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University of Tlemcen Faculty of Arts and Languages Department of Foreign Languages Section of English

Algerian Arabic and French Code Switching: The Case of El Kiffane and Ain youcef in Tlemcen

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Language Studies

PRESENTED BY SUPERVISED BY

BOUTRIF Ali Dr. NEGADI. M. Nassim

FANDI Fatima Zahra Co supervisor

Mme. BENGUEDDA Amina

Board of examiners

President Adele Fatima Zahra University of Tlemcen

Internal examiner Kherbach Fatma University of Tlemcen

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DEDICATION

We are pleased to dedicate this humble work to our sweet parents and lovely friends.

Abstract

The central purpose of this research work is to shed light on code switching between Algerian Arabic and French in two different areas in Tlemcen. The present research work is viewed as a micro-sociolinguistic study of code switching in an urban and rural area in Tlemcen named El Kiffane and Ain youcef respectively. This study is conducted to gain a better understanding of Algerian Arabic (here after AA) and French code switching as well as to investigate the various social factors standing behind such phenomenon. To provide a set of considerations and explanations about code switching, a questionnaire is addressed to a number of participants from both areas in order to gather more data about their feelings, preferences as well as their attitudes about their mother tongue Algerian Arabic and French code switching. Additionally, without being aware of the researcher's presence, the participants are observed and notes are taken about their way of speaking in order to get more reliable data which were later on analysed and interpreted into results. A comparative study is undertaken between speakers from El Kiffane and Ain youcef in order to figure out the areas where AA/French code switching is more frequent. The results reveal that AA/French code switching exists in both areas, however at various degrees. The AA/ French code switching is more frequent in urban areas rather than in rural areas.

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List of Abbreviations

CS: Code Switching

AA: Algerian Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

LA: Language attitude

MLF: Matrix language Frame

MM: Markedness Model

ML: Matrix Language

FMC: The Free Morpheme Constraint

R.O: Rights and Obligations

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

H: High variety

L: Low variety

General Introduction

In sociolinguistics, language is seen as a complex phenomenon worth study and investigation. It is highly agreed among sociolinguists that language is subject to change and variation through time. The complexity of this latter has succeeded to grasp the attention of many scholars, sociolinguists and anthropologists and triggered their curiosity. As a consequence they have dedicated their time and exertions in order explore its complexity and consider the main factors standing behind this constant variation.

It is worth mentioning the rational relationship between language and culture in society. These two elements influence one another in one way or another. Thus, is it clear that language changes once the socio-cultural situation does. In other words, language changes when it comes to contact with other people from different societies who have different cultural background in addition to other factors such as: intermarriage, migration, educational changes and globalization.

Furthermore, talking about the sociolinguistic landscape in Algeria is considered to be very intricate matter. The secret behind such a fact, lies in the historical background of Algeria since, it is very diverse and complex because of the several historical events that Algeria has witnessed. Moreover, the Algerian society is characterized by the coexistence of several languages and the use of more than one variety: Modern Standard Arabic which is the official language of Algeria, Algerian Arabic which is viewed as the mother tongue of all Algerians, Berber, which was recognized recently in 2002 as a national language, exists in some areas in both north east and in west of Algeria in addition to the French language which still maintains important profiles and occupies significant positions in the Algerian society even after almost half century of independence.

As a result to the diversity and richness of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, this latter is viewed as multilingual society where several languages or language varieties are used. This gave birth to a linguistic phenomenon known as code switching. Thus, Algerian Arabic and French code switching has been tackled by several sociolinguists from different angles as an attempt to provide convincing explanations to this complex phenomenon.

Additionally, the initial purpose of the present sociolinguistic research work is to explore the linguistic behaviour and explain the main social factors of Algerian Arabic and French code switching in Tlemcen, considering El Kiffane and Ain youcef as case in point as well as, to highlight the differences and similarities in speech in both settings and identify speaker's feelings and attitudes towards AA and French code switching. Another crucial aim is to shed light on the positions of both Algerian Arabic (AA) and French in society which has always been a source of conflicts and hot debates between Algerians.

Thus, the diversity of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria as well as the complexity of AA/ French code switching in Tlemcen with its similarities and differences in both areas El Kiffane and Ain youcef, lead to put forward the following research questions:

- 1. Why do individuals from one area codeswitch more or less than others from other areas?
- 2. What are the motivations that lead individuals to switch from one language to another?
- 3. To what extent the speaker's attitudes towards one language over another can affect their linguistic behaviour?

As an attempt to answer these questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

1. Individuals from rural areas may show less competence in AA/French code switching than individuals from urban areas because the teaching/learning quality of French in urban and rural areas is not the same. In urban areas, the teaching/learning

quality of French is higher and more proficient compared to rural areas where there is a limited access to teaching materials.

- 2. Individual s' code switching from one language to another is governed by a set of circumstances and conditions such as: the subject being discussed, the settings and type if interlocutors.
 - 3. Some individuals may prefer to use one language over another while speaking since some languages may have a greater impact and stronger impression on individuals than others.(socially valued)

The research work is concerned with Algerian Arabic and French code switching in urban and rural areas in Tlemcen. The first chapter, code switching is introduced as linguistic phenomenon occurring in almost all speech communities in general, and in the Algerian society in specific. It also presents other phenomena that emerge when two or more languages come into contact such as: bilingualism, language attitudes, code choice and borrowings.

The second chapter is dedicated for the description of the sociolinguistic landscape of Algeria. It provides definition of diglossia with reference to the Algerian society with a glance on the historical background French and the local varieties in Algeria (MSA, AA and Berber).

The third chapter is devoted for data collection, as well as for the analysis and the interpretation of data. This chapter is dedicated to the methodology and aims at reaching some results which will be presented and analysed.

Chapter One

Literature Review

1.1. Introduction

The first chapter is dedicated to the introduction of the different phenomena that emerged when two or more languages come into contact. As the current research is concerned with the occurrence of Algerian Arabic and French code switching in urban and rural areas and our aim is to investigate and explain the various social factors behind this difference, it is necessary to introduce some concepts and items that are relevant to this research starting with bilingualism as a linguistic phenomena that characterizes world speech in general and the Algerian community as specific. The research will also shed the light on the different language contact phenomena like code switching, code choice, borrowings and language attitudes with relevance to the Algerian community.

1.2. Language contact phenomena

1.2.1. Bilingualism

Bilingualism is considered to be a complex phenomenon worth study. The concept of bilingualism succeeded to grasp the attention of many scholars and sociolinguists who have dedicated their time and efforts and did their best trying to explain and explore its different perspectives. Several theories and definitions where put forwards by these researchers as an attempt to provide coherent and cohesive explanation to bilingualism. Bilingualism refers to the ability of using more than one language in society effectively. Hence, it can be considered as a characteristic illustrating the speech of a given community where two or more languages are used frequently.

Basically, a bilingual person is someone who knows and uses two languages, or, more specifically, one who speaks, reads, or understands two languages equally well (Richards, J. Platt, & H. Platt, 1992)

Thus, Grosjean (1994)¹ describes the complexity of bilingualism by saying that "bilingualism is present in practically every country of the world, in all classes of society and in all age groups; in fact, it has been estimated that half the world's population is bilingual".

Moreover, in today's globalised world, where distance is highly shorten if not excluded, the majority of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual i.e. they use and understand at least two languages while, the minority is said to be monolingual. The individuals' speech is characterized by the use of more than one language in their daily social interactions, business negotiations and even at home with members of family since it is strongly believed that individuals who speak more than one language have more success opportunities in their life than those who do not. Grosjean (2010)

Additionally, Bloomfield (1933: 55), attempted to provide an explanation for bilingualism as well, he viewed bilingualism in terms of "native-like control of two languages" a very restrictive view of only "perfect bilinguals" where he strongly focuses on proficiency i.e. a good bilingual is expected to have a perfect control as well as a full mastery and high command in both languages in other words, a good bilingual needs to act as a monolingual in the two languages otherwise he will not be considered as a bilingual. However, it turned out later that this view was rendered ineffective since, for McNamara (1967)² for instance, a bilingual is: "anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills other than his mother tongue". According to him, if someone is able to produce some utterances in another language or he can understand a part of a given conversation, he is then considered to be a bilingual individual. Both of Haugen (1953) and McNamara (1967) believe that only minimal proficiency in another language is required to consider a

¹ In Spolsky, B. (Ed.) Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics. Oxford: Elsevier, 1999.

² Quoted in Hammers & Blanc (2000:6)

given individual as a bilingual, as a result, bilingualism is viewed as a continuum ranging from perfect to less perfect or from perfect to passive.

Furthermore, Weinreich (1963: 73) suggested that: "ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation..., but...certainly not within a single sentence." According to Weinreich, switching from one language to another is highly related to a change in the speech situation. In other words, the switching from one language to another is due to a set of social factors and circumstances.

Grosjeans' (1994) and Weinreich's (1963) definitions are considered as the most accurate ones since they gave much attention to the use of language rather than proficiency.

Additionally, the use of two or more languages in society interchangeably led to the appearance of different types of bilinguals. In this respect, bilingualism can be seen as a continuum consisting of several types of bilinguals that are classified in terms of proficiency and competency in the four language skills (speaking, reading, writing and listening.) As Hamers and Blanc (1983: 27)² explain:

"The dimension of competence enables us to take into account the relative nature of bilinguality, since it focuses on the relationship between two linguistic competences, one in each language." According to Hamers and Blanc (1983), competence is the central rule to make the distinction in all types of bilingualism.

1.2.2. Types of bilinguals

1.2.2.1. Balanced bilinguals

This type of bilinguals is characterized by more or less an equal proficiency in both languages. In other words, individuals belonging to this category have approximately the same degree of mastery and command in both languages however, they are not considered as native speakers in the two languages. For better

²My translation of the original text: La dimension de la compétence nous permet de prendre en compte le caractère relatif de bilinguisme, car il se concentre sur la relation entre les deux compétences linguistiques, un dans chaque langue.

understanding, take the example of second-generation migrant, the case of a student who completed all his schooling in France then he returned to his parents homeland and settled down there for several years. As a consequence, he can easily use both languages without any deficiencies.

1.2.2.2. Dominant bilinguals

Also referred to as unbalanced bilinguals, this type of bilinguals has greater competency and proficiency in one language over the other. They display a higher proficiency in one language over another. Fishman (1971). The mother tongue is usually the dominant language. The example of Arabic- French bilinguals, who may be able to understand and speak fluently in both languages yet, only French is used when discussing specific topics such as: politics, computer science...etc.

1.2.2.3. Compound vs. Coordinate bilinguals

Weinreich (1953) draws a clear distinction between compound and coordinate bilinguals. According to him, for compound bilinguals, two languages are developed in parallel and thus, speakers can have two representations of a single meaning for example, / une porte/ /bab/ refer to the same object which is 'a door.'

One meaning	
Language 1	Language 2

Table 1: characteristics of compound bilinguals.

On the other hand, coordinate bilinguals' type refers to the case where the speakers have two different representations in two different languages:

Meaning 1	Meaning 2
Language 1	Language 2

Table 2: characteristics of coordinate bilinguals.

1.2.2.4. Passive / Active bilinguals

In this category, as well, bilingualism can be seen as a continuum raging from active to passive bilinguals i.e. passive or receptive bilinguals can receive and understand the second language (L2) however, they cannot produce (L2). In other words, Passive or receptive bilinguals generally are able to understand but not to speak the other language. For example, receptive bilingualism is strongly found among immigrants since, a high portion of Arabs who are born in France may understand Arabic to certain extent but they cannot get into debates and take part in a given conversations such as politics, education, and economy because of their limited competence and lack of proficiency in Arabic.

On the other hand, active bilinguals are considered to be competent enough to be able to take part in different conversations properly and communicate effectively in both languages. They display a strong command and high performance in the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing as well as, they actively use both languages. For example, a boy from Algeria moved to live in France at the age of 5 years old. He is a competent speaker of Arabic though he has never had a formal schooling in his native language. This type of bilinguals is considered active or productive even though their level of proficiency in the second language is questionable.

1.2.2.5. Subtractive vs. Additive bilinguals

According to Lambert (1974), bilinguals can be ranged into additive bilinguals or subtractive bilinguals based on to what extent the second language (L2) influences their preservation of their mother tongue. In other words, speakers who develop L2 and retain their first language (L1) are said to be additive bilinguals, however, speakers who lean L2 on the expense of their L1 are said to be subtractive bilinguals. In this respect Baker (1988: 112) says:

When the second language and culture are acquired with little or no pressure to replace or reduce the first language, an additive form of bilingualism may occur [...]. When the second language and culture are acquired (e.g. immigrants) with pressure to replace or demote the first language, a subtractive form of bilingualism may result.

Subtractive bilingualism may occur when L2 is developed on the expense of L1. As a result, the first language becomes weak and may even decline because of the high pressure of the L2. For instance, subtractive bilingualism is clearly found the case of the Algerian immigrants who live in France. They may lose their L1 because of the high environmental and political pressure of the hosting language in addition to the general public opinion and linguistic unawareness.

1.3. Code switching defined

One of the most fascinating aspects of speaking more than one language, is that one can express an idea or produce an utterance in a given language and then, at the same time switches to another one without affecting the meaning or changing it. It is undeniable that individuals who master several languages tend to code switch when talking to each other more than when they are in contact with monolinguals. Consequently, code switching (CS) can be seen as an alternation between two languages or two language varieties or even more. Even though, this linguistic phenomenon has existed before however, till the 1970's scholars and sociolinguists started to pay attention to code switching and started to be attested in sociolinguistics due to Bloom's and Gumperz's (1972) efforts. In his book "Discourse Strategy", Gumperz (1982: 59) defines CS as: "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems."

As a matter of fact, code switching has been tackled from different perspectives and studied from several angles. Indeed, many theories have been put forward as an attempt to explain code switching such as grammatical, social and psychological theories

1.3.1. Grammatical Constraints on Code-switching

Linguists have been working over the past twenty years in order to find pertinent and applicable grammatical constraints on code switching. According to Gardner-Chloros & Edwards (2004: 104): "Research in this field has largely concentrated on finding universally applicable, predictive grammatical constraints on CS, so far without success."

Moreover, Poplack (1980) identified three distinctive types of code switching:

1- Intersentential CS: the switching occurs within the sentence boundaries i.e. two clauses into two different languages in the same sentence. For example:

A əl fard badda, bon courage à tous.

B: ə l fard badda, allah yssahal.

- Which means 'the test has started, good luck everyone.'
 - 2- Intrasentential CS: the switching takes place within the sentence. For instance:

A: lyu:m bakart sabça taς sbaħ, tu sais?

B: lyu:m bakart sabça taç sbaħ, çlabalek?

- 'I got up at 7 o'clock this morning.'
- 3- Extra-sentential CS: also called 'Tag CS', it happens when a tag is inserted to the sentence from another language. For example:
- Anı jei, j'arrive.
- Which simply means 'I am coming.'

Sociolinguists and researchers are more interested in intrasenential CS. This latter is considered to be the most complex type of CS since it requires a strong command of grammar and syntactic rules in order to switch properly. Poplack (1980)

Furthermore, Poplack (1978/ 1981) presented two different constraints on code switching namely "the free morpheme constraint" (FMC) and "the equivalence

constraint". In the FMC: "no switch can occur between a lexical form and a bound morpheme unless that lexical form is phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme" (Clyne, 2000). For example:

- /filmitha/
- je l'ai filmé.
- 'I filmed it.'

On the other hand, the equivalence constraint predicts the occurrence of code switching only at points where the surface structure the languages is similar for instance:

- nhebek parceque ntina vraiment gentille.
- 'I like you because you are kind.'

Thereafter, Myers-Scotton (1993: 3) provided a definition for CS, she says: "Code switching ... is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation." According to Myers-Scotton (1993), code switching comprises the use of forms from one or more languages by the same speaker within the same conversation." According to Myers Scotton (1993), CS refers to the alternation between two languages during a conversation between speakers whom they share more than one language in common. Myers Scotton (1993) believes that in CS there is generally one dominant language often referred to as the 'matrix language' while the other one is called the 'embedded language'.

Moreover, Myers Scotton (1993) introduced the Matrix Language Frame (MLF). According to her, in intrasentential CS there is always a dominant language called the matrix language (ML), always referred to as the mother tongue and the embedded language (EL) which is considered as a contributing language only for example,

- /Dok nku:n f dar dans cinq minutes/
- 'I will be at home within five minutes.'

1.3.2. Social approach to code switching

The social aspect plays a central role in the way individuals speak and code switch. In this regard, Bloom and Gumperz (1972) presented two types of CS namely situational CS and metaphorical CS. This latter, was later on developed and called conversational CS. In situational CS, the code switching is due to a change in the speech situation, Downes (1998: 83) declares that: "the situation type will predict which variety a speaker will employ." A typical example of situational code switching is the use of one language at work and another one at home for instance, a teacher at the medicine department uses French at the classroom then he may switches to Arabic at home. Thus, speakers may codeswitch in order to express feelings, affections or solidarity with a social group. The case of Algerian immigrants living in France may be taken. For example, they tend to speak Arabic with their fellows and compatriots and switch to French when speaking with French people.

On the other hand, in metaphorical CS the speaker codeswitches in order to discuss a topic that would normally fall into another conversational domain. Gumperz (1986). Metaphorical code switching occurs when the speakers wants to stimulate or evoke the elements of certain domain. This can be achieved through switching to the language of that domain. For example, at a family dinner where you would expect to hear a less prestigious variety of language (low variety), family members might switch to a highly prestigious form in order to discuss school or work.

Furthermore, Myers Scotton (1993) offers a model as an attempt to explain code switching called the 'Markedness Model' (MM). According to her, the MM is "an explanation accounting for speakers' socio-psychological motivations when they engage in CS" (Myers Scotton 1993: 75). The MM considers code switching as a cognitive and socio-psychological process of negotiation of the identity. Myers Scotton (1993) believes that the speaker's linguistic behaviour is triggered by the different social motivations as well as, the code choices are determined by the negotiation of the rights and obligations (RO) between interlocutors. Myers Scotton (1993: 85) argues that: "RO is an abstract construct derived from situational factors standing for the attitudes and expectations of the participants towards one another."

For example, to behave in particular behaviour in certain situations in other words, the speaker chooses the appropriate linguistic code according to the settings (formality in classroom, in administration and colloquial with friends and family.) this behaviour is possible since it represents the types of relations between interlocutors in society. In this respect, Myers Scotton (1993: 151-52) says:

All speakers have 'markedness metric', an innate, internalized model which enables them to recognize that all code choices are more or less 'unmarked' or 'marked'...[this] implies that, in all communities, interaction types are more or less conventionalized, that speakers have some sense of 'script' or 'schema' for how interactions are to be conducted in all unmarked way.

According to Myers Scotton (1993), the norms of the appropriate social behaviour and appropriate linguistic choice are conventionalized and well defined in all types of interactions between interlocutors in all communities. For instance, parents at home may switch from Arabic to French in order to exclude their children from the conversation.

Myers Scotton (1993) provides comprehensible and detailed explanation of code switching in different situations in community. She believes that all code choices can be explained in terms of the speaker motivation as well as, what makes a given behaviour marked or unmarked is the frequency of use in community. Consequently Myers Scotton (1993) classifies CS in three maxims:

1.3.2.1. Marked choice maxim

Myers Scotton (1993: 115) explains the marked maxim as: "The choices in which the speaker renegotiates the new unmarked R.O". Such choice is unexpected and is exercised when the speaker wishes to establish a new R.O set as unmarked for the current exchange. In other words, the marked code switching includes making a code choice that does not index to the expected RO sets. Myers Scotton (1993) for example:

A: manjı sımana majıya j'ai le marriage de mon frère.

B: ah cool! Məbru:k.

- I will not come next week, it is my brother's wedding.
- Ah cool! Congratulations.

1.3.2.2. Unmarked choice maxim

Unmarked code switching occurs between at least two bilinguals or multilinguals within a conversation. Myers Scotton (1993: 119) says: "the interaction has to be of a type in which speakers wish to symbolize the dual membership that such [codeswitching] calls up." An unmarked choice maxim occurs when switching from one code to another in given situation is governed by the RO sets, it follows the norms and rules of communication. For instance:

A: wasm howa votre problème monsieur?

B: anı çajan! Je me sens faible et j'ai mal à l'estomac.

- What is your problem sir?
- I am tired, I feel sick and I have stomach ache.

The examples given above illustrate a conversation between a doctor and his patient. The doctor asked him about his problem, the patient switches to French since according to him, French is more appropriate in such contexts.

1.3.2.3. Exploratory choice maxim

The exploratory CS occurs in situations where the speaker is not aware of the RO sets. The speaker tends to be neutral and avoids committing to any RO sets. Myers Scotton (1993). In similar situations, the interlocutor does not know which is the appropriate language that suits the given situation. For example, sometimes when you meet people for the first time, you get confused about the language to use whether French or Arabic

1.4. Diglossia

In society, there are many language varieties used by speakers in their daily interactions. Each variety has specific functions and it is used in particular domains to fulfil certain purposes. This is what is called diglossia. Diglossia is usually characterized by the use of two varieties of the same language by speakers in a given speech community in complimentary distribution. In other words, each variety is used to fulfil different functions in particular contexts.

Though diglossia was known for a long time before Ferguson (1959), since Psichari Yaniss (1828) and William Marçais (1930) referred to it first in their investigations to describe the linguistic situation in Greece and in the Arab world respectively, however diglossia has been strongly related to Ferguson (1959) in sociolinguistics.

Ferguson (1959) is considered to be one of the pioneers if not the pioneer since he provided a detailed definition of this linguistic phenomenon. Diglossia was first introduced by Ferguson (1959) and became widely accepted by linguists and sociolinguists and started to get serious attention by them.

The original description of diglossia put forward by Ferguson (1959: 336) is: "DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards)...". According to Ferguson, in diglossia situations, there are often two varieties of the same language filling two different functions in different spheres in society. For example, variety (1) is not found in domain (2) as well as, variety (2) is not found in domain (1). Along, Ferguson (1959: 336) says: "there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety (...) and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." The varieties are called High (H) and Low (L), the first (H) is usually a standard variety which is used for high purposes and formal sittings for example: in schools, administrations, mosque...etc. However, the second (L) is reserved for low

purposes and spoken vernacular, for example: non-formal contexts, at home, with friends... etc.

Additionally, the Arabic language is characterized by the use of two different varieties or more to fulfil specific purposes in specific domains. Romaine (2010: 32) made striking distinction between the two varieties in what follows: "The standard language is used for so-called "high" functions such as giving a lecture, reading, writing, or broadcasting, whereas the home variety is reserved for "low" functions such as interacting with friends at home."

As it is mentioned previously, in the Arabic-speaking world, the H variety, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is codified and standardized since the Qur'an was revealed in that variety centuries ago. On the other hand, the L variety is used for colloquial speech in the Arab world; it is characterized by its variation from one region to another and from one country to another.

Furthermore, Ferguson (1959) has introduced a set of characteristics and variables in order to determine diglossia namely: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. Thus, Fishman (1967) extended the definition of Ferguson's (1959) work. Fishman (1967) developed the domain analysis of language use and made a correlation between code choice and types of activity for example, individuals use formal language in formal domains however, informal variety is kept for casual speech and informal spheres. Along these lines, Myers Scotton (1986) suggested the term 'narrow' for Ferguson's (1959) findings and 'broad or extended diglossia' for Fishman's (1967) work.

1.5. Language attitudes

Language attitudes have always attracted the scholar's and sociolinguist's attention through time, and been an area of heated debates among them. A formal interest in the issue of language attitudes (LA) can be traced back to the past decades, when Crystal (1997: 215) explains language attitudes as: "the feelings people have

about their own language or the language of others." In other words, speakers can develop different attitudes towards their language as well as towards other ones used in other communities. For instance, some speaker may prefer to switch to another language in order to discuss a given topic rather than using their own language. They may feel ashamed or uncomfortable when speaking in their language or variety. As a consequence, they avoid speaking in public with that language because they have developed a negative attitude about it. Others may feel proud and self-confident and they encounter no problem to speak in their language or variety because they may associate a given quality or prestige to their language or variety.

Moreover, in bilingual community, it is difficult to identify the people's reactions towards the languages or language varieties that are spoken in their society as they are subject to change and variation. In this regards, Rubin (1968) believes that attitudes are different in bilingual contexts. He says: "A bilingual situation may be expected to produce different types of attitudes; some reflect emotional value of a language for its speakers, others the value of a language from a social or group point of view, still others reflect its value from the point of view of formal attributes." Rubin (1968: 15)

Thus, attitudes toward languages may vary from one person to another as there are personal beliefs and subjective feelings i.e. a certain quality may be attributed to a given code by speakers through considering it as positive or negative in a given society for example, in Algeria, the French language is viewed by most people as a language of modernity and development however, it may be classified in negative position by others. Additionally, attitudes can be observed and identified only through the people's actual behaviours. In other words, the people's attitudes towards a given language can be demonstrated through their reactions when they get into contact with speakers of that language as they may avoid them 'negative' or approach them 'positive'. In this respect, Hamers and Blanc (2000: 222) say that: "These value judgments express the stereotypes, attitudes and prejudices that members of a speech community have towards the speaker of another speech community and their languages."

Furthermore, people's attitudes towards languages may change through time as well as from one society to another. It is worth mentioning that speakers develop positive or negative attitudes towards a given language or variety due to cultural, historical or ethnic reasons. In other words, speakers belonging to particular group may associate a certain quality or prestige to a given language or variety. For example, in the Algerian context, people display positive or negative attitudes towards Arabic and French. Some speakers tend to speak in French as they see it as the language of development and technology, while others prefer to speak in Arabic which is their mother tongue.

1.6. Code choice

In today's globalized world, bilingualism and multilingualism are highly widespread over the world. It is estimated that more than half of the globe's population is bilingual. As a consequence, speakers always found themselves exposed to more than one language in the community.

Speakers are more motivated to choose one code over another in their daily interactions. This can be due to the way they want to be viewed by others, and how they want to allocate themselves in society. Thus, controlling several codes has always been considered advantageous i.e. the speakers who master more than one language or variety are said to be more comfortable and flexible in society than those who do not, as well as, those who can switch from one code to another swiftly and easily. However, this operation of choosing one code over another is not done randomly but rather; it is governed by several factors and regulations that trigger speakers to choose an appropriate code etc. In this regards, Fishman (1965: 17) says: "The implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled 'better', or more appropriately, in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts."

Furthermore, the speaker's code choice can be influenced by the speaker's attitudes towards the available languages or varieties, as well as the domain of use, kind of occasion, interlocutors, topics and settings.

In Algeria, the two prestigious languages in use, Arabic and French, seem to be in competition for several reasons. It is worth mentioning that almost all speakers from El Kiffane prefer to speak in French rather in Arabic. They see French as beautiful and prestigious languages as well as, they consider it as the language of science and technology. On the other hand, in Ain youcef, speakers tend to use more Arabic as it is their mother tongue.

1.7. Borrowing

When two languages or more come into contact, it is obvious that many linguistic phenomena would appear since; these languages will influence one another which give birth to several outcomes among them borrowing. In sociolinguistics, borrowing refers to the inclusion and incorporation of words from one language to another. In this respect, Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 21), explain Borrowings in its narrow sense as: "to refer to the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language". These foreign words that are borrowed and added from one language to another are usually adapted to the morphological and phonological properties to make them adjustable and fit in the new language. (Poplack, 1990).

- /xasnı zu:j ferchıtat /
- J'ai besoin de deux fourchettes.
- I need two forks.
- /netwajit ku:zina/
- j'ai nettoyé la cuisines.
- I have cleaned the kitchen.

In the two examples above, the words / ferchitat/, / netwajit/ and / ku:zina/ have been borrowed from French to Algerian Arabic and adapted in order to fit in the (AA) structure. Furthermore, this mutual exchange of words may occur when the concept for the object being represented is absent in one language and exists in another one for instance: pizza, hamburger. However, in some cases, the concept exists but speakers prefer to utilize another one for one reason or another for example: most Algerian speakers tend to say *portable* rather than /hatif/ which simply means 'cell phone.'

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter is an overview which aimed at explaining the resulting linguistic phenomena when languages come into contact. Its aim was to introduce bilingualism and its distinctive types and characteristics. Furthermore, this chapter was devoted to the introduction of code switching as a characteristic of the world's speech communities in general and as a particularity in the Algerian speech community in particular. Dealing with the code switching between two languages Algerian Arabic and French, this chapter aimed at explaining a set of relevant concepts to the research and in relation to the Algerian community as code switching code choice, language attitudes and borrowing.

Chapter Two

The sociolinguistic Situation

in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is characterized by the existence of many languages and language varieties. It consists of Algerian Arabic (AA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Berber and French. This can be due to several reasons such as, the different invasions on Algeria through time, the Ottoman Empire as well as the French colonization.

2.2. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria

Algeria has always been in contact with other civilizations and countries due to its strategic position and to the Mediterranean Sea. However, Algeria has suffered from several invasions through time, starting from the Vandals in the 5th century invasions till the French colonization in 1830 which lasts more than 130 year in which Algeria has witnessed significant changes at many levels during this period. Consequently, this shaped its culture and led to the appearance of a mixture of languages used in the Algerian society.

Moreover, it is not an easy task to define the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria since it is too diverse and complex. Arabic is considered to be the official language of Algeria; however there are other languages and varieties used by speakers in their daily interactions as AA, Berber, in addition to the French language which has a contradicting status in society. In other words, some speakers consider the French language as the language of the colonizer that should be excluded from the Algerian speech and administrations however, others believe that French is a proof of development and modernism. In this regards, Caubet (1998: 192)³ explains:

"French as the language of the ancient colonizer has a very ambiguous status: on the one hand, it attracts official contempt (it is officially considered as a foreign language

³My translation of the original text: Le français en tant que langue de l'ancien colonisateur à un statut très ambigu: d'une part il attire le mépris officiel (il est officiellement considéré comme langue étrangère au même titre que l'anglais) mais d'autre part, il est synonyme de réussite sociale et d'accès à la culture et au modernisme. »

to the same extent as English) but, on the other, it is synonymous of social success and of access to culture and modernism."

The Algerian society is considered to be a multilingual society where two or more languages are used by speakers in order to fulfil their needs. Individuals may switch from one code to another to discuss different subjects and fulfil different actions under a set of circumstances. For example, in the Algerian context, almost all educated speakers may switch from Arabic to French when speaking about science, education and economy.

The AA is considered as the mother tongue of almost all speakers in the Algerian society that is acquired at home and used for informal settings and casual interactions. Thus, the AA is strongly influenced by the French language since it consists of many French words and expressions. As a result, the sociolinguistic landscape of Algeria is strongly characterized by the AA/French code switching since the French language still pervades the Algerian society and maintains a significant position even after a half century of independence. Thus, it is worth mentioning that the French language is omnipresent in the Algerian community which gave birth to bilingual speakers. As a result, the AA/ French code switching characterises the Algerian speech however to various degrees. In other words, the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is considered as a continuum ranging from most proficient and fluent bilinguals to less competent bilinguals to. Consequently, speakers codeswitch between AA/French at different degrees under a set of conditions and circumstances. On the other hand, MSA which is considered as the official language of Algeria as specified in its constitution since 1963 and the language of Qur'an is learned at school, mosques, zaouiyas and it is used for high purposes and in formal settings.

2.3. Code switching in Algeria

The coexistence of Arabic and French in Algeria for a certain period of time gave birth to language phenomena called code switching. CS is considered to be a linguistic phenomenon characterized by switching from one language to another by bilinguals within a conversation. Gardner Chloros (2009)

The Arabic language is viewed as a mixture or a collection of different dialects and varieties used in a single conversation or interaction. Thus, in Algeria, French and Algerian Arabic are frequently used interchangeably by speakers in everyday speaking situation. The AA is highly affected by French language due to the long period of the French colonialism. Consequently, AA comprises many French words and expressions that the speakers use them very regularly and unconsciously when speaking.

Furthermore, Algerians in general and educated ones in specific are more motivated to codeswitch from AA to French and vice versa in given social interaction. This may depend on several reasons and factors such as: interlocutors, kind of occasion, topics being discussed, status, age, gender and educational level. For example, the way you speak with a minister is not similar to the way when you speak to your grandmother.

Additionally, some consider switching between languages as a lack and limited competency in the starting language. Myers Scotton (1993). This fact can be clearly seen in the Algerian political speeches where politicians open their speech in AA mostly and then, they switch to French. This can be justified either by their lack of competence in Arabic in general (MSA) or, because the AA is too limited and restricted to convey their intentions.

2.4. Diglossia in Algeria

As already mentioned, diglossia is defined as the coexistence of two varieties of the same language used in a different domains in the community. William Marçais (1930) found out that in Algeria, there are two language varieties used simultaneously by speakers within the same speech community. Each variety is used to fulfil particular functions i.e. MSA, which is considered to be the highest and the best variety among many others, is used for high purposes such as in mosque, in education,

administrations and for academic writing, political speeches moreover, it is the language of Qur'an and it called 'Al-fusha'. On the other hand, AA is viewed as low and inferior variety used for casual speeches and ordinary conversations; it is called 'Addaridja'.

Algerians acquire the low variety AA as their mother tongue; however the MSA is learned at school. These two varieties are used in two different spheres that they scarcely overlap if never unless in folk literature. For instance, you will never hear someone saying:

- /u:mi tosajiko el ghorfata/
- 'My mother is cleaning the room.'

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2.5. Borrowing in Algeria

The coexistence of both Arabic and French for a certain period of time in Algeria, in addition to the long history of contact with several languages such as: Turkish, Spanish and Italian. This gave birth to different sorts of influence of these languages one upon another.

Thus, another important element worth mentioning is the long period of French colonization, where the French language was imposed on Algerians as the official language of the country whereas, Arabic was totally marginalized. As a consequence, Algerian Arabic was and still strongly influenced and characterized by the use of many French words and expressions in our daily interaction used by both educated and illiterate people. Indeed, these borrowed words which were taken from French and incorporated in AA have been adapted to the AA structure by speakers through making them sound as Arabic words for instance:

- /<u>Sandi zu:j lotoyet/</u>
- j'ai deux automobiles.
- 'I have two cars.'

- / <u>Stini</u> tlata popiyét/
- Donnez-moi trois poupées.

'Give me three dolls.'

Using French words or expressions is common in the Algerian Arabic speech community that is used by both educated and uneducated people in their daily interactions.

2.6. The History of French in Algeria

When France colonized Algeria in 1830, its aim was not to reach a political supremacy or economic domination only, but it went much further than this. Actually, France adopted a harsh system that aimed to eradicate the Arabic language and the Islamic Algerian culture as whole and to abolish the national identity completely. (Holt 1994)

Furthermore, France has imposed its language and culture on Algerians through controlling all aspects of life starting by recognizing the French language as the official language of the country in the 1930's ousting the Arabic which was viewed as a foreign language and thus its use was very restricted if not prohibited. Indeed, the French ideology strives to eliminate all resources that used to empower the Arabic language and culture. Firstly, they recognized Algeria as an integral part of France as well as, they closed down all mosques, zaouyas, koranic schools and expunge all places where religion and Arabic were taught. As consequence, several cultural problems and identity issues came to the fore among them, many Algerians do not know to speak and write Arabic since they were taught only in French during this period since French was positioned as dominant language on the expense Arabic.

It is worth mentioning that though Algeria got its independence and despite the arabisation policies, the French language still pervades the Algerian community. After more than fifty years of independence, the French language still characterizes the Algerian speech and it is widely used in society today, even in administrations and

political speeches. Consequently, the Algerian society is characterized by the existence of the French and Arabic bilingualism and, as a result, this lead people to codeswitch between these varieties very frequently in society in order to fulfil specific purpose.

Moreover, the use of the French language is strongly seen in urban areas and big cities where a high amount of educated people can be found rather than is rural ones and small villages. Thus, this maintenance of the French language in the Algerian speech is due to several reasons like: migration, social status and inter-marriage moreover, the French language is viewed by most Algerians as the language of development, science and technology and as a proof of civilization and openness on the outside world.

2.7. The History of Arabic

2.7.1. Modern Standard Arabic

After the independence 1962, the Algerian government has taken a set of social, educational, economic reconstructions and political reforms aiming at reviving Algeria. According to the Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989, 1996, 2002, 2006) Arabic is the solely official language of Algeria. Its main objective was to get back the islamo-arab identity and to eradicate the French traces and efface all sorts of dependency. However, this cannot be achieved overnight since, the Algerian identity was disfigured for more than 130 years and undergone all sort of intellectual cultural and educational dominance, oppression and supremacy during the colonial era.

The Algerian government started to introduce the Arabic progressively in the most essential and basic field of life starting with schools, media, parliament speeches and administrations. Bouchra Kachoub (2012). This arabisation process aimed at reinforcing the Arabic personality and restoring the Algerian identity which has been denied for years by the French colony as well as to refine and filter the Algerian's mind from the French culture that has been inculcated during the colonial era. Furthermore, though the arabisation process takes time to be realised and achieved,

many Algerians and especially French educated people reacted negatively towards the arabisation process reform expressing their worries about their future in Algeria.

The Arabic spoken nowadays is called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) instead of Classical Arabic. Most linguists agree that these two varieties are not the same in some points while, others agree that they are quite similar. The Classical Arabic (CA) is known as the language of the previous era as well as the language of the Muslim Holy Book "Qur'an". This latter has been simplified to become what is called today MSA. Linguists agree that CA differ from MSA in terms of style, lexical meaning and some grammatical constructions since each variety represent different era. (Ryding, 2005: 4-5). Today MSA in considered to be the official and the first national language of Algeria. Furthermore, though the arabisation process can not be realised directly, many Algerians and especially French educated people reacted negatively towards the arabisation process reform expressing their worries about their future in Algeria.

2.7.2. Algerian Arabic

The Algerian Arabic is a variety used for casual communication and daily use. It is used as spoken system used in informal settings such as at home, in streets between friends and pals. It has not a written form because, it is considered to be very limited and restricted to assume the complexities of modern technologies and science fields as well as it is seems that AA is too narrow to be standardized and taught in schools and institutions.

Algerian Arabic is different to some extent from the other varieties of Arabic spoken in other parts of the Arabic world. Algeria has witnessed many invasions and civilizations through time as consequence the AA is viewed as a melting pot of different languages and varieties i.e. the AA has been influenced by many languages and varieties which explains the fact that it comprises many words and expressions from Berber, French, Spanish and Turkish. For example:

- /tilifu:n/ French word téléphone.

- It simply means 'telephone' in English.
- /Ku :zina/ Spanich word cocina.
- 'Kitchen' in English.

Algeria is considered to be the biggest country in Africa as well as, one among the countries that are well known by their cultural diversity and richness. This can be highly seen in the Algerian speech community; where this latter is characterized by distinct local varieties and accents used throughout the country. In other words, different varieties are used in different regions of Algeria for example, in Sahara "the Tuareg" of the "Hoggar" and "Mozabite" in "the M'zab". However in the north east of Algeria kabylian is found, which is a variety used by 5 millions speakers mainly spoken in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaya in addition to Chaouia.

On the other hand, in the north west of Algeria, individuals generally tend to speak in a common way. In other words, in Tlemcen, Oran, Bel Abbes and Mostaganem, speakers use different varieties that are more or less mutual intelligible with some variations. For instance:

- /g/ is realized as [2] in Tlemcen: /2arca/. Which simply means 'bottle'.
- /g/ is realized as [q] is Ghazouet: /qalı /. 'He told me'.
- /g/ is realized as [g] in Oran Bel Abbes and Mostaganem: /galı /. 'He told me'

2.7.3. Berber

Berbers is used to designate the native population along the coast east of Algeria. It is argued that the original language of Algeria was Berber however because of the Arab invasions through time, the aboriginal Berbers were arabised to some extent; consequently Berber was pidginized and creolized.

Berbers are well known that they are very conservatives and preservatives community since; they tend to favour the maintenance their origins and traditions. In other words, most of Algerian Berbers live in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, always referred to as the Great Kabylie, where the dominant variety is still Berber as well as, even

though Arabic is the only official language of Algeria, Berbers still practise their traditions and use their variety even outside the kabylie region.

Furthermore, the MSA has been the only and solely language of Algeria for several decades, however since 2002, the Berber variety was recognized as a national language as response to the persistence demands of Berbers in order to recognize their variety. It is estimated that Berber is spoken by approximately 27, 4% of the Algerian population as well as it is largely used in media, government...even though it does not have an official status. Jacques (2009-04-05)

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter tried to shed the light on the linguistic situation of Algeria taking into consideration the historical background which played a crucial role in shaping the actual linguistic state of the country. Along, when considering the linguistic situation of Algeria, it is crucial to take into account the code switching between MSA, AA, and Berber in addition to the French language and to precise to which extent AA and French are used alternatively among the Algerian society.

Additionally, The Algerian society is viewed as a melting pot of several languages and language varieties which is the main raison of its linguistic richness and cultural diversity in Algeria.

Chapter Three

Data Collection

and Analysis

3.1. Introduction

The third chapter is devoted for data collection, analysis and the interpretation of data. It aims at evaluating to which extent code switching exists between AA and French in two different areas in Tlemcen; mainly in El Kiffane which is considered to be an urban area situated in the centre of Tlemcen city in the north east of Algeria, and Ain youcef which is rural village in the province of Tlemcen situated in the north. Objectivity was the main principle during this research work. Thus, all data are obtained from a questionnaire that has been proposed to a set of participant from both areas in addition to note taking.

Thus, the previous chapters dealt with the theoretical findings and the literature review of the research work in addition to the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria. Yet, this chapter is dedicated for the methodology which aims at reaching some results at the end the research work which will be considered as answers to the proposed hypotheses.

3.2. Research instruments and methodology

3.2.1. Questionnaire

As the research topic is about code switching between AA and French in El Kiffane and Ain youcef; a questionnaire of 10 questions written in both languages Arabic and French was conducted to 40 participants, 20 participants from each area. These participants were selected randomly to answer this questionnaire. Their ages range from 18 years to 60 years old including both sexes male and female. Both methods qualitative and qualitative were employed while collecting data in this research work. However, the questionnaire is rather concerned with gathering quantitative data.

The questionnaire was addressed to two different groups belonging to two different areas in Tlemcen in order to assess their skills in both languages AA and French. The questionnaire is viewed to be a blend of both open-ended and close-ended

questions. The central aim of this questionnaire is to investigate the speech community of two different areas named El Kiffane and Ain youcef as well as, to highlight the differences between them.

3.2.2. Note taking

As for note taking, participants were observed implicitly while notes about their way of speaking, their behaviour as well as their attitudes towards AA and French were taken. The aim from using such an instrument is that it gives access to several things that are not noticeable or directly reachable such as authenticity, feelings, intentions and spontaneity in responses since participants were not aware of the presence of the research. This research tool is used for the sake of gathering qualitative data.

In this respect Labov (1972: 209) explains: "...the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation."

Furthermore, it is clearly observed that speakers from Ain Youcef and El Kiffane do not speak in the same way. In other words, it is clear that individuals from El Kiffane tend to use the French language more than AA while speaking since El Kiffane is considered to be an upscale neighbourhood where French has developed very positive attitude and a respectful status in this area. Most speakers in El Kiffane, prefer to say Bonjour rather than /sbaħ nour/ which means 'Good morning'. This can be due to the socio-cultural factors as well as the speaker's attitudes towards AA and French which strongly influence their way of speaking. This results in code switching between the two varieties mainly when discussing scientific subjects, political issues, educational problems...etc.

It is possible to observe a conversation between two friends from El Kiffane discussing a given subject and using both AA and French. This is a typical example to illustrate code switching in El Kiffane:

A: c'est dommage les frontières /mbelçin si non nroħo nfoutu/ les vacances f Caza fel Maroc.

- It is a pity the borders are closed otherwise, we would pass the holidays in Caza in Morocco.

B : oui, c'est dommage kplsī b sbab la politique fazda.

- Yes, true it is the bad policies' fault.

A: c'est vrai! yæk l'islam nous yajma3na mais nationalisme jseparına.

- That true! l'islam unites us but nationalism separates us.

Conversation 2

A: ?adji n?u:lek çandaf yħol hæd patisserie?

- Tell me, at what time the pastry opens?

B: je ne sais pas, sa?sı mɔl le magasin en face.

- I do not know, ask the seller of the next store.

A: sa:ħa *merci*.

- Ok thank you.

On the other hand, speakers from Ain youcef which is considered as rural area in Tlemcen tend to use more AA rather than the French language. In most cases observed, they prefer to use AA when saying hi, exchanging greetings and discussing actual problems in the country for example, they tend to say /2asalæmu çalajkum/ or /sbaħ nour/ instead of *Bonjour* or *salut* which simply means 'Hi'. In other cases, some speakers from Ain Youcef tend to use both AA and French while speaking which leads to a code switching between the two varieties. They frequently use words from the French language and adapt them to the AA structure. For instance:

A: ?assalæmu çalajkum, kırakom ça va ?

- Hi, how are you?

B: gu:li, hadu:k swanber separet binathom?

- Tell me, have you separated between the rooms?

As a result, due to the investigated areas in Tlemcen named El Kiffane, which is said to be urban area, and Ain youcef which is a rural area, it is possible to say that the socio-cultural factors as well as the speaker's attitudes towards the available languages (AA and French) have a direct and strong influence on language behaviour.

3.3. Data collection

As the central aim of the research is to collect suitable data in order to be able to provide reliable results, we selected 40 participants, 20 participants from El Kiffane and 20 from Ain youcef to give them the questionnaire. The participants comprise both males and females as well as their ages vary from 18 years old to 60 years old. They did not have the same educational status; some of them were students, housewives, salesmen and others were unemployed.

The questionnaire is written in both Arabic and French language. In some cases, certain participants encounter some problems to understand the questionnaire so; we tried to explain it in AA so that to make it as clear as possible for them as well as, at the same time some notes were taken on their way of speaking since, brief conversations were held with each participant before giving him the questionnaire. It is valuable to mention that the AA in El Kiffane is characterized the glottal stop [2] which marks its specificity compared to other accents spoken in rural places in Tlemcen as well as, it is more observed in woman's speech rather than men's one.

Additionally, this variety is considered to be an urban variety since it exists only in downtown, it is not found out of the centre in rural places. In contrast, in Ain youcef as it is a rural area, speakers tend to use [g] rather than [2] while speaking in AA for example: /gu:li/ instead of /2oli/which means 'tell me'

Thus, during the research work we were behaving in spontaneous way while observing and taking notes on the way that speakers speak. It was observed that most participant from El Kiffane (males and females), tend to codeswitch between AA and French very frequently compared to those from Ain youcef who showed a weak mastery of the French language. The main reason between such glaring differences is that, in El Kiffane most speakers are considered to be active bilinguals due to their frequent exposure to the French language, however participants from Ain youcef are viewed as passive bilinguals because they have little or no command of the French language.

3.4. Interpretation of the results

As the most and foremost objective of this research work is to investigate the different uses of AA and French code switching in two different areas in Tlemcen, more precisely in El Kiffane and Ain youcef. In order to achieve such a goal, the research work took place in both El Kiffane and Ain youcef as mentioned already. A questionnaire was handed to 40 participants, 20 participants from each area. It was not an easy task to analyse the sociolinguistic state in Algeria as whole which is considered to be multilingual society where most speakers tend to codeswitch between AA and French very frequently to the point that they do this unconsciously. Bilingualism in Algeria can be viewed as a continuum raging from the most powerful bilinguals who have a full command and strong mastery of the French language, always referred to them as 'native like' to less competent bilinguals, who have week proficiency and limited mastery in French.

In addition to the questionnaire, another research tool was used in order to reinforce the research work and reach reliable results. note taking was also used in order to gather more data on the individual s' linguistic behaviour in both areas. This research tool is considered to be very effective since the participants are very natural and behave spontaneously which makes it easier to take notes and highlight the similarities and point out differences of each group. Additionally, concerning the

questionnaire, in the first question asked the participants from both areas El Kiffane and Ain youcef was about their language preferences in order to figure out the speaker's attitudes towards Algerian Arabic and French in urban and rural areas.

1- Which language do you prefer to use while speaking?

	Algerian Arabic	French
El Kiffane	40%	60%

Table 3.1: The preferred spoken language in El Kiffane

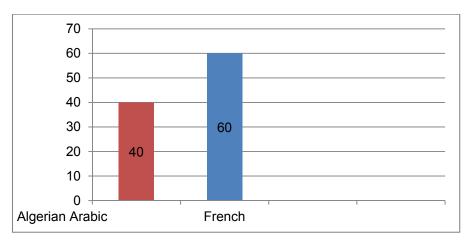


Figure 1: Respondents' Language preferences in El Kiffane.

- Which language do you prefer to use while speaking?

In Ain youcef results reveal:

	Algerian Arabic	French
Ain youcef	85%	15%

Table3.1: The preferred spoken language in Ain youcef.

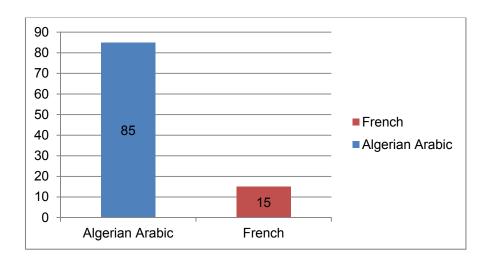


Figure 1.2: Respondents' Language preferences in Ain youcef.

This question was asked on number of participants from both areas El Kiffane and Ain youcef in order to figure out which language do speakers prefer to use while speaking, from the results obtained in El Kiffane and Ain youcef, the difference between the two areas in terms of language preference was very salient. As the results show, in El Kiffane more than half of the sample prefers to use French rather than Algerian Arabic while speaking however, results in Ain youcef reveal totally the opposite since 85% of the sample prefers to use AA instead of French while speaking.

2- Which language do you understand better?

	Algerian Arabic	French
El Kiffane	55%	45%

Table.3.2: The most understood language in El Kiffane

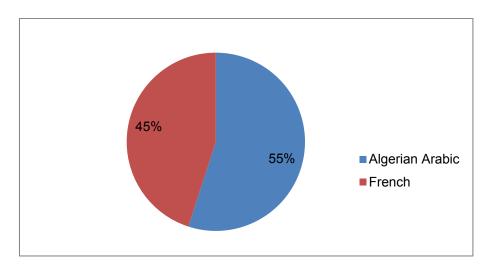


Figure 2: participants' language perception in terms of competency in El Kiffane.

- Which language do you understand better?

In Ain youcef results indicate:

	Algerian Arabic	French
Ain youcef	100%	0%

Table.3.2 The most understood language in Ain youcef.

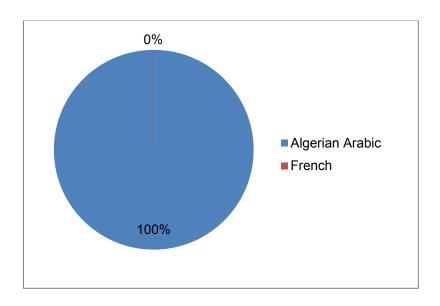


Figure 2.1: participants' language perception in terms of competency in Ain youcef.

The aim behind this question is to know which language is understood better. As the results show, the AA seems to be the variety the most understood in both areas in general. However, in El Kiffane the results are quite convergent since it is found that more than 40% of the sample understands French better while the rest of the sample estimated 55% understands Algerian Arabic better. On the other hand, in Ain youcef, 100% of the sample confirmed they understand the AA better which is considered as they mother tongue.

2-Do you use both Algerian Arabic and French when speaking?

	Yes	No	Sometimes
El Kiffane	75%	5%	20%

Table.3.3: The use of Algerian Arabic and French in El Kiffane.

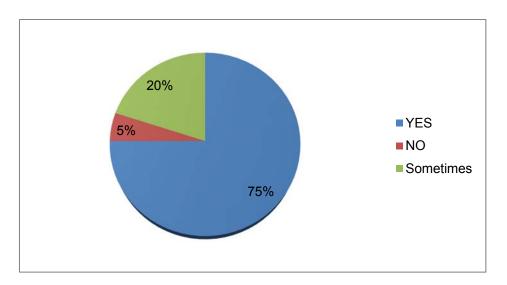


Figure3: Participants' degrees of using AA and French in El Kiffane.

- Do you use both Algerian Arabic and French when speaking?

In Ain youcef results denote:

	Yes	No	Sometimes
Ain youcef	25%	35%	40%

Table.3.3 The use of Algerian Arabic and French in Ain youcef.

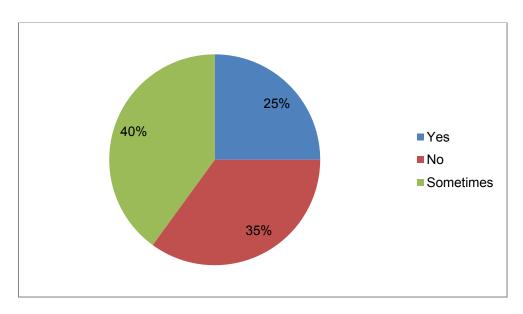


Figure 3.1: Participant's degrees of using AA and French in Ain Youcef.

In El Kiffane, most of the sample tends to mix both languages AA and French when speaking. On the light of the result obtained, out of 20 participants, only 1 participant claims that he does not use the French language when speaking however, the great majority 75% of the sample in El Kiffane uses both AA and French when speaking in addition to a few portion estimated by 20% which mixes these languages sometimes. On the other hand, in Ain youcef 35% which is a significant amount of participants does not mix French and AA while speaking and 25% of the sample do switch between these two languages while the great portion of the sample do switch between French and AA from times to time.

As a consequence, it can be deduced that French is more used in urban areas compared to rural ones.

1. How do you qualify your oral proficiency in French?

	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
El Kiffane	35%	30%	25%	10%	0%

Table.3.4: The speaker's oral proficiency of French in El Kiffane.

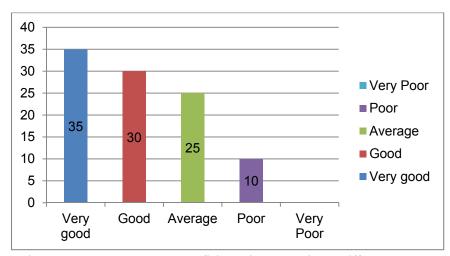


Figure 4: Respondents' oral proficiency in French in El Kiffane.

- How do you qualify your oral proficiency in French?

In Ain youcef results show:

	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
Ain youcef	10%	15%	30%	20%	25%

Table.3.4: The speaker's oral proficiency of French in Ain youcef.

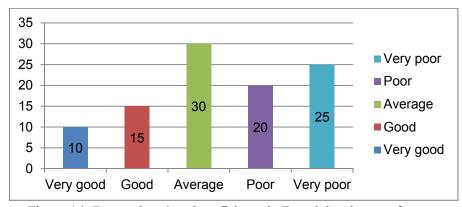


Figure 4.1: Respondents' oral proficiency in French in Ain youcef

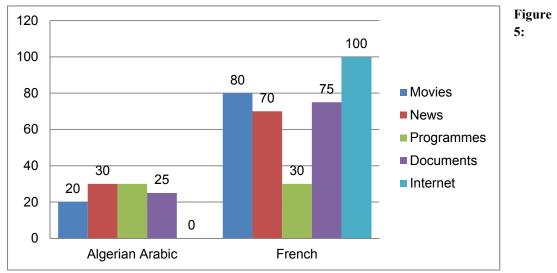
This central aim behind asking this question is to figure out the participant's oral proficiency in the French language in both areas. The results show that 35% among the participants from El Kiffane have very good speaking skills in the French language, while 30% claim that they have good oral competence in that language. Along, 25% of the participants view their oral proficiency as being average while, at the same time only 10% consider their oral capacities in the French language to be poor. However, no participant revealed that he has very poor proficiency in French. On the other hand, Ain youcef the situation is totally different since, only 10% of the respondents qualify their oral proficiency to be very good, while 15% believe they have good oral capacities in the French language. The great amount of the sample in Ain youcef which estimated by 30% see their oral competences in the French language as being average. At the same times, 25% of the respondents qualify their oral proficiency as poor and, in contrast in El Kiffane, 20% revealed that their oral capacities are very poor and restricted.

In this case, it is clear that the respondents from urban areas display more oral proficiency in the French language compared to those who come from rural area.

3- In which language do you prefer watching TV programmes? And why?

		Movies	News	Programmes	Documents	Internet
El Kiffane	AA	20%	30%	30%	25%	0%
	French	80%	70%	70%	75%	100%

Table.3.5: The preferred language in watching TV programs in El Kiffane.



Language preference for TV and Internet use in El Kiffane.

- In which language do you prefer watching TV programmes? And why?

In Ain youcef results indicate:

		Movies	News	Programmes	Documents	Internet
Ain youcef	AA	40%	55%	55%	45%	0%
	French	60%	45%	45%	55%	100%

Table.3.5 The preferred language in watching TV programs in Ain youcef.

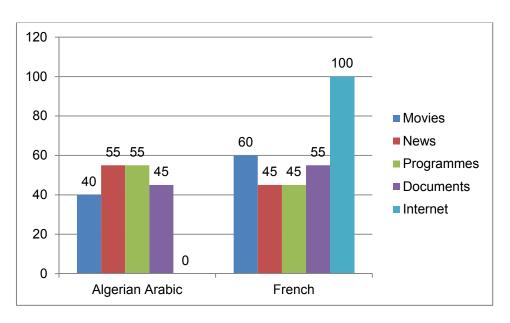


Figure 5.1: Language preference for TV and Internet use in Ain youcef.

This question was asked to know the speaker's attitudes towards AA and French. Number of participants from El Kiffane and Ain youcef was asked about the language in which they prefer to watch TV programmes and why. It was noticed that in El Kiffane most of the participants prefer watching TV programmes in French, especially, the use of internet, in which all the participants prefer using French when surfing on internet. Thus, it is clear that the participants from El Kiffane have adopted a positive attitude towards the French language since, based on the results provided above, they tend to use both AA and French. It is worth mentioning that most participants from El Kiffane prefer to use French justifying their answers that the French language has high status and plays important role in the world. According to them, French is a language of development and civilization. On the other hand surprisingly in Ain youcef, most participants, even with limited competence in French, they prefer watching TV programmes etc and surfing on internet in the French language. This may be seen as contradiction to what they claim in the previous questions. Yet, they strongly believe that it is great opportunity to seize in order to learn French and widen their knowledge in that language.

4- Do you use words or expressions from French in your everyday speech?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
French	40%	20%	20%	15%	5%

Table.3.6: The use of words and expressions from French in everyday speech in El Kiffane.

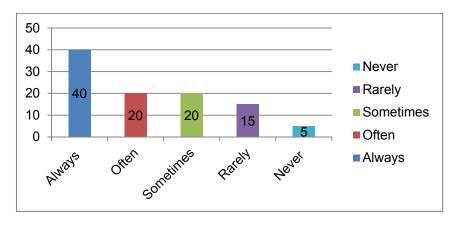


Figure 6: Respondents' use of French words in their speech in El Kiffane.

- Do you use words or expressions from French in your everyday speech?

In Ain youcef results show:

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
French	25%	20%	30%	15%	10%

Table.3.6: The use of words and expressions from French in everyday speech Ain youcef.

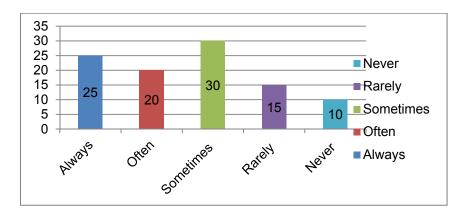


Figure 6.1: Respondents' use of French words in their speech in Ain youcef.

It was necessary to ask this kind of questions to the participants in order to figure out to what extent they codeswitch between AA and French in their daily speech. From the obtained results, we notice that in El Kiffane, 40% of the participants replied that they always use words and expressions from French in their speech while, the same amount of participants said often and sometimes, which estimated by 20%. Thus, 15% of participants declared they rarely use words from French in their everyday speech while only 5% never use French expressions and words in their speech. It is undeniable that a large number of speakers in El Kiffane use French expressions and insert French words very frequently in their speech. However, in Ain youcef 25% of the participants assert that they always use French words and expressions in their speech while, 20% said that they often do. Most of these participants were educated and have a positive attitude towards the French language which motivates them to mix AA and French. Along, a great proportion estimated by 30% revealed that they tend to use French words and expressions sometimes when it is necessary i.e. they claim that they use some French words and expressions when they speak with educated people and in formal places such as: in administrations, schools...etc. At the same time, 15% asserted they use French words and expressions rarely in their daily speech while, 10% never use French words and expressions apart from the borrowed words.

5- What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

	Literate	boastful	Habitual
El Kiffane	25%	15%	60%

Table.3.7: Attitudes towards the use of French rather than Algerian Arabic in El Kiffane.

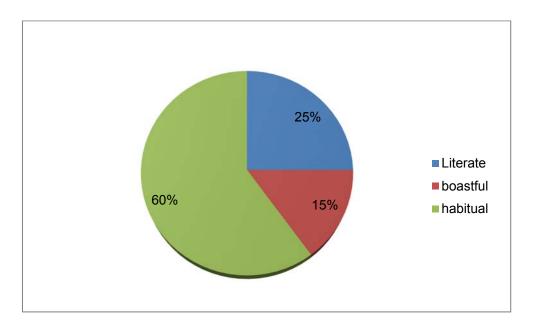


Figure 7: Respondents' attitudes towards French use rather than AA in El Kiffane.

What do you think of speakers who use French rather than Algerian Arabic?

In Ain youcef results reveal:

	Literate	boastful	Habitual
Ain youcef	55%	15%	30%

Table.3.7 Attitudes towards the use of French rather than Algerian Arabic in Ain youcef.

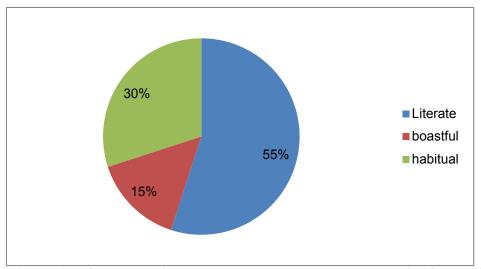


Figure 7.1: Informants' attitudes towards French use rather than AA in Ain youcef.

According to the participant's answers in El Kiffane, 25% believes that speakers who tend to use the French instead of their mother tongue AA are viewed as educated people. The results show that 15% of the informants consider speakers who use French rather than AA as being boastful and arrogant. Their main goal is to show off their mastery of the French language. While 60% of the informants, which is the highest, believe that is it something normal and habitual. They declared that the use French language instead of AA becomes routine through time.

On the other hand in Ain youcef, 55% a great amount of the respondents consider speakers who use French instead of AA literate and 30% of them believe it is something habitual. While, 15% only show a negative attitude and claim that speakers who use the French instead of our mother tongue AA are boastful.

6- Which language do you prefer to use when speaking to strangers?(people you do not know them in person)

	AA	French	Both
El Kiffane	20%	45%	40%

Table.3.8: The language used when speaking to strangers in El Kiffane.

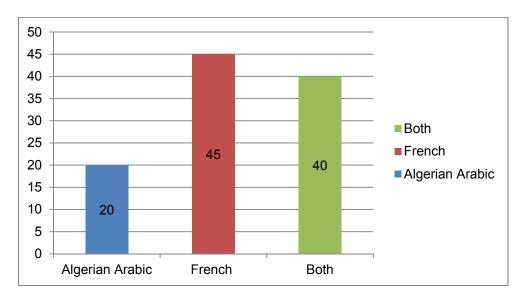


Figure8: Informants' language choice when speaking to strangers in El Kiffane.

- Which language do you prefer to use when speaking to strangers?(people you do not know them in person)

In Ain youcef results show:

	Algerian Arabic	French	Both
Ain youcef	75%	0%	25%

Table.3.8: The language used when speaking to strangers in Ain youcef.

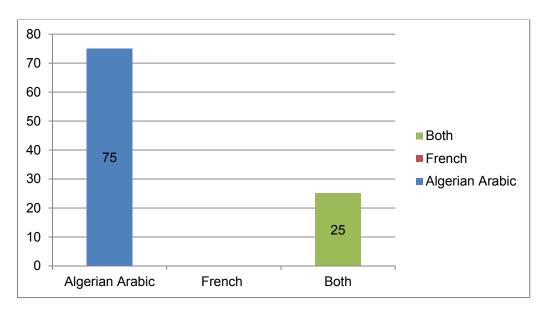


Figure 8.1: Informants' language choice when speaking to strangers in Ain youcef.

The aim behind this question is to figure out whether speakers prefer to use AA or French when talking to strangers in El Kiffane. As the answers denote, half of the sample favour using French when getting in touch with strangers, While, 40% tend to mix both languages when speaking to strangers. Only 20% of the informants tend to use their mother tongue to speak to strangers, they claimed that they are more comfortable in speaking in AA rather than in French in similar cases. However, in Ain youcef, the results reveal a different situation. The biggest amount has chosen AA when speaking to strangers. As the results show, 75% of the informants feel at ease and prefer to speak in AA rather that in French when they are in touch with foreigners. What is surprising is that none of the participants in Ain youcef prefer to use the French language whereas, 25% tend to mix languages and use both French and AA when getting in touch with strangers.

Comparing the results obtained in the two areas, we can deduce a striking difference between the speaker's linguistic behaviour in El Kiffane and Ain youcef. The raison of this significant dissimilarity lies in the speaker's attitudes towards French and AA as well as, the socio-cultural atmosphere plays a crucial role in choosing one language over another one.

7- Which language do you use when speaking with your friends and family?

	AA	French	Both
El Kiffane	20%	40%	40%

Table.3.9: The language used when speaking to friends and family in El Kiffane.

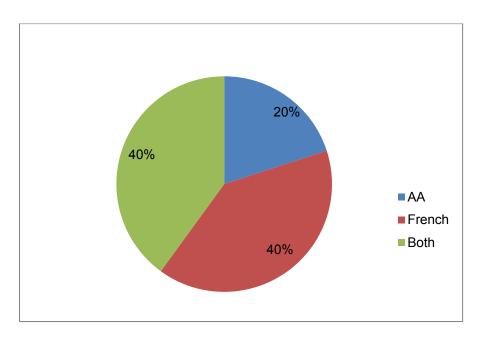


Figure9: Respondents' language use with friends and family in El Kiffane.

- Which language do you use when speaking with your friends and family?

In Ain youcef results indicate:

	AA	French	Both
Ain youcef			
	60%	10%	30%

Table.3.9 The language used when speaking to friends and family in Ain youcef.

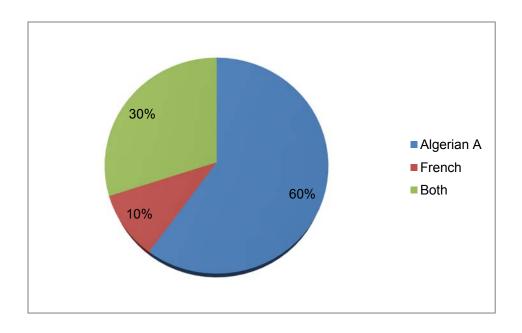


Figure 9.1: Respondents' language use with friends and family in Ain youcef.

As far as this question is concerned, the results obtained in El Kiffane were revealing that only 20 % of the informants tend to use AA to communicate with their friends and family members whereas 40% tend to use the French language only or mixing both French and AA while speaking with their friends and relatives.

On the other hand, concerning respondents' language use with friends and family in Ain youcef, results denote that 60% of the whole informants prefer to use AA only when speaking with friends and family. While, 30% of the respondents tend to codeswitch between AA and French alternatively depending on set of circumstances i.e. the setting (formal/informal), subject being discussed, types of interlocutors(educated/uneducated).

At the same time, only 10% prefer to use French language only with friends and family.

8- How do you consider the French language?

	Beautiful language	Language of development	Language of science and technology	Language of the colonizer	proof of dependency	Bad language
El Kiffane	35%	15%	25%	15%	10%	0%

Table.3.10 Speaker's attitudes towards the French language in El Kiffane.

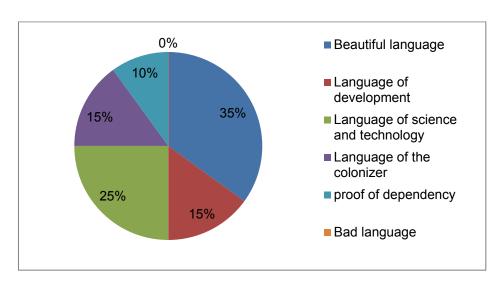


Figure 10: The respondent's perception of French in El Kiffane.

- How do you consider the French language?

In Ain youcef results denot

	Beautiful language	Language of development	Language of science and technology	Language of the colonizer	proof of dependency	Bad language
Ain youcef	25%	20%	45%	5%	5%	0%

Table.3.10: Speaker's attitudes towards the French language in Ain youcef.

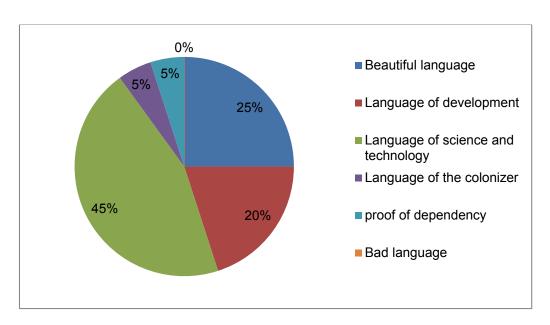


Figure 10.1: Respondents' perception of French in Ain youcef.

The objective behind this question is to know how speakers perceive the French language in El Kiffane and to show their feelings and attitudes towards this language. What is interesting is that conflicting and discordant answers are noticed as well as the amounts obtained are close enough to each other. Results show that 35%, which is the highest, of the informants see the French language as beautiful language. While, 25% of the participants confess that it is language of science and technology. What is interesting is that, while 15% of the respondents in El Kiffane consider French as the language of development, the same percentage 15% see the opposite since they view French as the language of the colonizer. At the same time, 10% the sample believe that French is a proof of dependency to France and thus, it should be expelled from society. However, in the other district in Ain youcef, the participants generally show a positive attitude towards French even though their lack of mastery and proficiency in this language. The results reveal that 25% of the informants believe that French is a beautiful language and 20% consider it as language of development. Thus, in Ain youcef 45% of the respondents believe that French is language of science and technology worth studying and learning. Even though no one sees the French language as a bad language however, 5% of the informants believe that French is language of the colonizer as well as proof of dependency.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with the methodology used in order to investigate the French / Algerian Arabic code switching in El Kiffane and Ain youcef, as well as to highlight the similarities and differences in the speaker's attitudes and their linguistic behaviour in an urban and a rural area, El Kiffane and ain youcef respectively.

Based on the research tools, the questionnaire and note taking, significant features and important differences were noticed regarding the speaker's attitudes towards AA/French code switching in both areas. Generally, the results obtained reveal that the linguistic phenomena of AA/French code switching is found in urban El Kiffane very frequently compared to rural Ain youcef since, almost all the participants from El Kiffane view French as beautiful language as well as, language of modernity, science and technology. On the other hand, in Ain youcef most participants prefer to speak in AA since it is their mother tongue.

General conclusion

Algeria has always been in contact with other civilizations and opened to other countries, in addition to its socio-historical profile which is full of historical events, as a result, its sociolinguistics landscape is considered to be very complex and diverse. This study has attempted to investigate the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and highlight its linguistic historical background and explain the richness of its linguistic profile.

As a matter of fact, Algeria has always been considered as a cradle of civilizations and languages. It is strongly agreed among sociolinguists that Algeria is a multilingual country where we can find several varieties in society such as: Algerian Arabic, MSA, and Berber in addition to the French language that still pervades the Algerian speech and society after more than 50 years of independence. Speakers in society use these varieties to communicate in daily interactions and code switch between them under a set a circumstances and conditions. The AA/French code switching phenomena is very frequent in the Algerian society since, most Algerians are familiar with the French language due to the long period of colonization.

Furthermore, despite the efforts done by the Algerian government to arabize Algeria, the French language still imposes itself as local variety and pervades the Algerian speech. Consequently, Algerian Arabic and French are often used interchangeably in society. From this respect, it is important to understand to what extent speakers codeswitch between AA and French and consider their attitudes towards the two languages in play in order to figure out the main factors leading to such linguistic behaviour variation. For this sake, a study has been conducted in two different areas in Tlemcen, an urban area and a rural one named El Kiffane and Ain youcef respectively in order to investigate the various uses of AA/French code switching and explain the different factor leading to such phenomenon.

Additionally, considering the sociolinguistic situation in Tlemcen, it reveals that AA/French code switching exists in both El Kiffane and Ain youcef however, at various

degrees. The difference between the two areas is clearly noticeable since, in El Kiffane the speakers tend more to codeswitch between AA and French. They use French expressions and words very frequently in their daily interactions. In Ain youcef, speakers displayed less AA/French code switching. The majority prefer to use AA for their daily speech instead of using French or mixing the two, even though most of them showed positive attitudes towards the French language. This can be due to their social background, since speakers from Ain youcef, which is a rural area, are less competent in French because most speakers were raised in an environment where only AA was spoken. However, in urban areas like El Kiffane which is a big urban centre, most families are bilingual and insist to raise their children in bilingual atmosphere. It is worth mentioning that the Algerian society is considered as a continuum ranging from mutilinguals, speakers who master more than two languages, to monolinguals i.e. speakers who speak only AA. The results of our research work revealed that the AA/French code switching is frequently found in urban areas compared to rural areas. Though, speakers from both areas El Kiffane and Ain youcef showed positive attitudes towards the French language, AA/ French code switching is clearly remarkable in El Kiffane rather than in Ain youcef where most of speakers apart from borrowed words, do not speak the French language and tend to prefer to speak in Algerian Arabic which is viewed as their mother tongue.

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- dialectal ou l'arabe dit algérien (ou ses diverses variétés) pour communiquer entre eux. Autrement dit, à l'oral, c'est l'arabe algérien qui sert de langue véhiculaire, mais à l'écrit, c'est l'arabe classique."
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Questionnaire

- Which lang	guage do you pr	efer to use wl	nile speaking?		
Algerian Arab	pic	F	rench		
- Which lang	guage do you ur	nderstand bett	er?		
Algerian Ara	bic	Fre	ench		
– Do you use	e both Algerian	Arabic and F	rench when spea	ıking?	
Yes	No 📗	som	netimes		
How do you	ı qualify your o	ral proficienc	y in French?		
	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
French	, , ,				7 1
AA	Movies	News	Programmes	Documents	Internet
French					
	use words or e		om French in you	ır everyday spo	eech?
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
French					
7- What do		peakers who boastfi	use French rathe	r than Algerian	n Arabic?

8- Which language do you prefer to use do not know them in person) Algerian Arabic	e when speaking to strangers?(peo	
9- Which language do you use when sp Algerian Arabic	peaking with your friends and fam French both	ily?
10-How do you consider the French lan	guage?	
Beautiful language	Bad language	
Language of development	proof of dependency	
Language of the colonizer	Language of science and techno	logy

Questionnaire in French

1. Quelle la	ngue préférez-	vous en parlan	t ?		
Arabe Al	gérien	Fra	ançais		
2. Quelle la	angue compren	ez –vous le mi	eux ?		
Arabe Algé	érien	F	Français		
3. utilisez-v	vous les deux la	angues (França	ais et l'Arabe A	Algérien) en pa	rlant ?
Oui	Non	n	Parfois		
4. Commen	t qualifiez-vou	s votre compét	tence orale en f	rançais?	
	Très bonne	Bonne	Moyenne	Mauvaise	Très
					mauvaise
Français					
5. En quelle pourquoi	e langue préfére ?	ez-vous regard	er des program	mes de Télévi	sion? Et
	Films	Information	Programmes	Documents	Internet
Arabe Algérien					
Français					
Pourquoi ? 6. Utilisez-vous				ns votre langaş	ge
quotidien?					

	Toujours	Souvent	Parfois	Rarement	Jamais
Français					

7. Que pensez-vous des locuteurs qui utilisent le Français plutôt que l'Arabe Algérien?							
Cultivé vantard Habituel							
8. Quelle langue préférez-vous lorsque vous parlez à des inconnus? (des gens que							
vous ne les connaissez pas).							
Arabe Algérien Français Tout les deux							
9. Quelle langue utilisez-vous lorsque vous parlez avec vos amis et votre famille?							
Arabe Algérien Français Tout les deux							
10. Comment vous considérez la langue française ?							
Belle langue Mauvaise langue							
Langue du développement preuve de la dépendance							
Langue du colonisateur Langue de la science et de la technologie							

Questionnaire in Arabic

					تتكلم؟	ا عندما	تفضل استعماله	- ما هي اللغة التي آ	1
				سية	اللغة الفرن			هجة الجزائرية	lΨ
						<u>ل</u> ؟	همها بشكل افض	. ما هي اللغة التي تف	-2
					فة الفرنسية	اللغ		هجة الجزائرية	lΨ
				نث؟	بية عند التحد	ة الفرنس	الجزائرية واللغ	. هل تستخدم اللهجة	-3
					·			- (
		أحيانا		У					نع
						رنسية؟	شفهية باللغة الفر	. كيف تقيم قدر اتك الـ	-4
سيئة للغاي	سيئة	متوسطة		ىنة	u_	١	جيدة جد		
								اللغة الفرنسية	
5- بأي لغة تفضل مشاهدة البرامج التلفزيونية؟ ولماذا؟									
Γ	الإنترنت	الأفلام الوثائقية	ج	البرام	أخبار	ŽI	الأفلام		
								لهجة	11
								جز ائرية لغة الفرنسية	11
								لغة الفرنسية	11
								ماذا؟	ولا
									•••

-6 هل تستخدم كلمات أو عبارات من اللغة الفرنسية في الكلام اليومي ؟

أبدا	نادرا	أحيانا	غالبا	على الدوام	
					اللغة الفرنسية

ائرية؟	ن اللغة الفرنسية بدلا من اللهجة الجز	7 ما رأيك في أولئك الذين يستخدمون
عادة	متفاخر	مثقف
نعرفهم شخصيا)	مند التحدث مع الغرباء؟ (أشخاص لا	-8- ما هي اللغة التي تفضل استخدام ع
الاثنتين معا	اللغة الفرنسية	اللهجة الجزائرية
	حدث مع أصدقائك و عائلتك؟	9- ما هي اللغة التي تستخدمها عند الت
الاثنتين معا	اللغة الفرنسية	اللهجة الجزائرية
		10- كيف تنظر إلى اللغة الفرنسية؟
	لغة سيئة	لغة جميلة
	دليل التبعية	لغة التنمية
	لغة العلم والتكنولوجيا	لغة المستعمر

Summary

This research work is considered to be a sociolinguistic study about code switching in Algeria, comparing the speech of two different areas in Tlemcen. The purpose of this study is to shed the light on code switching between Algerian Arabic and French in an urban and rural area in Tlemcen named El Kiffane and Ain youcef respectively. By giving a questionnaire to 20 participants (males and females) chosen randomly from each district, the respondents provide their attitudes, feelings and express their preferences about Algerian Arabic and French language use. The results achieved reveal that Algerian Arabic/French code switching is found in both areas however at various degrees. In other words, speakers from Ain youcef display less competence in Algerian Arabic/French code switching compared to those from El Kiffane, where Algerian Arabic/French code switching is more frequent and speakers are considered to be more competent in French.

Key words: code switching, bilingualism, language attitudes.

Résumé

Ce travail de recherche est considéré comme une étude de sociolinguistique sur l'alternance codique en Algérie, en prenant la communauté linguistique de deux zones différentes à Tlemcen comme exemple. L'objectif principal de cette étude est de vouloir expliquer l'alternance codique entre l'arabe algérien et le français dans une zone urbaine et une zone rurale à Tlemcen nommé El Kiffane et Ain Youcef, respectivement. Un questionnaire a été distribué à 20 participants (hommes et femmes) aléatoirement choisis dans chaque arrondissement. Les réponses indiquent les attitudes, les sentiments et expriment les préférences chez les locuteurs quant à l'utilisation de l'arabe algérien et le française. Les résultats obtenus révèlent que l'alternance codique arabe algérien / français existe dans les deux régions mais à des degrés divers. En d'autres termes, les locuteurs de Ain Youcef alternent moins arabe algérien/français par rapport à ceux d'El Kiffane, où l'alternance de codique AA/français est plus fréquente et les locuteurs urbains sont considérés comme plus compétent en français.

Mots clés : Alternance codique, bilinguisme, attitudes, diglossie.

ملخص

يعتبر هذا البحث دراسة سوسيولغوية على تناوب الألسن في الجزائر، مع الأخذ بالاعتبار منطقتين مختلفتين في تلمسان. الهدف الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو محاولة شرح تناوب الألسن بين العربية الجزائرية و اللغة الفرنسية في المناطق الحضارية الكيفان و المناطق الريفية عين يوسف على وجه الخصوص بتلمسان.

من خلال تقديم استبيان إلى 20 مشاركا (رجال ونساء) تم اختيار هم عشوائيا في كل منطقة، كشف المشاركين عن مواقفهم ومشاعر هم والتعبير عن تفضيلاتهم إزاء استخدام اللغة العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية. أظهرت النتائج المتوصل إليها بأن تناوب الألسن بين اللغتين العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية متواجد في المنطقتين لكن بدرجات متفاوتة حيث إن العينة المشاركة من عين يوسف أقل كفاءة في استخدام اللغة الفرنسية من العينة المشاركة من الكيفان خاصة عندما يتعلق الأمر بتناوب الألسن بين اللغة الفرنسية و العربية الجزائرية.

الكلمات المفتاحية

تناوب الألسن والثنائية اللغوية مواقف وازدواجية اللغة.