then,* according to the law the ((…)), the ((…)). How it is called <u>the point redemption</u> in Arabic? The ((…))'
> 2. The other teachers: ((…))!!!
> 3. **[**FK) <u>el-ʔinqɑ:ð</u> !! <u>el-ʔinqɑ:ð</u> lajsa ħaq. el-ʔinqɑ:ð d-*décid*-i:h laʒnet l-mɔdɑ:walɑ:t.
>   '<u>Redemption</u> !! <u>redemption</u> is not a right. Redemption is decided by the deliberations committee.'
> 4. FK) ana *personnellement* makɑ:ʃ <u>el-ʔinqɑ:ð</u> had l-ɛɑ:m.
>   'Me *personally* there will be no <u>redemption</u> this year.'

Standard Arabic is the least used language by our informants and it is mainly related to religious matters or to create a sort of formality and discipline when addressing students in particular. The use of standard is most of the time conscience and intentional compared to French and English (appendix 6 provides a list of utterances containing Standard Arabic elements).

3.4 Inter-Clausal Switching

3.4.1 Relative Clauses

The insertion of relative clauses in AA/French CS deserves special attention as it involves not just the relative clause but also the noun modified by this clause. Besides, both languages have different types of relative pronouns. French makes use of five invariable relative pronouns {*qui (subject), que (direct object), quoi (object of preposition), dont (object of the preposition 'de' and possession indicator), ŏu (place & time)*} and the variable pronoun '*lequel*' that agree with antecedent noun in gender and number {*lequel, la quelle, lesquels, lesquelles (object of preposition)*}. Furthermore, when the latter is preceded by the French prepositions '*à*' and '*de*' they combine with the definite article '*le*' to become '*auquel*' and '*duquel*', and with '*les*' to become '*auxquels/ auxquelles*' and '*desquels/ desquelles*'. The

invariable relative pronouns '*qui*' and '*quoi*' are also preceded by preposition and in this case the former refer to person and the latter to thing or animal.

In our corpus, all inserted French relative clauses into AA structures -27 tokens- are introduced by French relative pronouns and modify French embedded nouns except for the following two examples. One is introduced by the AA relative pronoun 'lli' (who) and the other lacks the relative pronoun as follow:

> **[293]** *C'est-à-dire quinze octobre* kɑːjen <u>lli</u> *effectivement ils n'ont*
> *repris que fin avril*. (R9)
> It means fiftieth of October there are <u>who</u> effectively <u>they</u> didn't come back to
> study till the end of April
> The exams are on the fiftieth of October is ok since there are students 'who
> didn't come back to study till the end of April.'

> **[294]** kɑːjen waħdiːn <u>(#)</u> *ils s'expriment bien* bassaħjgɔllak
> jəp, nəp, gonna, wanna*. (R10)
> There are some (#) they express themselves well but they say jəp, nəp,
> gonna, wanna
> 'There are some students who express themselves well in English but use
> colloquial English.'

In example [293] above, the AA relative pronoun 'lli' (who) introduce the French relative clause and represents the subject of the clause, yet it is followed by the French subject pronoun 'ils' (they) resulting in double marking of the subject, normally we should have 'lli *effectivement n'ont repris*' (who effectively didn't come back). Besides, the AA antecedent which is the AA indefinite pronoun 'waħdiːn' as in the second example is omitted before the relative pronouns, which is normal in this case. The AA relative pronoun 'lli' in example [294] is missing and the French subject pronoun is again used as a subject of the relative clause. Actually, the double marking of the subject in French relative clauses by the AA relative pronoun 'lli' and French subject pronouns is reminiscent of a pattern found with AA discourse markers and emphatic pronouns. Nonetheless, while French also makes use of emphatic pronouns, it doesn't account for the double marking of the subject in relative clauses, a tendency that seems to influence even French relative clauses when they are introduced by French relative pronouns as the following example shows:

> **[295]** ki taɛłiːhɔm *un sujet qu'il est un peu compliqué* … (R10)
> When you give them *an exam which (it) is a bit complicated*

'When you give them an exam which is a bit complicated…'

In the above-cited example, we have the French relative pronoun '*qui*' (who) followed by the subject pronoun '*ils*' (they), both of which serve as a subject to the relative clause, which is grammatically incorrect. Normally, we would have '*un sujet <u>qui est</u> un peu compliqué*' (an exam which is a bit complicated).

We will talked about embedded French relative clauses when we analyse noun complements so we are not going to tackle them here just we want to emphasize the fact that most embedded French relative clauses (22 tokens) in this corpus are introduced by the French relative pronoun '*qui*' that replaces the subject in the relative clauses. Thus, despite the variety of French relative pronouns there is no diversity in the inserted French relative clauses. This is partly due to the difference between AA relative pronouns and their French counter-parts.

Unlike French relative pronouns which are quite diverse, AA makes use mainly of the relative pronoun '`lli`'[214] that refers to subject or object, person or thing and to lesser extent of the pronoun {`wi:n`} (where). When the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause, the latter is replaced by the relative pronoun; however, when the head-noun is an object or a prepositional complement in the relative clause, a resumptive pronoun is used in addition to the relative pronoun in the relative clause i.e. there is the double marking of the antecedent in the relative clause.

Consider the following examples that illustrate the insertion of AA relative clauses after French nouns in French matrices. The relative pronoun in example [296] is the subject of the AA embedded relative clause that refers to the French NP 'les gens' (the people), yet the French subject pronoun '*ils*' is also used in the main clause resulting in double marking of the subject. In example [297], the AA relative pronoun refers to the object and it is used in addition to the object pronoun that is cliticized to the verb. The relative pronoun in example [298], on the other hand, refers to the complement of the preposition '`fi`' to which is attached the clitic pronoun '-`hɔm`' as follow:

> **[296]** `bassaħ` *les gens* <u>`lli ɾahɔm fe l-pouvoir`</u> *ils ne méritent pas*.
> But *the people* that be-3PLSubj in DEF-*power, they don't deserve(R1)*
> 'But the people who are in power don't deserve (sacrifice).'

---

[214] According to Cohen (1975), the morpheme {`lli`} works in several ways: its distributional properties allow it to function as a relative pronoun and also to fulfill the role of a subordinating conjunction.

[297] ħna binɑːtna *on la remercie beaucoup pour les efforts* <u>lli dɑːɾet-hɔm</u>. (R12)

We between ourselves *we her thank very much for the efforts* **that** did-3SGSubj-**them**

'We thank her very much for all the efforts that she did.'

[298] *Les conditions* <u>lli qɾiːna fiː-hɔm</u> *vous pouvez jamais imaginer*. (R9)

The conditions which we studied in-**them** *you can never imagine* (R2)

'The conditions under which we studied you can never imagine.'

Here we have some observations concerning the above-mentioned examples. The French verb '*mériter*' like the English 'deserve' is a transitive verb, yet in example [296] it is used without a complement as if it is the AA verb 'jəstaːhəl'; another Remarque is the double marking of the subject '*les gens*' and '*ils*'. In example [297], the relative clause is not necessary and it can be replaced with a possessive adjective as '*on la remercie beaucoup pour ses efforts*' (we thank her very much for her efforts). The form and the order of the relative clause and the main clause in example [298] is not grammatically correct because the main clause is placed far away from the relative pronoun. Normally, the correct order should be '*on avait étudié dans des conditions que vous pouvez jamais imaginer*' (we have studied under conditions that you can never imagine) or more appropriately '*vous pouvez jamais imaginer les condition dans lesquelles on avait étudié*' (you can never imagine the conditions under which we studied). These examples illustrate that CS does not fully submit to the ML rules of the clauses rather to the dominant language which is AA in the case of our informants.

When French is the ML we count 50 instances of embedded AA relative clauses that modify French nouns and only four embedded AA nouns with their relative clauses. Twenty clauses of them are themselves matrices to embedded French elements and smaller constituents. Examples [299] and [300] below include AA nouns with their relative clauses and in examples [301] and [302] AA relative clauses modify French nouns:

[299] *Tu te rappelles* <u>nhɑːɾ lli ʃad-na</u>. (R10)

Do you remember the day that he caught-us

'Do you remember the day when he stopped us to talk to us.'

[300] *Normalement ça se fait appart* <u>lʒamiːɛɑːt lkbɑːɾ lli fiːhɔm</u> ***les grands labos***, *les enseignants ils n'ont pas accepté*. (R7)

Normally, it is done except for the universities the big that in-them the big laboratories, the teachers they didn't accept

Normally, it is done everywhere except for the big universities that possess big research laboratories, the teachers haven't accepted.'

[301] *Ce qui fait, il fait appel aux <u>notions précédents</u>* lli qɑɾɑ:-hɔm fe *la théorie* tɑɛ *1ère et 2ème année*. (R4)

That means, he calls notions precedent that studied-3SGSubj-them in the theory of 1st and 2nd year

'That means that he recalls precedent notions that he studied in the theory of the 1st and 2nd year.'

[302] l-*problème* lli sɾa *c'est* <u>*l'enseignant*</u> lli qɑɾɑ:hɔm, *spécialité* tɑɛah *c'était* **Af-civ.** (R6)

DEF-problem that happened it is the teacher that taught-them, specialty of him it was Af-civ

'The problem is that the specialty of the teacher who taught them was Af-civ.'

Unlike French relative pronouns which cannot be omitted, the AA relative pronoun 'lli' is sometimes omitted as illustrated below:

[303] *Il y a des fiches* ()tɛamɾu:hɔm. (R9)

There are forms IMPERF-fill-2PLSubj-them in

'There forms (that) you have to fill them in.'

[304] *Y a même des expressions* () jʒibu:hɔm mə **les films**, mə **les séries**.

There are even expressions IMPERF-bring-3PLSubj-them from the films, from the series. (R10)

'There are even expressions (which) they bring from films and series.'

Another important observation concerning the relative clauses is the recurrence of the French *c'est*-cleft[215], a marked word order construction that can be considered as the formal equivalent of the English *it*-cleft. We have already defined cleft sentences when we mentioned Muysken's (2000) taxonomy in the second chapter. Here we are going to refer to

---

[215] The 'cleft' construction or '*la phrase clivée*', a term coined by Jespersen (1937), is a sentence construction consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause that expresses a proposition which could otherwise be conveyed in one single clause. The French *c'est*-clause is one particular type of cleft. It consists of a matrix clause containing '*c'est*' and an argument, followed by a relative clause which always begins with either *qui* or *que*. (Katz, 2000)

the French *c'est*-cleft which is considered more frequent than the English *it*-cleft being wide-spread both in spoken language and writing. It is, indeed, considered to be a more essential construction than the English *it*-clause[216] (Katz: 2000). The following two examples include two French *c'est*-cleft sentences:

> **[305]** ***Alors***, bɑːʃ ndiɾuːlhɔm gɑːɛ *ça veut dire <u>c'est du bagage que je veux me débarrasser</u>*. (R9)
> 'So, to make all the students do the exams together it means it is a luggage that I want to get rid of.'

> **[306]** Parce que ʃetti la douleur tɑɛ wlɑːdek, *<u>ça sera une douleur que tu ne peux pas apaiser</u>*. (R1)
> 'Because you saw the pain of your kids, it will be a pain that you cannot soothe.'

Recourse to the bi-clausal 'cleft' sentence provides the speaker with a number of options for rearranging structurally simpler sentence in order to emphasize a particular argument in a proposition and making it informative. *C'est*-cleft is obligatory in the case of subjects that are being put into focus. In the corpus of the present study, switching occurs between the French main *c'est*-clause and an AA relative clause. So, in addition to *clefting*, *switching* is an extra pragmatic devise used to emphasize this dimension of putting focus on the *clefted* element which is *the subject* most of the time and makes the proposition informative[217].

Twenty (20) out of the 53 embedded AA relative clauses into French structures are inserted as subordinate clauses of the main French *c'est*-cleft clauses. The following instances illustrate this type of insertion- the original simple sentence is written as well:

> **[307]** ***C'est une histoire*** lli waṣlət. (R10)
> It is a story that PERF-spread-3SGFSubj
> 'It is a story that spread.' Or, 'This story spread'

---

[216] Katz (2000) found that unlike the English *it*-cleft which sometimes sound rather formal used as a literary device or found in elevated speech for stylistic reasons rather than for pragmatic ones, the French *c'est*-cleft is used much more frequently in the spoken language than the *it*-cleft and its used is based entirely on pragmatics.

[217] In a study done on the clefts found in several corpora of spoken French, Katz (2000) found two main types of *c'est*-cleft ; the *Variable Fulfillment* that - accounted for 76% of the *c'est*-clefts. In this case whatever follows *c'est* is the variable that fulfills the assertion; it is the element that, in conjunction of what is already known (whatever is contained in the relative clause), makes the proposition informative. The Corrective *c'est*-cleft, on the other hand was found in only 9% of *c'est*-clefts in her study. Its purpose is to correct a faulty assertion contained in the preceding discourse i.e. whatever is found following *c'est* is the correction.

[308] *C'est des étudiants* lli bɑːɣjiːn jwaɾɾɔ belli hɔma jaħħakmɔ. (R12)

These are students that want-3PLSubj IMPERF-show-3PLSubj that they IMPERF-control-3PLSubj

'These are students who want to show that they are in control.'

Or, 'these students want to show that they are in control.'

[309] *C'est toute une nation* (#) ɾɑːha fe *les défauts*. (R9)

It is an entire nation (#) be-3SGSubj in the defaults

'It is an entire nation that is in defaults.' Or 'an entire nation is in defaults'

[310] *C'est des gens, premièrement les gens* lli maɛandhɔmʃ *aucune connaissance* fe *les programmes*. (R5)

These are people, firstly, the people who don't have any knowledge in the programmes

'Firstly, these are people who don't have any knowledge about syllabi.'

'Firstly, these people don't have any knowledge about syllabi.'

[311] *C'est un contexte* wiːn jχallas bɑːʃ jaqɾa, (R9)

It is a context where IMPERF-pay-3SGSubj to IMPERF-study-3SGSubj

'It is a context where students should pay to study.'

Or 'students should pay to learn.'

[312] *C'est votre supérieur hiérarchique* ɛɫɑːk *une instruction*. (R8)

'This is your hierarchical superior (that) gave an instruction.'

As it is the case with the other switched categories, AA as a superposed language in the AA/French code-switching brings a different touch to the sentence constructions. The following sentences include the French *c'est*-cleft, but unlike in French where they begin the sentence, they are placed in end-position:

[313] w lli lɛab lɔtfi *c'est un étudiant* temɑːk. (R1)

'And who played the role of Lotfi it is a student there.'

'A student there played the role of Lotfi.'

[314] lli dɑːɾ hada *c'est un maitre-assistant*. (R1)

Who did this it is an assistant-lecturer

'An assistant-lecturer did this.'

[315] l-*budget* lli jmadɔhəlhɔm lħiːħ *c'est colossal*. (R4)

DEF-budget which they give them there it is colossal

'The budget which they give them there is colossal.'

Or 'They give them a colossal budget there.'

AA relative clauses (51 tokens) that modify embedded French nouns outnumber the insertion of French nouns with their relative clauses (27 instances). AA relative clauses are generally introduced by the relative pronoun {lli} (that) as in the following examples:

[316] ki taqɾi *la lettre* <u>lli</u> ktabha lə-mmah. (R1)

When IMPERF-read-2SGSubj the letter that PERF-write-3SGSubj-it to-mother-him

'When you read the letter which he wrote to his mother…'

[317] ɛaɾfɔ *les failles* <u>lli</u> kajniːn. (R2)

PERF-know-3PLSubj the loopholes that PERF-exist-3PL

'They know about the loopholes that exist?'

[318] ana ddiːt *un personnel* <u>lli</u> jɛɑːwənni. (R12)

I PERF-take-1SGSubj a staff that IMPERF-help-3PL-me

'I chose the staff that will help me do my job.'

[319] *La solidarité* <u>lli</u> binɑːtna hija <u>lli</u> tħabbas hadu nnɑːs. (R12)

The solidarity that between-us it which stop these people

'The solidarity between us will stop these people.'

So, as you have seen, the modification of French nouns by AA relative clauses (104 instances) when AA is the ML (51 tokens) or when French is the ML (54 tokens) outnumber their modification by French relative clauses (27 tokens) embedded into AA matrices. AA as a ML and as an EL imposes its requirements when AA relative pronouns introduce French relative clauses. Besides AA relative clauses that modify French nouns are themselves matrices for the insertion of smaller French elements (27 out of 104) i.e., insertion within insertion or layered embedding.

3.4.2   Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are dependent clauses that describe the condition under which something may or may not happen and they are introduced by subordinating conjunction of condition. Thus, in mixed sentences the conditional clause is considered as an embedded island in a matrix structure projected by the main clause. In the AA/French code-switching corpus of the present study, switching between a conditional clause and a main clause is quite frequent and constitutes 62 instances; 46 tokens of them are AA conditional clauses

introduced by the AA subordinators of condition: {*ki* (23), *miːn* (6), *ila*[218] (10), *kɔn/ lɔkɑːn* (7)}, and 16 instances are French conditional clauses introduced by the French subordinate conjunction of condition {*Quand* (6) -when, *Si* (10) –if}. Consider the following examples that illustrate switching between AA conditional clauses and French main clause:

[320] χadmɔ niʃɑːn, *tu déprimes pas*. (R4)
'Work honestly, you won't depress.'

[321] ila kaɾtuʃa taɛak qashɑːlek, *vous passez à autre chose*. (8)
If your bullet he threw it, you pass to another thing
'If he throws your bullet, you pass to another thing.'

[322] *Alors* la bdɑːt b-sabɛa w ɾɑːha *ça marche pas*, *Alors* mambaɛd b-ɛaʃɾiːn *ça va être le désastre*. (R8)
'So, if it started with seven and it isn't working, so, after with twenty i twill be a disaster.'

[323] lɔkɑːn matleɛɛabhɔmʃ nta *tu seras pénalisé*. (R2)
'If you don't train them, you will be punished.'

[324] *Ça sera super* kɔn ndiːɾɔ *des conventions avec des universités européennes pour passer automatiquement*. (R7)
'That would be great if we do conventions with European universities to pass automatically.'

In example [320], the condition is expressed without a subordinating conjunction in a form of imperative. In examples [322] and [324], the conditional clauses are framed by AA inflections into which French constituents are embedded. In addition to the AA subordinators *-ila*, *kɔn/ lɔkɑːn* that means 'if', there are the conjunctions *-ki*, *miːn* that means 'when'. The AA clauses below are introduced by *-ki*, *miːn* :

[325] ana *ma belle-sœur* miːn nɔgɛɔd nʃuːf fiːha, *elle me fait de la peine*. (R1)
I my sister-in-law when i look at her, she makes me feel sad
'When I look at my sister-in-law I feel sad.'

---

[218] The subordinating conjunction of condition '*ila*' is sometimes pronounced '*la*'

[326] mi:n twalli **en arrière** *tu te sens tu veux pas causer du mal aux gens*. (R4)

'When you go back in time, you feel that you don't want to harm people.'

[327] sbɑ:ħ ki deʁt **la remarque** *est-ce que j'ai dépassé les normes ?* (R9)

'In the morning, when I gave the remark did I exceed the standards?'

[328] kit ku:n ɛandek ħɑ:ʒa **des empêchements,** *il faut m'avertir.* (R11)

When you have something or impediments you have to inform me.'

[329] ki nqaʁʁi waħad **un futur enseignant** wella nqaʁʁi waħad **pour communiquer**, *les exigences ne sont pas les mêmes*. (R5)

When I teach one a future teacher or I teach one to communicate, the requirements are not the same

'When I teach someone who's going to become a future teacher or I teach someone to communicate, the requirements are not the same.'

[330] ki ʁɑ:hɔm jʁuħɔ lə-***les colloques internationales***[219], *ils communiquent en anglais*. (R5)

'When they go to international colloquia, they communicate in English.'

All the AA conditional clauses in the above-cited examples are themselves matrix structures that include inserted French constituents. Actually, 37 out of 62 of the AA conditional clauses are clauses that are framed by AA and matrices to inserted French constituents. French conditional clauses are also attested in the corpus of the present study as shown by the following illustrations –the subordinating clauses of condition are underlined:

[331] *Quand je vois les notes* taɛ *l'écrit*, makkɑ:ʃ wa:ħed dda taħt **la moyenne** fɘ **l'écrit à l'exception d'une personne**. (R10)

'When I see the marks of writing, no one took under the average in writing except one person.'

[332] *Quand on a des intérêts en commun*, naχχadmɔ **ensemble**. (12)

'When we have same interests, we work together.'

[333] *Si c'est un hors sujet,* manahdaʁʃ. (R10)

'If is it out of subject, I won't comment.'

---

[219] The French adjective 'international' becomes 'internationaux' in the plural form.

[334] neddi *les heures sup* w naktab *rapport si on parle de principe*. (R8)

'I'll take the extra hours and write a report if we talk about principle.'

[335] *Si je reviens en arrière* manziːdʃ nħoɫ kɾɑːɛi. (R4)

If I went back in time I wouldn't put my leg

'If I went back in time I wouldn't accept to work there.'

There are conditional sentences that include alternation between three clauses and even four clauses. Example [336] includes four clauses: two conditional clauses, one AA introduced by 'ki' and the other French introduced by '*si*'. We have also AA main clause followed by a French complement clause. Example [337] contains two AA conditional clauses which are not overtly marked and a French shared clause. Example [338] consists of two AA clauses, one conditional and the other a complement clause and a French main clause as follow:

[336] *La 1ᵉʳᵉ fois* ki ʃɔft *le canevas*, *si tu te rappelles*, gotlək *il prépare pas un enseignant de secondaire*. (R6)

'The 1st time when i saw the canvas, if you remember, I told you (that) it doesn't prepare a secondary school teacher.'

[337] *En tant qu'administrateur* ɛandek *des obligations, tu les fais* ***même*** jkun kɑːjen taħaffɔd. (R8)

'As an administrator you have obligations, you do them even (if) you have reservation.'

[338] ila ɾɑːhɔm ʔadɾa menna belli hadi *C'est pour le bien de l'école, je respecte*. (R8)

'If you know that this is for the best of the school, I respect.

We have four examples in our corpus that are time clauses; one is an AA relative clause that is introduced by the AA compound relative subordinators 'nhɑːɾ lli' (the day that) that translates into the English relative pronoun 'when'. The second example includes an AA time clause introduced by the AA subordinating conjunction 'ɣi' (as soon as); and the third AA clause is introduced by the AA conjunction 'medɑːm' (while). The fourth time clause, however, is AA that is introduced by the French subordinating conjunction '*tant que*' (as long as), as illustrated below:

[339] ɣi tassamɛi *une information* ça y est tu branches. (R4)

'As soon as you here a piece of information that's it you become interested.'

[340] <u>nhɑːɾ lli jkun ɛanna</u> ***assez d'enseignants permanents***

<u>wɑːħed</u> *il peut gérer la section*. (R8)

The day that we'll have enough teachers one he can manage the section

'The day we'll have enough teachers one can manage the section.'

[341] *Il faut prendre une décision* <u>medɑːm ɾɑːna hna</u>. (R9)

'We have to take a decision while we are here.'

[342] ***Tant que*** *les responsables* <u>tawaɛna maɛarfiːnʃ hɑːda wiːn</u>

<u>ɣɑːdi jɾuħ</u>, ***harmonisation*** <u>hɑːdi</u> *c'est trop précoce par rapport aux*

activités. (R4)

As long as our responsible don't know this where is going to go,

harmonization this it is very early compared to these activities

'As long as our responsible don't know this where is going to go, it is very early to talk about harmonization at this stage.'

3.4.3   Subject and Complement Clauses

Unlike relative clauses that modify a preceding noun, there are *wh*-clauses that act as a subject or an object in the sentence. In this corpus we have only one case of an inserted subject clause example [343] and nine (9) cases of left-dislocated subject clauses or clause-external topics i.e. the subject is replaced by a pronoun in the clause. All these clauses are AA-framed clauses that are embedded into French main clauses as illustrated below:

[343] *Et* <u>lli daɾuːha</u> *ne sont pas ((…)) sont les meilleurs étudiants*

<u>lli daɾuːha</u>. (R9)

And who did it are not ((…)) are the best students, who did it

'And who did it are the best student.'

[344] <u>lli majaħadɾuːʃ</u> *ils sont absents*. (R9)

Who don't attend they are absents

'Who don't attend are considered to be absents.'

[345] <u>wɑːħed jkuːn mʃi matɾabbi ø sɛiːb</u>; *C'est difficile*. (R9)

Someone who is not rude ø difficult; it is difficult

'It is difficult to teach someone who is impolite.'

[346] <u>ila ɾɑːki dguli fe</u> ***l'écrit*** <u>gɑːɛ ɣɑːdi n</u>-***insist***-<u>i ɣi ɛla la</u>

grammaire *c'est faux*. (R5)

268

If you are saying in writing I will focus only on grammar, it is wrong
'It is wrong to say that in teaching writing I will focus only on grammar.'

In example [344] the AA relative clause is realized as a left-dislocated subject in a French sentence. In example [345] and [346], the dislocated subjects are long clauses; in English this type of sentences are turned into *it*-clause i.e. '*it*' becomes the subject of the sentence that refers to the subject clause that is placed after the verb. In example [345] the predicate is doubled; we have AA predicate projected by zero copula and a French predicate with the auxiliary '*être*' (to be).

There are three main types of clauses that follow the verb and function as its complement. These are: *that*-clauses acting as the direct object, interrogative clauses that occur as complements to a preceding verb and reporting verbs that are followed by complement clauses.

We have already dealt in details with *that*-like complementizers when we talked about conjunctions and discourse markers. Here, we are going to focus just on the embedded *that*-clauses that function as direct objects to previous verbs. There are thirteen (13) instances of French subordinating IPs that are introduced by the AA complementizer '`belli`', yet we have only five (5) tokens of AA clauses that are inserted after French main clauses and the AA complementizer '`belli`'as illustrated below:

[347] ***Maintenant,*** kifɑːʃ nwassal lə-lʒmɑːɛa `belli` ***il y a eu un manque de considération***. (R8)
'Now, how i am going to tell them <u>that</u> there was a lack of consideration.'

[348] bɑːʃ nbajnuːlhɔm `belli` d-***département d'anglais est un département civilisé***. (R12)
'…to show them that the department of English is a civilized department.'

[349] *J'ai commencé à découvrir* `belli` mʃi mɛɑːhɔm. (R4)
'I started to discover that he is not with them.'

[350] *Il faut savoir* `belli` l-ɛɑːm lʒɑːj maɣadiːʃ nabdɔ fi septembre. (R9)
'You have to know that next year we are not going to start in September.'

[351] *On est sure* `belli` mʃi ***ministériel***. (R8)
'We are sure that it is not ministerial.'

269

Examples [347] and [348] include French IPs that are embedded after the AA subordinator 'belli' and examples [349], [350] and [351] include the insertion of AA CPs. There is no single French clause that is embedded with French that-like complementizer 'que'; the latter actually precedes three AA clauses. Embedded AA clauses with the AA complementizer are also limited (5 tokens) as the above-cited examples [349], [350] and [351] illustrate.

Some French verbs namely '*je pense*' (I think) often trigger the insertion of AA declarative complement clauses. These clauses are normally marked by the complementizer 'that' which is not realized before any of the embedded clauses i.e. neither the French subordinating conjunction '*que*' nor the AA that-like complementizer 'belli' follow the French verbs. Eight out of the twelve French verbs that are followed by AA clauses involve the verb phrase '*je pense*' as follow:

> **[352]** ana, *je pense* εla bɑ:lha. (R8)
> I, I think she knows
> 'I think (that) she knows.'

> **[353]** *Je pense* fiha **2ème** wella **3ème séance. (**R5)
> I think in-it 2nd or 3rd session
> 'I think there will be 2nd or 3rd session.'

> **[354]** *Je crois **deux** wella **trois** ʒɑ:jji:n l-**Alger**. (R7)
> 'I think two or three are coming to Algiers.'

> **[355]** ana *je propose* lli jkun **spécialisé** fi **module**, jaktab **les objectifs** tawεah, (R5)
> 'I propose that who is specialized in a module to write his objectives.'

The other subordinating clauses that occur as complements of the verb are for the most parts interrogative forms. In the corpus of the present study we have seven instances of AA embedded questions after French main verbs. In examples [356] - [360] the AA interrogative clauses are introduced by AA question words while in example [361] it is preceded by a French question word as follow:

> **[356]** *Mais pour vous montrer* wi:n wsalna. (R10)
> 'But to show you where we have arrived?'

> **[357]** *Il va exposer* ʃa ʃɑ:f fe **le stage** tɑ:εəh, (R4)

'He is going to expose what he saw during his training.'

[358] *J'ai perdu* kifɑːʃ nqaɾɾiːhɔm *writing*. (R2)

'I forgot how to teach them writing.'

[359] *Moi, ce qui m'étonne* kifɑːʃ wɑːħed jʒiːb l-bac ɾbałaɛʃ w χmesłaɛʃ qaliːlɔ l-ʔiħtiɾɑːm. (R9)

'I, What surprises me how comes that someone passed his baccalaureate with fourteen and fifteen and he's disrespectful.

[360] Il faut voir <u>les enseignants</u> ʃa ɾɑːhɔm bɑːɣjiːn fe *les fiches de vœux* tawaɛhɔm. (R12)

'You have to see teachers what they want in their wish lists.'

[361] *Je sais pas **combien*** jaɛłuːkɔm ***d'établissements***. (R9)

'I don't know how many institutions they will give them.'

French embedded complement clauses after AA verbs are quite numerous in our corpus and they include verbs such as 'jaɛɾef' (to know), 'jʃuf' (to see) among others. The following examples include inserted French interrogative clause:

[362] ***Après trois jours*** tfakkart <u>gɑːɛ *qu'est-ce que j'ai enduré*</u> bɑːʃ dχalt. (R4)

'After three days I remembered all what i had gone through to move here.'

[363] maniːʃɛɑːɾfa <u>*si on garde le même intitulé*</u>. (R5)

'I don't know if we keep the same title.'

[364] bɑːʃ nɛalmuːh <u>*comment analyser les propriétés physiques d'un son*</u>.

'To teach him how to analyse the physical properties of a sound'(R5)

[365] bdiːt nfahhamhɔm <u>*de quoi il s'agit la linguistique appliquée*</u>. (R5)

'I started to explain to them what applied linguistics is about.'

[366] liːqalna nahadɾɔ ɛlɑːʃ <u>*on a décidé la semaine d'après les vacances*</u>. (R6)

We have to talk why we have decided the week after holidays
'We have to explain why we have decided that exams are going to be the week after holidays.'

[367] kɑːn jʃuf <u>kifɑːʃ</u> *le directeur se comporte avec moi*. (R4)

'He saw how the director was behaving with me.'

There are 20 tokens of French embedded interrogative clauses into AA structures as shown in the above-cited examples, yet two of them are introduced by AA question words as exemplified by illustrations [366] and [367] above. There is one example in which an AA question word 'kifɑːʃ' is followed by its French equivalent '*comment*' (double marking) as follow:

[368] fahmuːk <u>kifɑːʃ</u> *comment ça se passe* ? (R2)

Did they explain to you how how it happens

'Did they explain to you how it happens?'

There are other two examples that include embedded complement clauses. One is an inserted French direct object example [369]; the second is an AA left-dislocated object that is replaced by the French pronoun 'le' (it) in the main clause -example [370], and the third is a French prepositional complement clause that is projected by an AA preposition -example [371] as follow:

[369] maħabbiːtʃ nɔdχɔl *tout ce qui est pédagogique*. (R5)

'I didn't want to go into all what is pedagogical.'

[370] <u>hadɑːk</u> *le* ((…)) lli rɛsluhelna *on peut pas l'appliquer* ((…)) ɛla *toutes les promotions*, ɛla *toutes les écoles*. (R9)

'That the ((…)) which they send it to us we cannot apply **it** ((…)) on all cohorts, on all colleges.'
'The instruction that they send it to us we cannot apply it on all cohorts and colleges.'

[371] *Parce que* hna manχammuʃ <u>fi</u> *il est bon en orale, en écrit* …(R7)

'Because we don't think about he is good in oral, in writing…'

We have also an embedded AA clause as a predicate to the French auxiliary '*être*' (to be) and a French complement clause of an AA noun as exemplified below:

[372] *Parce que* l-*problème* **c'est que** <u>taɛarfi tekketbi bassaħ</u> <u>mataɛarfiːʃ</u> *la raison*. (R2)

'Because the problem is that you know what to write but you don't know the reason.'

[373] hada, gɑːlli, l-ɛajn taɛ *on a été félicité au ministère*. (R12)

272

This, he told me, is the evil eye of the fact that we have been felicitated by the ministry.

A much more frequently occurring type of embedded complements is found in so-called reported speech. In reported speech, a French sequence, often a full sentence or more, is the complement of the AA verb 'gɑ:l' (to say). The latter is a well-known stylistic function of code-switching that is used in narratives to distinguish between the main text and dialogues of the interlocutors. This is also a recurrent feature in the AA/French code-switching corpus of the present study. Though the study of code-switching for reported speech is better handled in terms of discourse analysis and text grammar, we will just give some examples of the reported speech that is scattered everywhere in our corpus. We count at least 38 occurrences of the Algerian Arabic verb 'gɑ:l' preceding French speech sequences. Consider the following examples:

> **[374]** nta dgu:l *je veux sacrifier pour mon pays* bassaħ **les gens** lli ɾahɔm fe l-**pouvoir** ils ne méritent pas. (R1)
> 'You say i want to sacrifice for my country but the people in power don't deserve it.'

> **[375]** *Alors c'est pour ça* lli gɔtlek *il faut entendre pareil des deux côtés w chaque histoire a plusieurs faces*. (R9)
> *'So it's for this* that i told you: *'you have to listen to both sides and each story has many faces*.'

> **[376]** w ngɔlu:lha *voilà votre programme, voilà votre cursus et voilà les coefficients* tawaɛkɔm. (R10)
> And I'll tell her: 'this is your programme, this is you curriculum and these are your coefficients.'

Apart from embedded French direct object complements in reported speech that constitute 38 tokens, we have 29 instances of AA complement clauses switched after French main verb and 38 tokens of French verb complement clauses following AA main clauses.

3.4.4   Subordinating Clauses of Contrast, Reason and Result

Embedded clauses of *Contrast* are introduced either by the AA subordinating conjunction of contrast 'bassaħ' or the French '*mais*' (but). The AA subordinator 'bassaħ' precedes five (5) French clauses and five AA (5) clauses. The French conjunction

'*mais*'; on the other hand, is followed by four (4) French clauses and two (2) AA clauses. The following examples illustrate this –the conjunction is underlined alone if it is from a different language from that of the following clause; if conjunction is from the same language as the following clause it is underlined with that clause:

> **[377]** *Les garçons <u>malgré que</u> le niveau* taɛhɔm øʃwijja <u>bassaħ</u> *ils sont disciplinés*. (R9)
> The boys despite that their level is not that good but they are discipline
> 'The boys' level is not that good but they are disciplined.'

> **[378]** mangoluʃ ɾɑːhɔm ***contre*** <u>bassaħ</u> *ils veulent bien avoir une explication*. (R8)
> 'We don't say they are against but they would like to have an explanation.'

> **[379]** *La prononciation est correcte* <u>bassaħ ki jʒɔ fe **writing** maɛandi ma ngɔllak</u>. (R5)
> 'The pronunciation is correct but when it comes to writing i have nothing to say.'

> **[380]** *Est-ce que vous êtes d'accord* (#) kɑːjen lli maqɾɑːʃ ***la phonétique <u>mais</u> <u>il a une bonne prononciation</u>***. (R5)
> 'Do you agree (that) there are students who didn't study phonetics <u>but</u> they have a good pronunciation.'

> **[381]** *Elle fait tout le travail **<u>mais</u> les signatures, la décision*** ɛand waħdɑːχɔɾ. (R12)
> 'She does all the work but the signatures; the decision belongs to another person.'

Contrast or concession in example [377] above is marked twice by the French conjunction '*malgré que*' (despite that) and the AA 'bassaħ' (but) while only one of those conjunction should be used.

There are four (4) instances of subordination clauses of *Reason* that are introduced by AA subordinators 'ɛla χɑːɫəɾ' (because) and 'madɑːm' (since), three of them are AA CPs and one is a French IP. We have seven tokens (7) of French CPs introduced by the French conjunction '*parce que*' (because) and one example introduced by the conjunction '*comme*' (as, since). Look at the following instances:

> **[382]** *On compare pas les notes* hagda <u>madɑːm maɛannɑːʃ **les mêmes critères d'évaluation**</u>. (R10)

'We don't compare marks like this since we don't have the same criteria of evaluation.'

[383] ᴍᴀᴍʙᴀɛᴅ *on a reporté* ɛla χɑːɫəɾ *les enfants* jkunɔ daχlɔ. (R4)

After, we have postponed because children will have already started school

[384] ʒɑːw ɛla χɑːɫeɾ *le ministère leur a proposé des postes.* (R9)

'They came because the ministry has proposed for them positions.'

[385] *Comme j'étais enceinte* wiːn-ma kɔnt nɾuːħ jguːlli lla maɛliːʃ. (R1)

'As i was pregnant whenever i went he kept telling me it's ok don't worry.'

[386] mabɣɑːwʃ l-module *parce que c'est difficile*. (R6)

'They didn't want the module because it is difficult.'

[387] ana jɣiduːni had n-nɑːs *parce qu'ils sont excellents*. (R10)

'I feel pity for these people because they are excellent.'

Subordinating clauses expressing *Result* or *Purpose* are either AA clauses that are embedded with their AA subordinating conjunction 'bɑːʃ' (so that) after French main clauses (11 instances); or French clauses introduced by '*pour*' (in order to). The French complementizer '*pour*' requires an infinitive verb complement, however when it is followed by the particle '*que*' as in '*pour que*' (so that) is needs a subjunctive verb complement. There are 19 instances of French embedded verb complements and only two of them are subjunctive, all the remaining complements are infinitive phrases. The verbs in examples [388] and [389] below are followed by subjunctive complements; in examples [390] and [391] by infinitive complements. The infinitive phrase in example [392], nonetheless, is a complement to the AA noun 'qɑːbilija' (viability):

[388] waʒdiːli kɔlʃi *pour que je lise*. (R1)

'Prepare for me everything so that i can read.'

[389] bassaħ *pour que ça soie générale* ø impossible. (R4)

'But to become general it's impossible.'

[390] madabijja natnɑːqaʃ ana w jɑːk *pour voir si c'est la meilleure façon*. (R8)

'I would like to discuss me and you *to see if it is the best way*.'

275

[391] jχallas *pour avoir un diplôme*. (R9)

'He pays to get a degree.'

[392] kɑːjen qɑːbilija *pour développer ça chez eux*. R5

'There is a viability to develop this in them.'

In AA, such 'purposive' clauses are introduced by the subordinator 'bɑːʃ' followed by the subjunctive mood. There are 12 Algerian Arabic clauses in this corpus that are introduced by the conjunction 'bɑːʃ' and follow French main clauses as illustrated below:

[393] *C'est bien pour eux* bɑːʃ jfawtɔ gɑːɛ s-sajf **suspendus**. (R7)

'It's good for them to pass all summer holidays suspended.'

[394] hadiːk *c'est une raison* bɑːʃ naqɾa. (R9)

'That is a reason to study.'

[395] *On a le droit en tant que CP* (bɑːʃ) naɛɛarfɔ ʔasɑːtiða ʃa ɾɑːhɔm ħɑːɫɫiːn. (R9)

'We have the right as a CP to know what the teachers have put on the list.'

[396] *On vous appelle* (bɑːʃ) dʒɔ. (R12)

'We call you to come.'

As illustrated by the above examples AA subjunctive clause of purpose follow French main clauses. These clauses are expressed using infinitive phrases in French and English. The conjunction 'bɑːʃ' in examples [395] and [396] is not overtly marked but it is implied as it is the case of some of the other conjunctions.

3.4.5 Adverbial Clauses

In addition to contrast, reason and result, we have other adverbial clauses; these include: comment clauses, place and manner adverbials. Many French clauses are indeed clauses triggered by the French phrase '*c'est*' (it is/ that is) as follow

[397] temma, *C'est sur place* taɛɛarfi ɾuħak. (R4)

'There, it is on site you know yourself.'

[398] madabija matkuːnʃ hadi taɛ *l'administration* w *les enseignants*, *c'est l'école*. (R11)

'I would like that there won't be such a thing as administration and teachers, it is the school.'

[399] kɔl wɑːħed jdiɾlək ħɑːʒa, *c'est pas évident*. (R4)

'Everyone will do a different thing, it's not evident.'

[400] *C'est-à-dire* ħna *on leur fournit un produit rebelle dans le sens ou* majaqbluːʃ dɔɾuːf l-ɛamel. **(**R2)

'It means we provide them with a rebellious product in the sense that they don't accept work conditions.'

Some embedded clauses are prepositional clauses of comparison as illustrated below:

[401] *Est-ce qu'on garde* kima ɾɑːh *le canevas* ? (R9)

'Do we keep as it is the canvas?'
'Do we keep the canvas as it is?'

[402] ***Donc*** hadɑːk lli ɾɑːh jaħdaɾ fe **les colloques** *il n'est pas supposé de maitriser la langue* kima lli jqaɾɾiːha. (R5)

'So, the person who attends the colloquia is not supposed to master the language as the one who teaches it.'

[403] *Il faut trouver un enseignant* wiːn *le grade* tɑːɛah *il faudrait qu'il soit meilleur* ɛla lli dɑːɾ. (R1)

'You have to find a teacher whose level has to be better than who did the correction.'

These are all the embedded prepositional clauses of comparison and they are AA.

3.4.6   Coordination

Compound sentences are usually combined using coordinating conjunctions. In this corpus switching may occur between an AA clause and a French clause. The coordinating conjunction namely AA 'w' or French 'et' (and), and the AA 'wella' (or) are usually in the same language of the following clause:

[404] lakɑːn tħawsi nɛɑːwdɔ **une autre réunion** *et tu fais partie*. (R8)

'If you want us to repeat another meeting and you take part in it.'

[405] kɔlʃi mʃi niʃɑːn fiː men t-ʔemmen *et tu veux les gens se sacrifier*. (R1)

'Everything is not true whom do you want to believe and you want people to sacrifice.'

[406] *Si le rapport n'est pas pris en compte on continue à signer* w̲e̲l̲l̲a̲ n̲r̲u̲ħ̲ɔ̲ ̲l̲ə̲-ħ̲w̲ɑ̲ː̲j̲e̲ʒ̲ ***d'autres*** ((...)) ? (R8)

'If the report is not taken in consideration we will continue signing up or we will go to other things?'

[407] *Ils ont des amis* w̲ ̲ɛ̲a̲j̲ʃ̲i̲ː̲n̲ ̲t̲e̲m̲m̲a̲ ̲w̲ ̲k̲ɔ̲l̲ʃ̲i̲. (R1)

'They have friends and they live there and so on.'

[408] m̲a̲j̲a̲ɛ̲a̲ɾ̲f̲u̲ː̲ʃ̲ ***français*** χ̲l̲ɑ̲ː̲s̲ w l'anglais ils sont bons. (R12)

'They don't know French at all and English they are good.'

[409] *Et vous aller devenir enseignants* w f̲ɑ̲ː̲q̲i̲d̲ɔ̲ ̲ʃ̲ʃ̲a̲j̲ʔ̲i̲ ̲l̲ɑ̲ː̲ j̲ɔ̲ɛ̲ɫ̲i̲ː̲h̲. R9

'And you are going to become teachers and no one can give what they do not have.'

In all the above-cited examples the coordinating conjunction is in the same language as the following clause except example [408] where the AA coordinator precedes a French clause. We can conclude that switching inside complex and compound sentences is recurrent and varied involving different subordinating constructions . Most of the time the conjunctions of subordination and coordination are in the same language as the following subordinating clauses yet it is not the rule as there are exceptions that have been cited.

3.5 Conclusion

We have examined quantitatively the intermingling of the different varieties at our informants' disposal. The quantitative analysis of the data shows that Algerian Arabic, French and English monolingual utterances were produced by our respondents. French and Algerian Arabic CPs constitute the majority of the monolingual CPs with French slightly over-numbering Algerian Arabic ones. English CPs are very limited and there are no instances of Standard Arabic monolingual utterances. The analysis also reveals an asymmetry in the roles of Algerian Arabic and French in mixed constructions. Algerian Arabic is found to play predominantly the role of the Matrix Language and French is found to be more restrictive and mostly play the role of the Embedded Language. In addition to French other languages are found to be embedded namely English and Standard Arabic.

The functional interpretation of the corpus reveals that the passages containing two languages or more are divided into two types of generic motivations: motivations that we could qualify as discursive, strictly related to discourse, and supra-discursive motivations, which relate to aspects that are difficult to identify solely from the discourse. Though, switching between Algerian Arabic and French can be attributed to it majority to Myer-Scotton's unmarked code-switching, there is a number of conversational functions fulfilled by code-switching as a communication strategy that emerge from purely contextual reasons such as reiteration of a message, quotation, repetition, reformulation or metalinguistic commentary that serve conversational tasks such as emphasis, highlighting, structuring the conversation, and creating contrast among others. The sociolinguistic description of the data also shows that the recourse to a linguistic variety by our informants (de)encodes cultural and psychological parameters inherent in the use of language in the social sphere. On many occasions, switching has been a conscious action whose value is symbolic, or better metaphorical, to use the term of Gumperz (1989a) such as signaling formality and assuring a sort of distance and seriousness, reflecting objectivity or subjectivity. Thus switching of our respondents is a continuous reconstruction of identities and meanings that involve different languages namely AA, French, English and Standard Arabic.

Switching between Algerian Arabic main clauses and French subordinating clauses and vice versa which is part of discourse grammar and function is quite numerous in our corpus. Although it is argued in the literature that this type of switching does not belong to the structural properties of either language and that it is independent from ML clause syntax, we have noticed that French subordinating clauses reflects some structural features of Algerian Arabic. Even at this level Algerian Arabic structural dominance can be depicted.

4   The Structural Analysis of the AA/French Code-Switching

4.1   Introduction

After having defined the theoretical and methodological framework from which we will proceed to the study of code switching within the syntactic constructions, we will in this chapter try to study the phenomenon of Algerian Arabic/ French code-switching that we noted among our informants. Our analysis of Algerian Arabic/ French code-switching aims to provide an account of the language data within the insertional framework of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model.

The morphological and syntactic description of the data will be divided into three sections. First section will focus on analysing the insertion of French single morphemes and constituents in Algerian Arabic; second section concerns Algerian Arabic insertions in French. Instead of being the Matrix Language, AA may also be the Embedded Language. In this chapter, we will devote a section to the study of different structures generated from AA/French intra-sentential CS when French sets the grammatical frames into which AA morphemes and constituents are inserted. Third section describes the alternation of codes that take place between the major constituents of the simple sentence and those of the complex sentence, which we have previously designated by extra-sentential alternation switching between finite clauses and certain discourse markers namely Algerian Arabic emphatic pronouns. Analysing this type of switching which takes place above the finite clause level is considered as a challenge to the status of the CP, which is considered by Myers-Scotton a relevant unit for morpho-syntactic analysis.

General morpho-syntactic properties of Algerian Arabic and French will be provided whenever necessary in order to understand code-switching patterns. Indeed, the grammatical description is a prerequisite since the identification of the ML in bilingual CPs entails an explicit knowledge of the morphosyntactic convergences and divergences characterizing the languages involved in code-switching.

Intra-sentential code-switching generates various types of constituents. The MLF model has divided these constituents into three categories: mixed constituents, internal EL islands, and EL islands. In this corpus all the three types of constituents are present and frequent when Algerian Arabic is the Matrix Language. Section 4.2 will be divided into major categories these are: insertion of nouns and nominal constituents, adjectives and adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbs and adverb phrases, verb stems and auxiliaries and

inflectional construction. In each type of constituent, we will analyse the insertion of single morphemes, internal EL islands, the insertion of the entire constituents and ML-turnover i.e. internal EL islands that are embedded in the same AA constructions but that occur into French CPs. The larger part of French insertion into AA matrices will be concerned with noun phrases and particularly definite NPs, the most occurring category of embedded material. Thus, section 4.2.1 will deal with the grammatical categories of gender, number and definiteness and the modification of nouns by means of possessive, demonstratives and quantifiers. Section 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 analyse the extended NPs that are modified by adjectives, phrases and clauses.

4.2   French insertions in Algerian Arabic structures

4.2.1   Insertion of Nouns and Nominal Constituents

4.2.1.1   Pronouns

Free form pronouns are full NPs in some languages. Because of their distributional properties, pronouns are considered nominal constituents. Thus EL pronouns may be considered as either embedded content or system morphemes (ultimate constituents) or as embedded NPs. Nevertheless, pronouns may create potential problems concerning the interpretation of system morpheme principle due to their variable status[220] and different classification in terms of lexical or syntactic elements. Jake (1994) distinguishes four types of pronouns:

- *Dummy pronouns*: are system morphemes and precisely bridge system morphemes as mentioned in chapter 2 when we dealt with bridge system morphemes. Example () is reproduced here includes the French dummy pronoun '*il*':

> **[410]** *Il se peut* ɣadwa ntijja tkuni *responsable*. (R8)
>   *It may* tomorrow you IMPERF-be-2Subj *responsible*.
>   'May be tomorrow you will be the responsible.'

- *Discourse-emphatic pronouns*: are content morphemes. In the corpus of the present study the insertion of AA Topic pronouns is very recurrent (120 tokens). The insertion of French topic pronouns is limited to only two instances. Discourse emphatic pronouns will be analyzed in details in chapter four when we deal with discourse grammar.

---

[220] Other categories that can be classified as content or any type of system morphemes involve: prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions.

▪ *Personal pronouns*: may be content or system morphemes. AA and French personal pronouns are clitic pronouns and they are system morphemes. There is not a single instance of embedded personal pronouns in this corpus from both languages. Nonetheless, the following example is confusing as it involves the insertion of the AA strong pronoun 'ana' (me) in a slot specified for French subject pronoun 'je' (I). Despite the fact that the embedded AA pronoun is not a subject pronoun, the fact that it is treated as the French subject pronoun 'je' (I) in the utterance below needs explanation.

> **[411]** *Le conflit* taɛ *Mme FK c'est que* <u>ana</u> *lui a pas répondu au Viber à une heure du matin*. R12 Subj
> 'The conflict of Mrs FK it is that **I** didn't answer him on Viber at one a.m.'

▪ *Indefinite pronouns*: may be content or system morphemes. AA and French indefinite pronouns are free form pronouns and they are quite commonly embedded in both AA and French structures. According to Muysken (2000: 177) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009: 349) even when pronouns are content morphemes, the switching of pronouns is relatively rare.

This is in accordance with the insertion of French pronouns into AA structures in the corpus of the present study which is limited to only four instances of embedded French indefinite pronouns into AA clauses as illustrated below:

> **[412]** gɔttelhɔm balɑ:k *quelqu'un* plus sévère que moi. R11
> I told them maybe someone more severe than me.
>
> **[413]** nʃufɔ *quelqu'un d'autre*. R7
> We will look for someone else
>
> **[414]** maqɾɑ:wʃɛand *n'importe qui*. R6
> They didn't study with anybody.
>
> **[415]** hɔma dʒi:hɔm *quelque chose* de scientifique et tous.R5
> For them it is something scientific and all.

The above-cited examples are the only French indefinite pronouns found in our corpus.

4.2.1.2 Gender and Number

Nouns are the category mostly borrowed and code-switched in many CS data. Nouns are thematic role receivers according to the MLF model. Both AA and French distinguish feminine and masculine gender. AA gender[221] is marked overtly on the noun and on some determiners while French gender is marked on the determiner. Apart from few exceptions, the general rule for grammatical gender is that the masculine is the default base form and the feminine has the suffix {-a}. AA feminine suffix is not productive with French nouns except for some borrowed words (e.g. ∫ɔmbɾa from French *une chambre* 'a bedroom'). The corpus as a whole, however, shows a tendency for inserted feminine nouns to trigger feminine gender agreement in AA, while masculine nouns trigger masculine agreement as the following examples from our data illustrate (the subscripts $_M$ or $_F$ indicate the gender of French nouns and the subscripts $_{M\text{-}Agr}$ or $_{F\text{-}Agr}$ indicate the AA gender agreement):

[416] *ø Stage$_M$* tɑːɛ-i j-fut$_{M\text{-}Agr}$ *normalement.* (R4)
ø Training of-me 3SM-IMPERF normally.
"My training will pass normally."

[417] l-*contexte$_M$* ɾɑːh$_{M\text{-}Agr}$ bɑːjen $_{M\text{-}Agr}$. (R8)
DEF-*context* is obvious
'The context is obvious.'

[418] *La personne$_F$* lli dɑːɾ-et$_{F\text{-}Agr}$ had l-*programme* wella l-*groupe$_M$* lli dɑːɾ$_{F\text{-}Agr}$ had l-*programme.* (R5)
DEF-*personne* who did this DEF-*programme* or DEF-*group* who did this DEF-*programme*
'The person or the group who did this programme.'

[419] *La note$_F$* tɑːɛək wiːn ta-ħasb-iː-ha$_{F\text{-}Agr}$. (R5)
DEF-mark of-you where IMPERF-count-2SF- F Obj.
'Do you know where you count your mark.'

French nouns trigger AA gender agreement in verbs and clitic pronouns (examples 416-418), in AA copula and AA adjectives (example 417). Nonetheless, there are a few

---

[221] By gender here we refer to grammatical gender i.e. the arbitrary assignment of gender to words whose referents often do not show apparently such a distinction (table vs. chair in AA). Natural gender, on the other hand, refers to biological assignment of gender to words according to the nature of the referents (man vs. woman).

exceptions where French nouns fail to trigger the right AA gender agreement. Consider the following examples in which the French feminine noun (*réunion*: meeting) triggers AA feminine clitic pronoun (-ha) example [420], whereas the same word triggers AA masculine adjective (waħdɑ:χɔɾ) example [421]. The same thing happens in example [426] where French feminine nouns (loi 'law', homogénéité 'homogeneity') trigger AA masculine demonstrative and the French masculine nouns '*phenomène'* (phenomenon) and '*principe'* (principle) trigger AA verb feminine agreement 'wallət' (became) and 'ɾɑ:h-i' (is) example [423] and [424]. In example [422] the AA feminine noun 'ħɑ:ʒa' is modified by French masculine adjective '*sérieux*':

[420] waħd *la réunion_F* daɾn-ɑ:-ha _F-Agr_ l-ju:m. (R4)
INDEF-*meeting* PERF-do-1PLSubj-3S.F. DEF-today.
'We've had such a meeting today.'

[421] n-ɛawd-ɔ ndi:ɾɔ *ø réunion_F* waħdɑ:χɔɾ _M-Agr_. (R8)
1IMPER-repeat-1PLSubj INDEF-*meeting* another.
'We will repeat another meeting.'

[422] maħsab-na-hɑ-:ʃ ħɑ:ʒa_F *sérieux* _M-Agr_. (R8)
NEG-think-1PLSubj-it-NEG something serious
'We didn't think that it is something serious.'

[423] w mambaɛd wallət_F-Agr *ø phénomène_M national*. (R4)
And after PERF-become-3SGSubj INDEF *phenomenon national*
'After, it became a national phenomenon.'

[424] had l-*principe_M* lli ɾɑ:h-i _F-Agr_ ta-tɛɑ:wed _F-Agr_. (R5)
This DEF-*principle* that be-3SF 3F.IMPER-Passive-repeat.
"This principle that is being repeated."

[425] madabijja j-ku:n _M-Agr_ *une* _F-Agr_ *certaine* _F-Agr_ *homogénéité_F.* (R9)
I'd like if IMPER3M-be INDEF certain homogeneity
'I'd like if there will certain homogeneity.'

[426] hada _M-Agr_ *ø loi _F_*. (R9)
This *ø law*
'Is this a law?'

Concerning number, both AA and French distinguish between singular and plural nouns. AA plural nouns are marked by one of several patterns of word-internal vocalic changes (ablaut or 'broken' plural e.g. taːqa (a window' PL.tjɔq) or by one of the suffixes {-at, -a, -in}. French plurals are marked by the suffixed {s, x}, however they are not overtly phonologically marked (they are just written). With the exception of morphologically adapted borrowed words, AA plural markers are rarely suffixed to embedded French nouns. Hereafter we have an example from our corpus that includes the French borrowed word 'passeport' (passport) –to which is attached the suffix (ɑːt) that mark plurality and the suffix (hɔm) that mark the possessor:

> **[427]** ***passepoɾ***-ɑːt-hɔm, ***passepoɾ***-ɑːt wlɑːdhɔm w maɾtəh gɑːɛ fiːhɔm l-visa. (R4)
> ***Passport***-PL-3PLPoss, ***passport***-PL children-3PLPoss and wife-3SGPoss all in-3PL DEF-visa
> 'Their passports and their wives' and children's all have visa.'

4.2.1.3 Definiteness & Indefiniteness

In the Arabic language, the dichotomy "definite vs. indefinite" is based on the opposition between the presence of the article {l-} and its absence. The non-expression of this article signals, at an abstract structural level, the "presence" of the indefinite article or as it is called the zero article {ø}. In addition to this dichotomy, indefiniteness is marked by the composite article {waħd l-}. The prefix {l-} either as the definite article or a part of the indefinite composite article {waħd l-} assimilates to the initial consonant of the noun when the noun begins with one of the following phonemes [t], [d], [r], [z], [s], [ʃ], [l], [ɫ], [n], called in Arabic the solar consonants. This combination results in the geminating of the initial consonant of the noun as illustrated by the following example in which the AA article {l-} is realized in its original phonological form before the French noun '*pratique*', whereas it is geminated before French *stage* and *stress.* Thus, AA not only imposes its morpho-syntactic rules by providing a system morpheme (the definite article (l-), but also its phonological rules (germination):

> **[428]** χatʃ s-***stage*** w l-***pratique*** ɛand-eh waħd s-***stress***. (R9)
> Because DEF-***training*** and DEF-***practice*** have-3SM INDEF-***stress***
> 'Because training and practice have such stress.'

Moreover, the occurrences of code-switching that we can observe between the AA definite article and the French nouns are only possible when the latter is in the singular. In fact, when the lexical item is in the plural, it seems to be the rule that the determiner is provided by French. Let's take a look at the examples below to realize this:

[429] ma-j-faɾq-u:-ʃ mabi:n l-***personnel*** w l-***professionnel***. (R12)

NEG-IMPERF3-separate-3PSubj-NEG between DEF-***personal*** and DEF-***professional***

'They don't separate between personal matters and professional ones.'

[430] mʃi j-di:ɾ ɣi s-***sabotage***. (R4)

Not only IMPERF-do DEF-***sabotage***

'He doesn't only sabotage.'

[431] hadu swɑ:laħ ɣɑ:di jan-gɑ:l-ɔ fe ɾ-***réunion***.R5

These things will be PPart-say-3PLSubj in DEF-meeting

'These things are going to be mentioned in the meeting.'

[432] ta-bɣ-i:-k ddi:ɾi s-***surveillance*** fi blaset-ha. (R1)

3SFIMPERF-want-3SSubj-you do-2SFSubj DEF-***invigilation*** in her place

'She wants you to invigilate instead of her in exams.'

In examples (429 and 430) we have inserted French singular masculine nouns and in examples (431 and 432) the inserted French nouns are singular feminine.

In the case of the indefinite, although the absence of a real morpheme in the spoken utterances prevents the affirmation of the combination of two codes (the noun appears on its own), this indeed constitutes a case of code-switching between the indefinite article, which we denote by (ø), and the noun. These examples clearly illustrate this scenario:

[433] makɑ:ʃ ***ø spécialistes*** dans ø littérature et ø civilisation. (R5)

NEG-be-NEG **INDEF-*specialists*** in literature and civilization

'There aren't specialists in literature and civilization.'

[434] ma-ɛan-nɑ-:ʃ ***des spécialistes*** fe had d-***domaine***. (R5)

NEG-have-1PLSubj-NEG INDEF specialists in this DEF-domain;

'We don't have specialists in this domain.'

In both of the above examples the French plural noun (*spécialistes* 'specialists') is inserted in AA sentences; once with its French indefinite article (des) constituting an EL island and once without the article, as a bare form. Actually, the French plural noun is embedded into AA frame projected by the AA zero article (ø) forming a mixed constituent.

Therefore, it becomes plausible that code-switching in this case results in the very absence of the article {l-}. Unlike the AA definite article which is prefixed only to singular nouns, the AA indefinite article (ø) is used before singular and plural, masculine and feminine nouns as follow:

[435] ma-tɔ-ddɔχl-uː-ʃ fi *ø confrontation* mɛaː-hɔm. (R2)

NEG-IMPER2-enter-PLSubj-NEG INDEF-*confrontation* with-them

'Don't get into confrontation with them.'

[436] kaː ʃ waːħed gaːll-ək *ø remarque.* (R4)

anyone PERF-tell-you INDEF-*remark*

'Did anyone give you a remark?'

[437] ɾana na-qɾ-ɔ ɛla *ø époque.*

Are IMPERF1-study-1PLSubj about INDEF-*period of time*

'We are studying a period of time in civilization.'

[438] ana tbaːn-l-i gaːɛ ndiɾ-uː-l-hɔm *ø binômes*. (R9)

Me appear-to-me all IMPERF3PL-make-3PL-for-them INDEF-*pairs*.

'I think it's better if we make them all work in pairs.'

[439] naɛɫ-iː-hɔm *ø polycopiés* (R2)

PERF-give-1SGSubj-them INDEF *handouts*

'I'll give them handouts.'

Constructions of this type which are compatible with MLF model should be distinguished from those which Myers-Scotton (1993a; 1998; 2000; 2002) as well as Boumans and Caubet (2000) denote by "bare forms". The latter is a concept that is considered as a counter-example, and later as one of the strategies in the case of lack of sufficient congruence between the two languages. Indeed, this type of insertion (i.e. bare forms) where the definite articles fail to appear from either language is attested in our data as well. The French nouns in the following examples are embedded as bare forms[222] despite the fact that the definite article is obligatory in these sentences:

[440] ntuːma deɾt-ɔ *# vacances*. (*les vacances*) (R9)

You PERF-do-2PLSubj # holiday

'You have taken a holiday.'

---

[222] Bare forms are marked by the script (#). Zero article is marked by the symbol ø.

[441] t-ʃuːf-i n-nɑːs lliɛand-hɔm # *expérience* sɑːktiːn.
(*l'expérience*) (R4)
IMPERF2-see-2SGSubj DEF-people who have-them # *experience* silent.
'You see that people who have experience keep silent.'

[442] hɑːdi # *harmonisation* n-dɑːɾ-ət ħna fe d-*demain*. (*l'harmonisation)*
This # *harmonization* PParticple-do-3FSubj we in DEF-domain (R4)
'This harmonization was done in our domain.'

[443] n-diːɾ-ɔ # *pourcentage* kima mdaɾi. (*le pourcentage*) (R9)
PERF1-do-3PL # *percentage* as usual
'We give you the percentage as usual.'

[444] *Parce que* ki tɔ-dχɔ-l-hɔm ɣi # *théorie* t-wall-i ħɑːʒa
boring.
Because when IMPERF-enter-for-them just # *theory* IMPERF-become-3SG
something **boring** (R5)
'Because when you teach them only theories without practice it becomes
boring.'

Though attested in our corpus, bare forms are not frequent. Nevertheless, this type of insertion is very recurrent with the names of modules (grammar, civilization, literature, etc) as well as with cohorts (2nd year, 3rd year, etc) in recording (05) when teachers discussed the canvas. We count 29 tokens (appendix 7) in which French nouns appear as bare nouns as opposed to 39 tokens in which the same nouns appear with the French definite articles in the same speech situation. Consider the following examples in which the same nouns appear once as bar forms and other times with the definite articles:

[445] kɑːjen lli j-qaɾɾ-i # *littérature d'une façon médiocre*.
There are who IMPER3-teach-3SG # *literature in a mediocre way*
'There are teachers who teach literature in a mediocre way.'

[446] kiːʃ ta-ffahm-u-ha # *linguistique appliquée* ?
How IMPER2-understand-2PLSubj-3SCObj # *applied linguistics*
'How do you understand applied linguistics?'

[447] *La littérature* toujours tabbaɛ lwaqt.
DEF-literature always IMPERF-follow DEF-time
'Literature always follows time.'

[448] ila n-ʃuːf *la linguistique appliquée en tant que TEFL, …*

If IMPERF-see DEF applied linguistics as TEFL, …

If we see applied linguistics as TEFL, …

Thus, both the AA definite article {l-} and the indefinite zero article (ø) are relatively productive with French nouns. Though less frequent, cases of the insertion of French nouns as bare forms i.e. when the articles fail to occur, are also attested in our corpus. Concerning the insertion of French nouns after the AA indefinite composite article {waħd l-}, there are three (03) instances (example 452) and nine (09) tokens of French NPs [DEF+N] embedded after the AA {waħd} where the AA definite prefix {l-} is replaced by its French counter-parts {le, la, l', les} forming mixed NPs. Observe the examples [449-451] below:

[449] ʒab-et-l-i waħd *les salé* lbɑːɾeħ. (R4)

PERF-bring-3SFSubj-for-me INDEF *the savouries* yesterday.

'She brought me delicious savouries.'

[450] ʒabd-et-l-i waħd *l'histoire*. (R4)

PERF-tell-3SF-for-me INDEF *the story*

'She told me such a story.'

[451] hɔma ɛand-hom waħd *le racisme*, waħd *la haine* men ʒiːht *le nord*.

They have-3PLSubj INDEF *the racism*, INDEF *the hatred* towards *the north (R4)*

'They have a fierce hatred towards the north.'

[452] daɾwak ɾɑːha waħd l-*bouillonnement*. (R10)

Now be-3SGFSubj INDEF- pressure

'Now there is such a pressure.'

In addition, when French is the ML, there are two instances of mixed NPs containing the AA composite indefinite article (examples 453 and 454), three tokens of French nouns preceded by the AA indefinite article ø (example 455)**,** seven tokens of French nouns lacking the definite article (example 456) and 13 instances of French nouns modified by the AA definite article (l-) (example 457) as follow:

[453] *C'était* waħd s-*cinq mois* wella s-*six mois de pression*. (R2)

It was *INDEF*-five months *or* six months of pressure

'It was such five or six months of pressure.'

[454] *Tu as raté* waħd *la discussion*. (R4)

You have missed *INDEF*-discussion
'You have missed such a discussion.'

[455] *Ils vont pas faire ø cours* `lijja waħdi`.R2
They are not going to do lesson for me alone
'They are not going to do a lesson only for me.'

[456] # Linguistique appliquée a été utilisé synonyme `taɛ` l'enseignement de la langue. R5
Applied linguistics was used (as) a synonym of teaching languages

[457] `l`-*vacataire sous délai d'une semaine on règle le problème*. R2
DEF-temporary worker within one week we solve the problem
'The temporary worker within one week we solve the problem.'

Nonetheless, the insertion of French nouns with French definite and indefinite articles as EL islands is far more frequent than mixed noun phrases with French nouns and AA articles. The insertion of French nouns in the AA structure {ø + N} makes up 204 mixed constituents among them 78 tokens are bare nouns i.e. they lack the definite article. The insertion of French {INDEF+Noun} as EL islands, on the other hand account for 320 instances (appendix7). The following examples include French indefinite noun phrases:

[458] `ɾɑːhɔm jelɛbɔ biːh` *une mascarade*. (R1)
Be-3PLSubj IMPERF-play-3PLSubj with-him *INDEF masquerade*
'They are playing with a masquerade.'

[459] `byajthɑːlhɔm` *un giflé*. (R12)
PERF-want-1SGSubj-it-for-them *INDEF slap*
'I wanted it to be a slap in their faces.'

[460] *C'est-à-dire* `ɛand-eh` *des prérequis*. (R5)
It means have-3SGSubj INDEF *prerequisites*
'It means that he has prerequisites.'

However, what is really striking is the abundance of French nouns determined by French definite articles in this corpus (1505 tokens). This type of noun phrase insertions replaces and exceeds the insertion of single nouns, which is usually the recurrent type of insertion in many CS data sets (Myers-Scotton 1993a [1997], 2002; Treffers-Daller 1994, 1999; Poplack, 1980). French definite nouns are embedded in AA frames either as EL islands

(891 tokens), or as Internal EL islands (614 tokens) into AA noun phrases and prepositional phrases. The following examples include French definite NPs:

[461] ɛlɑːʃ majʒuːʃ jeddɔ men ɛand-hɔm *les témoignages*? (R1)

Why NEG-3IMPERF-come-3PLSubj-NEG IMPERF-take-3PLSubj from in-them *the testimonials*

'Why don't they come to take their testimonials?'

[462] kɔn tʃuːf *le studieux, le sérieux, la discipline* w l-ʔadab w l-ʔiɛtibɑːɾ *et tout ça*. (R9)

If IMPERF-see-2SGSubj *the studiousness, the seriousness, the discipline*, and DEF-politeness and DEF-respect *and all this*

'If you see how *studious, serious, disciplined*, polite and respectful those students are.'

[463] miːn wall-et *la transparence* dɑɾwak ɾɑːhɔm ja-hhadɾ-ɔ.

When become-3SGF *DEF transparency* now be-3PLSubj IMPER-talk-3PLSubj

When there is transparency now, they are complaining.' (R12)

The provision of French NPs that include French nouns determined by French definite articles in this corpus is striking and need some explanation. As internal EL islands, French definite articles[223] (le, la, les, l') accompanying French nouns occur after AA demonstratives, quantifiers, prepositions as we will see shortly and they even replace the AA definite article (l-) in the composite determiner (waħd l-) as we have seen it above. French internal noun phrases embedded into AA noun phrases and prepositional phrases are also common when French is the ML of bilingual CPs.

Indeed, this phenomenon has been noticed by other scholars working on these two languages (Boumans and Caubet, 2000) and those working on MA/French CS data (Nait M'Barek and Sankoff, 1988; Ziamari, 2003). The tendency of French nouns to be inserted with their definite articles when Arabic is the ML has been also the subject of study for many

---

[223] Preceding French embedded nouns, French definite articles are used as if they were the AA article (l-) even in positions where they would be impossible in monolingual French (Boumans and Caubet, 2000:40). The AA definite article (l-) is mostly used with French singular masculine nouns replacing thus the French masculine singular definite article *le* and occasionally with French singular feminine nouns replacing thus the French feminine singular definite article *la* .

linguists, including Poplack and Sankoff (1988)[224], Boumans (1998), Muysken (2000), and Myers-Scotton (2002).

In some earlier studies, French noun insertions when Arabic is the ML have been contrasted with Dutch noun[225] insertions in Arabic structures. Different hypotheses have been formulated to explain the contrast between AA or MA/French noun insertions on the one hand, and MA/Dutch noun insertions on the other hand, among them, French le/la resembles Arabic (l-) and Dutch *de/he* does not (Heath, 1989)[226]; French articles are obligatory in the noun phrase, however, Dutch *de/he* is not (Boumans, 1998: Muysken, 2000).

In a chapter devoted to problematic code switching data, Myers-Scotton (2002) speaks about the insertion of French nouns and their determiners when Arabic is the ML. First, she has questioned the validity of the argument that French articles are strongly linked to their nouns and are obligatory in the noun phrase by providing examples from other CS corpora namely Wolof/French and Lingala/French. In Wolof/French and Lingala/French data sets, French nouns never appear with their own determiners. In the former, French nouns are followed by Wolof determiners, and in the latter, French nouns appear as bare forms because Lingala has no determiners at all.

Based on this evidence, Myers-Scotton (2002: 119) argues that: "It is not the relation of French with its determiners that can explain why they appear in Arabic/French code-switching. Instead, these examples suggest that the requirements of the Matrix Language are what matter and whether French can satisfy them." A fact that is supported by the AA/French CS corpus at hand since French single nouns are embedded without their articles as bare forms and in the AA zero article that express indefiniteness as illustrated in examples ().

These requirements or specifications, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 119), are satisfied in the case of French determiners when Arabic is the ML (i.e., French determiners show sufficient congruence with their Arabic counterparts at all three levels of abstract

---

[224] This type of French noun phrase insertions (i.e., internal EL islands) led Poplack and Sankoff (1988) and Nait M'Barek and Sankoff (1988) to assume that there is a process of constituent insertion in MA/French switching.

[225] MA/French and MA/Dutch corpora are contrasted (Nortier, 1990; Boumans,1998) because in MA/Dutch data sets Dutch nouns are inserted as bare forms without any definite article being it Dutch or AA articles even in position where it is obligatory in AA (i.e., after Arabic demonstratives, possessives and the composite indefinite article 'waħd'. on the other hand, French nouns in MA and AA/French CS corpus are almost always accompanied by articles and these are often French definite articles that replaces AA definite article (l-) and are embedded with French nouns as EL islands.

[226] Cited in Muysken (2000).

grammatical structures), which explains the appearance of French determiners in AA constituent structures. But how sufficient congruence between AA and French determiners is interpreted within Myers-Scotton's (2002) MLF model?

The congruence in the context of AA and French determiners, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 122), lies in the fact that both languages have a determiner complex[227] as she states:

> I suggest that the reason[228] is that French has more than a determiner that resembles the Arabic one; more important, it has a determiner complex that closely matches that of Arabic-at least in the North African Arabic varieties. Because of this, even though Arabic is the Matrix language, French determiners can satisfy the requirements of the Arabic complex and appear with French nouns.

Myers-Scotton's arguments seem to be controversial and not convincing. First, although AA and French both have a determiner complex, they in fact differ in the nature of determiners that form each determiner complex. AA accounts in its grammatical system determiner complex consisting of the composite indefinite determiner {waħd l-} and {demonstratives + the definite article (l-)}. French on the other hand, allows some combinations[229] but disallows others such as: {indefinite article + definite articles} (*un le 'a the') and {demonstratives + definite articles} (*ce le 'this the'). Myers-Scotton herself admits this by saying that:

> Those French elements under D (quantifiers, demonstratives, etc.)[230] do not replace Arabic ones in a mixed constituent; this is evidence that these features are not

---

[227] North African Arabic varieties in general and AA in particular have a determiner complex in their grammatical system i.e., in AA, more than a determiner can precede a noun as in the case of demonstratives which subcategorize for a definite article e.g. (had l-ktab: this the book 'this book'). The composite indefinite article (waħd-l 'one the') is another determiner complex because it consists of two determiners.

[228] Here Myers-Scotton (ibid: 122) means the reason behind the appearance of French determiners with their nouns in Arabic constituents.

[229] In French certain partitives or indefinite determiners such as tout 'all' and de 'some' can be accompanied by a definite article as: **tout le** monde 'all the world' and je voudrais **de la** salade 'I would like some salade') Myers-Scotton (2002: 122).

[230] Muysken (2000: 86) and Myers-Scotton (2002: 122) assume different classification of Arabic, French and Dutch determiners within phrase-structure tree. Muysken suggests that in French the article corresponds to an element of the category D (determiners) including demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, etc. however in Arabic, the definite marker does not belong to D (determiners which include Arabic (waħd 'one' and demonstratives (had, dak, etc.) but corresponds to a subordinate functional category of definiteness/number/gender (DNG) and project a DNG-P. Myers-Scotton on the other hand, suggests that French like Arabic has a determiner complex that has a D (determiner) node and a DNG node. Under D in Arabic, one finds demonstratives and the indefinite 'waħd'. Under D in French, one finds demonstratives,

> equally congruent with those in French. But my point is that the overall determiner complexes are sufficiently congruent to support the configurations that do occur. Myers-Scotton (2002: 122)

Second, if there is sufficient congruence between AA and French determiners at the three abstract levels, as Myers-Scotton suggests, then we would expect the provision of mixed noun phrases containing French nouns determined by the AA definite article (l-) rather than EL islands since mixed constituents are the result of sufficient congruence, as Myers-Scotton (2002: 97) argues[231].

Third and most important is that, there is a contradiction between Myers-Scotton's arguments concerning French determiners and Myers-Scotton's Blocking Hypothesis and EL Island Hypothesis. On the one hand, Myers-Scotton explains the occurrence of French determiners with their nouns within EL islands as a result of sufficient congruence between AA and French determines. On the other hand, EL islands are considered by Myers-Scotton's MLF model, as compromise strategies in the case of lack of sufficient congruence[232].

So, there seem to be a clear inconsistency in the way Myers-Scotton defends the frequent insertion of French nouns with their definite articles in Arabic frames since she insists on the fact that French noun phrase insertions are the result of sufficient congruence between Arabic and French determiner complexes (i.e. AA and French share the grammatical feature of a determiner complex in modifying a noun).

This phenomenon can be still approached using Myers-Scotton's notion of congruence and the USP. However, instead of concentrating on the feature of Arabic determiner complex which does not create any problem, since the USP in the case of determiner complex is satisfied when AA is the ML[233]. We will try to interpret the reason behind the lack of

---

quantifiers as well as partitives (tout, de). Under DNG, French and AA share the obligatory marking of masculine or feminine gender on singular determiners.

[231] Myers-Scotton (2002: 97) states that: "The Embedded Language content morpheme can only appear at surface level, fully integrated into the Matrix Language frame, this checking turns up sufficient congruence between the Embedded Language morpheme and its Matrix Language counterpart."

[232] "When there is insufficient congruence between the lemma underlying an EL content morpheme and its ML counterpart at one or more of the three levels of lexical structure, the only way to access the EL element is in an EL islands" (Myers-Scotton, 1997:250)

[233] AA demonstratives and indefinite article 'waħd-' require definite noun phrases (i.e. definite article + nouns). These requirements are satisfied since the Embedded Language (i.e. French) provides nouns preceded by definite articles as well formed EL islands into the AA structures prepared for definite noun phrases.

congruence between AA articles and their French counterparts in terms of feature distribution between them and the following nouns.

French articles vary according to three grammatical features, definiteness (definite/ indefinite), number (singular/plural) and gender (masculine/feminine). Thus, they agree with French nouns in gender and number. AA articles, on the other hand, may be definite or indefinite, however, they don't vary according to number and gender i.e. they don't agree with their nouns in gender and number.

This difference between AA and French articles in terms of gender and number marking creates the insufficient congruence between AA articles and French nouns and explains the occurrence of French nouns with their articles. When French nouns are activated at the conceptual level, lemmas underlying early system morphemes (articles in this case) are also activated to add conceptual information to their heads (definiteness). In addition to definiteness, French nouns call for gender and number agreements[234] which AA articles lack.

This incompatibility or mismatch between the features of the AA definite article and the features of the French noun at the conceptual level facilitates the formation of French EL islands or internal EL islands. So, here the lack of sufficient congruence between French nouns and AA articles explain the frequency of French noun phrase insertions into AA matrices.

4.2.1.4 Possessive and genitive construction

Possession is a kind of noun modification, in the sense that a possessor determines and identifies the possessed nouns. Possession in AA is expressed in two ways; one is synthetic through a process of affixation i.e., the possessors are pronominal suffixes (-i [my], -ək [your$_{SG}$], -əh [his], -ha [her], -na [our], -kɔm [your$_{PL}$], -hɔm [their]) that are agglutinated to the possessed nouns according to the following structure: {noun + pronominal suffix}

In the analytic form expressing possession, the same pronominal suffixes (i,ək, əh, ha, na, kɔm, hɔm) are disjointed from the noun to be suffixed to the particle [taɛ] functioning as a preposition that link the possessed object to the possessors. It takes the following form [DEF+N+ taɛ- suffixed pronoun].

---

[234] French gender is formally marked on the singular article: definite *la*, indefinite *une* for feminine, and *le* and *un* for masculine. French Plural is marked on the nouns by the nominal affix *–s* (except for irregular nouns) but it is not pronounced (except in certain 'liaison' contexts). The French plural is explicitly marked on the articles that usually accompany plural nouns (definite *les* and indefinite *des*). Thus French articles not only add definiteness but also mark the nouns for number and gender.

In both constructions, we can ensure that the embedded French lexical item works according to the syntax of AA as we will see below, since it is the only one of the two languages in contact to express the possessive in this way. The following examples from our corpus illustrate the two constructions that express possessive relation:

[464] ħna bruːħna **_niveau_-na** jatkaɾkaɾ (R9)

We ourselves **level**-Poss is degrading.

Our level is already degrading.

[465] ʃuːfi n-**_niveau_** taɛ-hɔm ki dɑːjeɾ (R9)

Look Def-**level** of-them how it is

Look at their level! It's really good!

[466] gal-ha **_doss_-iːk** ɾɑːh fi **_doss_-ijja**. (R4)

He told-OBJ **file**-POSS is in **file**-POSS

He told her that your file is inside mine.

It is necessary, however, to point out that the two forms of expressing the possessive are not used as freely as we might think. The first construction (examples 464 and 466), consisting of suffixing the possession pronouns, is only possible if the noun involved in this derivation is an adapted loan; and thus, it comes as no surprise that the French nouns in the above examples are the only nouns that are modified by the synthetic construction in this corpus. This is, ostensibly, due to the lack of sufficient congruence between the French possessive and its AA equivalent. Indeed, French marks possession[235] by non-qualifying adjectives that precede the nouns and indicate the gender and number of the possessed as well as the identity of the possessor (1st, 2nd or 3rd person). On the contrary, the possession morpheme suffixed to the noun in Arabic indicates only the identity of the possessor.

Unlike the synthetic construction, the analytic construction is entirely productive with French nouns. This construction uses the particle {taɛ (of)} and its allomorphs

---

[235] French possesses six lexically distinct forms of possessive determiners as set in the following table:

Possessor possessum	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
M. SG	mon	ton	son	notre	votre	leur
F. SG	ma	ta	sa	notre	votre	leur
M/F. PL	mes	tes	ses	nos	vos	leurs

{tawaɛ/tawɛ} that follow the possessed noun it modifiers and agree with it in number[236]. Consider the following examples from our corpus that clearly show that the distribution of the French elements conforms to the syntax of AA: this language determines the place of the French noun in the analytic combination as well as the nature of the surrounding elements.

[467] hada fe l-***parcours*** tɑ:ɛ-ah ɛɑ:wəd *plusieurs fois*. (R2)

This in DEF-***course*** of-him PERF-repeat *many times*

'He repeated the years many times.'

[468] mandi:ɾʃ fe s-***sondage*** taɛ-ha. (R12)

NEG-IMPERF-do-1S-NEG in DEF-***survey*** of-it

'I won't take part in its survey.'

We have, moreover, observed that, in these so-called analytical structures, the definite article comes predominantly from French forming EL islands with French nouns (110 instances). Indeed, French nouns that are modified by the AA definite article present only 17 tokens and most of them refer to nouns that fill lexical gaps in the context of university *(département, module, master, Stage, doctorat, jury, barème, corrigé-type)* and all of them are masculine nouns. Check the examples below that consist of French definite NPs modified by the AA analytic construction expressing possession (for more examples check Appendix :

[469] dɑ:χli:n fe ***les gènes*** tawaɛ-hɔm. (R1)

Enter-PrePart in ***DEF-genes*** of-them

'It is in their genes.'

[470] kɑ:n ɣɑ:lb-əh b-***la médiocrité*** taɛ-ah. (R4)

PERF-be predominate-him with-***DEF mediocrity*** of-him

'He was predominating with his mediocrity.'

[471] ***Le regard*** taɛha jχawwaf-ni. (R12)

DEF-gaze of-her IMPER3-frighten-1Subj-me

'Her gaze frightens me.'

[472] ma-j-hem-ni-:ʃ ***les compétences linguistiques*** tawɛ-ah. (R5)

NEG-IMPERF-care-1S-NEG ***DEF skills linguistic*** of-him

'I don't care about his linguistic skills.'

---

[236] Unlike the other AA prepositions, the preposition 'taɛ' agree with the preceding possessed nouns in number i.e. the preposition 'taɛ' is used after singular nouns, yet after plural nouns, it becomes 'tawaɛ' or 'tawɛ'. E.g. ktab **taɛ**-i (book of-1SG) my book / ktɔb **tawɛ**-i (books of-1SG) my books, ktab **taɛ**-na (books of-3SG) our book / ktɔb **tawaɛ**-na (books of-1PL) our books.

[473] ʃa ɾɑ:-hɔm bɑ:ɣjiːn fe *les fiches de vœux* tawaɛhɔm. (R12)

What be-them want-PP'art in **DEF slips of wishes** of-them

'What they want in their wish slips.'

We can explain this by the fact that even if the system morphemes projected in the construction mark different syntactic features, they show a great structural uniformity. In other words, although the definite article and the analytic construction [DEF+N+ taɛ-suffixed pronoun] highlight the features [definiteness] and possession relation respectively as well as the identity of the possessor, these grammatical morphemes, indeed, work in tandem. Because, the inexpression of the definite article makes it impossible to project the genitive i.e. the French definite NP satisfies both the French grammar rules (solving the lack of equivalence between French definite articles and their AA counterparts concerning the features gender & number) and AA requirement concerning the analytical expression of possession that requires the presence of a definite article.

What is striking, however, is that not only is the AA analytic possessive construction productive with French nouns in CS utterances when AA is the ML but also it is attested when French is the ML of the CP (29 instances) as illustrated by the following examples:

[474] *Tu as compris **l'idée** taɛ-i* ? (R6)

You have understood DEF'idea ***of-me***

'Have you understood my idea?'

[475] *Ils ont repris **les cours** tawaɛ-hɔm *avant les autres*. (R9)

They have DEF lectures ***of-them*** before the others

'They have resumed their classes before the others.'

[476] <u>Le départ *taɛ-hɔm*</u> a été un faux départ. (R11)

DEF start ***of-them*** was a wrong start

'Their start was wrong.'

[477] *Je suis calme* ana fe <u>*les réponses* taw-ɛi</u>. (R12)

I am calm *me in* DEF responses ***of-me***

'I am calm in my responses.'

The analytic structure expressing possession is used with English nouns as well; consider the following examples:

[478] ɛɬɑ:-h <u>s-**scholarship** taɛ-ah</u>.

PERF-give-him DEF-scholarship of-you.

'He gave him the scholarship.'

[479] *Puis alors* ɾuːħ nta tebqɑ:-l-ek l-*motivation* bɑːʃ t-kmmel l-*lecture* taɛ-ak.

Then, so go IMPERF-remain-for-you DEF-motivation in order IMPERF-finish DEF-lecture

'Then, how can you find the motivation to finish your lecture.'

[480] *Même* hadu: **students** you mentioned, l-*levels* tawaɛ-hɔm kɔn jħɔłłɔ ɾaːshɔm χiːɾ men lɔχriːn

Even these **students you mentioned**, DEF-**levels** of-them if IMPERF-put down heads-them better than the others

'Even the students you have mentioned their levels are better than the rest if they work hard.'

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that there are two cases in our corpus that violate the ML (AA) requirements. These involve French nouns preceded by AA or French indefinite articles as illustrated below:

[481] kɑ:n ɛandi *les étudiants* ʃe *l'anglais* χiːɾ men *des fois* **des étudiants** tawaɛ-na hnɑːja taɛ *l'anglais*. (R12)

PERF-be have DEF students in DEF-english better sometimes INDEF students of-us here of DEF-*English*

'I had students who spoke English better sometimes than our students of English here.'

[482] ∅ **doyen** kɑ:n tɑ:ɛ-hɔm, ∅ **président de CSD** tɑ:ɛ-hɔm.

INDEF **dean** PERF-be of-them, INDEF **president of CSD** of-them

'The dean and the president of the CSD were from their department.'

French possessives, according to the MLF model, are early system morphemes that are activated at the conceptual level by speaker's intentions to add conceptual information to their heads (i.e. possession) and they are indirectly elected by gender and number features of their heads. Thus, they can come from French within well-formed EL noun phrases in AA frames as in the following examples:

[483] kɔl wɑːħed jaɛłi **son point de vue**. (R8)

Each one IMPERF-give-3S **his point of view**

'Each one will give his point of view.'

[484] dɑːɾ **son investigation, sa propre investigation.** (R11)

PERF-do **his investigation, his own investigation**

'He did his own investigation.'

[485] ʄahham-t-hɔm belli ana ***mes enseignants*** na-ɛɾaf-hɔm. (R8)

PERF-explain-1SF-them that me ***my teachers*** IMPERF-know-them

'I told them that I know my teachers.'

[486] ana n-ɛajjaɫ-əl-ha b-***son prénom***. (R8)

Me IMPERF-call-1S-for-her with-***her first name***

'I call her with her first name.'

[487] kɔl wɑːħed ***et sa politique***. kɔl wɑːħed w ***sa vision***. (R12)

Everyone ***and his politics***. Everyone and ***his vision***.

'Everyone has his politics and his vision.'

[488] bajjen ***son vrai visage***. (R12)

PERF-show-3S ***his real face***

'He showed his real face.'

The corpus of the present study includes fifty-five (55) French EL islands with French possessive pronouns and half of them (27 instances) are French nouns that refer to family members as shown by the examples below:

[489] ***Ma mère*** laħg-et ***mon grand-père***. (R1)

My mother PERF-follow-3SF ***my grand-father***

'My mother went after my grans-father.'

[490] ***Mes parents*** mezɑːl ɾɑːhɔm ʃɑːddiːn-hɑː-l-ha. (R1)

My parents still be catch-it-for-her

'My parents still remember what she did.'

[491] w mambaɛd ***mon mari*** kamməl ***son magister***. (R4)

'After that, ***my husband*** finished ***his magister***.'

[492] ***Mon fils*** χabaɾ-ni ɛla l-***prof de sport*** <u>fe CEM</u>.

My son PERF-tell-me about DEF ***teacher of sport*** in the middle school.

My son told me about the teacher of sport in the middle school.

We have noticed in this corpus that while French nouns[237] can appear either in EL islands preceded by French possessives or modified by the AA analytic possessive

---

[237] French nouns in this corpus are not morphologically adapted i.e. they are not used with gender or plural affixes neither are they used with possessive suffixes. The only affix that is occasionally attached to French nouns is the definite article (l-). The non-integration of switched nouns may be due to some sociolinguistic

construction, French nouns which refer to relatives can only be inserted within EL islands with French possessive adjectives. In order to explain this, we have examined the use of the AA possessive constructions with AA names referring to relatives. In the Algerian dialect, nouns indicating relatives are used only with the synthetic construction[238] i.e. the pronominal suffixes are possessors that are suffixed to the possessed nouns referring to family members as follow:

> **[493]** *bent-i* dɑːɾət *cinq minutes de retard*. (R4)
>
> Daughter-my PERF-do-3SGFSubj *five minutes of delay*
>
> 'My daughter came five minutes late.'

> **[494]** *maɾt-eħ*, elle est allemande. (R1)
>
> *Wife-his*, she is from Germany
>
> 'His wife is from Germany.'
>
> **[495]** *raʒel-ha,* il est øchef de projet fe Tosyali. (R1)
>
> Husband-her, he is director of project in Tosyali
>
> 'Her husband is the project manager in Tosyali.'

So, when French nouns that refer to names of relatives are accessed they must be realized with their French possessives as EL islands because their AA counterparts are not used with the analytic possessive construction which is the only productive construction with embedded French nouns in this corpus.

This difference in the expression of possession -from the insertion of single French nouns and NPs in the analytic possessive structure to the embedding of French NPs determined by French possessive pronouns conforms to the MLF. Nevertheless, it cannot be ascribed only to grammatical factors (congruence and structural uniformity); indeed, it sheds the light on other variables such as speakers' competence and the formality of the context.

4.2.1.5 Demonstratives

In order to express the demonstrative, the Algerian dialect has two possible schemes. The first structure is based on the use of the form [had] to designate a near person / object.

---

factors. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 177) reveals that when the EL is the language of more socio-economic prestige and if it is also prominent in education this will increase the non-integration of switched words and loanwords.

[238] AA names referring to relatives are never used with the AA analytic possessive construction (e.g. *l-ɔχt taɛ-i 'the sister of-me'; *l-ɛam taɛ-na 'the uncle of-us').

This invariable[239] form necessarily combines with the AA definite article [l-] and always precedes the noun. In code-switching between AA and French, the demonstrative article [had] either occur with the AA definite article [l-] modifying inserted French nouns, or with the French articles {le, la, l', les} forming Internal EL islands with French nouns that are embedded into AA clauses as follow:

[496] gottəlha had l-***phénomène*** lli ɛandkɔm. (R4)

PERF-tell-to-her Poss DEF-***phenomenon*** that have-you

'I asked her about this phenomenon.'

[497] had ***l'esprit*** mʃi mliːħ. (R7)

Poss ***DEF-spirit*** NEG good.

'This spirit is not good.'

[498] 4ᵉᵐᵉ année qɾɑːw had ***le titre***. (R9)

4th year PERF-study-3PL Poss ***DEF title***

'4th year students have studied this title.'

[499] l-wɑːħed majabɣiːʃ had ***les postes***. (R4)

DEF-one NEG-IMPERF-like-3S-NEG Poss DEF ***positions***

'No one likes these positions.'

[500] ana ma-ɛandiːʃ ø problème mɛa had ***la promotion***. (R9)

Me NEG-have-NEG INDEF problem with Poss ***DEF cohort***

'I don't have a problem with this cohort.'

As shown by the above-cited examples the invariable possessive adjective [had] merges with AA and French definite articles modifying singular and plural, as well as masculine and feminine French nouns.

As for the second scheme, there are two types of demonstratives and they are variable in gender and number. The AA demonstratives {hada, hadi, hadu} express proximity (proximal demonstratives) and indicate singular masculine, singular feminine and plural

---

[239] The same demonstrative is used with singular or plural, masculine or feminine nouns. Consider the following examples from our corpus (R4) in which the same French nouns is used once with the AA invariable demonstrative and once with AA demonstrative that varies according to the noun it determines:

kifɑːh had ***la différence*** ?	hadiːk ***la différence*** naqdər naʃɾi biha *billet* waħdɑːχɔɾ.
Why Poss ***DEF difference***	Poss *DEF difference* IMPERF1-can 1IMPERF-buy ticket another
'Why is this difference?'	'I can buy another ticket with that additional amount.'

respectively. The demonstratives (hadɑːk/dɑːk, hadik/diːk, haduk/duːk) and their reduced forms express distance (distal demonstratives) and are inflected for singular masculine, singular feminine, and plurality respectively. As the first scheme, the second scheme also subcategorizes for a definite article before nouns; thus, in our corpus it is mostly used with French definite articles before nouns as illustrated by the examples below. We tried to provide examples of each form of the demonstratives cited above:

[501] ħatta lə-*2019* <u>hadi *la politique*</u> lli ɣɑːdi ta-tmə∫∫a. (R4)
Until DEF-2019 Poss **DEF politics** that will IMPERF-walk-3SG
'Until 2019, this is the politics that is going to be applied.'

[502] ana madabija n-*avanc*-i <u>hadik *la séance*</u> taɛ *jeudi*. (R9)
I'd like IMPERF-advance-1SG Poss **DEF session** of Thursday
'I'd like to advance Thursday' session.'

[503] ∫ɛɑːl taɛɫiːhɔm fi <u>diːk *la pratique*</u>? (R5)
How much IMPERF-give-them in Poss **DEF exercise**
'How much do you give him for this exercise?'

[504] χaɫɾɑːt j-kuːn ɛandi <u>hada l-*reflex*</u>. (R9)
Sometimes IMPERF-be in-me Poss DEF-*reflex*
'Sometimes I have this reflex.'

[505] bɑː∫ <u>hadɑːk *l'objectif*</u> jkun atteint. (R5)
So that Poss **DEF-objective** IMPERF-be achieved
'…For that objective to be achieved.'

[506] ʒɑːb-ɔ <u>dɑːk *le rapport*</u>. (R4)
PERF-bring-3PLSubj Poss **DEF report**
'They brought that report.'

[507] n-ziːd-ɔ <u>hadu *les deux semaines*</u>. (R6)
IMPERF-add-3PLSubj Poss **DEF two weeks**
'We add these two weeks.'

[508] ʒabu-l-i <u>haduk *les copies*</u>. (R4)
PERF-bring-for-me Poss **DEF handouts**
'They brought me those handouts.'

These demonstratives can occur post-nominally but only in their full form. Hence, AA pronominal demonstratives are considered as demonstratives heads (Dem) projected above

the determiner D while post-nominal demonstratives are modifiers which are right adjoined to the maximal N projection. Consider the following instances that illustrate this point:

[509] *Il faut effacer* had *l'idée*. (R9)

You have to erase Poss ***DEF-idea***

'You have to erase this idea.'

[510] *Il a eu* ***l'idée*** hadi. (R2)

He had had ***DEF idea*** Poss

'He had had this idea.'

[511] ana ma-fhamt ʃ ***l'intitulé*** hadɑːk. (R5)

Me NEG-PERF-understand-1SG ***DEF title*** Poss

'I didn't understand that title.'

Unlike Algerian Arabic, French does not allow the postposition of the demonstrative unless it is detached from the noun phrase to which it refers in the form of an appended phrase[240]. In this case, the demonstrative, accentuated, works with a value of emphasis. However, the construction of which we speak constitutes in the AA vernacular the least marked employment and does not indicate any particular effect of insistence. The above-cited examples are the only instances found in our corpus.

Similar to the analytical possessive construction, demonstrative "adjectives" in AA require the presence of definite article before nouns. In mixed NPs, it is French which mainly provides the definite article and the noun as embedded internal EL islands satisfying both AA and French structural uniformity. Indeed, the combination of AA demonstratives with the AA definite article {l-} constitute only 16 instances as opposed to 114 instances of AA demonstratives combined with French definite articles in AA matrices (appendix 10). Nevertheless, there are cases where the definite article fails to appear after the demonstrative adjectives or is even replaced by the French indefinite articles as in the following examples:

[512] zaɛma, madabiːhɔm hadɑːk *un soulagement*. (R5)

Well, would like-them Poss ***INDEF relief***

'Well, they would like a kind of relief.'

[513] w hadiːk *# **carte séjour*** chaque deux ans*. (R4)

And Poss # ***residency permit*** each two year.

'every two years you have to renew the residency permit.'

---

[240] As in the following example : Le livre, *celui-ci*, est récent.

[514] *Bon* # **harmonisation** hɑ:di ana deɾt-ha waħdi. (R4)

Well # *harmonisation* Poss me PERF-do-it alone.

'Well I proposed to call it harmonization.'

[515] hadu # *trois séances c'est suffisant*. (R9)

Poss # three sessions it's enough

'These three sessions are enough.'

The insertion of French definite NPs after the AA demonstratives is also a recurrent type of insertion when French is the ML with 60 tokens. This is referred to as a ML turnover. Examples [509], [510] and [515] above and the following examples show this:

[516] *C'était* kima hadi *la coïncidence*. (R1)

It was like Poss *DEF-coincidence*

'It was like this coincidence.'

[517] *C'est lui qui fait* had *le travail*. (R7)

It's him who does *Poss* DEF work

'It's him who does this work.'

[518] ana *J'avais autorisé* hadu:k *les deux étudiantes qui viennent de loin*. (R9)

Me I have allowed Poss DEF two students who live far away

'I have allowed those two students who live far away to leave this week.'

[519] hadɑ:k *le canevas il est complètement tordu*. (R11)

Poss DEF canvas it is completely twisted

'That canvas is completely incorrect.'

The abundance of the AA demonstratives in AA and French matrix structures is confronted with the scarcity of French nouns modified by French demonstratives (only two tokens found in our corpus). The French demonstrative determiners are {ce/cet, cette, ces} for masculine, feminine and plural respectively as exemplified in the following instances:

[520] ɾɑ:h kɑ:jen *les élections* taɛ *le nouveau conseil scientifique* **cet ans**. (R4)

Be-3SG exist the elections of the new scientific council **this year**

'There are elections of the new scientific council this year.'

[521] kammalt mɛɑ:-hɔm **cette semaine**. (R11)

PERF-finish-1SGSubj with-them **this week**

'I finished the programme this week.'

Unlike the AA demonstrative determiners that subcategorise for a definite article, French demonstratives precede directly the noun they modify. This mismatch may explain partly the discrepancy in the distribution of the AA and French demonstratives. According to Rowelt (2007: 65) definite articles are weak functional heads while demonstratives and possessives are determiners.

4.2.1.6 Quantification

Related to their status as early system morphemes, modifiers or quantifiers come from the ML (i.e. AA) in mixed constituents and modify French nouns. Nevertheless, AA quantifiers that modify French nouns in this corpus are not varied and they are limited to the following determiners: gaːɛ (all) (33 instances in AA structures and 9 tokens in French matrices), bəzzaːf (many) (7 tokens), and ʃɛɑːl men (a lot of) (only 3 examples), as illustrated in what follow (Appendix 11):

[522] gɑːɛ *les étrangers* ɛandhɔm *une deuxième femme* temma. (R4)
All *the strangers* possess-them *a second wife* there
'All the strangers have a second wife there.'

[523] Af lit déjà n-galɛ-ət men gɑːɛ *les universités algériennes*. R4
Af lit already Pass-omit-3SGF from all *the universities Algerian*
'African literature has already been omitted from all the Algerian universities.'

[524] ɛandhɔm bezzɑːf *les postes*. (R4)
Have-them many *DEF jobs*
'They have many job positions.'

[525] ɾɑːh ɛandhɔm bezzɑːf *les cours*. R9
Be possess-them many the lectures
'They have many lectures.'

[526] jqaɾɾi ʃɛɑːl men *filières* mʃi ɣi *anglais*. (R4)
IMPERF-teach-3SG a lot of *streams* not just English.
'He teaches a lot of streams not just English stream.'

[527] ɛand-ek ʃɛɑːl men *éléments*. (R5)
Possess-you a lot of *elements*
'You have a lot of elements.'

In the above examples, the structure of the sentence clearly corresponds to that of a statement in AA: the relevant system morphemes come from the Algerian dialect. We can, moreover, ensure that the syntax of the noun phrases conforms to the rules of this variety: examples (522-25) contain French definite nouns [DEF+N] embedded as internal EL islands into structures provided by the AA quantifier (gaːɛ) and bəzzaːf (many) forming mixed NPs. This construction fulfils the syntactic requirement of both of these specifiers as they subcategorise for a definite article before nouns; while examples (526 & 527) consist of inserted French nouns in the construction projected by the AA quantifier ʃɛɑːl men (a lot of) that directly precedes the nouns it modifies.

In the statements () below, on the contrary, the combination of elements is determined by French. The role of AA is paradoxically limited to providing a morpheme of this class, namely the quantifier gaːɛ (all):

> **[528]** k<u>ɔl</u> ***encadreur*** *vous sollicite* ila taɛɑɾfɔ belli fɔtt-ɔ *trois* gɑːl *c'est bon.* (R11**)**
> <u>*Every* supervisor</u> request you if you know that PERF-exceed-1PL three say it's ok
> 'Every supervisor that asks you to take part in his candidate's jury tell him that you've already taken part in three juries.'

> **[529]** *Il faut pas obliger* <u>**gɑːɛ les étudiants**</u>. (R4)
> 'One must not oblige all the students.'

> **[530]** l- ***ministère*** *il peut pas contrôler* <u>**gɑːɛ les établissements**</u>. (R8)
> DEF-ministry it cannot control *all* the institutions
> 'The ministry cannot control all the institutions.'

From a theoretical point of view, it might seem surprising that the embedded element is a system morpheme, actually example (530) includes two AA system morphemes the definite article l- and the quantifier gaːɛ (all). Several researchers, notably Boumans and Caubet (2000), do not admit this type of transfer since in the model that they offer; only lexical elements come from the embedded language and they propose the concept of layered insertion to explain this. In our opinion, this constitutes, on the contrary, proof that system morphemes are not necessarily provided by the so-called matrix language, on condition that they are in semantic and distributional congruence with their French equivalents as in the case

of the AA quantifier ga:ɛ (all) and its French counterpart '*tout*'[241]. Moreover, let us remember, the "4M Model" proposed by Myers-Scotton does not assume that all system morphemes must come from the Matrix Language.

Hence, since semantic-structural congruence plays a decisive role in the interchange-ability of determinants -in other words, when the specifier of a language "A" has the same distributional characteristics of its equivalent in language "B", there is a good chance that it is interchangeable with it- one would expect for this principle to be bidirectional. Paradoxically, this is not the case: it is only the AA quantifiers that are easily combined with French nouns, no occurrence of the combination of a French determinant with an AA noun have been attested in this corpus. Besides, this type of insertion is limited to only 10 tokens in our corpus and they include one example with the quantifier kɔl (every) (example) and 9 instances with the determiner ga:ɛ (all).

EL islands consisting of French quantifiers modifying French nouns are quite recurrent in this corpus (56 tokens) and include a variety of French determiners namely: chaque (each: 11 tokens), tout (all: 8 tokens), plus de (more: 5 tokens), tel (such: 4 tokens), plusieurs (many: 4 tokens), beaucoup/ assez/ pas mal de (a lot/ enough/ quite many 6 tokens), d'autre (other: 6 tokens), aucun (no: 3), certain (some: 2 tokens), quelque (a few: 2) among others. Consider the following examples from our corpus:

> **[531]** *Chaque enseignant* ja-ktab *l'objectif* taɛ l-*module* w l-*programme*.
> *Each teacher* IMPERF-write-3SG *the objective* of DEF-*module* and DEF-*programme* (R5)
> 'Each teacher is asked to write down the objective and the programme of his module.'

> **[532]** *Tous les postes* kɑ:n-ɔje-dd-u:-hɔm hɔma. (R12)
> *All the positions* PERF-be-3PL IMPERF-take-3PLSubj-them they
> They used to take all the administrative positions.'

> **[533]** ne-dd-i *plus de temps*. (R9)
> IMPERF-take-1SGSubj *more of time*
> 'I take more time.'

> **[534]** hdaɾ-na ɛla *tel et tel point*. (R8)
> PERF-talk-1PLSubj about *such and such points*

---

[241] Both the AA and French quantifier ga:ɛ/tout (all) combine with definite article to modify the nouns that follow them. Unlike AA, the French quantifier 'tout' agrees with the noun in gender and number.

'We talked about such-and such points.'

[535] hadiːk dɑːχla fiːha ***plusieurs sciences***.R5

That enter-3SGFSudj in-it many sciences

'It covers different sciences.'

[536] ***Pas mal d'étudiants*** daχl-uː-l-i *les brouillons* fe wasɫ *l'examen*. (R9)

Quite many of students PERF-put-3PLSubj-for-me the rough sheets inside the exam

'Quite many students put their rough sheets inside the exam sheets.'

4.2.1.7 Numerals

As the other determiners and quantifiers, Numerals are early system morphemes that can combine with French nouns in mixed constituents when AA is the ML. yet, apart from examples (537-41) below, numerals in this corpus tend to occur in the same language as the counted noun (Appendix 11):

[537] *Parce que* liːqe-l-hɔm ɣi <u>wɑːħed</u> *amateur*. (R9)

Because IMPERF-need-for-them just one *amateur*

'Because they need just an amateur.'

[538] *Notamment y a* <u>waħed</u> **(..)** ***un groupe*** ʃafni. (R11)

Especially there is *one* (..) **a group** feel pity

'There is especially one group that made me feel pity for them.'

[539] dabbaɾt <u>waħda</u> *heureusement **maitre de conf A probabilité***.

PERF-find-1SGSubj one luckily lecturer in probability (R1)

'I found one luckily lecturer in probability.'

[540] tlaq-iːt <u>waħda</u> *lafamij.* (R4)

PERF-meet-1SGFSubj one family

'I met a relative of mine.'

[541] hɔma *demi-journée* ɛaʃriːn ***licences***, ɛaʃriːn ***masters***, w jʒɔ ɾɑːjħiːn. (R12)

They half day twenty ***licences***, twenty ***masters***, and IMPERF-come-3PLSubj going

'They take just half day to study all the files and they qualify twenty licences and twenty masters and leave.'

Numeral construction is rather complicated in AA. The word 'wɑːħed' and its feminine 'waħda' which translate into 'one' usually precedes the nouns, however when it is

309

emphasised it follows the noun like an attributive adjective. Moreover, this numeral is used with singular indefinite nouns, thus contrasting with the invariable and prenominal indefinite article 'waħd' that requires the definite prefix (l-). The three above-cited examples are the only instances of mixed constituents with the AA numeral wɑːħed/ waħda in this corpus, and in fact, example (540) is not considered as CS but rather borrowing[242]. Example (538) includes an inserted AA numeral into an otherwise French structure, yet the speaker self-correct himself and resorts to the French numeral instead.

Example (541) on the other hand, can also be considered as cases of borrowing. The words *master* and *licence* are cultural borrowing that fill lexical gaps. Furthermore, there is insufficient congruence between AA numerals and their French counter-parts. This lack of sufficient congruence lies in the different features of numerals in both languages. AA numerals from number 2 to 10 subcategorize for plural nouns, yet those that are bigger than number 10 call for singular nouns. All French numerals, on the other hand, subcategorize for plural nouns, except number 1 which is used with singular nouns. This structural mismatch between AA and French numerals may explain the paucity of mixed constituents with AA numerals.

Actually, to overcome this lack of congruence or mismatch between the features of the AA numerals and French numerals, the speakers resort to different bridge strategies to avoid using AA numerals as modifiers before French nouns; one includes the use of the AA analytic construction (numeral + taɛ + NP). Concerning the use of the numbers 2 to 10, two constructions are commonly encountered. One is synthetic: one of these numbers is juxtaposed to the plural nouns without an intervening definite prefix [Num+N-$_{PL}$]. The other construction is analytic using the preposition 'taɛ' (of) and the definite prefix (l-) [Num+ taɛ +l-N] as exemplified by the following sentences:

[542] gott-el-hɔm ɣɑːdi n-ħall-ɔ <u>ɛaʃra taɛ</u> *les postes*.(R1)
PERF-tell-to-them will-Future IMPERF-open-1PLSubj ten of ***the vacancies***
'I told them that we are going to open ten job vacancies.'

[543] ddiːt-el-ha <u>setta taɛ</u> *les copies*. (R1)
PERF-take-to-her six of *the sheets*

---

[242] This example was mentioned in chapter one when we dealt with borrowing and CS. The word *lafamij* here is a borrowed form from French and it is originally two words *'la famille'* but it is used as one word interchangeably with the words *fəmiːlja* or *fəmiːlti* to mean 'my relative or a relative of mine'. So here it is not a case of code-switching.

'I gave her six sheets.'

[544] ɛɫiː-h ɛaʃɾa taɛ *les absences*. (R9)

Give-him ten of ***the absences***

'Ten absences can be excused.'

The other strategy used to overcome the lack of congruence between AA numerals and their French counter-parts is the insertion of French EL islands. Indeed, The plethora of embedded French NPs containing French numerals (127 tokens) further validate the assumptions that EL islands are the result of lack of sufficient congruence between the two languages involved in CS at the level of NPs containing numerals. The following examples from the corpus of the present study include French nouns modified by French numerals:

[545] ʃi ***trois ans*** ɾaddiːt d-*département* ʃiː-h ***vingt-quatre enseignants***.

In three years PERF-turn-1SGFSubj DEF-department in-it ***twenty-four teachers***

'During three years I raised the number of the teachers in the department to twenty-four.' (R4)

[546] bassaħ hna talqi ɾuːħək b-***huit modules différents***. (R7)

But here –IMPERF-find-2SGFSubj yourself with ***eight modules different***

'But here you will find yourself teaching eight different modules.'

[547] ɛand-ek ***deux façons de faire***. (R8)

Possess-you ***two ways to do***

'You have two ways to do it.'

[548] l-*poème* ʃiːh ***quatre phrases***, ʃiːh ***quatre vers***, ʃiːh ***quatre lignes***.

DEF-*poem* in-it ***four sentences***, in-it ***four verses***, in-it ***four lines***

'The poem consists of four lines.' (R9)

After examining the different combinations between determiners and nouns within noun phrase, we will consider the extended NP by describing the role of the two languages when it comes to switching between nouns and adjectives and between nouns and their complements.

4.2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are content morpheme, i.e. they either assign thematic role[243] or receive thematic role, when they are part of a larger NP. So, adjectives may come from the EL and be inserted into ML frames of mixed constituents. Adjectives are classified into attributive adjectives that modify ML nouns, and predicative adjectives[244] that are inserted in copula constructions (Appendix 12).

AA attributive adjectives occur mostly in post-nominal positions and they agree with the head noun they modify in gender, number and definiteness. French, on the other hand, is a mixed language in respect to the placement of adjectives; some adjective can be placed before the noun, yet the majority of adjectives are placed after the noun. In French, NPs consisting of a head noun and an attributive adjective involve agreement between these two elements in gender and number. Depending on the features characterizing AA and French adjectives in terms of placement and agreement, we expect considerable restrictions concerning adjective insertions.

Concerning embedded French nouns and NPs into AA matrices, very few of them are modified by AA adjectives compared to those modified by demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers. In the corpus of the present study we have only six instances that include French NPs modified by AA adjectives, four of them are mentioned hereafter (the remaining two include the same adjectives that appear in examples [549] and [550]:

> **[549]** kɑːjen *un problème* waħdɑːχɔɾ. (R9)
>
> There is *a problem* other
>
> 'There is another problem'

> **[550]** ɣɑːdi ne-dd-i men ħaq *les modules* lɔχɾiːn. (R10)
>
> Will IMPERF-take-1SGSubj from right *DEF modules* other-PL
>
> 'I will affect the other modules' impact on the average.'

> **[551]** ma-ɛanɑː-ʃ bezzɑːf *les endroits* ʃɑːbiːn. (R1)

---

[243] Some adjectives can assign thematic role as in the following example given by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000: 1058): Stella is interested in horticulture. Here **interested in** assigns the role of theme (stimulus) to horticulture and the role of experiencer to Stella.

[244] Predicative adjectives are linked through a copula or other linking mechanism to the noun or pronoun they modify e.g. that made me happy. In AA predicative adjectives may also be linked to the noun with zero copula e.g;

hada hɔwa l-ħħal.   daɾk-ɔm ʃaːba

This he the-solution. 'This is the solution'   house-3PL nice. 'Your house is nice'

NEG-have-NEG many ***the places*** <u>beautiful-PL</u>

'We don't have many beautiful places.'

[552] tfakɾɔ ***la réaction*** taɛkɔm <u>l-lɔwla</u>. (R8)

IMPERF-Remember-2PLSubj *the reaction* of-you <u>the first</u>

'Remember your first reaction.'

[553] ***Les textes*** ʒɑːw had *la semaine* ʒdɔd ɛla l-maʒɑːlis l-ɛilmijja. (R7)

The texts came this *the week* <u>new </u>about the scientific councils.

'The new texts concerning the organization of the scientific councils came this week.'

This type of code-switching obeys the first constraint of the ML (AA) that concerns the position of the adjective: the adjectives (waħdɑːχɔɾ 'another', lɔχɾiːn 'other', ʃɑːbiːn 'beautiful, lɔwla 'first' and 'ʒdɔd 'new') are placed after the French nouns despite the fact that their French equivalents normally precede the nouns they modify. However, the second constraint which stipulates that the attributives take the characteristics of the noun to which it is syntactically attached is not respected i.e., the prefixing of the article [l-] to the adjective when the latter follows a noun determined by a definite article is not fulfilled. In other words, the adjectives in examples [551] and [553] agree in gender, number with the preceding nouns yet they don't agree with them in "definiteness" which violates ML requirements (there are only 08 examples of this type of insertion). The AA adjective '' in example [552], on the other hand agree with the French definite noun in gender, number and definiteness.

French attributive adjectives, on the other hand, are not frequently inserted in AA frames (17 instances) which is very limited if we compare it to the insertion of French predicative adjectives (120 tokens) and to the insertion of French nominal constituents containing French adjectives (291 tokens). Most inserted French adjectives in this corpus follow the AA noun ħɑːʒa '*something*' (10 out of the 17 inserted French adjectives). Consider the following examples:

[554] fiː-h hadɑːk <u>l-ɛaməl</u> ***spécial*** *pour attirer*. (R4)

In-it that DEF-thing ***special*** to attract

'It contains a special thing to attract.'

[555] *Viber* mʃi <u>ħɑːʒa</u> ***formelle*** mʃi ɾasmi kɔn *mail* wɑːh. (R8)

Viber not thing ***formal*** not formal if *mail* yes
Viber is not formal not like mail?'

[556] je préfère naχdem <u>mɛa wɑːħed</u> ***moyen*** w matχallaq.(R9)
i prefer IMPERF-work-1SGSubj with one and educated
'I prefer to work with an average student who is well-educated.'

As shown by the above-cited examples, French attributive adjectives follow AA nouns they modify, however they don't agree with them in definiteness (example [] and other examples in this corpus), a feature that reflect a lack of sufficient congruence between the two languages. Boumans and Caubet (2000) also note the occurrence of French adjectives as bare forms when AA is the ML. Nonetheless, other corpora including AA/Fr Bentahilla (1983), MA/French Ziamari (2003), OraA/French Ouahmiche (2013) and AA/French Mendas (2013) include examples of French attributive adjectives prefixed with the definite article (l-) when they follow defined nouns, however, this type of switching is not regular in any of the mentioned data sets. It remains limited to some attested instances. Here are some illustrative examples from our previous corpus (2013):

[557] ɛɬini <u>l-kwaːɣaɬ ***l-origin-aux***</u> tawɛ-ək.
Give-me the papers **DEF-*original-PLAgr*** of-your.
'Give me your original papers'.

[558] ʒib-i-li <u>t-tricot ***l-mauve***</u>.
Bring-2SGF-for me DEF-sweater **DEF-*purple***.
'Bring me the purple sweater'.

[559] kan-ɔ ɟa-hadr-ɔ ɛla *<u>les classes **l-propres**</u>*.
Were-3PL 3PR-speak-3PL about the classes **DEF-*proper***.
'They were speaking about the clean classes'.

[560] ʒa-ɟ fə *<u>l-boulevard **l-principal**</u>*.
Come-3SG in DEF-*boulevard* **DEF-*principal***.
'It is located in the principal boulevard'.

Being the ML in the above examples, AA imposes its characteristics on the inserted French adjectives which take the AA definite article (e.g. l-*originaux*, l-*mauve*, l-*propre,* and l-*principal*). Yet as we have already said this is not a regular type of insertion as those are the only attested instances in our previous corpus. In the corpus of the present study, there is no instance of such switching.

This syntactic restriction does not hold in the case of predicate adjectives that occur after the AA linking verbs (ɾɑːh/kɑːn 'to be', ʒɑːj 'seem', wella 'become', etc.) and the zero copula {ø} in this corpus as illustrated by the following examples:

> **[561]** zaɛma kɑːn-ɔ *impressionnés*. (R1)
> That's PERF-be-3PLSubj *impressed*
> 'That's, they were impressed.'

> **[562]** t-ʃuf-iː-hɔm *séparés* wella *ensemble*? (R5)
> IMPERF-see-2SGSubj-them *separated* or *together*
> 'You see them separated or together?'

> **[563]** χɔs-na nkuː-nɔ ʃwija *souple*. (R9)
> Should-1PLSubj IMPER-be-3PLSubj a little *flexible*
> 'We have to be a little flexible.'

> **[564]** ɛlɑːʃ jwalli l'enseignant *agressive*? (R10)
> Why IMPER-become-3SGSubj *aggressive*
> 'Why does the teacher become aggressive?'

> **[565]** hɔwa déjà ʒɑːj *démotivé*. (R12)
> He already PERF-be *demotivated*
> 'He's already demotivated.'

Inserted predicative adjectives are usually modified by French degree adverbs example (568), French prepositional phrase examples (569, 570) or French superlative and comparative forms see examples (566, 567) below; forming adjective phrases. The latter is relatively unconstrained type of insertion in many CS data. There are 17 tokens of adjective constituents in this corpus:

> **[566]** nti ø *le plus gradé*. (R4)
> You ø *the most ranked*
> 'You have the highest rank.'

> **[567]** j-kun-ɔ *plus instruits que l'enseignant*. (R5)
> IMPERF-be-3PLSubj *more instructed than the teacher*
> 'They will be more instructed than the teacher.'

> **[568]** Dès le début ʒɑːjhɔm genre *un peu difficile*. (R7)
> From the beginning IMPERF-be-1SGSubj-them *a little difficult*
> 'From the beginning it was a little difficult for them.'

[569] ʒɑːbɔ waħd s-sanjawɑːt *pleins de crasse*. (R12)
PERF-bring-3PLSubj INDEF -trays *full of dirt*
'They brought trays full of dirt.'

[570] zaɛma tɔ-ggɔɛd-i toujours *dépendant de lui*. (R4)
That means IMPER-stay-2SGSubj always *dependent on him*
'That means you keep being dependent on him.'

Adjectives can also be modified by infinitive clauses. We have two French adjectives followed by infinitive complements as follow:

[571] hnajliːq nkunɔ *sages pour apaiser ((..)) pour calmer les esprits*.
Here have to IMPERF-be-3PL wise to calm on the spirits (R6)
'We have to be sage to calm on the situation.'

[572] fiːh hadɑːk l-ɛaməl *spécial pour attirer*. (R4)
In-it that the-work special to attract
'There is a special spell in it to attract.'

As it was mentioned earlier, the insertion of French attributive adjectives into AA matrices as well as the modification of embedded French nouns by AA attributive adjectives is very limited compared to the insertion of entire noun phrases consisting of French adjectives. Indeed, the insertion of attributive adjectives into noun phrases has often constituted a challenge to the ML requirement. This is the result of the conflicting word order and the different sub-categorization frames for adjectives in both languages. In fact, the insertion of adjectives in this corpus is in accordance with the general tendency governing this type of insertion since both orders Adj-N and N-Adj are common among the world's languages. Noun phrases with attributive adjectives constitute 291 instances (199 of them with the definite articles and 92 of them with indefinite articles, 118 have the order Adj+N and 19 of them are adverbials such as '*la dernière fois (last time), l'année prochaines (next year), la semaine passée (last week), etc*. Examples below include NPs with definite and indefinite French nouns modified by French attributive adjectives:

[573] diɾ-iː-le-h *un petit pécule* dans une enveloppe w ɛłihɑːleh.
Make-2SGSubj-for-him *a little money* in an envelope and give-2SGSubj-to-him
'Put some money in an envelope and give it to him.' (R1)

[574] *une grande dispute* hija w jaːha had lχałɾa. (R1)
A big argument she and her this the time

'There was a big argument between them recently.'

[575] gɑːɛ ø *des gens cupides*. R4
All Cop *INDEF people greedy*
'They are all greedy people.'

[576] ʔɔstɑːdʒ ɑːmiɛi ila ma-ɛanda-h-ʃ *la conscience professionnelle*!
Teacher university if NEG-have-3SGSubj-NEG *the conscience professional*
If a university teacher doesn't have professional conscience! (R7)

[577] ja-ɛɬiːh-ɔm *les bons arguments* fe d-*début de l'année*. (R4)
IMPERF-give-3SGSubj-them *the good arguments* in the *beginning of the year*
'He'll give them good arguments in the beginning of the year.'

[578] *les traitements privilégiés* lli kɑːnɔ jaɛɬuːhɔm fe *l'université*.
The treatment privileged that be-3PL IMPER-give-3PLSubj-them in the university
'The privileged treatment they were given at university.' (R12)

In addition to the insertion of French adjectives, adjective phrases, and NPs with attributive adjectives, adjective-Noun combinations are also attested in the corpus of the present study. The latter are not considered as constituents because they appear without the determiner and are embedded into AA structures projected by the AA definite article (l-) and indefinite article (ø). They cannot be treated as single morphemes either because they have an internal French structure which is apparent from the relative order of adjective and noun (Adj-N as opposed to AA N-Adj) as illustrated by the following adjectives:

[579] w mambaɛd wallət ø *phénomène national*. (R4)
And after PERF-become-3SGSubj INDEF *phenomenon national*
'After, it became a national phenomenon.'

[580] bassaħ ma-ɾah-ɔm-ʃ baɣ-jiːn j-wall-ɔ ɣi ø *Futures enseignants*. (R6)
But NEG-be-3PLSubj-NEG want-3PLSubj IMPER-become-3PLSubj just *future teacher*
'But they are not going to be just teachers in the future.'

[581] fe l-*contexte algérien* χɔs na-ħɾag l-pneu. (R8)
in DEF-*context Algerian* have to IMPERF-burn-1SG DEF-tire.
'You are saying that in the Algerian context we have to burn tires.'

[582] *La grammaire* ta-ɛɬiː-hɔm ø *mauvaises notes*. (R10)

The grammar IMPERF-give-them INDEF **bad marks**

'The teacher of grammar gives them bad marks.'

[583] n-diːɾ-ɔ ø *répartition équilibrée*. (R11)

IMPERF-make-1PLSubj INDEF **division balanced**

'We'll make a balanced division.'

These combinations that reach 36 instances in our corpus have been put forward as counter-examples to the Myers-Scotton's insertional approach; yet recently they have been subsumed under the category of internal EL islands. Most examples of adjective-noun combinations in our corpus are fixed expressions such as (names of the different organizations at university, cohorts, modules, etc.) and many of them are, indeed, embedded as bare forms i.e. they lack the definite article in places when it is necessary. In these cases, they cannot be considered as internal EL islands and they are, actually, counter-examples to the MLF model. Consider the instances below:

[584] # *Harcèlement morale* t-ɾuːħ lə-*la justice*. (R12)

Harassment moral IMPERF-go-3SGSubj to *the justice*

'Moral harassment can be presented as a case in the court.'

[585] # *Même jour* baɛt-ɔ hadiːk la note. (R8)

Same day PERF-send-3PLSubj that DEF note

'They send the note on the same day.'

[586] ana madeɾtʃ même pas # *6ème inscription*. (R1)

Me NEG-do—1SG-NEG even # 6th enrolment

'I didn't even enroll for the sixth time.'

[587] Cinquante mille me n-nɑːs lli ɾɑːhɔm jaħħakmɔ fiːna ɛandhɔm # *nationalité française*. (R12)

Fifty thousands of the people that be-3PLSubj IMPERF-govern-3PLSubj in-us have-3PL # **nationality French**

'Fifty thousand of the people that govern us have the French nationality.'

In addition, to the above-cited counter-examples, this corpus includes another counter-example to the MLF model. This includes an AA noun modified by French indefinite article and French adjective in an AA structure as follow:

[588] kanɔ ɛand-i *des petits* zwiqɑːt. (R4)

Ne-3PLObj in-1SGSubj *INDEF small* accessories

'I had small accessories.'

The noun phrase '*des petits* zwiqɑ:t' cannot be considered as an EL island because it includes an AA noun and it is not a case of single morpheme insertion as it doesn't respect the AA Arabic noun-adjective order. In this case we can either resort to Boumans' notion of layered insertion i.e. insertion of AA noun into French NP which is embedded into the AA clause. Yet, this explanation does not seem convincible since the insertion of AA nouns into French NP is rather rare even when French is the ML.

4.2.3 Noun Complements

Apart from determiners and adjectives, nouns can also be modified by complements. Noun complements may be prepositional phrases or infinitive phrases or even full clauses. All the before-mentioned types of complementation are embedded alongside their French head-nouns in the corpus of the present study (Appendix 13).

In AA, noun complements and genitive construction take two forms -synthetic and analytic. Like Standard Arabic, the Algerian dialect has the construction by annexation (elʔidɑ:fa) which is a synthetic construction formed by the juxtaposition of two nouns – the first as a head and the second as a dependent noun. The dependent is a definite noun that defines the head while the head noun cannot be marked for definiteness. In other words, the noun phrase consists of the annexation of a noun determined by a definite article to an indefinite noun. The construction by annexation[245] is not productive with French nouns apart from six examples in this corpus that combine the AA noun *nhɑ:ɾ* 'day' with a French definite noun as displayed by the examples [589] and [590] below:

[589] wsalt nhɑ:ɾ *la soutenance*. (R1)

PERF-arrive day *the viva*

'I arrived on the day of the viva.'

---

[245] We have also the following two examples where French nouns are annexed to AA nouns, however French nouns here are considered as borrowings:

bent d-*doyen* ɛɫi:tha sabɛa. (R4)

Daughter DEF-dean give-1SGSubj-her seven. 'I gave the dean's daughter seven.'

ħatta sḥɑ:b t-*traduction* daχχalthɔm. R4

Even friends DEF-translation enter-1SGSubj-them. 'even those who studied translation had the chance to enter.'

[590] nhɑːɾ *la réunion* gɑːlli belli makɑːʃ *les comités*. (R4)

Day *the meeting* PERF-tell-me that NEG the committees

'On the day of the meeting, he told me that there aren't committees.'

[591] dɑːɾɔ ħɑːla *le jour* taɛ *les élections*. (R8)

PERF-do-3PLSubj scandal *the day* of *the elections*

'They behaved outrageously the day of the elections.'

The analytic construction, on the other hand, which is made of two nouns separated by the so-called genitive exponent {taɛ (of)} is very productive with French nouns as example [591] above illustrates. Indeed, it is similar to French genitive analytic structure {NP + de + NP}. Consider the following example:

[592] ta srɑː-l-i *l'histoire* taɛ *le cambriolage* taɛ dɑːr-i fe *les vacances de mars*. (R4)

Till PERF-happen-to-me *the history* of *the burglary* of house-me in *the holidays of March*

'Till the incident of the burglary of my house happened in spring holidays.'

In example [592], we have three types of prepositional complements: AA, French and mixed prepositional phrases. A mixed PP 'taɛ *le cambriolage*' (of the burglary) is the complement of the French NP '*l'histoire*' (the story) which is a direct object to the AA verb 'srɑ' (happen). We also have the AA PP 'taɛ dɑːri' (of my house) which is the complement of the inserted French NP '*le cambriolage*'; and a French PP '*de mars*' (of march) which is a complement of the French NP '*les vacances*' (the holidays).

The insertion of French NPs in the mixed structure Fr-NP+taɛ+Fr-NP when AA is the ML constitute 112 instances in the corpus of the present study. The bridge system morpheme 'taɛ' is not the only preposition that introduce noun complements, there is the preposition 'fe' as illustrated by the following instances:

[593] *Les absences* fe *les réunions* jaggalɛuːhɔm mə l-*prime de rondement*. (R7)

The absences in *the meetings* IMPERF-omit-3PLSubj-them from DEF-performance bonus

'Absences in the meetings will be punished by omitting from the performance bonus.'

[594] ɛan-na *une pause* taɛ *une heure*. (R1)

Have-we *a break* of *one hour*
'We have one-hour break.'

[595] w had d-***discours*** taɛ ***les races*** ɾɑːh jwalli. (R1)
And that DEF-*speech* of *the races* be-3SGSubj IMPERF-return-3SGSubj
'And the speech of races is returning.'

[596] ħna naɛɫuːhɔm ***le privilège*** taɛ ***les dix premiers***. (R9)
We IMPERF-give-1PLSubj-them *the privilege* of *the first ten*
'We will give them the privilege of the first ten highest averages.'

[597] wə ddiːɾi ***des critères*** taɛ ***les publications, les communications***,
And do-2SGSubj *INDEF criteria* of *the publications, the presentations* … (R4)
'And you can establish criteria depending on publications, participation in colloquia.'

French noun phrases in the corpus of the present study tend to be embedded with French prepositional complements. Indeed, it is a very recurrent type of switching. Most prepositional complements (213 tokens) that follow French nouns are introduced by the preposition *de (of)* in this corpus. Prepositional complements that are introduce by other prepositions -*sur (over), en, à, dans (in), vers (towards), pour (for)* reach 20 instances as illustrated below:

[598] kɔnt dɑːjɾa ***un livre de chevet***. (R1)
PERF-be do-1SGFSubj *a book of bedside*
'I used to have a bedside book.'

[599] ki gɑːl-ət waħda ***une amie à ma mère*** ta ngalsah d-dem.
(R4)
As PERF-say-3SGFSubj one *a friend of my mother* till PERF-throw up-him DEF-blood
'As a friend of my mother said I won't stop till I make him spit up blood.'

[600] ʒɑːthɔm ***une occasion en or***. (R4)
PERF-come-them *an occasion in gold*
'They found a golden opportunity.'

[601] ***L'agressivité de l'enseignant*** miːn ɾɑːha dʒi? (R10)
The aggressiveness of the teacher where be-3SGF come
'Where does teacher's aggressiveness come from?'

[602] ki nawsal *le plus haut grade dans une structure*… (R6)

When IMPERF-reach-1SGSubj *the most high rank in a structure*

'When we reach the highest rank in a structure…'

[603] Les étudiants daɾ-u-l-i *une collecte sur Facebook*. (R4)

The students PERF-make-3PLSubj-for-me *a collection on Facebook*

'The students made a gathering account for my lectures on the Facebook.'

[604] ɛand-hɔm *une haine vers le nord*. (R4)

Have-them a hatred towards the north

They hate the north.'

[605] ki ʃɑːf *l'accrochage entre eux*, ħaɫ *la démission*. (R11)

When PERF-saw the clash between them, he put the resignation

'When he saw the clash between them, he resigned.'

[606] dɑːɾ *une librairie virtuelle pour les enfants*. (R4)

PERF-do-3SGSubj *a library virtual for the kids*

'He made a virtual library for children.'

Embedded French noun phrases in the corpus of the present study can be even modified by an entire French prepositional clause as the following examples illustrate:

[607] ana ɾɑːni ndilhɔm hadi l'introduction *juste pour* bɑːʃ naɛɫuːhɔm *une idée de quoi il s'agit la linguistique appliquée*. (R5)

I'm doing this introduction *just for* to give them *an idea of what it is applied linguistics*

'I'm doing this introduction just to give them an idea about what it is applied linguistics.'

[608] jaɛɫuːh *une version de ce qu'ils veulent* hɔma. (R11)

IMPERF-give-him *a version of what they want* they

'They tell him what they want him to know.'

[609] ɾɑːni dɑːχla b-*l'idée* taɛ *c'est logique*. (R4)

I am here with the idea of it's logical

'I have the idea that everything is logical?'

French nouns and their prepositional complements are sometimes inserted into AA frame projected by the definite article {l-}, the indefinite zero article {ø} or as bare forms (#)

i.e. lacking the definite article when it is necessary. The following statements clearly illustrate this type of construction:

[610] jliːqli nχalliːh jħas ɾuːħah ø *membre de cette institution*.

IMPERF-have-to-me IMPERF-let-him IMPERF-feel himself INDEF *member of this institution*   (R7)

'I have to make him feel as a member of this institution.'

[611] # *manque de considération* ɾɑːnɑ mettɑːfqiːn ɛliː-ha. (R8)

Lack of consideration be-1PLSubj PastParticiple-agree-1PLSubj about-it

'We all agree that there is a lack of consideration.'

[612] mʃi ø *question de discipline* ɣi de mauvaise habitude. (R9)

NEG INDEF *question of discipline* just *of bad behaviour*

'It's not a question of discipline but just of bad behavious.'

[613] membaɛd na-hadɾ-ɔ ɛla l-*programme de chaque niveau*. (R5)

After 1PL-talk-1PLSubj about DEF-*programme of each level*

'After that we will discuss the programme of each level.'

Indeed, the insertion of French nouns or NPs and their prepositional complements exceeds the insertion of French NPs within the AA structure {FrNP+taɛ+FrNP}. The former constitutes 276 tokens[246] which is more than twice the insertion of the latter (112 tokens). However, what is really surprising is that there are only ten (10) examples of French nouns modified by AA prepositional complements:

[614] ʃetti *la douleur*<u>taɛ wlɑːdek</u>, (R1)

See-3SGFSubj *the pain* of kids-your

'You know the pain of your kids.'

[615] kɑːjen *un grade* <u>taɛ jkawwen</u>, (R9)

There is *a rank* of forming

'There is a position for trainer teachers who form novice ones.'

The AA preposition {taɛ} is frequently singly-switched when French is the ML or what we refer to as a ML turnover. We have 42 French sentences that include singly embedded AA preposition {taɛ} as illustrated by the following example:

---

[246] These 276 tokens include 152 tokens of DEF+N+COMP plus 61 tokens of INDEF+N+COM plus 63 tokens of l/ø + N + COMP

[616] *Il va exposer les comportements* <u>taɛ</u> *les élèves*. (R4)

He is going to expose the behaviours *of* the pupils

'He is going to expose pupils' behaviours.'

[617] *Moi je prends l'exemple* <u>taɛ</u> *l'anglais*. (R9)

Me I take the example of the English

'I take English as an example.'

[618] *C'était un détournement* <u>taɛ</u> *un évènement institutionnel*. (R12)

It was a diversion of an event institutional

'It was a diversion of an institutional event.'

French NPs may also include nouns that are followed by infinitive phrases (7 instances) to complement their meanings as illustrated by the following sentences:

[619] Dans un autre module naɛɬi ***une question d'analyse*** wella ***un essaie à rédiger***. (R10)

In another module IMPERF-give-1SGSubj *a question of analysis* or *an essay to write*

'In another module I give a question of analysis or an essay to write.'

[620] ki naɛɬi:hɔm ***des romans à lire*** des fois fe ɾ-*reading*… (R5)

When IMPERF-give-1SGSubj-them *INDEF novels to read* sometimes in DEF-reading

'I when I give them sometimes novels to read…'

[621] ntija ɛɬɑ:t-ək ***une histoire à dormir debout***. (R4)

You PERF-give-3SGSubj-you a story to sleep upright

'She gave you a cock-and-bull story.'

[622] tbqɑ:li mɛɑ:kɔm ***une autre séance supplémentaire à ajouter***.

IMPERF-remain-1SGObj with-you another session supplementary to add

'It remains another supplementary session to add.' (R9)

In fact, the corpus of the present study contains even bigger embedded French noun phrases; these are French nouns and their modifying French relative clauses that constitute clausal EL islands. French nouns and their clausal complements account for 27 instances in this corpus. These noun post-modifiers are introduced by the pronouns *qui* (who) that constitute the majority of embedded relative pronouns 22 tokens; we have three (3) instances introduced by the pronoun *que* (that), one example by the French pronoun *ou* (where) and one instance of relative clause introduced by [*preposition 'de' + quoi*]. Take a look at the

examples below –examples [624] and [626] contain two noun modifiers. In the former, the French noun 'corps' is modified by an adjective and a relative clause, in the latter, the French noun 'séance' is followed by a prepositional complement phrase and a relative clause:

> **[623]** ki ɾɑ-h *le petit* wella *la petite qui est à l'intérieur*. (R1)
> How is-3SGM the little baby-boy or baby-girl who is inside
> 'How is the baby boy or the baby girl who is inside?'

> **[624]** ɣɑːdijɔχɾɔʒ gɑːɛ *un corps spécial qui va régir les stages*.
> Fut 3IMPER-come out totally a frame special that is going to govern the trainings
> 'Totally new frame is going to govern the trainings.'

> **[625]** ʃɔfti gɑːɛ hadiːk *l'histoire qu'ils ont raconté*. (R9)
> PERF-see-2SGSubj that the story that they have recounted
> 'Have you heard that story that they have recounted.'

> **[626]** *La séance du quatorze* n-*avanc*-i halhɔm w *la séance de la semaine passée que j'ai ratée*. (R9)
> The session of fortieth IMPERF-advance-1SG-it-for-them and the session of the last week that I missed
> 'I'll move forward the session of the fortieth and the session of the last week that I missed.'

> **[627]** grammaire naɛɬiːhɔm *des exercices ou il y a pas de production*. (R10)
> grammar IMPERF-give-1SGSubj INDEF exercises where there is no production
> 'In grammar, we usually give exercises that don't involve production. '

> **[628]** ana ɾɑːni ndilhɔm hadi *l'introduction juste pour* bɑːʃ naɛɬuːhɔm *une idée de quoi il s'agit la linguistique appliquée*. (R5)
> I be-1SGSubj IIMPERF-do-for-them this *the introduction just* to to1IMPERF-give-them *an idea about what it is the linguistics applied*
> 'I do this introduction just to give them an idea about what applied linguistics is.'

Thus, regarding complements of embedded French nouns, they are varied - prepositional phrases, infinitive phrases, prepositional clauses and relative clauses- and numerous. Most prepositional complements are from the EL (276 French instances as opposed to only 10 AA prepositional complements and to 112 tokens of {AA prepositions + French NPs} modifying French nouns). Relative clauses that follow French nouns on the other hand, tend to be mostly in AA rather than in the language of the noun and they are

distributed as follow: we have 104 instances of AA relative clauses that modify French nouns (51 instances when AA is the ML and 53 tokens are AA relative clauses when French is the ML) against 27 instances of embedded French clausal complements after French nouns Appendix 14).

4.2.4   Prepositional Phrases

Different researchers have noted that languages may differ in the classification of elements as lexical or syntactic and prepositions are ones of those elements. Prepositions have been considered in linguistics as a variable class of morphemes which makes it hard to decide about each preposition on its own. In this respect Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) noted that "under the 4-M model, prepositions can be content morphemes or any of the three types of system morphemes. Sometimes the same phonological form fits into more than one category.". Therefore, we should expect some mismatch concerning switching of PPs and switching inside the PPs as they have different sub-categorization in different languages. Nevertheless, being content or system morphemes, prepositions are rarely embedded alone in the corpus of the present study except from the following five French prepositions:

> **[629]** jgʊlɔ tahdaɾ ***hors*** topic. (R3)
> 'they say she talks *off* topic.'

> **[630]** χalliːnɑːh ***sous*** wɑːħed… (R12)
> 'We put him *under* someone…'

> **[631]** hadi kɑːnet taɛʒebni fe *le directeur* ***malgré*** kɔlʃi. R1
> 'That what I liked about the director *in spite of* everything.'

> **[632]** ɾɑːhɔm *pour les examens* ***après*** l-ɛiːd. (R9)
> 'They are *for exams after* l-ɛiːd.'

> **[633]** ***Avant*** l-ħiɾɑːk kɑːnɔ forts. (R12)
> '*Before* l-ħiɾɑːk they were strong.'

In example [629] the singly embedded preposition is followed by an English noun and both of them are inserted into an AA clause. The AA nouns that are used after the French prepositions in examples [632] and [633] are cultural words; 'l-ɛiːd' is a religious celebration and 'l-ħiɾɑːk' that became widely spread and describes Algerian peaceful

protestation against the Algerian political regime. In Examples [630] and [631] AA indefinite pronouns kɔlʃi (everything) and wɑːħed (someone) occur after the French prepositions.

Prepositional phrases divide into complements and adjuncts. Prepositional complements are governed by the sub-categorization patterns of verbs, nouns, or adjectives without them the meaning is incomplete i.e. they are crucial in a sentence. Adjuncts, on the other hand, are optional constituents that add extra meaning to the sentence. The French PP in example [634] is an adjunct i.e. an adverbial of place, in example [635] is a noun complement and in example [636] it is an adjective complement whereas in example [637] the mixed PP is a verb complement. These examples illustrate the fact that in our corpus most mixed PPs that are headed by the AA prepositions are complements while embedded French PPs are almost all either adjuncts or fixed expressions.

[634] *Les professeurs* jʒɔ men *Alger **par avion**.* R4
'*The professors* come from *Algiers by plane*.'

[635] jliːq ***des écrits par les étudiants***. R9
'There should be *writings by the students*.'

[636] kɔnt ***excellente en sociolinguistique***. R10
PERF-be-1SG *excellent in sociolinguistics*
'I was excellent in sociolinguistics.'

[637] smeɛt-i b-diːk ***la scène***? R2
Heard-1SGFSubj about-that *the scene*
'Have you heard about that scene?'

Code switching within prepositional phrases is frequent in this corpus. Mixed complement PPs, which account for the majority of switched instances in this corpus, either modify French nouns (112 tokens) (this was mentioned when we talked about noun complements) or fulfil AA verbs' requirements (312 tokens). Adjuncts PPs on the other hand constitute (39 instances) and they are adverbs of time, place or manner. Mixed prepositional phrases include AA prepositions that combine with French nouns or French noun phrases. Prepositions that govern such constituents in the present corpus are varied and they Are distributed according to their occurrence with French nouns in this corpus as follow (see Appendix 15): 'fǝ' (161 tokens) (in, at), taɛ (87) (of), 'ɛla' (55) (about), 'l' (46) (to, for),

b- (28) (with ,via), 'mɛa' (25) (with), 'men' (17) (from), mɔːɾ (6) (behind, after), qbal (5) (before), ɛand (2), men ɛand (2), taħt(1) (under, beneath), goddɑːm (1) (in front of).

The following examples contain French NPs embedded into structures headed by AA prepositions forming mixed prepositional phrases:

[638] *La dernière fois* <u>fe l-*réunion*</u> hadɾət mɛɑːja <u>b-waħd</u> *la façon* <u>goddɑːm</u> *les étudiants*. (R7)

The last time in DEF-*meeting* PERF-talk-3SGFSubj with-me with-such *DEF way* in front of *DEF students*

'Last time she talked to me in such a way in front of the students.'

[639] Il se peut jabqɑː-l-hɔm <u>men</u> *d'autres départements*. (R4)

It may IMPER-remain-for-them from *the other departments*

'It may remain from the other departments.'

[640] ja-tmaʃ ʃ-ɔ <u>ɛla</u> *la discipline*. (R9)

IMPERF-walk-3PLSubj about *the discipline*

'They have to be disciplined.'

[641] ana nɛajjała-l-ha <u>b-*son prénom*</u>. (R8)

I IMPER-call-for-her by-*her first name*

'I call her by her first name.'

[642] ɛlɑːh jtaɛɛəb ɾuːħah <u>mɛa</u> *les équations.* (R2)

Why IMPER-tire-3SGSubj himself with *the equations*

Why does he bother himself with the equations?

[643] j-ɾuħ-ɔ <u>lə-les</u> *pays de leurs choix*. (R7)

IMPERF-go-3PLSubj to-DEF *countries of their choice*

'They go to the countries of their choice.'

Most PPs in the above-cited examples are verb complements. In example [638], we have two complements PPs (b-waħd *la façon,* goddɑːm *les étudiants*) to the AA verb 'hadɾət' (talked) and two adjunct phrases; one is the French NP (*la dernière fois*) and the other is the mixed PP (fe l-*réunion*).

The meanings as well as the function of the different prepositions across languages differ and a preposition in a language can be translated into different prepositions in another language and vice versa as illustrated by the following examples that include the AA preposition 'fe' which is the preposition mostly used with French nouns in this corpus:

[644] ɾɑːni n-χammǝm ͡fe ***les encadrements***. R4

Be-me IMPERF-think-1SGSubj about *the supervisions*

'I am thinking about supervisions.'

[645] ja-χadm-uː-ha ͡fe ***une année***. R1

IMPERF-make-3PLSubj-it in *a year*

They make it in a year.

[646] ana naχdem ͡fe ***une école privée***. R2

I IMPERF-work-1SGSubj in *a school private*

'I work in a private school.'

[647] t-waʒd-ɔ ͡fe ***les olympiques***. R2

IMPER-prepare-3PLSubj in *the Olympics*

You are preparing the Olympics.

[648] ɾɑːkɔm t-ɛɑːwn-ɔ ͡fe ***la médiocrité***. R9

Be-3PLSubj IMPERF-help-3PLSubj in *the poor-level*

'You are encouraging the poor-level.'

The above-cited examples include the AA pronoun '͡fe' with French NPs; this preposition translate into different French prepositions including '*à*' in example [644], '*au cours de*' example [645], '*dans*' example [646]. The preposition '͡fe' in examples [647] and [648], on the other hand, are optional and add the extra meaning of the progressive aspect. However, what is really striking is the fact that this preposition is recurrently singly switched when French is the ML with 80 tokens. Though it is not the only switched system morpheme when French is the ML, it is by far the highest in frequency compared to the demonstratives (60 tokens) and the highest compared to the other prepositions particularly the bridge 'taɛ' (42 tokens). The other switched prepositions are very limited in number when French is the ML and they include: 'mɛa' (7), 'men' (4), ħatta (4), 'ɛla' (3), 'lǝ-' (3), b- (2), mɔːɾ (1), bla (1), ɛand (1), biːn (1) (see Appendix 15 for a list of CPs including these prepositions)

As stated earlier, the same preposition in a language has different meanings in another language. The following examples are in French yet they include AA prepositions. Examples [649-53] below include the AA preposition '͡fe' which is used instead of the French

prepositions '*à*' example [649], '*en*' example [650], '*sur*' example [651], '*dans*' example [652], '*au*' or '*aux*' example [653]:

> **[649]** *Ils allaient tous mourir* f̲e̲ *la fin*. R1 (à)
>
> 'They are all going to die *in* the end.'

> **[650]** *Est-ce qu'on a tous une bonne prononciation* f̲e̲ *l'anglais*. R5 (en)
>
> ''Do we all have a good pronunciation *in* English.'

> **[651]** *Comment les repartir* f̲e̲ *les anné*es. R5 (sur)
>
> How 3PL to distribute *over* the years
>
> 'How to distribute them over the years.'

> **[652]** *Tu mentionnes* f̲e̲ l̲-*rapport*. R7 (dans)
>
> 'You mention *in the* report.'

> **[653]** *il a une moyenne telle* f̲e̲ *le bac,* w *une moyenne telle* f̲e̲ *les math*.
>
> R1 (au, aux)
>
> He has a level such *in* the bac, and a level such *in* the math
>
> 'He has such a level in bac and such a level in math.'

The provision of prepositional phrases with the AA preposition 'f̲e̲' and French nouns and NPs in AA matrix structures and even in French matrices may be explained by the fact that this preposition can fulfill the function of different French prepositions which is confusing sometimes for speakers to decide which French preposition to choose, particularly from the following three prepositions '*à*', '*en*', and '*dans*' since they all translate into the AA preposition 'f̲e̲'. The following examples give us a hint about this bewilderment:

> **[654]** makɑːʃ *spécialistes **dans littérature et civilisation***. (R5) (**en**)
>
> NEG-be-NEG specialists *in literature and civilization*
>
> 'There aren't specialists in literature and civilization.'

> **[655]** lɔkɑːn ndɑːret ***une réunion*** taɛ ***l'équipe d'enseignants en***
>
> ***anglais***… (R8) (**d'**)
>
> If PassP-do-3SGSubj a meeting of the staff of teachers of English
>
> 'If a meeting of the staff of English teachers was held …'

> **[656]** *Je croyais **à une (..) dans une école***, n-nɑːs *sont conscients*, (R4)
>
> '*I thought in a* (…) *in a school*, people are conscious.'

> **[657]** hɔma fe l-*passé* χadmɔ ***sur*** ((..)) ɛla *l'orale**. (R10)

They in DEF-past worked *on* ((..)) on *the oral*.
'They focused on oral in the past.'

In example [654] the French preposition '*en*' normally should be used instead of '*dans*' (*en littérature et civilization*). Likewise, in example [655] it is the French preposition '*de*' which is the correct one not '*en*' (*l'équipe d'enseignants d'anglais*). The speaker in example [657] shows a kind of hesitation and uncertainty -indicated by pause- in using the French preposition '*sur*' (on) after the AA verb 'χadmɔ' (work), then the speaker resorts to the AA preposition instead. Likewise, example [656] clearly illustrate the uncertainty on the part of the interlocutor in choosing between the French preposition '*dans*' and '*à*' before the French NP '*une école*'. It is obvious then that there is a sort of confusion in using French prepositions.

The preposition 'fe' is not the only preposition that replaces different French prepositions but it is the most frequent. Hereafter, we have examples that include the AA preposition 'men'[247] (from) which occurs in an otherwise French CPs and is used instead of the French prepositions '*à*' and '*de*':

[658] *C'est l'occasion de demander* <u>mə **l-magasin**</u> *deux data shows*. R11 (au)

It's an opportunity to ask from DEF-store two data shows
'It's your chance to ask for two data shows from the store.'

[659] *Et secundo parce que le nouveau directeur des études a été nommé* <u>mə</u> <u>d-**département**</u> *d'anglais*. R12 (de)

And secondly, because the new director of studies has been appointed from DEF-department of English
'And secondly the new director of studies has been appointed from English department.'

AA prepositions replace French ones even in some complex prepositions[248] as illustrated by the following examples:

[660] ħna ɾɑːna naχχadmɔ ***par rapport lə- les autres départements***.

---

[247] The AA preposition 'men' is contracted to the initial consonant which is usually the definite article {l-}.

[248] A complex preposition is a word group (such as "along with" or "on account of") that functions like an ordinary one-word preposition. Complex prepositions can be divided into two groups: two-word units (a word + a simple preposition), such as *apart from* (also known as *compound prepositions*); and three-word units (a simple preposition + a <u>noun</u> + a simple prepostion), such as *by means of* (also known as *phrasal prepositions*)

We IMPERF-be IMPERF-work-1PLSubj ***compared*** to ***the other departments***

'We work compared to the other promotions.' R8

[661] kɑː-nɔ jʒɔ ***par rapport aux autres promotions.*** R9

PERF-3PLSubj IMPERF-come-3PLSubj ***compared to the other cohorts***

'They had attended classes compared to the others.'

[662] Est-ce que ntijja qaɾeɾti tkamli qɾɑːjtek ***par rapport à tes camarades, à tes amis,*** wella maniːʃ ɛɑːɾfa, **à tes copines**. ɾɑːki taqɾi ***par rapport*** liːhɔm wella ***par rapport*** l-nafsek. R9

Did you decide to finish your study ***with respect to your classmates, to your friends,*** or I don't know, **to your friends**. you are studying **_with respect_** to them or **_with respect_** to yourself.

The preposition 'lə-' in example [660] replaces the French preposition *aux (à)* which is normally part of the French complex preposition '*par rapport à*' (with respect to) as in example [661]. The French preposition 'à' which can be used alone or as part of other complex prepositions is realized differently according to the following noun i.e. it has three allomorphs *'à'* is used before feminine nouns and nouns that begin with a vowel, *'au'* before masculine nouns and *'aux'* before plural nouns. In example [662] the change in the preposition from French to AA may be triggered by the use of the AA clitic pronouns '*hɔm*' (them), *nafsek* (yourself) as pronouns from both languages participating in CS are rarely switched as we have mentioned previously.

[663] *Je veux dire par rapport* **_lə-_***les gens qui veulent participer*. R12

I want to say in respect to the people who want to participate

'I mean in respect to people who want to take part.'

French prepositional EL islands are frequent as well in the corpus of the present study and they constitute 305 instances (see Appendix 16) as displayed by the following examples:

[664] tbehdiːla ***devant les nations du monde***. R1

'It's a shame *in front of the nations of the world*.'

[665] ɛtɑːhɔm d-dɾɑːhem ***comme un con***. R1

'He gave them the money *as a fool*.'

[666] ana gaːlɔhɑːli ***pendant la réunion***. R8

'they told me that *during the meeting*.'

[667] haɡda hada jɾuħ *sans malaise*. R8

'In this way this goes *without discomfort*.'

[668] hadu kiʃethɔm *parmi les meilleurs*. R9

'When i saw that they were *among the best*…'

[669] hija *déjà* kɑːnet *sous essaie*. R9

'She already was *under test*.'

[670] jkamlɔ *jusqu'au mois de juillet*. R9

'They'll finish until the month of July.'

unlike mixed prepositional phrases which constitute verb complements, embedded French prepositional phrases -apart from French nouns and their complements- are most of the time either adjuncts (i.e. adverbial phrases of time or pace) or set collocations i.e. what Backus defines as chunks[249] (71 tokens) as exemplified by the following instances:

[671] naχdem *avec un milieu sain* <u>*avec tous mes respects pour certains*</u>.

'I prefer to work *with a healthy environment avec all due respect for some*.' R9

[672] jkamluːha *à tour de rôle*. R4

'They will finish it *in turn*.'

[673] tʔamni, *en pleine réunion*, ʦenjiːlha? R4

'Do you believe, *in the middle of a meeting* he asked him if he will sign it for me'

[674] jałłalɛɔ lɔχɾiːn *par défaut*. R7

'The others will take their place *by default*.'

[675] ɾɑːhɔm hna *depuis belle lurette*. R9

'They are here *for ages*.'

[676] w ʃʃi laχɔɾ *à la pelle*. R9

And the rest with the shovel

'And the rest we have to shovel them out.'

[677] jɾuːħ jaħħafdah *par cœur*. R10

'He learns it *by heart*.'

[678] naɡɡałɛɔ *au même temps* kɾɑːɛ fɾɑːnsa. R12

'We will omit *at the same time* the leg of France.'

---

[249]Backus (1999b) defines a chunk as a conventional unit .

We have already mentioned the abundance of the AA preposition 'ƒe' that can denote the meaning of different French prepositions notably '*à*', '*en*', and '*dans*'. The instances of French PPs headed by these prepositions are distributed as follow '*à*' (7 tokens), '*en*' (34 tokens), and '*dans*' (11 tokens).

[679] ɬlaɛt l-Alger *à mes frais*. R4 b-
'I went to Algiers *at my expense*.'

[680] gɔliːli *le nombre* taɛ *les heures à la rentrée*. R4 ƒe
Tell me the number of the hours *at the beginning of the year*

[681] hɑːd l-χaɬɾa la paie maskiːna *en deux*. R4 ɛla
This time the salary poor *in two*
'This time, she was given half of her salary.'

[682] jwallijdiːɾha *en classe*. R4 ƒe
IMPERF-become-3SGSubj IMPERF-do-him in classroom
'He will do it in classroom.'

[683] jgɔllək hadɾi mɛɑːna *en anglais*. R4 b-
'They told you speak with us *in English*.'

[684] matɾɔħiːʃ ləddɑːɾ *dans cet état*. R12 ƒe
'Don't go home *in this state*.'

[685] jaɛni *pas mal dans deux ans* wella... R2 ɛla
It means shortly in two years' time or ...

As we have seen with the AA prepositions, French prepositions that are used in AA matrices occupy the position of different AA prepositions as displayed by the above examples, '*à*' can be translated into the AA {b-, ƒe}, '*en*' into {b-,ƒe, ɛla}, and '*dans*' into {ƒe, ɛla}. This cross-language mapping of prepositions may partly explain the shortage of embedded French PPs with these prepositions as compared to the insertion of French NPs into AA structures projected by AA prepositions particularly the AA {ƒe}. In addition, most of the examples with the prepositions '*à*', and '*en*', are either collocations or adjuncts as in the above-cited examples or part of complex prepositions '*à*' (45 tokens), '*en*' (38 tokens) as follow:

[686] manɑːʃɛɑːɾfiːn <u>*à partir de quelle date*</u> naħħasbɔ. R9

We don't know *from which date* we start counting.'

[687] ɾɑːkɔm tahadɾo ***au nom du groupe***. R9
'You talk *on behalf of* the group.'

[688] jnaʒʒem jɾɔdha ***une obligation au niveau de l'école***. R8
'He can make it *an obligation at the level of the school*.'

[689] ***Combien de modules*** kɑːjen ***en relation avec*** l'enseignement de langue ? R5
'*How many modules* are there *in relation with language teaching*.'

[690] w janqɑːsɔ ***en dehors de l'école***. R2
'And they should be thrown outside the school.'

[691] *Le canevas* kima ɾɑːh ***en termes de coefficient*** ndaχlɔ fiːh *le stage coefficient deux*. R9
'The canvas as it is *in terms of coefficient*, we add to it the training coefficient two.'

These locative prepositions are considered by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) as bridges; they do not encode directionality or motion, but locate a figure with respect to a ground. Other French prepositional phrases that are frequent in this corpus serve discourse marking functions such as organizing sequences in the discourse or expressing the speaker's attitude to what is being said. Consider the following instances:

[692] ***Au début*** gɔtlah ʔaɛɬih. (R12)
At first, I told him give him

[693] ***À la fin*** ngulɔ… (R8)
In the end we will say…

[694] ***À mon avis*** mataktbɔ wɑːlɔ. (R8)
'*In my view* don't write anything.'

[695] ɾɑːna nahadɾo ***en générale***. (R10)
'We are talking *in general*.'

[696] ***En toute objectivité***, ila ɾɑːhɔm ʔadɾa menna belli… (R8)
'*In an objective way*, if they know more than we do that …'

335

[697] *C'est-à-dire* le *bottom-up approach **en réalité*** jaħbəs ɛand *les sons*.

'It means the *bottom-up approach in reality* stop with the sounds'

Most embedded prepositional phrases in this corpus fall under the category of adjuncts (i.e. prepositional phrases used adverbially), chunks or idiomatic expression which are peripheral to the thematic role of the clause whereas prepositions which participate in the argument structure of the verb are realized in the same language namely AA; which is in accordance with the general tendency in CS literature (Myers-Scotton, Muysken, Treffers-Daller).

4.2.5   Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases

Adverbs can modify a verb, an adjective, another adverb or a whole sentence[250]. There are several types of adverbs (including adverbs of time, place, manner, frequency, degree adverbs, sequencing adverbs, etc). Adverbs' placement within the sentence varies from one language to the other and even within the same language. The different types and placements of the adverbs classify them as a heterogeneous grammatical category.

Adverbs' heterogeneity is reflected in their CS behaviour; some of them are frequently and easily switched, yet others are not. According to the MLF model, the possibility of a single adverb from one language to appear into a sentence from another language depend on its status as being a content or a system morpheme. Some adverbs are system morphemes. These include degree or quantity adverbs that form a closed class of morphemes and modify either an adjective or another adverb (e.g. very). There are no instances of inserted French adverbs that modify AA adjectives or adverbs; which remind us of the dearth of French attributive adjectives that modify AA nouns. This evidence is also supported by other CS studies, including MA/Dutch CS (Boumans 1998), MA/F CS (Ziamari, 2003). Being system morphemes, these adverbs either come from AA in mixed constituents and modify French adjectives and adverbs, or occur within French EL islands. Examples [698], [699] and [700] include French adverbs that modify French predicative adjectives and examples [701] and [702] contain French degree adverbs '*très*' (very) and '*beaucoup*' (much) that modify other French adverbs forming EL Islands:

---

[250] Adverbs that modify a whole sentence or sentence adverbs are either model adverbs that express speaker's orientation toward what is being spoken of (fortunately, really) or sequencing adverbs that mark sequences in the discourse (e.g. first(ly), finally, suddenly). Schachter (1985 :20) cited in Boumans (1998 :111)

[698] lli kɑ:net *vraiment dynamique*. (R1)

'she was *really dynamic*.'

[699] hadu:k ø *exceptionnellement normale*. (R7)

Those ø *exceptionally normal*

'Those are exceptionally acceptable.'

[700] bassaħ hɔma kɑ:n-ɔ *massivement absents*. (R7)

But they PERF-be-3PLSubj *massively absent*

'They were massively absent.'

[701] ɣɑ:di nfawtu:ha *très bien*. (R12)

Future IMPERF-pass-1PLSubj-it *very well*

'We will pass our time very well together.'

[702] nqaʀʀi *beaucoup plus* la civilisation. (R5)

IMPERF-teach-1SGSubj *much more* DEF civilization

'I teach much more civilization.'

Other embedded categories that are modified by degree adverbs namely the French adverb '*juste*' (just: 9 tokens) include mainly prepositional phrases of time and place. The French adverb '*juste*' in the following examples is a gradable adverb that expresses the quite specific location or time.

[703] ʀaha tesken hnɑ:ja *juste en face de moi*. (R1)

Be-3SGFSubj IMPERF-live-3SGSubj here just in front of me

'She lives here just in front of me.'

[704] *Juste après les vacances* jabdɔ ! (R6)

Just after the holidays IMPERF-start-3PLSubj

'They will start just after holidays.'

[705] χalli *juste après la rentrée*. (R6)

Let-2SGSubj *just after return to school*

'Let it just after return to school.'

A thorny issue with regards to embedded adverbs or adverbial phrases concerns their placement within the sentences i.e. their word order properties. There are no clear cut rules in respect to word order of adverbs in AA which is a spoken variety. Indeed, the word order of adverbs is a complicated matter even in other standard languages. The following examples include a French degree adverb '*presque*' (almost) that modifies the AA Arabic NPs once

occurring before the AA pronoun (example [706]) and once after the AA noun phrase (example [707]). The same adverb modifies an AA verb in example [708]. There are 21 instances of degree adverbs in our corpus (Appendix 17). Consider the instances below:

[706] ***Presque*** ɢɑːɛ ɾɑːhɔm jaħħadɾɔ. (R6)
Almost all be-3PLSubj IMPERF-talk-3PLSubj
'Almost all are talking.'

[707] s-simɑːna lʒɑːjja ɢɑːɛ l-*promo* ***presque*** maɾɑːhʃ ʒɑːj.(R9)
DEF-week DEF-next all DEF-cohort almost NEG-be-NEG coming
'Next week, almost all the students are not coming to study.'

[708] ***Presque*** ɾani kammalt. (R9)
Almost be-1SGSubj PERF-finish-1SGSubj
'I have almost finished the programme with 3ʳᵈ year students.'

[709] baɛɛadt ***totalement*** ɛla *la grammaire*. (R5)
'I *totally* got away from grammar.'

[710] bassaħ fe *mathématique* ***quasiment*** makkɑːʃ. (R2)
'But in mathematics *almost* there isn't.'

[711] w dʒiːbeh ***tellement*** tasmɑːɫ ɛliːh. (R1)
And she brings him much as she insists on him
'She insists on him *so much* that he finally agrees to come.'

Apart from names of the day of the week, months and time (hours, minutes and seconds) which are used regularly by Algerian speakers, adverbs and adverb phrase of time are recurrent (34 tokens). Yet, adverbs of place (6 tokens) are quite few in our corpus as illustrated below:

[712] ɾɑːha *faible* ***partout***. (R10)
She is *weak* ***everywhere***
'She is weak I all the modules.'

[713] tsamma ɛandha *douze, treize* ***ailleurs***. (R9)
So she has got twelve, thirteen ***elsewhere***
So, she's got twelve and thirteen in the other modules.'

[714] *Mais **ici*** ʃakɑːjen ? (R12)
But ***here*** what is there?

But here what do we have?

[715] ***Maintenant*** ʃkuːn lli maqɾɑːʃ *la phonétique*? (R5)
'Now who didn't study phonetics?'

[716] qdiːma ***déjà*** ɛandha *sa réputation*. (R9)
'Old school has *already* got its reputation.'

[717] kɑːjen lli ɣɑːdi naɛɫiːhɔm *dix-huit* ***tout de suite***. (R10)
'There are some students to whom I will give *eighteen right away*.'

[718] ana ɛɾaftəh ɣi ***dernièrement***. (R12)
'I got to know him just *recently*.'

Indeed, many adverbs of time are adverbial noun phrases (23 tokens) as follow:

[719] ana maddiːtʃ *carrément* ***l'année passée***. (R4)
I NEG-take-1SGSubj-NEG at all ***year last***
'I didn't attend any training at all last year.'

[720] ɣɑːdi ndiːɾo *les examens* ***la semaine prochaine***. (R6)
We will do the exams ***the week next***
'We will have exams next week.'

[721] hdaɾna mɛɑːha ***la dernière fois***. (R8)
We talked to her ***the time last***
'We talked to her last time.'

[722] ɣɑːdi jandɑːɾ ***la première semaine*** taɛ ***juillet***. (R9)
It will be done ***the first week*** of ***July***
'It will be scheduled the first week of July.'

Adverbs of frequency are also attested in our corpus and they include '*jamais*' (never) (1 token) and '*toujours*' (always) (11 tokens). Other frequency adverbs are noun phrases (24 tokens) that are used adverbially '*des fois*' (sometimes), '*chaque semaine/ mois/année, etc*' (every week, month, year), etc as follow:

[723] bassaħ fe l-mathématique ***jamais*** ma ʒa ɛandi wɑːħed gɑːlli ndiːɾ la vacation. (R2)
But in mathematics *never* came to me someone told me he will take sessions
'No one has ever come to me to ask for a vacant post to teach mathematics.'

[724] La littérature ***toujours*** tabbaɛ lwaqt. (R5)

'Literature *always* follows time.'

[725] *Chaque mois* wella *deux mois* kɔnt nabɛet le-d-directeur. (R9)
'Every month or *two months* I would send to the director the statistics of presence.'

[726] passepoɾɑːthɔm, passepoɾɑːt wlɑːdhɔm w maɾtəh gɑːɛ
fiːhɔm l-visa *chaque année* tout au long de la vie. (R4)
passport-their passport-PL children-their and wife-their all in-them DEF-visa
every year throughout life
'their passports and their children's and their wives' passports all have visa every year throughout their life.'

Adverbs of manner that usually modify verbs are on the top of the switched adverbs in the corpus of the present study (41 instances). The majority of embedded manner adverbs are morphologically derived from French adjectives by adding the suffix (*ement*) as exemplified by the following instances:

[727] *Bon* ana ndiːɾha *discrètement*. (R1)
'*Well* I do it *discreetly*.'

[728] hijja bɾuːħha dgɔlhɑːlhɔm *ouvertement*. (R12)
'She herself tells them *openly*.'

[729] ddiːɾha *timidement*. (R12)
'She does it *timidly*.'

[730] hadɾet *bien*. (R1)
'She talked *well*.'

[731] naχχadmɔ *ensemble*. (R12)
'We work *together*.'

[732] hɔma dɑːjɾiːn jfuːtɔ *d'office*. (R10)
'They think that they will pass *systematically*.'

In addition to the above cited adverb categories, we can find other types of French adverbs in our corpus including certainty adverbs (examples [733-35] 4 tokens), focus adverbs (examples [736] and [737] 50 tokens), and Sequence adverbs (examples [738-39-] 10 tokens) as exemplified in what follows:

[733] l-*prof* taɛ *l'anglais* *surement* kɑːnet χasɑːtəh *une cigarette*.

'The teacher of English *surely* needed a cigarette.' (R2)

[734] kɑːnət ***probablement*** ddɑːt gɑːɛ *les notes*. (R7)
'She has *probably* taken all the notes.'

[735] ***Peut-être*** ɛanna *une culture anglophone*. (R11)
'Maybe we have an Anglophone culture.'

[736] ***Même*** *la jeune sœur* zɑːjda temma. (R1)
'*Even* the young sister was born there.'

[737] ***Surtout*** ntuːma ɾɑːkɔm ***vraiment*** *en retard*. R9
'Especially you; You are really late.'

[738] ***Finalement***, manɔdʃ bakɾi. (R1)
'Finally, I didn't wake up early.'

[739] *Littérature*, ***premièrement***, majkɔnuːʃ wɑːʒdiːn. (R5)
'Literature, firstly, they are not prepared.'

Comment or opinion adverbs - also called sentence adverbs- modify whole sentences and are widely recurrent in our corpus (64 instances). Consider the following examples:

[740] ***Normalement*** jwaʒdɔ *la restauration* w kɔlʃi. (R1)
'*Normally*, they prepare *the catering* and everything else.'

[741] ***Heureusement*** malqiːthɑːʃ *la dame*. (R10)
'*Fortunately,* i didn't find *the lady*.'

[742] *La politique* tatbaddəl *avec les personnes* ***malheureusement***.
'*Politics* change *with the people, unfortunately*.' (R12)

[743] *Moi* ***personnellement*** kammalt mɛɑːhɔm. (R11)
'*Me personally* I finished with them.'

[744] ***Effectivement***, ɛɫɑːwah *seize* wallet *dix*. (R12)
'*Indeed*, they gave him *sixteen* that became *ten*.'

[745] ***Automatiquement*** tqaɾɾi *la grammaire*. (R5)
'*Automatically*, you will teach *grammar*.'

[746] ***De toute façon*** hijja dʒi *demain*. (R8)
'*Anyway*, she is coming *tomorrow*.'

As adverbs are variable class of words and phrases, there are indeed many adverbs in this corpus that cannot be classified under any of the previously mentioned categories as illustrated below:

> **[747]** ***Soi-disant*** j-télécharg-ɔ *plusieurs pages*. (R9)
> '*Supposedly* they download various pages.'

> **[748]** hɑːdi taɛ ***vite fait***. (R9)
> 'This is real quick.'

> **[749]** maɣadiːʃ twalli *une lumière **à part***. (R9)
> She is not going to become a light *apart*
> 'She's not going to become brilliant in other modules.'

> **[750]** ***L'essentiel*** nkamlɔ. (R9)
> *The important* we will finish
> 'Essentially we will finish.'

> **[751]** saħħa mɑːɛliːʃ ***demi-mal***. (R5)
> 'It's ok, *not too bad*'

French adverbs regularly appear in AA clauses and they are numerous -291 tokens - and various - different categories of adverbs are switched (Appendix 17). French adverbs' position is not controlled by the ML since they are considered as adjuncts. Besides, word order properties of many adverbs are rather complicated. Yet, we can say that manner adverbs usually follow the verb they modify, while sentence adverbs occur clause-initially or sometimes in end-position. Focus and degree adverbs on the other hand precede the words they modify.

4.2.6 Insertion of French Verb Stems and Auxiliaries

Verbal insertion, unlike other linguistic categories notably nouns, is not easy and very little evidence is provided to explain the attested types of verb insertion in CS literature. This is due to the fact that verbs imply certain "syntactic baggage"[251] (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 76), which makes it difficult for them to retain sufficient congruence across the different

---

[251] "Verbs function as the core of the clause in their role of case and semantic role assigners, and often subcategorize for specific prepositional phrases. In addition, they are often the flection-bearing elements, marked for person and tense." (Muysken (2000: 184)

grammatical systems. In this respect, Myusken (2000: 184) notes that "In the verbal system, code-mixing is often innovative, leading to structures not present in either of the languages in contact." A point that will be discussed shortly when we refer to the occurrence of French model verbs with AA finite verbs in this corpus.

Many different classifications have been identified in CS literature concerning the integration of alien verbs into the Matrix Language (Muysken 2000[252], Backus 1996, Myers-Scotton 2006, Boumans 2007[253]). Basically two main ways of verb integration show high preponderance in many CS corpora. The first one is to incorporate verbs morphologically to meet the requirements of the ML as in the case of the insertion of French stems into AA structures in this corpus. Here embedded language verb stems are inserted by taking the inflections of the matrix tongue. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 138), however, "there are few Embedded Language verbs and fewer ones receiving any inflection". Some verbs appear as bare forms; still other verbs are inserted in their infinitive or participle forms as indivisible or holistic units to which are added ML verb endings (French/Dutch Treffers-Daller 1994, Acholi/English Myers-Scotton & Bernsten 1995). The following one and the only example from our corpus illustrate the insertion of the French verb '*rediscuter*' (to discuss again) as a bare form into AA matrix:

> **[752]** nʃufɔ ɣi *une journée* lli fiha jkun *au moins la majorité des enseignants* jkunɔ *présents* w nɛɑːwdɔ *rediscuter* l- ….
>
> We will see a day in which the majority of the teachers will be present and 3IMPERF-repeat-3PLSbj *rediscuss*[254]-INF DEF-…
>
> 'We will see another day in which the majority of the teachers will be present and we will discuss again the …'

---

[252] In his book *Bilingual Speech* (2000), Muysken presents a typology of verb integration with special attention for the periphrastic type. In the periphrastic construction, he argues, the foreign verb can be a nominalization, an infinitive or an adjunction. In the first case, the nominalized verb is the complement of the 'helping verb,' In the case of an infinitive, the helping verb must be analysed as an auxiliary. In the adjunction analysis, the foreign verb and the 'helping verb' form a kind of verbal compound.

[253] Boumans (2007: 292) states three ways in which foreign verbs are integrated in the matrix language. One is the complete morphological integration. Some basic form of the foreign verb, typically the verb stem or the infinitive, is treated as the verb stem of the receiving matrix language, and verbal categories of the latter are expressed by matrix language morphology. The Second strategy is the periphrastic construction. The third strategy consists in inserting inflected verb forms rather than verb stems. The inflected foreign forms are mapped onto the ML paradigm and express ML verbal categories. This latter strategy is actually very rare and it may be more common in the case of two closely related languages or varieties.

[254] I found the English verb '*rediscuss*' (to discuss something again) in Merriam Webster on the internet but it was rejected in my Microsoft word version.

In the above-cited example, the French verb '*rediscuter*' (to discuss again) occurs as a bare form since it does not take AA inflections in which case we would have the integrated form 'n-*rediscut*-ɔ'. At the same time we have a kind of a double marking since the AA helping verb 'nɛɑ:wdɔ' functions as the French prefix 're-' (back or again) which is also used in English with some verbs like the verb 'write' that becomes 'rewrite' means to write again. Thus, the appropriate use here would be either 'nɛɑ:wdɔ'n-*discut*-ɔ' or 'n-*rediscut*-ɔ'. It seems that there was a kind of confusion or mismatch in mixing both codes at this level and this might have led to the insertion of the French verb in its infinitive form as a bare form. This example pretty much resembles the do-construction that we will be talking about next.

The second strategy which is common in various CS corpora is the peripheral construction or the do-construction (Romain 1995, Muysken 2000, Boumans 1998, 2007) where the ML provides a helping verb as 'do' or 'make' which is semantically empty, but carries all the inflection (tense, aspect, person, number, gender, negation) and introduces an EL verb. These bilingual complex verb constructions[255] vary considerably from one language pair to another, the [ML auxiliary + EL infinitive] is one these structures that is very specific to Arabic Moroccan / Dutch code switching ['dar' + infinitive] (Boumans 1998) as illustrated by the following example

> Ka-**ndir**-ha *elke keer uitstellen*
> 1-do-3 every time postpone
> 'I postpone it every time.'   (Moroccan Arabic/Dutch; Boumans 1998)

Regarding the verbal insertion in AA, we can say that it remains fairly stable, and even inviolable, even if the status of loans, or what can be considered as such, is still questionable. Indeed, many French verbs are often conjugated using AA inflections. This insertion is often classified as a linguistic borrowing since these verbs are integrated into the other linguistic system. In this work, this embedded verbal form is considered as a mixed construction. Verb stems are content morphemes, according to MLF model and verb inflections are outside late system morphemes that are considered as a determining criterion for the identification of the ML. The reverse case, that is to say an Algerian Arabic verb conjugated according to the

---

[255] Muysken (2000: 184-217) has provided an inventory of language pairs that use this way of integrating foreign verbs including Surnami/Dutch compound verbs Sita Kishra 1979, Tamil/English bilingual verbs Annamalai 1971, American/Portoguese Leo Pap 1949, Turkish/Dutch Backus 1996, Malay/Dutch Huwae 1992, Moroccan Arabic/Dutch Bouman 1998). This strategy involves different configurations such as [verb+ adjoined verb], [verb+ embedded noun] and [auxiliary+ embedded verb].

morphology of the French verb, has not been attested in this corpus nor does a singly embedded French inflected verb appear in this data. Thus, the only way for French verb to appear in a mixed verb phrase is to be incorporated into AA morphology. The following utterance at first glance seems to present a French CP, yet the verb inflection which indicates the second singular as the speaker (FK) is addressing her colleague (LD) is AA. The utterance is typical of spoken language, left-dislocated object and the sentence is not well formed (*exige que le mémoire soit un rapport…*):

> **[753]** *Le mémoire, **exig-**i est un rapport de stage résumant l'expérience conduite*. (R4)
> The thesis, require is an internship report summarizing the experience conducted.
> 'Require the thesis to be an internship report summarizing the experience conducted.'

So, French verb stems may be inserted in AA frames constituting mixed verb phrases. The insertion of French verb stems in AA frames is relatively few compared to the insertion of the other foreign elements (nouns, adjectives, adverbs) in this corpus (62 tokens) (Appendix 18).

Like the various Arabic dialects, Algerian Arabic is based on the aspectual opposition-perfect/imperfect. This fundamental characteristic of Algerian Arabic[256] means that all embedded French verbs are present in one or the other form: perfect or past tense and imperfect or present tense by taking appropriate AA prefixes and suffixes[257]. The following examples illustrate this process of insertion of French verb stems:

---

[256] Arabic verbs occur in two major forms distinguished by their agreement and mood morphology: 1. the Perfective form is exclusively suffixal and is used mainly in the past tense because the action is completed before the present; and 2. The Imperfective form is both prefixal and suffixal with the person feature realized as a prefix while the number feature is realized as a suffix. In Arabic the infinitive form of a verb is represented by the past or perfective form of that verb conjugated in the singular third person masculine 'he'. In English, we say, "to eat" to represent the "verb form". In Arabic, it is represented with ktab "he wrote".

[257] We add suffixes and prefixes to the root form to generate other tenses and forms. In order to produce the perfect tense forms and the present tense forms of the verbs, we first take the root form of the verb which is the past form of the singular third person masculine 'he' in AA. In French we obtain the stem by omitting the infinitives ('er', 'ir' and 're') from the verbs. Then we add the following affixes:

	Perfect or past tense		Imperfect or present tense	
	AA Verb	**Fr Verb**	**AA Verb**	**Fr Verb**
I (ana):	ktab-t	form-i-t	na-ktab	n-form-i
You masc(nta):	ktab-t	form-i-t	tə-ktab	t-form-i
You fem(nti):	ktab-ti	form-i-ti	tə-kətb-i	t-form-i

[754] tʃuːfi fe l-ʒamːiɛa ki ɾɑː-hɔm j-**encadr**-ɔ. (R1)

IMPERF-see-2SGFSubj in DEF-university how are-3PLSubj IMPERF-**supervise**-3PLSubj

'You'll see how they are supervising at university.'

[755] ɣɑːdi t-**pos**-i *sa démission*. (R9)

FUT 3IMPER-lay-3SGFSubj her resignation

'She's going to resign.'

[756] wɑːħed j-**décid**-i ɛla gɑːɛ *les services*. (R4)

One IMPERF-**decide**-3SGSubj about all the services

'One decides for all the services.'

[757] *La majorité* majaɛɾafʃ j-**sélectionn**-i *des informations*. (R9)

The majority NEG-IMPERF-know-NEG IMPERF-**select**-3SGSubj INDEF information

'The majority don't know how to select information.'

[758] ɾaki tħawsi t-**arrang**-iːhɔm. (R9)

Are-2SGFSubj IMPERF-want to-2SGFSubj IMPERF-**arrange**-2SGFSubj-them

'You want to arrange them.'

[759] ana ħsabt belli **tranch**-iːna. (R9)

I PERF-think-1SGSubj that PERF-**settle down**-1PLSubj-we

'I thought that we reached an agreement.'

[760] ʔamala **cibl**-ɑːh. (R12)

So, PERF-**target**-3SGSubj-him

'So he targeted him.'

[761] waħdiːn lli **mont**-ɑːhɔm wə ɾsalhɔm. (R12)

Someone who PERF-**set against**-3SGSubj-them and sent-3SGSubj-them

'Someone set them against her and sent them.'

Hence, the question which arises remains relative to the nature of the embedded French verbs. What are the French verbs that appear in a mixed construction governed by Algerian Arabic? The above examples include the insertion of French verb ending in *-er*,

He (hɔwa):	ktab	form-a	jə-ktab	j-form-i
She (hiʝa):	kətb-ət	form-ət	tə-ktab	t-form-i
We (ħna):	ktab-na	form-i-na	na-katb-o	n-form-o
They (hɔma):	kətb-o	form-o	ja-katb-o	j-form-o

traditionally known as verbs of of the first group[258] which are the most frequently inserted category in many CS data sets involving Arabic and French. In fact, all the inserted French verb stems in this corpus are of the first group. This, however, does not mean that the nature of the embedded French verbs that appear in a mixed construction governed by Algerian Arabic belongs only to this type of French verbs. Even if it remains relatively limited, the insertions of French verb stems that belong to second and third group is attested in other CS data (Ziamari 2003, Benhattab 2011, Ouahmiche 2013) including our previous corpus (Mendas 2013) as illustrated by the following examples:

[762] ħna miːn **n-fin-ɔ** *dans cinq saisons* ɟə-bqa ɛan-na *un listing*.

We when 3PR-*finish*-3PL *in five seasons*, 3PRS-*stay for-us a listing.*

'When we finish in five seasons, we will have a listing'.

[763] n-kammal-hɔm w **n-amort-i** drahəm-hɔm.

1PR-finish-them and 1PR- *amortise*-1SG money-their.

'I will finish them and redeem their cost'.

[764] ma qad-iːt-ʃ **n-réag-i.**

NEG-could-1SG-NEG 1PR-**react**-1SG.

'I could not react'.

[765] ***Prom-ət-la-h*** baːʃ ta-ɛłiː-h waħda.

Promised-3SGF-to-him to 3PRF-give-3SG-him one.

'She has promised to give him one'.

[766] hadak lli ***dispar-a,*** lqaːwəh?

That who ***disappeared***-3SG, found him?

'That person, who has disappeared, do they find him?

[767] *Normalement* ma-kɔnt-iː-ʃ **t-répond-i** ɛli-ha.

Normally NEG-be-2SGF-NEG 2PR-**answer**-2SG about-her.

'Normally you shouldn't have answered her'.

Though the French verbs of the first group are much more frequent than the other two groups (80 tokens of French verbs of the 1st group compared to 8 instances of the second and third group) in our previous corpus, the above French verb stems of the second group (*finir* to finish, '*amortir*' to pay off, '*réagir*' to react,) and of the third group ('*promettre*' to promise,

---

[258] French regular verbs fall into three groups: group1 ends in 'er', group2 ends in 'ir' and group3 where the infinitive ends in 're'. about 80% of French verbs are in the first group and are mostly regular.

'*disparaître'* to disappear, '*répondre'* to answer) are inserted in the same way as the verbs of the first group i.e. they keep their stems and take AA inflections.

These verbs, even if they belong to the second and third groups of the French infinitive and they have no phonological similarity with AA verbs, they submit to the morphology of the matrix language. All French verbs are perceived by speakers as belonging to the same category and are transformed into verbs of the same group. Thus, '*amortir'* becomes '*amorter', '*promettre'* becomes '*promer'. This phonological similarity may motivate the insertion of the verbal constituents. Yet it does not fully explain the big disparity between the insertion of French verbal stems of the first group and those of the second and third group. This difference may be attributed to the fact that French verbs of the first group are the most numerous category and outnumber French verbs of the second and third group i.e. French verbs of the first group comprise three thousand verbs of the four thousand that the French language has.

In mixed constituents, French verb stems also occur as participles integrated into AA system by being attached to the prefix m- and suffixes (-ʝa, -i, -ʝin) and used with the auxiliary *rɑːh* or *kaːn* (to be) when the verb is perfect (in the past tense). French verb stems are inflected by the prefix (t-) and the suffixes (-a, -ɔ) when the verb is imperfect (in the present tense) and is used without auxiliaries as follow:

> **[768]** hɔwa rɑ:-h mə-***branch*-i** men ʒi:ha w hija mə-***branch*-ʝa** men ʒi:ha fe ***le même point***. R4
>
> He is-3SGSubj PP-***involve***-3SGMSubj from one side and she PP-***involve***-3SGFSubj from another side in the same point
>
> 'he is engaged and she is involved in the same matter from different anges.'

> **[769]** l-qanu:n ɣɑ:di ʝet-***appliqu*-a** ħatta l-***trente juin***. (R9)
>
> The law will PP-apply-3SGSubj till the thirty june
>
> 'The law will be applied until June 30th.'

> **[770]** hada l-***programme*** ja ʝə-t-***respect*-a** niʃɑ:n, ja…
>
> This DEF-programme either IMPERF-PART-respect-3SGSubj straightaway
>
> 'This programme either has to be respected totally or…'

Those three instances are the only French verb stems embedded into AA passive structure in this corpus. Instead we have seven examples of French verbs that retain their

French present and past participle form and are used with AA auxiliaries as shown by the following CPs:

> **[771]** j-wall-i **_hébergé_** fe l'ENS lli ɾɑːh fiːha. (R4)
> IMPERF-become-3SgSubj **hosted** in the ENS that it is in it
> 'It is going to be hosted in the ENS where the meetings are held.'

> **[772]** ɣɑːdi j-kun-ɔ **_reportés_**. (R4)
> Will 3M-IMPER-be-3PLSubj **postponed**.
> They will be postponed.

> **[773]** ila kɑːn-et **_mentionné_** peut être. (R8)
> If was-3SGFSubj **mentioned** maybe
> 'If it is was mentioned maybe we would accept it.'

> **[774]** ana pour moi ɾɑːhɔm **_avancés_**. (R9)
> I for me be-3PLSubj advanced
> "For me they are advanced."

Participles and infinitives as Myers-Scotton (2002: 95) argues, are expected to appear in CS since they are early system morphemes and "their congruence with Matrix Language counter-parts is less problematic (i.e. they do not encode tense or aspect, features that are more likely to vary cross-linguistically than the meaning of infinitives or participles)". The same point has been raised by Boumans (2007:295) stating that "non-tensed verb forms such as participles, infinitives and imperatives are quite readily interchangeable between languages". Despite this fact, the insertion of French participles is not common in our previous corpus nor is it in other CS corpora involving French such as: AA/Fr and MA/Fr Boumans & Caubet (2000), MA/Fr CS Ziamari (2003)[259], Berber/Fr CS Benhattab (2011), OrA/Fr CS Ouhmiche (2013)[260]. There is an example in our corpus that does not take the prefix of the passive form but takes the suffix resulting in incomplete transformation of the French stem into the AA passive form as follow:

---

[259] Ziamari (2003 : 154) notes that : « Les radicaux français sont donc enchâssés comme s'ils étaient des participes marocains. Ils respectent les exigences morphologiques de l'arabe marocain, langue matrice. Pourtant, un seul exemple se manifeste où le participe passif manque du préfixe m-. Peut-être serait-il à cause de son initiale vocalique : had š-ši autorizi « ceci est autorisé »

[260] As put forward by Ouhmiche (2013: 295):"French participles are not inserted within OrA matrices unless French radicals receive the prefix -m and the suffixes -i, -ya, -yin. Moreover, they behave as participles of quadrilateral defective verbs, schemed as mfeɛli (Caubet 1993:55)".

[775] wɑːh *cambriol*-iːt temma fe *les vacances de mars*. (R4)

Yes, *burgle-*1SGPP there in *the holidays of March*

'Yes, my house was robbed there in spring holidays.'

This mismatch in assigning AA morphological inflections that mark the passive form is maybe due to the nature of the French verb '*cambrioler*' (burgle) which is not used in the known French passive form with the auxiliary '*être*' or '*avoir*'. The French verb '*cambrioler*' is used as follow: '*J'ai été victime d'un cambriolage*' (I was a victim of burglary) or '*Je me suis fait cambrioler*' (I had my house burgled). 't-*cambriol*-iːt' is the passive form of the French verb '*cambrioler*' using AA morphology in this context.

We have also noted cases where code alternation occurs between a French model verb and a finite verb from dialectal Arabic as illustrated below:

[776] *Je préfère* na-χdem mɛa wɑːħed *moyen* w matχallaq. R9

I prefer 1IMPERF-work-1SGSubj with someone *average* and well-behaved

'I prefer to work with a student who is average and well-behaved.'

[777] *Elle ne peut pas* d-gul-l-ak ddi *les heures sup*. R8

She cannot IMPERF-tell-3SGFSubj-to-you take *the hours extra*

'She cannot tell you to do overtime work.'

In examples [776] and [777], the French auxiliary verbs '*préferer*' (prefer) and '*pouvoir*' (can) are followed by AA finite verbs '*Je préfère* na-χdem', '*Elle ne peut pas* d-gul-l-ak'. These modal verbs are normally followed by French infinitives as in '*je préfère travailler*' and '*elle ne peut te dire*'.

These occurrences are not easily understandable: to explain them, it seems relevant to question the status of the imperfective AA verbs: is it permissible to think that these verbs are encoded in such a way that they function as an infinitive? Or, should we think that it is the French helping verbs which fulfil AA verb sub-categorizations? In other words, the question here is to know whether the AA imperfect verbs are embedded into French matrices or vice versa i.e., French helping verbs are the ones inserted into AA structures.

Few studies of French and Arabic have provided examples of the insertion of Arabic verbs. Most linguists were in favour of the ungrammaticality of such an occurrence. Bentahila and Davies pointed out the impossibility of this structure. In Moroccan Arabic/ French code switching, Ziamari (2003: 285) has provided instances of what she considered as MA verb insertion into French matrices pointing to the disparity that characterizes the insertion of verbs

in both directions. When Moroccan Arabic is the matrix language, inserted French verbs are numerous. However, French rarely admits the insertion of verbs in Moroccan Arabic. According to the author (ibid: 290), the Moroccan Arabic verbs in the corpus, are not embedded at the level of the complement phrase but in an "infinitive" structure as the following example shows:

> *Je vais* **nelqa** *sûrement une solution ;*
> I will **1IMPERF-find-1SGSubj** surely a solution
> 'I will surely find a solution.' (Moroccan Arabic/ French, Ziamari 2003: 285)

In addition to the semantic and modal load of these verbs, their insertion obeys French syntactic rules by being embedded into slots specified for infinitives rather than being considered as finite clauses. In monolingual speech, after these verbs, French requires an infinitive structure. Since Moroccan Arabic does not have an infinitive, and each verb is already specified for time and aspect, it is embedded with its inflection. MA verbs are perceived as "infinitives".

If we fellow this line of explanation, we will, then, consider the AA verbs in the above examples as embedded elements into French matrices which can appear at the first glance as reasonable especially if we adopt Benmamoun's (1999: 189) view that "the imperfective verb does not carry either tense or aspect; it is simply inflected for agreement". That is to say "It is simply the default form of the verb when it does not carry temporal or aspectual features." Moreover, "the default status of the imperfective explains why, like non tensed forms in other languages, it is used to derive other verbal and nominal elements." Hence this status of the imperfective Arabic verbs makes them congruent with French infinitives.

Nonetheless, the second hypothesis -French modal verbs are embedded into AA matrices- seems to us more relevant for the following reasons: first of all, the category of infinitives is a grammatical class foreign to Arabic, insofar as, in this language, the verb is always finite. Secondly, unlike classical Arabic, the structure [verb + verb] is a scheme specific to Algerian Arabic dialect. In Standard Arabic when two verbs follow each other, the second is systematically introduced by a subordinate morpheme[261]. Third and most important, if we accept the argument that embedded AA verbs are perceived as "infinitives" because Arabic does not have infinitives then, why is the French verb '*insister*' (insist) inflected with

---

[261] As the english 'to' in the verb phrase 'i want to buy'
Algerian Arabic   بغيت نشري
Standard Arabic   أريد أن أشتري

AA imperfective morphology since it occurs after the French passive verb '*être censé*' (be supposed) which is normally followed by an infinitive[262] as the following example illustrates:

[778] *Je suis pas censé* n-*assist*-i gɑːɛ *les réunions* ? (R4)
I am not supposed 1IMPERF-***attend***-1SGSubj all ***the meetings***
'I am not supposed to attend all the meetings?'

Another argument in favour of AA as being the ML is the fact that AA imperfective form does not only replace French infinitive but French '*de + infinitive*' phrases as well, as illustrated below:

[779] *On doit exiger* jaɛɫuːna *les heures supplémentaires*. R1
We must demand 3IMPERF-give-3PLSubj-us the hours extra
'We must demand that they give us extra hours.'

[780] *Tu n'es pas obligé* ta-ħħadɾ-i mɛa loχɾiːn. (R4)
You are not obliged 3IMPERF-attend-3SGFSubj with the others
'You are not obliged to attend classes with the others.'

[781] *Je suis obligé* nɾuːħ. (R5)
'I am obliged to go.'

[782] nɑːs jaɛni mowaħħidiːn ***il n'a pas besoin* jddiːɾ** l-laħja w l-qamiːs. (R1)
People means believers he does not need 3IMPERF-do-3SGSubj the beard and the qamiːs.
To be a true believer you don't need to have a beard and to put on the qamiːs.

[783] *La semaine prochaine, vous avez décidé* mataqɾuːʃ. (R9)
The week next you have decided NEG-2IMPERF-study-2PLSubj-NEG
'Next week, you've decided not to study.'

[784] *J'essaie de* ((..)) maniːʃ ɛɑːɾfa **naɛɫiːhom** ħɑːʒa *de concret*.
I try to ((..)) I don't know 1IMPERF-give-1SGSubj-them something of concrete
'I try to give something concrete.' R5

The helping verbs in examples [779] - [783] which are followed by AA finite verbs, are normally used with the particle '*de*' (of) and infinitive verbs '*Tu n'es pas oblige d'assister'*, *'Je suis obligé de partir'*, *'il n'a pas besoin de faire'*, *'on doit exiger d'avoir'* and '*vous avez décidez de ne pas étudier*'. In Example [784], the French helping verb 'essayer'

---

[262] '*Je suis pas censé assister à toutes les réunions*'

(try) is followed by the particle '*de*' and a pause and a filler (maniːʃ ɛɑːɾfa) which is an indication of self-correction and hesitation because the correspondent switches to an AA finite verb. Another observation concerning example [784] is that the AA noun 'ħɑːʒa' take as complement the French prepositional phrase '*de concret*' forming a mixed noun phrase that is based on the French structure '*quelque chose de concret*'. The AA imperfective form also replaces French subjunctive phrases along with the subordinating conjunction '*que*' (that):

> **[785] *Il se peut* ɣadwa ntijja t-kun-i *responsable*.** R8
> It may be tomorrow you 2IMPERF-be-2SGSubj responsible
> 'You may be responsible in the future.'

> **[786] *Mais il fallait* naɛalmuha məqbəl *par écrit*.** R8
> But 6t is necessary 1IMPERF-inform-1PLSubj-her before in writing
> 'But we should inform her before in writing.'

> **[787] *Ça nous est arrivé* naχχadmɔ *deux jours*.** R12
> ***It happened to us*** 1IMPERF-work-1PLSubj ***two days***
> 'It happened that we worked for two days.'

The above instances clearly show how imperfective AA verbs replaces French subjunctive phrases '*il se peut que tu sois*', '*il fallait qu'ils aient informé*', '*ça nous est arrivé de travailler*'. Besides, in many cases the sub-categorization concerning verb complements are AA as in example [787], where the NP '*deux jours*' (two days) that follows the AA finite verb '**naχχadmɔ**' is not compatible with French grammar. Here we should have a prepositional phrase '*pendant deux jours*' (for two days). Though the helping verb and the main verb in example [778] '*Je suis pas censé* n-*assist*-i' are from French, the French preposition 'à' is missing before the NP '*les réunions*'. Therefore, we can say that it is the French modal and auxiliary verbs that are embedded in AA constructions and fulfil AA requirements rather than the other way around. Or, using Myers-Scotton's concept this can be considered as a case of a composite ML where the two languages involved in CS contribute late system morphemes. In Boumans' term, this can be a case of layered insertion. Muysken (2000) refers to this type of verb insertion as a kind of adjunction or verbal compound and it is subsumed under the bilingual periphrastic construction. Thus, it is obvious that this bilingual verb construction challenges the very concept of the Matrix Language as it cannot offer a satisfying explanation to this kind of code mixing.

To sum up, we can say that the corpus of the present study is characterized by a kind of specificity compared to our previous corpus and to other studies involving this pair of languages. First of all the insertion of French verbs into AA morphology is somehow restricted compared to the insertion of other categories. The respondents resort to combine French auxiliary verbs and helping verbs with AA finite verbs (34 instances) and to the insertion of French inflection phrases as we will see in the next section.

4.2.7   Inflectional Construction (IP Islands)

Inflectional phrase (IP) is a proposition without a complementizer. It is classified as an embedded island when it is realized in the embedded language and preceded by a ML morpheme that occupies the position of a complimentizer or specifier of COMP position.

Working on Arabic/English CS corpus, Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha (1996)[263] have found that 79 percent of all English verbs occurred in entirely English inflectional phrases preceded by an Arabic element. Since the CP is the relevant unit of analysis in the MLF model, Myers-Scotton and her associates (1996) propose that the ML of these CPs is Arabic headed by Arabic elements in complementizer position (conjunctions) and English finite clauses or inflectional phrases are considered as well-formed embedded EL islands.

The following examples from Okasha's Palestinian Arabic/English corpus (1996)[264], illustrate such EL islands inserted into CPs headed by Arabic elements in complementizer positions. The first IP EL Island is '*we get in the mood*' embedded in the CP headed by the subordinating conjunction '*liʔannu*' (because). The second, is '*it is difficult*' following '*bas*' (but). The third IP EL Island is '*you feel like a queen*' following sentence adverb of place '*hina*' (here):

> hunak binihki   aktar [CP **liʔannu   [IPwe get in the mood]** bas hooni **it is difficult**.
> 1P/IMP/speak more because/1P we get in the mood   but here it is difficult.
> 'There we speak more because we get in the mood but here it is difficult'.
>
> Kawnik   el-waħeeda [CP **hina** [IP **you feel like a queen**]].
> GER/be/2F the-one   here   you feel like a queen.
> Being the only one here, you feel like aqueen.
>   Plestinian Arabic/English Okash; cited in Myers-Scotton 2002: 146-7)

Myers-Scotton (1997, 2002) assigns the insertion of IP EL islands in the case of Arabic/English CS corpus, as illustrated by the above examples, to the structural mismatch between Arabic verbs and their English counterparts at the abstract level. According to Myers-Scotton, Arabic verbs are specified as perfect/imperfect at the lemma level (i.e. Arabic does not have 'stems' without tense/aspect specification so tense/aspect is indirectly elected along with the content morpheme (the verb) specifying them). However, English verbs are only stems at the lemma level and tense/aspect is structurally assigned at the level of formulator. Therefore, when lemma underlying an English verb is accessed, it cannot receive Arabic verbal inflections because it does not contain the tense/aspect specifications that an Arabic verb exhibits at this level. As a result, the only way to access an English verb is an EL island with all elements under INFL also from the EL.

Attributing this type of insertion in the case of Arabic/English CS to the lack of sufficient congruence between AA verbs and their English counter-parts, implies that switching of complementizers and other discourse markers is uncommon and limited to the Arabic/English CS corpus. Yet, the occurrence of conjunctions, adverbs and discourse markers in the context of another language is very frequent in CS in general. Furthermore, "The recognition of the finite clause as commonly embedded constituent" as Boumans (1998: 136) states contrasts with "the general observation that constituent insertion becomes increasingly constrained with more complex constituents" (ibid: 146). It is also contradicts Myers-Scotton's Uniform Structure Principle which constrains the insertion of EL islands and the activation of the EL.

Moreover, if the English IP EL islands are the result of structural incongruence between English verbs and their Arabic counterparts at the abstract level, it is improbable that structural mismatch between AA verbs and their French counter-parts is the reason behind the insertion of French IP islands after the AA topic pronouns. French verbs in this corpus and other CS data are frequently inserted into Arabic structures and inflected with Arabic inflections, which means that French verbs are congruent with their AA counterparts. It seems that the notion of congruence does not satisfactorily explain these CS configurations.

The growing evidence from so many CS data sets about the frequency of this type of switching is what led Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) once again to modify their definition of complementizers and classify them into content morpheme, bridges and late system morphemes. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) also rearticulate their analysis concerning IP insertion and limit it to cases where these clauses are preceded by multi-morphemic

complementizers that include a bridge and an outsider system morpheme as illustrated by the following examples from Okasha's (1999) Palestinian Arabic/ English CS data:

<div align="center">

kaan el-**doctor** yisǔk <u>ʔinn-u</u> **it is not reliable**

'[he] was, the doctor, doubting that it was not reliable'

(Okasha 1999:71)

</div>

<div align="center">

[. . .] huma biyidfa9ooli kul haga <u>liʔanu-hum</u> **they can afford it**

"[. . .] they pay for everything [for me] because they can afford it."

(Okasha 1999:123)

</div>

The Arabic complementizers <u>ʔinn</u>- (that-) agrees with the subject of CP2. In Arabic/ English CS, these multi-morphemic complementizers always come from Arabic. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) consider the English clause in the above-cited example as an embedded IP island (and English is not the ML of CP2). That is to say, <u>ʔinn</u>- does not just bridge two CPs; it co-indexes an embedded CP with the ML of CP1, and frames the entire multi-clausal constituent in one language, Arabic. Not only are Arabic bridge complementizers inflected with outsider system morphemes, but so are subordinators, which are content morphemes in many languages. In the second examples cited above, <u>liʔanuhum</u> "because" agrees with the third person plural subject *they* of the English IP.

AA speakers usually do not use the Arabic multi-morphemic complementizers that agree with the following clause in number and gender such as <u>ʔanna</u>- (that) and `liʔanna`- (because); they use the AA '`belli`' and '`ɛlaχaɫarʃ`'. Yet there is one example in this corpus where the speaker switches from Arabic to French right after the Arabic complementizer <u>ʔann</u>- (that). The Arabic conjunction to which is attached 2nd person singular clitic pronoun '`ʔanna-ka`' is followed by a French inflectional clause beginning with the subject pronoun '*tu*' (you) as follow:

[788] wiɾ-ɾɑːh l-ʔimtijɑːz ʔanna-ka *tu n'annonces même pas* had *les étudiants appartient à quelle promotion, à quelle filière et ceci cela*.
'Where is the excellence that-2SG you don't even announce these students belong to which cohort, to which specialty and so on.'

Other instances in the corpus of the present study that trigger the formation of French IP islands is when speakers use AA auxiliary or model verbs and then switch to French for the main verbs. Since AA helping verbs are themselves inflected and followed by AA finite

verbs, they subcategorize for French finite verbs that result in the embedding of French IP islands as illustrated below:

[789] `jnaʒʒem` waħed ***il fait des erreurs*** `bassaħ taffahmi:h.` R5

He can someone he does mistakes but you understand him

'Someone can make mistakes but you still can understand him.'

[790] `jqad` *jeudi après-midi* ***il peut partir***. R9

He can Thursday afternoon he can go

'He can go on Thursday afternoon.'

[791] `gɔlha` *Est-ce que* `ɾɑ:ki bɑ:ɣja` ***tu fais partie de la réunion***. R8

Tell her do you want you take part in the meeting

'Ask her if she wants to take part in the meeting.'

[792] `twalli` hɔma ***ils pratiquent*** ʃe *l'écrit*. R5

It will they they practice in writing

'They will practice writing.'

[793] ***Il faut*** `tbɑ:nli kɔl wɑ:ħed fi:na` ***il propose quatre thèmes***. R9

It is necessary each one of us he propose four topics

'Each one of us have to propose four topics.'

[794] `makɑ:ʃ wɑ:ħed` ***il a prospecté***. R9

There is no one he prospected

'No one has prospected.'

In example [789], speaker started his utterance using the AA model verb '`jnaʒʒem`' (he can) then he switched to the French verb 'faire' (do) which is one of the verbs that is not used with AA inflection. This resulted in the insertion of an entire IP in French. The AA model verb '`jqad`' (can), '`twalli`' (will) and the AA verb phrase '`ɾɑ:ki bɑ:ɣja`' (you want to) in examples [790-792] triggered the insertion of French IPs. In example [793], on the other hand, the French phrase '*il faut*' (it is necessary) which is normally followed by a French subjunctive[265] verb is followed by an AA dislocated subject that triggered the insertion of a French IP. Thus even if both verbs are French and most of the sentence is French, the underlined structure is AA '`jli:q tbɑ:nli kɔl wɑ:ħed fi:na` *j-propos-i quatre thèmes*.' In example [794], it is the AA negation and dislocated indefinite pronoun that triggered a French inflectional phrase.

---

[265] Il faut que chacun d'entre nous propose quatre thèmes.

4.3   AA insertion into French Matrix Structures

The insertion of AA elements and constituents in French matrices yields a very different picture from that associated with AA as ML despite the fact that in some recordings French monolingual sentences outnumber AA ones. Indeed, the available examples reflect some striking qualitative differences between AA and French embedded elements. (AA insertions into French matrices are listed and classified in Appendix 19)

4.3.1   Pronouns

Concerning the insertion of single morphemes, we may say that the insertion of AA free form pronouns though limited -20 tokens- is quite significant if we consider the fact that even free content morpheme pronouns are hardly embedded in CS literature according to many scholars. Besides, this type of insertion is important compared to other inserted AA categories in this corpus and compared to the insertion of their French counterparts -i.e. French pronouns- into AA structures. AA indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, are quite numerous compared to their French counterparts and they occur as subjects (5 instances), and objects (5 tokens) as illustrated by the following instances:

> **[795]** *Déjà* <u>wɑːħed</u> *a été liquidé cette année*. (R12) Subj
> Already <u>one</u> has been liquidated this year
> 'One has already been liquidated this year.'

> **[796]** <u>hadu</u> *ne sont pas ses prorogatifs*. (R4) Subj
> '<u>Those</u> are not her prerogatives.'

> **[797]** *On n'accepte pas* <u>hada</u>. (R1) Obj
> 'We don't accept <u>this</u>.'

> **[798]** w *à chaque fois il désigne* <u>waħed</u>. (R2) Obj
> 'And each time he designates <u>one</u>.'

> **[799]** *Le CP traite* <u>kolʃi mʃi ɣi</u> *progression et tout*. (R9) Obj
> 'The CP treat <u>everything</u> not just lesson progression and all.'

AA indefinite pronouns also occur as complements of prepositions (3 instances), as predicates (1 token) and as dislocated subjects (2 examples)[266] as follow:

---

[266] AA emphatic discourse pronouns can also be considered as dislocated subjects when their co-referent in the following sentence is a subject pronoun.

[800] *C'était* kɔlʃi men taħthɔm. R4 Pred

It was everything from under them

'Everything was under their orders.'

[801] hɔma *Ils ont protesté pour* hadi ? (R2) PComp

'They have protested for this.'

[802] *donc automatiquement ils ont plus de droits à des postes décisionnel* kima hagda *que* ħnɑːja. (R12) PComp

So, automatically they have more rights to decision-making positions like this than we

'So, automatically they have more rights to decision-making positions like this than we have.'

[803] waħda *elle est très bonne en français*. R10 DSubj

One SHE is very good in French

'A student is very good in French.'

[804] kɔl wɑːħed *il va évaluer deux à trois résumés avec une grille d'évaluation*. (R12) DSubj

Everyone HE is going to assess two to three summaries with an evaluation grid

'Everyone is going to assess two to three summaries with an evaluation grid.'

There are two examples where AA strong pronouns are followed by French relative clauses introduced by the French relative pronoun 'qui'. The AA pronouns 'hɔma' in the following examples are used for emphasis similar to the French *c'est cleft*-clause that we have seen in chapter (3):

[805] hɔma *qui traitent* gɑːɛ l-*matériel*. R11

They who process all the material

'They process all the material.'

[806] hɔma *qui ont fait démissionné MrB*. R12

They who made MrB resign

who made MrB resign

4.3.2 Nouns, Noun Phrases

Concerning single nouns we actually cannot consider all singly occurring AA nouns as single free content morphemes but rather they are embedded NPs as the absence of articles or what is referred to as the zero article in AA denotes indefiniteness such as the following:

359

[807] *On m'a fait* ɛafsa kima gɑ:l hɔwa. R12 Obj

They me did gesture as he said, he

'They gestured in disagreement as he said.'

[808] *Je vous donne* mʃi ʔaɛðɑ:ɾ, mɔhla χammam fiha. R8 Obj

I give not excuses, a time limit, think about

'I'm not giving you excuses, I'm giving you a time limit to think about it.'

The only AA single noun that is embedded into French matrix is the noun 'tmanja' (eight) as a predicate after the French copula '*être*' (to be) as follow:

[809] *On est* ((…)) *attend* ((…)) tmanja. (R9)

We are ((…)) wait ((…)) eight

'We are eight.'

The insertion of noun phrases is also attested in this corpus but far less numerous (59 instances) than the insertion of French NPs into AA structures. AA noun phrases that are embedded are varied and they include definite nouns (l-) (12 tokens), indefinite nouns (ø) (11 tokens); nouns modified by Possessives (6 instances), by demonstratives (6 instances), by quantifiers (5 tokens); nouns with their modifying adjectives (10 examples), nouns with their complements (7). Consider examples below:

[810] smawɑ:t-hɔm *sont partout*. (R4) Subj

'Their names are everywhere.'

[811] *Je croyais à une (..) dans une école*, n-nɑ:s *sont conscients*, (R4)Subj

'I thought in a school, people are conscious.'

[812] w *C'est comme ça qu'ils dominent* l-ʒami:ɛa.(R12) Obj

'And it is like this that they dominate the university.'

[813] *Moi je peux pas faire* l-χadma tɑɛ t-tasgɑ:d. (R9) Obj

I can't do the work of the sorting out

'I can't do trivial work.'

[814] *C'est des tests standardisés fait par ((..))* mɑ:lihɔm. (R10) PComp

'These are standardised tests done by ((..)) their owners.'

[815] *Normalement ça se fait appart* lʒami:ɛɑ:t lkbɑ:ɾ. (R7) PComp

'Normally it is done except the big universities.'

Besides, AA noun phrases are distributed according to their functions in the clause as follow: occurring as Subjects (6), dislocated Subjects (8,) Objects (15), Dislocated Objects (2), Predicates (6), Complements of preposition (7), Adverbs (15). Switching of core nominal constituents (subjects, objects and complements constitute 34 tokens which slightly outnumber switching of peripheral NPs (adverbial NPs and dislocated NPs 25 examples). The NPs in the above-cited examples are subjects, objects and complements, while the following instances include adverbial and left or right-dislocated NPs:

> **[816]** *On a eu une inspection* ħna l-ʔasɑːtiða. (R9) DSubj
> 'We have had an inspection, we the teachers.'

> **[817]** hadɔ swɑːlaħ *il faut les développer*. (R5) DObj
> 'These things, it is necessary to develop them.'

> **[818]** *J'ai vécu* mɛɑːha χmastaɛʃn ɛɑːm. (R12) Adv
> 'I lived with her fifteen years.'

> **[819]** *Il a refait l'année* ʃɛɑːl men merra. (R2) Adv
> 'He repeated the year many times.'

> **[820]** ɣi ljuːm s-sbɑːħ *J'allais prendre mon cartable et sortir*. (R9) Adv
> 'Just today morning i was going to take my bag and leave.'

Unlike French nouns that are embedded after the AA definite articles, it seems difficult for AA nouns to follow French articles. Such combinations are rare and if they occur they are preceded by a pause i.e. they are flagged as illustrated below:

> **[821]** *C'est **du*** ((..)) manduːma taɛ fasɑːd. R12 Pred
> It is some ((..)) system of corruption
> 'It is a system of corruption.'

> **[822]** *Donc ((…)) ils veulent **du*** ((..)) ħɑːʒa wɑːʒda maħłuła. R3 Obj
> So, *((…)) they want some* ((..)) something prepared put
> 'So, they want easy prepared things in front of them.'

> **[823]** *Je sais pas qui était à Oran sous **la*** ((..)) wallɑːt taɛ sħɑːb l-ɛɑrbijja. R12
> I don't know who was in Oran under the ((..)) governors of friends of Arabic
> I don't know who was in Oran under the responsibility of the Arabic department.'

These flagged switched AA nouns clearly illustrate the difference between the two directions of switching not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. This differs from the insertion of English nouns into French bases that are embedded after French definite and indefinite articles. Indeed we have 25 instances of English nouns that follow French definite and indefinite articles as follow:

> **[824]** gɑːtli *stp écris moi <u>un</u> **short paragraph** sur la thèse, le résumé*. R1
> She told me please write for me a short paragraph about the thesis, the summary.
>
> **[825]** <u>*Les*</u> **handouts** *c'est sans voix*. R3
> houdouts are without voice.
>
> **[826]** *Donc c'est <u>des</u>* **skills** *qu'on va développer*. R5
> So they are skills that we are going to develop.
>
> **[827]** *C'est une image <u>le</u>* **tree***, l'arbre*. R5
> It is an image the tree.
>
> **[828]** *Ce qu'on utilise c'est <u>le</u>* **bottom-up approach**. R5
> What we use is the bottom-up approach.
>
> **[829]** <u>*Le*</u> **focus** taɛak *c'est la grammaire*. R5
> 'Your focus is grammar.'
>
> **[830]** kima *en littérature y a <u>le</u>* **split***.* R12
> As in literature there is the split.
>
> **[831]** ɛɫiːthɔm *genre <u>un</u>* **timeline** *de la littérature britannique*. R12
> I gave them a timeline of British literature.

English nouns in the above-cited examples behave as though they were French nouns. There are some flagged nouns but not because they are used after French articles but because the speakers are looking for French nouns that they forgot at that moment. Here both English and AA have the same definite and indefinite article that are used before all nouns (singular, feminine and plural). So switching between French articles and AA or English nouns is not the result of sufficient/ insufficient congruence but it is about the requirements of the ML i.e. ML structural uniformity across the CPs. The dominant language is AA in respect to French and French in respect to English in our corpus. Consider the following example that seems to be French CP with embedded AA conjunction and adverb,

[832] bassaħ hna ***vient la pratique***. R5

But here comes the practice

'But here the role of practice comes.'

Yet, the underlined structure is AA even if the NP –subject and the VP are French. AA verb 'ʒa' (come) either precedes or follows the subject.

4.3.3   Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

Concerning adjective insertion, we have the insertion of Attributive adjectives which is not known to be common in CS literature. Besides, attributive adjectives show variations in respect to their placement within the clause. In the corpus of the present study there are five (5) instances of embedded AA adjectives when French is the ML and all of them follow French nouns '*kbi:ɾ*' (big), 'lɔwla' (first), 'waħdeh' (unique) and 'flɑ:ni' (such); knowing that their French equivalent '*grand*', '*premier*', '*unique*' and '*tel*' precede the nouns they modify. These cases emphasize the fact that attributive adjectives are rarely switched alone and if they are, they behave differently constituting a real challenge to the ML model. Consider the following instances:

[833] *Ce que me choque c'est quand il y a <u>un décalage</u>* kbi:ɾ. (R10)

What me chocks it is when there is a gap *big*

'What chocks me is that there is a big gap.'

[834] *Et tu vois <u>un décalage</u>* kbi:ɾ. (R10)

And you see a gap *big*

'And you see a big gap.'

[835] <u>*L'approche*</u> l-lɔwla *c'est d'avoir un chef de département des langues étrangères et deux chefs de filière*. (R12)

The approach DEF-first it is to have a head of department of foreign languages and two heads of section

'The first approach is to have a head of department of foreign languages and two heads of section.'

[836] haduk *c'est <u>un cas</u>* waħdeh. (R9)

Those they are a case unique

'Those are a unique case.'

[836] *On ne doit pas comparer les notes* `fe` `l`-*module* `l`-`flɑːni` `mɛa` *un autre module*. (R10)

We mustn't compare the marks in DEF-module DEF-such with another module

'We mustn't compare the marks of a certain module with the marks of another one.'

As we can see, even when French, which in certain cases admits the order [attributive adjective + N] as in the above-cited examples, is the matrix language, AA adjective occurs after the noun submitting to the EL grammar (i.e. AA) in this case rather to ML (i.e. French) requirements.

AA predicate adjectives are actually very limited when French is the ML knowing that they have more freedom to appear in mixed speech compared to attributive adjectives. We count only five instances of the occurrence of AA predicates in this corpus and four of them include the AA adjective '`waħdek`' (alone) as illustrated below:

[837] *il y avait deux profs* `taɛ` *sport* `zɛɑːjqija`. (R2)

There were two teachers of sport fun-loving/grinning

'There were two teachers of sport who liked to joke.'

[838] *Est-ce que c'est la littérature* `waħadha`, *civilisation* `waħadha`. (R5)

Is it literature alone, civilization alone

'Is it literature taught alone and civilization alone.'

[839] *Des fois tu te trouves* `waħdek`. (R8)

'Sometimes you find yourself alone.'

[840] *On voit les matières* `waħadhɔm` *séparés*. (R5)

We see the subjects alone separated

'We see each module on its own separated.'

4.3.4 Prepositional Phrases

AA prepositional phrases that are embedded in French frames are also attested in this corpus and they are somehow frequent (71 tokens) compared to noun phrases. They consist of a noun or a noun phrase introduced by a preposition, or a preposition to which a pronoun is affixed. The occurrence of the latter category is significant in this corpus and constitutes 26 instances as shown by the examples below:

[841] *Après une altercation* binɑːt-hɔm, *le coup de Mme GH a été très positif*. (R12)

'After an argument between-them, the act of Mrs GH has been very positive.'

[842] bassaħ, *Ça y est on a déjà une idée* ɛliː-kɔm. (R9)

'But, that's it we've already had an idea about-them.'

[843] *Un enseignant*, men-na, *il va accompagner les étudiants*. (R9)

A teacher, from-here, he is going to accompany the students

'A teacher, from-here, is going to accompany the students.'

[844] hɔma tɑːni ɛand-hɔm *c'est un cumul*. (R9)

They, also, for-them it's a cumulation.'

'For-them it's also, a cumulation.'

[845] ħna *On a cru* belli zaɛma *c'est des jeunes* kiːf-na. (R4)

We thought that so-called they are young like-us

'We thought that they are, like us, young.'

[846] *Parce que* fuːg-ək *il y a le directeur*. (R11)

'Because above-you, there is the director.'

Prepositional phrases can be part of predicate-argument structure i.e. they are complements. These include noun complements (18 tokens), adjective complements (2 examples) or verb complements (14 instances) as illustrated by the following examples from our corpus:

[847] l-*prof* taɛna *en terminale c'était un as* fe t-tɑːriːχ. (R1) NC

DEF-teacher of-us in the final year he was an ace/crack in the history

'Our final-year secondary school teacher was an ace in history.'

[848] kima hadi *la réunion* taɛ ljuːm *ça n'a ni queue ni tête*. R4 NC

Like this the meeting of today it doesn't have neither head nor tail

'Like today's meeting, it doesn't make any sense.'

[849] *Je suis concerné* b-hadɔ? R6 AdjC

I'm not concerned with-these

'I'm not concerned with these, am I?'

[850] *Ils sont pas conscients* b-had swɑːleħ. R9 AdjC

We aren't conscious with those things

'We aren't aware of those things.'

[851] *Ça donne plus de poids* `lə-l-ɛaɾbijja`. (R12)

'It gives more weight to Arabic.'

[852] *Il compense* `b-hadi:k l-qbɑ:ħa`. R10 VC

He compensates with that DEF-wickedness

'He covers his weakness with his wickedness.'

The AA prepositional phrases in examples [847] and [848] constitute complements of the French NPs '*un as*' (an ace) and '*la reunion*' (the meeting). The AA prepositional constituents in examples [849] and [850] are complements to the French adjectives '*concerné*' (concerned) and '*conscient*' (aware). French Verbs '*donner*' (give), and '*compenser*' (compensate) subcategorize for the AA prepositional phrases in examples [851] and [852].

In the same way, AA adjunct prepositional constituents are also switched by our informants in this corpus (37 tokens). These peripheral constituents are adjuncts or adverbial phrases of place, time and manner.

[853] *Il y a des placards publicitaires* `fe gɑ:ɛ l-ʒami:ɛɑ:t taɛ l-ouest`.

'There are display advertisements in all the universities of the west.' (R2)

[854] `ħna` *On n'est pas un outil* `fe jaddi:-hɔm`. (R2) M

We we're not a tool in hands-their

'We're not a tool in their hands.'

[855] *Je voulais reporter* `ħatta l`-septembre. (R4) T

'I wanted to postpone (the exams) till September.'

[856] *La prochaine fois c'est* `be-nnɔɫa, be-lfasila`, *la ponctuation et tout ça*. R9 M

Next time, it is with full stop, with comma, the punctuation and all this

'Next time everything will be counted in correction, full stops, commas, punctuation and everything.'

Some adjunct prepositional phrases namely prepositional phrases of place can be topicalised i.e. put at the beginning of the clauses before the subject and the verb for emphasis as illustrated by examples [854], [855] and [856] above where prepositions plus object pronouns are at the head of the clauses. PPs in the following examples are topicalised as well:

[857] f̲e̲ ̲l̲-̲ʒ̲a̲m̲i̲ː̲ɛ̲a̲, *grade professeur tu en connais* ? (R6)

In the university, rank professor you know them

At university, you know the teachers who have the rank of professor?

[858] f̲i̲ ̲n̲a̲f̲s̲ ̲l̲-̲m̲a̲d̲ɾ̲a̲s̲a̲,̲ *est ce que les niveaux les promotions ont été impactés de la même façon* ? (R9)

In the same college, are the levels, the cohorts impacted in the same way?

'In the same college, are all the cohorts affected in the same way?'

[859] h̲n̲a̲ *on peut pas évaluer Si,* f̲i̲ ̲ɾ̲ɑ̲ː̲s̲a̲h̲,̲ *l'enseignant il n'est pas convaincu*. (R10)

Here we cannot evaluate if <u>in his head</u> the teacher he is not convinced

'We cannot evaluate here If the teacher is not convinced.'

[860] *Mais*, a̲n̲a̲ k̲a̲ ̲ʔ̲ɔ̲s̲t̲ɑ̲ː̲d̲,̲ *j'ai le droit de refuser*. (R8)

But, me as a teacher, i have the right to refuse

'But, as a teacher, i have the right to refuse

Other embedded AA prepositional phrases are adverbial phrases that modify the whole clause or express the speaker's attitude towards something as exemplified by the instances below:

[861] *Ils vont prendre* h̲a̲d̲u̲ː̲k̲ *les deux jours pour réviser* k̲i̲m̲a̲ m̲w̲ɑ̲ː̲l̲ə̲f̲.

'They are going to take those two days to revise as usual.' (R6)

[862] *Je parle pas de notre école* b̲-̲s̲i̲f̲a̲ ̲ɛ̲ɑ̲ː̲m̲m̲a̲. (R7)

'I'm not talking about our school, in general.'

[863] *La réussite de n'importe quelle institution c'est tout le monde* m̲e̲ ̲l̲-̲b̲a̲w̲ɑ̲ː̲b̲ ̲w̲ ̲ɬ̲l̲a̲ɛ̲. (R8)

The success of any institution it is all the people from the doorman to the director

'The success of any institution depends on all its workers starting from the doorman.'

Here again there is equilibrium between the number of AA prepositional phrases occurring as complements (being part of the predicate-argument structure 34 instances) and those that are peripheral to the verb i.e. adjuncts or adverbials (37 tokens). We have an example of an embedded AA prepositional clause as follow:

[864] *Je partage avec vous l'idée* `taɛ jahhadrɔ bezzɑ:f.`

I share with you the idea of they talk a lot

'I agree with you that they talk a lot.'

In the above-cited example, the clause is not well-formed either according to AA or French grammatical structure, yet it is understood.

4.3.5   Adverbs and Discourse Markers

The appearance of AA adverbs in complementizer clauses governed by French remains relatively limited compared to the insertion of French adverbs in AA structures which is frequent and varied. The presence of these adverbs is also a problem since, like the insertion of French adverbs in AA matrices, they are difficult to classify. AA adverbs in this corpus are neither numerous (63 tokens) nor varied -37 instances of all inserted adverbs are adverbs of place (17 instances) namely '`hna`' (here) and '`temma`' (there); adverbs of time (20 tokens) namely '`daɾwek`' (now) and '`mambaɛd`' (after). Here are some elicited examples:

[865] `mazɑ:l` *les papiers* `tawɛah` *ne sont pas en règle*. (R4)

Still the documents of-him are not regulated

'His documents aren't regulated yet.'

[866] *Avant y avait* `ɣi` *une promotion, deux promotions,* `daɾwak` *quatre promotions*. (R6)

Before there were <u>only</u> one cohort, two cohorts, <u>now</u> four cohorts

'Before we had one cohort, two cohorts, now we have four.'

[867] `hɔma` `temma` *ils se laissent faire*. (R4)

They <u>there</u> they do whatever they are asked

'There they let themselves to be used.'

[868] `hnɑ:ja,` *en 96 il y avait une grande grève*. (R4)

'Here, in 96, there was abig strike.'

[869] *Elle s'est installée* `ltem`. (R10)

'She settled down there.'

[870] *C'est* `məmbaɛd` *tu as réfléchi*. (R8)

It is after you have thought

'It is after that you have realized it.'

Other AA adverbs that are embedded into French structures include 'tɑ:ni' (also), 'ɣi' (just/only), 'balɑ:k' (maybe) among others:

[871] *C'était* <u>waqi:la</u> *cinq* manaʒħu:ʃ. (R2)
'There were maybe five who didn't succeed.'

[872] <u>balɑ:k</u> *il faut proposer des thèmes*. (R9)
'Maybe it is necessary to propose themes.'

[873] *Le directeur* <u>gɑ:ɛ</u> *il n'est pas au courant*. (R11)
'The director is not informed at all.'

[874] <u>lla</u>**,** *le rapport de stage est obligatoire*. (R4)
'No, the report de stage is obligatory.'

With respect to the adverbial particle 'mʃi (not), it does not only replace the French negative particle (ne…pas) but it sometimes replaces the copula with negation altogether resembling thus the AA zero copula structure. Consider the following instances:

[875] *Il a été élu pour représenter les étudiants* <u>mʃi</u> *délégué au nom de l'école*. (R11)
'He was elected to represent the students not (to be) a delegate in the name of the school.'

[876] *Il y a des gens* <u>mʃi</u> *tu frôle la dépression avec eux, tu déprimes carrément*. (R4)
There are people you don't come close to depression with them, you are downright depressed.
'There are people with whom you don't only risk approaching depression but rather you get depressed downright.'

Like adverbs, discourse markers also form a heterogeneous class of morphemes. AA discourse markers are far less numerous (17 tokens) in our corpus compared to the other inserted AA elements and constituents that are embedded into French matrix frames and compared to their French counterparts when AA is the ML. This rarity in our corpus is not due to syntactic restrictions on this particular category, but it is rather a question of preference from the part of bilingual speakers for switching certain categories than others and due to language status.

With regard to discourse markers the common particle 'zaɛma' is among the morphemes strongly associated with the pragmatic dimension. This particle is very present in

369

the corpus and occupies various positions. It can be at the head of the sentence, in the middle or in the end position. The following examples illustrate the use of this particle:

[877] *C'est une langue* <u>zaɛma</u> *direct*e. (R2)

It is a language supposedly direct

'It is supposedly a direct language.'

[878] ħna *on a cru* belli <u>zaɛma</u> *c'est des jeunes* ki:fna. (R4)

We thought that supposedly they are young like us

'We thought that they are young like-us.'

[879] *C'était* <u>zaɛma</u> *une urgence*. (R4)

'It was apparently an urgency.'

[880] bassaħ, <u>zaɛma</u>, *c'est des travailleurs des bosseurs*. (R9)

'But, apparently, they are hard workers.'

[881] ana tɑ:ni *je touche mon portable*, <u>zaɛma,</u> *franchement*. (R9)

'Me too i touch my phone, I mean it, frankly.'

Other AA discourse markers include words such as 'hagda', 'ma', 'baɛda', 'tsamma'. With respect to some particles their meaning is drawn from the context as illustrated below:

[882] ana *personnellement je suis partagé dans le sens* wi:n *je signe* <u>hagda</u> *la présence* tɑ:ɛi. (R7)

I personally i am torn in the sense that i sign like that the presence of-me

'Personally I am torn in the sense that I sign up without being convinced?'

[883] *Le bute* hna l-lɔwla *on va former des enseignants qui doivent être de bon model de prononciation*. (R5)

The purpose here, first we are going to train teachers who have to be a good model in pronunciation.

[884] <u>ma</u> anaja *j'en n'ai marre de travailler* mɛɑ:hɔm. (R4)

'But me I'm fed up with working with them.'

'I'm fed up with working with them.'

[885] <u>tsamma</u> *On doit passer* ɣi *la première fois*. (R4)

'Thus, we have to pass only for the first time?'

[886] ana, <u>baɛda,</u> je faisais. (R4)

I, in fact, I did it.

'In fact, I did it.'

Concerning AA conjunctions we will talk about them when we deal with discourse grammar. They are relatively more numerous (84 tokens) compared to other discourse markers, yet they are not varied -51 instances of them include mainly the AA coordinator 'wella' (or), the subordinator 'bassaħ' (but) and 'belli' (that). These conjunctions introduce French clauses, conjoining them to a preceding clause or another sequence of discourse in either AA or French.

Hence, two main observations can be drawn from the analysis of AA embedded adverbs and discourse markers. The first is that they are quite few compared to the other direction of switching. Second, they don't seem to be varied.

4.3.6 Question Words

Question words belong to several different parts of speech. 'Who' is a pronoun. 'Whose' is a possessive pronoun. 'Which' is a determiner. 'What' can be a pronoun or a determiner. 'Why', 'when', 'where' and 'how' are adverbs; but 'how' is also sometimes a degree word. Whatever the status of the question words, they are frequently switched in the present data. We have 23 tokens of French embedded question words into AA clauses of which 17 are introduced by the French '*est-ce-que*' as shown by the following examples

[887] ***Comment ça se fait*** nti ɾɑːki dɑːjɾa *le nombre de séances* kima ħna ? R9

How come you did the same numbers of sessions like us?

[888] ***De quel droit*** matsenjiːlhɑːʃ ? R4

With what right he did not sign her contract?

[889] ***Combien*** jaɛłuːkɔm *d'établissements* ? R9

How many institutions do they give you?

[890] gɑːɛ had ʃʃi ***pourquoi*** ? R12

All this, why ?

[891] ***Est-ce que*** ɛla bɑːlha. R8

Does she know ?

Algerian Arabic questions words are also attested in the corpus of the present study. They constitute 13 tokens as follow:

[892] k̲i̲f̲ɑ̲:̲ʃ̲ *sur quelle base il a conçu le personnage* ? R1
How on what basis he designed the character?

[893] ɛ̲l̲ɑ̲:̲h̲ *ils ne vérifient pas* ? R1
Why don't they check?

[894] w *le poste* w̲i̲:̲n̲ *il est décidé* ? R4
And the job position where is it decided?

[895] m̲i̲:̲n̲ *il va parler* ? *à partir de rien* ! R10
From where he's going to talk? From nothing!

[896] ʃ̲a̲h̲ɔ̲w̲a̲ *le module qui affecte* ? R10
What is the module that affect?

[897] ʃ̲k̲u̲:̲n̲ *il a annoncé* t̲q̲a̲d̲d̲e̲m̲ ʃ-ʃahɑ:da ? R12
Who has announced that she hand over honor certificate?

It is clear at this stage of the analysis that the two languages, even if they both have the possibility of being the ML, AA and French do not generate quantitatively and qualitatively the same structures. Thus, asymmetry characterizes the presence of these two languages in the corpus. Unlike the insertion of French material into AA frames, which is quantitatively numerous and structurally varied, AA insertions into French matrices is very limited.

4.4 Discourse grammar

The MLF model has succeeded in accounting for many AA/French CS instances within AA finite clauses being mixed constituents or EL islands. In the following section, we will test the MLF model when switching takes place at a level above the finite clause i.e. at the CP level and see if the ML as defined so far can account for this type of switching.

Complementizers[267] have been a subject for discussion in many studies of CS (Gumperz, 1982, Joshi 1985, Nishimura 1992, Treffers-Daller 1994, Boumans 1998,

---

[267] In current syntactic theory, a complementizer (COMP) is the head of any clause identified as CP, projection of Complementizer. Complementizers include not just elements such as *that*, but also subordinating conjunctions, relative clause markers, other elements that indicate clause boundaries, and even coordinating conjunctions. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 351)

Muysken 2000) and they are still considered a contentious issue among linguists. Myers-Scotton (1993, 1997 2002 2009) has redefined complementizers many times in her publications since they constitute part of the CP which is the unit of analysis of her insertional modal. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 55), the complement phrase (CP) which is the highest unit projected by lexical elements "can be defined unambiguously in terms of phrase structure as a complemetizer or an element in Specifier (Spec) position followed by an IP". So, in the AA/French CS corpus of the present study, switching between certain discourse markers (as AA discourse emphatic pronouns, conjunctions and certain adverbs) fall within the scope of MLF model's unit of morpho-syntactic analysis. Nevertheless, in the morpho-syntactic analysis of CS, discourse markers have been marginalized by most linguistic studies done on CS. This is due to the heterogeneity of these markers not only in CS but also in monolingual syntactic analysis as Boumans (1998: 106) states: "Even in monolingual contexts the syntactic distribution of discourse markers cannot be fully explained within sentence grammar since they function entirely or partly on the level of discourse organization".

   Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 351) in their recent version of 4-M classification of the different morpheme types recognize the difficulty in finding a uniform analysis for this heterogeneous class of words for two main reasons stating that: "Variation among COMP elements themselves and cross-linguistic variation in their patterning in CS complicate their discussion. Also, there is no uniform agreement regarding what elements are rightly classified under COMP." In the same vein Boumans (1998) states that:

> Discourse markers form a heterogeneous group of expressions that include members from various word classes. English examples include adverbs like *now*, sentence adverbs like *frankly*, *firstly*; coordinate and subordinate conjunctions like *and*, *because*; 'particles' such as *well*, *right*; interjections like *gosh*, and even complete clauses like, e.g., *you know*, *I see*. Other categories (and taxonomies) can easily be added to this list. The linguistic properties are at least partly dependent on their word class membership, and because of this it is difficult to come up with a clear definition of discourse markers. Boumans (1998: 106)

   What is important to the present discussions is the appearance of discourse markers within bilingual complement phrases (CPs) because they are within the scope of MLF model's unit of syntactic analysis. Indeed, the heterogeneity of these discourse markers makes Myers-Scotton frequently redefine their status within her MLF model. Such markers mostly occur either clause-initial or clause-finally and they are not traditionally studied in sentence grammar nor are they considered intra-sentential code-switching as stated in Myers-Scotton &

Jake (2009: 351): "Most complementizers straddle two CPs. In this way, they are at the intersection between inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS."

4.4.1 Complementizers and Discourse Markers

In her book 'Duelling languages', Myers-Scotton (1993:130) argues that "complementizers (COMP) are system morphemes because they are heads which fail to receive thematic roles and therefore have the feature [-Thematic Role-Receiver]" and "that the only way for EL complementizers to appear is in EL Islands", otherwise they come from the ML. In her later publications (1995, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2009) and in reaction to the bulk of criticism put forward to the classification concerning discourse markers or complementizers, the author and her associates expand the notion of thematic roles to include discourse-thematic roles such as Topic, Focus or Contrast considering complementizers as content morphemes at discourse level i.e. Discourse markers "do not assign thematic roles within the clause, but they limit the interpretation of what comes after them in the clause. In that sense, they assign discourse-level thematic roles." (Myers-Scotton 2006: 245). The author further adds that being content morphemes, complementizers can come from either the ML or the EL as long as there is sufficient congruence (ibid: 256).

More recently Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) revised complementizers and other clause connectors using the 4-M model stating that:

> Under the 4-M model, some complementizers and complementizer-like elements are bridge SMs, especially complementizers such as "that." Similar complementizers are multi-morphemic elements that include a bridge and an outsider SM. For example, in Arabic, ʔinn- ("that-") occurs with a suffix agreeing with the subject of CP2. Finally, many subordinators and coordinators are content morphemes. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 351)

So, according to the authors, the appearance of complementizers depends on their morpheme status in their languages. Content-morpheme complementizers such as subordinators and coordinators are quite robust. Informants of the present study use various discourse markers which are either realized in French or AA (Appendix 20). The present corpus provides a lot of instances of the insertion of subordinators and coordinators with '*parce que*' (because) at the top of conjunctions' occurrence in AA matrix structures (54 tokens preceding AA clauses as opposed to just 5 instances within French CPs) followed by '*mais*' (but) (17 instances preceding AA clauses as opposed to just 2 instances within French EL clauses) and '*donc*' (so) (15 tokens preceding AA IPs). The following AA clauses are

preceded by French subordinate conjunctions of cause '*parce que*', reason '*puisque*', '*comme*', result '*donc*', time '*tant que*' and a coordinator '*ou…ou*':

> **[898]** mʃi ***parce que*** majχallasʃ nkawrulah. (R9)
> 'Not *because* they don't pay we will give anything.'

> **[899]** ***Donc*** hadu ***trois points, trois arguments*** tqaddi tħɔɫɫi:hɔm.
> 'So these are three points, three arguments that you can write down.' R6

> **[900]** ***Mais comme*** wlɑ:di gaɛdɔ rwa:ħhɔm ***j'étais obligé*** nrɔd d-drɑ:hem. (R4)
> '*But as* my children stayed stayed alone, *I was obliged* to return the money.'

> **[901]** ***Tant que*** l-***canevas*** matbedletʃ χadmi kima hɑ:kka. (R4)
> '*As long as* the canvas hasn't changed keep working like this.'

> **[902]** ***Justement, puisque les examens le 16 septembre*** χallu:lhɔm hadi:k ***la semaine***. (R9)
> 'Exactly, *since* the exams are on the 16th of September, give them that week to revise.'

> **[903]** ʃa ndi:rɔ mɛa ***les 4ème année vue que*** maħdarʃ. (R 11)
> 'What shall we do with the 4th year given that he didn't attend the meeting?'

> **[904]** manħalhɔmʃ ø ***master en civilisation*** maɛa kɔl ʔiħtiramɑ:ti ***que ce soit*** civilisation wella ***littérature***. (R6)

> **[905]** ***Ou la promotion*** ddi:r gɑ:ɛ ***ou la promotion*** maddi:rʃ gɑ:ɛ.
> '*Either* all of the cohort do the exams *or* all of them don't.' (R9)

When French is the ML, AA conjunctions are also attested in this corpus but less frequent (83 instances) compared to the insertion of their French counter-parts when AA is the ML (106 tokens). Two AA conjunctions are relatively frequent in this corpus when French is the ML, the AA coordinator 'wella' (or) (21 instances) and the subordinator 'bassaħ' (but) (13 tokens). The following examples include AA conjunctions:

> **[906]** *Les 2[ème]s années ils sont turbulents et tout* bassaħ zaɛma *c'est des travailleurs des bosseurs*. (R9)
> '2nd year students are turbulent and so but indeed they are hard workers.'

[907] À partir d'aujourd'hui est ce que vous êtes pour la signature <u>`wella`</u> ((…)) contre la signature <u>`wella`</u> vous décidez après. (R8)

'From now-on are you for the signature <u>or</u> against the signature <u>or</u> you decide after.'

[908] `lla`*, on discute* <u>`qbal ma`</u> *on prend la*… (R9)

'No, we discuss before we take the … .'

[909] *C'est ça* <u>`ma`</u> *il y a des choses à faire*. (R11)

'It is this otherwise there are other things to do.'

[910] *Je voulais programmer la semaine juste après les vacances* <u>`bɑːʃ`</u> `fe d-daχla` *on aura assez de temps pour le 2ᵉᵐᵉ semestre*. (R6)

'I'd like to program the exams the week just after holidays <u>*so that*</u> after going back to school we'll have enough time for the second semester.'

[911] `ja mə llɔwla` *tu durcis le mouvement* `mansenjiːʃ` <u>`ja`</u> *tu vas graduellement*. (R8)

'<u>*Either,*</u> from the beginning, you strengthen the movement –I won't sign' <u>*or*</u> you go gradually.'

[912] *Il faut entendre pareil des deux côtés* <u>`w`</u> *chaque histoire a plusieurs faces*. (R9)

'We have to listen to both sides and each story has many sides.'

Though switching between AA and French within the conditional sentences is frequent (61 instances), the conditional conjunctions in both languages tend to be in the same language as the following conditional clause except for six examples where the French conditional subordinator '*Si*' (if) precedes three AA clauses, the Arabic subordinating conjunctions '`ʔida`', '`ila`' (if) and '`ki`' (when) precedes French IPs. Consider the following examples:

[913] `gɑːlli` <u>`ila`</u> *il travaille je vais lui donner dix*. (R1)

'He told me if he works i will give him dix.'

[914] `ki mɔdiːɾ d-deɾatsɑːt` *a démissionné,* `daɾwak` *tout est possible*. R11

[915] <u>`ʔida hɔwa`</u> *il n'est pas discipliné comment qu'il va discipliner une classe*. R9

If He *he is not disciplined how he is going to discipline a class of pupils*

'If *he is not disciplined how he is going to discipline a class of pupils.*'

[916] <u>*Si*</u> majaɛrefʃ jaktab mɔðakkirət ddars ***qu'est-ce qu'il va***
enseigner ? R10
'*If* he doesn't know how write a lesson plan *what he is going to teach.*'

[917] *Je sais pas où est le problème <u>**si un module**</u>* wella ***deux modules***
ndɑːrɔ ***avant les vacances***. R9
'I don't know where the problem is *if one module* or *two* have been done *before*
holidays.'

The AA subordinating conjunctions in examples [914] and [915] do not precede
French clauses directly; the Arabic subordinating conjunction of condition 'ʔida' (if) is
followed by the AA topic pronoun 'hɔwa' and 'ki' (when) is followed by an AA NP subject.
This emphasis the fact that subordinators of condition tend to be in the same language as the
following conditional sentence they introduce.

Relative clauses, on the other hand, are also recurrent in our corpus and they come
from both AA (105 tokens) and French (27 instances), all of which modify French nouns.
Nevertheless, we count 15 singly occurring AA relative pronouns that introduce French
relative clauses and follow French nouns. There is no instance of singly occurring French
relative pronouns that introduce AA clauses. Consider the following examples that include the
AA relative pronouns 'lli' (who, which, that) and 'wiːn' (where):

[918] *Il y a eu beaucoup de cas* <u>wiːn</u> *ils ont été vraiment inscrits en 3ème*
année. (R2)
'There are many cases where they had enrolled in 3rd year.'

[919] *C'est votre propre travail de recherche* <u>lli</u> *sera corrigé et déposé*.
(R4)
'It's your research work *that* will be corrected and submitted.'

[920] *J'ai supprimé un titre* <u>lli</u> l-ɛɑːm l-ʒɑːj *je vais courir avec*. (R9)
'I have deleted a title *that* next year i will be running after.'

The AA relative pronouns in the above-cited examples conform to French grammar; in
example [919] the pronoun 'lli' replaces the subject and in example [920] it replaces the
object. However, there are many cases in the corpus of the present study that seems for the

first glance that they are French sentences into which AA relative pronouns are embedded, yet the latter bring AA changes to these French clauses. Look at the following examples:

> **[921]** ɾɑːna nahadɾɔ ɛla *l'étudiant* <u>lli</u> *Il a un seize* ʃe *l'orale w il a un quatre* ʃe *un module d'écrit.* (R10)
>
> Are-1PLSubj IMPERF-talk-3PLSubj about *the student* **who** *he has a sixteen* **in** *the orale* **and** *he has four* **in** *a module of writing*
>
> 'We talk about student who has sixteen in orale and four in a module of writing.'

> **[922]** *Dans le cas* <u>wiːn</u> *c'est un étudiant* <u>lli</u> *il n'a pas eu d'échec* ʃe *la spécialité.* (R2)
>
> In the case where it is a student who he hasn't failed in the specialty
>
> 'In the case where the student hasn't failed in the specialty.'

> **[923]** manaɛɫiːhɔmʃ un sujet <u>lli</u> ø accessible sur l'internet. (R10)
>
> NEG-IMPERF-give-1SGSubj-them-NEG an exam that accessible on the internet
>
> 'I don't give them exam questions that are accessible on the internet.'

> **[924]** ɾɑːki fi ***un jeu*** lli ø *entre l'université et l'agence.* (R4)
>
> You are in a game that between university and agency
>
> 'You are in a game that is between university and agency.'

The relative clauses in examples [923] and [924] above though contains French elements, lack the copula in the relative clause which conforms to AA grammar. The AA relative pronoun 'lli' (who) in example [921] and [922] is followed by the French subject pronoun '*il*' (he) which is not in accordance with French syntax (French relative pronoun '*qui*' (who) replaces subject pronouns in the clause).

Thus, it becomes obvious that subordinators and coordinators do appear freely as singly content morphemes when both languages play the role of the ML. Though French conjunctions outnumber AA ones in this corpus, their distribution varies from a complementizer to another. *That-like complementizers* as Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009) call them are bridges that display different distributions across languages; with some languages, these complementizers must come from that language; with others they do not (ibid: 354). In our corpus, the AA complementizer 'belli' is quite frequent; we have 33 mixed sentences containing the AA that-like complementizer; in thirteen (13) instances of them, the complementizer 'belli' introduces French subordinating IPs while in five (5) tokens, it

follows French main clauses. There are four examples in which the AA complementizers occurs between two French clauses as follow:

[925] ħna *on a cru* `belli` zaɛma *c'est des jeunes* `kiːfna`. (R4)
'We thought <u>that</u> they are young like us.'

[926] *Je demande* `belli` *il fallait me consulter*. (R8)
'I'll ask <u>that</u> they had to consult me.'

[927] *Quand il y aura une autre action des noms* `belli` *voilà ça été mentionné sur le rapport*. (R9)
'When there will be another incident <u>that</u> it was mentioned in the report.'

[928] *si je vois* `belli` *c'est pour le bon fonctionnement de mon établissement*. (R8)
'If i see <u>that</u> it is for the good functioning of my institution.'

The French that-like complementizer '*que*', on the other hand, is rare in our corpus. We count only three instances of the occurrence of the French complementizer '*que*', all of which introduce AA subordinating clauses as follow:

[929] *N'oubliez pas **que*** gɛadtɔ ***cinq mois sans rien faire***. (R9)
'Don't forget that you stayed five months without doing anything.'

[930] *voyez **que*** ɾɑːha ***faible partout***. (R10)
'See that she is weak everywhere.'

[931] *Je me dis **que*** ħna gɑːɛ ɾɑːna ***concerné***. (R12)
'I tell myself that we are all concerned.'

There are also six examples where both the AA and the French that-like complementizers are missing. Consider the following examples:

[932] ɛaɾfɔ ɾwaħhɔm (#) *ils allaient tous mourir* fe *la fin*. (R1)
They knew themselves (#) they were going to die
'They knew that they were going to die.'

[933] ɾɑːh ɛɑːɾəf ɾuːħəh (#) *il est faible* fe *les autres temps*. (R10)
He knows himself (#) he is weak in the other tenses
'He knows that he is weak in the other tenses.'

[934] *Ça s'est jamais passé* (#) ***la parole*** matɾuːħʃ lə-d-***directeur des études***. (R12)

'It has never happened that voice is not given to the director of studies.'

Thus, in the case of the AA that-like complementizer '`belli`', although it frequently introduces embedded French IP (13 instances), it occurs in all position as singly embedded morpheme between two French CPs (4 tokens), or following French main clauses (5 tokens). The French conjunction '*que*' on the other hand is very rare in our corpus compared to its AA counter-part.

Apart from content and bridge complementizers, there is a plenitude of other French discourse markers (83 tokens) that are classified as content morphemes in this corpus. These include, interjections, discourse particles and phrases (such as '*alors*', '*bon*' (well), '*peu importe*' (who cares), '*eh ben*' (well), 'comme ça' (like this) as illustrated below:

> **[935]** ***Comme ça chaque semaine*** ɛandkɔm ***les polycopiés*** taɛkɔm. (R2)
> '***Like this*** *every week* you will have your handouts.'

> 'We are not going to open a master in civilization with all my respects **whether** it is civilization or literature.'

> **[936]** ***Bon,*** dɑːrɔ hadiːk ***l'histoire***. (R12)
> 'Well, they created that story.'

> **[937]** ***Parce que <u>sûr et certain</u>*** hɔma z-zuːʒ majʒuːʃ. (R12)
> 'Because **sure** they both won't come.'

> **[938]** ***<u>Fort possible</u>*** mataχχadmuːʃ ***bien***. R9
> 'Quite possible you will not work well.'

Discourse markers also include full clauses or monolingual CPs such as (*you know*, c'est à dire). The latter class does not constitute any challenge to the MLF model because, as Myers-Scotton (20002) has pointed out in her latest version of the model, they are monolingual CPs. To this category Myers-Scotton (2002: 55) adds exclamations such as (what! never!), by considering them as monolingual CPs that include a number of null elements. In our corpus, these discourse clauses are frequent (57 instances) and most of them begin with the French third person neutral or impersonal subject pronoun '*ce*' that corresponds to '*it*' followed by the verb '*être*' (to be) or other verbs such as '*c'est sur*' certainly, '*c'est vrai*' admittedly, '*C'est pour cela*' that's why, '*Ça dépend*' it depends, '*Ce qui fait*' it makes, etc. consider the examples below:

> **[939]** ***<u>C'est sur</u>*** jkunjaɛrəf ***les lois***. (R4)

'***Certainly***, he knows the laws.'

[940] ***C'est vrai*** ɠɑːɛ ***les étrangers*** ɛandhɔm ***une deuxième femme***
temma. (R4)

'***Admittedly***, all the foreigners have a second wife there.'

[941] ***C'est normal*** majaffahmuʃ ***la théorie***. (R6)

'***It's normal*** (that) that they don't understand theory.'

[942] ***C'est pour cela*** manəʒʒamʃ nɛajjałłəlha. (R8)

'***This is why*** I couldn't call her.'

[943] ***Ça dépend*** ʃa ɛandhɔm fe ***la séquence***. (R4)

'***It depends*** what they have in the unit.'

[944] ***C'est-à-dire*** ɛandeh des prérequis. (R5)

'It means she has prerequisites.'

[945] ɣɑːdi ndiːɾɔ ***quatre heures***, ***c'est tout***. (R4)

'We're going to do four hours, that's it.'

Other recurrent expressions or discourse clauses involve the French word 'fait' (fact).
The French expression '*ça fait ...que*'[268] always comes at the beginning of the sentence and
refer to a period of time in reference to the moment of time when we are talking. It is like the
French '*depuis*' and English '*since*'. In AA/French CS, however, this expression not only is
placed in the mid or end-position of the sentence but also adapted to AA uses as illustrated by
the following examples:

[946] ***Ce qui fait*** kɔnt nballaɛ ɛlihɔm fi ʃi swɑːħ. R4

'Which means that I used to hamper them.'

[947] ***Ça fait*** la ndɑːɾ l'examen mɔːɾ l-ɛiːd ɣɑːdi jandɑːɾ ***la***
première semaine. R9

'That's, if the exam will be scheduled after the Eid it will be the first week.'

[948] ʒɑːw ***Ça fait dix jours*** ħatta lə-hna. R9

They came it's been ten days till here

'It's been ten days since they came here.'

---

[268] '*Ça fait deux mois que je ne mange plus de chocolat.*' : It's been two months that i haven't eaten chocolat
'*Je ne mange plus de chocolat depuis deux mois.*' : i haven't eaten chocolat since two months ago/ for two
months.

[949] ħna l-film taɛ Lotfi tfarraʒnɑːh *ça fais quatre ans* wella. R1

We the film of Lotfi we watched it it's been four years or

'It's been four years or more since we watched the film of Lotfi.'

[950] *Ça fait quatre ans* hadɾɔ ɛla *les universités*. R5

It's been four years they talked about universities

'It's been four years since they talked about universities.'

[951] ɾɑːhɔm mwɑːlfiːn biːh men *ça fait longtemps*. R6

They are used to it from it's been long time

'They have been used to it for quite a long time.'

As you have seen in examples above namely example [951], the French expression '*ça fait*' is adapted by our informant to AA structures 'men *ça fait longtemps*' (from it's been a ong time) which is ungrammatical sequence in French. In French we would use the phrase '*depuis longtemps*' (since a long time).

It seems that our findings corroborate Myers-Scotton's characterization of content and bridge system conjunctions to a large extent; complementizers and other discourse markers come from either language within mixed CPs and are frequently juxtaposed with clauses from the other language. But, what about complementizers that are classified as outsider late system morphemes? According to Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 354): "subordinators or that-like complementizers *that include an outsider*[269] seem to always come from the ML, even when the outsider depends on a CP2 whose clause is otherwise framed by the EL." So, the status and the prediction about this category of complementizers differ from that of their content and bridge counterparts. Indeed, these complementizers are what have motivate Myers-Scotton and her associates to consider the insertion of entire IPs as structurally motivated EL Islands as we have seen .

4.4.2 Arabic Discourse Emphatic Pronouns

In CS with Arabic, the occurrence of Arabic emphatic pronouns preceding finite clauses from other languages has been noticed by many scholars in many CS data sets including AA/French CS corpus of the present study. The following sentences show the occurrence of Arabic emphatic pronouns preceding French, English and Dutch finite clauses:

anaya, l-youm, *je m'en fous*

---

[269] Our emphasis

1PER SG, DEF-day, I me-REFL-of-it not care.
'personally, today, I don't care'
                        (Algerian Arabic/ French, Boumans and Caubet, 2000: 147).

ɟɛɛni **ana I** was really lucky
It means, 1PER SG I was really lucky.
                        (Egyptian Arabic/English, Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha, 1996: 26).

ana **Ik** vind't zo'n knuffeldiertje
pour moi, je l'ai trouvé comme une peluche
                        (Maroccan Arabic/Dutch, Nortier, 1990: 164)[270].

muhimm **nti-ya**   *voor* **jou** *was het misschien ehm iets   moeilijker*
Anyway 2F-EMPH for you was it   maybe   er   somewhat more-difficult
'Anyway for you it was maybe more difficult'
                        (MA/Dutch CS; Boumans 1998:129)

The topic pronoun (`ana`) in the three utterances is followed by French, English and Dutch pronouns; *je*, *I* and *Ik* respectively. Arabic is a 'pro-drop' language i.e. subject in Arabic is marked on the finite verb by agreement. However, free form personal pronouns in Arabic often precede the clause and are called discourse emphatic pronouns[271]. Arabic emphatic pronouns are, according to Myers-Scotton (1997, 2002), content morphemes that have the discourse-relevant role of *Topicalizer*; however they are analyzed as being responsible in setting the matrix structure of the whole CP when they precede English finite clauses as are some Arabic conjunctions considered as indicators of the ML at the CP level.

The corpus of the present study is not an exception (Appendix 21). AA emphatic pronouns are also widely present in AA/French CS corpus of the present study, generally preceding French finite clause as illustrated by the following examples –the emphatic pronoun and its co-referent appear in bold characters and they are underlined:

> **[952]** hija, ***Elle*** *est trop susceptible*. (R1)
> 'SHE, she is too touchy.'
> 'She is over-sensitive.'

> **[953]** ana ***J***'*ai toujours eu la grosse gueule*. (R8)
> I, I have always had a big mouth

---

[270] Cited in Muysken (2000: 314).
[271] An emphatic pronoun is a personal pronoun that refers back to another noun or pronoun in the sentence to emphasize it. Emphatic pronoun's co-referent in the adjacent clause is either an agreement subject of the finite verb, or a pronominal suffix. The pronouns co-referent is not restricted to any particular grammatical function in the clause. As a Topic, the emphatic pronoun is usually co-indexed with the subject. (Boumans, 1998: 126)

'I have always had a big mouth'

The AA topic pronouns 'hija' and 'ana', in the above examples, are immediately followed by French subject pronouns '*elle*' and '*je*' which triggers French EL islands. The AA emphatic pronouns are most of the time redundant, used to mark emphasis in a general sense, or "to signal a change in Topic, sometimes implying contrast, e.g. between YOU and I" (Boumans, 1998: 126). Emphatic pronouns in Example [] imply contrast between ntijja (you) and hɔma (they) i.e. between their goal and yours:

> **[954]** ntijja *tu* en train de tirer vers le haut w hɔma *ils* te tirent vers le bas. (R12)
> YOU, you are trying to pull up and THEY, they pull you down
> 'You are trying to pull yourself up and they pull you down.'

The occurrence of Arabic Topic pronouns with clauses from other languages has attracted attention of many researchers and has received different explanations. Working on Egyptian Arabic/English CS, Eid (1996) suggests that the occurrence of Arabic personnel pronouns before English clauses is doubling of subject pronouns and coined the term 'pronoun doubling' for this characteristic of CS with Arabic.

Boumans (1998) has lengthily spoken about this phenomenon in a chapter devoted to discourse grammar. Boumans (1998: 127) refuses Eid's suggestion on the ground that Topic pronouns are not 'necessarily' co-indexed with grammatical subjects[272]. In addition, these pronouns are also used in monolingual utterances before AA inflectional phrases not as subjects but to fulfil other discourse functions[273]. AA Topic pronouns in the following examples refer to other grammatical categories; in examples [] and [], AA emphatic pronoun refers to the French possessive pronouns '*mon*' and '*votre*', in example [] and [] two emphatic pronouns are used before the French finite clauses; one refers to the subject and the other to the object in the clause:

> **[955]** ntu:ma *le diplôme est dans **votre** poche*. (R9)

---

[272] According to Boumans (1998: 131) 'subject pronoun doubling' is only an impression resulting from the strong but incomplete correlation of Topic and subject in Arabic and the fact that English, Dutch or French unlike Arabic are not pro-drop languages so the subject pronoun is obligatory in the following English, Dutch or French finite clauses.

[273] In the following example, the topic pronoun 'hɔwa' follow the verb and refers to the object in the sentence that is suffixed (-h) to the verb 'naɛɫi'
Ex. naɛɫi:-h hɔwa *la priorité*. R4

YOU the certificat is in your pocket.
'your certificat is garanteed.'

[956] a̲n̲a̲ ***mon*** *rôle c'est de venir faire un cours*. (R9)
I my role it is to come to do a lesson
'My role is to teach.'

[957] a̲n̲a̲ h̲i̲j̲a̲ ***Elle m****'a pas encadré*. (R4)
I SHE she didn't supervise me
'She didn't supervise me.'

[958] ħ̲n̲a̲ ***on vous*** *demande* n̲t̲u̲ː̲m̲a̲ *les enseignants de l'orale de nous aider à équilibrer l'impact*. (R10)
WE we ask you YOU the teachers of oral to help us to balance the impact
'We ask you to help us balance the impact.'

Boumans (1998) further adds that topic pronouns cannot be considered as embedded elements because personal pronouns[274] are functional elements that cannot be inserted as EL forms. Besides, the insertion of pronouns is not attested in CS literature. The other reason as Boumans (1998) argues is that these Arabic pronouns have a relation of a syntactic nature with the adjacent clause i.e., topic pronouns require a co-referent in the following clause. To those arguments, Boumans (1998) points to the fact that this kind of emphatic pronouns is uncommon[275] especially in English and Dutch. Consequently, Boumans (1998: 131) suggests that Arabic emphatic pronouns are discourse organization devices that can only be accounted for with reference to Arabic discourse grammar stating that: "The profusion of such pronouns in both monolingual Arabic and code-switching varieties, as well as the fact that pronouns themselves are invariably in Arabic, clearly shows that we are dealing with a discourse organization device that must be attributed to Arabic grammar".

What is more, Arabic emphatic pronouns are not the only elements that precede EL clauses; AA demonstrative pronouns also occur before French finite clauses and agree with the verb in gender and number as the examples below illustrate:

[959] h̲a̲d̲ɔ̲ ***ceux*** *sont des paroles en l'air*. (R4)
THESE those are empty words
'Those are empty words.'

---

[274] According to Boumans (1998: 131) personal pronouns are paradigmatically organized function morphemes.

[275] Topicality is not indicated in this way in English or Dutch. In English for instance topicality is marked by using a higher pitch on subject pronouns or by phrases like 'as for me', 'speaking of him'.

[960] h̲a̲d̲u̲k̲ *ils* vont être enseignants. (R10)

THOSE they are going to be teachers

'Those are going to be teachers.'

[961] a̲n̲a̲ ̲h̲a̲d̲i̲ **_C'est_ _mon_** point de vue. (R7)

I THIS this is my point of view

'This is my point of view.'

[962] *Même* h̲a̲d̲i̲:̲k̲ ̲a̲n̲a̲ **_ça me_** dérange. (R8)

Even THAT ME that disturbs me

'Even that, it disturbs me.'

In example [959], the AA demonstrative's co-referent is a French demonstrative while in example [960] it is a French subject pronoun. In examples [961] and [962], on the other hand, two discourse emphatic pronouns precede French IPs; one is a free personal pronoun and the other is a demonstrative pronoun. We have also two instances where the AA indefinite pronoun 'gɑ:ɛ' (all) precedes French clauses:

[963] g̲ɑ̲:̲ɛ̲ *C'est des bras cassés*. (R4)

All they are

'All of them are.'

[964] g̲ɑ̲:̲ɛ̲ *ils sont complices*. (R4)

All they are

'All of them are.'

Myers-Scotton (1997: 256) argues that emphatic pronouns are content morphemes that have the discourse-relevant role of 'Topicalizer' and are in most syntactic analyses considered to occur in Specifier position of COMP of CP[276]. To this type of code-switching, Myers-Scotton, Jake & Okasha (1996) propose an Arabic CP as the matrix frame, and the finite clause (IP) is viewed as an embedded constituent (an EL island). Hence, the AA sentences above, according to Myers-Scotton and her associates' analysis, are AA CPs in which French IPs are embedded.

Considering the AA topic pronouns as indicators of the ML and French finite clauses as EL islands in the previous utterances, makes the definition of the ML problematic. First, what criteria are used in identifying the ML in the above utterances since Arabic emphatic

---

[276]C (complementizer) is a head of CP (complement phrase), IP is a complement of C and is headed by 'I' (inflection), 'I' includes agreement and tense.

pronouns, according to Myers-Scotton (1997: 256), are content morphemes? Second, this analysis puts the MLF model along the 4-M model on the stake, since Myers-Scotton's ML hypothesis with its principles and the 4-M model give French the eligibility to be the ML in the above utterances. It is this language that provides the relevant system morphemes (i.e. outsider late system morphemes) that define the ML within the French finite clauses. Even in her latest version of 2002, Myers-Scotton continues to insist on the System Morpheme Principle in identifying the ML.

This analysis also contrasts with Myers-Scotton Uniform Structure Principle, which affirms the morpho-syntactic dominance of the ML. In addition, Myers-Scotton (2002:152) clearly insists on the fact that the activation of the EL must be lower than the ML. This suggestion is supported by the evidence that the majority of EL islands are formulaic expressions that are often adjuncts or internal EL islands under an abstract ML larger phrasal category. If the insertion of EL islands, according to the MLF model, is generally restricted and limited to those formulaic expressions, how then can we explain the insertion of entire IP EL islands which is common in this CS corpus and in other CS data sets[277]?

The syntactic position of the Spec (specifier of complementizer) that the Arabic topic pronouns occupy, according to Myers-Scotton analysis, has been questioned by Boumans (1998: 137). The Spec of CP position occupied by Arabic pronouns is located on the left-hand side of the C node which implies that anything in C node follows the emphatic pronouns in linear order. In actual utterances conjunctions precede the emphatic pronouns in the surface structure as in the following examples:

> **[965]** *C'est comme **si** ḥna **on** ne fait pas partie de l'université*. (R4)
> It is as if WE we are not part of the university
> 'It seems as if we are not part of university.'

> **[966] Alors** ana **si** *j'avais le moyen*, ndilha **carrément un zéro**. (R10)
> Well I if I had the means, I would utterly give her zero
> 'If it were for me, I'd give her zero.'

> **[967] Donc** ḥna **on** *risque d'arriver à ça*. (R12)
> So WE we risk to arrive at this

---

[277] CS involving Arabic topic pronouns preceding finite clauses from other languages are found in: Algerian Arabic/ French CS, Boumans and Caubet, 2000; Egyptian Arabic/English CS, Myers-Scotton, Jake and Okasha, 1996; Egyptian Arabic/English CS, EIDS, 1992; Moroccan Arabic/Dutch, Nortier, 1990, MA/Dutch CS; Boumans 1998; MA/French CS, Ziamari, 2002.

'So, we risk arriving at this situation.'

To this we can add that discourse emphatic pronouns in AA can be found in clause final or medial position[278]; the emphatic pronoun in example [] is found clause-internally following its co-referent which complicates Myers-Scotton's interpretation of the position of emphatic pronouns. Consider the following examples where the emphatic pronouns follow their co-referent:

[968] *Tu imagines* `ntijja`. (R4)

You imagine YOU

'Do you imagine this?'

[969] *Non! **vous** êtes pas critiqué* `ntijja` *en personne*. (R10)

No! you are not criticized YOU in person

'You are not criticized in person.'

[970] S'***ils*** *viennent pas* `homa` *chez moi je peux rien faire*. (R12)

If they don't come THEY to me i can't do anything

'If they don't come to me, I can't do anything.'

So, these topic pronouns present a challenge not only to the ML definition at the CP level, but also their position within actual CPs defies the syntactic position so far proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002) for these pronouns within the CP. Besides, it is paradoxical to associate the AA discourse emphatic pronouns with a matrix structure that encompasses the entire finite clause, and to consider the latter as an embedded constituent. Considering French as the ML, cannot also account for the occurrence of the AA demonstrative pronouns before French clauses. The complications concerning CP analysis make Boumans (1998) proposes the finite clause as a relevant unit of analysis for his Monolingual Structure Approach, concluding his analysis of discourse markers from many CS corpora by stating that:

> Therefore, an alternative to a hierarchical matrix structure approach, and to syntactic analysis like the CP structure, is that these elements do not fill a slot in a matrix structure, nor do they project a matrix structure themselves. Instead they 'go looking' for their own position in or adjacent to a clause structure. (Boumans, 1998: 144/146)

---

[278] In this example, the AA emphatic pronoun 'hɔwa' follows the verb to which is suffixed the object 'h' 'naɛłiː-h'. 'hɔwa' refers to the object clitic pronouns
EX. `naɛłiːh` <u>h</u>ɔwa ***la priorité***. R4

Muysken (2000: 97) in his proposed taxonomy of CS classifies discourse markers as an alternational pattern of switching stating that: "Content words such as nouns and adjectives are likely to be insertions, while **discourse particle** and **adverbs**[279] may be alternations. Sentence Grammar and Discourse Grammar may be relatively autonomous with respect to each other".

Arabic discourse emphatic pronouns are not the only pronouns that are found preceding clauses from other languages; French also possesses such strong pronouns that have discourse functions. French stressed or emphatic pronouns (*moi, toi, lui, etc*) are used before subject pronouns for emphasis in monolingual sentences. The following two examples from our corpus illustrate the use of emphatic pronouns in their monolingual environment example includes an AA topic pronoun preceding AA clause and example () the French emphatic pronouns '*moi*' is followed by a French clause:

> **[971]** <u>ana</u> ***personnellement*** bɛatl-<u>i</u>. (R4)
>
> **I** personally he sent to-**me**
> 'He sent to me personally.'

> **[972]** ***Moi****, je mis en cause la manière dont ce registre a été imposé*. (8)
> I, I question the way in which this register was imposed
> 'I question the way in which this register was imposed.'

In AA/French CS corpus of the present study we have two instances that involve the French emphatic pronouns '*moi*' and '*lui*' preceding AA finite clauses. Sometimes reflexive pronouns or the French adverb '*personellement*' (personally) follow discourse emphatic pronouns to add emphasis

> **[973]** ***Moi personnellement*** kammalt mɛɑ:-hɔm. (R11)
> **I** personally **I** finished with-them
> 'I personally finished with them.'

> **[974]** *Finalement **lui personnellement*** ɾɑ:ħ lə-*l'administration*. (R10)
> Finally **HE** personally **he**-went to-the administration
> 'Finally he personally went to the administration.'

> **[975]** *Parce que* hɔma bɾu:ħhɔm *ça part de là*. (R12)
> 'Because they themselves it starts from here.'

---

[279] Muysken's emphasis.

At least in the case of AA/French CS there is a kind of congruence between the two languages involved in CS in terms of emphatic pronouns.

4.5 Conclusion:

This chapter provides a qualitative analysis of our data in the light of Myers-Scotton's insertional paradigm in an attempt to explain the attested patterns when Algerian Arabic and French are in contact. The analysis of the data has shown considerable asymmetries between Algerian Arabic and French. The comparison between the two languages as matrices reveals a clear inequality in the roles of both languages. The terms *Matrix* and *Embedded* already contain the idea of asymmetry i.e. one language dominates the other. Yet, the turnover can change the status of the two languages. In this corpus, even when the status of both languages changes there are still an apparent asymmetry between Algerian Arabic and French. When Algerian Arabic is the ML, all structures are present. The latter is imposed qualitatively and quantitatively. French does not, however, have the same impact and does not play the same role assigned to a ML. Quantitatively, this language provides few structures, and qualitatively these structures are not varied and mostly peripheral.

Qualitatively, Algerian Arabic /French code-switching data when French is the Matrix Language displays challenging switching instances. These instances seem to outnumber the insertion of Algerian Arabic single morphemes and EL islands into French matrices. These are the insertion of Algerian Arabic single system morphemes into French matrix frames i.e. what Boumans defines as layered insertions. The fact that the ML often changes within a single CP when French is the ML affirms the asymmetry between the two languages. The other striking feature when French is the ML is the type of embedded material which is to its majority peripheral elements and constituents (adverbs, adjuncts and dislocated phrases)

The results also reveal a problem of equivalence between Algerian Arabic and French with respect to word order, sub-categorization and inflectional paradigms. This lack of congruence results in the abundance of French EL islands in general and nominal constituents in particular. Indeed, definite noun phrases constitute the majority of embedded French material into Algerian Arabic structures that occur as EL Islands, internal EL Islands and which are the main constructions in the ML turnover when French is the ML. In addition to the insufficient congruence, the fact that the bulk of inserted French NPs are core insertions is

due to the role of French as an embedded language in our context i.e. French provides lexemes that cannot be covered by Algerian Arabic.

Attributive adjectives and degree adverbs appear to be highly limited in our corpus, a tendency that is observed in other CS corpora. Yet the dearth of French nouns modified by French demonstratives -only two instances compared to the size of our corpus and to the plethora of inserted French NPs is indeed striking. The disparity between Arabic and French verbal systems along with other social factors such as the context and speakers' competence triggers the emergence of compromise strategies such as the combination of French auxiliaries with Algerian Arabic finite verbs, forming French inflectional phrases and even high frequency of monolingual CPs at the expense of embedding French verb stems. Indeed, the amount of French verbs inflected with Algerian Arabic morphology remains rather limited compared to our previous corpus.

Myers-Scotton's insertional paradigm remains a powerful notion that could explain many code-switching patterns and problematic cases especially with the introduction of the Uniform Structure Principle. Hence, in our corpus, Algerian Arabic and despite the fact that French monolingual utterances outnumber AA ones and bilingual utterances is the dominant language in mixed constructions. It imposes itself in intra-clausal and extra-lingual switching, and even in inter-sentential and across some French CPs as structurally dominant variety.

Languages in contact lead to a continuum of related phenomena the results of which are not purely structural but social and pragmatic as well. As one of the most engaging aspects of bilingual speech, code-switching is a highly heterogeneous form of conversation. Studying the phenomenon of code-switching in our context involves understanding the background of the complex demographic, historical, cultural, and linguistic composition of the society as the phenomenon of code-switching is more than a natural product of language contact. As a postcolonial multilingual community, Algeria's mosaic linguistic composition is marked by the coexistence of four main languages namely Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber and French that display various layers of identity, social relationships, cultural connotations and even political ideologies due to different factors that we have detailed in chapter one. In the academic and professional fields, the heated linguistic competition in Algeria is obviously between Arabic and French. In addition to French which is seen as the vehicle for technology, English is joining the sociolinguistic scene in steady steps.

Nonetheless, the sharing of the communicational field between the linguistic varieties constituting the linguistic landscape hardly functions according to the rule of pure and decisive separatism between distinct varieties by virtue of their prestige and the functions assigned to them under what is labeled *Diglossia*. The dynamics of the Algerian linguistic situation and the tensions it conceals make it impossible to maintain this functional distribution of codes. In fact, on linguistic grounds, all varieties are equally good as communication systems leading to pervasive mixing of codes in the same conversation and even with the same stretch of talk.

In this un-conventionalised type of exchanges reflecting the linguistic conflicts between the languages and cultures of which they are the vehicle and the attitudes and representations, not to say the ideologies that the speech community nourishes for their part, of the other, several speakers develop stylistic choices embodied by the juxtaposition of at least three codes as well as their respective values, namely vernacular Arabic, standard Arabic and French. Our community of practice is an illustrative example of this situation. As teachers of English at the English department at ENSO that exist side by side with the Arabic and French departments, switching to each of these languages often bears strong illocutionary intents which qualify speakers as competent members of the society as they are aware of the fact that the different languages at their disposal carry with them various dimensions of identity and imply various social relationships when used in given contexts.

In the present study we have attempted to shed the light on the linguistic and sociolinguistic reality of language practices of our community of practice. Based on a corpus

made up of multilingual conversations of teachers of English recorded during their regular formal meetings and side-meetings at (ENSO) university, this research made it possible to describe and analyse their language practices by focusing on code-switching as a phenomenon playing an essential role in the conduct of interactions. Examination of the different manifestations of code switching in its structural and functional dimensions has shown several modes of operation manifesting dimensions such as identity, intentional meaning, discourse devices, preference, proficiency, asymmetry et cetera.

Language is an important tool for identity opportunism, and as illustrated in chapter 3, the choice of a language or of a medium of speech, even if only through an intra-sentential switch (extracts 27, 28 and 29), embodies a specific strategic intention of the speaker. Our informants and through their skillful use of the languages at their disposal are in constant construction of the identities they wish to project: from being Algerian Arabic speakers that share the same understanding of their ethnic speech community, to reflecting the image of their bigger community of practice -teachers at university, to being part of the department of the foreign languages and thus being on the same side of the French department as opposed to the Arabic department or belonging to the smaller community of practice i.e. teachers of English as opposed to the other departments including French.

Code-switching as displayed by our informants is not only conceived as a means to project identity but is also quite often a conscious activity in order to perform certain actions: include, exclude, widen or decrease the social distance, warn, criticize, i.e. they use code-switching as indexical of social negotiations in Myers-Scotton's terms. Many times, they just accommodate to their interlocutors linguistic preferences which is most of the time in our context the convergence towards code-switching as an unmarked choice. The use of code-switching as a default medium of interactions does not mean that it is void of any meaningful manifestations, on the contrary inter-sentential, extra-sentential and even intra-clausal mixing proved to have other discourse functions related to the sequential environment, i.e. co-text, and not only the external (societal) context. Code-switching is used as a specific resource not available to monolingual speakers to accomplish functions at the discourse level, such as highlighting, re-iterating, emphasising, paraphrasing, precising and explaining among others.

Switching to French and occasionally to English is found to be triggered by the context and the topic of the interactions i.e. formal discussions of administrative, academic and pedagogical matters that cannot be covered by Algerian Arabic in this domain. This partly explains the fact that the big majority of embedded material in this corpus is found to be noun phrases that function as core elements in the mixed utterances (subjects, objects and

complements), however the diversity and the richness of the inserted noun constructions cannot be attributed solely to the lexical gap as nouns are sufficient to accomplish this task, but rather to our informants' proficiency/ competency in the languages involved and to the formality of context itself. Indeed these two factors are further reinforced by the prevalence of monolingual utterances compared to bilingual and trilingual CPs.

In addition to all the above mentioned considerations, the resort to different codes (Algerian Arabic, French, English and Standard Arabic) during teachers' exchanges indicates that the primary purpose of code-switching is to communicate more effectively and to facilitate speech to convey thoughts, feelings, and ideas.

Apart from the functional analysis of our data, the present study investigates the structural make up of our informants' bilingual production. It follows two main directions or perspectives. The first perspective is descriptive and the second one is interpretive. The Descriptive perspective of our investigation introduces morpho-syntactic models in the analysis of phenomena such as code switching, code mixing and borrowing. It also revisits insertional approaches to code switching among which Myers-Scotton's (1993, 1997, 2002) insertional paradigm with its different amendments. The interpretive perspective of our study uses Myers-Scotton's basic explanatory principles and concepts that underlie the MLF model, the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model in order to interpret and explain the attested CS patterns.

Our investigation is based on more than 22 hours of bilingual recorded conversations. It was assigned to study the results of the contact between Algerian Arabic and French on different levels: syntactic, morphological and supra-clausal level. These results are examined and interpreted on the basis of different theoretical paradigms. Besides, code switching was examined in both directions i.e. the two languages have been analysed as being Matrix Languages and as being Embedded Languages.

Our study starts with a modest trial to question the theoretical foundations of the different linguistic models that have marked for several decades the morpho-syntactic analysis of code-switching. As it has been stated above, our study is couched within an insertional perspective to the grammar of code switching and related contact phenomena. This research tendency is represented by Myers-Scotton's MLF model, which has undergone several adjustments but which is still considered by the contact linguistics research community as one of the most efficient models in the interpretation of code switching. This choice has been motivated by the validity and strength of Myers Scotton's rigorous paradigm in explaining and interpreting code-switching grammatical outcomes. By choosing this framework, we

wanted to question the MLF model's practicality in the case of an Algerian Arabic-French code-switching corpus.

The insertion of French in the AA morpho-syntax has revealed the abundance and frequency of different linguistic structures. The constant and long lasting contact between Algerian Arabic and French helps us define the characteristics of this corpus. There seems to be an apparent asymmetry between Algerian Arabic and French as dominant languages in our data despite the fact that French monolingual CPs outnumber Algerian Arabic ones. We have observed that Algerian Arabic seems to impose itself as a Matrix Language qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitatively, many single morphemes and a variety of combinations have been highlighted through different levels of analysis. Quantitatively, Algerian Arabic is the Matrix Language of the majority of the mixed complement phrases (90%) and generates different linguistic structures. In addition, the majority (81%) of French embedded elements and constituents are core insertions (objects, subjects and complements) which do not support Myers-Scotton's (2002: 141) suggestion that many EL islands are outside the predicate-argument structure projected by the main verb in the clause.

Algerian Arabic/French code-switching seems to be primarily characterized by the insertion of French definite nouns (i.e. French definite articles + French nouns). In addition to their occurrence as EL islands, this type of French noun phrases (i.e. French definite articles + French nouns) seems to be the most frequent and widespread CS pattern within mixed constituents too, by being embedded as internal EL islands. This type of insertions outnumbers the insertion of single French nouns, which is not in accordance with the general tendency in CS that places nouns as being the category most embedded in many CS data sets. The provision of French definite NPs has been attributed to the lack of sufficient congruence between the Algerian Arabic definite article and French nouns. However, lack of structural equivalence does not explain the insertion of French nouns and even French noun-adjective or noun-complement combinations after the AA definite and indefinite articles. As such, we claim that congruence partly explains some of these occurrences. Here, we cannot deny the power of the ML structural uniformity that gives preference to ML well formedness requirement at the expense of the EL which further endorse the notion of asymmetry in code-switching situations like ours. Uniform Structure Principle is also an efficient tool to explain switching between French auxiliaries and Algerian Arabic finite verb phrases knowing that there is clear incongruence at this level of insertion. Asymmetry is even evident in inter-clausal switching as many French subordinating clauses exhibit Algerian Arabic underlying structures though the surface morphemes are French.

On the other hand, structures embedded within French matrices are highly limited in our corpus and challenge the very notion of the Matrix Language as the largest proportion 37% of French-based clauses is found to undergo ML turnover or a change in the ML from French to Algerian Arabic constructions known as layered insertion. These structures (i.e. French internal EL islands embedded into AA noun phrases or prepositional phrases) are problematic to Myers-Scotton's ML Hypothesis and EL Island Hypothesis in the sense that they resemble structures produced when Algerian Arabic is the Matrix Language. Algerian Arabic insertions into French tend to be mainly adjunctions and peripheral constituents (42%) including Arabic topic pronouns, conjunctions, adverbs and discourse markers. The rarity of AA inserted material into French structures and the instability of the Matrix Language, when French is the dominant language, seem to reflect our informants' asymmetry in terms of their competence in Algerian Arabic and French.

In addition, to the descriptive paradigm given by Myers-Scotton that was the basis to describe our corpus, the MLF model with its supportive models (i.e. the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model) offer some explanatory principles in order to interpret the obtained CS structures. The basic concepts underlying these principles are the notion of congruence and structural uniformity which further enhance the notion of asymmetry. These two concepts were used in order to interpret some marked code-switching patterns in our corpus. These include the frequent insertion of French EL islands containing French definite articles or French numerals modifying French nouns, and the rarity of mixed constituents with the Algerian Arabic definite article and Algerian Arabic numerals. The productivity of Algerian Arabic demonstratives and possessive constructions with French definite noun phrases even in French CPs, and the absence of French EL islands with their French counter-parts. These notions were also used to interpret the fact that French nouns referring to names of relatives are the majority of the inserted nouns that are modified by French possessives. These two paradigms could also offer clarification concerning the reccurence of mixed prepositional phrases and the appearance of AA single prepositions in French matrices.

Providing such explanatory concepts as congruence and structural uniformity, the MLF model and the two supporting models- the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model-have shown flexibility in the analysis. Not only do they question the syntactic level but also the abstract lexical structure which explains many phenomena. The notion of congruence and the Uniform Structure Principle as conceived by Myers-Scotton have succeeded to some extent to answer the above questions; however they have raised new questions and opened new directions for code-switching analysis. For instance in the case of Embedded French

nouns with their definite articles; the lack of sufficient congruence has explained the frequency of this type of EL islands, yet it cannot explain the insertion of French nouns after the AA definite article even if they are limited compared to the insertion of internal French noun phrases in the same structures. The notion of congruence cannot also offer an explanation to the absence of EL islands with French demonstratives and possessives. And more important it cannot explain the frequency of mixed constituents with AA demonstratives and possessives even when French is the Matrix Language of the CPs.

Relevant answers to these questions seem not to be found within the present morph-syntactic paradigm. Thus the answers to the above questions may be sought in bilingual's competence or in other sociolinguistic variables because even competent bilinguals uses both of those code-switching realizations i.e. mixed constituents and EL islands as it is the case of our informants. However, relating grammatical outcomes to social variables is not a one-to-one operation but rather a complicated matter.

Comparing the present corpus with our previous one which was basically based on informal conversations, we would say that the difference is quantitative as the present corpus includes more monolingual utterances than bilingual ones and French CPs outnumber AA clauses which was the opposite with our previous data -AA CPs highly outnumbered French ones. This quantitative prevalence of French over AA is a feature of our present data, yet this difference does not figure out at the level of mixed utterances. AA-based clauses constitute the great majority of bilingual utterances in both corpora sets. The only difference here may be the richness, diversity and the length of French inserted constructions and the scarcity of embedded verb stems into AA matrices which is more noticeable in the present corpus.

In many areas of research, it is difficult to present definitive conclusions. This task is all the more difficult when it comes to human sciences, and particularly the general issue of language contact. Thus our findings can only be provisional, because they mark not the culmination of a research journey but rather its beginning.

ABU-ABSI, S. (1990), A Characterization of the Language of Iftah ya Simsim: Sociolinguistic and Educational Implication for Arabic, *Language Problem and Language Planning 14 (1),* 33-46.

ABU-HAIDER, F. (2000), Arabisation in Algeria, *International Journal of Francophone Studies 3 (3)*, 151-163.

AIT-KAKI, M. (2004), De la question Berbère au Dilemme Kabyle à l'aube du XXIème siècle, Paris : l'Harmattan.

ALTOMA, Salih J. (1969). *The problem of Diglossia in Arabic: a comparative study of classical and Iraqi Arabic*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, p 4

AUER, P., (1984). *Bilingual conversation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

AUER, P., (1988). A conversation analytic approach to codeswitching and transfer. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 187-213). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

AUER, P., (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 115-135). New York: Cambridge University Press.

AUER, P., (1998b) (ed.), *Code-switching in Conversation*: Language, Interaction and Identity. London: Routledge.

AUER, P., (2005). A postscript: code-switching and social identity. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 403–410.

Ayari, S. (1996). Diglossia and illiteracy in the Arab world. *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* 9, 243-252.

BACKUS, Ad. (1996), *Two in one: Bilingual speech of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands*, Tilburg University Press, Tilburg.

BACKUS, A., BOESCHOTEN, H., (1996), "Review article of Carol MyersScotton: "*Social motivations of codeswitching : Evidence from Africa*" and '*Duellling languages : Grammatical structure in codeswitching*", *International Journal of Applied Linguistics 6*, pp. 129-153.

BACKUS, Ad. (2000), The role of semantic specificity in insertional Code-switching: evidence from Dutch-Turkish, in Jacobson (Ed.), *Trends in Linguistics*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 125-156.

BACKUS, Ad. (2015): "A usage-based approach to code-switching: The need for reconciling structure and function", in Gerald Stell and Kofi Yakpo, *Code-switching Between Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Publications of the School of Language & Literature Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies: Walter de Gruyter, Vol (43) P 19- 37.

BAETENS-BIRDSMORE, H. (1982). Bilingualism: basic principles, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

BAKER, C. (2006). 4th ed. *Foundation of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

BELAZI, H-M., RUBIN, E., TORIBIO, A-J., 1994, Code-switching and X Bar theory: the functional head constraint, in *Linguistic Inquiry 25*, pp. 221- 237.

BENABDI, L. C. (1980). Arabization in Algeria: Processes and problems. Ph.D dissertation, Indiana University.

BENALI-MOHAMED, R. (2007), Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation of Tamazight in Algeria: A Special Reference to Kabyle, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Universty of Oran.

BENMAMOUN, Elabbas. (1999), Arabic morphology: The central role of the imperfective. *Lingua* 108, 175-201.

BENRABAH, M. (1999). *Langue et pouvoir en Algérie. Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique*. Paris : Séguier.

_____ (2002). Ecole et plurilinguisme en Algérie : un exemple de politique linguistique éducative "négative". *Education et Sociétés Plurilingues*, 13, 73- 80.

_____ (2004). Language and Politics in Algeria. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10 (1), 59-78

_____ (2007). Language maintenance and spread: French in Algeria, *International Journal of Francophone Studies 10 (1/2)*, 193-215

BENTAHILLA, A. and DAVIES, E.E. (1983). The syntax of Arabic-French Codeswitching *Lingua* vol 59 No 4 pp. 302-330.

_____, 1989, "On Mother and other tongues: the notion of possession of a language", in *Lingua 78*, pp. 267-293.

_____, 1991, "Constraints on code-switching: a look beyond grammar", in Papers for *the Symposium on Code-switching in Bilingual Studies*, vol. 2, pp. 369-403.

_____, 1992, "Code-switching and Language dominance", in *Cognitive Processing in Bilinguals*, R. J. Harris (ed.), Elsevier, Amsterdam, pp. 443-458.

_____, 1995, "Patterns of code-switching and patterns of language contact", in *Lingua 96*, pp. 75-93.

_____, 1998, "Codeswitching: an equal partnership?", in *Codeswitching worldwide*, R. Jackson (ed.), Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 25-49.

BETTINA MIGGE, (2015). "The role of discursive information in analyzing multilingual practices" 185- 206 in Gerald Stell and Kofi Yakpo, *Code-switching Between Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives,* University College Dublin

BLANC, H. 1960: "Style Variation in Spoken Arabic: A sample of inter-dialectal conversation", in CH. Ferguson (Ed.), *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, Cambridge: Howard University Press, 81-158.

BLAU, J. (1981), *The Renaissance of Modern Hebrew and Modern Standard Arabic*, Los Angeles, university of California Press

BLOM, J.P & GUMPERZ, J.J 1972. *"*Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway*"*. In, Gumperz, J.J & Hymes, D (Ed.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp, 407-434. Reedited in Wei, L (Ed.) 2000. *The Bilingualism Reader*, London & New York: Routledge pp 111-136

BLOOMFIELD, L. (1935). *Language*. Holt: New York

BOESCHOTEN, H. (1998). Codeswitching, codemixing, and code alternation: what a difference. In Jacobson, 1998a, 15–24.

BOESCHOTEN, H. & HUYBREDGTS. R. (1999), A minimalist view of bilingual grammar: Code-switching can do without switching codes, *Paper presented to the Second International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Newcastle, England, 14-17

BOUMANS, L. (1998a), *The syntax of codes-witching: analyzing Moroccan Arabic/Dutch conversations*, Studies in Multilingualism 12, Tilburg University Press, Tilburg.

BOUMANS, L. (1998b), "Code-switching and the organisation of the mental lexicon'', in G. Extra and L. Verhoeven (eds.), *Bilingualism and migration*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 281-302.

BOUMANS, L. (2000), "Topic pronouns in Monolingual Arabic and codeswitching", in *Proceedings of the third International Conference AIDA,* 29 March – 2 April 1998, M. Mifsud (ed.), Malta, pp. 89-94.

BOUMANS, L. & CAUBET, D. (2000), Modelling intra-sentential Code-switching: a comparative study of Algerian/ French in Algeria and Moroccan/Dutch in the Netherlands, in J. Owens (Ed), *Arabic as a Minority Language*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 113-180.

BOUMANS, L. (2007), "The periphrastic bilingual verb construction as a marker of intense language contact. Evidence from Greek, Portuguese and Maghribian Arabic, in K. Versteegh, E. Ditters & H. Motzki (Eds.), *Approaches to Arabic Linguistics*, Brill, 291-312.

BOUKHCHEM, K. & VARRO, G. (2001), Benrabah Mohamed. Langue et Pouvoir en Algérie : Histoire d'un Traumatisme Linguistique. Paris, Seguier, 1999. Cahier d'études Africaines, 163-164, http://etudesafricaines.revues.org/132

BOUKOUS, Ahmed (1995), *Société, langues et cultures au Maroc. Enjeux symboliques* Rabat, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1995, 240 p.

_____ (2005), « Dynamique d'une situation linguistique : le marché linguistique au Maroc », In *Dimensions culturelles, artistiques et spirituelles. Contributions à 50 ans de développement humain et perspectives 2025*, pp.71-112.

BOUSSOFARA-OMAR. N (2006) 'Diglossia', EALL, Vol.1: PP. 629-636

Boyd, Sally. (1993), "Attrition or expansion? Changes in the lexicon of Finnish and American adult bilinguals in Sweden". In K. Hyltenstam & Å. Viberg (eds.), *Progression and regression in language: Sociocultural, neurophysical, and linguistic perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 386–411.

Boztepe, Erman. (2003). Issues in Code-Switching: Competing Theories and Models. Working Papers in TESOL and Applied Linguistics 3, 2: 1–27.

BRAHIMI, F. (2000), Loanwords in Algeria Berber, J. Owens (Ed*.) Arabic as a Minority Language*, Mouton de Gruyter & New York, 371- 382.

CALVET, L-J. & DREYFUS, M 1992. La Famille Dans l'Espace Plurilingue. Trois Modèles de Plurilinguisme. Plurilinguisme n°3.

CHELLI, A. (2011), Rapports aux Langues Natives et Enseignement du Français en Algérie, Publibook éditions, Paris.

CLYNE, Michael, (2003), *Dynamics of Language Contact. English and Immigrant Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DI SCIULLO, A-M., MUYSKEN, P., SINGH, R., (1986), "Government and code-mixing", *Journal of Linguistics 22*, pp. 1-24.

DOWNES, W. (1998). Language and Society. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EID, M. (1988), Principles of Code-Switching between Standard and Egyptian Arabic, *Al Arabiyya (21),* 51-79.

ELIASSON, Stig. (1989). English-Maori language contact: Code-switching and the free morpheme constraint. Reports from Uppsala University Department of Linguistics 18:1–28.

ENNAJI, M. (1991). Aspects of Multilingualism in the Maghreb', <u>International Journal of the Sociology of Language</u>. (87), 7-25.

ENNAJI, M. (2005). Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco. New York: Springer science.

ENTELIS, J. P. (1981), 'Elite political culture and socialization in Algeria: Tensions and Discontinuities', *Middle East Journal* 25, 191-208.

ERVIN, S.M & OSGOOD, C.E 1954. *"Second language learning and bilingualism",* Journal of abnormal and social psychology supplement, 49, pp 139-146.

FASOLD, R. (1984). Language attitudes. In R. Fasold (ed,), *The sociolinguistics of society* (pp.147–179). Oxford: Blackwell.

_____ (1987). The Sociolinguistics of Society. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

FERGUSON, CH. (1959), *"Diglossia"*, Word 15, pp 325-340. Re-edited in Wei, L 2000. The Bilingualism Reader, London & New York: Routeledge, pp 65-80.

FIELD, Frederic. (2002). *Linguistic borrowing in bilingual contexts*. Amsterdam : Benjamins.

FISHMAN, J. A. (1965), *"Who speaks what language to whom and when"*, La Linguistique 2, pp 67-88. Reedited in Wei, L 2000. The Bilingualism Reader, London & New York: Routeledge, pp 89-106.

_____ (1967). *"Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism",* Journal of Social Issues 23 (2), pp 29- 38. Re-edited in Wei, L (2000). The Bilingualism Reader, London & New York: Routeledge, pp 81-88.

_____ (1972), Domains and the relationship between micro- and macro sociolinguistics, in J. J. Gumperz & D. Hymes, *Directions in sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, New York*: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 435-453.

FLEISH, H. (1964) "Arabe Classique et Arabe Dialectale''. Revue de Presse. Algiers.

GARDNER-CHLOROS, P. (1985). Choix et Alternance des Langues à Strasbourg, Thèse de doctorat, Université Louis Pasteur de Strasbourg.

GARDNER-CHLOROS, P. (1991). *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

GARDNER-CHLOROS, P. (1995) 'Code-Switching in Community, Regional and National Repertoires: The Myth of The Discreteness of Linguistic Systems'. In Milroy and Muysken (1995) *One speaker two languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching* (68-89)*.* New York: Cambridge University Press

GARDNER-Chloros, P., CHARLES, R. & CHESHIRE, J. (2000). 'Parallel patterns? A comparison of monolingual speech and bilingual codeswitching discourse'. *Journal of Pragmatics. Special Issue on Code-switching*. 32, 1305–1341.

GARDNER-CHLOROS, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Published in the United State of America by Cambridge University Press, New York.

GARDNER-CHLOROS, P & EDWARDS. M (2004), Assumptions behind grammatical approaches to Code-Switching: when the bleu print is a red herring, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 102 (1).

GOFFMAN, E. (1979). Footing, in Semiotica 25, 1–29

GONZALEZ-Vilbazo, K., Laura Bartlett, Sarah Downey, Shane Ebert, Jeanne Heil, Bradley Hoot, Bryan Koronkiewicz & Sergio Ramos, (2013). Methodological Considerations in Code-Switching Research, in *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* Volume 6, Issue 1

GRANDGUILAUME, G. (1990) 'Language and Legitimacy in the Maghreb'. In B. Weinstein (ed) Language Policy and Political Development (pp. 150-66). Norwood, NJ. Ablex.

_____ (2002). Les enjeux de la question des langues en Algerie. In R. Bistolfi & H. Giordan (Eds.), *Les Langues de la Méditerranée* (pp. 141–165), Paris : Editions L'Harmattan.

_____ (2003). Arabophonie et Politiques Linguistiques, *Glottopole (1), 70-75.*

_____ (2004). Country case study on the language of instruction and the quality of basic education: policy of arabization in primary and secondary education in Algeria. Paper commissioned for the *EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005), The Quality Imperative*.

GROSJEAN, François, (1982). *Life with Two Languages*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

_____(2000). Processing mixed language: issues, findings, and models. In Li Wei, 2000, 443–470.

_____(2001). The bilingual's language modes. In Nicol, 2001, 1–23

GULLBERG, M., INDEFREY, P. & MUYSKEN, P. (2009). "Research techniques for the study of code-switching", in Bullock, B.E. and Toribio A.J. *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*. Cambridge University Press, P 21-39.
DOI: https://doi.org/1O.1017/CBO9780511576331.003

GULLY, A. (1993), The Changing Face of Modern Written Arabic: an update, *Al-Arabiyya* (26), 19-59.

GUMPERZ, John (1971*), Language in social groups*, Standford University Press, USA

GUMPERZ, J. (1976). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational codeswitching*, Working Papers of Language Behavior Research Laboratory*, (46), Berkeley, CA: University of California.

GUMPERZ, John (1982), *Discourse strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

GUMPERZ, John, (1989a). Sociolinguistique Interactionnelle, Paris: L'Harmattan.

GYSELS, M. (1992). "French in urban Lubumbashi Swahili: Code-switching, borrowing, or both". Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,13, 41-55.

HALMARI, H. (1997), Government and Code-switching: Explaining America-Finnish, Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, Benjamins.

HAMERS, J, F. & BLANC, M. (1983). Bilingualité et Bilinguisme, Bruxelles : Pierre Mardaga,

HAMERS, J.F. & BLANC, M. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism.* Second edition. Cambridge University Press.

HASPELMATH, Martin. (2009). Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues. In M. Haspelmath, & U. Tadmor (eds.), Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 35–54.

HAUGEN, E. (1950) 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing'. Language 26 (2) 201-31.

HAUGEN, E. (1953). the Norwegian Language in America, Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, vol. 1,

_____ (1956). Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and research guide, Montgomery, AL: University of Alabama Press.

HEATH, Jeffrey. (1989). *From code-switching to borrowing: A case study of Moroccan Arabic*. London : Kegan Paul International.

HERMASSI, M. S. (2004), Une Approche de la Problématique de l'identité : Le Maghreb Contemporain, Paris : l' Harmattan.

HLAVAC, Jim. (2000), Croatian in Melbourne: Lexicon, switching and morphosyntax features in the speech of second-generation bilinguals. Ph.D. dissertation, Monash University, Melbourne.

HOLES, C. (2004), *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*, Revised Edition, George University Press.

HOLMES. J. (2008): An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. 3rd edition. Pearson Education Limited.

IDIR, N. (2019). Des chercheurs dénoncent une diversion : Les promoteurs de l'anglais obéissent à leurs maîtres du Golfe. *Elwatan*. Retrieved from www.elwatan.dz.

KATZ, A. Stacey. (2000) "Functional Approach to the Teaching of the French C'est-cleft" in *The French Review.* Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 248-262, published by: American Association of Teachers of French.

KAYE, A.S. (1987), Arabic in B. Comrie (Eds), *The World's Major Languages*, Oxford, London 664- 685.

KLAVANS, J. L. (1985), The syntax of Code-Switching: Spanish and English, in L. D. King & C.A. Maley (Eds.), *Selected Papers from the 13th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages* (36), Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 213-231.

LAROUSSI, F. (1991). L'Alternance de Codes Arabe Dialectal/ Français. Etudes de Quelques Situations Dans la Ville de Sfax, Thèse de doctorat nouveau régime, Université de Rouen.

MAAMOURI, M. (1998). *Language education and human development: Arabic diglossia and its impact on the quality of education in the Arab region*. Discussion paper prepared for The World Bank Mediterranean Development Forum, Marrakesh. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania International Literacy Institute.

MACKEY, W, F. (1962). *"The description of bilingualism"*, Canadian Journal of Linguistics 7, pp 51-85, re-edited by Wei, L. (2000). The Bilingualism Reader. London and New York: Routledge, pp 26-54.

MACKEY, W, F. (1976). Bilinguisme et Contact des Langues, Paris : Klincksieck,

MACNAMARA, J. (1967). *"The bilingual's linguistic performance: a psychological overview"*, *Journal of social issues 23:2*, pp,58-77.

MADI, M. (1997), 'Langues et identité : De la marginalisation à la résistance'. In Lardjane, O et al (ed.) Elites et question Identitaires. Alger : Casbah, 107-127.

MARCELLESI, J-B. (1981). *«Bilinguisme, diglossie, hégémonie: problèmes et tâches»,* Langages 61, pp 5-11, 1981, réédité dans Macellesi, J-B, Bulot, T et Blanchet, P 2003. Sociolinguistique, Paris:L'Harmattan, pp 125-137.

MAROUZEAU, J. (1951). Lexique de la Terminologie Linguistique. Paris. Guenther.

MARSAIS, W. (1930), La Diglossie Arabe, in *L'enseignement Public 104 (12)*, 401-409

MCDOUGALL, J. (2006). *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

MEDDI, A. (2019). Algérie – Anglais contre français : la guerre des langues bientôt ravivée ? L'anglais va-t-il passer devant le français comme première langue étrangère dans l'enseignement ? Les signaux envoyés par les autorités le donnent à penser. *Le Point*. Retrieved from www.lepoint.dz.

MEISELES, G. (1977), Restitution of word endings in Modern Literary Arabic, *Israel Oriental Studies*

MILROY, L. & GORDON, M. (2003), *Sociolinguistics: method and interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

MILROY, L. & LI WEI (1995). *A social network approach to code-switching: the example of a bilingual community in Britain*. In Milroy & Muysken, 1995, 136–157.

MILROY, L. & MUYSKEN, P. (1995) (eds). *One Speaker, Two Languages: cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MITCHELL, T. F. What is educated spoken Arabic? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol 61, pp 732

MITCHELL, T. F.& EL HASSAN, S. A. (1994). Modality, Mood and Aspect in Spoken Arabic (with special reference to Egypt and the Levant), London: Kegan Paul International.

MONTEIL, V. *L'Arabe Moderne*, Paris : Klincksieck.

MOSTARI, H. A. (2004). A sociolinguistic perspective on Arabization and language use in Algeria. *Language Problems and Language Planning, 28*(1), 25– 44.

MUYSKEN, Peter (2000), *Bilingual speech: A typology of code mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MUYSKEN, P. (1995) "Code-switching and grammatical theory", In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on codeswitching*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.177-198. In WEI, Li (2000), *Bilingualism Reader*, Routledge, London, USA, Canada, 280-297.

_____ (1987), Neutrality in code-mixing. *Eigen en vreemd. Handlelingen van het 39e Filologencongres Amsterdam*, 359-73. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol, (1986). Diglossia and Code-switching. In J.A. Fishman (ed.), *The Fergusonian Impact: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language* (pp.403-415), (Vol. 2). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

MYERS-SCOTTON, C. (1993). Elite closure as a powerful language strategy: The African case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 103*, 149–163.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (1993), *Duelling langages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (2002), *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (2006), *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism,* Oxford: Blackwell.

MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol and Janice Jake (2009). A universal model of code-switching and bilingual language processing. In B.E. Bullock & Torbio A.J. *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*, Cambridge University Press, 336–357.

NAIT BRAHIM, A. (2006), *" Diglossie et colinguisme : les langues en Algérie entre fantasme et realité"*. IMAGO Interculturalité et Didactique, Vol 9, Num 1, P 107-122.

ONYSKO, Alexander (2006), "English code-switching in the German newsmagazine Der Spiegel." Universität Innsbruck, Austria.

ONYSKO, Alexander (2007), *Anglicisms in German*. Berlin: De gruyter.

ONYSKO, Alexander et WINTER-FROEMEL, Esme (2011), "Necessary loans - luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing", *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 43, issue 6, pp.1550-1567.

OWENS, J. (2001), Arabic Sociolinguistics. Arabica 48/4 (2001) 419-466

PFAFF, C. (1979), "Constraints on language mixing: intrasentential codeswitching and borrowing in Spanish/English", *Language 55*, pp. 291-318.

POPLACK, Shana (1980), "Sometimes l'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward o typology of code-switching", (581-618) in WEI, Li (2000), *Bilingualism Reader*, Routledge, 280-297. London, USA, Canada.

POPLACK, Shana, (1981), "Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching", in *Latino discourse and communicative behavior*, R. Duran (ed), New Jersey, Ablex, pp 169-184.

POPLACK, Shana (1993) 'Variation theory and language contact'. In Dennis R. PRESTON, *American Dialect Research*. John Benjamins Bublishing Co. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia (251-286).

POPLACK. Shana & DION, N. (2012), "Myths and Facts about loanword development", *Language Variation and Change*, 24 (2012), 279–315. © Cambridge University Press, doi :10.1017/S095439451200018X

POPLACK Shana, SANKOFF David et MILLER Catherine (1988), "The social correlates and linguistic process of lexical borrowing and assimilation", in *Linguistics* 26, pp.47-104.

QUEFFELEC, A. DERRADJI, Y. DEBOV, V. SMAILI DEKDOUK, D. CHERRAD-BENCHEFRA, Y. (2002), *Le Français en Algérie : Lexique et Dynamique des Langues*, 1ère édition, Duculot : Bruxelles.

RAFA, A. (2019). Substitution du français par l'anglais. L'Université algérienne est-elle prête ? *Liberté*. Retrieved from www.liberte.dz.

REZIG, N. (2011). Teaching English in Algeria and Educational Reforms: an overview on the factors entailing students' failure in foreign languages at university, *Procedia-social and Behavioral Sciences* (29), 1329- 1333.

Ricento, T. (2000a) Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (ed.) *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English* (pp. 9–24). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

_____ (ed.) (2000b). *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

_____ (2006b). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

ROMAINE, Suzanne (1995), *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.), Oxford: Blackwell.

RYDING, K. C. (1991). 'Proficiency Despite Diglossia: A New Approach for Arabic'. The Modern Language Journal, 75 (2), 212-218. Blackwell Publishing.

SADDAM, K (2006). « *Les chevauchements codiques dans les chaînes radio tunisiennes »,* communication présentée dans le cadre du colloque «les Mixtes de Langues au Maghreb: Dimensions Sociolinguistiques et Conséquences Structurelles ».

SAIEGH-HADDAD, E. (2003). 'Linguistic distance and initial reading acquisition: The case of Arabic diglossia'. *Applied Psycholinguistics,* 24, 431-451.

SCHIFFMAN**,** H. F. (1996). *Linguistic culture and language policy.* London/New York: Routledge.

SCHÜTZE. Carson T. (2016). *The empirical base of linguistics: Grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology* (Classics in Linguistics 2). Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:10.17169/langsci.b89.100

_____ (1997). Diglossia as a sociolinguistic situation. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp.205-216). London: Basil Blackwell, Ltd.

SHARKAWI, M. (2002), Socio-Demographic Parameters of Arabization. In G. Mansour and M. Doss, *Language: Series of Papers in Linguistics* 3: 101- 142 (Cairo, Arab Research Center)

SHOHAMY, E. Goldberg (2006), *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*, Oxen: Routledge

SOMMER, G. (1997) Towards an ethnography of language shift: goals and methods, In M. Putz (Eds.), Language Choices: Conditions, Constraints and Consequences, John Benjamin, 55-76.

STETKEVYCH, J. (1970), *The Modern Arabic Literary Language: lexical and stylistic development*, Publications of the Center of Middle East Studies (6), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

SWANN et al (2004) A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

TAHA ZEINEB, A. (2008) Educated Spoken Arabic/ how could it help in redefining the ACTFL guidelines? A.Al-'Arabiyya Vol. 40/41 (2007-2008), pp. 104-114 (11 pages) Published by: Georgetown University Press

TALEB IBRAHIMI, K. (1995). Les Algériens et leur(s) langue(s). El Hikma, Alger.

_____ (1997). L'arabisation : lieu de conflits multiples. *Réflexions*, 1, 39-63. Casbah Editions, Alger.

THOMASON, S.G. (2001), *Language Contact: An Introduction*, Edinburg University Press.

_____. (2003). "Contact as a source of language change". In R. D. Janda & B. D. Joseph (eds.), *A handbook of historical linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 687–712.

TORIBIO, J. A. (2001). On the emergence of bilingual code-switching competence, *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 4 (3)*, 203-231.

TORIBIO, J. A. (2005). Accessing bilingual code-switching competence, The International Journal of *Bilingualism (5)*, 403-436.

TREFFERS-DALLER, J. (1990), Towards a uniform approach to Code-Switching and borrowing, *Papers for the Workshop on Constraints, Conditions and Models*, European Science Foundation Network on Code-Switching in Language Contact. Strasbourg: ESF, 259-277.

TREFFERS-DALLER, J. (1994), *Mixing Two Languages: French-Dutch Contact in a Comparative Perspective*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

TREFFERS-DALLER, Jeanine. (2005). "Evidence for insertional codemixing: Mixed compounds and French nominal groups in Brussels Dutch". International Journal of Bilingualism 9 (3–4):477–508.

TREFFERS-DALLER, Jeanine (2010), "Borrowing", In: Fried, M., Östman, J.-O. and Verschueren, J. (eds.) *Variation and change: pragmatic perspectives. Handbook of pragmatics highlights* (6). John Benjamins, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, pp. 17-35.

VAN COESTEM, F. (2000), *A General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language Contact,* Heilberg; Winter.

VANMOL, M. (2003), *Variation in Modern Standard Arabic in Radio News Broadcasts: A Synchronic Descriptive Investigation in the Use of Contemporary Particles*, Leuven, OLA (117).

WEINREICH, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact*, The Hague: Mouton. Reedited. 1967.

WINFORD. D. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*, Oxford: Blackwell.

WINFORD, Donald (2005), "Contact-induced changes: Classification and processes", in: *Diachronica* 22.2: 373-427.

WINFORD, Donald (2007), "Some issues in the study of language contact", in *Journal of Language Contact*, 1, pp.22-39.

_____. (2009). "On the unity of contact phenomena and their underlying mechanisms". In L. Isurin, D. Winford, & K. de Bot (eds.), *Multidisciplinary approaches to code switching*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 279–306.

ش.و. تدوي. (1973) . مستويات اللغة العربية المعاصرة في مصر القاهرة دار المعرفة

Badawi, S.M. (1973). *Mustawayat al-aarabya almuaasirah fi Misr*. Cairo :Dar almaarifa

م. ر. الزغلول. (2014) . ازدواجية اللغة طبيعتها و مشكلاتها في سياق التعليم

Zughoul, M. R. (2007). *Izdiwajiyat al-lugha : tabiatuha wa mushkilatuha fi siyaq attaalim*. http://www.shatharat.net/vb/showthread.php?t=14611 (May 11, 2014