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SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN AND ARABIC/FRENCH BILINGUALISM IN TLEMCEEN SPEECH COMMUNITY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it contains neither material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution. I also certify that the current work contains no plagiarism and is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Khadidja HADRI

Date: 30/09/2018

Signature

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“Whoever is thankful (to God) is in fact thankful for his own self. But if anyone is ungrateful, God is self-sufficient and glorious.” (Qur’an 31-12)

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ALL MISTAKES REMAIN OF COURSE MY OWN.

To my dearest parents

To my beloved husband and my shining children

To my siblings and relatives

To all my teachers

And to all my acquaintances

Abstract

This research work is an attempt to approach child bilingualism in Algeria. It seeks to explore and analyse the verbal behaviour of younger bilinguals in the speech community of Tlemcen, focusing on the occurrence of French in interpersonal interactions. In other terms, the current study investigates the linguistic phenomenon of AA-French mixing among Tlemcen children of school age. The overall goal of this investigation, then, is to describe AA-French bilingualism amongst children in Tlemcen speech community by examining the ways they use the two languages, and identifying the grammatical types of their code switch, in addition to the reasons behind such switching. In this dissertation, the adopted methodology relies on the use of various research instruments in order to obtain valid and consistent data. These instruments are: observation, recordings, note taking and interviews. The empirical study was achieved via the application of both quantitative and qualitative methods, and the results showed that code switching and code mixing are conversational strategies used by the child to varying extents depending on their linguistic competence in French, and other social variables such as the topic, the setting and the participants. The survey also revealed that the child's social milieu and upbringing have the greatest impact on his or her bilinguality.

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List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic.

CA: Classical Arabic.

CM: Code mixing.

CP: Cooperative Principle.

CS: Code switching.

EL: Embedded Language.

FLA: First Language Acquisition.

H: High variety.

ICTs: International Communication Technologies.

L: Low variety.

L_A/L_B: The simultaneous acquisition of two mother tongues.

L₁: First language or mother tongue.

L₂: Second language.

ML: Matrix Language.

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic.

SLA: Second Language Acquisition.

TA: Tlemcen Arabic.

SPPL: Sociopragmatic-Psycholinguistic model.

List of Arabic and French Phonetic Symbols

I. List of Arabic Phonetic Symbols

1. Vowels

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
اَ	[a /æ /a]	[a:]	ا
اِ	[i]	[i:]	ي
اُ	[u]	[u:]	و

2. Consonants

Consonants	Symbols	Consonants	Symbols
ء / أُ	[ʔ]	ض	[d]
ب	[b]	ط	[t]
ت	[t]	ظ	[ð]
ث	[θ]	ع	[ʕ]
ج	[ʒ, dʒ]	غ	[ɣ]
ح	[h]	ف	[f]
خ	[χ]	ق	[q]
د	[d]	ك	[k]
ذ	[ð]	ل	[l]
ر	[r]	م	[m]
ز	[z]	ن	[n]
ش	[ʃ]	هـ	[h]
س	[s]	و	[w]
ص	[s]	ي	[j]

II. List of Some French Phonetic Symbols

1. Some French Consonants

IPA	At the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
[ʁ]	-	<u>gagner</u> [gɑ̃ʁnɛ]	<u>ligne</u> [liɲ]
[ʁ]	<u>raison</u> [ʁɛzɑ̃]	<u>sera</u> [sɛʁɑ]	<u>jour</u> [ʒuːʁ]

2. Some Semi-Vowels and Oral Vowels in French

IPA	At the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
[ɥ]	<u>huitième</u> [ɥitjɛm]	<u>lui</u> [lɥi]	-
[y]	<u>unique</u> [ynik]	<u>étude</u> [ɛtyd]	<u>pu</u> [py]
[ø]	<u>Europe</u> [øʁɔp]	<u>deuxième</u> [døzjɛm]	<u>lieu</u> [ljø]
[œ]	<u>œil</u> [œj]	<u>seul</u> [sœl]	-
[ɛ]	<u>elle</u> [ɛl]	<u>nouvelle</u> [nuvɛl]	<u>sujet</u> [syʒɛ]

3. Nasal Vowels in French

IPA	At the beginning of a word	In the middle of a word	At the end of a word
[ɑ̃]	<u>ensuite</u> [ɑ̃sɥit]	<u>exemple</u> [ɛgzɑ̃pl]	<u>seulement</u> [sœlmɑ̃]
[ɔ̃]	<u>oncle</u> [ɔ̃kl]	<u>longtemps</u> [lɔ̃tɑ̃]	<u>nom</u> [nɔ̃]
[ɛ̃]	<u>ainsi</u> [ɑ̃si]	<u>principe</u> [pʁɛ̃sip]	<u>loin</u> [lwɛ̃]

General Introduction

General Introduction

The feat of speaking two or more languages has attracted scholars' interest for many decades. Their studies of bi- or multilingualism have been conducted from various angles. Thus, many theories and models have been proposed in order to account for the specific linguistic behaviour of those speaking two languages, i.e., bilinguals and those who master more than two languages, i.e., multilinguals. The linguistic perspective insists on the system *per se*, that is, the structure of each language and the way they interact. However, the sociolinguistic approach explores the social functions performed by each linguistic variety and the factors influencing people's choice of one language rather than the other. Many scholars have used the word 'bilingualism' as an umbrella term covering two or more languages (Lanza, 1997; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006) while others have drawn the line between the two linguistic phenomena.

In the present study, bilingualism and multilingualism are regarded as two different phenomena resulting from language contact. The former involves the actual use of two linguistic codes regardless of the speaker's degree of competence; whereas, the latter entails the ability to function in more than two languages to whatever extent.

In the diverse field of bilingualism, there are many issues worthy of study. The interaction between the speaker's two languages has resulted in various interesting phenomena which are, among others, code switching (henceforth CS) and code mixing (hereafter CM). The difference between them is also subject to debate among sociolinguists who may opt for or against a clear distinction between the two phenomena. The current research work aims at investigating these linguistic resources among young bilinguals in an Algerian speech community. Hence, it deals with language mixing in the speech of school-age children in Tlemcen. Children's CS and/or CM is/are supposed to be done through the use of AA and

French since these two languages are part of most Algerians' verbal repertoire. In a word, the main purposes of the present study are:

- ✓ To investigate bilingualism, a salient linguistic phenomenon, among Algerian children.
- ✓ To scrutinize the verbal behaviour of these young bilinguals and examine their ways of switching between AA and French or mixing them.
- ✓ To cast light on the children's parents and teachers' attitudes towards their use of French.
- ✓ To determine the degree of bilinguality among Algerian children and, therefore, define the main factors which have had an influence over their linguistic experience.

The actual linguistic situation of Algeria suggests that AA / French bilingualism is practised by a large proportion of Algerians while others may use Berber varieties along with French as another form of bilingualism. This investigation concerns the speech community of Tlemcen, in which AA varieties and French co-exist. Thus, young bilinguals between the ages of 6 and 10 in Tlemcen, the case in point in this study, are also influenced by the functioning linguistic codes in their society in the sense that they use them in every day conversations. On the basis of the observation of Tlemcenian children's patterns of speech, the following research problem has been raised:

Why do some Algerian children exhibit a higher degree of AA / French bilingualism in comparison with their peers?

To ease the burden of providing an answer to this broad question, it has been split up into three main research questions:

1. To what extent do Algerian children use French along with their mother tongue in interpersonal interactions?
2. What grammatical type(s) is/are more frequently attested in their AA-French switching?

3. How do children's parents and teachers view their AA-French switching? In other words, what attitudes do they develop towards French?

Throughout this research work, an answer to each of these three questions will be attempted by considering the following hypotheses:

1. The young bilinguals are supposed to mix French with AA to varying degrees depending on their linguistic environment which, in turn, shapes their proficiency in French. In addition, their speech certainly contains, at least, some French borrowed words that abound in their dialect, i.e., AA.
2. Algerian children tend to switch between AA and French intra-sententially, and rarely use inter- or extra-sentential code switching as these are restricted to more mature bilinguals.
3. Parents' and teachers' attitudes towards French may be positive, negative or even neutral. They may differ from one individual to another according to many variables, such as educational and cultural levels. They may also be influenced by some psychological factors, i.e., their previous experience with the language and culture.

In trying to check the aforementioned hypotheses, different research tools have been utilized: non-participant observation, note taking, audio-recordings; semi-structured interviews were conducted with school-age children's parents and primary school teachers. The data collected were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively as well.

The layout of the present dissertation consists of three chapters. The first two form the theoretical framework of this research work while the last chapter deals with the practical side. In the first chapter, the main concepts related to the study are explained. It begins with presenting bilingualism in its three main aspects: psycholinguistic, sociopragmatic and socio political. Then, it looks closely at the phenomena of CS and CM. Moreover, it explains the differences between CS and CM and the types of CS in Poplack's view (1980) and that of Blom & Gumperz (1972). Besides, the first chapter discusses child bilingualism, the focal point of this

research, with the aim of understanding its properties and specificities. In addition, the issue of bilingual education is also tackled in comparison with traditional language education. In the end, the benefits and disadvantages of bilingualism have been discussed in the light of recent research on bilingualism.

The second chapter is devoted to analyzing bilingualism and its related phenomena in the Algerian context. Therefore, it considers some historical, socio-cultural and political facts that have led to the classification of Algeria as a bilingual country. It also sheds light on CS and CM patterns in the Algerian situation and the existing types in the speech community of Algeria. Furthermore, it addresses the phenomenon of diglossia which is an interesting linguistic feature of the Arab world as a whole. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the role of family and the impact of school on the Algerian child's linguistic behaviour. In addition, people's attitudes toward AA, MSA and French are considered.

To investigate more closely child bilingualism among Algerian children, a third chapter has been added. Its aim is to provide answers to the research questions put forward by applying the instruments selected. This chapter starts with an overview of languages in Tlemcen speech community. Next, it defines the research instruments used for data collection and, ultimately, analyses and interprets the results and findings obtained.

CHAPTER ONE:

Theoretical Foundations of the Study

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Some Aspects of Bilingualism

1.2.1 Psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism

1.2.1.1 The Fractional vs. Holistic view of bilinguals

1.2.1.2 The One-System or Two-System hypothesis

1.2.2 Bilingualism as a socio-political phenomenon

1.2.3 Sociopragmatic approach to bilingualism

1.3 Code Switching: A Byproduct of Bilingualism

1.3.1 Code switching vs. Code mixing

1.3.2 Types of code switching

1.3.2.1 Poplack's classification

1.3.2.2 Blom & Gumperz's categorization

1.4 Features of Child Bilingualism

1.5 Bilingual Education: Definitions and Typologies

1.6 Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilingualism

1.7 Conclusion

1.1 Introduction

Bilingualism, as a multi-dimensional linguistic phenomenon and a complex human facility, displays various aspects, viz., linguistic or structural, psychological or cognitive, sociological and socio-political. For this reason, it is no surprise that any attempt to define, describe or categorize a bilingual speaker is not an easy task.

The present chapter tries to cover some important facets of bilingualism, both at its individual and societal levels. Hence, its main focus is on the psycholinguistic, socio-pragmatic as well as socio-political schemata of bilingualism. Moreover, there is ample evidence that the individual bilingual develops a specific and unique verbal behaviour, based on code switching, code mixing and borrowing. Therefore, various types of code switching are presented and, then, contrasted with code mixing.

In the same context, it is worthwhile to consider the dynamic nature of child bilingualism, the primary concern of this research work. Thus, this chapter also discusses some features of early bilingualism and its properties. Additionally, since the issue of bilingual education is central to the study of bilingualism, especially when dealing with young bilinguals, certain definitions of bilingual education are reviewed and some of its types are explained. Besides, the chapter ends with a discussion about the benefits and disadvantages of both individual bilinguality and societal bilingualism¹.

1.2 Some Aspects of Bilingualism

Before shedding light on some lines of research on bilingualism, it is worth noting that although these studies have contributed to a better understanding of bilingualism, there is no agreed-upon definition of who a bilingual is. In fact, each researcher advocates a certain approach in his or her definition, ranging from the

¹ Throughout this research, the two terms ‘individual bilinguality’ and ‘societal bilingualism’ are distinguished on the basis of Hamers & Blanc’s definitions, “bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication” (2000: 6) whereas “bilingualism is the state of a community characterized by the simultaneous presence of two languages.”(ibid: 368).

‘maximal’ to the ‘minimal’² viewpoints of bilingualism. But as stipulated by Myers-Scotton (2006: 44), “we’ll say that bilingualism is the ability to use two [...] languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation”, a view shared by Spolsky (1998) who defines a bilingual as someone who possesses a functional capacity in a language other than his mother tongue. Focusing on language use rather than the degree of language proficiency in two languages, these definitions do not qualify a person who is able to read some Spanish as a bilingual. Rather, the speaking skill is given much more importance in Myers-Scotton’s view as she requires from that bilingual to be capable of handling, at least, a short conversation in Spanish. In this section, three sides of bilingualism are explored: the psycholinguistic, the socio-political and the socio-pragmatic aspects.

1.2.1 Psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism

The main interest of psycholinguistic research of bilingualism is the study of the relationship between the bilingual’s two linguistic systems, and the way they are organized, processed and represented in his or her brain, in addition to the different psychological events and cognitive processes. There are, in effect, several questions that form the core study of psycholinguistics vis-à-vis bilingualism, such as how memories are stored in the bilingual’s brain and in what language? Why do young children seem to acquire more than one language effortlessly while most adults do not? Are bilinguals less intelligent than monolinguals? Do bilinguals differ from monolinguals in the way they process information? And what effects, positive or negative, does bilingualism have on the individual’s cognition and thought?

In this regard, Myers-Scotton (ibid: 292-293) has grouped the issues dealt with in the psycholinguistics of bilingualism into five major themes:

1) The type of the bilingual lexicon, i.e., whether he or she possesses ‘a single lexicon’ for each language, or there is only one ‘common lexicon’ for both languages (see section 1.2.1.2).

2) The levels of activation, that is, the issue of deactivating one language

²Those advocating Bloomfield’s definition of bilinguals (1933) are described as ‘Maximalists’ whereas those embracing Macnamara’s viewpoint of bilinguals (1967) are called ‘Minimalists’.

while the other is used. Myers-Scotton (ibid) asserts that both of a bilingual's languages are '**on**' even though he or she speaks only one of them. Grosjean and Li (2013) also contend that whatever language is utilized by a bilingual speaker, there is no doubt that both languages are active, since they intervene and influence each other constantly. In fact, the stronger language (generally L1) affects the weaker language, particularly, in terms of pronunciation and grammar.

3) '**Comprehension tasks**' and '**production tasks**' are referred to as 'word recognition tasks' and 'lexical access tasks' respectively. These tasks represent experiments on the bilingual's patterns of language production and perception, using a wide range of drills and exercises such as translating and word naming.

4) **Studies of memories of events:** They refer to the study of the relationship between the events that occurred at a point in time in a given language, and the dominant language responsible for memory recall.

5) **Bilingual aphasia**, i.e., loss of language, or more precisely, access to language. This kind of mental illness is significantly examined by psycholinguists with the aim of providing evidence about the areas of the brain concerned with language processing.

Still other topics are addressed by psycholinguists concerning the bilingual's acquisition of languages, and the issue of 'language acquisition critical age', i.e., the age at which an individual finds difficulties in acquiring or learning a language as opposed to the easy acquisition of language by young children. This leads to a discussion about the differences between early and late bilinguality (Myers-Scotton, ibid: 293).

1.2.1.1 The Fractional vs. Holistic view of bilinguals

Two conflicting views of individual bilingualism exist in the literature, with each one having its own advocates and theoreticians. The psycholinguist François Grosjean (1985-1994) proposes these approaches to bilingualism wherein a bilingual individual is analysed from two different perspectives. First, the 'Fractional' or 'Monolingual' view of bilingualism which regards a bilingual as a mere composite of two monolinguals. In simpler terms, he or she is a clone of two

monolinguals. This view has been widely adopted by scholars and researchers in the field, who started to compare a bilingual speaker of two languages A and B against two monolinguals in the same languages A and B, mainly in terms of competency and proficiency in the four basic skills of each language. Being influenced by the idea of ‘perfect’ or ‘true’³ bilinguals which entails having the ability to function equally well in both languages, the proponents of the ‘Fractional’ view categorize bilinguals in terms of monolingual norms setting aside any particularities of bilinguals. In former linguistics studies, if a bilingual’s one of his languages is French, for example, scores on a French reading test will eventually be compared against French monolingual scores, i.e., the bilingual’s French language competence is contrasted to that of a native monolingual French speaker. As a result, bilinguals who show an inadequate or insufficient proficiency in both languages are described as ‘semilinguals’.

Apart from fractionality, an alternative view also has been advanced by Grosjean (*ibid*), referring to it as the ‘Holistic’⁴ or ‘Bilingual’ viewpoint of individual bilinguals. In this regard, Grosjean suggests a more positive approach to the study of bilinguals, in which he considers the uniqueness of the bilingual’s linguistic behaviour. Analogously, Grosjean affirms that it is unjust to compare the language competence of a monolingual with that of a bilingual in the same way as it appears unfair, impracticable and infeasible to “judge a sprinter or a high jumper against a hurdler” for everyone has his own specific skills and a different target. While the former, i.e., a sprinter or high jumper focuses only on ‘one’ event, the latter, i.e., a hurdler has to concentrate on ‘two’ different skills (Grosjean, 1984-1994, as cited in Baker, 2001:8). Thus, bilinguals started to be measured and compared only by reference to other similar bilinguals.

In the same vein, Grosjean (*ibid*) stresses the need to abandon traditional language tests which demonstrate a monolingual bias, and shift to a more modern

³Perfect / true / ideal / balanced bilingual or ‘ambilingual / equilingual’ all are terms to describe an individual who has ‘a native-like control of two languages’, an optimal view of individual bilingualism, which was suggested by Bloomfield (1933), as opposed to ‘unbalanced’ or ‘dominant’ bilinguals who show a differential degree of competency in both languages, with dominance in one of their languages (usually L1). The former type is only theoretically possible as ‘perfect’ bilinguals are rare if not non-existent in reality.

⁴In some other books, it is referred to as the ‘wholistic’ view of bilingualism.

method of assessing a bilingual's language competence, characterized by the evaluation of the bilingual's communicative competence. That is, the total language usage by the bilingual speaker, including his or her specific linguistic behaviour, namely, code choice, code switching, code mixing and borrowing.

In sum, the bilingual individual is no longer seen as two monolinguals in one brain or 'a disintegrated whole'. Rather, he or she is "a complete linguistic entity, an integrated whole" (Baker, *ibid*: 9). It is significant, therefore, to rate a bilingual's competence in both languages, taking into consideration those questions as when, where and with whom bilinguals use either of their languages.

In spite of the limitations and shortcomings of the 'Fractional' approach, neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics both still use the monolingual as a standard of testing. As a matter of fact, the 'Fractional' perspective and its influence remains prominent in educational settings as monolingual standards of assessment are often used, and this reflects political rather than purely linguistic decisions.

1.2.1.2 The One-System or Two-System hypothesis

The 'One-System' hypothesis or theory, also called the 'Unitary Language System' hypothesis (Genesee, 1989 as cited in Lanza, 1997:4) was originally proposed by Redlinger and Park in 1980 (*ibid*) to refer to a single type of language system possessed by the bilingual individual, i.e., the fact that a bilingual child develops a single system from the onset. As evidence, the act of mixing the two codes, particularly, at the level of lexis and syntax has been interpreted as proof of the bilingual's possession of one common linguistic system. However, according to Lanza (*ibid*), the use of highly mixed utterances consisting of units from the bilingual's two languages, can be considered as a justification for both the 'One or Two-System' hypotheses, depending on each scholar's interpretation.

In view of child bilingualism, mixing the two varieties may be the result of a 'complementary' or 'free variation' relationship of the young bilingual's lexicon according to Ferguson (1984). That is, if the bilingual speaker knows a word in both languages without any interference or overlapping between them, he or she is said to have complementary words, and is able to differentiate between the two lexicons.

On the contrary, in case a bilingual child has acquired a word only in one language, mixing utterances will be more frequent because of lacking that word in the other language. Arguably, the proponents of the ‘One-System’ theory have concluded that younger bilinguals’ mixing is due to their inability to distinguish between the two languages, since they build a unique system made up of both languages. Furthermore, the existence of highly code-mixed utterances in a young bilingual’s speech has been explained by those in favour of the ‘One-System’ hypothesis to be an indication of the young bilingual’s indiscriminate use of language. In other words, the bilingual child demonstrates, through mixing, his or her lack of bilingual awareness, i.e., “the awareness of operating with two languages.” (Lanza, *ibid*: 5)

Additionally, many studies⁵ have been carried out on infant and childhood bilingualism, and ultimately have confirmed the One-System hypothesis which claims that a young bilingual child is incapable of differentiating between the two language systems at an early age (McLaughlin, 1984a, as cited in Lanza, *ibid*: 5). Yet, still other studies have refuted the aforementioned theory by stating that the bilingual child’s mixing is only an imitation of his or her linguistic environment where such mixing occurs.

On the other hand, those espousing the Two-System hypothesis contend that the young bilingual can draw the line between the two linguistic systems from a very early age. Thus, language mixing results from various factors, notably, its existence in the linguistic surroundings of the child. On the whole, the linguistic phenomenon of mixing, particularly, lexical and syntactic mixing, is shared by both hypotheses with two contrasting interpretations.

As illustrated by Ingram (1981), the fact that young bilingual children develop two separate language systems can be observed in their ability to distinguish between the phonologies of the two languages, trying to select those

⁵Several case studies of infant bilingualism support the ‘One-System’ hypothesis, among which, the following ones are reviewed in Lanza (1997): (i) Leopold’s four volume diary study of his English-German bilingual daughter ‘Hildegard’ (1939, 1947, 1949a, 1949b). (ii) Swain & Wesche’s study of a three- year old French-English bilingual boy (1975). (iii) Volterra & Taeschner’s study of the second author’s two daughters, bilingual in Italian and German (1978). (iv) Redlinger & Park’s study of four two-year old bilingual children (1980). (v) Vihman’s study of her son’s early bilingualism in English and Estonian (1985).

words without or with less ‘articulatory difficulties’ (Lanza, *ibid*: 19). That is, words which are easy to pronounce. This has been clearly demonstrated in Leopold’s (1939-1949)⁶ famous longitudinal diary study of his English-German bilingual daughter who showed a preference of using, for instance, the German word ‘*da*’ instead of its English equivalent ‘there’, and the English word ‘high’ as an alternative to its German synonym ‘*hoch*’.

The question of “whether the bilingual child initially possesses both languages as one system or two” (Lanza, *ibid*: 45) has engaged psycholinguists for more than a century, leading to the elaboration of various models of the ‘bilingual language development’ of a child. In this respect, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) define three linguistic stages that a bilingual child passes through in his or her bilingual development (*ibid*: 27-28):

❖ **Stage 1:** AT THE LEVEL OF LEXIS

This stage refers to the possession of ‘a single lexical system’ by the bilingual child, consisting of words from both languages.

❖ **Stage2:** AT THE LEVEL OF SYNTAX

The child becomes capable of differentiating between the two lexicons; however, he or she uses similar syntactic rules for both languages.

❖ **Stage 3:** AT BOTH LEVELS (LEXIS & SYNTAX)

At this stage, the child is able to communicate using two distinct languages in terms of lexicon and syntax.

From the above ‘Three-stage’ model, it appears that a bilingual child first develops a ‘One-System’ out of the two linguistic systems, in lexis then in syntax. Subsequently, he or she moves to a ‘Two-System’ configuration. To put it more simply, a bilingual child is supposed to go through two main stages, i.e., from being ‘a code mixer’ to becoming ‘a code separator’. In the former, he or she does not separate the two languages whereas in the latter, he or she becomes more ‘aware’ of his or her bilinguality.

Nonetheless, psycholinguists have not yet reached a definite answer as to “whether common or distinct neural systems underlie the representation or

⁶ In Lanza (1997: 18-19).

processing of the bilingual's two languages" (Grosjean & Li, 2013). However, Myers-Scotton argues that the bilingual's languages are represented under "separate subsystems" (2006:322), referred to as the "subsystem hypothesis" by Paradis (2001)⁷. In his aphasic bilingual studies, Paradis (ibid: 318) posits that bilingual aphasic patients exhibit varying degrees of language recovery in their two languages, and this, undoubtedly, proves that the two languages are indeed separately mapped onto the bilingual's brain, giving validity to the "subsystem hypothesis".

It seems plausible, thus, to say that early bilinguals are supposed to have interdependent languages, i.e., they are categorized as 'compound bilinguals' since their two languages are interconnected (One-System hypothesis). By contrast, late bilinguals are classified among 'coordinate bilinguals' as they show two independent linguistic systems (Two-System hypothesis). Kollers (1963)⁸ names the two types of a bilingual's memory storage using the terms: 'Shared' vs. 'Separate' storage hypotheses.

Many researchers have developed models of a bilingual's mental representation and processing of the two languages which integrate both hypotheses, i.e., the One-System and Two-System hypotheses. As an illustration, Paivio and Desrochers (1980) devise a model of 'the bilingual dual coding system', wherein the two languages are stored under two separate systems, in addition to a third common system of non-verbal images shared by both languages. Also, Paivio & Desrochers' model shows interconnections between the three separate systems but different types of output.

⁷ Cited in Myers-Scotton (2006: 321)

⁸ In Baker (2001: 144)

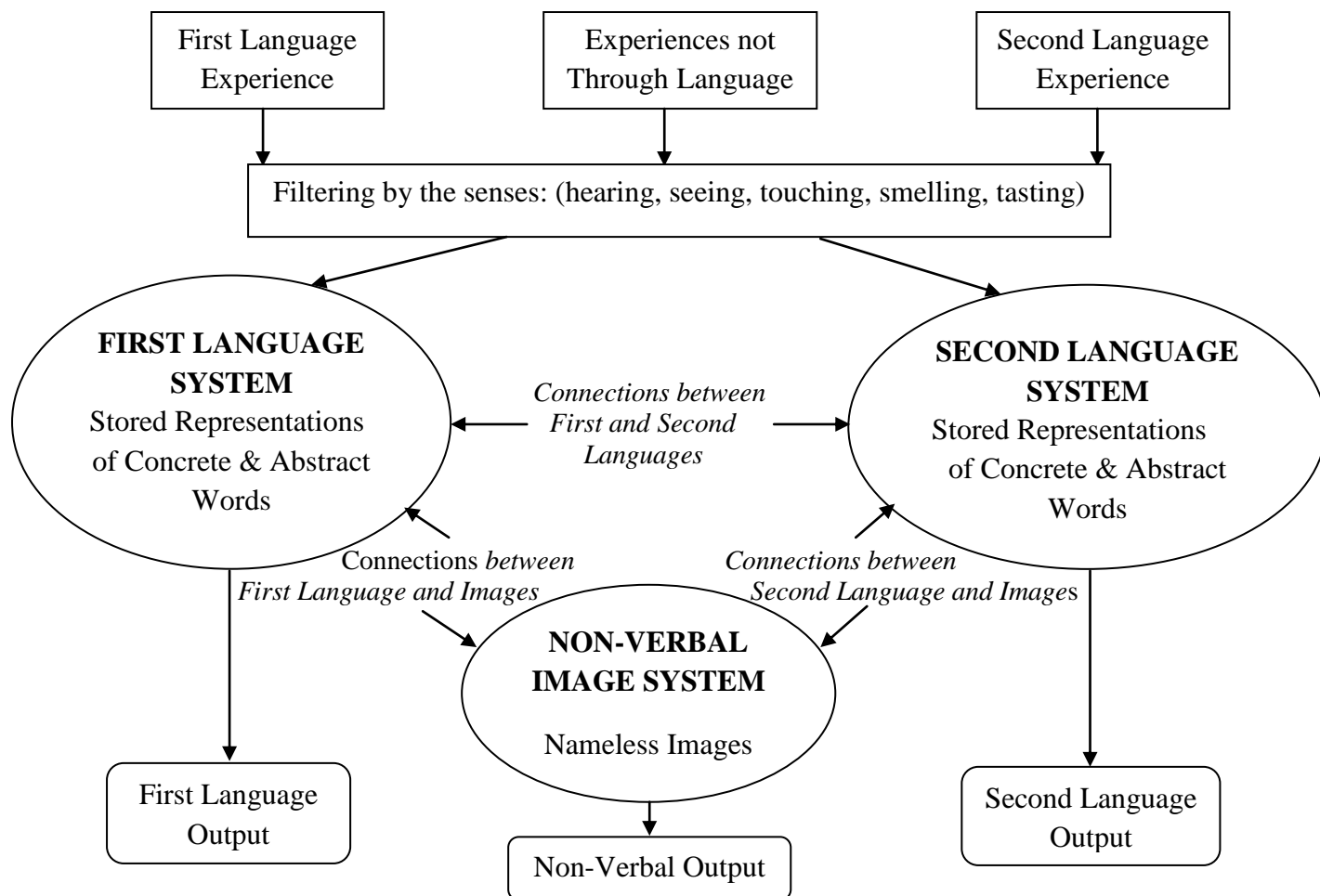


Figure 1.1. Bilingual Dual Coding System (adapted and simplified from Paivio & Desrochers, 1980; Paivio, 1991, as Cited in Baker, 2001: 145).

1.2.2 Bilingualism as a socio-political phenomenon

Each group of speakers in a politically defined unit would like to maintain its own language since “language serves as a positive badge of identification” and “an essential symbol of group identity” (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*: 9). Therefore, many languages continue to exist today, leading to a vast linguistic diversity, which in turn results in communication barriers and language problems among distinct groups. As a matter of fact, every nation state in the world aims at promoting its own language, which is the official language of the nation, inside its territories, and certain countries go beyond their borders in their mission to foster the use of their languages elsewhere, as is the case of some European languages such as English and French in many African countries, the purpose of which being, as revealed by

Myers-Scotton, “to develop or strengthen cultural and economic ties through a common language” (ibid).

Given the above, bilingualism also has a socio-political nature. This can be viewed in its tight correlation with society and language policy as well. That is, bilingual people are closely connected to their speech communities where their languages are valued or devalued, most often, by policy makers rather than individual speakers. Socio-politically studied, bilingualism is approached from its macro-level perspective, trying to account for the reasons why some bilinguals preserve their first language while others shift to a predominant one in their society. Besides, the main factors leading to the existence of bilinguals in a given community are also investigated, especially those having socio-political ties. More importantly, the examination of the ways languages are used in a politically defined unit is given priority in addition to the impact of language politics and the phenomenon of globalization on people’s preferences for particular languages in their education. Still other topics are considered while investigating bilingualism socio-politically, as those related to the individuals’ attitudes and groups’ ideologies about the linguistic situation of their communities and the different types of bilingual education offered by their governments.

Here, suffice it to say that the social and political function of language in a particular speech community fosters bilingualism provided that it encourages the safeguarding of the first language (L1) and the acquisition or learning of a second language (L2). In effect, bilingualism can be the product of both social as well as political factors, as explained by Myers-Scotton who states, “bilingualism is a natural outcome of the socio-political forces that create groups and their boundaries.” (ibid). Nowadays people wish to learn and speak the language of the most socially prestigious, politically powerful and technologically developed group of people or country. This is the case of English which has become today part of most people’s verbal repertoires.

1.2.3 Sociopragmatic approach to bilingualism

As pointed out by Lanza (1997:2), “Pragmatics, or the use of language in context” affects and interacts with the other linguistic subsystems, i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics and, thus, any examination of those subsystems dictates the incorporation of pragmatic tools. Moreover, when the field of pragmatics correlates with that of sociolinguistics, it results in a sociopragmatic enterprise which involves the study of actual language in use or usage of language. However, while sociolinguistics investigates the way language is used in real-life situations, taking into account relatively stable or fixed social factors like age, gender, origin, level of education, etc, pragmatics explores the use of that language in different contexts, in accordance with the sociolinguistic rules of a particular speech community. Thus, bilingual speakers are no exception in the sense that they use their two languages within a specific speech community with the intent to communicate effectively without violating its social norms.

Unwittingly, the dynamic nature of bilingualism calls not only for one single approach, but for distinctly multiple perspectives and different levels of analysis. As such, it incorporates socio-pragmatic models to explain bilingualism in terms of the speaker’s intentions and the hearer’s interpretations. In his Sociopragmatic-Psycholinguistic Interface of Bilingualism, referred to as ‘SPPL Model’ for short, Walters (2005) emphasizes the sociopragmatic and stylistic construct in addition to the cognitive prism of bilingualism, as he asserts that bilingual research is tremendously developing as an independent science which necessitates the use of both sociopragmatic as well as psycholinguistic parameters in its study (ibid).

As aforementioned, a thorough investigation of bilingualism is achieved only if its various aspects are considered, including its sociopragmatic orientation. In this vein, the central point of discussion revolves around the phenomena of code selection or language choice and code switching (henceforth, CS) as two salient features and outcomes of bilingualism or multilingualism. A bilingual speaker, who

has two distinct languages or codes⁹ at his disposal, is required to select one of them whenever s/he intends to speak. This is normally performed either consciously or subconsciously, depending on certain circumstances. It is, in fact, this linguistic behaviour that has arisen deep-rooted interest among sociolinguists in their approaches to bilingualism.

Until recently, the alternative use of two languages or linguistic varieties in the same conversation within speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn has been proved to be done intentionally and deliberately according to the setting, the interlocutor, the topic or following a preceding similar situation. In addition, there are other psychological factors that motivate the bilingual speaker to code-switch or even mix the two codes. In this respect, abundant models and theories have been proposed to account for the reasons behind a bilingual's CS. Some of them have stressed the social and pragmatic aspects of CS asserting that CS is employed as a discourse strategy to achieve an intentional meaning. The latter has definitely a sociopragmatic nature. This is mainly the view of Gumperz (1982), who proposes six discourse or conversational functions of CS that explain when and how a bilingual switches codes. Despite its flaws and drawbacks, Gumperz's model helps in making the phenomenon of CS predictable and detectable as he lists six areas where it occurs:

- When quoting someone in the other language, i.e., in direct quotations or reported speech.
- In case one addresses a specific interlocutor among a group of participants.
- To insert an interjection so as to fill in a linguistic gap.
- As a speech technique of reiterating or repeating a previously-uttered message with the aim of clarifying or emphasizing it.
- For the sake of qualifying or specifying a message using the other language.
- And finally, when using one language to express personal views, thoughts and feelings while the other language is reserved for facts and common

⁹ The terms 'code' as well as 'variety' are neutral since they refer to languages, dialects, styles or registers. Thus, CS occurs not only between two languages but even between two dialects, styles or registers (Hudson, 1996)

knowledge. Therefore, the last function of CS reflects the speaker's distance from a given message.

Other models have taken into account the socio-psychological or cognitive motivations of bilinguals to engage in CS. The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993b) deals with CS as a negotiation process between interlocutors about their social rights and obligations (RO). According to her, CS is highly variable and not a static behaviour. Nevertheless, Myers-Scotton (*ibid*) also includes sociopragmatic explanations of CS in her theory when she points out that all speakers' intentions are achieved in the same way by the whole speech community since they all share the same 'markedness judgements' that enable them to recognize 'marked' from 'unmarked' code choice. Her model is also based on the Cooperative Principle (CP), which was proposed by the philosopher Grice (1975). The CP refers to the way both parties in a speech event seek to cooperate with each other in order to establish 'agreed meaning', this verbal communication includes negotiation process about the participants' relationships and may contain renegotiation to establish a new relationship among the interlocutors or redefine the situation. Woolard (2004) has criticized the model's assumption that CS is strategic, and suggests that switching is not always a deliberate or even conscious choice. Speakers are not always aware of their CS in an interaction.

Though much should be said about constraints on CS and the various models that have explained why, when and how CS actually occurs, it seems that a more detailed explanation is appropriate in the case of adult bilingual or multilingual CS, but the present research is mainly concerned with child bilingualism and its linguistic outcomes. As hypothesized, the young bilingual is supposed to mix the two languages within the same utterance rather than shifting between them at sentence boundary, i.e., intra-sentential CS or code mixing is more predictable among young bilinguals. This assumption is based on different studies of infant bilingualism presented by Lanza (1997). For instance, the study conducted by Vihman (1985) indicates a heavy use of mixed utterances in her son's speech then a gradual decrease in mixing, and a shift to CS as 'a step forward in his metalinguistic and pragmatic sophistication.' (p. 317, as cited in Lanza, 1997: 43).

Notwithstanding, no significant study of bilingualism is conducted without exploring its linguistic outcomes and byproducts. Hence, the phenomenon of language mixing by the infant or young bilingual should be contrasted with that of CS by the older or adult bilingual. As such, the next section is devoted to the presentation and exploration of bilingual CS and code mixing.

1.3 Code Switching: A Byproduct of Bilingualism

Unquestionably, any bilingual speaker must select an appropriate code from his/her verbal repertoire when s/he wishes to communicate, and this choice is a rule-governed process, as the bilingual chooses the language depending on specific conditions. The first consideration is that the bilingual speaker uses the language that the other person, i.e., the addressee understands. Most often, particularly when communicating with similar bilinguals, the conversation is more likely to include units from both languages, leading to the occurrence of two interesting linguistic phenomena known as code mixing (henceforth CM) and CS. The former is defined as using one word from one language and then another word from the other language in the same utterance; whereas, the latter indicates the use of one full sentence in one language and the next sentence in another language by the same speaker within the same conversation, or inserting an interjection in the other language, resulting in various type of CS. (see section 1.3.2).

Being one of the most researched topics in language contact phenomena today, CS has been defined differently from one researcher to another. The most common definition according to Myers-Scotton (2006: 239) is, “the use of two language varieties in the same conversation”. However, Hymes (1974) includes “two or more languages, varieties of languages or even speech styles.” For a long time, this language alternation has been rejected and stigmatized as impure and diluted forms of language or an indicative of incompetence and weakness in one or both languages. Thus, the interactional phenomenon of CS had negative connotations and people used to hold negative attitudes toward bilingual or multilingual speakers who draw on their two or more languages in interaction with other people. Such negative attitudes reflect monolingual linguistic ideologies.

However, recent studies on CS (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993b) have argued that CS is not random. Rather, it is strategic and very orderly. Hence, it has been investigated within a number of approaches, among them, grammatical or linguistic, functional or sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches. For instance, researchers such as Poplack (1980), Sebba (1998), Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Musken (2000) have determined the grammatical constraints on CS, by devising a number of models that emphasize certain syntactic and morphosyntactic rules according to which code-switched or code-mixed utterances may occur. The Free Morpheme Constraint, the Equivalence Constraint by Poplack (1980) and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) by Myers-Scotton (1993a) represent the main grammatical constraints on CS.

On the other hand, scholars such as Gumperz (1982), Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) have also explored the functional and social aspects of CS. That is, language alternation is a conversational strategy and a contextualization cue according to Gumperz (1982). Also, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model has its roots in social psychology as she views language choice as a means by which a speaker "minimizes costs and maximizes rewards." (1993a: 100).

All in all, the different models of constraints on CS and language alternation should be considered to be in a complementary relationship rather than competitive one. In fact, CS has also been categorized and sub-grouped under different headings, as shown in the section below.

1.3.1 Code switching vs. Code mixing

CS and CM are two communication or conversational strategies, speech mechanisms and common linguistic phenomena resulting from languages in contact. Hence, they are attributed to bi- or multi-lingual communities. As aforementioned, CM or intra-sentential switching greatly differs from CS or inter-sentential and tag switching. Nevertheless, some researchers have used the two terms interchangeably while others prefer to employ the term 'code mixing' as a cover term for both processes (Myers-Scotton, 1992; Eastman, 1992; Lanza, 1997).

As Lanza contends, “the term *language mixing* is used in this book as a cover term for any type of linguistic interaction between two (and potentially more) languages.” (1997: 3). She also defines the term ‘code mixing’ as “the combination or putting together of two or more separate entities” (ibid). On the contrary, other sociolinguists have argued for a clear distinction between the two linguistic phenomena, as Muysken (2000:4) puts it, “the term code switching is less neutral [...] as [...] it already suggests something like alternation (as opposed to insertion)”.

In fact, any type of language or code mixing is not without constraint, as it follows certain rules of syntactic and morphosyntactic well-formedness in both languages and the grammatical constraints on CS are similarly applicable to those stretches of code-mixed utterances of any length. The speaker’s motivations for switching between or even mixing codes abound in the literature, some of which are social while others are purely psychological. To some extent, the speaker may choose to code-switch or mix languages as he or she lacks the suitable word in the language or variety he or she presently uses. That is, he or she tries to compensate for the linguistic gap in a given code. Also, a bi- or multi-lingual speaker may express solidarity with, or show affiliation to a particular social group when he or she selects the other language. Besides, he or she might exclude a participant from the conversation when using the language that that person does not understand. Moreover, CS or CM are also used to accommodate speech, show flexibility and openness of using more than one code, or maintaining a certain neutrality by continual switching or mixing.

In conclusion, CS and CM may stem from the speaker’s personal style and, thus, varies from one individual to another, for it is not “a uniform phenomenon” as Wardhaugh (2006: 106) claims. In addition, “Speakers choose, not always consciously by any means how they say what they want to say.” (p.110).

1.3.2 Types of code switching

CS has been classified and sub-classified distinctly by many researchers in terms of the place where the switch occurs, i.e., the position of switches in an utterance, or the conditions upon which shifting is performed.

1.3.2.1 Poplack's classification

Poplack (1980) identifies three types of CS, based on the different points at which the switches appear in the sentence:

i. Inter-sentential switching:

In this type, the language switch occurs between sentences or clauses; that is, the speaker uses one complete sentence or clause in a language and another one in the other language. In this way, the shift is done at a sentence or a clause boundary. This kind of switching is more frequent among fluent bilinguals.

ii. Intra-sentential switching:

Being equated with CM, intra-sentential switching refers to the combination of small units from both languages within the same clause or sentence. The bilingual speaker shifts between languages in the midst of an utterance, without any pause indicating the switch. In this regard, Scotton (2001) also explains that when a switch is between two complete sentences or even clauses, this is inter-sentential switching. However, if switching occurs within the same sentence or clause, the result is intra-sentential or intra-clause switching.

iii. Extra-sentential or tag switching:

Unlike the first two types, tag switching, also called emblematic switching or extra-sentential switching, is defined as the insertion of a tag, an exclamation or a ready-made expression from one language, the guest language, into an utterance that is entirely in the other language, i.e., the host language.

1.3.2.2 Blom & Gumperz's categorization

From another perspective, Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish between two forms of CS: 'situational' and 'metaphorical' CS. In the former type, switching is due to a change in the situation; that is, CS is triggered because of the change in some social variables, such as the setting, the participants, the topic, etc. In this case, a bilingual may choose one code in a specific situation and another in a different one. However, metaphorical CS has to do with the speaker's motives to code-switch, including his or her fluency at using both languages to achieve a specific communicative effect. This switching has stylistic or textual functions as signaling a quotation, marking emphasis, changing a tone from serious to ironic, etc. (Sridhar, 1996:56). Wardhaugh (2006), on the other hand, explains the two CS categories differently, as he suggests that the term 'metaphorical' CS has "an affective dimension" (p. 104) and the switch, here, is used to redefine the situation, i.e., from formal to informal, official to personal, serious to humorous, and from politeness to solidarity (ibid). He also ascertains that "when a change of topic requires a change in the language used we have *metaphorical code-switching*" (ibid). Moreover, Gumperz (1982) went further in his concept of 'metaphorical CS', and introduced a new term 'conversational CS', through which he determines the social and pragmatic functions of CS (see section 1.2.3).

1.4 Features of Child Bilingualism

Contrary to adult or late bilingualism, child bilinguals are those children who have been raised bilingually; that is, children who have acquired two languages early in life. This kind of bilingualism is termed 'infancy' or 'childhood' bilinguality as opposed to 'adolescent' and 'adulthood' bilinguality. Hamers & Blanc (2000) further subdivide childhood or infant bilingualism into two categories: simultaneous childhood bilinguality and consecutive, sequential or successive early bilinguality. The former refers to childhood or infant bilinguality in which a child develops two mother tongues at the same time (L_A and L_B). This is the case of children born into mixed-lingual families where one parent speaks one language to the child, and the other parent speaks a different language. In fact, most case studies

of child bilinguals are built on the “one person, one language” principle. There is also the case where both parents are bilingual, generally in a bilingual community. However, consecutive, sequential or successive early bilinguality occurs when a second language (L₂) is acquired early in childhood, after acquiring the basic skills in the mother tongue (L₁). In this type, the context of acquisition may be formal or informal; that is, a child may acquire a second language in generally a formal way, i.e., in a school context through classroom instruction. Also, a child may acquire a second language informally as in the case of immigrant families.

Bilingual children who master two languages are often perceived as geniuses, particularly, in largely monolingual communities such as the United States (Baker, 2001; Myer-Scotton, 2006). Nonetheless, this is part of their innate faculty to acquire any human language(s) they are exposed to, following the same stages as their monolingual counterparts. Myers-Scotton (2006: 328) determines the terminology used when talking about language acquisition among bilingual children as follows, “when children hear two languages from birth, Meisel (1989) has called this **bilingual first language acquisition**¹⁰” while other scholars prefer to use the term “**bilingual child language acquisition**” in contrast to “**child language acquisition**” which denotes the acquisition of only one language.

In this sense, the age factor plays an undeniable role in the assurance of a native-like acquisition of both languages, which seems to be impossible or rare in the case of adult or late bilinguality according to Myers-Scotton (ibid). Nevertheless, there is no clear-cut answer to the question about the age after which a person finds difficulties in learning a language. Therefore, the issue of ‘critical age’ is controversial and highly debatable as it still lacks substantial evidence though it is generally believed that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is “less successful in older learners”, as suggested by Myers-Scotton (ibid: 367). This is why researchers today aim at rendering the process of SLA more successful and more naturalistic through the improvement of communicative competence in a less formal way (Baker, 2001:87).

¹⁰Written in bold type in the original text.

To sum up, studies on child bilingualism revolve around two main issues: first, the issue of language differentiation (discussed in section 1.2.1.1) which tries to answer the following question: does the child who speaks two languages keep them separate, or does he mix them? Second, the critical age hypothesis which needs to be supported and, thus, confirmed via consistent research. In this regard, an increasing interest in studying bilingual child language has been recorded since 1990 according to Myers-Scotton (ibid)

Given the above, the main question that still persists is, ‘why is it worth studying child bilingualism? In other terms, what is/are the purpose (s) of investigating child bilingualism? In Myers-Scotton’s view (2006), the reasons behind this kind of studies are both practical and theoretical. From a practical standpoint, the existence of a large number of people who acquired their two languages simultaneously from birth asserts that ignoring such studies would leave a great proportion of people without careful insight, and ultimately their language development might not be ensured, leading to pathological problems. On the other hand, there are theoretical reasons for studying child bilingualism such as those related to bilingual language development. In the literature, language development research is often based on monolingual studies, without reference to the case of bi- or multilingual acquisition.

As far as the processes of CS and CM are concerned, Myers-Scotton (ibid) claims that CS among child bilinguals is also systematic. Hence, children behave, linguistically, in much the same way as adults since they obey the structural constraints in CS. As Myers-Scotton (2006) puts forward,

There is growing evidence that a child’s use of two languages together (codeswitching) is systematic. In this case, to say it is systematic means that within the same “child clause” (a single utterance), the grammatical patterns of only one language are allowed. (p. 333)

To conclude the discussion, it seems necessary to mention, at this point, the difficulties that a researcher may encounter when studying child bilingualism. As a matter of fact, there are a number of methodological problems and many of them are so much similar to those found in monolingual children studies. Basically,

different methodologies are used by scholars, making it impossible to generalize. In addition, bilingual children studies consist of case studies of one or two children or sometimes a handful of children, and this again raises the issue of representativeness. Finally, the number of languages covered in this field is very limited and restricted to the acquisition of European languages which are closely related languages.

1.5 Bilingual Education: Definitions and Typologies

Language planning in education or language educational policy deals with the question of language use in different kinds of schools; that is, the language(s) used in instruction. It involves the selection of one or more languages as media of instruction to achieve literacy. The latter is often attained in a school environment and aims at improving the individual's intellectual skills in addition to the economic and cultural development of societies. In some educational systems, language planners may choose to adopt a monolingual educational form based on the use of only one language as the sole medium of instruction. This language is, at times, the mother tongue of the majority group in the community as is the case of the Anglophones in the USA or the Francophones in France (Hamers & Blanc, 2000: 320) or it can be the language of the élite, at other times. The language chosen, in both cases, enjoys high cultural, political and economic prestige and indicates wider communication use throughout the world. This is exemplified by the use of the exogenous official language left by the colonizers in some African countries such as French in Benin and Togo (ibid). Between the two extremes, there are many educational systems wherein the two languages, the mother tongue and the second or foreign language are combined in the curriculum. However, the extent to which each language is used varies considerably, and thus leads to the existence of different types and categories of bilingual education.

Before going on to describing those types of bilingual education, one should pinpoint the various meanings of the term 'bilingual education' which seems, at first sight, to be unproblematic, non- controversial and self-evident. However, the opposite is the case. 'Bilingual education' is often used as an umbrella term to refer

to the use of two or more languages in education. Hence, it encompasses even ‘trilingual’ and ‘plurilingual’ education policies (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). It is “a simple label for a complex phenomenon” according to Cazden & Snow (1990a)¹¹ Moreover, the term is also used to refer to the education provided for those who speak two languages, i.e., bilinguals. For instance, Hamers and Blanc (2000: 321) use the term ‘bilingual education’ “to describe a variety of educational programs involving two or more languages to varying degrees.” In this sense, teaching a second or foreign language as a subject without any other academic use does not represent a case of bilingual education. Rather, it is part of traditional language education programmes. In sum, ‘bilingual education’ indicates “teaching content through an additional language other than the child’s home language” (García, 2009: 3). On the whole, bilingual education differs from second or foreign language teaching programmes in terms of language use and goals. While the former type of education uses the languages as means through which instruction is given, the latter focuses on teaching an additional language as a subject. In addition, unlike the narrow goal of second or foreign language teaching programmes which is learning an additional language and becoming familiar with its culture, the broader aim of bilingual education is to teach individuals how to function across cultures and become ‘global and responsible citizens’ (ibid). These differences are shown in the table below:

¹¹ Qtd., in Baker (2001: 192).

Table 1.1. Differences between bilingual education and second or foreign language education¹².

	<i>Bilingual Education</i>	<i>Foreign or Second-Language Education</i>
<i>Overarching Goal</i>	Educate meaningfully and some type of bilingualism.	Competence in additional language.
<i>Academic Goal</i>	Educate bilingually and be able to function across cultures.	Learn an additional language and become familiar with an additional culture.
<i>Language Use</i>	Languages used as media of instruction.	Additional language taught as subject.
<i>Instructional Use of Language</i>	Uses some form of two or more languages.	Uses target language mostly.
<i>Pedagogical Emphasis</i>	Integration of language and content.	Explicit language instruction.

Despite the differences between the two types of education, language teaching programmes in the twenty-first century bear a resemblance to bilingual education in the sense that both language and content are integrated. Also, bilingual education is becoming similar to second or foreign language teaching since teachers tend to use the target language solely without any translation.

It must be noted that the spread of bilingual education throughout the nineteenth century is due to the considerable change in attitude to bilingualism and bilingual education (Baker, 2001). Following this train of thought, many European countries started to adopt bilingual education for regional minorities such as the legalization of the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction by the British government in 1967, and the officialization of Catalan language and its implementation in educational settings by the Spanish authorities in the constitution of 1978 (García, 2009).

Bilingual education programmes today represent different types and forms of bilingual education, some of them lead to an additive form of bilingualism whereas others may result in subtractive bilingualism (Baker, *ibid*). In situations of additive bilingualism, the child uses his or her mother tongue in school; then, a second language is introduced later at home or at school. Therefore, the two languages are

¹² Source: García (2009: 4).

used for all functions with the child. This has been referred to as ‘strong bilingual education’ by Baker (ibid). On the other hand, types of bilingual education, in which the child’s home language is partially or wholly used only in the first stages of education, then replaced by the exclusive use of a second language as the sole language of schooling, are grouped under the category of ‘weak bilingual education’ (ibid).

A number of authors have classified bilingual education on the basis of some specific variables such as intensity, goal and status by Fishman & Lovas (1970)¹³. Within each variable, at least, three types of bilingual education are identified. Moreover, Mackey (1970; 1976) differentiates between 90 forms of bilingual education in terms of language use in four domains: home, school, environment and nation.

Though they attempt to classify bilingual education equitably, the existing typologies do not have a solid theoretical base and tend to neglect the social, historical, ideological and psychological factors that condition bilingual education (p. 323). Hence, an interdisciplinary approach that includes all the aforementioned determining factors in bilingual education is needed in the field. As evidenced by recent research, bilingual education programmes for both minority and majority children have been proved to be beneficial, as they lead to an improvement in their academic achievement. Therefore, bilingual education should be encouraged rather than discouraged.

In the following section, an interesting question arises as to what advantages or disadvantages bilingualism has on both levels, individual and societal.

1.6 Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilingualism

Up until the 1960s, earliest studies and researches confirmed that bilingualism had negative consequences and detrimental effects on the bilingual’s intellectual and spiritual growth. Thus, resulting in “delayed development” (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 337) and mental retardation. This negative viewpoint was the most dominant one, not only among parents who were advised not to raise their children

¹³ Cited in Hamers and Blanc (2000: 322)

bilingually, but even amongst psychologists, speech therapists, educators and professionals (Baker, 2001).

The commonly held belief, particularly in strictly monolingual societies such as the US and UK right through the late 18th C and early 19th C, was supported by the findings obtained from verbal IQ tests, which were used to compare bilinguals and monolinguals. Probably, the most influential early study of the cognitive effects of bilingualism was undertaken by the Welsh scholar D.J. Saer (1923) who compared IQ scores of a sample of 1400 bilingual and monolingual children, aged between seven and fourteen in the rural areas of Wales. The result revealed that monolingual children surpassed bilinguals, and therefore, bilingualism proved to be mentally disadvantageous rather than advantageous (Baker, 2001: 136).

Saer *et al.* (1924) furthered their research and investigated the impact of bilingualism on university students. Again, monolingual students outperformed bilinguals on those IQ tests. Another significant research constitutes 77 studies published between 1918 and 1962 by Macnamara, in which she compared bilinguals and monolinguals in terms of vocabulary, reading and grammar in both languages. Surprisingly, Macnamara (1966) came to the conclusion that bilinguals' perceptive skills of language are lower than monoglots (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*: 338).

On the contrary, more recent studies have shifted attention from the use of IQ testing to a multitude of tests that account for the bilingual's thinking styles, strategies and skills. The pivotal study conducted by Peal and Lambert in 1962 has been considered a turning point in bilingual research. The researchers found that bilinguals showed more mental flexibility and they were intellectually superior to their monolingual counterparts. Since then, positive findings about the benefits of bilingualism have changed people's negative attitudes towards bilingualism.

Lately, there has been no single empirical research that indicates any kind of detrimental effects of bilingualism on the individual's cognition, but some people still believe that learning or using a second language will decrease a person's ability to speak his or her first language, a kind of 'a balance' according to Baker (2001: 135). Others suggest that speaking two languages and using them efficiently may affect thinking negatively by leaving less storage space for other types of

information in the bilingual's brain. As a matter of fact, perceptions of bilingualism depend a great deal on the person's nationality or the place where he or she lives. Some researchers, though they show objectivity in their studies, base their researches on their own experiences and the area where they actually dwell. In some communities, bilingualism is still regarded as a threat and people describe it as a "Trojan horse" which appears to be stunning, but eventually has disastrous result (Wardhaugh, 2006: 101).

It has also been proved by Peal and Lambert (1962) that the social and cultural environment of the bilingual child has a great impact on his or her experience. A family that values both languages and encourages their use is more likely to produce a bilingual child with a higher IQ than any other family where only one language is promoted. Nevertheless, most of the evidence today affirms that early bilingualism has a lot of benefits and advantages, both for language majorities and minorities. Bialystok (2001) argues that simultaneous bilingual exposure is more beneficial than sequential bilingual exposure. In fact, bilingualism has cognitive, social and psychological advantages. In this regard, García (2009) ascertains that biliterate and bilingual students have "more divergent and creative thinking (Hudson, 1968), greater metalinguistic awareness and cognitive control of linguistic processes (Bialystok, 1987; Galambos and Hakuta, 1988) and increased communicative sensitivity." (p. 409). This shows that bilinguals exhibit greater mental capacities and are better communicators than monolinguals. As for the social benefits of bilingualism, bilingual education helps in establishing mutual understanding among different language groups, and increases knowledge of each other. In that sense, bilingual education can be used as a tool to combat racism and inequality (ibid).

In addition to the cognitive and social advantages, psychological benefits of bilingualism are evidently attested among language minorities who usually suffer from a feeling of inferiority, which leads to their educational failure (Cummins, 1981, as cited in García, 2009: 409). Therefore, integrating their home language and culture in school will certainly have positive psychological effects on them.

1.7 Conclusion

The growing body of bilingual research suggests that bilingualism is no longer seen as ‘a special case’ with unique phenomena. Rather, it is the practice of most people in the world since recent statistics indicate that bilinguals and plurilinguals outnumber monolinguals. Therefore, the former negative view of a bilingual as a misfit has become outmoded, and scholars’ interests in studying bilingualism are continuously increasing. It has become, thus, important to study bilingualism as a means of understanding the mind and the bilingual ‘self’.

Built on existing knowledge in the fields of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, this chapter has looked at the main aspects of bilingualism as a feature of individual speakers and as a property of communities. It has also examined its linguistic outcomes with much emphasis on CS and CM, and the differences between them. The main goal of this part of research, then, is to introduce child bilingualism and its features with a view to analyzing young bilinguals’ linguistic behaviour in an Algerian speech community. Moreover, the present chapter has tackled the issue of bilingual education and emphasized the importance of including minority languages in education programmes. Finally, the advantages of bilingualism have been discussed taking into consideration various studies of the effects of bilingualism on the individual’s cognition. On the whole, the current chapter has provided the basic terminology for the two others, thus forming the backdrop for this research.

CHAPTER TWO:

Algerian Bilingualism and Related Phenomena

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Bilingualism in Algeria

2.2.1 Individual bilinguality

2.2.2 Societal bilingualism

2.3 Outcomes of Language Contact

2.3.1 Code switching and code mixing patterns

2.3.2 Diglossic situations

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2.4 The Problem of Linguistic Diversity and the Algerian Child

2.4.1 The role of the family

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2.5 Algerian Speakers' Attitudes and Perceptions

2.5.1 Attitudes towards MSA

2.5.2 Attitudes towards AA

2.5.3 Attitudes towards French

2.6 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

To tackle the issue of languages in Algeria, it seems necessary to invoke some historical, political and socio-cultural facts which have resulted in today's linguistic mosaic. In doing so, the year 1830 will stand as a point of departure, for it consists of the main explanations for the phenomena affecting language and society today. Understandably, the intricacy of the Algerian linguistic situation lies in the juxtaposition of diverse interlocked linguistic phenomena, most notably, bilingualism and the resultant code switching, code mixing and borrowing, in addition to the phenomenon of diglossia.

This chapter broadly looks at Algerian bilingualism and its outcomes. It discusses the types of Algerian bilinguals and explains their distribution in the community, mainly, in terms of geographical location and ethnicity. More importantly, the resultant linguistic phenomena, such as CS, CM and borrowing are analysed and illustrated via vivid examples from the speech community of Tlemcen. Furthermore, the well-established diglossic situation is also highlighted on the basis of Ferguson's classical diglossia and Fishman's extended diglossia.

Ultimately, the impact of both school and community on the child's linguistic experience is further examined with careful observation of the linguistic diversity in Algeria, in addition to the Algerians' attitudes toward their mother tongue (Algerian Arabic), Modern Standard Arabic and French.

2.2 Bilingualism in Algeria

The French occupation in Algeria which spanned 132 years (1830-1962) is deemed to be the principal milestone of any historical justification for bilingualism in Algeria. During that period, French controlled all aspects of life, namely government, business, economy and education. It is, in effect, due to the long-lasting French colonization in Algeria that the French language has gained actual function within the Algerian speech community. This is illustrated by the fact that today's Algerians speak an admixture of Algerian Arabic, hereafter AA or Berber varieties in some regions, and French in their daily interactions.

In spite of the fact that the Algerian government launched an Arabisation programme right after independence, the French language still prevails in the Algerian speech community, not only in the spoken form but also in administrative, educational and medical settings (Dendane, 2007). In its Country Profile of Algeria, accessed on 17 October 2012, Europa World noted: “Arabic is the official language, but French is widely used. Tamazight, the principal language of Algeria’s Berber community, was granted national status in 2002.”¹

It is, thus, significant to say that the Algerian bilingualism is not homogeneous for most of Algerians are bilingual to a certain extent, and this can be attested in the existence of various types of bilinguals, with varying degrees of competency. On the whole, Algerian bilingualism can be examined from two different standpoints: the macro-sociolinguistic and the micro-sociolinguistic levels. The former classifies Algeria amongst bilingual countries since both Arabic and Berber² are recognized as the national and official languages of the state, leading to an official and political recognition of Arabic-Berber bilingualism whereas French, which is explicitly considered a foreign language from the political viewpoint (overt status) actually enjoys the status of a second language in the linguistic perspective (covert status) as it is socially used, thus, resulting in the well-established and widely practised Arabic-French bilingualism. In a word, Algeria is a ‘de jure’, i.e., by law bilingual country as highlighted by the official recognition of two languages (Arabic and Berber). Besides, it is also classified as a ‘de facto’, that is, by fact bilingual state since it is supported by the co-existence of two completely distinct languages (Arabic and French) in daily language use. In February 2016, Berber gained an official status alongside Arabic, and the constitution declared it a national and official language of the country in response to the Amazigh demands for an official recognition of the Berber language and culture.

¹ UK Border Agency. Algeria: Country OF Origin Information (COI) Report: https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1257523/1226_1359360623_report-17jan13.pdf.

²In the constitution of Algeria, article 3 has been amended to integrate Tamazight, along with Arabic, as the national and official language of the state after its recognition as a national language on April 10, 2002

The Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (PCGN) clarifies the linguistic situation of independent Algeria as follows, “Arabic was chosen at the outset as the language which was to represent Algeria’s identity and religion, and official attitudes towards both Berber and French have been largely negative”³.

In this sense, both ‘Islam’ and ‘Arabic’, which constitute the fundamental components of the Algerian identity, were reinforced immediately after independence in order to resist the colonizer’s attempt to ‘depersonalise Algeria’⁴ while Tamazight was overlooked until its national recognition in 2002, followed by its officialization in 2016. The PCGN also states that French is the ‘**actual lingua franca**’ of Algeria as Arabic is not commonly used in the Kabylie region.

2.2.1 Individual bilinguality

On the micro-sociolinguistic level, Algerian bilinguality varies along a number of dimensions that categorize Algerian bilinguals accordingly. These dimensions are mainly related to the degree of bilinguality, that is, competence in both languages, the level of education and other social variables such as age and gender. Hence, individual bilinguals can be classified as either:

- ✓ Balanced or unbalanced.
- ✓ Active or passive.

i. **Balanced vs. unbalanced bilinguality**

Based on the linguistic and communicative competencies in both languages, a bilingual speaker is ranked among balanced or perfect bilinguals only if he or she proves to use the languages equally well and to a perfect extent too. By contrast, if the individual bilingual has higher degree of competence in one of his or her languages, this qualifies him or her among unbalanced bilinguals. In the Algerian context, only the former generation of the élite; that is, the offspring of the French school are said to be balanced bilinguals as they were competent in both Arabic and French whilst the rest of the population was living in ignorance as the rate of illiteracy was 80% after independence (Dendane, 2007).

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Algeria.

⁴Gordon (1966: 137) as cited in Benrabah (2007:229)

ii. Active vs. passive bilinguality

The concept of ‘active’ or ‘productive’ bilinguality has been proposed to describe a person who is able to understand and speak a second language without necessarily reading or writing it in contrast to ‘passive’ or ‘receptive’ bilinguals, who have no productive skills in their second language. In Algeria, the old and illiterate people may have a passive knowledge of French. Algerian immigrant children in France are also passive in Arabic since they understand it but they cannot speak it; that is, they can understand an utterance in Arabic but they reply in French.

Additionally, the level of education is a determining factor of the degree of bilinguality among Algerians. Those who have received formal education in French and Arabic master them better than illiterate or uneducated persons. Furthermore, some other social factors play a significant role in the Algerian bilinguality, particularly, age, gender and occupation. Arabic-French Bilingualism is much more practised among the young, who associate French with modernization and prestige. In addition, French is considered ‘a feminine language’ as it is employed by women quite a lot. Lastly, the use of French may vary according to the individual’s profession or job. For instance, a doctor often speaks French fluently and use it more than a less educated person.

2.2.2 Societal bilingualism

The classification of Algeria as a bilingual or even plurilingual country is also dependent on the particular group involved or area studied. Therefore, Algerian bilingualism can be seen horizontally in terms of geographical distribution of people, and differs accordingly.

i. Urban vs. rural bilingualism

There is clear evidence that AA-French bilingualism is found more in big cities and urban areas because of the constant contact with French through the media, and the existence of schools, universities and administrations operating in French.

ii. Ethnic bilingualism:

Two main ethnic groups compose the Algerian population: the Arabs and the Amazighs or Berbers. Therefore, two different languages do exist in the country in spite of the widespread Arabization that accompanied the Muslim migration and settlements in the 7th and 8th centuries (the Arab conquest) then in the 11th century (the migration of the Arab nomads)⁵. During the period of the French occupation, the contact with the French language was obviously between Arabic and French as well as between Berber and French. Thus, two forms of bilingualism emerged, Arabic-French and Berber-French bilingualism. Indeed, Tamazight or Berber varieties are employed with French and/or Arabic only in some scattered areas of the country, as these people represent a small proportion of the total Algerian population, which is about 20% according to Chaker (1989:9)⁶. The Country of Origin Information (COI) report issued on 17 January 2013 suggests that, “the Berber-speaking population of Algeria constitutes a little over one quarter of the population and is concentrated in the mainly mountainous areas of Kabylia, Aurès, the M'zab and the Sahara”. Therefore, three forms of bilingualism do exist in Algeria:

- ✓ Arabic-French bilingualism
- ✓ Berber- French bilingualism , and
- ✓ Berber-Arabic bilingualism, without mentioning the trilingual situation, i.e., Arabic-French-Berber since this is limited and restricted to certain regions of the Algerian territory and, most often, to the educated people of the Amazigh population. However, the three varieties are widely used in the media (TV, newspapers, billboards, etc) and even in welcome signs. This has made of Algeria a country of “linguistic plurality (or diversity)” as Medjahed points out (2011:73)⁷.

Owing to this linguistic situation, which is characterized by the existence of different linguistic varieties, the Algerians consciously or unconsciously switch from one variety to another or mix them altogether, giving rise to a wide range of code switching and code mixing patterns, as elucidated in the next section.

⁵ In Mouhadjer (2002: 989)

⁶ Qtd., in Dendane (2007: 69)

⁷As cited in Djebbari (2016: 6)

2.3 Outcomes of Language Contact

2.3.1 Code switching and code mixing patterns

Many linguistic varieties exist in the Algerian speech community, different forms of Arabic: Classical Arabic (CA) which has developed into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Dialectal Arabic (ADA or AA), in addition to French and Berber varieties. Consequently, an Algerian speaker may choose one code or prefers to switch from one variety to another, or mixes them in different contexts according to a number of factors. In this regard, Auer (1984:1) states that, “a population which speaks at least two languages is likely to code-switch”. This combination of different linguistic varieties within a single sentence, constituent or even a word has proved very interesting to most linguists. Thus, many CS studies emerged in the 1970’s in order to uncover the reasons and motives for CS.

In most bilingual speech communities in Algeria, where the two languages, i.e., AA and French are actively used by its members, the frequency of alternation between them may depend on the person’s linguistic skills, the situation, the addressee, the topic, as it might be a matter of style as part of his or her idiolect. As stated before, Algerian bilingualism exists in two forms, AA-French and Berber-French bilingualism. The current study revolves around the first type since it is the practice of most Algerians, including the case study and the sample chosen. In fact, the alternation between Arabic and French may refer to the synchronous use of AA and French among bilinguals in Algeria in order to fulfill certain purposes such as filling a linguistic or conceptual gap, this gap might be caused by lexical or semantic absence in the Algerian colloquial Arabic. The dialectal nature of AA decreases its range of use, and thus, French often comes as a rescue to solve this communicative problem.

Built on the existing researches in CS, the study of its occurrence among Algerians deals with the question of whether CS is accidental, i.e., random and unsystematic or rule-governed. While it has been traditionally thought that CS is a random process which results from linguistic interference (the Structuralist view), today’s researchers consider it a constrained communication strategy. Regarding the

degree of ‘competence’, sociolinguists have explained that a bilingual speaker usually code-switches either because of his or her good control over the two varieties, or it may be the result of his or her lack of competence in one language. So, he or she moves to the other language to compensate for this lack. Another important factor that determines the frequency of Algerian CS is linked to gender; an Algerian girl seems to code-switch more often than a boy. CS is, then, used to show one’s social status and educational level.

For the sake of illustration, the following excerpt is taken from a conversation between two high school Tlemcenian teachers who were recorded without them being aware (French words are *italicized*)

A: *Bonjour, ça va?* Kiri:k ?

(Good morning, how are you doing?)

B: *ça va lhamdulla:h, toujours m ʃa la préparation ntaʃ l CAPEST.*

(It’s alright thanks God, still with the preparation for my CAPES⁸ exam.)

A: rabbi jʃawnek *mais* smaʃt belli kajən *une grève la semaine prochaine.*

(May Allah help you but I’ve heard that there would be a strike next week.)

B: jih *même* ana smaʃt biha *mais je pense* hna *les stagiaires* maʃi *concernés, en plus* ana ʃandi tarsam had lʃam manʔadj nʃarek.

(Yes, even I’ve heard about it but I think we, the trainees, are not concerned, in addition, I have my CAPES exam this year. So, I can’t participate.)

A: *Oui, je comprends* ʃandek saħ *en tous les cas bon courage!* wila htadzit keʃ hædza *f ʃi là.* (Yes, I understand, you’re right. In any case good luck! And if you need anything I’m here.)

B: *Merci bien* rabbi jdzazi:k.

(Thank you very much. May Allah reward you.)

From the above conversation, the complex intertwining of both AA and French is noticed to the extent that the resultant code may be considered ‘a CS third code’ (Dendane, 2007: 145). In some exchanges, it seems difficult to decide whether AA is the base language, i.e., the Matrix Language (ML) or the embedded

⁸The acronym CAPES stands for ‘Certificat d’Aptitude au Professorat de l’Enseignement du Second degré’, that is, ‘Certificate of Aptitude for Secondary Education Teaching’.

one (EL) as in the first stretch [*bonjour, ça va? Kiri:k?*] the speaker switches inter-sententially, i.e., at the sentence boundary but the switch, here, serves a functional purpose and the word [*kiri:k*] meaning the same as ‘*ça va?*’ is used as a discourse strategy (Gumperz, 1982) to reiterate the message for the sake of emphasizing or clarifying it. However, unlike the ‘ready-made’ French phrase ‘*ça va?*’ which is frequently used, the French greeting word ‘*bonjour*’ is not always accepted by Algerian speakers who may renegotiate its use by replying [*salam*], the Muslim salutation or the commonplace Islamic greeting meaning ‘peace be upon you’.

Oddly enough, the French words are stuffed in the speaker’s utterances in a way that makes it challenging to provide a linguistic, psycholinguistic or even sociopragmatic explanation though there is no problem at the levels of production and comprehension (Dendane, 2007). The intra-sentential switching or mixing occurs in **B**’s first utterance with the insertion of the French words and expressions ‘*ça va*’, ‘*toujours*’ and ‘*préparation*’ within the same sentence. Such kind of embedding happens most frequently in Algerians’ speech and words like ‘*toujours*’ and ‘*préparation*’ may also be categorized as instances of non- adapted ‘borrowed’⁹ words. Moreover, the excerpt also demonstrates tag switching or extra- sentential switching in the use of the conjunction ‘*mais*’ and the adverb ‘*même*’ which mean ‘but’ and ‘even’ respectively. The insertion of such words is widely used in the Algerian speech community, and some of them do not have equivalents in the Algerian dialect like the adverb ‘*déjà*’ meaning ‘already’. Also, speaker ‘**A**’ employs a very commonly used Arabic expression [*Kajən*], the equivalent of ‘there is’, before a whole French sentence beginning with a noun which is linguistically inappropriate but it is actually diffused in the Algerian vernacular. Besides, the speaker ‘**A**’ makes use of the French expression [*f yi la*], which is from ‘*je suis là*’, ‘I’m here’. Effectively, the use of [*f yi la*] instead of ‘*je suis là*’ can be explained in terms of the law of ‘least effort’, which indicates that the speaker tends to utter a word with less energy. In fact, the expression ‘*je suis là*’ is transformed into [*f yi la*] via the elision of the sound [e], ‘*j’suis là*’ and ,then, the devoicing of the sound

⁹ A non-adapted borrowing is a word taken from another language and kept in its original form, i.e., it is integrated in the receiving language without any kind of alteration.

[ʒ] resulting in the sound [ʃ]. Other similar instances include the French expression '*je ne sais pas*' which is often realized [ʃʃepa] meaning 'I don't know'.

As touched upon above, the use of CS in the Algerian context, more precisely, in Tlemcen speech community, is widely spread among people with varying amounts of French use within AA. People's ways of manipulating the two codes reflect different degrees of bilinguality, particularly proficiency in the second or foreign language. Therefore, one may classify AA/French switching along a continuum, which Dendane (ibid: 147) terms 'CS continuum'. At the lowest extreme of the continuum, Dendane (ibid) places all speech interactions that contain very few switching. This kind of CS may have two meanings, either the speakers possess low competence in French and thus cannot produce French expressions and sentences, or they avoid doing so because of their negative attitudes towards French.

Indeed, code switchers in Tlemcen do not always choose to code switch according to particular conditions, but they often use it habitually and unintentionally as the 'unmarked' code choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Some linguists go further in explaining bilingual CS and assert that CS is a type of discourse used not only by bilinguals or multilinguals, but even amongst monolinguals who may shift between dialects and styles. A point shared by S. Romaine (2000:59), who expounds that, "many linguists have stressed the point that switching is a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker."

Certainly, switching from AA to French may also be a tactful way of showing one's social identity, level of education and competency of using a second or foreign language. For this reason, bilingual or multilingual CS is more complex than monolingual CS.

In order to portray the whole range of CS patterns in Algeria, one should mention the various types of CS which co-exist in the community. In fact, CS also occurs between AA and MSA, and this is usually interpreted as a diglossic situation in which AA is the 'Low' variety and MSA is the 'High' variety. This point will be

further discussed in the following section (1.5.2). Yet, there are some cases in which MSA and AA are employed in daily conversations without specific allocations, especially by those people in favour of Arabisation or those in the field of Arabic language and literature studies. Therefore, it does not sound odd when we hear someone saying [ma sana taqra bentək?] while most people say [(en) quelle année taqra bentək?] to mean ‘in which year or in what level does your daughter study?’ and the other person may reply [raha f ttalta ibtida?i] in place of ‘en 3ème année primaire’ meaning ‘in third year elementary school’. Thus, the use of the MSA words [sana] and [ibtida?i] are instances of AA/MSA CS. More than this, the alternation is sometimes between MSA and French, particularly, in the speech of the élite or the educated, who have high competence in both codes, i.e., MSA and French. The Algerian president, for instance, may say in a public speech [jadzibo ʕalejna ittiɣa:d (ə)lʔidzraʔaat llazima li lhad min haðihi ɖahira, nous devons prendre les mesures appropriées pour lutter contre ce phénomène.], ‘we must take the appropriate measures to combat this phenomenon’. In certain regions of Algeria, particularly among Berber speakers, switching may also occur between AA and Tamazight and this might probably expand in use with the officialization of the Berber language and its implementation in elementary education.

2.3.2 Diglossic situations

Any attempt to approach the issue of languages in Algeria without addressing the linguistic phenomenon ‘diglossia’ is doomed to failure. Indeed, this phenomenon is a property of the Arabic-speaking communities in which, in addition to the existence of a wide range of dialects that represent ‘dialectal variation’, there is a ‘superposed’, ‘highly codified’ and ‘prestigious’ variety used in formal settings. The two varieties represent the ‘Low’ (L) variety and the ‘High’ (H) variety respectively and they are characterized mainly in terms of their ‘specialization of function’ and ‘complementary distribution’ (Ferguson, 1959). Though the English term ‘diglossia’ has not been used or even known before Charles Ferguson’s pioneering article of 1959, there were many attempts to deal with the phenomenon

and the concept was first introduced into French in 1930 by the French linguist 'William Marçais', who described '*la diglossie arabe*' as follows,

Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) a literary language so called written Arabic or regular or literal or classical... 2) spoken idioms, patois... none of which has ever been written... but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultural circles. (1930: 401)

In his view, Marçais argues that Arabic has got two forms, the classical or literary language, which appears in the written form, and the spoken one, which represents the dialects that have no written scripts and are used orally only. If we consider the Algerian community, AA is a colloquial Arabic which is naturally acquired as a mother tongue, and used in everyday interactions whilst MSA which is derived from CA, a revered and venerable linguistic variety associated with the Muslims' holy book, the Qur'an, is the native tongue of none of the Arab world. It is, however, acquired or learned at school and used as 'a lingua franca' when communicating with speakers of different Arabic dialects such as an Egyptian or a Tunisian. Three decades later, the American linguist Ferguson (1959) proposed the term 'diglossia', modelled on the French 'diglossie', and explained it with reference to four speech communities and their languages, which he named 'the defining languages', Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian creole. In his influencing article, Ferguson (1959a) contends that in each language, there is a kind of 'supra-language' which he calls the High variety or simply H and a 'regional or social dialect' which he names the Low variety or simply L. In all the defining languages, he provides the names for both H and L varieties. According to him, CA which is called 'al-fusha' is the H variety; whereas, 'al-ammiyah' or 'ad-dariza' is the L variety in Arabic-speaking societies (p.234). Ferguson's conceptualization is often referred to as 'classical diglossia' or 'narrow diglossia' as he defines diglossia as a situation where two genetically related languages or varieties of the same language coexist in a complementary functional distribution. That is, in situations where the H variety is appropriate, the L variety cannot be used and vice versa, but there is a slight overlapping between the two varieties. He also explicates the

differences between the H and L varieties in terms of nine criteria, function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. While CA or its simplified version, MSA is used to deliver sermons in a mosque, a lecture at university or news broadcasting, AA is employed in informal situations such as casual speech with friends and family, or in folk literature. In a word, the standard variety is allocated to formal and official contexts whereas the non-standard variety is ascribed to informal settings. Furthermore, Ferguson (ibid) cites some examples of the complex situation where both varieties are used together in the Arab world. Instances include cases of formal education when teachers give lectures in the H variety, but explanations and discussions may be conducted in the L variety. Likewise, Friday sermons are mostly delivered in the H variety (CA) but the Imam, i.e., the preacher in Islam may switch to the L variety (AA) in order to illustrate, simplify or clarify a point. More than this, discussions and comments on the sermon outside the mosque are usually done in a mixture of AA and MSA (Dendane, 2007: 104).

Ferguson wrote another article in 1991, entitled ‘diglossia revisited’, in which he questioned the stability of the Arabic diglossic situation. In fact, Ferguson noticed the numerous switches and mixes of CA or MSA and Arabic dialects by Arabic speakers as a result of the increasing rate of literacy and the progress in ICTs. He also introduced other types of Arabic between the H and L varieties and suggested a type of continuum along which there are “many shadings of ‘middle language’” (Ferguson, 1970)¹⁰.

Ferguson’s ‘classic’ or ‘narrow’ diglossia has been developed by Joshua Fishman (1967), who proposed an ‘extended’ view of diglossia. For him, diglossia is not restricted to two closely related varieties, but also includes even genetically unrelated or historically distant languages on condition that each one serves a definite role in society, with one being the H variety and the other the L variety. Thus, the specialization of function holds the top defining feature in Fishman’s perspective too. In this respect, Fishman draws a clear distinction between diglossia and bilingualism, when he states that the former is a feature of society while the

¹⁰ As cited in Dendane (2007 : 106).

latter is an individual product. He determines the interrelationship between diglossia and bilingualism and suggests four categories of diglossia /bilingualism rapport. In his view, diglossia and bilingualism are not always in a causal relationship. Thus, there are four possible situations:

i. Both diglossia and bilingualism (+D +B):

In this category, almost the whole population can operate in two or more languages or varieties. Each variety has its range of functional use and one of them is more valued than the other (s). As illustrated by Fishman, few speech communities fall into this category, such as Paraguay where more than half of the population speaks both Spanish and Guarani as H and L respectively. Algeria also constitutes an example of this kind of diglossia/bilingualism relationship where both French and MSA represent the H variety and AA (or Berber in some regions) is the L variety.

ii. Diglossia without bilingualism (+D –B):

Only a small number of people are bilingual; thus, bilingualism is not widespread and is only a property of the élite who use the H variety exclusively while the masses can only use the L variety. This situation is exemplified by the existence of a French-speaking élite in many non French-speaking European countries in the era before World War I. Similar language situations can be attested in the case of colonized countries where the colonizer's language is the H variety and the local language spoken by the population is the L variety.

iii. Bilingualism without diglossia (–D +B):

Lacking any specification and specialization of functions, the two languages or varieties are employed by relatively the entire population without agreeing on which code is H or L. This non-diglossic situation can be examined in countries where both languages are equally considered as national and official languages.

iv. Neither bilingualism nor diglossia (–D –B):

This is theoretically possible but rarely found in reality since very few speech

communities possess one code or variety, with all of its members are mono- or unilingual. Fishman (1971b) elucidates the point by stating that, “only very small, isolated and undifferentiated speech communities may be said to reveal neither bilingualism nor diglossia”.

Interestingly enough, the Algerian linguistic terrain abounds with various linguistic phenomena which are, among others, diglossia and bilingualism. As indicated by Fishman (1972), ‘diglossia’ cannot be studied without ‘bilingualism’ as we cannot study ‘bilingualism’ without ‘diglossia’. Following the same line, the next part of the study will be devoted to a brief illustrative presentation of ‘borrowing’.

2.3.3 Borrowing

Being part of a single continuum, borrowing refers to a language-contact process that is placed at one end of the continuum, with CS at the other end and CM in between (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). The sociolinguistic term ‘borrowing’ implies taking lexical items from one language, which is referred to as the ‘donor’ or ‘lending’ language, and incorporating them into another language, called the ‘recipient’ or ‘receiving’ or ‘base’ language.

Unlike CS and CM which are attributes of bi- and multi-lingual speakers, borrowing is a universal linguistic phenomenon, since all languages borrow words from other languages, particularly when they come into contact. Therefore, the ‘borrowed’ or ‘loan’ words are used even by monolinguals. Moreover, it is believed that the primary function of linguistic borrowing is to fill a lexical gap in a borrower’s language, as in the introduction of words like *computer* and *internet* into Arabic. Thus, borrowing is often undertaken for a linguistic necessity; that is, it results from the non-existence or absence of equivalent words in the receiving language. This is what has been called ‘cultural borrowing’ by Myers-Scotton (2002), who explains that not all established borrowings occur because of the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language culture, and thus proposes another type of borrowing which she names ‘core borrowing’. The latter indicates the use of lexical forms that have ‘feasible’ and ‘viable’ equivalents in the

recipient language. In simple terms, it refers to the action of borrowing words that actually exist in the base language with the aim of reinforcing their meanings. In this case, there is no lexical need to borrow such words and the borrower's intention is probably linked to other socio-cultural reasons such as positive attitudes towards the lending language. This has been emphasized by Haugen (1953:373), who comments that, "borrowing always goes beyond the actual 'needs' of language".

Generally, the borrowing process involves "the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological, syntactic and, usually (but not always), phonological patterns of the recipient language." (Hamers and Blanc, *ibid*:259). That is, the borrowed word is remodelled and readjusted to fit the morpho-syntactic and, at times, phonological structure of the base language. These loanwords are integrated and incorporated into the receiving language to the extent that they are treated as original items. Some scholars, such as Poplack (1980, 1990), distinguish between 'established loanwords', which are completely assimilated to the recipient language morphology, syntax and phonology, and 'nonce words', that are partly adapted, principally morpho-syntactically. While 'established loanwords' are part of 'langue', 'nonce borrowing' is a fact of 'parole' according to Hamers and Blanc (2000). Hence, 'established loanwords', also called 'integrated transfers' by Clyne (1967) are frequently used and accepted by the whole speech community, including monolinguals; whereas, 'nonce words' or 'unintegrated transfers' (*ibid*) are not widespread and less recurrent.

An interesting illustrative case in point is that of the Algerian context, where a great number of French borrowings abound in the Algerian dialect, and used by Algerian speakers even those less educated and uneducated people.

Historically explained, many French words and expressions slipped into AA during the long period of French colonialism in Algeria. This latter has had a socio-cultural impact on the Algerian society, in general, and its linguistic situation, in particular. One of the most noticeable consequences of French-AA contact is 'borrowing'. In fact, AA has borrowed some French words and expressions to refer to things or concepts that did not exist in AA, such as names of machines and electronic devices like *portable*, *parabole* and *tablette*. The incomplete nature of the

Algerian dialect in terms of technological and cultural terms has facilitated the process of borrowing from various languages, Spanish, Turkish, Italian, English and, most notably, French.

However, one should note the asymmetric use of borrowing among Algerian speakers, who exhibit varying degrees of bilinguality. Thus, an utterance like ‘ I’m going to enrol my son in school’ may be heard in different ways, ranging from the exclusive use of plain Arabic linguistic forms as in [rani maʃi nsədʒʒəl waldi fel madrasa] with no borrowing, to the use of full French non-adapted words like ‘*je vais inscrire mon fils à l’école*’. Other intermediary ways of uttering this example include [rani maʃi nɛskri waldi fel kuli:ʒ], [rani maʃi nɛskri waldi f l’*école*] or [rani maʃi nsədʒʒəl waldi f liku:l]. The French borrowed word [nɛskri], which has been adapted to the morphological and phonological system of the Matrix Language (ML), i.e., Arabic is taken from the French verb ‘*s’inscrire*’ as a raw material with spoken AA prefix [n] that refers to the subject. The word also shows phonological adaptation of the French uvular [ʁ] which does not exist in the Arabic phonemic system and, therefore, replaced by the alveolar [r]. Similarly, the French established loanword [kuli:ʒ] from *collège* is very common and strongly fixed in AA, and sometimes replaced by [liku:l] especially in the speech of uneducated people in rural areas. This latter comes from the French word ‘*l’école*’ and is phonologically adapted, since the close back short vowel [u] or long vowel [u:] are usually used instead of many French rounded vowels such as [o] and [œ] like in *l’école* [liku:l] (school) and *moteur* [mutu:r] (engine). Besides, the mid-close front vowel [e] is altered into the close front vowel [i] in the same loanword [liku:l], and this is due to the non-existent vowel sound in the phonemic system of Arabic. It is also quite common to use the non-adapted form of the French word ‘*l’école*’ by the young and educated people in actual speech. The utterance that is entirely in French, though it is rarely used, may illustrate the case of intersentential CS, for the speaker may add another clause or sentence in Arabic such as [*je vais inscrire mon fils à l’école* bəʃʃaħ rani ʒajfa nsib lʔaʃi] (I am going to enrol my son in school but I think there would be too many people.). Furthermore, sociolinguistic analysis of the above-cited examples does not stop at this stage, but has also social implications as it

reflects the different social classes and milieux which the speakers of those utterances belong to.

Contrariwise to older French loanwords, which are fully integrated with the Arabic linguistic system, as in [tirifu:n] *téléphone* and [tri'sinti] *électricité*, more recent French borrowings are less assimilated as the educated tend to utter them in their original forms without any kind of adaptation, thereby avoiding the distorted use of French words. This process has been referred to as the ‘denativization’ of borrowing by Haugen (1953), and this will, in turn, trigger CS (as cited in Dendane, 2007:139).

To illustrate some of the French borrowings in the Algerian speech community, a list of French borrowed words and expressions is provided from AA. These French borrowings were assimilated to a large extent to the Arabic phonology and morphology by the old illiterate generation; however, due to the spread of literacy, these French borrowings are being ‘denativized’ by the educated and the youth because of their familiarity with the French sounds.

Table 2.1. Old French Borrowings versus recent French borrowings in AA.

French words and expressions	Phonemic transcription		English gloss
	Old borrowings	Recent borrowings	
Les allumettes	/zalami:t/	/lezalymet/	Matches
Briquet	/brika/	/brike/ or /brike/	Lighter
Chantier	/ʃanti/	/ʃãtje/	Construction site
L'électricité	/ətri'sinti/	/lelektʁisite/	Electricity
Feu rouge	/firuz/	/fø ʁuz/	Red light
L'humidité	/əlmiditi/	/lymidite/	Humidity
Opération	/barasju:n/	/əpeʁasjõ /	Surgery
Pansement	/fasma/	/pãsmã/	Dressing
Pompe	/bumba/ or /pumpa/	/põp/	Pump
Poupée	/bubijja/ or /pupijja/	/pupe/	Doll
La retraite	/lən'tri:t/	/la ʁətʁet/	Retirement
Réveil	/refei/	/ʁevɛj/ or /revɛj/	Alarm clock
Sac à dos	/sakodo/	/sakado/	Backpack
Serviette	/serbita/	/sɛʁvjɛt/	Towel
Tablier	/tabli/	/tablijɛ/	Pinafore
Les taches	/əttaʃa:t/	/letaʃ/	Stains / spots
Tour de cou	/dordku/	/tuʁ də ku/	Necklace
Valise	/faliza/	/valiz/	Suitcase
Veste	/vista/	/vest/	Jacket
Village	/fila:ʒ/	/vilaz/	Village

Given the above examples and based on the abundant definitions of borrowing and CS in the sociolinguistic literature, are these modern borrowings to be regarded as established loanwords in AA? Or are they mere instances of CS? Though “there has been a long-standing divisive debate on setting off borrowings from true code-switches” as pointed out by Dendane (2007: 136), Myers-Scotton (1993b) and Eastman (1992) claim that any attempt to distinguish CS from borrowing is a

daunting task and, thus, we should “free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch.”(p.1). In fact, many scholars, such as Myers-Scotton (1993), Romaine (1995) and Spolsky (1998) believe that CS is the beginning of borrowing. Nonetheless, three main criteria are to be considered in order to tell apart borrowings and code-switches:

- The degree of integration or word assimilation.
- The frequency of use
- Types of linguistic constituents

In the Algerian context, it is hard to decide whether a given French word or expression is characterized among borrowing or CS. Thus, any kind of efforts to delimit both linguistic phenomena is not so fruitful.

It is worth mentioning, now, that the process of borrowing in the Algerian speech community is not restricted to French as a lending language, but extends to the use of lexical items from MSA, especially in educational, administrative and religious domains. This has been linked with the Arabisation project that encouraged the use of Arabic over French. Thus, MSA words like [ət'tarbija] (education) which is normally pronounced [ətt'rabja] in AA, and [ət'taqa:fa]¹¹ (culture) are good instances of MSA borrowed words, which have been slightly adapted phonologically as in the replacement of the voiceless dental fricative[θ] in the word [əθ'taqa:fa] by the voiceless alveolar plosive [t], which is often used by many AA speakers; that is, /θ/→ [t].

After the overall discussion of bilingualism in Algeria and its related phenomena, with reference to the speech community of Tlemcen, the influence of the family on Algerian children's linguistic behaviour as well as the impact of school will be expounded in the following section.

¹¹ The two examples are taken from Dendane (2007: 139).

2.4 The Problem of Linguistic Diversity and the Algerian Child

*“Don’t raise your child bilingually or problems will result”*¹² (Baker, 2001: 135), an oft-repeated piece of advice given to parents in the late 18th century, denotes that bilingualism was thought to have many psychological and linguistic problems. This negative view has been refuted recently. However, fears about the bilingual’s or multi-lingual’s failure in manipulating two or more languages still remain.

In Algeria, children are often exposed to a variety of linguistic codes depending on the area in which they dwell. In most regions, Algerian children usually acquire their native language or mother tongue, i.e, AA from birth knowing that this variety is full of French words and expressions. Also, there are some families that seek to promote French more than Arabic and these are labeled as ‘Francophones’. In the other extreme, there are some parents who encourage their children to learn and speak MSA more often and these represent the ‘Arabophones’. Between the two extreme groups, we can find many families whose children are motivated to acquire and use both Arabic and French or Berber and French to the same extent. The latter kind of families raises their children bilingually and helps them feel at ease with French, especially, in the stages of education when French is included in the curriculum. However, the Arabophones’ children are more likely to find difficulties in French but, certainly, excel in MSA. Generally, the child’s exposure to the languages in question is vital and necessary but the amount and quality of that exposure remains unknown (Myers-Scotton, 2006). With no doubt, children acquire and speak whatever language or variety their parents and other caregivers use when speaking with them (ibid: 326).

Once at school, the child consolidates his or her linguistic knowledge in French but also faces another problem that arises from the striking difference and gap between the child’s mother tongue, which is the Colloquial form of Arabic and the standard form, which is the first language acquired in elementary school, i.e., MSA.

¹² Written in *italics* in the original text.

2.4.1 The role of the family

The family forms the nucleus of any society, and the first place where children “produce and understand sentences that their community considers well-formed (i.e., “grammatical” in that community’s view).” (ibid: 327). In bilingual or multilingual families, the extent to which each language is supported influences the child’s language acquisition. For instance, families belonging to minority groups show a great interest in learning or acquiring the majority language because of its use by most people in the community. Hence the role of the family and community is crucial in the sense that they may encourage the acquisition of one language at the expense of the other, or they actively support bilingual or multilingual child language acquisition. In the case of Algerian children, the situation is very knotty, as there are parents who are French dominant, especially those who received their education mostly in French, and their occupation also involves the use of French such as doctors, foreign languages teachers, etc. Consequently, their children are mainly exposed to French up to the age of 6, the period when they start schooling. These children also acquire AA from their grandparents and other caregivers, as they may also be exposed to MSA through cartoons and TV channels though there are some situations in which these parents select French cartoons and channels to be viewed by their children.

Notwithstanding, the Algerian child hears both AA and French from birth to varying degrees and extents. Therefore, he or she builds a linguistic system made up of one base language, usually, AA or Berber variety in some other areas and an embedded language, which is French. The child’s acquisition of these varieties is achieved unconsciously and without any perceived difficulty, generally, through imitation. Another situation arises when parents use AA exclusively with only few French established loans, noting that their children are also exposed to MSA through TV then school, and CA in case they send them to the mosque for the sake of learning the Qur’an.

2.4.2 The impact of school

Since the latest reform¹³ regarding the teaching of French in primary school, French has become included in the third primary school grade in addition to Arabic. It should be noted, here, that the Algerian language policy follows a traditional language education rather than a bilingual education, for the French language is taught as a separate subject while lessons in the other subjects such as mathematics, history and geography are all conducted in Arabic. It is also worth mentioning that the primary school teachers also use AA, to varying degrees and depending on the pupils' level, when explaining lessons. Indubitably, the Algerian government provides free and compulsory education; thus, 'education for all' is the slogan of the Algerian school system. On the one hand this has increased the rate of literacy, but on the other, it may lead to the decrease of the educational standards.

In a nutshell, the Algerian child's linguistic development goes through two main stages, before and after school age. First, the child encounters, at least, one or two varieties from the following ones, AA or Berber, French, MSA and CA. Second, at the age of 6 he or she learns MSA in a formal context, i.e., at school, then he or she starts learning French from the third year in primary school after its relative acquisition before school age as part of AA or separately. This is what has been confirmed by Bensafi (2002: 839) who states that, "school children in Algeria do not feel they are discovering a new language, when studying French, but that they are somehow improving their "native acquaintance", targetting near-native performance."

Owing to the progress in ICTs and the process of globalization, it is not surprising to note the use of some English words in the speech of Algerian children. This is not to say that English might replace French in primary education, it of course did when the Algerian government introduced English as a subject in the primary level instead of French in the late 1980s¹⁴. Being influenced by the idea of 'Arabisation', language planners at that time substituted the French language with

¹³ Before this reform, French was established in primary school as early as the second year grade from September 2002 (Bensafi, 2002: 839).

¹⁴ As cited in Djebbari (2016: 5)

the establishment of a neutral language ‘English’ in a step towards international recognition and modernisation. The experience, though reflected willingness to eradicate the language of the former colonizer, failed to a certain extent mainly because of its mal-implementation.

The urge for the learning and teaching of English has led the Algerian government to reinforce English in the middle, secondary and higher education. Therefore, today, English is taught in almost all university fields and domains.

2.5 Algerian Speakers’ Attitudes and Perceptions

Before discussing the Algerians’ attitudes to the existing linguistic varieties, mainly MSA, AA and French, it is of paramount importance to define the term ‘language attitude’ which often correlates with that of ‘language ideology’. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (2006: 120) views language attitudes as “subjective evaluations of both language varieties and their speakers, whether the attitudes are held by individuals or by groups”. That is, they refer to people’s feelings and opinions vis-à-vis their own language(s) or the language(s) of the others (D. Crystal, 1992). These attitudes may be positive, negative or neutral.

Social-psychological research on language attitudes has been carried out since the 1960s via the use of surveys and questionnaires administered to large groups of people (ibid). The purpose being to investigate the influence of individuals’ opinions and evaluations of certain languages on their success in learning those languages. For instance, students’ attitudes toward their own languages and the languages included in the curriculum have also been surveyed. The findings, thus, reveal that positive attitudes lead to success in L₂ learning and such success, in turn, increases positive attitudes.

In the Algerian context, where the three main varieties, AA, MSA and French exist side by side within the speech community, people may hold different attitudes towards the aforementioned linguistic codes. In fact, the measurement and identification of those attitudes as positive, negative or neutral is not an easy task, for “attitudes [...] are very often latent; that is, they are not always stated directly, but must be inferred from various forms of observable behavior.” (ibid: 10-11)

In this part of research, the interpretation of people's attitudes in Algeria is based on observation, attitudinal questions asked to the informants in the present study (as part of the parents' and teachers' interviews) and previous studies of language attitudes to AA, MSA and French.

2.5.1 Attitudes towards MSA

Since Algeria's independence, policy-makers have made huge efforts in an attempt to restore the Algerian dual-form identity, which consists of Islam and Arabic, and The 'Arabisation' policy is only a shred of evidence which proves that. What is more important is people's reactions to this process and the most dominating attitude to MSA at that time. Except for the French-educated Algerians, all the other Algerians welcomed the new policy and regarded it as legitimate and urgent. Therefore, despite the coloniser's efforts to eradicate the Algerian identity, starting with the replacement of their language by an imposed one, positive attitudes to MSA were largely held by people by virtue of the fact that MSA, like CA, is a divine language through which the Qur'an is written.

It is also viewed as a sophisticated literary form rich in vocabulary and, thus, serves to express a wide range of thoughts, emotions and feelings. Contrary to European languages, MSA is more expressive but also difficult in terms of polysemy and grammar. Therefore, not all Algerians speak it fluently even the educated; however, most parents seek to teach their children MSA through TV channels' programmes and cartoons in addition to purchasing Arabic stories and books. Though some people criticize it for its inadequacy in the areas of science and technology, it has been maintained by many scholars, such as Taleb-Ibrahimi (1976), that Arabic is suitable for all types of research, including scientific domains.

2.5.2 Attitudes towards AA

Algerian Arabic is the omnipresent marker of Algerian people that is different from all the other Arabic varieties including the neighbouring ones, such as Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic. In spite of the fact that it largely includes French words and expressions, it is the language of wider communication among Algerians

who generally have positive attitudes to it. In fact, all Algerians use AA in daily life interaction as it their native language acquired since birth (except the Berber population). Due to dialectal variation, there exist a wide range of AA dialects distributed in terms of geographical places and speakers of each dialect signal their hometowns whenever they use it. This has led to the existence of stereotypes attached to each variety and a sense of pride among the speakers of the most prestigious AA variety which is always the one spoken by the city center dwellers. For this reason, language decisions to choose MSA as the country's national and official language have been made on the basis of nationalism rather than nationism.

Almost all Algerians acknowledges the fact that French pervades our dialect AA, leading to a mutual influence. Therefore, the result is neither 'pure' Arabic nor 'correct' French but a mixture of both. Hence could we, then, purify AA vocabulary or will French material increase in use?

2.5.3 Attitudes towards French

Needless to say that the French language represented the French colonization in Algeria during the period between 1830- 1962, and people's attitudes toward it were negative. In fact, the colonized people refused French acculturation and revolted "against both the French power and the French language." (Bensafi, 2002: 834).

In today's Algeria, the attitudes toward French have swung from negative to positive, for the new generation did not experience the French oppression and brutality. Thus, today's younger generation associate French with prestige, modernization and development. This recently-held attitude to French is said to have positive impact on the academic performance and achievement of students; however, this is not the case. The reason behind academic failure in French is related to many other social and educational parameters, namely educational programmes and teaching methods in addition to the different social environments of the learners.

Outside the school contexts and for many Algerians, the use of French remains prominent and people who insert more French words and expressions are

perceived as more cultured and educated. Even those who have limited use of French are aware of its importance in the outside world. Thus, they endeavour to use as many French words as they can. It must also be noted that girls show more positive feelings about French than boys and this can be attested in their excessive use of French in comparison with boys.

2.6 Conclusion

Intricately, the Algerian context provides an interesting field of research for those fascinated by sociolinguistic studies. Its linguistic diversity has given rise to many phenomena worthy of close investigation. In this brief account of bilingualism in Algeria, a number of facts have been presented, skipping the more historically, pedagogically and politically oriented ones and focusing only on those that have influenced today's Algerian linguistic situation.

It is up until recently that the Algerian government has recognized French-AA bilingualism and considered it an asset rather than a problem or a handicap. This is reflected in its linguistic policy which promotes the teaching and learning of languages, French as a first foreign language and English as a second foreign language. The official classification of these languages, though contradicts with the linguistic one, has indirectly advanced French over English because of the Algerians' familiarity with the former. Nevertheless, English is also gaining a place in the Algerians' daily conversations.

French is socially used and no one can deny the existence of too many French words and expressions in AA. However, this fact has its implications on people's attitudes and feelings, as discussed in the last section of this chapter. In effect, it seems that language attitudes in Algeria are developing towards favouring learning and using languages in general and French or English in particular.

CHAPTER THREE:

Field Work Investigation

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3.6 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

While chapters one and two form a firm groundwork for the present research, this chapter attempts to crystallize the verbal behaviour of Algerian children in Tlemcen speech community. Therefore, it is the heart of this study as it aims at investigating young bilingual's linguistic behaviour in Tlemcen. The main focus is on the actual use of French along with AA in the speech of school-aged children.

Based on the premise that the younger the bilingual is the more often language mixing occurs (Lanza, 1997), it is supposed that Algerian children tend to mix AA and French in the same utterance, i.e., intra-sententially rather than using longer stretches of French. To put it mildly, this chapter examines the extent to which language mixing occurs in young bilingual's speech. At first, the term 'mixing' is used as a cover term which may include CS and borrowings as well. However, in later stages of the empirical study, the grammatical type (s) that is/are more frequently attested in their AA- French switching will be identified.

This practical chapter is divided into five parts. First, it starts with a linguistic overview of Tlemcen speech community then it presents the sample chosen for the empirical research and the various research instruments used to collect data in addition to explaining the procedures followed. In the end, it analyses and interprets the data gathered.

3.2. The Linguistic Profile of Tlemcen Speech Community

In Tlemcen, a city located in northwestern Algeria, people speak different varieties of AA with French to varying degrees. They may also insert MSA words and/or expressions in daily interactions. However, unlike other Algerian Arabic dialects, Tlemcen Arabic (hereafter TA) is characterized by its unique phonological feature, it is the substitution of the MSA phoneme /q/ [qāf] with a glottal stop [ʔ] in most, but not all, words containing /q/. This urban variety is spoken only in Tlemcen town by the inner-city inhabitants and people from rural areas in Tlemcen use other AA varieties. It is also employed by women more than men as a prestigious dialect associated with femininity (Dendane, 2007).

Apart from its phonological and morphological lexical traits, TA has been influenced by many languages during the historical succession of many races and civilizations. Thus, resulting in a mixture of different linguistic varieties such as Spanish and Turkish, but the most noticeable one is French. It is also worth mentioning that French use is more observed among TA speakers in comparison with those who use a rural variety, the reason may be related to the social, cultural and educational upbringing of each group.

3.3 Research Design and Instrumentation

To narrow down the broad field of our research on bilingualism, a single case study has been selected on the basis of the research questions and the participants' accessibility. In this way, the study group consists of younger bilinguals in an Algerian speech community. Unlike purely statistical methods such as surveys, case studies provide more realistic responses and generate new unexpected results which may lead to research taking new directions. Notwithstanding, in sociolinguistic research based on both quantitative and qualitative analyses, it is also required to use some statistical tools such as questionnaires and interviews.

The research instruments employed and the procedures followed by the researcher for the sake of collecting valid and reliable data are explained in the following section after a brief presentation of the target population and the sampling paradigm.

3.3.1 The sample population

“Before we start collecting the data, we have to decide *whom we would like to research*” (Bijeikienė & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013: 46-47). Therefore, identifying the target population and choosing an appropriate sample to be investigated are prior to any other methodological steps in sociolinguistic research.

For the fulfillment of the practical part of this research work, a specific sample has been chosen from the target population of Algerian bilinguals. In fact, the researcher relies on random sampling which involves the selection of one category of bilinguals, i.e., bilingual children in Tlemcen speech community “in random

sampling every person in a defined population has an equal chance to be interviewed” (ibid: 48). Significantly, the daily use of French has been investigated among school-aged children in Tlemcen. Therefore, only those 6 to 10 year-olds are concerned and then involved in the study. On the whole, the chosen sample population includes Algerian younger bilinguals, sharing the same features such as age group, educational level and social belonging to the same speech community of Tlemcen.

It should be noted that this investigation is based on theoretical foundations, among which some have been cited in the previous chapters. Furthermore, the analysis of the bilingual children’s linguistic behaviour vis-à-vis the use of Arabic and French in day-to-day interactions is achieved with reference to their adult counterparts in the same speech community. Thus, the research methodology is descriptive as well as comparative. Mackey and Gass (2005: 1) explain that, “In its most basic and simplest form, research is a way of finding out answers to questions” and this requires the use of specific research tools and instruments.

3.3.2 The research tools

The research methodology has been conducted via the use of a wide range of research tools and instruments so as to obtain significant and consistent information serving the various requirements of the work. Such instruments of investigation are: observation, note taking, recordings and interviews. The rationale for the use of multiple research tools is to derive maximum benefits, for each instrument has its positive as well as negative aspects.

3.3.2.1 Non-participant observation

Observation is at the crux of sociolinguistic research, for it enables the researcher to collect naturally occurring data which comprises spontaneous speech. However, it should be done in a systematic manner based on the following questions¹:

¹ As cited in Bijeikienė & Tamošiūnaitė (2013: 12).

1. Why one wants to make an observation: which leads to the research purpose, i.e., research questions and hypotheses.
2. Whom one wants to observe: which leads to the subjects of the research.
3. How: which points to the instruments and techniques one will choose to conduct the observation.
4. When: points to the time framework (as an important constraint for empirical research)

Following the same line of thought, observation in the present study takes into account the purpose of research which is related to the verification of the hypotheses and the provision of adequate answers to the research questions. Therefore, the observation is purposive. It is also selective since the research is concerned with one group of bilinguals, i.e., child bilinguals aged between 6 and 10. This research advocates a disguised non-participant observation as opposed to participant observation, and the rationale behind such option is related to minimizing bias and influence on the part of the researcher over the sample under investigation. Finally, the time of observing and recording the behavioural patterns of the sample has been limited on the one hand, but it has broadened its contexts and settings on the other. In other words, though the time devoted to the observation of bilingual children's speech is relatively short, it has included many places such as home, street, shops and even school.

3.3.2.2 Note taking

During the phase of observation, notes about the linguistic behaviour of the group under study were taken. This technique is very useful in the sense that it collects factual data containing spontaneous speech performed by the informants. The advantage of note taking lies in the total invisibility of the researcher since taking notes is done without the informants being aware. In this research work, some utterances from the speech of young children at the primary level have been noted down and these will be analysed and interpreted in the first part of data analysis.

3.3.2.3 Audio recordings

The method of recording allows for the playback of the data at any time and the transcription of the conversations using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). For this reason, this instrument is primarily used in this research work while interviewing the respondents and when listening to everyday interactions among 6 to 10-year-old children. Though audio recording has some limitations related to the quality of recording and the time spent on phonetic transcribing, it is largely used in recent sociolinguistic research as an important tool for data collection.

3.3.2.4 Semi-structured interviews

The interview is used for the sake of eliciting valid responses to the questions being asked by the investigator. It can be audio or video recorded as it can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. In fact, the interview is an efficient tool by means of which a researcher can obtain both quantitative and qualitative data depending on the questions. Usually, a researcher prepares a set of questions that s/he wants to address in his/her study and during the interview s/he asks these questions.

If the interviewer uses the same wording, i.e., the way the questions are formulated, for all the respondents, s/he is said to have followed a structured type of interview. In this case, the interview takes the form of an oral questionnaire. However, when the researcher shows flexibility in conducting the interview both at the level of wording and questions order, s/he follows a semi-structured form. The unstructured interview, on the other hand, takes the form of a general discussion about the research topic and provides qualitative data only.

In this investigation, a semi-structured interview has been followed in order to provide “illuminating information that cannot be obtained by any other way.” (Weir & Roberts, 1993: 145)² and the respondents are either parents of the group under investigation or primary school teachers. During the interview, the questions have been posed as naturally as possible using AA in order to give a feeling of an informal chat. However, primary school teachers of Arabic showed a

² Qtd., in Djennane (2010 : 90)

preference of using MSA more than AA whereas French teachers inserted more French words and expressions.

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

Data are the results or outcomes of the application of a research method or technique in the field work. Such data include: speech recordings, questionnaires, surveys, written texts such as diaries and autobiographies, observation notes, recorded interviews, and more others. Working with data entails three steps: data collection, data processing and data analysis or interpretation.

Data collection is a very important research process and should be carefully planned, especially in those cases when it would be impossible to replicate the data collection. The planning of data collection entails the selection and sampling of the participants or data sources.

In this research, some authentic conversations among children of school-age were noted down on paper or recorded via the use of an electronic device (voice recorder). These conversations happened within different contexts, at home, in schools, shops and others. Then, transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). To expand the data, two friends (English teachers) who are also mothers of school-age children in the primary level were solicited to take notes of instances of CS or CM in the speech of their children.

As for interviewing, the data for the study were collected in a semi-structured face-to-face interview which was conducted in AA and audio-recorded. To reduce unwitting anxiety, the semi-structured interview with teachers was realized between the informant and the researcher in the presence of another person, the researcher's sister who is also a primary school teacher and who played an intermediary role and created a friendly atmosphere during interviewing. This is 'a friend of a friend' method that is employed in interviews with the aim of maximizing the collection of natural and spontaneous data and minimizing anxiety and stress on the part of the interviewee. Concerning parents' interviews, the researcher is well-known to most of the interviewees and this facilitated the process

of recording which went smoothly and generated a large corpora of data among which only those relevant to the purpose of research were selected.

Both parents' and teachers' interviews were piloted and tested on one participant from each group before being finalized for formal data collection.

On the whole, the research design involves the investigation of actual speech of younger bilinguals and, thus, relies on naturally occurring and interview data.

3.5 Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

Sociolinguistic research involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in analyzing data. Some research instruments, however, allow for the collection of qualitative data to the exclusion of quantitative information as in the unstructured interview. Others may provide more qualitative than quantitative data or vice versa. In sum, the kind of questions used in an interview or a questionnaire determines the type of data. Therefore, close-ended and multiple choice questions are used to obtain quantitative data whereas open-ended questions are employed in order to gather qualitative information such as those related to language attitudes and preferences. Through a qualitative method, a researcher is able to go beyond the quantitative statistical results and understands the behavioural conditions through the actor's perspective. Hence the present study makes use of both types of data and analyses the results quantitatively and qualitatively as well.

By including both quantitative and qualitative data, the behavioural patterns of the subjects are explained with regard to the formerly-formulated hypotheses and the existing knowledge in the field. The result may be the confirmation or refutation of those hypotheses as it can lead to generating new ones for future research.

3.5.1 Analysis/Results of note taking and recordings

Analysis is always concerned with "searching for explanation" (Moyer 2008: 30). Hence, this section provides the different types of data obtained by means of recording and note taking to be analysed via quantitative and qualitative

methods. First, the recorded dyadic conversations between a child and an adult are presented and then interpreted for the sake of exploring the behaviour of Algerian children towards French and the nature of AA- French bilingualism among them. Second, spontaneous speech of the subjects is also analysed through peer-group interactions so as to test the occurrence of French in children's utterances when addressing each other in a playground, neighbourhood, shops or at home.

Dividing interactions into two categories, the first one involves an adult-child interaction whereas the second one includes only children of the same age-group, has been made in order to determine the extent to which adults influence the linguistic behaviour of younger children. The grammatical types of AA-French switching are also identified in the excerpts with reference to Poplack's classification (1980).

3.5.1.1 Dyadic adult-child conversations

Mixing the two linguistic codes, AA and French has been largely noticed in the speech of school-age children in different settings: at home, in playgrounds, in public parks and other places and during different occasions and ceremonies: birthdays, weddings, parties, etc. In this section, only those exchanges between a child and an adult are reviewed and analysed so as to see whether child code mixing is only an imitation of adult code switching or a proof of his or her lack of language differentiation, or other factors such as absence of translation equivalents available in the child's native language lexicon.

The following is a short conversation which occurred at home between a 6-year-old girl and her adult neighbour who is a university student. The topic of the conversation revolves around the little girl's voyage to France during summer holidays.

A: had *les vacances* mʃit læfransa jek?

(You went to France this holiday, didn't you?)

B: *oui* mʃina f Août.

(Yes, we went in August)

A: ʔasem ʕmæltu? fajən mʕitu? lemman tɫæʔitu tema? hki:li?

(What did you do? where did you go? who did you meet? Tell me?)

B: mʕina ʕand *ma tante Amina* hæʔtatena jus w fʔarna ʕawad ʕræʕna hawasna mʕina
l *jardin publique* ʕrina *des sandwiches* w gʕɔdna nelaʕbu.

(We went to my aunt's house, she offered us juice and we had lunch then we went out to a public park and bought sandwiches and stayed playing for a while.)

A: ih ʕaja! w æsem ʕri:t?

(Well! And what did you buy?)

B: ʕri:t *des robes, des jupes, des tricots* w dʕalna *carrefour, un grand carrefour* fi h
des petits magasins kajən l bisəklitaat w *les ballons*.

(I bought dresses, skirts and sweaters and we entered a crossroad, a large crossroad in which there were many small shops selling bicycles and balls.)

The above-cited conversation contains several AA- French mixed utterances, especially in the little girl's speech. Therefore, it may be concluded that this girl was not really imitating her neighbour's language use since she has employed more French words and expressions than her neighbour. The topic of discussion may have influenced the girl's language choice as it is closely related to French. In fact, the child's utterances are heavily loaded with French material. This can be interpreted in terms of the social milieu of the child, it is noticeably remarked that the Tlemcenian girl has connections with immigrant families in France and, thus, uses French quite a lot in her daily conversations. Another point worthy of notice is her good, if not perfect, pronunciation of French.

Except for the French borrowed word [bisklitaat]³ (bicycles) which is phonologically and morphologically adapted, all the other French words and expressions used by the child are not adapted to AA. Thus, they illustrate cases of AA- French CM and CS or examples of nonce borrowings. The grammatical type governing the girl's chunks of utterances is mostly intra-sentential switching shown in the use of French words like '*ma tante*', '*des sandwiches*', '*jardin publique*',

³ [bisklitaat] is derived from the French word '*bicyclettes*' [bisiklet]. It is phonologically adapted at the level of the French phoneme /ɛ/ and the elision of the short vowel /i/. It is also altered morphologically by adding the Arabic suffix /a/ for the sake of feminization and, then, the suffix /a:t/ to form the plural.

'jus' and 'les ballons' which denote 'aunt' 'sandwiches' 'public park/garden' 'juice' and 'balls' respectively. However, the last utterance is a case of intersentential switching and French material is excessively used to the extent that the Embedded and the Matrix languages are not clearly identified.

From the observation of children's language use of French and AA, it is worth noting that this young informant shows a higher degree of competence in French in comparison with other children of the same age. This may be evidenced by her use of French determiners and articles like 'des', 'les', 'un' which are rarely found in other children's actual speech.

3.5.1.2 Peer-group interactions

In a two-way interaction with adults, children may be influenced by some socio-pragmatic factors such as rules of behaviour. However, when interacting with peers of the same age-group, the child feels more relaxed and is likely to produce naturally occurring spontaneous speech.

The conversation below took place in the neighbourhood without the physical presence of the researcher who noted down the children's utterances without them being aware. The conversants are all school-age boys playing football and the interaction is divided into three phases: before the football match (when forming the teams), during and after the football match (including discussions about the performance of each team).

- **Before the football match:**

(1) AMINE, OTMAN⁴ ṡayṡu ləṡhæbkum w jællah nellaṡbu *match* ntaṡ *ballon*.

(AMINE, OTMAN call your friends and let's play a football match.)

(2) ana w AKRAM nellaṡbu *goals* w YACINE ndiruh *arbirtre*.

(I and AKRAM are goalkeepers and YACINE is the referee.)

(3) *c'est bon!* kul waḥed jexṡa:r *l'équipe* ntaṡah.

(Alright! everyone chooses his team.)

⁴ In the excerpt, proper names of children are capitalized.

- **During the football match**

(4) AMINE dribli dribli...pasili l *ballon* n markilhum l *but* llawal.

(AMINE dribble the ball and pass it to me to score the first goal.)

(5) oh! χ araztha l *touche*.

(Oh! You kicked the ball into touch.)

(6) *ça-y-est* habbas l'*arbitre* \mathfrak{s} affar nihayat \mathfrak{f} awt l awal.

(That's enough stop! the referee has announced the end of the first half-time.)

- **Ater the football match**

(7) rba η nakum *deux* (2) *zéro* (0) *les joueurs* nta η na fort η likum.

(We won the match; the score was 2-0. Our players are better than yours.)

(8) η \mathfrak{p} faa \mathfrak{f} i:n hadek l *but* \mathfrak{a} zzawa \mathfrak{z} kamel ma jen \mathfrak{h} sab \mathfrak{f} markituh ki \mathfrak{s} effar l'*arbitre mi-temps*. (You're cheaters the second goal isn't counted you scored it at half-time.)

This popular sport is often played by younger children and during the match, players use a lot of French words. Indeed, the recorded peer-interaction does not include all those words, but it helps in clarifying the reasons behind such language mixing. Just like adult speech, though to a lesser extent, the topic, the setting and the participants can determine the code chosen by the child. In this way, contextual clues (Gumperz, 1982) may affect the verbal behaviour of young bilinguals.

Before, during and after the match, many French words were used to refer to those terms associated with the game such as '*arbitre*' (referee), *goals* (goalkeepers) and '*équipe*' (team). All these words have their Arabic equivalents, but it is more common to hear them in French. Thus, they may be treated as 'non-adapted established French borrowed words' whereas words like '*ballon*' (ball) and '*première/deuxième mi-temps*' (first/second half-time) may be substituted with the Arabic words [kura] and [\mathfrak{f} awt l awal/zawa \mathfrak{z}] respectively. Additionally, the excerpt also demonstrates the use of 'adapted borrowed words' like [dribli], [pasili] and [nmarkilhum] from the French verbs '*dribbler*' (dribble), '*passer*' (pass) and '*marquer (un but)*' (score a goal). The words integrated both phonologically and morphologically are diffused in the speech of Algerians in general.

3.5.2 Analysis/Results of the interview

Interview techniques are more suitable for small samples which often provide a limited number of informants. In this investigation, the interviews are realized with both parents of school-age children and teachers in primary schools. The total number of the interviewees is sixteen (16), among whom eight (8) are parents and eight (8) teachers. In parents' interviews, the respondents, from the speech community of Tlemcen, are of different age-groups and have different levels of education. However, in teachers' interviews, the informants have the same level of education but belong to different age-groups and have different years of experience in teaching primary school children. They are also from Tlemcen.

A stratified random sampling has been adopted, based on age, gender and level of education for parents whereas teachers have been stratified in terms of gender and years of experience in teaching primary school children. In this regard, Schleef & Meyerhoff (2010: 7) report that in stratified random sampling, the sample is "manipulated according to several secondary variables". In other words, sociolinguists stratify their sample on the basis of different social factors such as, gender, age, social class, etc.

In both forms of interviews, i.e., parents' and teachers', there are two parts. The first one consists of preliminary interviewees' questions such as age, origin, level of education for parents and years of experience in teaching for teachers. The second part includes all the questions which were partly prepared so as to ensure that a semi-structured type is being used to obtain reliable information. The interviews comprise close-ended and open-ended questions in order to gather both quantitative and qualitative results.

3.5.2.1 The parents' interview

As already stated, eight parents from the speech community of Tlemcen were interviewed. The participants were stratified on the basis of their age, gender and level of education. Thus, four (4) women and four (4) men having different levels of education and belonging to two different age-groups were selected. Their ages vary from 34 to 50 years old and they all have the same origin, Tlemcen.

In addition, the respondents have different occupations and social status: teachers, administrators, housewives and business persons. The total number shows that three (3) participants are uneducated (2 women and 1 man) and five (5) others are educated (3 women and 2 men). The informants are represented in the following pie-chart according to their levels of education.

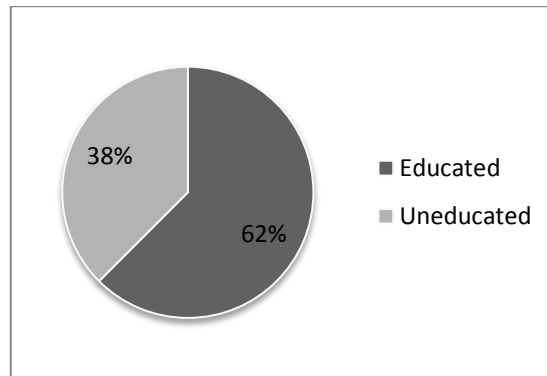


Figure 3.1 Level of education of the interviewed parents

After introducing the theme of the research work and asking for the informant's consent regarding audio recording, some background information have been elicited concerning the respondent's origin (hometown) and his or her age and level of education, in addition to his or her occupation. Then, the participants were asked six to seven questions following a semi-structured form of interview which does not impose a given wording or order. Generally, all the informants were asked the questions below in a dialectal Arabic with some French and/or MSA words:

1. How many children aged between 6 and 10 do you have?
2. What language(s) do they use in everyday speech?
3. Have you ever noticed a French word and/or expressions in their actual speech? List some of them?
4. Do you motivate your children to speak French? If yes, why and how? If no, why not?
5. What do you think of people who use more French than Arabic with their children in daily conversations? Why?
6. Which TV channel(s) does your child usually watch?
7. Do you qualify your children as 'bilingual' in Arabic and French? Why or why not?

As noticed from the above questions, the aim of this interview is to analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the degree of AA-French bilingualism among children of school age in the eyes of their parents. Moreover, parents' attitudes toward French and Arabic in addition to their language preferences are also interpreted qualitatively through the responses to the fourth and fifth questions.

As far as the second question is concerned, all the participants confirmed that their children use AA, which they call [əddariʒa], [əlʃammijja] or simply [əlʃarbijja]⁵, in everyday speech. However, most of them argued that their children often insert French words and expressions such as those well-established borrowed words and expressions in AA like 'ça-y-est' 'déjà' and 'normal' meaning 'that is it' 'already' and 'normal' respectively. Here is a table that summarises the range of French words and expressions that were noticed in the speech of younger children by their parents:

Table 3.1 Established borrowings and nonce borrowings in AA used by school-age children.

Established borrowings (used by all)	Nonce borrowings (used by some)
Biensûr 'sure'	Anniversaire 'birthday'
Cahier 'copybook'	Attention 'be careful'
Ça-y-est 'that is it'	C'est joli 'it's pretty'
C'est bon 'alright'	En même temps 'at the same time'
Déjà 'already'	Facile 'easy'
Déranger 'disturb'	J'arrive 'I'm coming'
Jeu 'game'	Jardin 'garden'
Normal/ Normalement 'normal/normally'	Nettoyer 'clean'
Portable 'mobile phone'	Première/Deuxième fois 'first/second time'
Stylo 'pen'	Problème 'problem'

⁵ It is common to use the word [əlʃarbijja] or [əlʃarbijja ntaʃna] to refer to our dialect AA and the word [luʒa] to mean the standard form of Arabic MSA.

In addition to the given words and expressions, the interviewees all insisted on the role of families and the social milieu in which the child lives. Therefore, one of the informants distinguished between ‘francophones’ and ‘non francophones’. In her view, those who use French quite a lot are usually those children whose parents are doctors, immigrants or foreign languages teachers. Surprisingly, the informant did not mention the third kind of Algerians ‘the arabophones’ as she believes that they are very rare or do not exist at all.

Moreover, the questioned parents drew the attention to the fact that their children are increasingly using English words and expressions because of the impact of some TV channels such as ‘mbc3’, ‘spacetoons’ and ‘kidsTV’, whose programmes include English films and cartoons, and most importantly due to the children’s excessive use of the internet through watching ‘YouTube’ in which there exist too many educational English songs for kids. Even when visiting a primary school and asking second-year pupils, who have not yet been taught French, to sing in French or give examples of French words and expressions. Interestingly, many children provided English words indicating colours like ‘red’ ‘orange’ ‘green’ and ‘yellow’ and started singing English nursery rhymes. Some of them were linguistically aware that those were instances of English and, therefore, gave their Arabic or French equivalents whereas others were not.

Regarding the fourth question, which may also reflect parents’ attitudes toward French, all the interviewed parents suggested that they motivate their children to learn French in addition to other languages but after being fully competent in Arabic. The following excerpts from some interviews demonstrate parents’ opinions about learning French and foreign languages in general:

- **A 34-year-old educated mother:**

(1) *Oui biensûr madabijja benti tətšalam les langues non seulement le français*

mais hata l’anglais puisque c’est une langue internationale tehtažha bezaaf.

(Yes, of course, I would like my daughter to learn languages not only French but even English since it is an international language which she will need a lot.)

- **An educated father of 50 years old:**

(2) taṣalum luḡaat maṭlu:b fə'ddi:n ntaṣna bæṣṣaḥ maḡi ṣla ḥisaab əlṣarabijja wel ḡistiṣma:l lazem jkun ḥasb lhaza.

(Learning languages is recommended in our religion but not at the expense of Arabic and these languages should be used when needed.)

- **An educated woman of 45 years old:**

(3) ḥata luḡa lḡiransijja netṣalmuha *biensûr* w luḡa linglizijja. lṣalam rah metḡattaḥ bæṣṣaḥ nehtamu awalan b luḡa lṣarabijja.

(Of course, we should learn French and English too, the world is open but we should give importance to Arabic first.)

The quoted interviewees above share the same positive attitude toward learning French or any other languages. Thus, they all asserted that they motivate their children to learn or acquire French and English by purchasing French stories and novels, watching English and French TV channels or using the internet, especially YouTube. Nevertheless, two educated and uneducated women said that the main reason behind encouraging their children to learn French is also related to their educational achievement and success in French at school.

Question five (5) is somewhat related to Question four (4) since it aims at exploring parents' attitudes to French, more specifically to those using only French with their children on a daily basis. These people have been referred to as 'francophones'. While all informants denied this linguistic behaviour, one of them, a high school Arabic teacher said the following:

(4) Hadu waldihu:m atiba? aw asatida zamiṣijji:n *alors* mawqiṣ lṣamal ntaṣhum fraḡ ṣlihum ḡistiṣma:l əluḡa lḡiransijja w hada jḡaḡḡar ṣla əluḡa lṣarabijja nta? ṡifl.

(Their parents are doctors or university teachers; thus, their occupation imposes the use of French and this has an impact on the child's language 'Arabic'.)

Though the informant teaches Arabic in high school, he showed sympathy for these people and their children. When asked about our Arabic identity, he replied by saying that language is just a means of communication and our identity can be preserved and maintained no matter what language(s) we speak.

Concerning question six (6), most parents (62%) said their children usually watch Arabic TV channels whereas the rest of them (38%) are divided between French and English channels. The results are better represented in the following pie-chart:

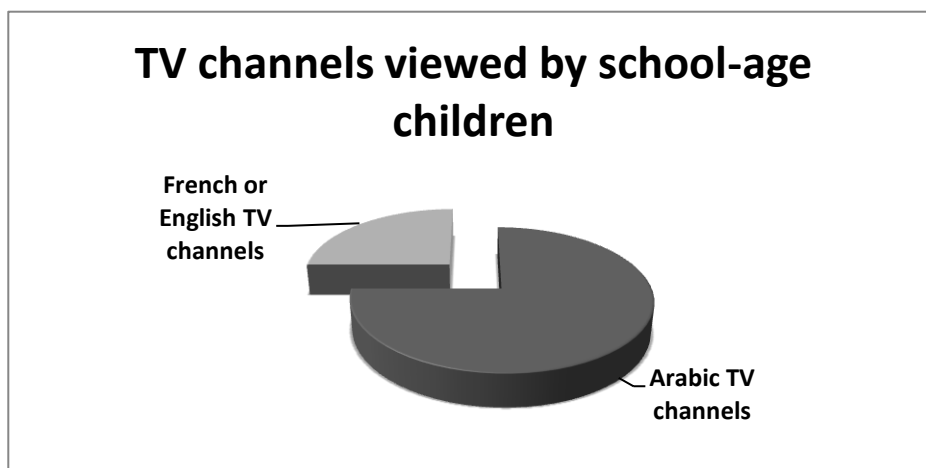


Figure3.2 The types of TV channels viewed by school-age children

In fact, even those who responded that their children usually watch Arabic channels like ‘spacetoon’ ‘mbc3’ and ‘toyor baby’ are not aware of the fact that these channels also offer many English programmes. The interviewees then confirmed the influence of Arabic cartoons on children who start to speak MSA even before school age.

In the last question (7), the respondents were asked whether their children can be classified among bilinguals. Astoundingly, seven (7) parents think that they are not, and only one educated informant attested that her school-age daughter can be qualified as AA- French bilingual since she can carry on a conversation with her immigrant cousins who live in France when they visit them. The mother gave examples from her daughter’s speech with her French-speaking relatives like ‘*de l’eau*’ ‘*je suis fatiguée*’ ‘*je vais au toilette*’ ‘*donne moi ça*’ (respectively mean

‘some water’ ‘I am tired’ ‘I am going to the bathroom’ and ‘give me this’). In fact, even those who responded that their children are not bilingual in French and Arabic are not aware of the different degrees of bilingualism since they define a bilingual in the Bloomfield’s maximalist view (1933).

3.5.2.2 The teachers’ interview

Another group of people who has connections with our sample population has been questioned via the use of a similar type of interview to that of parents. These people represent primary school teachers in the speech community of Tlemcen.

As in parents’ interview, the research topic was first explained to the respondent before setting him/her to answer a number of questions. No type of recording was allowed unless the subject gave his/her consent. At first, certain preliminary questions were asked to the interviewee so as to determine his/her origin, age and years of experience in primary education. The teachers’ interview includes the questions below:

1. Do you think that Algerian children (6 to 10-year-olds) are Arabic-French bilingual? Justify?
2. What language(s) do primary school children usually use in everyday interactions?
3. In what language(s) do they generally interact with their classmates when they are:
 - a. Inside the classroom?
 - b. Outside the classroom (in the schoolyard, school restaurant..., etc.)?
4. How do you feel about French, MSA and AA? In other terms, what attitudes do you have toward these linguistic varieties?

Here again, the researcher follows a ‘stratified random sampling’, based on gender, age and years of experience. As for the size of the sample, only eight (8) informants were selected since the major aim of this interview is to obtain

qualitative data about teachers' attitudes towards French use among primary school children.

The recorded answers reveal that primary school teachers, especially Arabic teachers, are worried about the linguistic gap between the vernacular, AA and the Standard form, MSA. According to them, the Algerian child faces a serious problem with Arabic (MSA) when he or she starts schooling and the teacher struggles in order to facilitate the language of education.

When asking the respondents about the language (s) used by children in daily interactions, all of them said it is our dialect, AA and few children interact via a mixture of AA and MSA. The answers reflect that the participants do not consider words like 'ballon' 'sac' and 'pharmacie' ('ball' 'bag' and 'pharmacy') to be part of French but rather they belong to the dialect which is also a mixture of many languages, among which French is most prominent. This is what has been literally stated by a French teacher during the interview '*notre dialecte est un mélange de plusieurs langues, notamment le français*' (our dialect is a mixture of several languages, particularly French).

Furthermore, the interviewed teachers mentioned that the language employed by the child inside the classroom is mostly a simple form of MSA with the inclusion of AA words and expressions, especially for early grades such as first and second year children. Besides, the linguistic behaviour of these children outside the classroom, in the schoolyard or school restaurant, i.e., around the school is similar to their behaviour outside school. That is, school-aged children speak AA only and may insert MSA words depending on their levels of education and other social factors such as the amount of exposure to MSA via TV channels and family members.

In the bar graph below, all the participants' answers to the second and third questions are portrayed, noting that an informant may give more than one possible answer, depending on several cases of children.

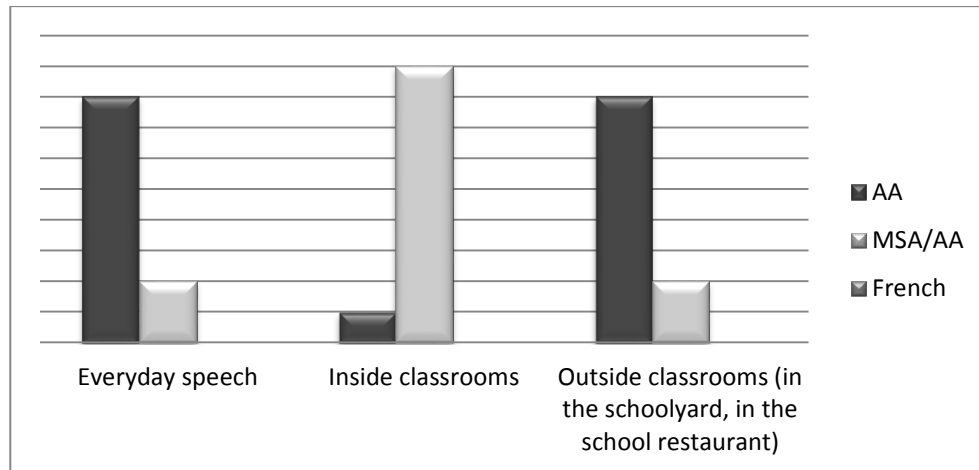


Figure 3.3 Use of languages by school-aged children in different settings.

In the last question (4), the interviewees described the three languages positively, but they all insisted on the prime importance of our language ‘Arabic’ meaning MSA to be promoted and taught to children before school age. An Arabic teacher plainly suggested the following:

(5) *ʕandna luɣa ʕarabijja raaʕiʕa lukan nehttam biha ɣi ʕwija. ʕiwaɖ ma taʕti laʕifl haduk les mots bɛlfiransijja taʕtihumlah bɛlʕarabijja.*

(We have an outstanding language ‘Arabic’ if only we took just a little care of it. Instead of giving children those words in French why don’t you give them in Arabic?).

To recapitulate, there are a lot of shared points and common results among the questioned parents and teachers. The most significant one is related to people’s language attitudes nowadays. Unlike previously- held negative attitudes to the language of the former colonizer, today’s Algerians feel that French, like any other foreign language, should be learned and used in different domains.

3.6 Conclusion

Interest in the study of child bilingualism has grown considerably over the last decades and most studies address one or a few number of bilingual children. The present investigation has tried to explain the linguistic behavioural patterns of Tlemcenian children between the ages of 6 and 10. Effectively, the discussion was mostly done in relation to the synchronous use of Arabic and French, i.e., AA-French bilingualism. However, the interviews showed an unexpected judgement made by parents and teachers on their children's and pupils' bilinguality in AA and French since they consider them monolingual or even semilingual.

Though there are some facts that have been reached during the empirical study, it is of tremendous significance to mention the limitations of the findings. Because of time constraints, the study was carried out on a small sample, particularly when interviewing only eight parents and eight teachers for quantitative and qualitative purposes. Therefore, the results of this study may not be completely generalizable as it is more qualitative.

Notwithstanding, the data obtained from the interviews are congruent with what has been suggested in recordings and note taking. The investigated subjects demonstrated the use of highly AA- French code-mixed utterances, some of them may be regarded as instances of French borrowings.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This paper has attempted to investigate the speech patterns of young bilinguals aged between 6 and 10 in the speech community of Tlemcen. The purpose was to determine the extent to which French occurs in children's daily speech and the type of CS mostly attested among them. This study was also set out to explain the reasons behind young bilinguals' CS and CM. Besides, it dealt with parents' and teachers' attitudes and perceptions to the existing languages in Tlemcen (AA, French and MSA).

The research work has included three chapters so as to meet the requirements of the study which are generally related to the research questions and hypotheses. The first chapter has equipped the researcher with the key concepts in bilingualism whereas the second chapter has applied them to the Algerian context. Moreover, chapter three has investigated those resources among child bilinguals in Tlemcen speech community.

One of the most significant findings which emerged from the current study was that school-age children nowadays are also affected by English through the media, thus adding this language to their verbal repertoire. It was also shown, through recorded conversations, that 6 to 10-year-old children mix AA and French in a way much likened to their adult counterparts. Therefore, their CS and CM depend on the topic, the setting and the participants. The results also indicated that the reasons behind inserting French or alternating between AA and French are sometimes due to lack of translation equivalents in the mother tongue. All these findings showed that CS or CM by younger bilinguals are constrained in the same way as more mature bilinguals.

Nevertheless, the empirical research suggested that the child may also imitate adult's speech by using more French words or Arabic ones. This, in effect, has confirmed the first hypothesis which suggests that the linguistic environment of the child influences his way of speaking, i.e., the degree of swithing between AA and French. Proficiency in French is also indispensable for the activation of AA/French CS even among children. This proficiency is acquired from the social milieu of the child and varies from one family to another. The second hypothesis, on the other hand, has been refuted since we attested intra-sentential and extra-sentential CS in the speech of

the sample population. This was an indicative of the child's high degree of competence in French. As for the last hypothesis, the interviews conducted with both parents and teachers demonstrated positive attitudes toward French, as all the informants welcomed learning French and using it so as to keep up with the world's vast linguistic diversity and advancement. However, they all prioritized Arabic to be learned and mastered first.

It was also found that Algerian bilinguals develop a subtractive form of bilinguality since Arabic is progressively replacing French, and English is gaining a room in the young bilingual's actual speech. Thus, will this trigger AA/English CS and CM in the Algerians' speech? This question needs to be exploited in a future research.

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Appendices

I. Recordings

- **A conversation between two Tlemcenian high school teachers**

A: *Bonjour, ça va? Kiri:k ?*

(Good morning, how are you doing?)

B: *ça va l'hamdolla:h, toujours m'ça la préparation ntaç l'CAPEST.*

(It's alright thanks God, still with the preparation for my CAPES exam.)

A: *rabbi j'fawnek mais smaçt belli kajøn une grève la semaine prochaine.*

(May Allah help you but I've heard that there would be a strike next week.)

B: *jih même ana smaçt biha mais je pense hna les stagiaires maçi concernés, en plus ana çandi tarsam had l'çam mançadç nçfarek.*

(Yes, even I've heard about it but I think we, the trainees, are not concerned, in addition, I have my CAPES exam this year. So, I can't participate.)

A: *Oui, je comprends çandek saħ en tous les cas bon courage! wila htadzit keç hädza f'çi là.* (Yes, I understand, you're right. In any case good luck! And if you need anything I'm here.)

B: *Merci bien rabbi jdçazi:k.*

(Thank you very much. May Allah reward you.)

- **A conversation between a 6-year-old girl and her adult neighbour**

A: *had les vacances mçit l'fransa jek?*

(You went to France this holiday, didn't you?)

B: *oui mçina f' Août.*

(Yes, we went in August)

A: *çasem çmæltu? fajøn mçitu? lemman çlæçitu tema? hki:li?*

(What did you do? where did you go? who did you meet? Tell me?)

B: *mçina çand ma tante Amina hætçatena jus w' fçarna çawad çræçna hawasna mçina l' jardin publique çrina des sandwiches w' gçodna nelaçbu.*

(We went to my aunt's house, she offered us juice and we had lunch then we went out to a public park and bought sandwiches and stayed playing for a while.)

A: ih yaja! w æsem fri:t?

(Well! And what did you buy?)

B: fri:t *des robes, des jupes, des tricots* w dɣalna *carrefour, un grand carrefour* fih *des petits magasins* kajən l bisəklitaat w *les ballons*.

(I bought dresses, skirts and sweaters and we entered a crossroad, a large crossroad in which there were many small shops selling bicycles and balls.)

- **A conversation between a group of school-age boys**

- **Before the football match**

(1) AMINE, OTMAN ɣaytu ləʃhæbkum w jəllah nellaɣbu *match* ntaɣ *ballon*.

(AMINE, OTMAN call your friends and let's play a football match.)

(2) ana w AKRAM nellaɣbu *goals* w YACINE ndiruh *arbirtre*.

(I and AKRAM are goalkeepers and YACINE is the referee.)

(3) *c'est bon!* kul waħed jex̣ta:r *l'équipe* ntaʔah.

(Alright! everyone chooses his team.)

- **During the football match**

(4) AMINE dribli dribli... pasili l *ballon* n markilhum l *but* llawal.

(AMINE dribble the ball and pass it to me to score the first goal.)

(5) oh! ɣaraɣtha l *touche*.

(Oh! You kicked the ball into touch.)

(6) *ça-y-est* habbas *l'arbirtre* ɣaffar nihayat ɣawt l awal.

(That's enough stop! the referee has announced the end of the first half-time.)

- **Ater the football match**

(7) rbaħnakum *deux* (2) *zéro* (0) *les joueurs* ntaʔna *fort* ʔlikum.

(We won the match; the score was 2-0. Our players are better than yours.)

(8) ɣpɣaaf̣i:n hadek l *but* əzzawaɣ kamel ma jenħsabf markituh ki ɣəffar *l'arbitre mi-temps*. (You're cheaters the second goal isn't counted you scored it at half-time.)

II. Note taking

- Old French Borrowings versus recent French borrowings in AA

French words and expressions	Phonemic transcription		English gloss
	Old borrowings	Recent borrowings	
Les allumettes	/zalami:t/	/lezalymet/	Matches
Briquet	/brika/	/bʁike/ or /brike/	Lighter
Chantier	/ʃanti/	/ʃɑ̃tje/	Construction site
L'électricité	/ətri'sinti/	/lelektʁisite/	Electricity
Feu rouge	/firuʒ/	/fø ʁuʒ/	Red light
L'humidité	/əlmiditi/	/lymidite/	Humidity
Opération	/baraʒju:n/	/ɔpeʁasjɔ̃ /	Surgery
Pansement	/fasma/	/pɑ̃smɑ̃/	Dressing
Pompe	/bumba/ or /pumpa/	/pɔ̃p/	Pump
Poupée	/bubijja/ or /pupijja/	/pupe/	Doll
La retraite	/lən'tri:t/	/la ʁətʁet/	Retirement
Réveil	/refei/	/ʁevɛj/ or /revɛj/	Alarm clock
Sac à dos	/sakodo/	/sakado/	Backpack
Serviette	/serbita/	/sɛʁvjɛt/	Towel
Tablier	/tabli/	/tablije/	Pinafore
Les taches	/əttaʃa:t/	/letaʃ/	Stains / spots
Tour de cou	/dordku/	/tuʁ də ku/	Necklace
Valise	/faliza/	/valiz/	Suitcase
Veste	/vista/	/vest/	Jacket
Village	/fila:ʒ/	/vilaʒ/	Village

- **Established borrowings and nonce borrowings in AA used by school-age children**

Established borrowings (used by all)	Nonce borrowings (used by some)
Biensûr ‘sure’	Anniversaire ‘birthday’
Cahier ‘copybook’	Attention ‘be careful’
Ça-y-est ‘that is it’	C’est joli ‘it’s pretty’
C’est bon ‘alright’	En même temps ‘at the same time’
Déjà ‘already’	Facile ‘easy’
Déranger ‘disturb’	J’arrive ‘I’m coming’
Jeu ‘game’	Jardin ‘garden’
Normal/ Normalement ‘normal/normally’	Nettoyer ‘clean’
Portable ‘mobile phone’	Première/Deuxième fois ‘first/second time’
Stylo ‘pen’	Problème ‘problem’

III. Interviews

- **A 34-year-old educated mother**

(1) andi benti sana ula *cinq ans et demi* doḡaltha *dérogation d’âge*.

(I have one daughter; she is five and a half. I enrolled her via an exemption of age.)

(2) tehdar lʕarbija fæddar bæṣṣaḥ *des fois* doḡal l *français: bonjour, maman* ʕawad manbaʕed tʕalmat l *anglais* kimma goodmorning, baby finger.

(She speaks Arabic at home but sometimes she includes French like: goodmorning, mum. Later, she learned some in English like: goodmorning, baby finger.)

(3) tetfarraz ‘spaceton’ w ‘mbc3’ kimma *les couleurs* taʕrafhum *en français et en anglais* tahdarhum *en anglais même* sabt mʕaha *les problèmes* f taḥdiri l *prof* tʕulha hada aʕfarun hija tʕulha lla yellow man baʕd ʕarfathum *en arabe*.

(She watches ‘spaceton’ and ‘mbc3’, she knows the colours in French and English but she often tells them in English. I found a problem with her in the

preparatory year, the teacher used to tell the colour ‘yellow’ in Arabic but she used to say it in English. Later, she learned them in Arabic.)

- (4) *Oui biensûr* madabijja benti tətʕalam *les langues non seulement le français* mais hata *l’anglais* puisque *c’est une langue internationale* tehtaʒha bezaaf.
(Yes, of course, I would like my daughter to learn languages not only French but even English since it is an international language which she will need a lot.)

- (5) ana wəllit naʕməlha *les chaines en arabe* w nahdar mʕaha bəlluʕa : taʕalaj beʕ matʕibʕ ʕoʕoba:t fel madrasa.
(Now, I set her to watch Arabic channels and I speak with her in Arabic: ‘come’ so as not to find difficulties at school.)

- (6) andi ʒæj jeskon f *Cannes, des immigrants* ki jdziw tehdar mʕahum *en français* comme : *donne moi ça, de l’eau, je vais au toilette* w tefhamhum ʕaja taʕraf *même l’alphabet* w ta ʕraf tektab ʕsemha wa ʕsoumatna w tefhamni ki nahdar mʕa mama ʒaʒa w nʕulha *ne parle pas devant elle* wallat hata hiya testaʕmalha.
(I have a brother who lives in Cannes he is immigrant, when they visit us she speaks French with them ‘give me this, some water, I am going to the bathroom’ and she understands them very well. She even knows the alphabet and can write her name and ours. She understands me when I say to my mum ‘don’t speak in front of her’ she also uses it.)

- **An educated father of 50 years old**

- (7) taʕalum luyaat maʕlu:b fəʕddi:n ntaʕna bəʕʕaħ maʕi ʕla ʕisaab əlʕarabijja wel ʕistiʕma:l lazem jkun ʕasb lʒaʒa.

(Learning languages is recommended in our religion but not at the expense of Arabic and these languages should be used when needed.)

- **An educated woman of 45 years old**

- (8) hata luyə lʕiransijja netʕalmuha *biensûr* w luyə linglizijja. lʕalam rah metfattaħ bəʕʕaħ nehtamu awalan b luyə lʕarabijja.

(Of course, we should learn French and English too, the world is open but we should give importance to Arabic first.)

- **An Arabic teacher who has 4 years of experience**

(9) hadu waldihu:m atiba? aw asatida zamiŕiji:n *alors* mawqiŕ lŕamal ntaŕhum frađ ŕlihum ?istiŕma:l əluŕa lŕiransijja w hada j?aθθar ŕla əluŕa lŕarabijja nta? tiŕl.

(Their parents are doctors or university teachers; thus, their occupation imposes the use of French and this has an impact on the child's language 'Arabic'.)

- **An Arabic teacher who has 18 years of experience**

(10) ŕandna luŕa ŕarabijja raa?iŕa lukan nehttam u biha ŕi ŕwija. ŕiwađ ma taŕti lətiŕl haduk *les mots* bəŕfiransijja taŕtihumlah bəŕarabijja.

(We have an outstanding language 'Arabic' if only we took just a little care of it. Instead of giving children those words in French why don't you give them in Arabic?).

School-Age Children and Arabic/French Bilingualism in Tlemcen Speech Community

الملخص:

يتناول هذا البحث موضوع ثنائية اللغة عند الأطفال في سن التمدرس في الجماعة اللغوية بتلمسان. تحاول الدراسة معرفة مدى استعمال الأطفال للغة الفرنسية بالإضافة إلى اللغة العامية العربية الجزائرية في المحادثات اليومية، كما تهدف الدراسة أيضا إلى تحديد أنواع ووظائف التبديل اللغوي بين العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية أثناء التفاعلات اليومية للأطفال الذين تتراوح أعمارهم بين 6 و 10 سنوات. في الأخير، يشير البحث إلى العوامل المؤثرة على التداول بين اللغتين خاصة الاجتماعية منها، مثل التنشئة الاجتماعية للطفل والمحيط اللغوي الذي يعيش فيه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ثنائية اللغة عند الطفل، التبديل اللغوي، المزج اللغوي و المواقف تجاه اللغة.

Summary :

The current research work tackles the issue of bilingualism among school-age children in the speech community of Tlemcen. It attempts to determine the extent to which children use French alongside AA in day-to-day conversations. The study also aims at identifying the types and functions of AA/French switching during the daily interactions of children aged between 6 and 10. In the end, the research points out the factors which influence alternation between the two languages, particularly the social ones, such as the child's social upbringing and the linguistic environment in which s/he lives.

Keywords: child bilingualism, code switching, code mixing and language attitudes.

Résumé :

Cette recherche porte sur le bilinguisme chez les enfants d'âge scolaire de la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen. L'étude vise également à identifier les types et les fonctions du changement de langue entre l'arabe algérien et le français au cours des interactions quotidiennes des enfants de 6 à 10 ans. Dans ce dernier, la recherche suggère des facteurs qui affectent le mélange entre les deux langues en particulier celles sociales, telles que la socialisation des enfants et de l'environnement linguistique dans lequel ils vivent.

Mots-clés: bilinguisme chez l'enfant, changement de langue, mélange des langues et attitudes envers la langue.