

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Aboubekr Belkaid University – TLEMEN

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Foreign Languages

English Section



***Algerian Arabic/ French Code Switching:
The Case of Two Districts in Tlemcen***

*Dissertation submitted in candidacy for the Degree of
MAGISTER in Sociolinguistics*

Presented by :

Miss. Amina BENGUEDDA

Under the Supervision of :

Dr. Z. DENDANE

Board of examiners:

Pr. S. BENMOUSSAT

Dr. Z. DENDANE

Dr. S. ABID

Dr. A. BAICHE

Dr. A. DERNI

Pr. President (University of Tlemcen)

MC. Supervisor (University of Tlemcen)

MC. External Examiner (University of Sidi Belabbes)

MC. Examiner (University of Tlemcen)

MC. Examiner (University of Tlemcen)

Academic Year : 2009-2010

Inscrit sous le N° 0009.....
Date : 06.04.2011.....
Cote : /

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
الكلية الآل الآس والأجنبية
* تلمسان *

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Aboubekr Belkaid University – TLEMCEM
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of Foreign Languages
English Section

***Algerian Arabic/ French Code Switching:
The Case of Two Districts in Tlemcen***

*Dissertation submitted in candidacy for the Degree of
MAGISTER in Sociolinguistics*

Presented by :

Miss. Amina BENGUEDDA

Under the Supervision of :

Dr. Z. DENDANE

Board of examiners:

Pr. S. BENMOUSSAT

Dr. Z. DENDANE

Dr. S. ABID

Dr. A. BAICHE

Dr. A. DERNI

Pr. President (University of Tlemcen)

MC. Supervisor (University of Tlemcen)

MC. External Examiner (University of Sidi Belabbes)

MC. Examiner (University of Tlemcen)

MC. Examiner (University of Tlemcen)

Academic Year : 2009-2010

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my greatest gratitude to God Almighty for his blessing, guidance and to whom I owe everything.

I am heartily thankful to my supervisor, Dr. Zoubir DENDANE, whose encouragement, guidance and support from the initial to the final level enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject.

My appreciation also goes to my thesis committee Pr. Smail BENMOUSSAT, Dr. Amaria DERNI, Dr. Ali BAICHE for their kindley help. It is an honour for me to thank Dr. Samira ABID for having accepted the correction of this work.

I would like to thank all the teachers of the English Department especially Dr Ilhem SERRIR and Dr Nassim NEGADI and administrative staffs for their support and accompaniment during my study. I would like also to thank my mates, Bahia Benguedda, Bassim Ziani Cherif, Maliha Meziane, Razzia Merabet, Fazilet Benmansour, Faiza Benmansour, Yasmina Abdat who always support me and all my mates with no exception for their considerable cooperation.

Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to Youcef Tankoub, French Department and administrative staffs and all those who supported me in any respect during the completion of the project.

Dedications

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of several people:

First and foremost, I am grateful for the never-ending support and prayers from my parents, grand parents, brothers, uncles, aunts, cousins and all my dear family members.

A special thank is addressed to Tabet Aouel Asma, Mouro Fdia, Brahmi Chahinez, Dib Nesrine, Bestaoui Yasmina, Abi-ayad Maliha and Allal sanaa and all who gave me their consistent reliable and long support without whom I could not have done it.

At last, I dedicate this humble work to Ziani Cherif Alaa, Wanis, Ikram, Souhila, Touil Yassine, to all my students and to all people I know and whom I have forgotten to mention.

Amina

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the use of code switching in two socially contrastive districts of Tlemcen. It attempts to investigate, in the context of Tlemcen speech community, the types of code switching in these two districts called 'Birouana' and 'Boudghène' is associated with high and low socio-economic status, respectively. The main objectives are to examine the nature of alternation between Algerian Arabic and French and search for the reasons of such phenomenon in relation to a number of social factors. The data are collected through a questionnaire, interviews and recordings in the two areas, and then they are analysed using Myers-scotton's approach to CS and showing that language users choose a code that marks their needs, identities and feelings within a certain context. In addition, Poplack's view of code switching types is also used in this study. We observe two major kinds of code switching: inter-sentential code switching, producing switches at discourse boundaries, and intra-sentential code switching where the switch occurs within the sentence. Our findings reveal that most speakers from the two districts use intra-sentential switching in their daily conversations because there are many French terms that are familiar to them but the amount of CS is proportional to social variables such as socio-economic status and level of education.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Dedications.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
Acronyms	ix
Symbols	ix
General Introduction.....	1
Chapter one: Literature Review	4
1.1 Introduction.....	4
1.2 Historical background of the studied area.....	5
1.2.1 The French influence over the Algerian society.....	5
1.3 Bilingualism	6
1.3.1 Bilingualism defined	6
1.3.2 Social factors affecting bilingualism	8
1.3.2.1 Age.....	8
1.3.2.2 Attitudes.....	10
1.3.2.3 Motivation.....	12
1.3.3 Types of bilinguals	12
1.4 Code switching.....	14
1.4.1 Code switching defined.....	14
1.4.2 Theories of code switching	16

1.4.3	Various types of switching.....	19
1.4.3.1	Intersentential vs. intrasentential.....	19
1.4.4	Code switching vs. code mixing.....	21
1.4.5	Code switching vs. borrowing.....	23
1.4.6	Situational code switching vs. extended diglossia.....	28
1.4.7	Why do bilinguals codeswitch?.....	29
1.4.8	CS and psycholinguists' explanations.....	32
1.5	Language as symbol and instrument of group identity.....	33
1.6	Social network and social stratification.....	35
1.6.1	Labov's investigation in New York City and Martha's Vineyard.....	35
1.6.2	Code switching in Algeria.....	36
Chapter two: Methodology.....		39
2.1	Introduction.....	39
2.2	Describing the context.....	39
2.2.1	Tlemcen speech community.....	40
2.2.1.1	Phonological and phonetic adaptations.....	42
2.2.1.2	French and Arabic definite articles.....	45
2.2.1.3	Males' vs. females' use of French rolled /r/ vs. uvular /R/.....	46
2.2.2	Boudghène district.....	48
2.2.3	Birouana district.....	50
2.3	Data collection.....	51
2.3.1	The interview.....	51
2.3.2	The questionnaire.....	56
2.3.3	The informants.....	58
2.4	The Method of Analysis.....	59
Chapter three: Data Analysis.....		63
3.1	Introduction.....	63
3.2	Attitudes towards CS.....	63
3.2.1	In Birouana.....	63
3.2.2	In Boudghène.....	66

3.3 Results of the questionnaire.....	67
3.4 Summary of findings.....	89
3.5 Analysis of the interviews.....	93
3.5.1 In Birouana.....	93
3.5.2 In Boudghène.....	94
General Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography.....	102
Appendices.....	108
Appendix 1: Questionnaire.....	108
Appendix 2: Interviews and recordings.....	113

List of Tables

Table.3.1	level of education in Birouana and Boudghène	69
Table.3.2	language used in daily life in Birouana and Boudghène.....	70
Table.3.3	language used according to the topic in Birouana and Boudghène	71
Table.3.4	language used according to the hearer in Birouana and Boudghène	73
Table.3.5	language used according to the context in Birouana and Boudghène	75
Table.3.6	Attitudes towards CS in Birouana and Boudghène.....	76
Table.3.7	CS and speakers' identities in Birouana and Boudghène	77
Table.3.8	Speakers' bilinguality in Birouana and Boudghène.....	79
Table.3.9	CS and speakers in Birouana and Boudghène.....	80
Table.3.10	Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Birouana and Boudghène.....	81
Table.3.11	Speakers' French competence in Birouana and Boudghène.....	83
Table.3.12	Understanding French in Birouana and Boudghène	87
Table.3.13	Frequency in the use of French in Birouana and Boudghène	88

List of Figures

Fig.1. 1	Representation of bilingual code-switching grammars. (Poplack 1980).....	19
Fig.3.1.a	level of education in Birouana.....	69
Fig.3.1.b	level of education in Boudghène.....	69
Fig.3.2.a	language used in daily life in Birouana.....	70
Fig.3.2.b	language used in daily life in Boudghène.....	70
Fig.3.3.a	language used according to the topic in Birouana.....	72
Fig.3.3.b	language used according to the topic in Boudghène.....	72
Fig.3.4.a	language used according to the hearer in Birouana.....	74
Fig.3.4.b	language used according to the hearer in Boudghène.....	74
Fig.3.5.a	language used according to the context in Birouana.....	75
Fig.3.5.b	language used according to the context in Boudghène.....	75
Fig.3.6.a	Attitudes towards CS in Birouana.....	76
Fig.3.6.b	Attitudes towards CS in Boudghène.....	76
Fig.3.7.a	CS and speakers' identities in Birouana.....	78
Fig.3.7.b	CS and speakers' identities in Boudghène.....	78
Fig.3.8.a	Speakers' bilinguality in Birouana.....	79
Fig.3.8.b	Speakers' bilinguality in Boudghène.....	79
Fig.3.9.a	CS and speakers in Birouana.....	80
Fig.3.9.b	CS and speakers in Boudghène.....	80
Fig.3.10.a	Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Birouana.....	82
Fig.3.10.b	Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Boudghène.....	82
Fig.3.11.a	Speakers' French competence in Birouana.....	83
Fig.3.11.b	Speakers' French competence in Boudghène.....	83
Fig.3.12	Understanding French in Birouana and Boudghène.....	88
Fig.3.13	Frequency in the use of French in Birouana and Boudghène.....	89
Fig.3.14	The level of education in Birouana and Boudghène.....	90
Fig.3.15	Language used and the hearer in Birouana and Boudghène.....	90
Fig.3.16	Attitudes towards French in Birouana and Boudghène.....	91

Acronyms

CS	Code switching
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
AA	Algerian Arabic

Symbols

Arabic Transcription

ء	ʔ	ق	q
ب	b	ك	k
ت	t	ل	l
ث	θ	م	m
ج	ʒ, dʒ	ن	n
ح	h	ه	h
خ	χ	و	w
د	d	ي	j
ذ	ð	ا	a
ر	r	إ	i
ز	z	أ	u
ش	ʃ		
س	s		
ص	ʂ		
ض	ɖ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ɟ̣		
ع	ʕ		
غ	ɣ		
ف	f		

French Transcription:

French Alphabet	French Transcription
A	a/ɑ
B	b
C	s
D	d
E	ɛ
F	f
G	g
H	h
I	i
J	ʒ
K	k
L	l
M	m
N	n
O	o
P	p
Q	k
R	r
S	s
T	t
U	y
V	v
W	w
X	ks
Y	j
Z	z

Nasalized French vowels: an = ã, on = õ, en = ë, in = ï, un = ù.

Other French vowels: è = ɛ, ø = eu, ui = ɥi, ou = u.

Long vowels: are formed by adding colon (:) to the short vowels.

Gemination: is shown by consonant doubling.

General Introduction

The present study aims to reveal the various uses of Algerian Arabic/French code switching in two contrastive districts of Tlemcen. We opt for this topic to show that although people of these two areas are geographically close to each other, their language use differs in daily conversations.

By conducting this research, we want to focus on, and demonstrate, the different social factors and social motivations behind this divergence. This topic is selected after a long reflection since it is not easy to elucidate speakers' feelings, thoughts and attitudes towards the French language. Our motivation in choosing these two districts stems from the fact that these speakers code switch at different rates although they are close to each other and they belong to the same geographical area. The current topic claims that several domains have to lay one's finger since sociolinguistics cannot clarify all the reasons behind these problems. Psychology, sociology and psycholinguistic sciences are welcome in such a research work because code switching becomes an important implement in a conversation.

In almost all Algerian societies we find a regular use of the French language simultaneously with the Algerian dialect. However, in some contexts this may not happen because of various social factors such as level of education, occupation, speakers' origin; that we will attempt to investigate during this work. Nowadays, code switching has become part of our daily conversation strategy as people continually switch back and forth from one code to the other. Basically the following questions are asked: Why do members codeswitch more or less than others? What motivates their use of code switching, and what are the social factors involved in such situations?

We attempt in this work, to explore the differences among speakers of Tlemcen speech community and try to answer the above questions within the most contrastive, although geographically adjacent, districts of Tlemcen. To answer the aforementioned questions, other sub-questions may be asked: How would people, with positive or negative attitudes towards French, codeswitch? What are the main social reasons under which these speakers may switch from one language to the other? How can this divergence, in code switching at different rates, among speakers belonging to the same town be explained sociolinguistically?

Trying to answer these questions, the following hypotheses are put-forward:

1. Speakers from different origins, having different social backgrounds, may switch from one language to the other differently.
2. Speakers of higher socio-economic status codeswitch to French more than those of lower socio-economic status.
3. Highly educated speakers codeswitch more than less educated ones.

The switches usually occur for social reasons such as showing the speaker's identity and solidarity with the addressee. People do not use the same code all the time in all situations. For example, one repeats what he/she has said in another language in order to make the conversation clearly understood by the listener. Another speaker may codeswitch either to include or to exclude participants within a certain situation and for one or several objectives. Very often code switching is used unconsciously to facilitate communication, to avoid misunderstanding and wasting time to search for the right words in only one of the two languages. Attitudes and motivations towards the French language and towards code switching are the core of the present study.

Code switching is the alternate use of two or more codes. It can be used by monolinguals when changing styles, but here it narrows down the scope of code switching as alternation between two languages, Algerian Arabic and French. This sociolinguistic phenomenon has been studied from two perspectives; grammatical perspective and sociolinguistic one which is the main interest of this study. In fact, in bilingual or multilingual societies, people tend to switch back and forth from one language to the other for one or several social aims such as social function and pragmatic function. When bilinguals switch between two languages, there might be motivation and reasons for code switching. For instance, some bilinguals codeswitch when there is no appropriate translation for the language being used. Code switching can also be used for many other reasons, such as showing one's identity or speaking about a particular topic like problems of health and others.

In investigating the use of code switching in the two contrastive districts of Tlemcen, the data were first collected in Boudghène area then in Birouana. However, in these two districts we try to compare the frequency of code switching in daily conversation and in family context where spontaneity reaches its peak. The findings

depict that speakers of Birouana switch more from Algerian Arabic to French in their daily lives contrary to Boudghène speakers who tend to stick to Algerian Arabic. A description of the way these people use languages is very important since the two sites have different backgrounds and we have to describe them in order to see whether this is the major factor affecting their way of speaking. This study uses a multidisciplinary approach to treat the topic from several angles.

This research work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter consists of the historical background of the two studied areas and also contains the literature review of the main sociolinguistic phenomena and their fundamental theories and previous researches which are used as references and bases for analysing the data. We also try to distinguish between code switching and other sociolinguistic phenomena such as borrowing and diglossia because very often in certain contexts there is no clear-cut distinction between them.

The second chapter elucidates the methodology of data collection. It emphasizes the different ways and tools for getting reliable data. Moreover, it attempts to ascertain the way by which the data obtained will be fairly analysed.

The third chapter discusses and presents the data qualitatively and quantitatively to come up with the results that may answer the questions raised above. This chapter will also present the conclusion of this research work. People often believe that bilinguals switch because they don't know a term in the first language used; but often switching occurs where speakers know the word in both languages and prefer to change for one or several aims.

**Chapter
one**

**Literature
Review**

1.1 Introduction

People living in multilingual areas often have two or more languages and use them regularly for different purposes in their everyday lives. The French language in Algeria is included in schools, universities, public offices and everywhere. However, a large number of Algerians do not use this first foreign language fluently. Therefore, we try to search for the main social factors that may affect either the learning or the use of the French language. One characteristic of bilingual talk is the occurrence of language alternation, commonly referred to as code switching (hereafter CS).

This chapter provides an overall explanation of this sociolinguistic phenomenon. Code switching is a language contact phenomenon which has gained the attention of several linguists and scholars over the last century and has been explored from a number of different perspectives. Certain studies have attempted to analyze code switching from a purely linguistic perspective in terms of syntax and phonology. Others, fascinated by the functions of the human brain, have preferred to approach the issue from a psycholinguistic point of view. Finally, others have been interested in the sociolinguistic perspective of code switching and its influence on communities. It is this perspective that will be adopted in the present research work.

Speakers of more than one language are known for their abilities to shift from one language to another during the same conversation. This linguistic phenomenon occurs when bilinguals switch from one language to the other within the same phrase or the same sentence. Within a bilingual or even multilingual society, this phenomenon is used as a means of communicative strategy.

Before the 1970's, code switching was considered as an indicator of incompetence often employed by semilingual speakers to fill in gaps and to hide their incompetence. In this respect, Ball (2005:55) says:

It might be tempting to think that CS is often due to a lack of fluency or competence in a target language, and that the speaker has to draw on his or her first language for concepts that cannot, or cannot yet, be expressed in the target language.

Previously, then, code switching was seen as a lack of language ability. However, contemporary scholars consider such a phenomenon as a normal and natural product of interaction between bilingual speakers. Myers-Scotton (1993:50) writes: "First, code switching was not just a 'performance error' caused by a lack of ability in the ongoing language; speakers were obviously fluent in both codes they used."

Code switching has been viewed differently from one scholar to another and from one era to another. It has been viewed as a strategy to compensate for the diminished language, i.e., bilinguals codeswitch because they do not know either language completely. It is also known as semi-lingualism. Furthermore, code switching is also used to show the speaker's social identity within a whole community, i.e., a conversation of an individual may reflect his identity and the social class to which he belongs. Conversants may use one language or another according to the context. Speakers, especially from the same community, may switch from one language to another at different rates. Myers-scotton (1993: 120) writes in this respect:

For example, it is entirely possible that different social groups (i.e. possibly based on exposure through education to one of the languages involved) within the same geographical areas (i.e. in the same city) might both use the same languages in their unmarked CS, but use them to different degrees.

In fact, this sociolinguistic phenomenon is investigated, in this research work, in two socially contrastive, with different backgrounds, districts of Tlemcen.

1.2 Historical background of the studied area

1.2.1 The French influence over the Algerian society

Algeria is one of the countries subjected to the French colonial empire. The existence of the French language today in Algeria is the result of the long gradual occupation of the whole country by the French. The Algerian population was so deeply influenced linguistically during the French occupation that today more than 45 years after independence (1962), French continues to play an important role in spoken as well as written domains. As a result, many Algerian people understand French and use

it in day-to-day interactions. Our country is highly ranked among the old French-speaking settlements. In this respect, Calvet (1974:219) says that Algeria "is statistically the most francophone of the ancient colonies."¹ Therefore, the French language is part of the linguistic and social environments of the Algerian speaker and occupies some strategic positions. It exists in their education, social lives and remains the main medium of instruction and communication in scientific and medical departments at university level. The two languages belong to different families genetically unrelated; Arabic belongs to the Semitic family and French to the Indo European family but in spite of this, many Algerian speakers may switch easily from one language to another, even within the same utterance.

The French culture is not only a heritage of colonization; it is always present in our society thanks to other social factors such as the aerial dish and the French channels, TF1, France2, TV5. The internet, on the other hand, makes exchanges with the French people possible and extensive, and reduces the distance between both countries by facilitating the twinning of the cultures. It is for such reasons that this foreign language occupies an important place in the Algerian landscape. Consequently, the Algerian speech integrated many French words and expressions. Historical circumstances and all these contacts with French have granted a privileged place to Algeria and French is much more familiar to us than other foreign languages.

Certainly, in the Algerian educational sector, the Arabic language is the medium of instruction in primary, middle and secondary schools. However, this arabization is used in higher education but the French remains the most efficient language especially in technology and medical fields. The main researches over the world are written either in French or in English but very few are found in Arabic.

1.3 Bilingualism

1.3.1 Bilingualism defined

Since code switching is found in the speech of the bilingual, it is important first to ask, who is a bilingual or what is bilingualism? This sociolinguistic phenomenon is the ability to use two languages. However, defining bilingualism can be problematic

¹ My translation of the original text: "[...] dont on sait qu'il est statistiquement le plus francophone des anciennes colonies."

since there is variation in proficiency. Most scholars defined it differently and their answers to the question of where bilingualism starts vary from one to another. As far as the first extreme is concerned, Bloomfield (1993) viewed a bilingual person as the one who can be perfect in both languages and in all skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. He considered a bilingual as someone having a "native-like control of two languages." (1935:56). In other words, a bilingual speaker has not only to master his two languages but also to use them almost like a native speaker. Grosjean (2008:10-11) writes:

The "real" bilingual has long been seen as the one who is equally and fully fluent in two languages. He or she is the "ideal", the "true", the "balanced", the "perfect" bilingual. All the others (in fact, the vast majority of people who use two languages in their everyday life) are "not really" bilingual or are "special types" of bilinguals; hence the numerous qualifiers found in the literature: "dominant", "unbalanced", "semilingual", "alingual", etc.

Macnamara (1967a), as opposed to the first extreme, considers a bilingual person as the one who has a minimal competence, even in only one skill of the foreign language. Moreover, other linguists were interested at the individual level, bilinguality, and focused on the non-linguistic dimension rather than the level of proficiency of each bilingual. Mohanty (1994a:13)², for instance, argues that the competence of the bilingual should be evaluated within a certain community and within a specific context. In this respect, he says:

[...] bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interaction with the other speakers of any or all of these languages.

(Mohanty, 1994a:13)

Generally speaking, earlier scholars defined bilingualism as the mastery of both languages whereas; later definitions have allowed much greater variation in competence, (Hamers and Blanc, 2000: 56). Wei (2000:68) explains that the term

² Quoted in Hamers and Blanc (2000:7)

bilingual primarily describes someone who knows two languages, but adds that bilingualism can also be taken to include the many people who have varying degrees of proficiency in the use of more than one language.

Linguistics, or more precisely sociolinguistics, is not the only field of describing and analysing the bilingual individual. Other disciplines can go beyond the interest of linguistics. In this respect Wei (2000:49) says:

Bilingualism cannot be described within the science of linguistics; we must go beyond. Linguistics has been interested in bilingualism only in so far as it could be used as an explanation for changes in a language, since language, not the individual, is the proper concern of this science. Psychology has regarded bilingualism as an influence on mental processes. Sociology has treated bilingualism as an element in culture conflict. Pedagogy has been concerned with bilingualism in connection with school organization and media of instruction.

As a matter of fact, different disciplines have considered the effects of social and psychological factors of bilinguals, as we shall see in the next subsection.

1.3.2 Social factors affecting bilingualism

We suggest, in this research work, that age, attitudes as well as motivation are determining factors which may affect the learning of bilinguals.

1.3.2.1 Age

Learning another language is not an easy task at all; indeed, fluent bilinguals have to learn their foreign languages at an early age since language learning becomes more difficult, and even by the age of 18 or 20 or 25 it is not as easy as it is at the age of 5 or 7. In this respect, Wei (2000:33) says: "Before the age of nine, the child's brain seems particularly well suited to language learning, but after this age the speech areas become "progressively stiff" and the capacity to learn languages begins to decrease." Furthermore, there are trends in psycholinguistics which proclaim that early bilinguals may respond faster to code switching than late bilinguals, suggesting that the brain at a

certain age loses progressively its capacity for the acquisition of another foreign language. As Hamers and Blanc (2000: 74) say:

The relative ease with which a young child masters more than one language, as compared with the effort expended by an adult in learning an L₂, prompted Penfield & Roberts (1959) to assume that this facility might be attributed to the relatively greater cerebral plasticity of the child.

Studies have shown that the age of the bilingual plays an important role in acquiring a second language. A bilingual at an early age may achieve native-like fluency in his or her second language, whereas a bilingual at a later age or one who learned his or her second language after his puberty may never achieve native-like pronunciation. Children have a certain period where their brain's plasticity reaches its peak and it extends only to a certain age; beyond that period, language acquisition becomes a difficult and laborious process that is not always completed successfully. In 1967, Lenneberg made an extensive body of research about the neurological aspects of language and suggested that before puberty there is no maturation of the brain since the two cerebral hemispheres are very proficient in a period called *Critical Period Hypothesis*.

Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) shows that learners are conditioned by their age and that the fundamental period of language acquisition ends around the age of 12 i.e., if language is not learned before that age native-like fluency will not be attained. Singleton and Lengyel (1995:124) say:

To be more precise, it has been claimed that phonological proficiency (pronunciation) can attain a native-like quality only if the second (or foreign) language learning begins before the end of the critical period i.e., not later than 6 or 12 years of age depending on the specific terms of any given formulation of the CPH.

In our society, for example, fluent bilinguals are those who learn a second language at an early age, from birth or those who lived from birth with the French during colonization. Previous studies in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics and others have

shown that age, as a social factor, plays a crucial role in foreign language acquisition and its use. Bullock and Toribio (2009:7) say:

Speakers who have been exposed to two languages from birth or early childhood – simultaneous or early bilinguals – and who have maintained the use of their languages throughout their lifespan most closely approximate what is meant by true bilingual. These speakers possess advanced linguistic and communicative abilities in both languages, and are able to deploy each as required.

In fact, age is not the only social factor that may affect the learning of French. There are other individual reasons such as attitudes and motivations of the speaker.

1.3.2.2 Attitudes

In Tlemcen speech community we have noticed that there are conservative people, especially those having Tlemcenian origins, who stick to their ancestors and to their way of speaking. For instance, the realization of the Arabic phoneme [q] as a glottal stop [ʔ] in Tlemcen speech is stigmatised because it is found only in Tlemcen and that all Algerian people use either [q] of Standard Arabic or [g] of the rural and nomadic speakers. In Tlemcen environment, its use is seen as an 'effeminate' feature because of certain social factors that are not clear though linguistically [ʔ] is much 'softer' in its articulation than the other realisation [g]. However, native people of Tlemcen continue to use it especially when they are in intimate contexts. On the contrary, there are others who have not been living in Tlemcen before and then try to acquire, as much as possible, and imitate the speech of Tlemcen so that their language resembles native-like speakers'. Thus, they usually have something wrong or they make a mixture of two varieties, e.g. [t i j a ʔ ə l t i l i] instead of [t i n a ʔ ə l t l i] 'you told me'

A highly motivated speaker with positive attitudes towards French always uses it in his/her speech especially in formal situations when facing educated

foreigners because we have noticed in Birouana that their residents use frequently French to show their social identity especially their high level of education.

We have noticed that native speakers of Tlemcen speech community tend to become a minority vis-à-vis foreigners. The [ʔ] is avoided especially by men whenever they are interacting with foreigners because it is socially seen as a “feminine” feature and should not be used by a man.

In the case of bilingualism, we very often notice speakers in our society shifting from their own Algerian dialect to French especially when they are in front of strangers and when their own language or dialect is socially low valued, Wei (2000:34) adds:

The attitude of a bilingual towards his languages and towards the people who speak them will influence his behaviour within the different areas of contact in which each language is used. It may in turn be influenced by his hearer's attitude towards him as a foreign speaker. In certain situations he may avoid using one of his languages because he is ashamed of his accent. In other situations he may prefer to use his second language because his first language may be that of an unpopular country or community. It has been said that some speakers of minority languages even harbour an attitude of disrespect toward their first language and an admiration for their second.

As a native speaker, we have noticed during the data collection that not only do bilinguals shift from one language to the other differently but also monolinguals may shift from one variety to another of the same language and under certain social factors. In certain contexts, the people of Boudghène switch from their variety to the Tlemcenian one e.g. instead of saying [ʔərɤɑːh ngullək] ‘come here to speak to you’ they may say [aʒi nʔəllək] or [adʒi nʔullək], especially when they are facing native speakers of Tlemcen.

As far as CS is concerned, very often speakers use the second language (French in Algeria) with non-Algerians in order to share and maintain social relations and to destroy the social boundaries that could exist when using their own variety. However, consciously or unconsciously speakers have to select and use the right code according to their audience and this is quite natural in our daily lives. Moreover, the people of

Boudghène consider Algerian Arabic as the language of their ancestors. However, French is used only by educated speakers when needed. One informant is annoyed because of a relative who spent a few months in Paris, and returned pretending not to be able to speak Algerian Arabic. He said that her attitude is considered snobbish and ridiculous.

1.3.2.3 Motivation

Motivation is one of the keys for learning foreign languages. Human beings acquire their first language from infancy and use it to satisfy their vital communication needs, but later on they learn other languages for other purposes. However, learning a second language is less important than the first one. As Wei (2000:34) says in this respect,

It seems obvious that the motivation for acquiring the first language is more compelling than the motivation for learning a second. For once the vital purposes of communication have been achieved, the reasons for repeating the effort in another language are less urgent.

Vassberg (1993:62) states that speakers change from one language to another according to their proficiencies or preference and she explains that her respondents very often prefer to listen first to their interlocutors then decide on whether to speak one language or the other. Such decision is taken under certain social factors such as age, sex, apparent socio-economic status and accent. She (1993:66) adds that “Motivation to achieve an intended goal and awareness of social consequences and expectations thus explain code-switching.”

1.3.3 Types of Bilinguals

There are many factors showing that not all bilinguals, especially those from the same area, employ the two codes in the same way. People who use both languages regularly are called *additive* bilinguals; for them both languages are valued and useful. *Subtractive* bilinguals, on the other hand, are those who use one language more than

the other, i.e., one language is valued over the other. (Hamers and Blanc, 2000:29). Another distinction is made between *primary* and *secondary* bilingualism. The former denotes that the second language is acquired naturally from birth and the latter is learned through instruction and schooling. Within a whole society, there are speakers who understand a language but cannot produce it; these are known as *receptive* or *passive* bilinguals. However, those who can do both, speak and understand, are called *productive* or *active bilinguals*. We must distinguish between semibilinguals, also called receptive bilinguals, and semilinguals who lack competence in both languages. Edward (1994:58) says that:

A useful distinction can be made between *receptive* (or passive) bilingualism, and *productive* (or active) competence; the difference here is between those who understand a language—either spoken or written—but cannot produce it themselves, and those who can do both. A receptive competence only has been referred to as *semibilingualism*.

Ball (2005:38, 39), distinguishes between *balanced* and *unbalanced* bilinguals to show that the former is someone who has equal ability in both languages, and consequently knows when and where to switch, as opposed to the latter. According to Weinreich (1953:73), the bilingual should master his languages and should know when to switch from one language to another. But he is against the switch within the same utterance or sentence suggesting that there are indeed rules according to which codes may be switched within sentences. In this respect, he defines the ideal bilingual as an individual: “who switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.”

One of the consequences of multilingual communities is the occurrence of the sociolinguistic phenomenon called code switching. Bilinguals usually use their two languages within the same conversation.

1.4 Code switching

1.4.1 Code switching defined

All bilinguals tend to shift from one language to another within the same conversation or the same utterance. This phenomenon, called code switching, has been defined in a number of ways by different researchers over time. One example of the difficulties of defining this linguistic phenomenon seems to be the fact that the term 'code switching' itself is spelled differently by different researchers. The following spellings are used: code switching, code-switching and codeswitching. In this study, we will adopt the spelling 'code switching' or the abbreviation 'CS'. Scholars and sociolinguists around the world continue to question the definition of CS and often dispute and redefine this term as new studies emerge. Illustrating the CS phenomenon, Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) write the following:

First, its linguistic manifestation may extend from the insertion of single words to the alternation of languages for larger segments of discourse. Second, it is produced by bilinguals of differing degrees of proficiency who reside in various types of language contact settings, and as a consequence their CS patterns may not be uniform. Finally, it may be deployed for a number of reasons: filling linguistic gaps, expressing ethnic identity, and achieving particular discursive aims, among others.

People are usually required to select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, they also decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes every utterance and thereby create a new code. (Wardhaugh, 2000: 100). Poplack (1980) looked at code switching as the syntactic structure where a switch can exist and be defined by two constraints: the 'free morpheme' and the 'equivalence.' The 'free morpheme constraint' is that the speaker may not switch language between a word and its inflection, i.e., the switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme; hence, it is possible to have English / Spanish switch. One interesting example cited by Poplack (1980) is, *flipeando* (English *flip* + Spanish *ando*), as 'flip' is possible in Spanish, but not *runeando* as 'run' is impossible. The

'equivalence constraint,' denotes that the switch-point must be grammatical with respect to both languages simultaneously, i.e., the word order immediately before and after the switch point must belong to both languages.

In our case, we illustrate with the following examples to show that only adapted French words can be used with the bound morpheme of Algerian Arabic as in [repōdet] 'I answered'; this word consists of the lexical form from the French verb 'répondre' and the bound morpheme 'ت' 't' from Arabic, a suffix referring to the first person. In the noun [stiluǰæt], 'pens', the lexical form is taken from the word 'stylo' and the bound morpheme, plural form, from Arabic 'ات' 'æt'. These words may be seen as *well-formed* according to Hamers and Blanc (2000:261). However, this rule is not applied to all French words e.g. we do not say in Algerian Arabic [dormit] 'I slept' or [fɜ:jæt] 'sheets or leaves'. In fact, the French words used in Algerian Arabic are borrowings and these words entered in our dialect by necessity, i.e., verbs and nouns that were not in Algerian Arabic e.g [dimari:t] 'to start' was not used in Arabic, simply because it came to Algerian Arabic with the concept related to cars or engines made by the French e.g [trakturæt]. So, there was no reason for those Algerians to drop the Arabic verb [rqadt] and replaced it by [dormi:t].

On the other hand, Valdés-Fallis (1978) defines code switching differently and allows the switch not only within a sentence but even at word boundary. He refers to it as "the alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause or sentence level." Other linguists have proposed that a switch may occur everywhere the speaker desires. Halliday (1978:65) maintains that code switching "is code-shift actualized as a process within the individual: the speaker moves from one code to another and back, more or less rapidly, in course of a single sentence."

Code switching can also be defined as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation" (Grosjean 1982: 145). Trudgill (1980:82) prefers to restrict the use of code switching and related it to the context of the speaker. He views CS as "switching from one language variety to another when the situation demands." In general, one can say that code switching is the alternation of

two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplack 1980:581). Apart from two or more alternating languages, the term code switching has also been used to refer to different styles within the same language, for example, formal and informal speech among monolinguals. In this respect, Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) say:

Even monolinguals are capable of shifting between the linguistic registers and the dialects they command and, as such, there are parallels that can be drawn between monolingual and bilingual language use. For convenience, we can refer to such monolingual behavior as style shifting.

In addition to style shifting, found in monolinguals speech, code switching is used to refer to the alternate uses of two varieties or codes without mentioning if the variety is a language or a dialect. Romaine, (1994:62) states that:

[...] many linguists use the term 'code-switching'; the term 'code', like 'variety', is a neutral one and does not commit us to taking a decision as to whether the varieties or codes concerned constitute languages or dialects.

For other linguists, like Myers-Scotton, bilingual speakers tend to switch between codes according to the purpose of their conversations and they shift from one code to another as they wish to do. She maintains that "...all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motivations." (1993:113). Often speakers switch from one variety to another according to the actual situation they are involved in. Moreover, their strategies change from one context to another.

1.4.2 Theories of code switching

Several theories have considered each sociolinguistic phenomenon. Currently the most widely accepted theory of code switching is the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993), which states that in code switching there is a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). Additionally, The MLF explains code switching through the interaction of a speaker's Matrix Language and

Embedded Language (ibid). In this respect, she says: "Code switching ... is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from the embedded variety (or varieties) utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:3)

The *Matrix language* is the main language of the utterance whereas the *Embedded language* is the language being inserted into the utterance. One of the more complete theories in code switching is "The Markedness Model" put forward by Myers-Scotton (1993). This theory provides the theoretical framework for examining the bilinguals' motivations for code switching. Language users choose a code that marks their needs and feelings within a certain context. In short, the main idea of the Markedness-model shows that there is a *marked* and *unmarked* language choice in different situations, i.e., each language in a multilingual community has particular social roles which Myers-Scotton calls rights-and-obligations (RO). Therefore, she (1993:75) writes:

The theory behind the markedness model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place. This markedness has a normative basis within the community, and speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices.

(ibid. p.75)

The concept of markedness used by Myers-scotton implies that a set of obligations and rights, RO, must be present within a particular type of interaction. This markedness model also contributes to explain the socio-psychological motivations for CS. As she adds;

[...] CS in general is a type of skilled performance with communicative intent. From the socio-psychological point of view, CS can be as symptomatic either (a) of willingness or an uncertainty on the speaker's part regarding the commitment to indexing any single rights-and-obligations set between participants in a conversation, or (b) of a negotiation to change the rights-and-obligations set.

(ibid. p.6)

According to her, the indexicality of *rights-and-obligations set* is derived from important situational factors that affect a speech (like status of the participants, topic or setting.) The markedness model, however, is fundamentally based on a principle which states that CS occurs whenever speakers are motivated to do so, especially when the situation requires the use of more than one language. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (1993:113) says:

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

This principle embodies the strongest and central claim of the theory presented here: that all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motivations.

To a very large extent, Myers-Scotton wants her model to have validity for all multilingual societies. She answers this question through her Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF), i.e. she claims that a bilingual speaker has a dominant language (Matrix language or ML) and an intrusive language (Embedded Language or EL). From this we can say that the language that is functioning as the ML will set the grammar for the code switched sentences. Additionally, Bullock and Toribio (2009:100) explain Myers-scotton's markedness model as follows:

Myers-scotton also developed the concept of markedness in order to explain the socio-psychological motivations for CS, using data collected in various settings in Africa, Kenya in particular (1983, 2002b). It was suggested that in any given situation, a language choice could be either unmarked (i.e. the expected choice for this speech act) or marked (i.e. a choice which contributes in some way to the message because it is unexpected, and therefore carries particular implications or association).

The nature of the use of code switching in Tlemcen is spontaneous and subconscious in certain situations and purposeful in others. In other words, the occurrence of CS depends on the speaker's intention and his/her social motivation. Within a sentence, where more than one language is used, sociolinguists distinguish

between two types of CS according to the switch point and according to the way in which the two languages take place.

1.4.3 Various types of switching

Very often bilinguals switch from one language to the other within the same sentence or at sentence boundary

1.4.3.1 Intersentential vs. intrasentential

Variation and choices about how code switching may be used are determined by a number of social factors. (Hamers and Blanc 2000:259). According to Poplack (1980), this shift from one code to another can take on several types including *intersentential* code switching, the language switch occurs at sentence boundaries where one sentence is in language A and the other in language B. Studying the Puerto Rican community of New York City, Poplack (1980) recorded people say: "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English *y termino en español*" (Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish). In our society, we often hear people saying: [il e sɛrjɜ: ʔandu lkɔlma] 'he is serious, he keeps his promise'. *Intrasentential* code switching, however, occurs in the middle of a sentence or clause as in [hædek səbbat lwija ply ʒasha tɔʃrih ʔedda] 'She liked those shoes she wants to buy them tomorrow.' According to Poplack, code switching may be intersentential, intrasentential or may involve syntactically independent switching of tags. Furthermore, a tag occurs freely in a sentence; it does not have any syntactic constraints. Wei (2000:239) depicts that Poplack (1980) illustrates the following figure to highlight the meaning of each occurrence.

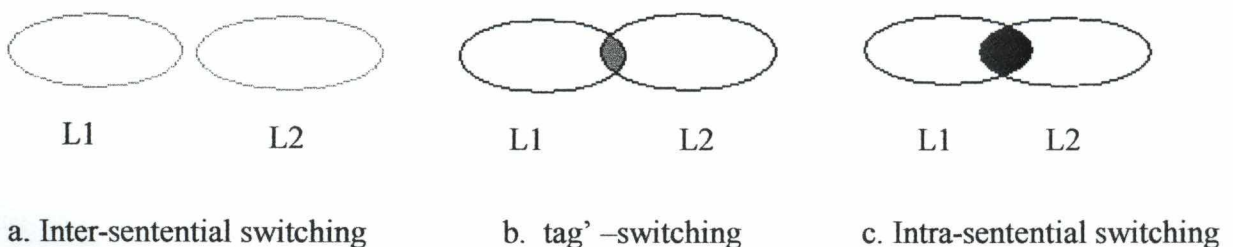


Fig. 1. 1 Representation of bilingual code-switching grammars. (Poplack 1980)

Romaine (1995) recorded Punjabi-English bilinguals in Britain say: "Kio ke six, seven hours te school devic spend karde ne, they are speaking English all the time" 'Because they spend six or seven hours a day at school they are speaking English all the time'. This type of switching appears to involve special rules that govern the syntax and morphology of the two languages that may be used and is consequently adopted only by bilinguals with high levels of fluency (Romaine 1995: 123). Later on, Bullock and Toribio (2009) argue that, while shifting from one language to the other, bilinguals should know the grammar rules of each language in use, in order to be able to switch at the right point. As they (2009:3) say:

Like intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential switching requires an advanced level of bilingual proficiency as it often entails the production of full clauses in each language. However, the former, but not the latter, can offer insights into the ways in which the two grammars of the bilingual interact at the sentence level.

Extra-sentential code switching occurs when a tag phrase or word from language A is inserted within an utterance from language B. e.g. 'you know', 'I mean'. In addition, two kinds of code switching have been mentioned according to Gumperz and Hymes (1972:409) *situational* and *metaphorical*. Situational code switching occurs when the languages used change according to the situations in which speakers find themselves obliged to switch, i.e., they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one. On the contrary, in metaphorical code switching a change of topic requires a change in the language used.

CS denotes, as opposed to lack of competence in either language, those speakers who shift correctly from one language to the other as balanced bilinguals, i.e., since they master their two languages they certainly know when and how to use intrasentential or intersentential CS. In this respect, Bullock and Toribio (2009:242) say:

[...] CS, especially of the intra-sentential type, requires a high degree of both pragmatic and grammatical competence in both languages. It reflects the ability of the speaker to appropriately select a language while obeying socially and culturally imposed constraints.

Intrasentential CS is only used by bilinguals who have grammatical competence in both languages in order to be able to switch correctly within the same utterance. In other words, only ideal bilinguals can use intrasentential CS. We illustrate this with the following example, we say: [ma vwaty_R reha ã pan], [ma vwaty_R re ã pan] or [ma vwaty_R re fazda] but we cannot say [ma vwaty_R e fazda] ‘my car is broken down’ ‘Ma voiture est en panne’.

[re ã pan] is again a kind of borrowing of necessity, as it is associated with cars, engines, fridges or any machine introduced by the French in Algeria. Thus, Algerian Arabic speakers got used to it rather than to the Arabic expression:

فيها عطب which they did not know. [e fazda] is an impossible switch that can be explained in a terms Poplack ‘equivalence constraint’. There is a kind of violation of the Arabic grammar in the verb phrase.

1.4.4 Code switching vs. code mixing

As stated above, the definition of code switching changes from one linguist to another and therefore there is no consensus on the two extremes of this sociolinguistic phenomenon. We try to make a clear distinction between code switching and code mixing since it is anything but simple. Thus, Gluth (2008:8) writes:

The distinction between code-switching and code-mixing seems to be more problematic than the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. The greatest difficulty in this respect is to separate code-switching from code-mixing in the cases of intrasentential code-switching, i.e. when the codes are switched within one clause.

For some linguists, like Wardhaugh (2006:101), code switching and code mixing share the same meaning and they argue that no distinction should be made between the two terms referring to the same thing. For others, code switching is the alternation between sentences; the two sentences should have different grammars, whereas code mixing is the alternation of two languages within the same sentence, i.e. a word from language A found within a sentence of language B but respecting the grammar of the sentence. As Fasold (1984:182) puts it:

One criterion that is sometimes offered to distinguish switching from mixing is that the grammar of the clause determines the language. By this criterion, if a person uses a word or a phrase from another language, he has mixed, not switched. But if one clause has the grammatical structure of one language and the next is constructed according to the grammar of another, a switch has occurred.

According to him, code switching and code mixing are interrelated and then used as complementary terms, that is, each one has its occurrence and grammar rules. Moreover, Gluth (2008:8) too says that: “[...] the notion of “code-switching” is used for clean grammatical switching, which does not violate the rule of either languages, whereas the notion “code-mixing” is used for sequences which violate the grammar rules of one or both languages.” On the contrary, other scholars like Winford (2003: 105) consider intra-sentential code switching as code mixing. In fact, it is really not easy to differentiate between code mixing and Intrasentential code switching since both of them occur within the same sentence. Thus, what can we say is that CS is used when speakers change intentionally his/her language according to certain social factors and for specific purposes. On the other hand, code mixing occurs when speakers insert words of another language but with no specific purpose or intention, that is, the use of French is subconscious. For example, in Algerian Arabic it is common to hear utterances like: [nʃawdu nəmʃiw ldæk lēdrwa, mafihʃ lvaʃi, p_{ROPR} wə klina alɛz] ‘We’ll return to that place; it’s not crowded; clean and we ate comfortably.’ The speaker in this conversation uses French words and expressions that are found frequently in our society and for which there are Arabic equivalents except

for the last expression [a.lɛz] which may not have an Algerian Arabic equivalent. Therefore, the speaker inserts French spontaneously in order to facilitate speech.

1.4.5 Code switching vs. borrowing

In bilingual matters, one of the prominent interests of researchers is to classify each lexical item as belonging to one of the languages used. Therefore, most sociolinguists agree that a distinction should be made between *code switching* and *borrowing*. The reason for differentiating between the two phenomena is to be able to identify all lexical items and to depict the case of borrowing from the one of switching and therefore, to be able to identify, to a certain extent, educated from non educated people since the correct use of CS requires some mastery of the second language as opposed to the case of borrowing. Hamers and Blanc (2000:259) explain that:

[...] borrowing and code-switching are phenomena at either end of a continuum: an established loan-word is a historically transmitted word that has been integrated with the recipient language, while code-switching is a more or less spontaneous, bounded switch from sentences of one language to sentences of another, affecting all levels of linguistic structure simultaneously.

This divergence between code switching and borrowing is stated from the language competence of the users and from the perspective of grammaticality. Therefore, speakers will not switch from one language to another unless they master rules of the two languages. In an instance of Algerian Arabic and French code switching, we may hear [ð va sɔvwar laʃʃija] 'We will meet in the afternoon', and we immediately depict the competence of the Algerian speaker in French. But a non-competent speaker might say: [ð va nətlaʔaw laʃʃija] In this respect, Gluth (2008:7) writes:

Borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence. Whereas code-switching and code-mixing imply some degree of competence in the two languages, although the precise relation between competence and types of code-switching is disputed.

The best criterion to differentiate between borrowing and single-word code switch is frequency. It shows that a borrowed word is regularly used by almost all speakers of the community, whoever the user is, whereas a single word code switch is not frequently used and not by everybody. Besides, neither phonology nor morphosyntax could explain the main distinction between the two; therefore, it is important to mention that there is no clear-cut distinction between the two phenomena and they are interrelated. In this context, Eastman (1992:3) says:

According to Myers-Scotton, frequency is the best criterion to use to link borrowings to the mental lexicon in contrast to single-form codeswitches. Yet, there is very little reason to make a distinction between the processes. Neither morphosyntactic nor phonological integration criteria remain viable ways to decide whether embedded language material is the result of borrowing or codeswitching.

As a matter of fact, differentiating CS from borrowing has been a subject of great controversy among researchers of CS. Thus, other researchers consider code switching and borrowing as two interrelated phenomena and that, very often, a bilingual becomes confused since he cannot differentiate between the two. As Winford (2003:107) says, "Some researchers argue, however, that frequency counts are inconclusive, and that the distinction between a switch and a borrowing is not transparent to bilinguals".

In borrowing, the foreign lexical item should follow and respect the rest of the utterance phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. In other words, each sentence has its own rules and yet the intruder item is integrated and must be adapted following the rules of this sentence. In this respect, Winford (2003:107) adds:

Sankoff et al. (1986) argue that if an utterance has the syntax and morphology of one language, then any lexical item not native to that language must be a borrowing. This leads them to treat all single-word switches as 'nonce borrowings'.

Code switching and borrowing are not clearly distinguished since they are in a continuum where there is no clear-cut boundary. Therefore, there is a doubt to argue if it is even possible to differentiate between them. In this respect, Field (2002:181) says that: "Since both kinds of phenomena involve the alternation of elements from two languages in some way, we might expect that the lines separating the two would appear somewhat blurred at times."

We also have to mention that CS is found along a whole clause or utterance, the first one in language X and the second in language Y, but in the case of phrasal borrowing, things will become confused. Poplack and her associates (1980, 1981) found three types of integration of items (phonological, morphological and syntactic) in the recipient language. Her theory of CS argues that if a single item from the donor language is integrated and follows the grammar of the recipient language then it is a borrowing whereas if the single item of the donor language is not integrated within the recipient language and follows the grammar of the donor language it is rather a switch. In this respect, Deuchar says that "In Poplack's theory of code-switching, chunks of donor-language items are unproblematic examples of switches." Thus, Deuchar³ contrasts the idea by saying that:

It is the single donor-language items which she considers to be superficially ambiguous between switches and borrowings, and in order to disambiguate the status of these items she defines borrowings as those donor-language items which pattern according to the grammar of the recipient language. Switches, in contrast, are defined as those donor-language items which pattern according to the grammar of the donor language, or in other words, are linguistically integrated in the donor language.

However, we have to mention that there is no agreement between Poplack and Myers-Scotton since the former states that the difference between these two terms relies mainly on the criteria of syntax, morphology and phonology integration in the recipient language (Poplack 1980). The latter contradicts or refutes these criteria because the degree of borrowing integration may not be distinguished from the one of

³ Quoted in: <http://www.bilingualism.bangor.ac.uk/conference/Deuchar.pdf>

switches. According to her, the most important criterion that may differentiate borrowed item from switches is “frequency”.

According to Muysken (2000:3), CS can be explained under three processes: *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalization*. The first process occurs whenever an item from one language is inserted within an utterance from another language, i.e., the item belongs to language A whereas the rest of the utterance belongs to language B. This is similar to what Myers-scotton (1993) called ML (Matrix Language). However, Muysken remarks that there is a small difference between the insertion of a lexical item and borrowing. The second process, alternation, is viewed as code switching since both languages are actually alternated, each with its own structure, and with the right switch point boundary. Therefore, the main difference between the two processes is that in alternation, elements or lexical items are not only inserted, as in the case of insertion, but also involve both their grammar and lexicon, i.e., the two languages are relatively separated and no one affects the grammar of the other.

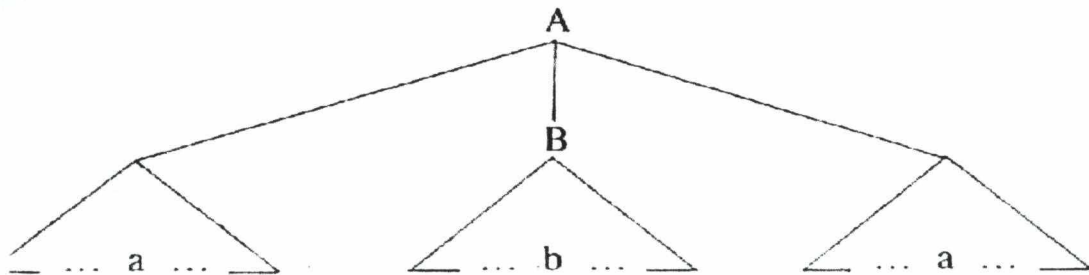
As far as congruent lexicalization is concerned, the third process, it is a type of mixture between codes (languages, dialects and/or styles) which are closely related; this mixture, words from both languages A and B are inserted more or less randomly, appears to follow different rules, i.e. the two languages share a common grammatical structure that can fit with lexical elements of both codes. As Muysken (2000:221) states,

Congruent lexicalization is akin to language variation and style shifting: switching is grammatically unconstrained and characterizable in terms of alternative lexical insertions. Linguistic convergence feeds into congruent lexicalization, and the two processes may reinforce each other. Some cases of word-internal mixing can be viewed as congruent lexicalization.

In our society, these three code switching patterns, which may be found in speech data from multilingual communities, are illustrated as follows:

• Insertional type: Constituents of language B are inserted in a structure of language A, with words of that language. e.g.

[**normal**mē tamʃi ʔandha wə tfahhamha se ʃoz la] ‘Normally you go to her and explain these things to her.’

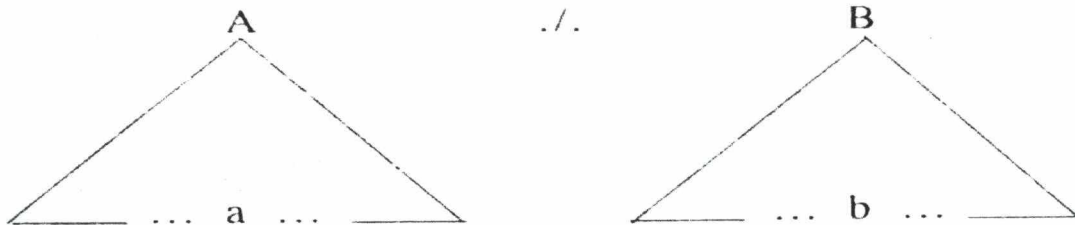


(Muysken, 2000)

• Alternational type: Constituents from language A are followed by constituents from language B.

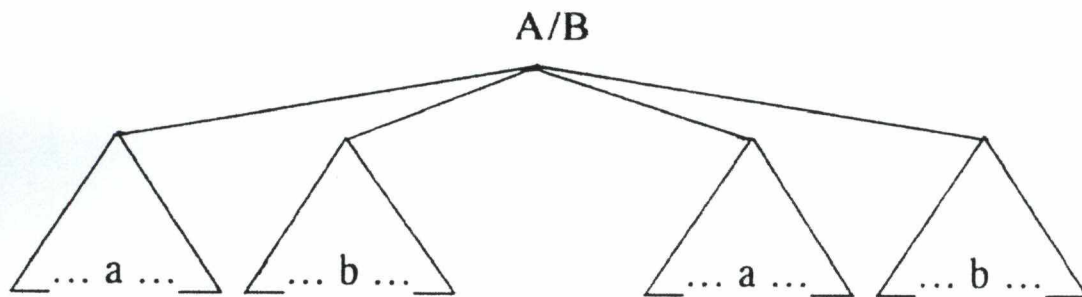
e.g [ttidzara riha waʔra bnaðəm ɣaʃʃo jsaʔaf.lə **klijē e rwa**]‘

To carry on a business is hard, people should be patient. The customer is a king.’



(Muysken, 2000)

• Congruent lexicalization type: The grammatical structure of the sentence is shared by the two languages (A, B) and words from **a** and **b** are inserted randomly. In our case, this type of switching cannot occur because the two languages have different grammars since they are genetically unrelated. (Muysken, 2000:8). This process occurs with dialect switching, e.g. urban speech/rural speech or in diglossic contexts: Modern Standard Arabic vs. Algerian Arabic.



(Muysken, 2000)

1.4.6 Situational code switching vs. extended diglossia

CS is the issue of bilingualism. What distinguishes CS from other sociolinguistic phenomena, such as diglossia in this case, is that the selection of a language is conditioned in diglossic contexts, whereas in CS speakers are relatively free. As the term itself suggests, situational code switching occurs according to situations and contexts; therefore bilinguals select their codes as they wish to do and though often unconsciously. Diglossia, on the contrary, denotes the existence of two varieties, high and low, used in separate specialized situations. The high variety is used in formal settings such as public meetings, scientific conferences and educational purposes. The low variety is used in informal contexts like everyday speech and family situations. Therefore, the main difference to be depicted is that languages in a diglossic situation are used in complementary distribution and that no variety can be substituted for the other, whereas in a code switching situation both languages can be used according to speakers' intentions. In other words, CS is an individual phenomenon whereas diglossia is societal. In this respect, Bullock and Toribio (2009:6) say:

In diglossic settings, the selection of which language to use is not free, but determined by community norms; that is, diglossia is socially imposed. In contrast, CS is understood as an individual phenomenon wherein a speaker chooses when, why, and how to alternate between languages.

To illustrate this differentiation, let us take the example of Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French. Diglossia, in the Algerian context, occurs as follows: in formal situations either Standard Arabic or French are used but not Algerian Arabic whereas in informal situations, either French or Algerian Arabic is used but not Standard Arabic. According to Wardhaugh (2006:104), this restriction of code occurrences distinguishes diglossia from other sociolinguistic phenomena. In other words, speakers are obliged to use the right variety in the right context, the two varieties being in complementary distribution.

Code switching, on the contrary, is used freely according to speakers' need and motivations; it is also used often subconsciously for certain reasons that we attempt to mention in the next sub-section.

However, we must bear in mind that the varieties in Diglossia are not always compartmentalized, particularly with the increasing literacy in Modern Standard Arabic. Indeed, depending on who the speaker is, high variety items or expressions are increasingly heard in semi-formal situations and even informal ones. As a matter of fact, Ferguson (1959) has used the term *middle variety* to show that the high variety may be used for certain situations.

1.4.7 Why do bilinguals codeswitch?

In every speech community, more than one way of saying the same thing exists. Bilinguals tend to switch back and forth between two languages (or more) in different situations, formal and informal contexts, and even within the same conversation. People usually codeswitch for various reasons. They sometimes shift within the same domain or social situation depending on the audience. A speaker might codeswitch to indicate group membership and similar ethnicity with the addressee. The switch items might be either a whole sentence or brief phrases or even single words.

People are usually required to select a particular code whenever they start speaking, and they wonder which code to use depending on such factors as who they are talking to, where they are, and what they are talking about. In this respect, Winford

(2003:119) says: "The central idea behind CAT⁴ is that speakers may be motivated to adjust their speaking styles in order to evoke the listener's social approval, to increase communication efficiency, and to maintain a positive social identity." There are a number of possible reasons for the switching from one language to another. Of the many reasons for which bilinguals code switch, the most common belief is that speakers switch languages to compensate for a lack of fluency. According to Ping (2008:8), a speaker may not be able to express himself in one language, so he switches to the other language to compensate for the lack of his words or for the deficiency. This type of code switching tends to occur when the speaker is tired, distracted in some manner or he does not know the right word at all. In our society another purpose for switching is worth mentioning: conversants may repeat what they have already said in another language in order to emphasize their ideas to the listener. Moreover, within a conversation, Algerian speakers with limited knowledge of French, for example, may consciously choose to switch to Algerian Arabic or may insert words within their utterances in order to maintain the meaning of a sentence and to carry on the conversation. Isurin et al. (2009:4) illustrate this point thus: "... switching might occur because of a lack of formal knowledge of words in the base language, that is, the language the speaker is switching from (Grosjean, 1982)." In our society, for example, we often notice speakers switching from one language to another according to the topic they are involved in, metaphorical CS, because they master this topic in one of the two languages. For instance, Algerian people usually use Algerian Arabic to speak about religion in order to be more explicit and more convincing. However, we usually hear people speaking in French when talking about medicine and health issues. Vassberg (1993:62) says that:

Language choice may be determined by topic, since the bi/multilingual speaker may have learned about a specific topic through the medium of one language, and may therefore feel most comfortable discussing the topic in that language. Or one language may lack specialized terminology for that topic.

⁴: refers to Communication Accommodation Theory.

However, in everyday speech, CS is often subconscious, since people may not be aware that they have switched from one language to another and they are not able to say if they have switched and which code they have used for a particular context. In this case CS is used for no purpose. Therefore, Wardhaugh (2006:104) writes:

[...] the motivation of the speaker is an important consideration in the choice. Moreover, such motivation need not be at all conscious, for apparently many speakers are not aware that they have used one particular variety of language rather than another or sometimes even that they have switched languages either between or within utterances.

According to Wardhaugh, as stated above, speakers sometimes do not realize that they use code switching. It happens spontaneously, i.e. they do not pay attention to the words they use. Myers-scotton argues that CS is often found within a situation where a group of speakers shares the same socio-economic status and where there are no strangers. As she (1993:119) puts it: "First, the speakers must be bilingual peers; such switching typically does not happen when there is a socio-economic differential between speakers or when they are strangers." Additionally, she found that proficiency and other social factors, such as age or education, have an actual impact behind the occurrence of CS when she writes "But my impression is that engaging in such switching is more associated with *familiarity* with high proficiency or with any social-identity factors, such as education or age." Myers-scotton (1993:119). According to some social factors such as the topic, situation and relations, bilinguals may switch back and forth between languages and almost in all cases people are not aware that they have codeswitched and cannot foresee which code to use at what time and in which place. Besides, speakers switch to another language because they are more familiar with the lexical items in that particular language than in their native language. Hamers and Blanc (2000:253) say:

[...] a bilingual's communication strategies vary within an interactional situation and therefore a code that is optimal at one point may cease to be so later as a result of changes in the situation, the topic, role relations, etc. One should add that speakers are not necessarily conscious of using these strategies.

In the Algerian context, there are several French borrowed expressions and words that are used by Algerian speakers because they are well known and frequently used, even by monolinguals. These French expressions are employed because of their familiarity to the speakers, e.g., [senormal] 'It is normal', [sava] 'That goes', [saje] 'That's it', [frã]mẽ] 'Frankly'.

Switching commonly occurs when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group and this type of switching may also be used to exclude others, those who do not speak this language and those who do not share the same identity, from a conversation. In this respect, Bullock and Toribio (2009:10) say: "In particular, CS may serve as a marker of group membership and solidarity. Importantly, bilinguals only code-switch with other bilinguals with whom they share a dual language identity." Indeed, these studies explain many of the reasons why code switching occurs. Speakers may codeswitch to express themselves or to show their social status to the listener.

1.4.8 Code switching and psycholinguists' explanations

Sociolinguistics is able to explain *when* and *why* bilinguals may use code switching in their speech. It does not, however, explain how code switching is processed and sociolinguistic research does not examine any differences that may occur between early and late bilingual speakers. In order to show how the bilingual brain processes language in general some scholars examine psycholinguistic factors. Vogt⁵ (1954:368) mentions that "Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extra-

⁵ Quoted in Auer (1998:32).

linguistic.” In the same line of thought, Grosjean (1982:136) provides a concise but comprehensive outline of the factors that potentially explain speakers’ choice.

FACTORS INFLUENCING LANGUAGE CHOICE

Participants

- Language proficiency
- Language preference
- Socioeconomic status
- Age
- Sex
- Occupation
- Education
- Ethnic Background
- History of speakers’ linguistic interaction
- Kinship relation
- Intimacy
- Power relation
- Attitude toward languages
- Outside pressure

Situation

- Location/Setting
- Presence of monolinguals
- Degree of formality
- Degree of intimacy

Content of Discourse

- Topic
- Type of vocabulary

Function of Interaction

- To raise status
- To create social distance
- To exclude someone
- To request a command

Grosjean’s (1982, p. 136) List on Factors Influencing Language Choice

1.5 Language as symbol and instrument of group identity

Language is more than a means of communication since the hearer or the addressee may get more, about the speaker, than just a message. Martin (2009:37) writes: “Language is a salient marker of ethnic identity and group membership, where ethnic identity is ‘a subjective feeling of belonging’ to a particular ethnic group.” (Noels and Clément, 1996: 214). To convey a message within a specific context, a speaker needs to know some information about his addressee in order to select his codes. Thus, if the speaker knows the addressee very well the selection of codes will be very easy. Hamers and Blanc (2000:253) point out that:

[...] in addition to the appropriateness of the code and the verbal repertoire of speaker and addressee, other factors were relevant, like the ethnicity, education, sex, age and socio-economic background of both speaker and addressee.

Within a conversation, speakers know much more about each other; identity, level of education, socio economic status; than just conveying speech and listening to each other. As Tagliamonte (2006:3) says "Speakers mark their personal history and identity in their speech as well as their sociolcultural, economic and geographical coordinates in time and space."

The way we speak reflects our regional identity and may contain a number of features. People from the same area use language differently for specific purposes and to fulfil objectives in certain situations. Yule (1996:239) asserts in this regard:

Two people growing up in the same geographical area, at the same time, may speak differently because of a number of social factors. It is important not to overlook this social aspect of language because, in many ways, speech is a form of social identity and is used, consciously or unconsciously, to indicate membership of different social groups or different speech communities.

Language is a social means of communicating ideas, emotions and desires (Sapir, 1921). People tend to use it to signal aspects of their social identities, not only to convey messages. Tagliamonte (2006:7) adds that "Language is used for transmitting information from one person to another, but at the same time a speaker is using language to make statements about who she is, what her group loyalties are, how she perceives her relationship to her hearers [...]" The purpose of a specific conversation, for instance if an individual desires to signify his/her belonging to a certain social category, the most common way to show inclusion is by language signalling. In this respect, she (2006:7) writes "While you can inevitably identify a person's sex from a fragment of their speech, it is often nearly as easy to localize her age and sometimes even her socioeconomic class."

The way people use the French language in our context of study may reflect their level of education and their socio-economic status; this is clearly noticeable in Tlemcen: those of high socioeconomic status go abroad very often, especially to France, can have private education and therefore, improve their daily French use.

1.6 Social Network and Social Stratification

It is important to note from the outset that through speakers language use, the addressee may guess their social class and social network. However, within each society, an organization can be approached from two angles: *Social network* and *Social stratification*. The former denotes that people respond more positively and in a more natural manner when they are among friends and people they know. L.Milroy (1987:47) explains that "A social network acts as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services, and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members."

However, social stratification concerns the hierarchical structure of a society, arising from inequalities of wealth and power.

1.6.1 Labov's investigation in New York City and Martha's Vineyard

In New York City, Labov (1966) interviewed a sample of speakers from different social class groups. He found that speakers from higher social classes pronounced 'r' more often, but also that all speakers used this pronunciation more frequently in formal speech.

The research was undertaken in three different New York stores, Labov asked people some questions so that they would answer with words containing /r/. For this reason, to get comparable results Labov asked for a department on the fourth floor. He did that with several informants.

As a conclusion to Labov's work on the social stratification of /r/ constrictions in prevocalic position, it should be noted that a different pronunciation not only expresses attitude towards a social class but also enables social groups to be distinguished. In Martha's Vineyard Labov (1963) tried to find differences between the

pronunciations of native speakers of Martha's Vineyard and the pronunciation of the rest of the state. One of the salient differences was the retention of the final and pre consonantal /r/. He found also that the pronunciation of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, which are usually pronounced [aɪ] and [aʊ], were frequently heard [ɔɪ] and [ɔʊ] or [əɪ] and [əʊ] which means rounding or centralization of those diphthongs.

In Labov's work, there is a close relationship between social classes and the occurrence of the /r/, i.e., it changes from one social group to another. Such language behaviour, explained in terms of social stratification in monolingual communities, may also apply in bilingual contexts where variation concerns CS in the two languages at play or their mixture. Thus, in our study there are no clearly defined social classes but rather different socioeconomic statuses which may affect the way of speaking, especially the use of French. It may also affect the child's learning as it is the case in Boudghène district, i.e., low income and bad conditions of life depreciate learning. On the other hand, in our society the use of French uvular /R/ and rolled /r/ is closely related to gender since men usually use rolled /r/ under certain social and psychological factors, as we shall see in the next chapter.

1.6.2 Code switching in Algeria

The linguistic situation of Algeria is very specific since people in their daily lives often use the Algerian Arabic Dialect and the French language within the same conversation. Besides this, we have to mention the great number of French loan words that have long slipped into Algerian Arabic. L.Milroy and Muysken (1995:26) write:

Moreover, particularly complex linguistic behaviours can be at work when code-switching does not arise from the migration situation: in Algeria, code-switching between French and Algerian Arabic is part of ordinary everyday conversation.

According to Bullock and Toribio (2009:12) illustrate the existence of CS can be illustrated in Algeria as the alternation of Algerian Arabic and French found in the Algerian 'rai' song introduced by Cheb Hasni. In this respect, they mention the lyrics of one of the songs:

gelbek lli kan **vicieux**
 enti lxastra zzerga dxalti l **milieu**
 lukan kunti Sabra w kan 'sqek **serieux**
 kun rak bdarek w gulti ll'du **adieu**
 lakin kunti makra lhubbi w xallSek **mon dieu**
 kunit 'duja contre w qsemti gelbi **en deux**

Translated thus :

Your heart that was vicious
 You are the looser brown enters the social environment
 If you were enduring if your passion was serious
 You would have your own home and say to the hostile farewell
 But you were unfaithful to my love and god punishes you

In this rai song, the singer uses French words such as *vicieux* 'vicious', *milieu* 'social environment', *sérieux* 'serious', *adieu* 'farewell' and *mon dieu* 'my god'. Equivalents of these words exist in Algerian Arabic; sometimes through expressions e.g. the word 'vicieux' is used in our dialect as the following expression [ma jeswaʃ] 'He is not serious' or by a word like [xaməʒ].

Obviously, such words exit in Standard Arabic but are not frequently used in informal contexts or in Algerian Arabic: the word *vicieux* is [fæsid] 'فاسد', *milieu* [mudʒtamaʔ] 'مجتمع', *sérieux* [dziddij] 'جدي', *adieu* [wadaʔan] 'وداعا',

mon dieu [rabbi:] 'ربي'. The Algerian singer used these French words on purpose to make a rhyme in the verse since it is not possible with Algerian Arabic. He searched for these words, particularly, for the last consonance [—jø], e.g. *vicieux* [visjø], *milieu* [miljø], *sérieux* [sɛrjø], *adieu* [adjø], *dieu* [djø].

Chapter
two

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to examine and attempt to analyze the use of the phenomenon of code switching in two contrastive districts of Tlemcen. This chapter aims, first, at describing the target sample and showing the historical background of each district. Second, it will clarify the research instruments used in collecting data. Third, it explains the way in which we proceed to analyse these data in order to search for the main reasons behind the divergence in CS use and the most important social factors that affect the speech of these two areas. Next, each type of code switching is identified by the language that is switched from and to (Algerian Arabic to French or the opposite), whether the occurrence is intrasentential (CS within a sentence or phrase) or intersentential (CS between whole sentences). Tag-switching is quite rare in our data. Usually when there is switching within a sentence, it is intrasentential switching which means that the insertion requires knowledge of both languages.

We will also attempt to depict the various reasons under which one may shift from one language to the other and to elucidate the social parameters that may be taken into consideration in the distinct use of CS, in particular, age, gender, education, socio-economic status, residence and occupation.

2.2 Describing the context

This study is conducted in Tlemcen; our native town situated in the north west of Algeria. It is a historical area well known by its culture, traditions and mainly its dialect. It is important to notice that from the first sight of the two areas under investigation, Birouana and Boudghène, and from the first contact with their respective inhabitants, one may get much more information about their way of living than expected.

2.2.1 Tlemcen speech community

The Tlemcen variety is characterized by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] which is considered as a realisation of /q/. This dialect belongs to the pre-hilalian Arab dialect (Miller, C et al 2007:10), i.e, it results from the first wave of arabization settled in North Africa in the 7th and 8th century. Later on, another wave of arabization came by the 11th century and was characterized by the pronunciation of /q/ as [g]. These Arab nomads including Banu Hilal, Banu Sulaym settled in many urban areas like Tlemcen, and brought their Bedouin dialect.

Nowadays, the Pre-hilalian dialects exist in Tlemcen, Fès and are very similar to each other as opposed to Kairaouan and Constantine which has disappeared, and replaced by the Hilalien dialects, which are today spoken in the major part of Algeria. For the case of Moroccan dialects, there exists a mixture of the two dialects but with a considerable share of Pre-hilalian dialects. In this respect, Ammon et al (2006:1944) write:

These Western dialects differ from other varieties in terms of verbal morphology and phonology, including stress and phonotactics. They are traditionally further divided into sedentary and bedouin dialects; the former date from the initial spread of Islam and are associated with urban areas that were settled earliest while the latter date from the 10th and 11th century invasions of the Egyptian Banu Hilal tribes and are associated with the countryside...

Therefore, Tlemcen speech has several particularities which are found in pronunciation, interrogative items and in the conjugation of verbs especially in women's speech.

However, the most prominent phonetic feature which characterizes the speech community and the native speakers of Tlemcen is the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] instead of /q/ of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) pronounced [g] in the rural areas (i.e. nomadic). For instance, the utterance 'he said' is used in MSA with [q], in rural

speech, as in Boudghène, with [g] and in Tlemcen speech, like in Birouana, with [ʔ], [qæɫ], [gæɫ] and [ʔæɫ].

An important observation that should be made about Tlemcen speech is that, in this respect, this variety occurs only in the town centre and certain of its districts but not in its surroundings and rural areas. Even within the outskirts of ancient Tlemcen centre there are places where [ʔ] is substituted by the voiced velar plosive [g] as in Boudghène district in this current research work. The two districts settled in different periods and for different social factors since the poor people of Boudghène came from rural areas during the colonial period as land-workers and they started to build this ghetto sporadically without any building permit whereas the rich people of Birouana were in Tlemcen centre and because of geographical density they chose to build their beautiful houses and villas in the late 60's and early 70's after independence.

To study code switching in Tlemcen, we consider two districts where this sociolinguistic phenomenon occurs at different rates. One of the prominent factors behind this divergence is the historical background of each district. The people living in Boudghène came from rural areas before and after independence whereas some native residents of Tlemcen went to Algiers, Oran and Sidi Bel Abbès. (Ghomari 2007:24).

In our society these two districts, Birouana and Boudghène, are contrasted, as we mentioned above, by their way of speaking, culture and traditions. The former is a sedentary group and "*hdar*" is the term used to refer to these native inhabitants of Tlemcen. The term "*arab*", on the other hand, refers to those people of Bedouin or nomadic origins, (*aroubiya*), and who came from rural areas to settle in Tlemcen.

The use of French words, either borrowings or lexical switch item, in our society depends fundamentally on the speaker's will. In other words, in Tlemcen, it is quite common that speakers, especially *hdar ones*, address their parents in French by using *papa* 'dad' and *maman* 'mum'. It is also worth noting that other family members such as grandparents are rarely, compared to the former, addressed in French.

During our research work, we have noticed that among the reasons under which bilinguals shift from one language to the other might be explained in terms of "*the law*

of the least effort". This principle consists in making the minimum amount of effort which is necessary to achieve the maximum result. This consistent definition was given by André Martinet (1968) who studied the principle of economy in linguistics. In our society, however, it occurs at the lexical level and bilinguals use it to facilitate speech i.e. very often people of more than one language shift from one language to the other to economize energy. For instance, sometimes in language A a whole sentence is expressed just by a word from language B, as a result speakers use this word trying to make less effort when speaking since their first and foremost objective is to transmit the message to the hearer e.g. they use the Algerian Arabic word [bətaltɛs] instead of the French expression [ta ʃãʒe davi] to mean in both cases 'you changed your mind', [ja Rjɛ̃] instead of [makajən walu] 'there is nothing'. Another case avoided in casual speech is the use of plosives because they are articulated with more effort than the fricatives e.g. [se fu] instead of [hæda hʷmɔ:ʔ] 'it's crazy'.

2.2.1.1 Phonological and Phonetic adaptations

The French language supplies the Algerian Arabic speech community with a large number of lexical items in which the native sounds are altered, in the daily speech, by similar or approximate Arabic sounds. In fact, uneducated old speakers, in particular, use several French borrowings in which they substitute one or two sounds by the Arabic one. To illustrate with examples we supply the following list:

[vilaʒ]	—————>	[filædʒ] 'Village'
[viraʒ]	—————>	[firaʒ] 'turning'
[valiz]	—————>	[faliza] 'Suit-case'
[REZERVUAR]	—————>	[rezerfwar] 'Reservoir'
[video]	—————>	[fideju] 'Video'
[vaksɛ̃]	—————>	[faksɛ̃] 'Vaccine'
[vaz]	—————>	[faz] 'Vase'
[vejøz]	—————>	[fejuz] 'Night light'

The underlined words in the list are used even by educated and young speakers, unless they appear as code switched items, in which case, the speaker keeps the original French phonology. [vɪlɑʒ] and [vɪrɑʒ].

Only those Algerians who had the opportunity to attend French schools before and after independence have a native like French-speaking and are considered as balanced bilinguals, i.e., they understand it and use it frequently with Algerian Arabic. Besides, we have noticed that these French-speaking people express themselves better in French than in Standard Arabic and feel at ease with this foreign language.

In the case of borrowing, the Algerians substitute some French consonants that do not exist in their native language by the Arabic ones. For example the /v/ does not exist in MSA as a phoneme, and is realized as its voiceless counterpart /f/ e.g

[vɪzɑ] → [fɪzɑ] 'visa', [televizjɔ̃] → [telefizjun] 'television'. In our society, there are other cases where the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ is realized as a bilabial plosive /b/ and not a voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/. e.g

[savɔ̃] → [sabon] 'soap', [pnø] → [bnu] 'tyre',

[sɛrvɪs] → [sɛrbɪs] 'service', [lavabo] → [lababo] 'washbasin'.

The French /ʒ/ is also realized in our speech community as [dʒ] in several

borrowings as in the following examples: [ʒurnɑl] → [dʒɛrnan] 'news paper',

[sirɑʒ] → [siradʒ] 'shoe polish'.

/p/ is not found in Arabic alphabet as a result it is realized in our speech community

by old people and uneducated ones as a voiced bilabial plosive consonant [b]. For

instance in the following French words monolinguals, especially, use the latter instead

of the former: [pomɑd] → [bomada] 'ointments', [piʒɑmɑ] → [biʒɑmɑ]

'pyjama', [plɑs] → [blas] 'seats', [pɑkɛ] → [bæki] 'package',

[opɛrasjɔ̃] → [barasjun] 'surgical operation', [polis] → [bulisi]

'police-man'.

Languages often borrow because the borrowed item has no equivalent in their own culture. To illustrate this idea, we can say that the French word [kɔʒɛ] 'time off'

has no equivalent or similar word in Algerian Arabic. It is rather used by everybody but with different realizations e.g. [kōʒe], [kundʒi], [kāʒe].

Within this research work borrowed words such as the following are not counted as switched items:

[trākil]	‘quiet’	[rivizi]	‘to revise’
[netwaje]	‘to clean’	[gare]	‘to park’
[normal]	‘normal’	[marʃe]	‘market’
[marki]	‘to mark’	[triku]	‘jumper’
[skādal]	‘Scandal’	[rizim]	‘diet’
[klaksone]	‘to toot’	[dæwwəʃ]	‘to take a shower’
[lenær]	‘nerves’	[spor]	‘sport’
[korizi]	‘to correct’	[kuraʒ]	‘courage’
[duble]	‘overtake’	[brāʃe]	‘to plug in’

There are many more examples about the adaptation of French words into the Algerian Arabic but since it is not our interest in the current study the aforementioned examples, most famous and the more frequent ones, are given to show that French borrowing have been adapted linguistically in our communities and are used instead of the Arabic ones.

Just as there are borrowed words, there are also borrowed expressions frequently used by Algerians, and sometimes when used people are even unconscious that they have switched from one language to the other or they even don't know they belong to the French language. The following expressions are the most often used ones:

Transcription	French expression	English gloss
[sava]	ça va	‘that goes’
[setadi _R]	c'est à dire	‘that is’

[senormal]	c'est normal	'it is normal'
[saje]	ça y est	'that's it'
[sebõ]	c'est bon	'that's good'
[sa syfi]	ça suffit	'that's enough'
[jēnamar]	y en a marre	'there has enough'
[il fo]	il faut	'it is necessary'
[sefini]	c'est fini	'it is finished'
[setu]	c'est tout	'that's all'

In the case of [saye], for example, most uneducated and old people are not actually aware that they use a French expression within their Algerian dialect because this one has no equivalent in our dialect and it may be used as a borrowed expression [sæji].

To sum up we may say that the realization of borrowed items, at all linguistic levels, depends on the relationship between the user and the borrowed language, i.e., the realization of a phoneme depends on the relationship between the Algerian speaker and the French language. We have to notice that there is a great number of Algerians, mainly old people, who are passive bilinguals, i.e., they understand French very well but do not use it in their daily interactions.

2.2.1.2 French and Arabic definite articles

The definite article *le* used in French with masculine singular nouns which begin with a consonant is replaced in Algerian Arabic by the Arabic article *əl*. According to a phonological rule in Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, the consonant [l] is assimilated by the initial consonant of the noun, when the latter is a 'solar' consonant⁶ e.g. [rfədna rōdevu ʔandəddētist] "we have taken a rendez-vous at the dentist's". Where the initial consonant of the noun is non-solar the [l] of the article *əl* is still apparent. e.g. [jdubli fəl viraʒ]. The phenomenon also

⁶ Solar consonants are: n, l, ʔ, t, d, ʒ, ʃ, s, z, r, ʔ, d, θ, t

occurs with the compound determiner [waħdəl] ‘certain’, used to express either a degree of indetermination e.g [fwaħdəl ktəb] ‘in a book’ or an appreciative value e.g [waħəd əl ʔajnɪn] ‘particular eyes’. In the case where the following noun begins with a solar consonant, then this consonant is doubled and the /l/ is omitted e.g [waħdəsɪnæn] ‘particular set of teeth’. However, in Tlemcen speech community there is the use of [ħal] and [ħa] instead of [waħdəl] and [waħdə].

2.2.1.3 Males’ vs. Females’ use of French rolled /r/ vs. uvular /R/

Throughout our data collection, we observed, during people’s conversations several major distinctions about the way men/women use their languages. Within daily spontaneous and natural speech it is noticed that women want to talk too much about their feelings to improve their relationship with the listener. Men, on the other hand, prefer talking to emphasize their status and dominance in every social matter. In other words, men and women usually set out, either consciously or unconsciously, different objectives while speaking.

Another divergence noticed is the fact that men, especially educated ones, frequently shift from Algerian Arabic to French to fulfil their personal aims and needs such as showing the level of education, need of a clarification or explanation, to put emphasis on something and to give arguments especially when debating political, economic or medical topics. Therefore, in such social situations intersentential instances of CS are much more likely to occur than intrasentential ones.

It is vital to mention that in our society less educated men avoid the use of the French language whereas less educated women tend to use it even with a low level of mastery. The fundamental reasons behind such divergence go back to other social and psychological factors because the causal ones are deeper than it might seem. For instance, less educated women with low mastery of French tend to use it for a show and bragging especially in front of the opposite sex and foreigners in general. A good example that characterizes these gender-related differences in the use of French is the variable [R] realised as [r].

Let us consider variable that contrasts in male's and female's French use. It is very obvious in our country that the French [R] is articulated differently by men and women. In our society, the uvular consonant [R] is articulated by men as a rolled sound as opposed to women who are more conservative and use it like native speakers. Beyond the shadow of doubt, such articulation difference has much more to do with the socio-psychological state of the speaker. Indeed, in Algeria we notice that the use of the French /R/ by men is universal. It is, however, very uncommon and unnatural to hear a man speaking with a uvular /R/ but they use instead rolled [r] which sounds like the Arabic ر /r/. [R] is stigmatised and very often regarded as "effeminate" speech and mocked at. Women speak French with a particular articulation and their speech is much more eloquent than men.

Nevertheless, in other situations, there exists a basic social parameter which is responsible for switching from one language to another. Very often, speakers are unconsciously influenced by the language of their interlocutors and, therefore, they shift from one language to the other. For this reason, question B in the questionnaire focuses on which language the informants use when starting a conversation. Kotthoff and Wodak (1997:261) say:

Valdès-Fallis (1977), having provided a list of types of code-switching with their various conversational functions, picks just one of these, which she terms 'sequential' switching, for an analysis of male-female differences in mixed-sex conversations among bilingual Mexican-American subjects. Sequential switches are defined as switches which involve using the last language used by the preceding speaker, and as such provide an index of co-operativeness in conversation.

In the next two sections, we shall attempt to describe some characteristics that differentiate the two districts under study.

2.2.2 Boudghène district

Boudghène, as a district, illustrates a small housing built without any planning, for the socio economic status of its residents is very low and deficient. Bekkar says:

Dominant Tlemcen, Boudghène rejoint à l'ouest El-Kalâa et ses luxueuses villas. La bourgeoisie traditionnelle et certains techniciens de l'urbanisme considèrent depuis longtemps ce quartier comme un point noir, une "honte", "un bas quartier", un "ramassis" 26... Ceux-là rêvent de plus d'espace et imaginent un nouveau quartier résidentiel en prolongement de Birouana.⁷

Moreover, its residents came from rural areas in order to improve their way of living. Consequently, this population quadrupled between 1966 and 1993, as it is illustrated by .R Bekkar⁸:

Évolution de la population

Années	1950	1954	1962	1966	1977	1993
Boudghène	2000	3000	6450	7788	12632	35000

Sources : Services statistiques de la mairie de Tlemcen, 1993.

It is composed essentially of young people; 70 % of the inhabitants are less than 25 years old. (According to: Tlemcen civil status). This district is situated in the South west of Tlemcen. As Bekkar writes, « Boudghène s'étend alors vers l'est sur les dernières parcelles encore libres ou très faiblement bâties. En 1977, on compte 12 632 habitants à Boudghène. »⁹

When investigating in Boudghène, in the core of this area, we have noticed that our presence urges people to wonder who the intruder is and what he wants; from where

⁷ My translation: Dominating Tlemcen, Boudghène joins El-Kalâa and its luxurious villas in the west. The traditional middle-class and certain technicians of town planning have for a long time regarded this district as a blackhead, a "shame", "a low district", a "bunch" 26... These dream of more than space and imagine a new residential district in prolongation of Birouana.

⁸ Quoted in: http://www.vitamedz.com/articles-670-13-30526-tlemcen--les_habitants_b_acirc_tisseurs__grave_tlemcen_comp_eacute_tences_et_savoir_faire-2.html

⁹ My translation: Boudghène extends then towards the east on the last still free pieces or very slightly built. In 1977, one counts 12,632 inhabitants with Boudghène.

he comes. It was as if we entered a private place without having the right to do so. People of this pitiful district suffer daily from instability and live a misery which does not enable them to progress and to emancipate their way of living. Consequently, a little minority has access to schooling whereas the others were obliged to leave schools at an early age so that they can work and satisfy their day-to-day needs. This reason is one of the most prominent social factors that affect the use of the second foreign language. For them, their younger are working hard and have painful jobs to get only their imperative needs and to help their families with the high cost of living. We have searched for much more information and asked the centre town planning to give us details about this area but it was impossible because no study town planning has been made till now and the person liable for this work has clarified that the lands of Boudghène are typically illicit and said: "We know that we will have a very alarming problem if we try to touch such a district". Therefore, searching for real reasons that are involved in precluding these inhabitants from improvement, several citizens think that the state has not given them their rights as Algerians and that their district is deprived of many civil rights and its population suffers from hunger, housing problem, low wages, lack of medical care and insurance, clothing and basic needs like blankets to stay warm and the problem of tarring streets especially in winter where they are full of mud. Consequently, people are losing self-esteem and getting depressed. Some of them react with unnecessary aggression thinking that they are being perceived as stupid due to their poverty and having no rights and no dignity. They also feel that they are victims of economic exploitation due to the fact that they are willing to accept worst-paid job with longer than usual hours. Other people explain that during the French war they were living in rural areas and they were fighting painfully to get their independence. Subsequently, that is, after independence when they came to Tlemcen and expressed their happiness and joy, the clever persons in Tlemcen seized the opportunity and bought French houses and wealth because the colonizers were getting rid of their goods at very cheap prices so that they went back to their country with the minimum sum of money. Other residents noticed that when they came to Tlemcen, urban life, they ignored several things.

Furthermore, this research work investigates *how* and *why* people from these two areas but belonging to the same town, switch between Algerian Arabic and French at different rates. We have noticed that code switching is much more used in Birouana than in Boudghène though they are close to each other geographically. In Boudghène medical centre, however, it is well observed that speakers of Boudghène district regularly use borrowings such as carnet, rendez-vous, vaccin, tension, pilule, cachet, portable, la grippe, la carte, scanner, radio, sage-femme,¹⁰ clearly because all these words and many others have no equivalent in Algerian Arabic .

2.2.3 Birouana district

As far as Birouana is concerned, it represents a residential area situated in the south east of Tlemcen. The people living in this district came from urban areas of Tlemcen and were living in this town before the independence. It is well noticed that, unlike the inhabitants of Boudghène, their houses are well built which implies a high socio economic status. In this respect, Bekkar (2007) writes:

Le quartier résidentiel de Birouana prolonge Boudghène et El Kalâa sur les contreforts sud-est de la ville. Ce lotissement regroupe les classes aisées (commerçants, industriels, professions libérales, quelques hauts fonctionnaires). Les villas y sont cossues, en général conçues par des architectes. Des références traditionnelles dans l'usage des matériaux (tuiles vertes vernissées, faïence, grilles en fer forgé...) ou dans les formes et les espaces (arcades, entrée en chicane, nombre de pièces...) côtoient des éléments architecturaux et décoratifs occidentaux comme de grandes baies vitrées.¹¹

During all our data collection we selected objectively one context, the family, because in it there are no social constraints, such as anxiety, fear, discomfort and

¹⁰ In English respectively: notebook, appointment, vaccine, blood-pressure, pill, tablet, mobile, flu, card, scanner, radiography and midwife.

¹¹ My translation: The residential district of Birouana prolongs Boudghène and El Kalâa on the south-eastern buttresses of the city. This allotment gathers the easy classes (tradesmen, industrialists, liberal professions, some high officials). The villas affluent are in general designed there by architects. Traditional references in the use of the materials (glazed green tiles, earthenware, grids out of wrought iron...) or in the forms and spaces (arcades, entered out of baffle, many parts...) mix with architectural and decorative elements western like large picture windows.

shyness while speaking i.e. people are very spontaneous when they are speaking with their family members.

2.3 Data collection

One of the main problems in obtaining reliable data for this type of sociolinguistic study is that some contextual features affect the linguistic behaviour especially when dealing with a socially stigmatized phenomenon. To get the actual spontaneous speech of everyday life is not easy at all. The informants have been selected randomly in the two contrastive districts and we have used both quantitative and qualitative methods in collecting data. As Tagliamonte (2006:19) says; "When the goals of a study are to give a scale model of variation in a city as a whole, random sampling is the ideal."

The random selection is made in order to provide a broad sociological representation of the speech community of each area. At first, we have observed conversations within a medical centre of Boudghène but since there is no medical centre in Birouana, it is not judicious to take informants from different places within different contexts in the two districts. During the collection of our data, all informants are aware that our focus is based on how they say something and not what they say. To ensure an authentic comparison in the analysis, we try to be objective and we use three tools of data collection. The first one is note taking and speakers are not aware of it. The second one is the interview, undertaken by a member of each family, and the third one is the questionnaire. All these methods of collecting data are used as objectively as possible in order to get accurate results.

2.3.1 The Interview

As far as the interviews are concerned, it is hopeful to make the informants respond freely to the topic selected. For example, we can ask questions that are community-specific i.e. asking about their health, housing problem, etc... The speech of the informants is recorded by means of a tape-recorder. In some situations, we asked people to narrate stories or give anecdotes and to talk about their interests in

various subjects, e.g, about their day to day activities. The informants have been told that the research was about language use. However, to make sure the informants would code switch naturally, they are not told that the research topic is about code switching.

Before starting the recording, we had to make sure that speakers' anxiety and stress are weak in order to get an ideal atmosphere for the right and target answers. We have also had to make sure that the recordings will be effective to obtain accurate data. For this, it is preferable to show the informants where to sit and suggest moving indoors if they were encountered outside. It is important to choose the right place where to make the interview: away from windows, insist on turning off televisions, move away from noisy motors or some other noise. Furthermore, we had to, legally, get an *informed consent* from the informants in order to prevent any social misconception or misunderstanding. Therefore, by following this legal rule and protecting our interviewees' speech from any influence with the recordings, we find it judicious to make our informants aware at the end of their recordings. In this respect, L. Milroy and Gordon (2003:82) say:

The ethical dilemma associated with covert recording may be lessened if speakers are informed after the fact... Such an approach was taken by Crystal and Davy (1969) who tape-recorded colleagues, friends, and family surreptitiously and subsequently requested permission to use the material.

Besides, to get efficient results while interviewing, we had to explain to the informants that the recordings will be free from their social identities or any confidential information. A fifteen-minute interview for each individual is the minimum. For obtaining right results, an equitable comparison between the two districts is required. For instance, the number of interactions must be similar in the two sites so that each speaker will have the same probability to code switch. We have to bear in mind that the right selection of questions is very important to have much more success. In other words, we have to shift our style or content according to the interviewee. Therefore, it is of vital importance to remember each time that the final objective is the interviewee's speech, i.e., how one speaks and not what he says. For this, indirect questions are recommended, e.g. I've heard people say...what do you think about?

Indirect questions are worthy and should appear whenever possible. Questions are designed to make the interviewee forget about the constraints of the interview situation by evoking emotions and getting natural speech. Therefore, to know interviewee's age, it is very tactful to ask about their birthday. If they feel positive about their age they will say it; if not the interviewer will be able to calculate their age. Asking about their education, we may speak about schooling and lead them step by step in order to guess their level of education. We have noticed that people react or answer far better questions that concern others and do not specifically implicate them, i.e. it is often essential that in questions, value-judgment should be set apart. In sociolinguistics, the researcher should keep in mind that she/he will not ask questions to get personal information about the interviewee but rather elicit natural and spontaneous speech. Asking good questions depends on various social factors such as age, gender, education. For example, when asking a teenager about a pilgrimage he will not answer in a spontaneous and natural way. He will be constrained to respond in an unnatural way to avoid gaping. A teenager expects a question like: Many people want to have an ideal spouse, what do you think? or how about you? Therefore, the selection of the topic for the informants is fundamental in getting the right data and has to be chosen under consideration of several social variables. The questions should be classified from the most general to the most specific. e.g.

- How would you describe your upbringing?
- What were your parents like when you were young?
- Where did you spend your childhood?

These three questions above tend to show the origin of each speaker i.e. urban or rural origin. Aiming at making the informants going on in their spontaneous speech, one may intervene by saying just a word like: 'Really! What happened? Tell me more about it'. The interviewer asks the questions initially in the Algerian dialect, but switches to French according to her/his interlocutors, and generally switches fairly freely himself so as not to imply that any particular variety is required or preferred.

It is observed everywhere that people love to talk about their own personal experience in life, their health, and their running expenses. Therefore, whenever these topics occur, spontaneity reaches its peak. Furthermore, even the researcher should be spontaneous and has to use an appropriate speech in the vernacular so that the interviewees will answer in a natural way. Moreover, to minimize the possibility that our subjects would be intimidated by the presence of a stranger interlocutor, the data collected for this study is primarily done by a member of each target, belonging to one of the two districts, family and this procedure is called *friend of a friend*. As Tagliamonte (2006:21) says:

An interesting component of the social network approach is the 'friend of a friend'. These are people who play an intermediary role in the community. It is the 'friend of a friend' who helps you to get the things you want [...]

We have already tried to record speakers from these two suburbs. The subjects were informed earlier about the recording and were asked to act naturally during the conversation. However, they may not be natural and they tend to monitor their use of language and increase the amount of code switching in their interaction. In other words the subjects realized that they were being recorded, so they were not being themselves during the conversation and we noticed that people were talking in an unnatural way and then it was impossible to achieve the aim (spontaneous speech) of the research work. In Boudghène families, the use of the French language is highly stigmatised since bilingual speakers avoid intersentential CS especially when they talk with monolinguals (uneducated people). They believe that if they start speaking, within their environments, fluently in French the others, relatives, will consider their speech and their way of speaking as unnatural and peculiar. As a result, to avoid any social and psychological constraints while asking informants questions in an interview, especially those of Boudghène, we have searched for the suitable way of collecting data and *a friend of a friend* is the best procedure to have the right and accurate natural speech. Therefore, we asked people from the two districts to record their family members' speech but without making them aware during the recordings.

Searching for spontaneous speech, we opted for the self-recordings, keeping our tape recorder for two months or more in each district. The self-recordings are coherent since they reflect each of the studied areas.

During our data collection we notice that two ways of conducting interviews exist in order to obtain what we are searching for:

- Note-taking or Observation method: we write the informant's comments.
- Tape-recording: we use a tape recorder to register informant's speech. This method may allow the interviewer to freely conduct the conversation without worrying about note-taking.

It is important to notice from the outset that because of some social constraints such as children's shouting, the high volume of the TV and/or radio, external noise, several recordings are withdrawn from analysis. Through our first recordings we have noticed that the frequency of code switching varied from conversation to conversation. No conversation was entirely in French but sometimes it was entirely in Algerian Arabic. The frequency of code switching also varied from informant to informant, but there were informants who did not switch at all.

When we asked a forty-year old woman living in Birouana about her attitude towards the use of the French language in her speech, she said that her parents lived with the French people during the colonization and as a result they learnt this second language with high motivation so as to understand the people and to fight them. She also said that she had been using this language since childhood and nowadays even her children use it at an early age. For example, at two years they were singing the famous French children's songs "*Petit Papa Noël*" 'Little Santa Claus', "*Au clair de la lune*" 'Under the Moonlight', "*À la claire fontaine*" 'At the Clear Fountain'. Others said they had studied the French language in schools for many years so as to use it when necessary since they live in a country where it is used frequently. We asked a thirty-year old man in Birouana about the switch from the dialect to French, he laughed for a moment then he replied that he remembered a joke. He said one day someone was asked why the Algerians switch from Arabic to French, he unconsciously answered

[ana ʒame ʔultha] "I have never said it". He said that the Algerian speakers are well known for their switching or mixing between the two languages. In contrast, with the Egyptians whose speech only consists of a few English borrowings (10% as the man said). But of course, we have to remember that Egypt was not occupied for as long as Algeria was, i.e., more than a century of French rule and Arabic eradication policy.

As far as the questionnaire is concerned, questions are asked so that the final result will be related to the main social factors:

- Age: Do younger codeswitch more than others or is it the opposite?
- Gender: Do women codeswitch more than men, or is it the opposite?
- Level of education: Do educated people codeswitch more than non educated people?
- Socio economic status (incomes): Do people of high status codeswitch more than people of low status?
- Residence: Do the people living in Birouana codeswitch more than those living in Boudghène?
- Occupation: Do people practicing certain jobs codeswitch more than others?
- Ethnicity: May speakers of different origins codeswitch at different rate?

2.3.2 The questionnaire

The current questionnaire is given to 50 informants from each district and they are asked to answer at home and to return it throughout the following weeks. This research tool aims to show the subjects' use of CS, their feelings and their awareness or consciousness about its use.

Our first and foremost objective in this research work is to get reliable data free from any social constraints (anxiety, fear, misunderstanding, shame...). Therefore, the questionnaire is written both in Standard Arabic and in French for the subjects who are able to read and to answer it without any difficulties, for those who cannot do this, illiterate and old people, it is given to them orally so as to get the whole target sample.

The questionnaire consisted of seven sets of questions from A to G; where participants should answer by checking the right box, and then an open-ended statement where participants write some ideas, views and opinions.

CS is explained to all informants as mixing the two languages, the French language and the Algerian dialect.

Set **A** alone constitutes the first part, which aims to collect the basic information on the subjects in order to know who is answering.

Set **B** constitutes the second part which aims to test how the two causes, namely, solidarity with listeners, and choice of topic affect code switching. i.e., To know if the speaker switches according to the topic or addressee, the following questions are asked:

- What language do you usually speak in your everyday life?
- In communication, if you are sure that you and the listener come from the same area, from the same level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why?
- In communication, if you are sure that you and the listener are not from the same area, having different level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why?

Set **C** constitutes the third part and aims to show if the context has an impact on the use of code switching. To know if the speaker switches according to the context some questions are asked: What do you speak at home? What do you speak in the street? What do you speak with friends? What do you speak in the municipal offices?

Set **D** consists of two questions, the first one aims to reveal the attitudes of speaker towards CS. The second one tends to show if the respondents code switch to reflect their identity. For this, the informants have to answer the following question:

Your attitudes towards CS are positive, negative or neutral?

Do you think that the use of code switching reflects the identity of each speaker?

For instance, in Birouana as opposed to Boudghène we have noticed that through CS, speakers show to the listener that they belong to a certain group, or they want to make the addressee aware of their level of education and bilingualism.

However, each respondent is required to give his or her answer after a full understanding of the requirements listed on the questionnaire. Of all the questions, some are allowed to have more than one choice, while for others only one choice is permitted. We make the informants aware that the questionnaire is anonymous so that every respondent can answer freely.

Set E aims to denote the rate of speakers' consciousness, i.e., the extent to which people are aware of this sociolinguistic phenomenon. To know much more about the participants' attitudes towards code switching, the following questions are to be answered:

- Do you consider yourself bilingual?
- Do you think you use code switching?
- Do you feel comfortable using more than one language?
- Do you think you are fluent in the French language?

Set F is asked to know all the possible reasons under which speakers may be influenced to switch from one language to the other. For example, what are the reasons that make you shift from Algerian Arabic to French?

Set G depicts how much do people understand and speak this first foreign language and it shows the different rates of each district. To do so, the following questions are asked:

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| • How much do you understand French? | 10% | 20% | 50% | 80% | 100% |
| • How much do you speak French? | 10% | 20% | 50% | 80% | 100% |

The questionnaire (in Arabic and French) is available in Appendix A.

2.3.3 The Informants

The subjects from the two studied areas for the investigation vary in gender, age, occupation, level of education and have different origins. Each resident from these two districts has the same opportunity to be an informant of this study because the sample was selected randomly through the *friend of a friend* procedure.

All the subjects have acquired Algerian Arabic as mother tongue and French is learned afterwards in school.

There are 40 informants in all and all come from either Birouana or Boudghène; 30 are adults (15 males and 15 females) and their ages range from 18 to 70, the average age being about 40 years old. The occupations of the informants are diverse, ranging from pupils, students, physician, teacher, midwife, businessman and maid. Some informants were unemployed at the time of the data collection. The remaining 10 are children (5 males and 5 females) between 13 and 17 years old, with an average of about 14 years.

2.4 The Method of Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used but the former is used extensively since we face some difficulties with the latter. The reason for not employing quantitative analysis more widely is that it is difficult to count how many occurrences of CS there are in the data since very often it is difficult to draw a line between CS and other phenomena. For instance, there are hundreds of single words of French origin that Algerian speakers use in their daily conversations; words that have become popular; and these words are instantly recognizable and quickly understood even by people who do not speak French at all. Turns were not counted as code switching. For example, if speaker A utters the first turn in Algerian Arabic and speaker B in French, then speaker A in Algerian Arabic again, this is not counted as a switch because speaker A does not change languages. When speaker A changes languages, it is counted as a code switching. Loan words (borrowings) which are normally used by monolingual speakers in the monolingual society were not counted. For example, [taksifon] 'public call box', [latõsjõ] 'the blood pressure', [lõkarne] 'the notebook', [la klinik] 'the clinic', [lõ kõʒelatʒ:R] 'the freezer', [sõt:R] 'the centre'. The recorded speech that contained code switching is transcribed and identified. Code switching is considered to show why there is a language change in the speakers' utterances. In this study, the term code switching encompasses both switching at intersentential and intrasentential levels. The main aim is to identify and

analyse instances of code switching, showing the major causes and/or objectives for shifting from one language to another.

The data were analyzed according to the contexts that triggered the code-switching. Contexts here mean the intentional functions of code switching that the speakers use to achieve their communicative objectives, i.e. how code switching can convey the speakers' intent. The attentive analysis will begin by explaining what goes on in the situation, how code switching occurs, and who speaks to whom, the current topic.

To compare between the two districts, we find it more judicious first to analyse the data of each district, to show the social factors that may affect the speech, and then to compare between the results. In other words, the interactions of both districts will be interpreted, explained and at last compared. Each conversation is analysed qualitatively in order to denote its structure and social use and quantitatively to give numbers and percentage for each speech and therefore for each district. We assure and maintain to make an authentic comparison between the two studied areas, particularly to get actual results and free from bias. We begin our analysis, first within each district and we search for the main social factors that affect CS and then we achieve a comparison between the results of each district to show the common social factors affecting both of them.

When collecting the data for this research work, we have noticed that there are hundreds of words of French origin that Algerian speakers use in their daily conversations, words that have become popular in use and which are instantly recognisable and understood even by monolinguals. Nevertheless, during our data collection and data analysis especially, we faced the dilemma of attributing the use of lexical switches or borrowed words in many cases. For this fundamental reason, we try to search for a clear definition of the two terms that could differentiate between them but unfortunately, as we have mentioned in the first chapter, there is no explicit definition that could do so although several linguists have tried to attribute many characteristics to each one of them.

However, we attempt to distinguish between single French words in Algerian Arabic utterances which are borrowings from those that are code switches. Making

such a distinction following *frequency criterion* is not usually obvious and explicit. There was a wide range of proposals and ambiguous cases, and there is no more explicit criterion available according to which such distinctions could be based. For instance, within a single sentence there are constituents or clauses drawn from both languages. Sometimes we cannot classify these items as borrowings or switch lexical items [rfədt_su le vakās hədəlmərra paskə bəzzæ:f əlli marəfdu:ʃ] 'you took holiday this time? Because many have not.' The French word [vakās] is a borrowing because it is used by everyone but with differences at the phonological level since in this case the French [v] does not exist in Arabic. e.g. old uneducated people use [f] for this word instead of [v] and say [fakās].

However, the word [pərskə] (and its reduced form [paskə]) 'because' is frequently used, in our speech community, by all speakers of the whole country except old people who are not educated. As a result we may consider it as a borrowing according to educated and young speakers and as code switching for uneducated and aged informants who do not use this word at all and use rather the Algerian Arabic one [ʔlaxaʔər]. The word [syrtu] 'above all' is also much used in the Algerian dialect. It is a French borrowing used by almost everybody. An old uneducated woman of 75 years old says the following sentence within a spontaneous speech situation in which she was angry about her grandson [rahum waʔfi:n kəl dʒnu:n syrtu dæk lɪafrit_s əʃʃvi:r] 'They are standing (causing trouble) like demons, particularly that little devil'. We notice, in such cases, that the social factor age is significant in the use of borrowings because younger speakers adapt foreign French words, much more and more quickly than older ones. As we have stated in the first chapter, this difference may be the result of psychological factors and the plasticity of human minds. The same thing occurs with the word [nɔrmal] used as an adjective to mean 'normal' or the expression [sɛ nɔrmal] 'it is normal'.

In our society, we try to search for the right explications that could distinguish the two terms and our analysis is based on Myers-scotton's (1993) criterion, "*frequency*".

The conversations, in this research work, are transcribed from naturally occurring speech of speakers from both districts and are analyzed according to the objectives of this study. The code switching elements in all examples are in bold type and immediately followed by glosses when appropriate. The result of our work and the quantitative analyses will be explained in the next chapter by means of tables and pie-charts.

**Chapter
three**

**Data
Analysis**

3.1 Introduction

Code switching is used as a social and psychological strategy to negotiate interpersonal relations. For example, people tend to switch to the language that is most efficient for them to convince others. Often speakers codeswitch when they would like to establish a social relationship so that they can maintain their identity. Another situation where speakers codeswitch is when they feel linguistically insecure, that is, they have a linguistic deficiency in either language. When speakers prefer to keep their conversation private, they would switch to a language/dialect which is understood by few people in that particular environment.

The data collected from the subjects are analyzed as objectively as possible. We, then, calculate the total number of CS frequencies occurring in the speech of informants from both areas in Tlemcen: Birouana and Boudghène.

3.2 Attitudes towards CS

The use of CS is usually affected, either negatively or positively, by speakers' attitudes towards this sociolinguistic behaviour. For example, those who have negative attitudes towards code switching believe that the fact of shifting from one language to the other occurs because of a deficit in language or, otherwise, a lack of mastery in both languages. Thus, it is important to show whether it is the case in our speech community or not, and to elicit the main attitudes towards CS in the two districts under investigation.

3.2.1 In Birouana

To show the attitudes towards CS and the French language, we have asked people about their attitudes towards the simultaneous use of two languages. We must point out that our question is asked, in a natural way, in Algerian Arabic in order to prevent any social and/or psychological constraints.

Some of the respondents say they do not have any personal reason for switching from one language to another since they live in a bilingual community where they are

obliged to mix the two languages. Therefore, they see this shift as a fundamental strategy to carry on a conversation and to facilitate speech. They also said that in Algerian Arabic they use several French words which they do not know in Arabic. They illustrate this idea with the following examples:

French words	Pronunciation	English gloss
Portail	[portai]	portal
Garage	[garaʒ]	garage
Tricot	[trico] sweater	sweater
Sous-vêtement	[suvetmã]	undergarment
Réservoir	[rezervwar]	reservoir
Citerne	[sitern]	tank
Régime	[rezim]	diet
Contrôle	[kõtrol]	control
Cocotte	[kokot]	Casserole dish
Piscine	[pisin]	swimming pool
Prise	[priz]	plug
Sonnette	[sonet]	bell
Drap	[dra]	sheet

In fact, in all these French words the uvular consonant /ʀ/ is frequently articulated as a rolled /r/ in borrowings as well as in switching, especially by men.

Others say they have learned and used the foreign language from birth because their parents use it frequently and fluently with them. They feel proud to master two languages simultaneously and the fact that they switch from one language to the other makes them feel at ease when they start speaking.

There are, however, a few respondents who show negative attitudes towards the French language and said that they avoid it as much as possible, especially when it comes to mix the two languages wrongly. They explain that the holy book 'the Koran' came down in Arabic since it is the most prestigious language all over the world. They add that they have to preserve it from generation to generation.

In fact, many Algerians say that they find Algerian Arabic full of French words and this reduces the prestige of the Arabic language. Many others see the fact of switching, back and forth, or mixing the two languages as a lack of competence in either language. They also remark that schools should struggle against this way of speaking and have to make pupils aware of these linguistic deficiencies.

1- A twenty-year old boy (student at the university) says:

*[lə frēse nəhadruh partu fdarna, o lise, fəzzənqa.]

'The French language is used everywhere in my home, in the school, in the street.'

In this sentence the young boy, with positive attitudes towards French, mixes between Algerian Arabic and French to facilitate speech and making less effort since he uses French words which have equivalent in Algerian Arabic and which are frequently used in our society. For example, instead of saying [fkuɫ moɖaʔ] 'everywhere' in Algerian Arabic he prefers to express his idea in one word by using the French equivalent 'partout'.

2- A twenty-two years old girl says:

*[mama pærgzēpl təhdər mʔana tuʒur ē frāse.] 'My mum, for example, always speaks to us in French.' In this case, the girl uses the French language as her mother usually does. Her mother, in fact, may use the French language unconsciously as a habit or consciously to improve the level of French of her children.

3- A fifty-five year old man (physician) says:

*[...mit,æɫ kæjən li il nariv pa a seksprime kōvəabləmē
atravər set lāg. ʒə pēs kə hədəʃʃi mædʒi məlmāk də
pratik de lekol.]

'For instance, there are those who are not able to express themselves suitably through such a language and this comes from the lack of practice at school.'

In this sentence the matrix language is French since its structure follows the French grammar. Arabic is the embedded language because there are few Arabic words used to facilitate speech. The speaker has positive attitudes towards French since he uses it correctly.

4- A seventy-year old man (teacher) says:

*[lqurʔæn bda bʔiqraʔ setadir va a la r3ʃerʃ dy savwar e

dj3 nuza done ẽ ordr.] 'Koran begins with 'iqraʔ' in other words "read" or "search for knowledge" and these verbs are used in the imperative form, it means an order.' The speaker starts his sentence in Arabic because he speaks about religion which is one of the topics that are usually dealt within Arabic rather than French; thanks to the Holy book. This sentence illustrates the intersentential type of code switching since it begins with Algerian Arabic and then finishes in French. This Speaker's attitudes are positive towards French.

3.2.2 In Boudghène

In Boudghène too we asked people about their attitudes towards French and towards the switch from the dialect to French or vice-versa. In fact, our question is asked in a natural way in order to avoid any social or psychological constraints and therefore to obtain the right attitudes. The following utterances are the most attractive answers that can depict the positive and negative attitudes toward switching to the second language.

1- A forty-year old man (teacher at the university) says:

*[fəlfamiljæt hnaja fbudʁen, lə frāse ne pa tre suvẽ parle

a mōnavi lfrāse jliq nəstaʔamluh fle komynikasjō mʔa le

zotr p3:pl.] 'Within the families here in Boudghène, French is not very often

spoken. In my opinion French must be used in communication with the other nations.’ In this sentence, the shift between the two languages is used to show one’s identity because French in Boudghène is used only through borrowings to facilitate speech. It is an Intersentential switching.

2-A forty years old woman says:

*[fəl muʒtamaʔ taʔna dæk lfrōse dajrinu ʔil la frim,
gaʔ lijaʔraf ʃi kəlma jgulha, hnaja fi budʔen təlga næs
mətwaʒʔi:n jəhadru bluʔat lqurʔæn] ‘In our society French is used only
for show, all those who know a French word use it; here in Boudghène you may find
humble people who speak using the language of the Koran.’

3.3 Results of the questionnaire

This reliable tool of collecting data is used in this research work to supply it with the quantitative results and to show the rates of CS in these two districts. It is important to note from the outset that during the analysis of the questionnaire there were some confused informants who preferred to avoid answering certain questions for obscure personal reasons and there were some contradictions while answering but this results from the complex sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. For instance, in Boudghène, especially, because of their low level of education, some participants answered Algerian Arabic to the first question B: What language do you usually speak in your everyday life? Whereas in the second question E: Do you think you codeswitch? They say ‘yes’ because within the Algerian Arabic there are several French words that have no equivalents in Algerian Arabic and therefore they slipped into dialects. Even if these borrowings exist in Standard Arabic they are not used in our dialect. e.g [maki jə] ‘to make up’, [stasjone] ‘to park’, [duble] ‘to overtake a car’ in our dialect this word is frequent and may be used in other different contexts like: to double something or to fail in studies and to repeat a year.’ In this study the level of education is determined by the success in the Baccalaureat exam. In other

words, educated subjects are those who got their exam whereas the less educated are the ones who failed. Uneducated ones are the ones who can neither write nor read.

A): Informants

In Birouana, out of 50 questionnaires given to random sample we obtained only 46 in which there are 21 men and 25 women. The age of the participants varies from 15 years old to 80 years old. All come from the same district and share the same origin but have different occupations and social status such as: unemployed, pupil, student, trader, dressmaker, teacher, engineer and physician. Their level of education varies from primary school to university studies. Out of 46 informants only 2 informants have not given their level of education without being socially constrained since it is done anonymously. In Boudghène district, on the other hand, we obtained answers from all the informants, among whom there are 18 men and 32 women, and to all questions. The age varies from 15 years old to 75 years old. All informants have the same origin. All came from rural areas before and after independence. They have different occupations and different social statuses: pupils, students, unemployed, housewives, maids, caretakers, guards, hair-dressers, greengrocers, traders, retired and teachers. Their level of education varies from the uneducated speaker to the highly educated one. In fact, there are 4 uneducated participants only in our small sample and it may easily influence the level of education of the whole district, 9 have left after primary school, 10 are still studying in primary and secondary school and only 11 are at university level. The level of education appears to be significant in our research work so we try to represent, in the following tables and pie-charts, the different levels in the two districts for an easier comparison.

Level of education \ District	Educated	Less educated	Uneducated
Birouana	46 %	54 %	0%
Boudghène	8%	82%	10%

Table.3.1 level of education in Birouana and Boudghène

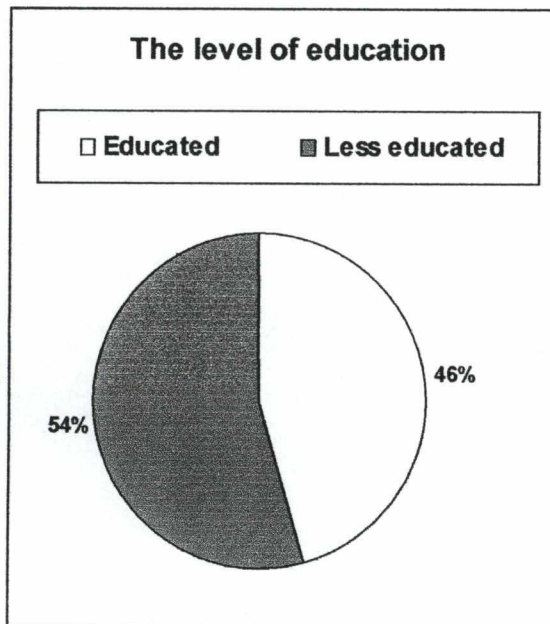


Fig.3.1.a level of education in Birouana

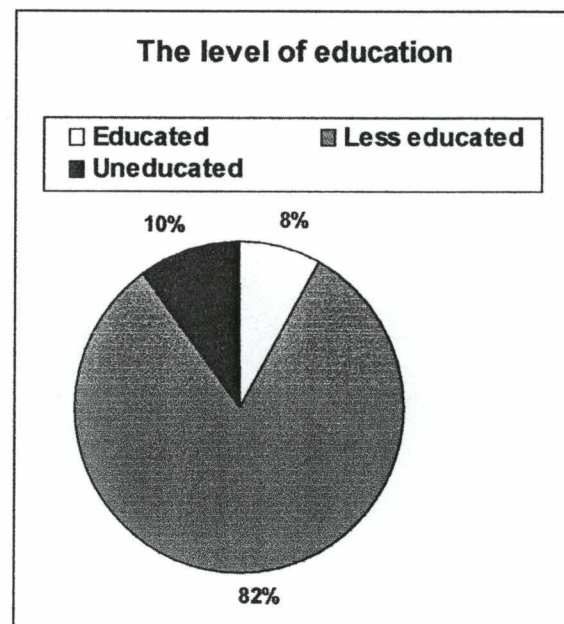


Fig.3.1.b level of education in Boudghène

B)

B-1): What language do you usually speak in your everyday life?

In Birouana the results we obtained were revealing. Out of 46 speakers; 39 use both Algerian Arabic and French in their daily conversations which indicates certainly the switch from one language to the other whereas in Boudghène, out of 50 subjects only one has not answered this question and as we have noticed during the recordings and interviews, the use of French is very restricted since these people were living in rural areas and had not frequent social contacts with the French colonizer and, especially, their level of education is far from the average. Consequently they are not able to use the French language easily. Speakers who use both languages in their daily life are

very few in this district. According to what we have noticed we can say that the majority of the 29% think and answer 'both', in this question, because the French language exists even in our Algerian Arabic in the form of borrowings. Therefore, the way these people answer to the questionnaire seems to be very logical because they are ordinary people and are not aware about sociolinguistic matters. i.e. they cannot think about code switching and borrowing and differentiate between the two because for them using a borrowed word means using French. The following table and pie-chart are used to illustrate the findings of the two districts.

Language used in daily life \ District	Algerian Arabic	French	Both
Birouana	11 %	4 %	85%
Boudghène	71%	0%	29%

Table.3.2 language used in daily life in Birouana and Boudghène

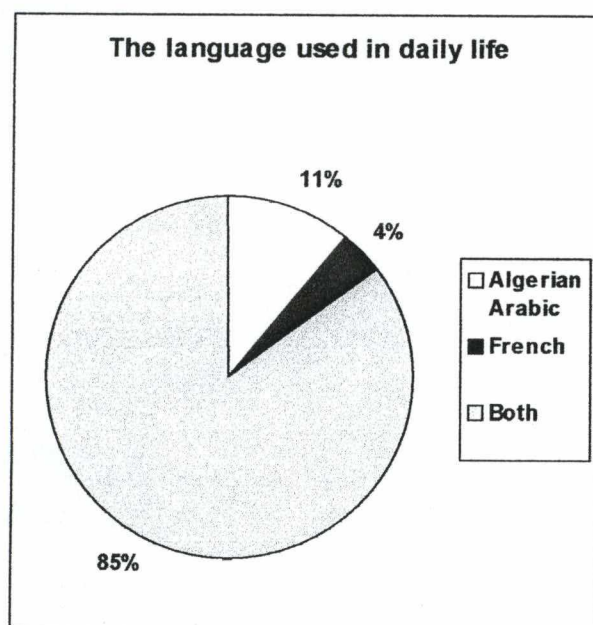


Fig.3.2.a language used in daily life in Birouana

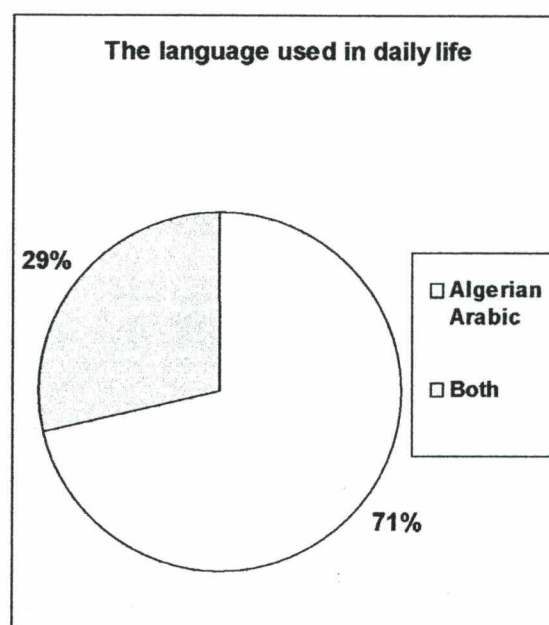


Fig.3.2.b language used in daily life in Boudghène

B-2): In communication, if you are sure that you and the listener come from the same area, from the same level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why?

Through this question we aimed at showing if the topic and/or the relationship between the speaker and the listener may influence the way of speaking and if it may incite speakers to shift from one language to the other.

As shown in the diagram (Fig 3.3.a/b), in the two districts no speaker takes into consideration the relationship with the hearer because he/she is not a stranger to him/her. As a result the informants are much more influenced by the topic than by the listener because the speaker already knows the hearer and his/her level of education for example and therefore, he is not influenced by. That means most respondents or 43% prefer to use 'both' and 'it depends on the topic' when they are talking about something formal or serious, this type of switching is called metaphorical switching (Bloom and Gumperz, 1972). On the contrary, as for the topics related to daily life and entertainment that are comparatively informal and casual, only a small percentage of informants use French and Algerian Arabic. This findings support Wardhaugh's theory (1996) that code switching depends on situation. In Boudghène, the result of this question attests the findings of the previous question which states that Algerian Arabic is the frequent language. In deed the result of this question shows that more than half of these speakers use Algerian Arabic in all topics which means that the French language is not frequently used and only 12% switch between the two languages in all topics. We notice also that no one speaks French in all topics but rather 36% who assume the use of one language or both according to the topic they are involved in. This may suggest that these people switch from one language to the other in all topics to facilitate speech. These findings assert the level of education of each district and shows that there is a wide range in the mastery of French. These results are illustrated in the following diagram:

Language used & the topic District	Algerian Arabic in all topics	French in all topics	Both in all topics	It depends on the topic
Birouana	11%	3%	43%	43%
Boudghène	52%	0%	12%	36%

Table.3.3 language used according to the topic in Birouana and Boudghène

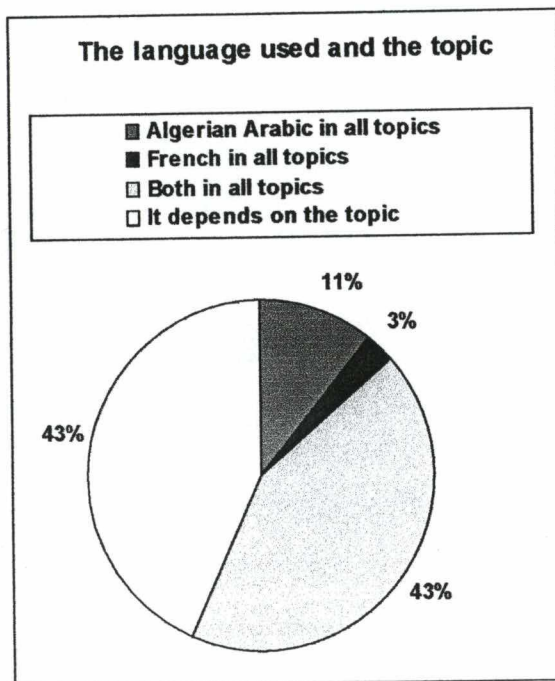


Fig. 3.3.a language used according to the topic in Birouana

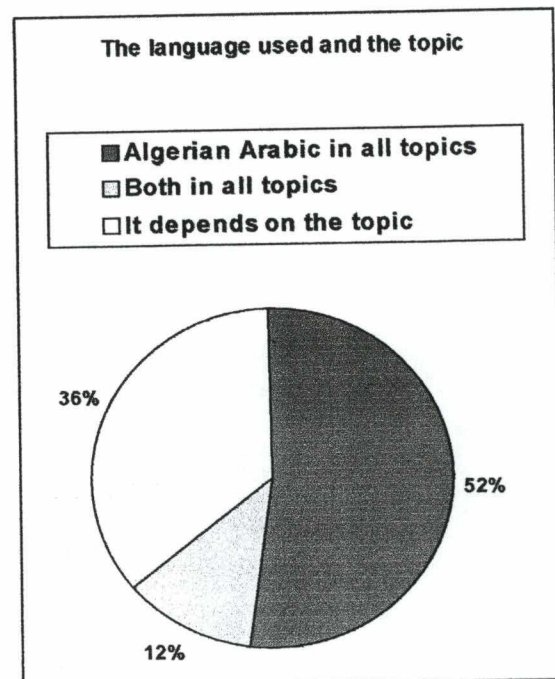


Fig. 3.3.b language used according to the topic in Boudghène

B-3): In communication, if you are sure that you and the listener are not from the same area, having different level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why?

This question, as opposed to the previous one, aims to show the code used when facing a stranger hearer and to see if the speaker is affected by his/her level of education and/or his/her origin. Normally, as a bilingual, the way we speak to a bilingual differs from the way we speak to a monolingual i.e. talking to a monolingual we should use his/her language whereas within a bilingual we may choose one of the two languages or both of them. In Birouana, out of 46 informants two of them have not answered this question. 30% of the sample use the same code as in the previous question **B-2** that is they do not adapt their speech according to the listener. For instance, if the hearer is uneducated the speaker should normally use Algerian Arabic or at least a mixture, if one cannot express himself in Algerian Arabic a hundred percent, but the French language should be avoided in order to transmit the message since it is the fundamental objective of speaking. On the other hand, 70% of participants choose different codes according to the other side and prefer using the right code for the right

audience in order to be sure that the message is transmitted. For further illustration, one informant says that, for example, he speaks Algerian Arabic with uneducated people and he never uses French except for borrowings that have no Algerian Arabic equivalents or for words of which he knows no equivalents in Arabic. He adds that even if he uses French words with this group of speakers, he tries to adapt them morphologically to Arabic e.g. [tkonektət_s] instead of [ʒə məsqi konekte] 'I got connected'. However, in the other district, a great majority of the sample; 70% uses the mother tongue spontaneously without taking into consideration the audience and only 30% switch according to the audience. This may be explained by the lack of mastery of the French language. For example, if one speaks Algerian Arabic with a French-speaking person and then he notices that the message is not transmitted, he/she goes on with the same and only language he/she masters which is his/her mother tongue.

Language used & the hearer District	Switch according to the hearer	Do not care about the hearer
Birouana	70%	30%
Boudghène	30%	70%

Table.3.4 language used according to the hearer in Birouana and Boudghène

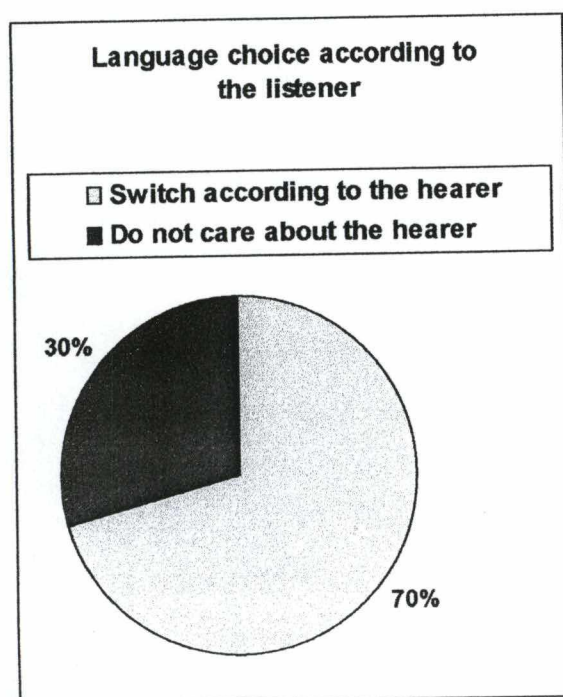


Fig.3.4.a language used according to the hearer in Birouana

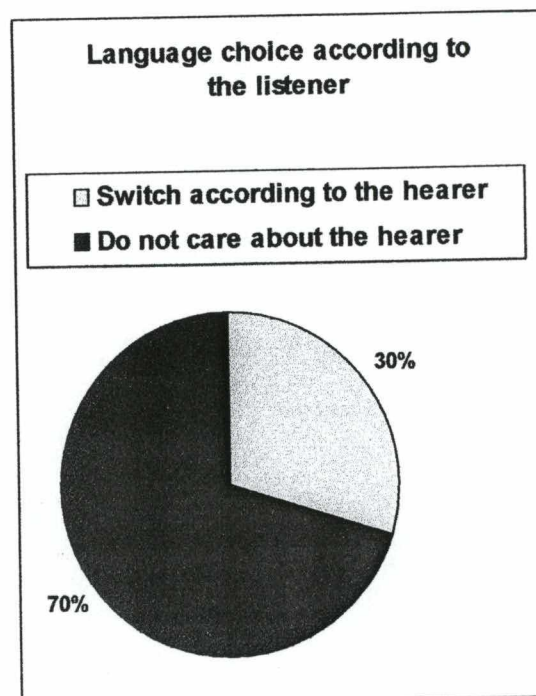


Fig.3.4.b language used according to the hearer in Boudghène

C): What do you speak at home? What do you speak in the street? What do you speak with friends? What do you speak in the municipal offices?

We insist on asking such a question to show if speakers are influenced by the contexts or settings. In Birouana, out of 46 informants, one has not answered. As demonstrated in the pie-chart below, an important number of speakers use Algerian Arabic, French or both depending on the context they are in. For example, one may use Algerian Arabic within his/her family, both in the street and with his/her friends French is the appropriate language. However, in Boudghène Algerian Arabic is used in all contexts by half of the sample 50%. This means that French is not used at all by this category of people which consists of a large number of uneducated and less educated speakers, who avoid the use of the second language because of their low level of education, or educated speakers with negative attitudes towards the French language. Only 12% of the sample think that they use both languages in all contexts and 38% adapt their language use according to the setting. In other words, half of the sample may use French words or expressions when they find barriers with Algerian Arabic or when

they are in a context which requires the use of the French language to reach a certain social and/or linguistic objectives.

Language used & context \ District	Algerian Arabic in all contexts	Both in all contexts	It depends on the context
Birouana	4%	56%	40%
Boudghène	50%	12%	38%

Table.3.5 language used according to the context in Birouana and Boudghène

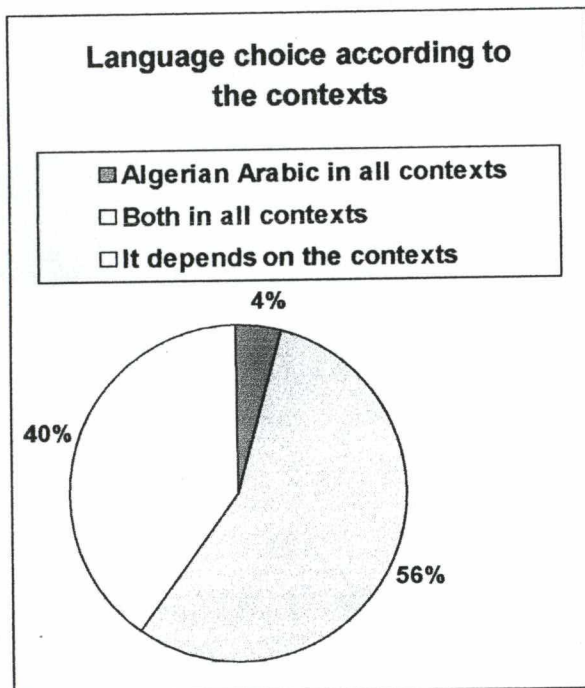


Fig.3.5.a language used according to the context in Birouana.

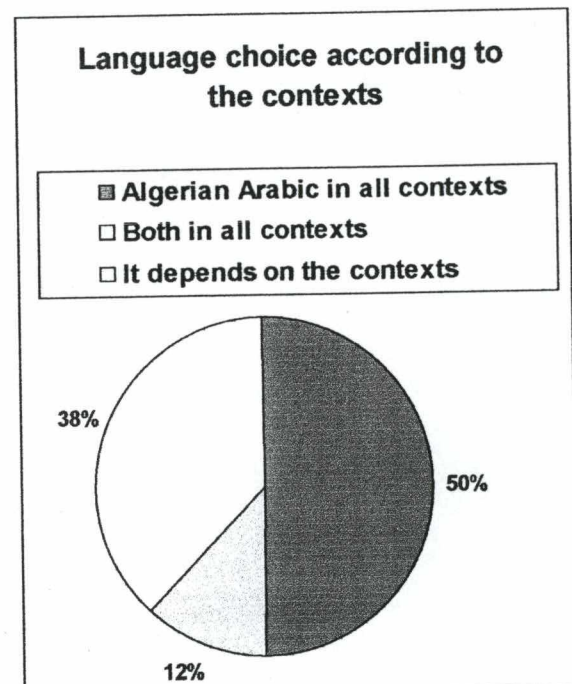


Fig.3.5.b language used according to the context in Boudghène.

D)

D-1): Your attitudes towards CS are: positive, negative or neutral?

This question shows the attitude of the speakers towards the use of code switching. In Birouana, in addition to its high level of education, the majority of the sample, 63%, have positive attitudes towards code switching, as opposed to this in Boudghène there is an important equality of 40% which refers to those informants with positive attitudes and those with negative ones towards CS. During the analysis of the present

question we notice that speakers of negative attitudes are especially old people and justify their point of view by giving the following arguments:

- It is the language of the colonizer.
- We are not French people [gwər].
- We have to improve our Arabic level not the French one since we are Muslims and it is the language of our ancestors.
- The official language in our country is Arabic.

On the other hand, 20% answer 'neutral' which means that they are in between and therefore they have no reason to use or to avoid CS. The result is illustrated in the next chart:

Attitudes towards CS	Positive	Negative	Neutral
District			
Birouana	63%	15%	22%
Boudghène	40%	40%	20%

Table.3.6 Attitudes towards CS in Birouana and Boudghène

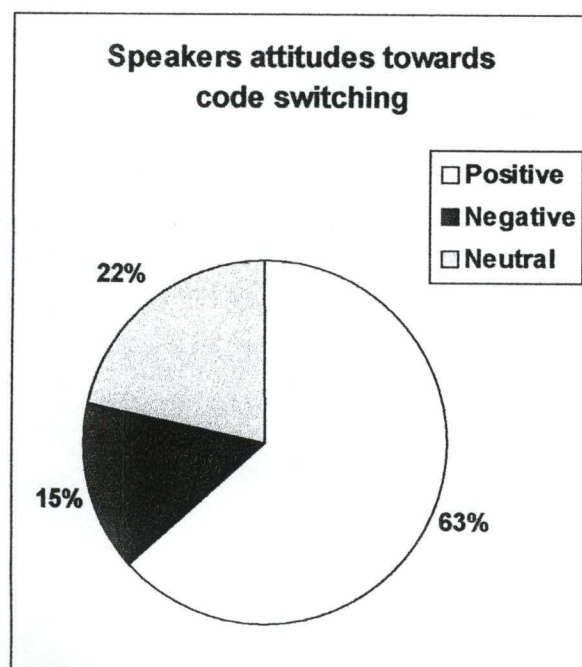


Fig.3.6.a Attitudes towards CS in Birouana

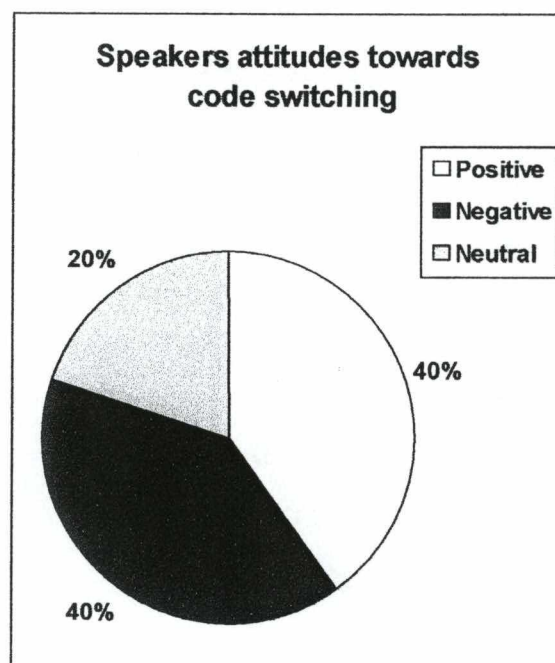


Fig.3.6.b Attitudes towards CS in Boudghène

D-2): Do you think that the use of code switching reflects the identity of the speaker? Myers-Scotton (1995) mentions that people code switch to show their social identities and to which social group they belong. We have asked this question to see if her theory is applicable in our society. Out of 46 informants only one has not answered this question. According to what we have obtained, more than half of the sample think that the switch from one language to the other reflects speakers' identities, so we may admit that Myers-Scotton's assumption applies to the context of Birouana in Tlemcen. In Boudghène, however, out of 50 informants 25 disagree with Myers-Scotton's theory and 40% do agree with her theory and think that the use of CS reflects the speaker's identity, i.e., the good use of CS shows the high level of education of the speaker and sometimes reflects the high socio-economic status; that is, these people are often abroad and are in contact with the French people. 10% are neutral and gave no reasons. Furthermore, we suspect that those subjects who believe that CS reflects the speaker's identity are more likely to code switch in their everyday speech. However, we cannot verify this theory here because it is extremely difficult to really know who does not codeswitch based solely on their self-assessments.

CS & Speakers' identities District	Agree	Disagree	Neutral
Birouana	56%	24%	20%
Boudghène	40%	50%	10%

Table.3.7 CS and speakers' identities in Birouana and Boudghène

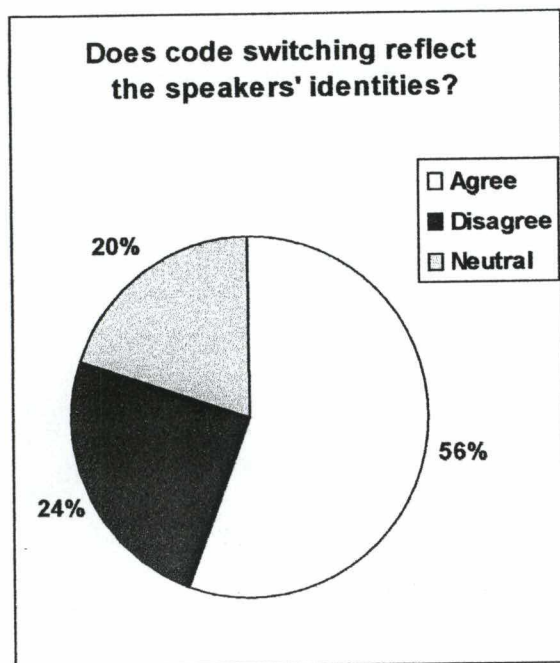


Fig.3.7.a CS and speakers' identities in Birouana

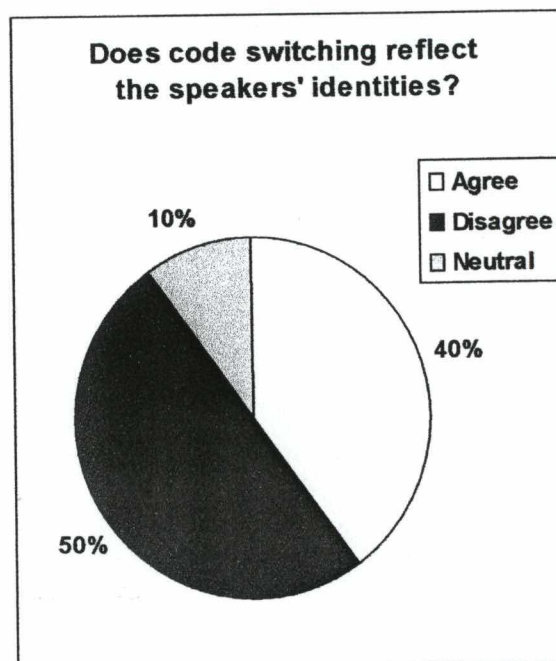


Fig.3.7.b CS and speakers' identities in Boudghène

E)

E-1): Do you consider yourself bilingual?

We find it important to ask this question to speakers, especially those of Birouana, to see if they are aware of this sociolinguistic phenomenon and to supply us with their sociolinguistic position because the level of education is not enough as a cue, since there are many people who lived with the colonizers and therefore master the French language without having learned it in school. As represented in the diagram, a whole majority of 86% have answered 'Yes' as they think that they are bilinguals. This reflects our bilingual society where the use of the French language is frequent and where several French words slipped into Algerian Arabic and, therefore, are used instead of the Arabic ones. Those 14% who have answered 'No' must be less educated people and think that they should be competent in French to be bilingual which is not the case of the whole majority, i.e., there may exist informants who have answered 'Yes' just because they use borrowings in their Algerian Arabic. In fact, the definition of bilingualism differs from one sociolinguist to another. Logically it is up to specialists to analyse objectively their bilinguality because informants' answers may be subjective. In Boudghène, out of 50 participants; two women have not answered. In

this question more than half of the sample; 69% consider themselves as bilinguals in spite of their low level of education and this comes back to our Algerian Arabic which contains a great number of French borrowings. This category of people considers CS as borrowings because for them saying a borrowed word means they are speaking French and therefore they are bilinguals. As a matter of fact, they are right to a certain extent, because sociolinguists disagree, as we have seen in chapter one, on giving a common definition to bilingualism. On the other hand, 31% think that they are not bilinguals because they are conscious of their low level of education and their French linguistic deficiencies.

Speakers' bilinguality District	Yes	No
Birouana	86%	14%
Boudghène	69%	31%

Table.3.8 Speakers' bilinguality in Birouana and Boudghène

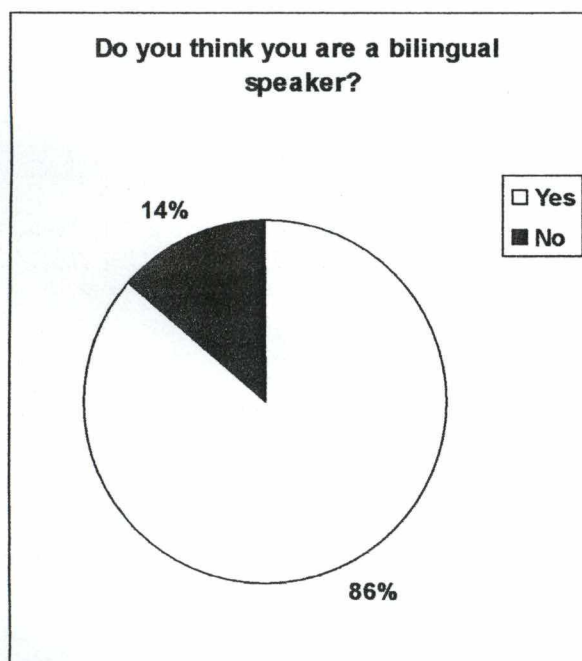


Fig.3.8.a Speakers' bilinguality in Birouana

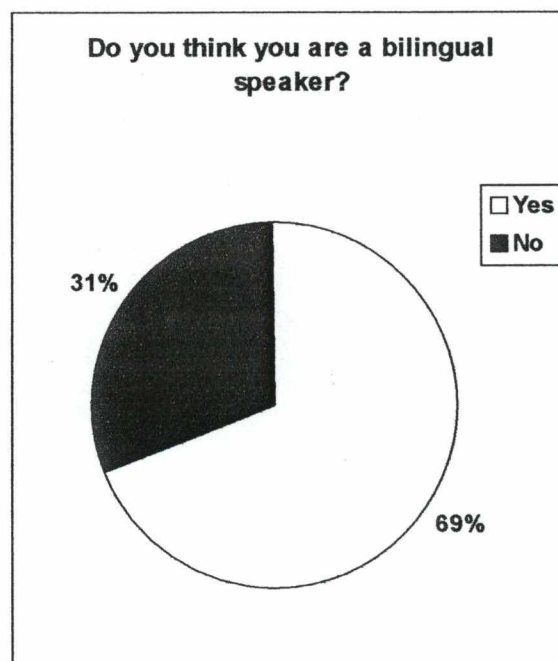


Fig.3.8.b Speakers' bilinguality in Boudghène

E-2): Do you think you codeswitch?

As a researcher we try to show through this question the speakers' awareness about the use of code switching. The findings, in Birouana, attest that a great number of speakers are aware of their switching between the two languages and this implies that it is not used unconsciously. In Boudghène also the majority, about 70%, answer that they mix between the two languages and this result is obtained because of the existence of several French borrowings in Algerian Arabic. The best example to demonstrate the present result is that during our analysis we find a contradiction in the sense that informants answer Algerian Arabic in question B-1 (which language do you use in your everyday life?) and then 'Yes' in this question.

CS & Speakers District	Yes	No
Birouana	93%	7%
Boudghène	74%	26%

Table.3.9 CS and speakers in Birouana and Boudghène

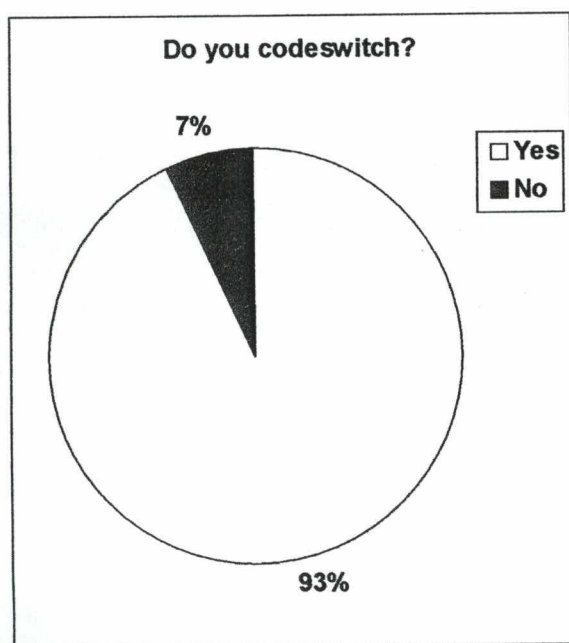


Fig.3.9.a CS and speakers in Birouana

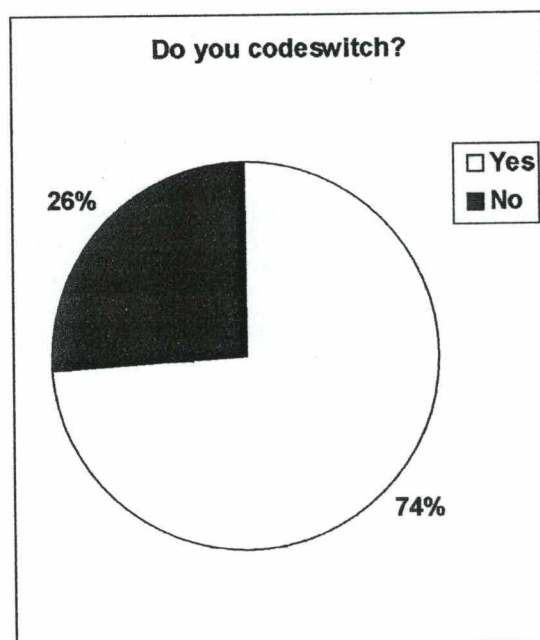


Fig.3.9.b CS and speakers in Boudghène

E-3): Do you feel comfortable in using more than one language?

In Birouana, out of 46 informants 2 have not answered this question. However, a whole majority, that is, 93% of these speakers, assert that they feel comfortable when using more than one language because the fact of mastering more than one language enables them to speak and to express themselves easily.

In Boudghène, on the other hand, two men have not answered and the answers to this question confirms our previous interpretations since a large majority, 60%, does not feel at ease when using the French language because they do not master this second language and as a result they avoid its use as far as possible. These informants of Boudghène use only French borrowings in their daily life but when it comes to switch from one language to the other they are confused. The 40% who have answered positively are either those educated people or the ones who believe that the use of borrowings is similar to the use of mixing or switching between Algerian Arabic and French.

The table and pie-chart below clearly show this divergence of feelings towards the use of the French language.

District	Feeling at ease in using more than one language	
	Yes	No
Birouana	93%	7%
Boudghène	40%	60%

Table.3.10 Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Birouana and Boudghène

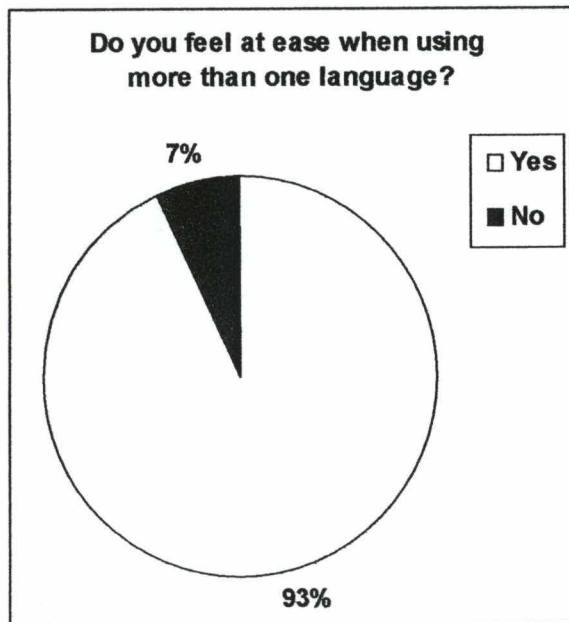


Fig.3.10.a Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Birouana.

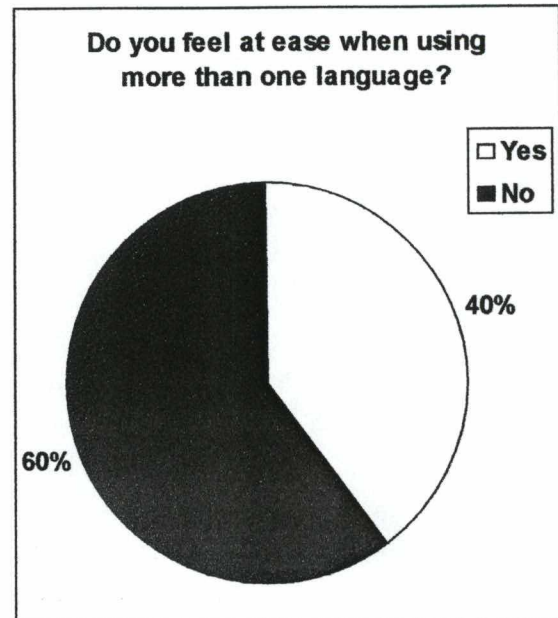


Fig.3.10.b Feeling at ease when using more than one language in Boudghène

E-4): Do you think you are fluent in the French language?

This question is not asked to measure the actual mastery of French, because people are subjective, but rather to measure the awareness of speakers towards the French language. In Birouana, we have obtained the same percentage as in the previous two questions which signifies that these speakers are conscious, to a certain extent, about French use and therefore they confirm their balanced bilingualism. From the 93% who think that they are fluent, 39% are less educated people and these answers are given according to their self evaluation because normally there are only 54% educated people (Table.3.1). But we have noticed that the less educated people of Birouana, as opposed to Boudghène since it is not the case, especially those who lived with French colonizers are able to switch and to use French correctly in spite of their low level of education. In Boudghène, out of 50 informants two men have not answered. The majority believe that they are not competent in French and this strengthens our previous results and the only reason is the low level of education. We have to remark that from the 35% who think they are competent in French, there are less educated informants who think so because the percentage of educated participants is 8% as shown in (Table.3.1); as a result, 27% are less educated informants. This result is

obtained according to the informants' point of view about their mastery of the French language, as shown in the table and chart below.

Speakers' competence in French	Yes	No
District Birouana	93%	7%
Boudghène	35%	65%

Table.3.11 Speakers' French competence in Birouana and Boudghène

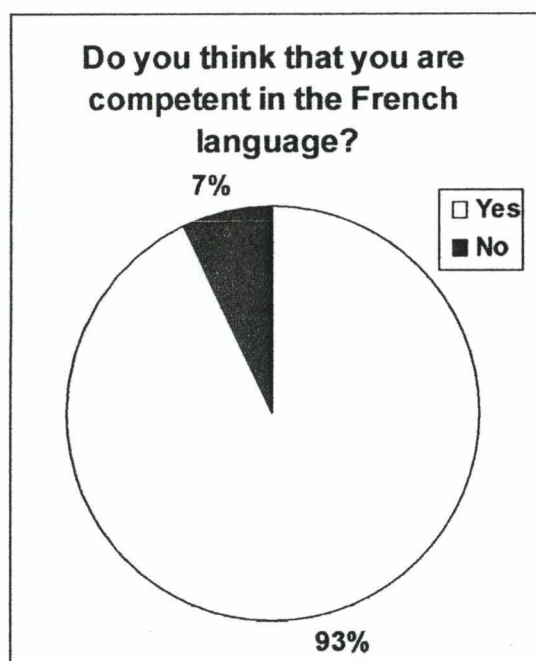


Fig.3.11.a Speakers' French competence in Birouana

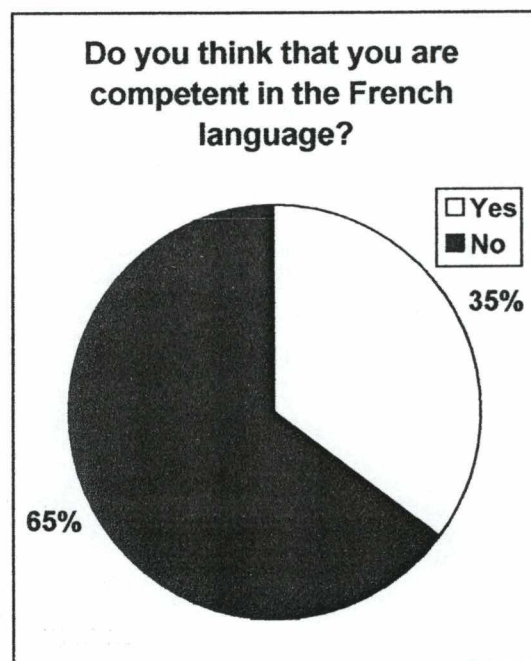


Fig.3.11.b Speakers' French competence in Boudghène

F) What are the reasons that make you shift from Algerian Arabic to French and vice versa?

In Birouana out of 46 informants (21 men and 25 women) only 5 did not answer this question. In fact, the most important reasons for which people are urged to switch from one language to the other are as follows:

- To facilitate speech because of lack of competence in Arabic, in particular French items and borrowed words with no Arabic equivalents. 50% of the

sample codeswitch to transmit the message and continue the conversation. They gave the following sentences:

* J'utilise le Français pour mieux me faire comprendre. 'I use French to make my self understood.'

*Pour convaincre les autres facilement. 'I speak French to convince the others easily.'

- It is a habit: 10% of the sample codeswitch unconsciously as usual. They give the following sentences:

* عادة 'It is a habit.'

*On a pris tendance à parler comme ça 'One took tendency to speak like that.'

- For different social reasons and it depends on several social factors: 40 % give the following Arabic sentences:

*Pour s'intégrer dans un milieu. 'To integrate in an environment.'

*Quand on veut exclure une personne qui ne maîtrise pas cette langue : vieux et enfants. 'When we want to exclude someone who does not master French: old people and children.'

*Quand on parle d'un sujet qui nécessite le Français comme la médecine et les problèmes de santé. 'When we speak of a topic which requires the French as in medicine and problems of health.'

On the other hand in Boudghène, out of 50 informants (18 men and 32 women) only 28 have answered this question by giving the following reasons:

- To show one's level of education: 39% gave the following Arabic sentences:

* نريد التحدث باللغة الفرنسية للإندماج مع المجتمع و لنبيين مستوانا الدراسي.

'We prefer speaking in French to adapt ourselves within the environment and to show our level of education.'

'To show our French knowledge.'

* لإبراز ما نعرفه من اللغة الفرنسية.

* في غالب الأحيان أستعمل العربية و إن أستعمل الفرنسية لكي أندمج مع الناس المثقفين و إظهار المستوى في المحيط.

'I usually use Algerian Arabic but when it comes to use French, it is just to accommodate myself with educated people and to show our level of education in the environment.'

* لا ظهر لأولادي بأنّ رغم أميتي أعرف الفرنسية.

'To show my children that in spite of my illiteracy, I know French.'

- To facilitate speech: 29% shift from one language to another to obviate difficulties in speech. This major reason of Birouana district is found in the second position in Boudghène because most of its residents do not master French so as to be able to use it for facilitating speech. In other words, only educated people who have learned this second language may feel at ease in its use and therefore they say:

'I use French to facilitate speech'

* أستعمل الفرنسية لتسهيل الحديث.

* أتكلم بالفرنسية لإقناع الطرف الآخر بسهولة.

'I speak French to convince the other conversant easily.'

* هناك عبارات فرنسية لا توجد في لغتنا اليومية و لكي أكون واضحاً و فصيحاً في مناقشتي مع الطرف الآخر.
'There are French expressions which have no equivalents in our mother tongue and I use French also for discussion and clarification with the other side.'

- Other social reasons: 32% of the sample give other reasons that may be important to mention, they are as follows:

* لإقصاء بعض الفئات في الحديث كالأطفال والشيوخ.

'To exclude certain social categories like children and old people.'

'It is a habit'

* عادة

* أستعمل الفرنسية لأسباب دراسية وخاصة في الأماكن المخصّص بها.

'I use French for educational reasons especially in specific contexts.'

We have noticed that the informants of Birouana answered this question in French, whereas those of Boudghène answered in Standard Arabic. We have to notice that the people of Birouana-when they write or when they are in formal situations-they frequently use French rather than Standard Arabic. Thus, this is not the case of those of Boudghène who prefer to write in Standard Arabic rather than French because of the lack of competence in French.

To sum up the social reasons for which people of both districts codeswitch, we give the following summary statements:

- One of the most important reasons for which people, both in Birouana or in Boudghène, are urged to switch from one language to the other is to facilitate speech and to transmit the message to the hearer.
- We have noticed that speakers, either man or woman, shift so often from Algerian Arabic to French when they are facing the opposite sex especially when they are strangers.
- The use of the French language is frequent in Birouana whereas in Boudghène it is just used for needs, for educated speakers, or as borrowings for most residents.
- The major factor that influences CS is the level of education and the mastery of the French language since we notice that even educated speakers in Boudghène do not master this first foreign language.
- In our community, the present topic of conversation is very fundamental and plays a great role in the selection of the language: religious conversations are most of the time carried in Arabic whereas medical ones are carried in French or both.
- Age is found to be significant, to a certain extent, especially in Birouana, because the generation who lived with the French colonizers use the French language frequently and correctly even if they are less educated speakers. For the next generation, on the other hand, only those who have learned successfully this first foreign language in schools can use it correctly and frequently.

G)

G -1): How much do you understand French? 10% 20% 50% 80% 100%

In Birouana, one participant has not answered this question. However, an important part of the sample population say they understand French perfectly which implies that our society is accustomed to French TV channels and understand native people very well so when they face people who speak French they do not have any difficulties, whereas the small minority declare that they understand very few this second language which may refer to those less educated speakers who did not live with the French colonizer and which have not learned much of it in schools.

On the other hand, in Boudghène the result of this question shows that a great portion of the sample reflects those informants who do not understand well French. The second portion, that is, less than quarter of the sample understands French very little and the same percentage is obtained for those who do it quite well. 14% of the whole informants understand this second language very well and only very few of the sample understand it perfectly. Indeed, these findings may reflect the low level of education of the majority of the sample because we suspect these results in the French use question but not in this one. In other words, as a researcher we assume that the people of Boudghène can easily understand French since they are living in a multilingual country where French is considered as the second language but it is not the case and the findings of the next question will be much more obvious than this one.

Understanding French District	perfectly well	very well	quite well	not well	very little
Birouana	44%	29%	18%	20%	2%
Boudghène	4%	14%	24%	34%	24%

Table.3.12 Understanding French in Birouana and Boudghène

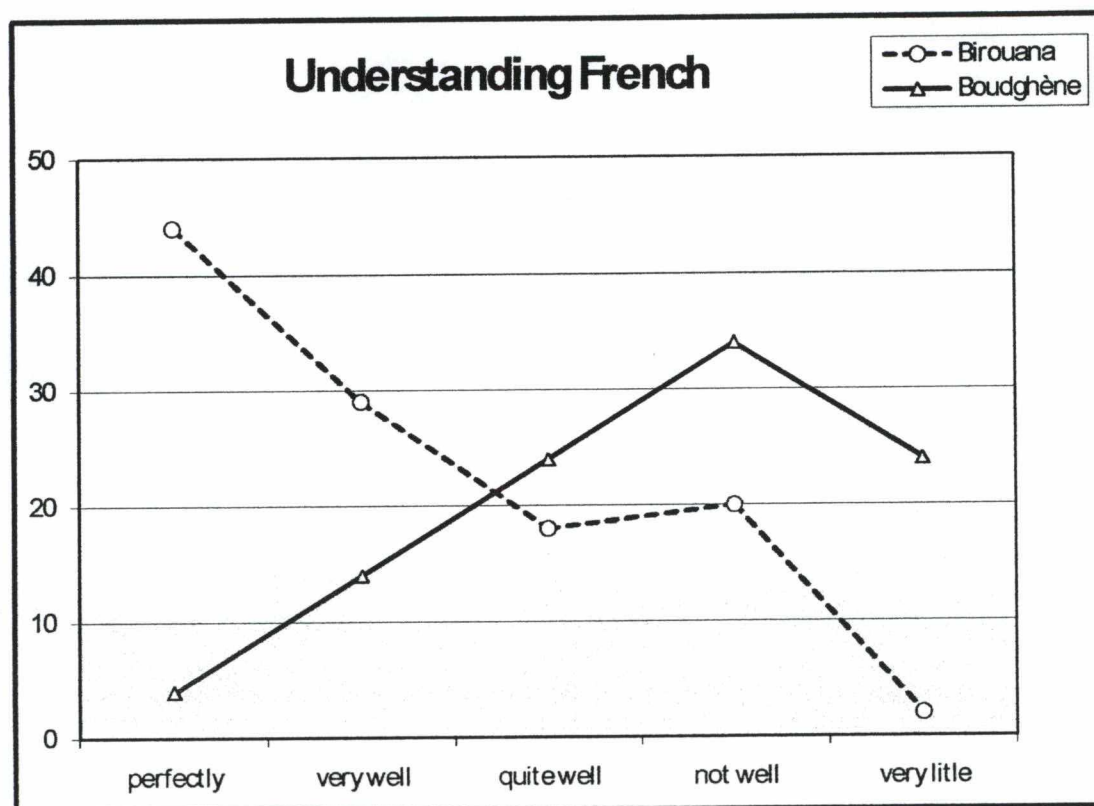


Fig.3.12 Understanding French in Birouana and Boudghène

G -2): How much do you speak French? 10% 20% 50% 80% 100%

In Birouana, one participant has not answered this question. Half of the informants say that they use the French language frequently and for an Arabic society it is very striking since only 2% of the sample use it rarely. However, in Boudghène, as expected, almost half of the sample uses French rarely which means that these people use only borrowings or very common French expressions. Their use of the second language is very low. Almost half of the informants use it sometime for certain social factors. Then those who use it always, frequently and often must be educated people and thus having positive attitudes towards French.

Using French \ District	always	frequently	often	sometimes	rarely
Birouana	4%	50%	31%	13%	2%
Boudghène	2%	8%	18%	24%	48%

Table.3.13 Frequency in the use of French in Birouana and Boudghène

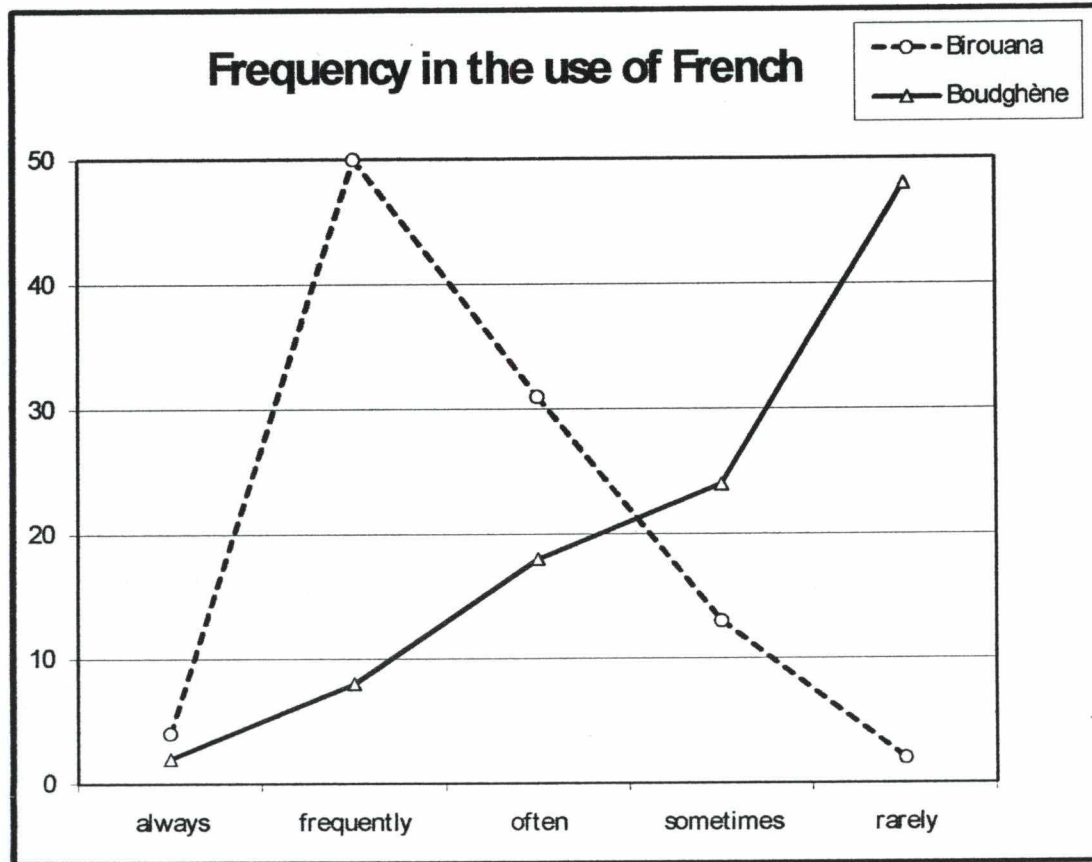


Fig.3.13 Frequency in the use of French in Birouana and Boudghène

3.4 Summary of Findings

To sum up, as far as social variables are concerned, there are no significant results associated with gender since both men and women switch between the two languages according to their intentions. However, the level of education is very significant because in Boudghène much more than half of the sample are less educated since people are constrained to leave school at an early age in order to work and to improve their low incomes and therefore to supply for their families. On the other hand, in Birouana the level of education is better because the majority of these residents have an easy life, with no problem of housing. The following graph represents the level of education and the result of both districts obtained in the questionnaire.

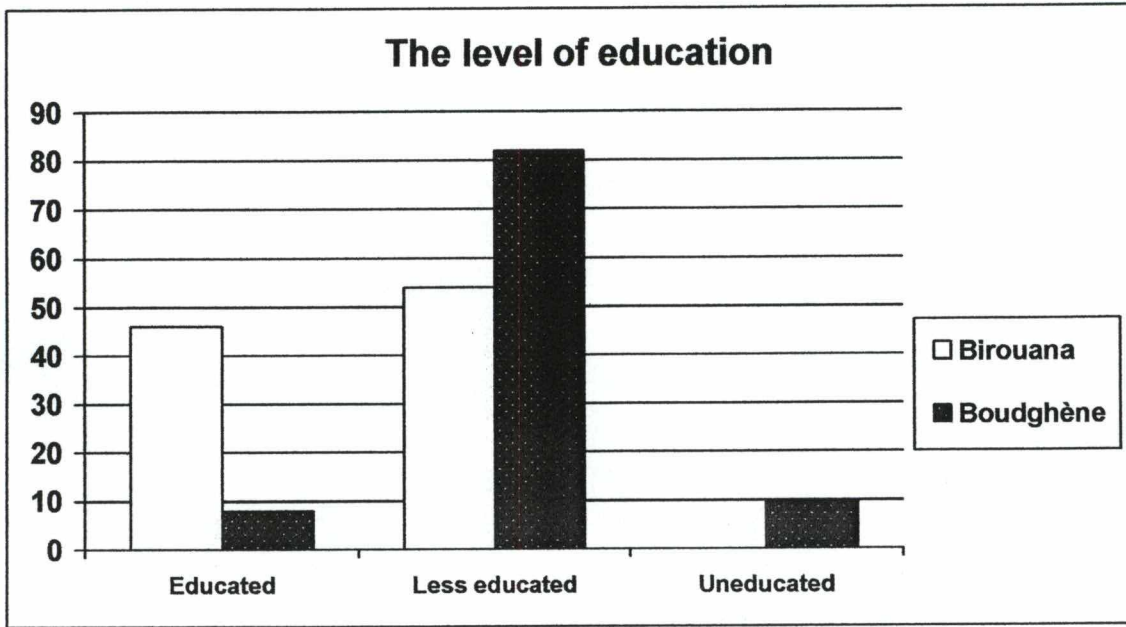


Fig.3. 14 The level of education

As shown in the graph below, the two districts are diametrically opposed in answering the question related to the language used and the hearer and this result may be explained by the degree of mastery of French because those who master the French language have the possibility to change their speech according to the hearer to express and to transmit their ideas easily.

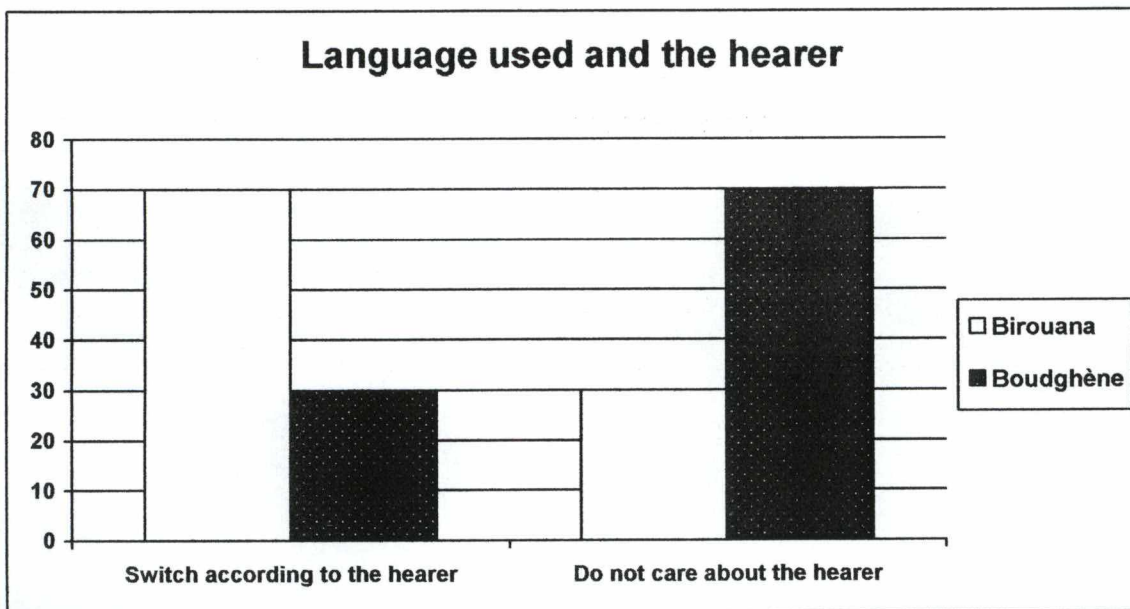


Fig.3. 15 Language used and the hearer

Moreover, attitudes towards a language play an important role within a society, in our case, for example, we have noticed when collecting data and we confirm through the questionnaire that speakers' positive or negative attitudes towards French may easily affect its use within a certain environment. The results obtained in the two districts may be represented in the following graph:

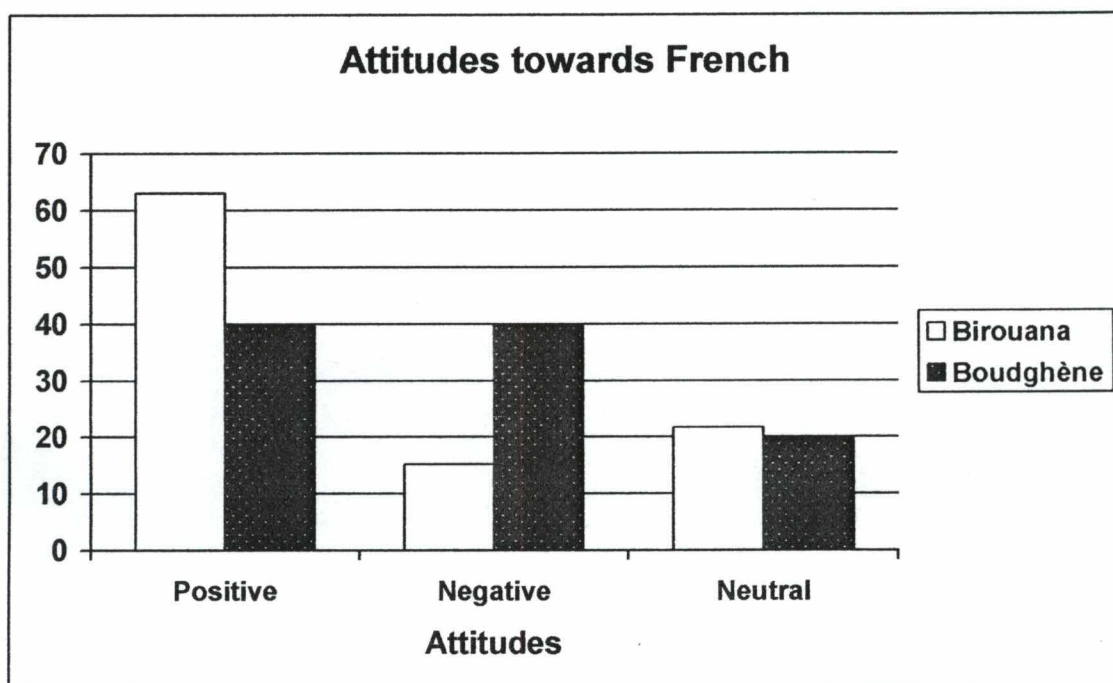


Fig.3. 16 Attitudes towards French

To show the occurrence of the reasons of code switching and to analyse the answers of question D (your attitudes towards CS are positive, negative or neutral?) we try to sum up all the results in the following table:

Reasons	Frequency		Percentages	
	Birouana	Boudghène	Birouana	Boudghène
1. To facilitate speech e.g. Repetition used for clarification	22	7	47.83 %	25 %
2. Lack of competence in either languages	10	8	21.74 %	28.58 %
3. To show the level of education and to show one's identity.	5	9	10.87 %	32.14 %
4. Other reasons e.g. it is a habit used spontaneously, to include or exclude someone.	9	4	19.56 %	14.28 %
Total of the informants answering this question	46	28	100 %	100 %

We have assumed that the people of Birouana, the district of high socio economic status, codeswitch to show their social identities but in reality it is not the case. As opposed to what we expected, the greatest percentage found in Birouana refers to people who codeswitch to facilitate speech and this result, judiciously, should be obtained in Boudghène since most people are less educated and, therefore, have linguistic deficiency. However, in Boudghène the majority codeswitch to show the level of education and to show one's identity and this does not seem to be logical because those less educated cannot use the French language and therefore show that they are educated speakers. In fact this contradiction may be explained as follows: the people of Boudghène district, especially the less educated and uneducated ones, have a low self esteem in our bilingual society especially in front of the highly educated people, this is why the majority of our sample have provided similar answers.

3.5 Analysis of the interviews

It is important to note from the outset that quantitative analysis is difficult and to count how many occurrences of code switching there are, in the data collected, is complex and not easy at all since sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between types of CS and between CS, code mixing and borrowing. However, the first task we did when starting the analysis was to listen to recordings of speakers from both districts alternatively searching for a reliable comparison.

The following utterances are taken from natural conversations recorded through 'a friend of a friend' procedure in order to avoid any social and/or psychological constraints.

3.5.1 In Birouana

Conversation A occurs between a woman aged 60 years old (a) and her daughter aged 30 years old (b). The mother is speaking about her son's fine:

a: [χa:k lju:m ʔamlulu brose, ʔællək hawədʒhəʃʃar t_saħseb ʃra halu χteja t_saʔ katrevēmil] 'Your brother got a fine to day, he said that 'an ugly face' (policeman) has a grudge against him, a fine of eighty thousand.'

b:[liyeh? ʔæsseɛm ʔməl? syrmē il nave pa mi la sētyr?] 'Why? What did he do? Surely he hasn't put on the seat-belt.'

a: [la ʔællək kæn ʔaməlha] 'No, he said that he had it.'

b:[ijwa typēs kil va tə dir la verite?] 'So, you think that he will tell you the truth?'

a:[nō ila zyre e kātīl zyR il di la verite. kæməl hæð əzzjar wlə to daksidē ne ses pa dogmēte] 'No, he swears and when he swears he tells the truth. With all this sternness and the rate of accidents is increasing.'

In this conversation, the mother was speaking naturally because she uses Algerian Arabic words and expressions to show her anger. She inserted two French words

[brose] and [katrevēmīl] to facilitate speech and express her self easily. The girls used also Algerian Arabic at first and, then, switch to French to clarify her opinion since she begins by the word [syrmē] which has not an Algerian Arabic equivalent and, therefore, she continues her utterance in French [syrmē il nave pa mi la sētyr]. In the second turn, the mother clarifies the situation using AA and said that her son has put on his seat-belt. The girl replied using French to show that what her brother said was not truthful. Thus, her mother used French to emphasize and to convince her daughter on the fact that her son swore.

Conversation B is between two old men of 57 to 60 years old. They are speaking about the price of plane ticket.

a:[ʒən se pa kōmbjē fe le bije? bælæk vētrwamil dinar, ijwaa vek la fak ō fe de bō pri] 'I don't know how much is the ticket? May be twenty-three thousands Dinars, with the university we get the best prices.'

b:[wi se vre ʔla ʒaʔər tarif normal il fe trētsimil] 'Yes that's right because the normal rate is thirty six thousand.'

a:[ija fi lamæn portevu bjē] 'See you, take care of yourself.'

b:[barakallahufik. ale o plezir] 'God bless you! Well, with the pleasure.' We noticed in this conversation that the two men used French words and expressions which have no AA equivalents and their use of French here shows that the two conversants are highly educated and they wanted to show it.

Conversation C occurs between a man of 50 years old and his client:

a:[la sityasjō reha ʔil tzid twəlli kōmplike dōk ʒas kulwahəd il fe atēsjō] 'The situation is becoming more and more complicated so each one should pay attention.'

3.5.2 In Boudghène

Conversation A occurs between a 45 year-old woman (a) and her neighbour (b). She is speaking about the new flat that should be given by the government:

a:[taʃarfi kifeʃ min kunna tamma zaw **markawna**; dert ha
 ddoʃje tamma. ʔalto fina, lwaħed likæn gbelna ʃærzætlaħ
 sukna whumæn haʃbuna ħnaja ija zaʃtona, ki mʃina gællæklla
 lligbælkum ʃtaʔawælhūm maʃi ntuma] ‘You know how? When we were there
 they came to register us, I put a file there. They mistook, and the one who was before
 us had a flat and they were mistaken they thought it was for us and they called us,
 when we went someone told us it’s the one before you got it not you.’ In this sentence
 there is no switch but instead, there are two French borrowings, written in bold type,
 which are frequently used in Algerian Arabic. 100% Algerian Arabic.

Conversation **B** occurs between a woman of 30 years old (a) and her friend:
 a:[...lbæraħ ʒat ʃandi, gultəlha ʃkun rah ħnaja gælətli gæʃ
 mabanuliʃ, gætli ʃkun baʔja jgullæk kull waħed rahəddajha
 firasah. ijwa ntija kiraki sava ħaqqa magultlækʃ lbæreħ
 ʔlaʃna ana wəjaha baʃda fətna mænna **pasaze**] ‘Yesterday she came
 home, I asked her who is here? she told me I did not see any one, she told me who do
 you want to tell you? Every one has its own business. And you? All right! By the way,
 I did not tell you that yesterday we went together and we passed from here.’

In this conversation, the woman used AA spontaneously with her friend and she
 inserted one French word to facilitate speech and then she used subconsciously one
 frequent expression in our society.

Conversation **C** occurs between an old woman of 75 years old (a) and her
 grand-daughter:

a:[ʃufi, fəlgirra kunna ntejbu lʃobz wki jzi lmeʔreb
 jgulunnawəzɖunna lʃobz bæʃ kijzi lil nzu nədduh...lmarqa
 ʔaʃ əʔteʃam ndiru fiha ʔomaʔeʃ wzrudija wəlhoms wsaji.
 nħarrzu ʃliha bəttfawah wzaʃafran lməlħ wənʃalliwha ʔte:b] ‘
 Look, during the war, we used to make the bread and at nightfall they required us to
 prepare it “so when it became dark we come to take it”... We put in the couscous

tomato sauce, carrots, chick-pea and that all. We make spices pepper, saffron and salt then we let it cook.' There is no switching, 100% Algerian Arabic because there is only one French borrowed expression [**saji**] 'that's it' and one adapted French word [**lgirra**] 'The war'. In here, the old woman used AA because she is uneducated and cannot use French though she lived with French colonizers. Thus, she used the borrowed word and expression spontaneously to express her idea.

Conversation **D** occurs between a 25 year-old girl (a) and her sister of 18 year-old (b):

a: [ʃfæɫ dærti lbaʃla lbaʃla rahi bæjna, qəddeʃ əlbasla li dertiha?] 'How many onions did you put? Onions are visible, how big is the onion that you put?

b: [dərtha bəddəqqa, gultili diriha rappeha bəddəqqa ijwa **sesa**] 'I made it finely, you told me to make, rasp it finely so that's it'

a: [huwa bɾaha bla **sos tomat**] 'He wanted it with tomato sauce.'

In this conversation, the use of Algerian Arabic is much more frequent than French. Conversants talked naturally because they were cooking and didn't pay attention to their way of speaking. They used only borrowed word and expression to facilitate speech because some of them have not AA equivalents such as [**sos tomat**] 'tomato sauce' [**rapeha**] 'rasp it' and one French expression frequently used in our society such as [**sesa**] 'that's it'.

Conversation **E** is between a 20 year-old girl (a) and her mother (b):

a: [lbæreħ dditha lʔimama] 'Yesterday I took her to Imama'

b: [raki tguli] 'That's right!'

a: [dditha tʃʃuf lə **magazē**, ʔlabelək mama, əʒʒdid li ħall fijma ma, **magazē** kbira jbiʃ taʃ drari, taʃla fam, taʃ le ʒæn fij, taʃ kullʃi, sbabət... zaʃma **mwē** ʃɛr, raki fəhma kimma ngulu...] 'I took her to see the shop, mum you know, a new shop has opened in Imama, a big

shop that sells garment of children, women, young girls and everything, shoes... less expensive, you see, like...'

b:[win] 'Where'

a:[təmma, ʁil fhædæk lbulvar, gætli fuzija ki jqarrab lfid nəmʃi nəʃri ləbnæti fəllil] 'There, in that boulevard, Fouzia told me when the feast approaches I will go and buy to my daughters at night.'

b:[wfæʃ ʁadia təmʃi? fəlbys] 'How! She will take the bus.'

In this conversation we notice that the girl (a), in her second turn, uses the masculine French word [magazi] 'shop' with the feminine Arabic word [kbira] 'big' and this inappropriate use comes back to her low level of education because in Arabic the equivalent word [ħanut] is feminine so according to this speaker the French word is also feminine and has to be used with feminine adjective [kbira] and not with the right adjective [kbir].

While analysing these conversations, we have noticed two main types of code switching; Intersentential and Intrasentential CS. These occurrences have been depicted more frequently in Birouana than in Boudghène. The following table compares between the two districts and attests the divergent use of CS:

Types of CS	Birouana		Boudghène	
	Intersentential CS	How many users	15 = 75%	How many users
Intrasentential CS	How many users	05 = 25%	How many users	16= 80%
Total	Number of all informants	20=100%	How many users	20=100%

N.B How scores are calculated

The percentage is obtained as follows: the number of informants, from each district using one or the two CS types, multiplied by one hundred and divided by the total number of all the informants (of each district). In other words; the number of participants of one district using CS $\times 100$ / the total number of all the participants of one district e.g. out of the 20 people of Boudghène, 4 used Intrasentential CS (20%) and 2 used Intersentential CS (10%).

General Conclusion

Research on the alternate use of languages in conversation has developed in two distinct but related directions: structural and sociolinguistic. In fact, the former refers to the grammatical aspects of switching and attempts to identify its morphosyntactic constraints. The latter, which is our concern in this study, tries to explain the reasons why people talk the way they do, how social meaning is created through code switching and what speakers' intentions it serves.

CS is a sociolinguistic skill used in actual interaction to enhance mutual understanding and personal relationships. In the speech community of Tlemcen, in addition to the fact that people coming from different areas with their own Arabic dialects live side by side with native speakers, French, a second language that is part and parcel of the Algerian sociolinguistic profile due to the long-term colonisation, functions as an additional tool to communicate depending on various factors such as education, addressee, topic, etc. On a day-to-day basis, speakers continually switch from Algerian Arabic to French, often mix the two or at least use a great number of borrowings that have long slipped into Arabic.

Therefore, it is interesting to pay attention to the phenomenon of CS as its analysis helps us understand how people behave linguistically and how they use this strategy to convey meanings easily and to avoid misunderstanding and for this, speakers have to know how to apply it efficiently. Various theories have been proposed to study the ways and the reasons for speakers' switching.

Myers-scotton's theory may be applicable to the two districts under investigation in our research work, and can serve as guidance to the use of CS in expressing identity, solidarity and/or exclusion. It is hoped that a comprehensive presentation and analysis of this theory might help people to be more aware of how to select the right code and how people resort to it in different situations so as to optimize their conveyance.

All studies tend to see that speakers use different languages or language varieties strategically as a means of negotiating, maintaining or ex-changing relationships with others. Context, topic and other various social factors such as level of education, socio-economic status play an important role in language choice and code switching.

The purpose of the linguistic choices and the results created by the choice reveal that CS, when used consciously, is used as a communicative strategy to achieve particular conversational goals in interactions with others. For example, factors motivating the use of CS in this study are familiarity of words, phrases, or sentences, lack of competence in either language, inability to continue the conversation, topics of the conversation and the identity of the interlocutors.

In the present research, we can say that in the two districts, particularly in Boudghène, there is a frequent use of borrowed words and more intrasentential than intersentential CS and this reflects the high number of less educated people who cannot carry on a conversation using both their mother tongue and the second language. However, the low level of education is not always the only reason for which people cannot use French appropriately since in Birouana, as aforementioned, there are less educated people who are able to use French eloquently as a result of the long time spent with the colonizers. We have also found that in some cases people, both in Birouana and Boudghène, do resort to French for linguistic reasons. That is, they use French items, words and expressions, to fill lexical gaps especially when there is no Algerian Arabic equivalent or the Arabic items are only used in the standard form. Our data show that people of low socio-economic status have less ability to learn and as a result they display linguistic deficiencies in French in more or less the same way as in their competence in MSA.

The social background of Boudghène did not affect the use of French because we have seen that the majority of these residents insert French items whenever possible to express their ideas easily and to show that they are able to use this language especially with strangers. Old people may stick to their native language and decline the use of French because of certain social factors saying that: French is the language of the colonizer and Arabic is the language of the Koran, the Holy book.

In Birouana, people frequently use French to facilitate speech and we have seen that even those with low level of education can speak good French as a result of their former contact with the French colonizers; travelling to France and watching French TV channels are also factors that trigger motivation for good use of this language. The results also indicate that those speakers with the greatest degree of bilingual

communicative competence are the ones who most frequently use CS as a strategy to meet their conversational goals and to communicate with their conversants.

In the next years, it is assumed, things may change and the Arabic language will take the high rank in our society, thanks to arabization, and the use of code switching will be less frequent. We have noticed, through our research work, that the ex-rural people of Boudghène are everywhere today and they represent the majority when compared to the people of Birouana. Just as there is an increasing realisation of /q/ as the voiced uvular [g] by native speakers instead of the glottal stop [ʔ] characterizing Tlemcen speech, switching to French will apparently tend to decrease in use, perhaps leaving floor to AA/MSA code switching. Nowadays, things begin to change since the natives represent a minority group and the non-native speakers represent the majority, as attested by the dramatic decrease of [ʔ]-use.

This project has revealed that the social use of CS in Tlemcen, and in Algeria as a whole, should be further examined using other social and linguistic parameters that may be effective. Grammatical constraints also should be taken into consideration since in this research work we have only focused on the sociolinguistic perspective. Since this study does not involve all aspects of code switching, it is hoped that future researchers will consider all aspects of code switching, as there are many directions in which this research may be undertaken. In other words, through this research work, several questions have been raised and should be investigated in further research. For example, what are the grammatical constraints that may affect CS? Perhaps an even more fascinating study would be to compare between several districts of Tlemcen, instead of only two, to see in which places CS is more frequent and where it is conditioned or limited? Further research is also expected to explore and investigate some other features of Algerian Arabic/French code switching in the society as a whole in order to understand the reasons for such linguistic behaviour.

Bibliography

- Ammon, U., Dittmar N., J. Mattheier K, & Trudgill, P. (2006).
Sociolinguistics. Walter de Gruyter.
- Auer, P (1998). *Code-Switching in Conversation*. Language, Interaction and Identity. Routledge London and New York.
- Ball, M. J (2005). *Clinical sociolinguistics*. Blackwell publishing Ltd.
- Blom, J-P, and Gumperz J. 1972. "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures:Code Switching in Northern Norway." In: John Gumperz and Del Hymes (eds.): *Directions Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, 407-434. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933): *Language*. New York, H.Holt.
- Bullock, B. E. and Toribio, A. J (2009). *Linguistic Code-switching*. The Cambridge Handbook. Cambridge University Press.
- Calvet, L-j (1974). *Linguistique et colonialisme: petit traité de glottophagie*. Editions Payot.
- Eastman, C. (1992). *Codeswitching*. Multilingual Matters.
- Edwards, J (1994). *Multilingualism*. Routledge.
- Fasold, R (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Basil Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C.A (1959). 'Diglossia' in *Word*, Vol.15, 1959, 325- 40.
- Field, F W (2002). *Linguistic borrowing in bilingual contexts*. Studies in Language Companion Series
- Gluth, E (2008). *Code-switching: Grammatical, Pragmatic and Psycholinguistic Aspects*. Grin Verlag.
- Grosjean, F (2008). *Studying Bilinguals*. Oxford University Press.

Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, J.J. and Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1972). "Bilingualism, bidialectalism, and classroom interaction". In Courtney, Cazden, Dell Hymes and Verz John (eds), *The function of Language in the Classroom*. New York; Teachers College Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1978). "Antilanguages". In Halliday (1984), 164-182.

Hamers, J F. and Blanc M H. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Second edition. Cambridge university Press.

Hymes, D. (1972a), Models of the Interaction of Language and social life, in Gumperz and Hymes.

Isurin L, Winford D, De Bot K.(2009). *Multidisciplinary approaches to code switching*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Kotthoff, H, Wodak, R. (1997). *Communicating gender in context*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lenneberg, E.H. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley.

Macnamara, J. (1967a). "The bilingual's linguistic performance" in *Journal of social issues*,23, 58-77.

Martin, D (2009). *Language Disabilities in Cultural and Linguistic Diversity*. British Library Cataloging in Publication Data.

Martinet, A. (1985). *Syntaxe générale*, Paris, Colin.

- Miller, C. Al-wer, E. Caubet, D and Watson, J. C.E
(2007). *Arabic in the City*. Routledge Arabic Linguistic series.
- Milroy, L (1987). *Language and Social Networks*. 2nd edition, Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Milroy, L and Muysken, P (1995). *One speaker, two Languages. Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, L and Gordon, M J (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and interpretation*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Mohanty, A.K. (1994a) *Bilingualism in a Multilingual society: psychosocial and Pedagogical Implications*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Muysken, P (2000). *Bilingual speech: a typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C (1993). *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Noels, K.A. and Clement, R. (1996). Communicating across cultures: Social determinants and acculturative consequences. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 28, 214_228.
- Poplack, S. 1980. "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching."
- Ping, L. (2008). *Code-switching and Code-mixing*. Grin Verlag.
- Romaine, S.(1995). *Bilingualism*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Romaine, S.(1994). *Language in Society. An introduction to sociolinguistics*. 2nd edition. Oxford.

- Sapir, E (1921). *Language An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and company.
- Singleton, D and Lengyel, Z (1995). "The Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition: A Critical Look at the Critical Period Hypothesis. *Multilingual Matters* Ltd. Clevedon Philadelphia Adelaide.
- Tagliamonte, S A (2006). *Analysing Sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (1980). *Sociolinguistics: An introduction*. Harmondsworth: Penguin books.
- Trudgill, P. (1986) *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Valdés-Fallis, G. (1978). A comprehensive approach to the teaching of Spanish to bilingual bilingual Spanish-speaking students. *Modern Language Journal* 43(3), 101-110.
- Vassberg, L. M. (1993). Alsatian acts of identity: language use and language attitudes in Alsace. *Multilingual Matters. Walter de Gruyter*.
- Vogt, H (1954) 'Language contacts', in *Word* 10, 2-3 : 365-374.
- Wardhaugh, R.(2000). *Introduction to sociolinguistics*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Wardhaugh, R.(2006). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. 5th edition. Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Wei, L (2000). *The Bilingualism Reader*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact: Findings and problems*. New York: The Linguistic Circle of New York. Reissued by Mouton in The Hague, 1968. William,

Winford, D (2003). *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Yule, G (1996). *The study of language*. Cambridge University Press

Webography

Retrieved from:

- Bekkar, Rabia. (2007). Les Habitants Bâisseurs à Tlemcen Compétence et Savoir-faire
http://www.vitamedz.com/articles-670-13-30526-tlemcen--les_habitants_b_acirc_tisseurs_agrave_tlemcen_comp_eacute_tences_et_savoir_faire-2.html
- Ghomari, Fouad. (2007). La médina de Tlemcen: l'héritage de l'histoire
<http://www.webjournal.unior.it/Dati/19/70/Web%20Journal%20vol.%203,%20Tlemcen.pdf>
- Collecting sociolinguistic data: Some typical and some not so typical approaches
<http://www.sfu.ca/~mcrobbie/S.M.pdf>
- Vietnamese-English Bilinguals in Melbourne: Social Relationships in the Code-Switching of Personal Pronouns by Tuc Ho-Dac Monash University Victoria, Australia.
<http://www.educ.utas.edu.au/users/tle/JOURNAL/Articles/Ho/Ho.html>
- Le peuplement de Boudghène: Évolution de la population
<http://membres.lycos.fr/ptlemcenien/dossiers/dossier72.html>
- *ANALYSE URBAINE DE TLEMCEN 62-77 : Période post-coloniale (1962-1977)*
<http://archtml.1fr1.net/urbanisme-f13/analyse-urbaine-de-tlemcen-62-77-t472.htm>

- http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/algerie-3Politique_ling.htm
- <http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/algerie.htm>
- <http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/algerie-2Histoire.htm>
- L'alternance codique chez les apprenants algériens de 6ème année primaire dans le cours de français langue étrangère. *Synergies Algérie* n° 5 - 2009 pp. 159-173
<http://ressources-cla.univ-fcomte.fr/gerflint/Algerie5/lahlah.pdf>
- <http://www.lotpublications.nl/publish/articles/003469/bookpart.pdf>
- Deuchar, Margaret. ESRC Centre for Research on Bilingualism in Theory and Practice Preliminary version of talk to be given at International Conference on Models of Interaction in Bilinguals, 24-26th October.
<http://www.bilingualism.bangor.ac.uk/conference/Deuchar.pdf>
- Code-switching processes: Alternation, insertion, congruent lexicalization
<http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/2066/14680/1/4244.pdf>
- Poplack, Shana: Code switching (Linguistic)
<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~sociolx/CS.pdf>
- Boztepe, Erman Issues in Code-Switching: Competing Theories and Models
<http://journals.tc-library.org/index.php/tesol/article/download/32/37>

Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

A)

Informateurs المخبرون	Age السن	Education مستوى الدراسي	Résidence /Origine الإقامة/الأصل	Occupation المهنة
Féminin الاناث				
Masculin الذكور				

B)

- Quelle langue parlez-vous d'habitude dans votre vie quotidienne ?

أي لغة تتحدثون عادة في حياتكم اليومية ؟

Arabe algérien العربية الجزائرية (العامة)	Français الفرنسية	Les deux الاثنتين
--	----------------------	----------------------

- Dans la communication, si vous êtes sûrs que vous et l'auditeur venez du même secteur, du même niveau intellectuel (éducation) et si vous parlez en premier lieu, quelle langue utilisez-vous d'habitude ? Pourquoi ?

في الإتصال، إذ أنت واثق من أنك والمستمع من نفس المنطقة، و لديك نفس المستوى الدراسي وإن أنت تتكلم الأول. أي لغة أنت عادة تتكلم؟ لماذا ؟

Situation الحالة	Langue اللغة	Arabe algérien العربية الجزائرية (العامة)	Français الفرنسية	Les deux الاثنتين معا
Parler de la vie quotidienne تتحدثون عن الحياة اليومية				
Entretien en politique تتحدثون عن السياسية				
Parler des études تتحدثون عن الدراسة				

- Dans la communication, si vous êtes sûrs que vous et l'auditeur n'êtes pas du même secteur, ayant différent niveau intellectuel (éducation) et si vous parlez en premier. Quelle langue utilisez-vous d'habitude ? Pourquoi ?

في الاتصال, وإذ أنت واثق من أنك أنت والمستمع من منطقتين مختلفتين, و ان مستواكما الدراسي يختلف, وإذا كنت تحدث في البداية. بخصوص أي لغة تتحدث عادة؟ لماذا؟

Situation الحالة	Langue اللغة	Arabe algérien العربية الجزائرية (عامية)	Français الفرنسية	Les deux الاثنين معا
Parler de la vie quotidienne تتحدثون عن الحياة اليومية				
Entretien en politique تتحدثون عن السياسية				
Parler des études تتحدثون عن الدراسة				

C)

Situation الحالة	Langue اللغة	Arabe algérien العربية الجزائرية (عامية)	Français الفرنسية	Les deux الاثنين معا
Quelle langue parlez-vous à la maison ? بأي لغة تتحدثون في البيت؟				
Quelle langue parlez-vous dans la rue ? بأي لغة تتحدثون في الشارع؟				

Quelle langue parlez-vous avec des amis ? بأي لغة تتحدثون مع الزملاء؟			
Quelle langue parlez-vous dans les bureaux municipaux ? بأي لغة تتحدثون في مكاتب البلدية؟			

D) Cochez une des réponses suivantes :

اشطب اجابة من الإجابات التالية

- Vos attitudes vis-à-vis de l'alternance codique, c'est-à-dire le mélange du Français avec le dialecte Algérien.

موقفكم نحو المزج بين الفرنسية و العربية الجزائرية

1. Positive
اجابي

2. Négative
سلبي

3. Neutre
محايد

- Pensez-vous que l'utilisation de l'alternance codique reflète l'identité de chaque orateur (locuteur) ?

هل تعتقدون أن استخدام التداول او المزج بين الفرنسية و العربية الجزائرية يعكس هوية كل منكم؟

1. Oui
نعم

2. Non
لا

3. Neutre
محايد

E)

- Vous considérez-vous bilingue (une personne qui parle deux langues) ?
هل تعتبرون انفسكم مزدوجي اللّغة؟
- Pensez-vous que vous mélangez les deux langues (Français et Arabe Algérien)?
هل تظنون انكم تمزجون بين اللّغتين؟
- Vous sentez-vous à l'aise à l'utilisation de plus d'une langue ?
هل تشعر بالراحة حينما تستعمل أكثر من لغة واحدة؟
- Pensez-vous que vous êtes bon (compétent) dans la langue Française ?
هل تظنون انكم فصيحون (متأهلون) في اللّغة الفرنسيّة؟

F) Quelles sont les raisons qui vous poussent à changer du dialecte au Français ou l'inverse?

ماهي الأسباب التي تقودكم لأن تغيروا من العامية الى الفرنسية؟

G)

- Quel est votre degré de compréhension du Français?

ما هي درجة فهمكم للغة الفرنسية؟

10 % 20 % 50 % 80 % 100 %

- Quel est votre degré d'utilisation du Français?

ما هي درجة استعمالكم للغة الفرنسية؟

10 % 20 % 50 % 80 % 100 %

Appendix 2: Speakers' attitudes towards French

1-A thirty-year old man (teacher in a secondary school) says:

*[fəblædna, lfrāse vjē ē dəzjem pozisjō, lʔarbija setyn lāg ofisjel]

In our country, French comes in second position. Arabic is an official language.

* [bjēkə ʔændna lə parle etā melāz darab e də frāse, səki nu zamæn a ētēdr boku də mo frāse lorskō parl ē famij avek no vwazē]

Although, in our society, the spoken language is a mixture of Arabic and French, and this leads us to hear many French words when we speak in family, with our neighbours.

*[me, hæd, la sityasjō ne kē neritag kə nu za lese la kolonizasjō frāsez, ki a dyre de zane]

But this situation is only an heritage left to us by the French colonization which lasted several years.

* [la plypar de zalzerjē seksprim ē lāg frāsez]

Most Algerians express themselves in the French language.

* [personelmē, ana kbərt_s f ē nēturaž ki metriz tre bjē lə frāse. hæda mædži mən noparē li ʔraw fə dezekol frāsez e ō kōtinyje l3:r aktivite profesjonel ē ytilizā set lāg]

Personally, I grew up in an environment which masters French very well. It comes initially from our parents who did their studies in French schools and continued their professional activities using this language.

*[lguværnəmē ēkuraʒ lēseŋəmē dy frāse de lekol primer e ò pə ossi laprēdr dā le sētr kyltyrel frāse. lavenmē də la parabol ē alʒeri nuza done lavētaʒ detr tus brāʒe syrle ʒen televise frēsəz. səla nuzed a mjɜ: komynike ē frāse]

The government encourages the teaching of French from the primary school and one can also learn it in the French cultural centres where one is really in contact with the French culture. The advent of the (Satellite dish) in Algeria also gave us the advantage of being all connected on the French-speaking television channels. Therefore, it helps us with better communicating in French.

2- A seventeen-year old girl (student at the secondary school) says :

*[ana nəhdar bəlf rāse dəpwi mōnēfās. oʒurdwi, el me tre zytil, ʒə ræv dədəvənir ʒurnalist e dekrir ē frāse.]

I have used always the French language since my childhood. Today, it is very useful in my studies and later, I dream to become journalist and to write in French.

*[ʒə truv boku davātaʒ f lamanipylasjō taʔ lordinatɜ:r, la korespōdās f ētənet, lɜ kōtakt avek diferē sit...anaʔandi la komynikasjō, la dokymētasjō, le konesās ē lāgfrēsəz sō l emejɜ:r zatu fəhjat.i.]

I find many advantages in the handling of the computer, the correspondence on Internet, the contact with various sites...for me, the verbal exchanges, the communication, documentation, knowledge in French language are the best assets in my life.

3- A twenty-year old boy (student at the university) says:

*[lə frēse nəhadruh partu fdarna, o lise, fə zənqa. la

For instance, there are those who are not able to express themselves suitably through such a language and this comes from the lack of the practice at schools.

6- A seventy-year old man (teacher) says:

*[lqurʔæn bda bʔiqraʔ setadir va a la rəʃærʃ dy savwar e
djɜ nuza done i ordr. lislam na pa ēpeʃe la lāg dy savwar,
o kōtrær rrasul salla ʔlih wasəlləm qəl utlubu ʔəlʔilma
mina lməhdi ila laħdi]

Coran begins with “iqura” in other words “read” or “search for knowledge” and these verbs are used in the imperative form, it means an order. Islam did not prevent the language from knowledge, on the contrary the prophet Mohamed -PBUH- said seek knowledge from the cradle to a grave.

*[ʒɜ ne ʒame ēkuraʒe me zeləv a aprēdr lfrāse. tut le lāg
sɜ val e permæt yn uvərtyr syr lə mōd. sɜ:lmē lfrāsee e deʒa
la. il fo kapitalise sət aki ki e a notr porte. vu save
boku də mezələv dəvəny etydjē rəgræt davwar malsezi
lēportās də sət lāg e truv de difikylte dā lɜ:r zetyd e
rəʃærʃ syrtu lmədsin ʔlaxatər tut le referēs sōtē frēse]

I never encouraged my pupils to learn French. All the languages are worth and allow an opening on the world. Only, French is already there. It is necessary to capitalize this asset which is with our range. You know several of my pupils, become students, regret having badly seized the importance of this language and find enormous difficulties in their studies and research in medicine especially because all references are in French language.

larabizasjō ēpoze, hād la lāg egzist tuzur fə la sosjete
alʒɛrjæn.]

French is the first foreign language in Algeria and in spite of the imposed Arabization,
This language always exists within the Algerian society

*[ōnaprē lfrāse a partir dɜ la katrijæm ane primær. ana ʒe la
ʃās davwar de parē kijō fe la plypar dɜ lɜ:r zetyd ē frāse.
mama paregzēpl təhdər mʔana tuzurē frāse.ʒe dōk apri a parle
le dɜ: lāg de mō ʒɜ:naʒ. whəd ʃi ʔawəni bəzzɑ:f fəl ʔraja.]

French is learnt from the primary fourth year. I am lucky that my parents made the
major part of their studies in French. My mum, for example, always speaks to us in
French. I, thus, learnt how to speak the two languages at the same time at an early age.
Therefore, this helped me much in studies.

*[fəl kulidʒ, ʒe apri syrtu lortograf, lgramær e la kōzygezō
la tele e la lektyr mō boku ede. ēplys, fə lalʒeri ləfrāse
egzist a travær le med^hja kumma le ʒurno paregzēpl.]

At school, I especially learnt the spelling form, grammar and the conjugation. TV and
readings helped me a lot. Moreover, in Algeria the French language exists through the
media as the newspapers for example.

5- A fifty-five years old man (physician) says:

*[ē tē kɜ sitwajī algerjē, ʒə ʒtruv kɜ lɜ frēse e omnipresē
kwakə dɜ maɲjær inegal ē foksjō de diferēt kuʃ sosjal...
mit,æɫ kæjən li il nariv pa a seksprime kovəablɜmē atravær
sæt lāg. ʒə pēs kɜ hād ʃi mædʒi mælmāk dɜ pratik de lekɔl.]

As an Algerian citizen, I find that French is omnipresent although it is unequal
according to the various social classes.

Algerian Arabic/French Code switching: The Case of two Districts in Tlemcen

الملخص:

إن المتحدثين بأكثر من لغة يغيرون من لغة إلى أخرى أثناء نفس المحادثة. تتطرق هذه الدراسة، في المجتمع اللغوي لتلمسان، إلى فحص أنواع التبديل اللغوي في منطقتين متباينتين: 'بيروانة' و 'بودغن'. ويتمثل الهدف الرئيسي في دراسة طبيعة ومعدلات التداول بين العامية العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية ثم البحث عن أسباب هذه الظاهرة في المنطقتين، خاصة في بودغن حيث يكثر استخدام الكلمات المستعارة ومزج اللغتين داخل الجملة الواحدة. وهذا يعكس وجود العدد الكبير من الأشخاص الأقل تنقيفاً والذين لا يستطيعون استمرار التحدث باللغة الثانية. إن السياق والموضوع وكذا العوامل الاجتماعية، مثل مستوى التعليم، والمنزلة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية تلعب دوراً هاماً في اختيار اللغة والتبديل اللغوي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ثنائية اللغة - التبديل اللغوي - العوامل الاجتماعية - المواقف - الدوافع.

Résumé :

Les locuteurs de plus d'une langue alternent d'une langue à l'autre dans la même conversation. Cette étude examine, dans la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen, les types d'alternance codique dans deux zones contrastives: 'Birouana' et 'Boudghène'. L'objectif principal est d'examiner la nature et les taux d'alternance entre l'arabe algérien et le français et de rechercher les raisons d'un tel phénomène.

Dans ces deux zones, en particulier Boudghène, il y a une utilisation fréquente des emprunts et de l'alternance intra-phrastique; ceci reflète le nombre élevé de personnes ayant un bas niveau d'instruction, qui ne peuvent pas tenir une conversation dans la deuxième langue. Le contexte, le sujet du discours et d'autres facteurs sociaux tels que le niveau d'instruction et le statut socio-économique jouent un rôle important dans le choix de langue et l'alternance de code.

Mots-clés: Bilinguisme, Code Switching, Facteurs sociaux, Attitudes et Motivation.

Summary:

Speakers of more than one language shift from one language to another during the same conversation. This study investigates, in Tlemcen speech community, the types of code switching in the two contrastive districts: 'Birouana' and 'Boudghène'. The main objective is to examine the nature and rates of alternation between Algerian Arabic and French and to search for the reasons of such phenomenon.

In the two districts, particularly Boudghène, there is a frequent use of borrowed words and intrasentential Code switching. This reflects the high number of less educated people who cannot carry on a conversation in the second language. Context, topic and other social factors such as level of education and socio-economic status play an important role in language choice and code switching.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Code Switching, Social factors, Attitudes and Motivation.