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Consequences of language contact: Case of social factors that affect code switching

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Dans cet article, nous essayons d'explorer le contact de deux langues qui ne sont pas liées génétiquement et les différents facteurs historiques et sociaux qui ont affecté et qui continuent d'affecter le discours dans la société algérienne. Les normes de langue en situation de contact se caractérisent en Algérie par l'utilisation fréquente de l'alternance codique, notamment entre l'arabe algérien et le français. Ce travail se concentre sur l'alternance entre ces deux langues dans la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen. Pour ce faire, nous avons choisi deux quartiers, qui sont socialement contrastés bien que proches l'un de l'autre géographiquement. L'objectif principal est d'examiner la nature et les taux d'alternance entre l'arabe algérien et le français et de mieux comprendre les facteurs qui influencent l'alternance codique. Les résultats montrent que l'utilisation fréquente d'emprunts français et de l'alternance intra-phrastique dans les deux zones est déterminée par des facteurs sociaux incluant le niveau d'instruction.

Mots-clés:

sociolinguistique, bilinguisme, alternance codique, facteurs sociaux, attitudes, motivation.

1. Introduction

The present study aims to reveal the various uses of Algerian Arabic/French code switching (CS) in two contrastive districts of Tlemcen. We have opted for this topic to show that although people of these two areas are geographically close to each other their Algerian Arabic/French code alternation differs in daily conversations. By conducting this research, we want to focus on the different social factors and social motivations behind this divergence, though it is not easy to elucidate speakers' feelings, thoughts and attitudes towards the French language. In almost all Algerian communities, regular use of French mixed with Arabic can be attested as people continually switch back and forth from one code to the other (Bouamrane 1986; Dendane 2007). However, in some contexts this may not happen because of various social factors such as level of education, occupation, speakers' origin. In this work, the following questions are asked: Why do members codeswitch more or less than others? Which social factors are involved in distinct types of code switching?

We will explore the differences among speakers of the Tlemcen speech community and try to answer the above questions by contrasting two geographically adjacent districts. To better understand the issue, other sub-questions may be considered: How do persons with positive or negative attitudes towards French codeswitch? What are the main social reasons leading these speakers to switch between the two languages? How can this

divergence in code switching at different rates be explained from a sociolinguistic perspective?

The following hypotheses are put forward:

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

The switches usually occur for social reasons such as showing the speaker's identity and solidarity with the addressee. In this paper we present a larger study in big lines and then focus on attitudes towards CS such as they emerge from questionnaire data. In order to investigate the use of CS in two distinct and possibly contrasting districts of Tlemcen, the data were first collected in the Boudghène area, then in Birouana. In these two districts, we have tried to compare the occurrence of code switching in daily conversation and in family contexts, where spontaneity reaches its peak. The findings indicate that speakers of Birouana switch more from Algerian Arabic to French in their daily lives as opposed to Boudghène speakers who tend to stick to Algerian Arabic. The speakers in the two sites have different origins, socio-economic statuses and backgrounds (urban vs. rural).

2. Bilingualism

Being able to use more than one language is a much-studied topic throughout the world. This linguistic phenomenon has been defined in various ways by scholars: a bilingual speaker can be viewed as someone who has the ability to use the two languages almost like native speakers while others view a bilingual as someone who has some competence at least in one of the four skills.

As far as the first extreme is concerned, Bloomfield (1935: 56) viewed a bilingual person as someone having a "native-like control of two languages", a view critically assessed by Grosjean (2008: 10-11):

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

In contrast, Macnamara (1967) considers a bilingual person as a speaker having minimal competence, even in only one skill of the foreign language. Later definitions have allowed much greater variation in bilingual competence, (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 56). Wei (2000: 68) explains that the term bilingual

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

2.1 Social factors affecting bilingualism

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

2.1.1 Age

Learning another language is not an easy task at all; indeed, fluent bilinguals have to learn their foreign languages at an early age since language learning becomes more difficult later. In this respect, Wei (2000: 33) says: "Before the age of nine, the child's brain seems particularly well suited to language learning, but after this age the speech areas become 'progressively stiff' and the capacity to learn languages begins to decrease". Studies have shown that the age of the bilingual plays an important role in acquiring a second language. A bilingual at an early age may achieve native-like fluency in his or her second language, whereas a bilingual at a later age or one who learned his or her second language after puberty may never achieve native-like pronunciation.

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

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

In the Algerian society, fluent bilinguals are those who have learnt a second language at an early age, from birth, or those who lived with the French during the colonization. Previous studies, among others in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (Taleb-Al Ibrahimi 1997; Bouamrane 1988), have shown that age, as a social factor, plays a crucial role in foreign language acquisition and its use.

2.1.2 Attitudes

In the Tlemcen speech community, we have noticed that there are conservative members, especially those having Tlemcenian origins, who stick to their traditions and to their way of speaking. A highly motivated speaker with positive attitudes towards French always uses this language in his/her speech, especially in formal situations when facing educated foreigners; residents in Birouana frequently use French to show their social identity, especially their high level of education. Moreover, through observations and recordings we have noticed, and this is worth mentioning in this work, that even uneducated

and less educated speakers of Birouana have positive attitudes towards the French language and use it correctly thanks to colonization.

2.1.3 Motivation

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

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

Vassberg (1993: 66), too, gives importance to motivation when she says: "Motivation to achieve an intended goal and awareness of social consequences and expectations thus explains code-switching".

2.2 Types of bilinguals

There are many factors showing that not all bilinguals, even those from the same area, employ the two codes in the same way. People who use both languages regularly are called *additive* bilinguals; for them both languages are valued and useful. *Subtractive* bilinguals, on the other hand, are those who use one language more than the other, i.e., one language is valued over the other (Hamers & Blanc 2000: 29). Another distinction is made between *primary* and *secondary* bilingualism. The former term denotes a situation in which the second language is acquired naturally from birth, whereas the latter type of bilingualism is learned through instruction and schooling. Within a given society, there might be speakers who understand a language but cannot produce it; these are known as *receptive* or *passive* bilinguals. In contrast, those who are both able to speak and to understand are called *productive* or *active bilinguals*.

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

3. Code switching

People speaking more than one language may shift back and forth between languages. As will be shown in the following sections, several sociolinguists define code switching (CS)¹ and search for its social and linguistic driving forces.

¹ The following spellings are used in the literature about this phenomenon: *code switching*, *code-switching* and *codeswitching*. In this study, we will adopt the spelling *code switching* or the abbreviation CS.

3.1 Code switching defined

All bilinguals tend to shift from one language to another within the same conversation or the same utterance. This phenomenon, called code switching, has been defined in a number of ways by different researchers over time like Grosjean (1982), Milroy & Muysken (1995), Romaine (1995), Gardner-Chloros (2009). Scholars and sociolinguists around the world continue to question the definition of CS and often dispute and redefine this term as new studies emerge. Bullock & Toribio (2009: 2) illustrate the CS phenomenon as follows:

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

People are usually required to select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, but they might also decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes, even sometimes within every utterance, and thereby create a new code (Wardhaugh 2006: 100).

Poplack (1980) looked at CS between English and Spanish examining the syntactic structures where a switch can occur and found them to be defined by two constraints: the 'free morpheme' and the 'equivalence' constraint. The 'free morpheme constraint' requires that the speaker may not switch language between a lexical morpheme and an inflection, i.e., the switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical morpheme unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. One interesting example cited by Poplack (1980) is *flipeando* (English *flip* + Spanish *ando*), as *flip* is possible in Spanish, but not *runando* as *run* is impossible. The 'equivalence constraint' says that the switch-point must be grammatical with respect to both languages simultaneously, i.e., the word order immediately before and after the switch point must belong to both languages.

In our case, we will cite some examples to show that only adapted French words can be used with a bound morpheme of Algerian Arabic. The phrase [Rɛpɔ̃dɛt]² 'I answered' consists of the lexical morpheme of the French verb *répondre* ('to answer') and the bound morpheme 'ت' 'ts' from Arabic, a suffix referring to the first person. In the noun [stɪluʒθɛs], 'pens', the lexical form is taken from the word 'stylo' (pen) suffixed with the Arabic bound morpheme 'ات' 'æts' representing the plural form. These words may be seen as well-formed according to Hamers & Blanc (2000: 261). However, this rule of morphological adaptation is not applied to all French words; e.g. we do not say, in Algerian

² The IPA phonetic transcription is used in addition to Courier New symbols for some Arabic consonants.

Arabic, [dormit_s] 'I slept' or [fɛ:jæt_s] 'sheets or leaves'. In fact, most French words used in Algerian Arabic are borrowings and these words entered in our dialect by necessity, i.e., verbs and nouns that were not used in Algerian Arabic e.g. [dimarit_s] 'to start' was not used in Arabic, simply because it came into Algerian Arabic with the concept related to cars or engines introduced by the French e.g. [trakturæt_s] for 'tracteurs' (farm tractors), but there was no reason for those Algerians to drop the Arabic verb [rqadt_s] and replaced it by [dormit_s].

3.2 *Why do bilinguals codeswitch?*

In every speech community, more than one way of saying the same thing exists. Bilinguals tend to switch back and forth between two languages (or more) in different situations, formal and informal contexts, and even within the same conversation. People may codeswitch for various reasons. They sometimes shift within the same domain or social situation depending on the audience. A speaker might codeswitch to indicate group membership and similar ethnicity with the addressee. In this respect, Ennaji (2005: 139) argues that "code switching reveals the permanent desire of code switchers to preserve their group or cultural identity". The switch items might be either a whole sentence or brief phrases or even single words. Speakers are usually required to choose a certain code whenever they start speaking, and they decide which code to use depending on such factors as who they are talking to, where they are, and what they are talking about. In this respect, Winford (2003: 119) says: "The central idea behind CAT³ is that speakers may be motivated to adjust their speaking styles in order to evoke the listener's social approval, to increase communication efficiency, and to maintain a positive social identity". There are a number of possible reasons for the switching from one language to another. Among the many explanations why bilinguals switch codes, one common belief is that speakers switch languages to compensate for a lack of fluency. According to Ping (2008: 8), a speaker may not be able to express himself in one language, so he switches to the other language to compensate for the lack of his words or for the deficiency.

3.3 *Code switching in Algeria*

The linguistic situation of Algeria is very specific, since people in their daily lives often use the Algerian Arabic Dialect and the French language within the same conversation, as attested by Milroy & Muysken (1995: 26):

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

³ CAT refers to Communication Accommodation Theory.

According to Bullock & Toribio (2009: 12), the existence of CS can be illustrated in Algeria as the alternation of Algerian Arabic and French found in the Algerian 'rai' song introduced by Cheb Hasni.

The French language supplies the Algerian Arabic speech community with a large number of lexical items in which the native sounds are altered, in the daily speech, by similar or approximate Arabic sounds. In fact, uneducated old speakers, in particular, use several French borrowings in which they substitute sounds by the Arabic ones. For instance, [vilaʒ] is realised as [filæʒ] 'village', as the consonant [v] does not exist in the phonemic inventory of Arabic.

In Birouana district, the type of Intrasentential switching occurs frequently⁴ since the speaker,⁵ in the interview, uses correct French as shown in the following example (1) with half Algerian Arabic and half French:

- (1) [ʔalbentə məskina ʃabuha kalsine avɛk i ku dsiRkwi wdəfnuha lju:m]
'A young girl is found burnt with short circuit, they buried her today.'

In Boudghène district, the intrasentential switching occurs less frequently and with mistakes in the use of French. For instance, in example (2) there is about 83% of Algerian Arabic and 17% of French. The speaker,⁶ in the interview, has used the wrong prefix 'in', instead of 'a', with the French word 'normal' .i.e, instead of saying 'anormal' she says 'innormal' e.g:

- (2) [ljumrana inormal kulʃi rah bəlməglu:b].
'To day we are abnormal, everything is upside-down'.

Intersentential CS occurs, on the other hand, more frequently in Birouana than in Boudghène because of the influence of colonization. In the following sentence (3) the speaker,⁷ in the interview, shows the correct use of French:

- (3) [rani məʃja ʁəffa wəndʒi, ʒə ve fər de kuRs e ʒə Rəvjil]
'I am going rapidly and I'll come back, I'll do some shopping and I'll come back.'

In this sentence there are 33% of Algerian Arabic and 67% of French. As opposed to this, the speaker of Boudghène has used the intersentential type of CS through the use of a borrowed expression:

- (4) [saje, dik lhanutə ʃʃəbba lli rahi ʃad ki hallət, rahi maħlula]
'That's it, that beautiful shop which has opened recently; it's open.'

In this sentence (4), there are 83% of Algerian Arabic and 17% of French. In fact, only those Algerians who had the opportunity to attend French schools

⁴ The percentage is calculated as follows: the number of French/Algerian Arabic words in the sentence x 100 / the total number of words.

⁵ A 65 year-old uneducated woman able to speak the French language correctly as she lived and was in contact with French people during colonization.

⁶ A 34 year-old less educated woman, who cannot use the French language correctly as she didn't live with the French colonizer and she hasn't learned this language correctly.

⁷ A 22 year-old less educated girl able to speak the French language correctly as her family members use it correctly though they are uneducated, thanks to colonization.

before and after independence are native-like French speaker and are considered as balanced bilinguals. Besides, what is interesting is that these French-speaking people express themselves better in French than in Standard Arabic and feel at ease in this second language.

Languages often borrow because sometimes the loanwords have no equivalent in their own culture. To illustrate this aspect, we can say that the French word [kɔ̃ʒe] 'time off' has no equivalent or similar word in Algerian Arabic. The French word is used by everybody but with different realizations e.g. [kɔ̃ʒe], [kundʒi], [kãʒe]. There are many more examples about the adaptation of French words into the Algerian Arabic but since it is not our interest in the current study this example is enough to show that French borrowings have been adapted linguistically in our communities when are used instead of the Arabic ones. Accordingly, we may say that the realization of borrowed items, at all linguistic levels, depends on the relationship between the user and the borrowed language.

4. Data collection

One of the main problems in obtaining reliable data for this type of sociolinguistic study is that some contextual features affect the linguistic behaviour especially when dealing with a socially stigmatized phenomenon. The informants have been selected randomly in the two contrastive districts and both quantitative and qualitative methods have been used in collecting data. As Tagliamonte (2006: 19) says: "When the goals of a study are to give a scale model of variation in a city as a whole, random sampling is the ideal". The random selection has been made in order to provide a broad sociological representation of the speech community of each area. To ensure an authentic comparison in the analysis, we have used three tools of data collection. The first one is note taking, realized in such a way that speakers are not aware of it. The second one are interviews, undertaken by a member of each family, and the third one are questionnaires. All these methods are used as objectively as possible in order to get accurate results. As far as the interviews are concerned, the speech of the informants is recorded by means of a tape-recorder. 10 families, from each district, of more than 5 members having 3 generations (grand parents, parents and children) have been recorded for 30 minutes. To make sure the informants would codeswitch naturally, they were not told that the research topic was about CS. We also had to make sure that the recordings would be of good quality to obtain accurate data. For this, we showed the informants where to sit and suggested moving indoors if they were encountered outside. In addition, we explained to the informants that the recordings would be free from their social identities or any confidential information, in order to make the interviewee forget about the constraints of the interview situation, evoke emotions and get natural speech. In Boudghène

families, the use of the French language is highly stigmatised. They believe that if they start speaking fluently in French, within their environments, their relatives will consider their speech and their way of speaking as unnatural and peculiar. As a result, to avoid any social and psychological constraints while asking informants questions in an interview, especially those of Boudghène, we have searched for the suitable way of collecting data and *a friend of a friend* is the best procedure to have the right and accurate natural speech. Therefore, we asked people from the two districts to record their family members' speech but without making them aware during the recordings. Because of some social constraints such as children's shouting, the high volume of the TV and radio, external noise, several recordings have been withdrawn from analysis. We have noticed that the occurrence of CS varied from conversation to conversation and from informant to informant. No conversation was entirely in French but sometimes it was entirely in Algerian Arabic.

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

- Age: Do younger codeswitch more than others or is it the opposite?
- Gender: Do women codeswitch more than men, or is it the opposite?
- Level of education: Do educated people codeswitch more than non-educated people?
- Socio economic status (income): Do people of high status codeswitch more than people of lower status?
- Topic: Do speakers codeswitch according to the topic?
- Ethnicity: May speakers of different origins codeswitch at different rates?

This research tool aims to show the subjects' use of CS, their feelings and their awareness or consciousness about its use. Therefore, the questionnaire is written both in Standard Arabic and in French for the subjects who are able to read and to answer it without any difficulties. For those who cannot do this, illiterate and old people, it is given to them orally so as to get the whole target sample. The questionnaire consisted of seven sets of questions from A to G; where participants should answer by checking the right box, and then an open-ended statement where participants write some ideas, views and opinions.

5. Method of analysis and results

In a previous paper (Benguedda 2010), mainly qualitative analysis has been employed to study the code switches and their social motivations in the recorded conversations. The reason for not employing quantitative analysis more widely is that it is difficult to count the number of occurrences of CS since very often it is difficult to draw a line between CS and other language contact

phenomena. The recorded speech that contained CS was transcribed and described according to social factors. In that study, the term CS encompassed both switching at intersentential and intrasentential levels. The main aim was to identify and analyse instances of CS, showing the major causes and/or objectives for shifting from one language to another. The interactions recorded in both districts were interpreted, explained and at last compared. We also assured to make an authentic comparison between the two studied areas, particularly to get genuine actual results free from bias. We began our analysis first within each district, we looked for the main social factors that affect CS and then we achieved a comparison between the results of each district.

When speaker A changes languages, this was counted as CS, whereas borrowings were not considered (for example [taksifon] 'public call box', [latõsjõ] 'the blood pressure', [lə kaRne] 'the notebook', [la klinik] 'the clinic', [ʃětɾ] 'the centre'). To count the number of CS occurrences in the data collected is complex, however, and making distinctions is often not obvious. There is a wide range of dubious and ambiguous cases, and there is no explicit criterion available according to which such distinctions can be drawn in individual cases. In particular, when within a single sentence there are constituents or clauses drawn from both languages, sometimes we cannot classify these items as either borrowings or switched lexical items [ɾfedtsU le vakãs hæd lamarra paskə bæzzæf li marefdUç] 'you took holiday this time? Because many have not.' The French word [vakãs] is a borrowing because it is used by everyone but with differences at the phonological level, since in this case the French [v] does not exist in Arabic. For example, old uneducated people use [f] in this word instead of [v] and say [fakãs].

In the research presented in this paper, we concentrate on the questionnaire data. The conversations have been transcribed from naturally occurring speech in both districts and are analysed according to the objectives of this study. The results of our work and the quantitative analyses are explained by means of tables. In this study the level of education is determined by the success in the Baccalaureate⁸ exam, i.e. educated subjects are those who got their exam whereas the less educated are the ones who failed. Uneducated ones are the ones who can neither write nor read. In Birouana, out of 50 questionnaires given to random sample we obtained only 46 in which there are 21 men and 25 women. The age of the participants varies from 15 years old to 80 years old. All come from the same district and share the same origin, have high socio-economic status but have different occupations and social statuses such as: unemployed, pupil, student, trader, dressmaker, teacher, engineer

⁸ The Baccalaureate degree is obtained after 12 years of studies, 5 years in primary school, 4 years in middle school and then 3 years in secondary school. The French language is studied from the third year of primary school.

and physician. Their levels of education vary from primary school to university studies. Out of 46 informants, 2 informants have not indicated their level of education. There is no uneducated informant, 24 are less educated, having concluded their education at middle or secondary school, and 20 are at university level. In the Boudghène district, we obtained answers from all the informants, among whom there are 18 men and 32 women. The age varies from 15 years old to 75 years old. All informants have a low socio-economic status and the same origin; they came from rural areas before and after independence. They have different occupations and different social statuses: pupils, students, unemployed, housewives, maids, caretakers, guards, hair-dressers, greengrocers, traders, retired and teachers. Their levels of education vary from the uneducated speaker to the highly educated one. In fact, there are 5 uneducated participants, 9 have concluded their education after primary school, 41 are still studying in primary, middle, and secondary school and only 4 are at university level. The level of education appears to be significant in our research work; therefore, we represent it in the following table:

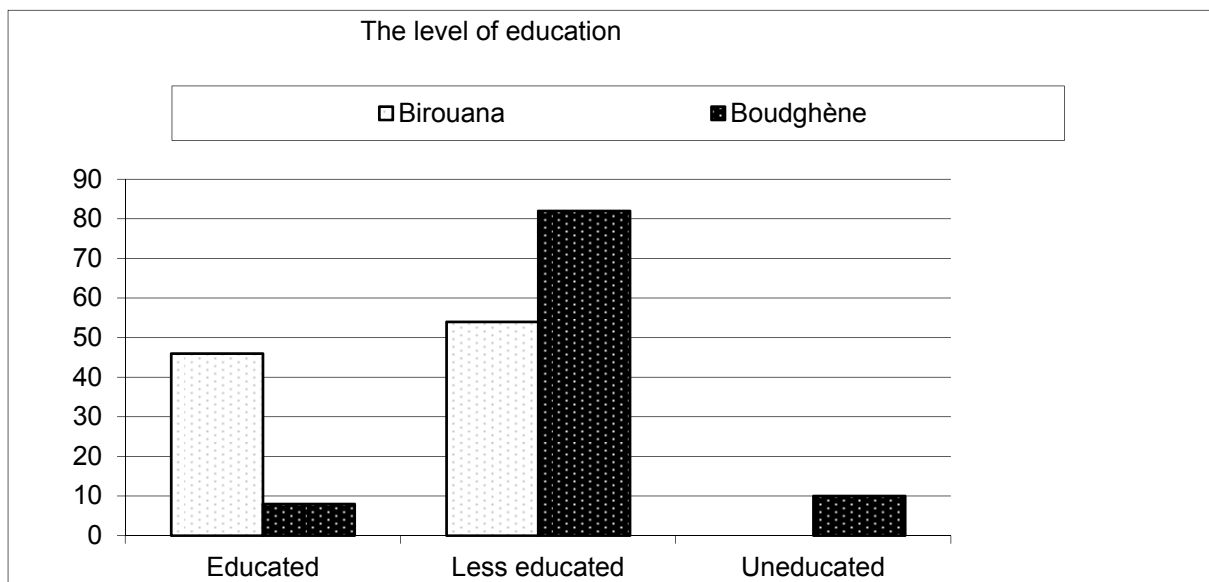


Fig.1. Level of education in both districts.

This table shows that, in our samples of both districts, there are few or no uneducated persons. It also shows that the majority of people in Boudghène are less educated since they are constrained to leave school at an early age in order to work and to improve their low incomes and therefore to supply for their families. Consequently, they use mostly Algerian Arabic during the interview because even the generation that experienced French colonization was living in rural areas at the time and was not in contact with French speakers. In contrast, people of Birouana, even if the majority is less educated, use both codes during the interview and this goes back to the contact with the French colonizers.

In communication, within the same conversation, if you are sure that you and the listener are not from the same area, having different level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why? This question, as opposed to the previous one,⁹ aims to see if the speaker is affected by the level of education and/or origin of the interlocutor, especially when facing strangers, and as a result codeswitches. In Birouana, two out of 46 informants have not answered this question. 30% of the sample declare to use the same code, that is they do not adapt their speech according to the listener. On the other hand, 70% of participants state that they choose different codes, Arabic and French, in the same conversation according to the other side and prefer using the right code for the right audience in order to be sure that the message is transmitted. One informant says that, for example, he speaks Algerian Arabic with uneducated people and he never uses French except for borrowings that have no Algerian Arabic equivalents. He adds that even if he uses French words with this group of speakers, he tries to adapt them morphologically to Arabic, e.g. [tkonektets] instead of [ʒə məswi konekte] 'I got connected'. However, in Boudghène, a great majority of the less educated and uneducated (70%) uses the mother tongue spontaneously without taking into consideration the audience and only 30% of less educated and educated switch according to the audience. This may be explained by a lack of mastery of the French language.

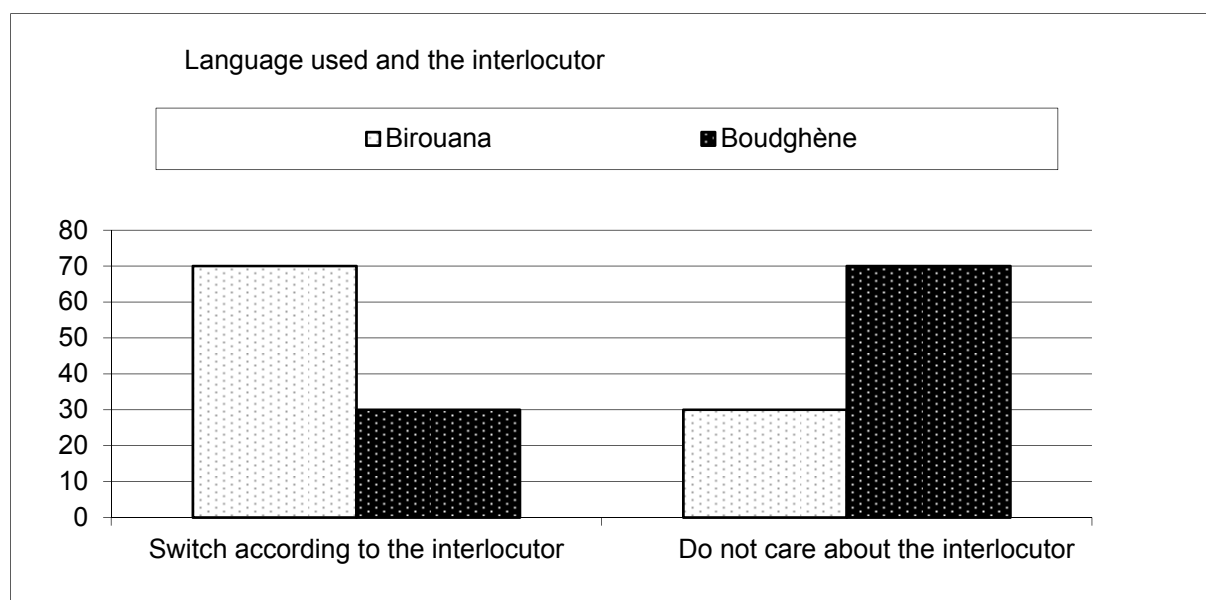


Fig.2. Language used according to the hearer in both districts.

⁹

In communication, within the same conversation, if you are sure that you and the listener come from the same area, from the same level of education and if you speak first, what language do you usually speak? Why?

The following table illustrates the findings regarding the question asked in both districts: What language do you usually speak in your daily conversations?

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

Fig.3. Language used in daily conversations in Birouana and Boudghène.

These findings confirm our observations; as we can notice, in the two districts few persons (4% in Birouana and no one in Boudghène) use only French in their daily conversations. However, a great majority in Birouana use both codes in their daily conversations and a great majority use Algerian Arabic in Boudghène. Furthermore, we have asked our respondents about the reasons that make them shift from Algerian Arabic to French and vice versa. In Birouana, out of 46 informants (21 men and 25 women), 5 did not answer this question. According to the answers given by the remaining 41 informants, the most important reasons for which these people are urged to switch from one language to the other are the following:

- To facilitate speech because of lack of competence in Arabic. 50% of the sample codeswitch to transmit the message and continue the conversation. They gave the following sentences: "J'utilise le Français pour mieux me faire comprendre" "I use French to make myself better understood"; "Pour convaincre les autres facilement" "I speak French to convince the others easily".
- It is a habit: 10% of the sample usually codeswitch unconsciously. They give the following sentences: "عادة" "It is a habit"; "On a pris tendance à parler comme ça" "We have got used to speak like that".
- For different social reasons: 40 % give answers of the following type: "Pour s'intégrer dans un milieu" "To integrate in an environment"; "Quand on veut exclure une personne qui ne maîtrise pas cette langue: vieux et enfants" "[When we want to exclude someone who does not master French: old people and children"; "Quand on parle d'un sujet qui nécessite le Français comme la médecine et les problèmes de santé" "When we discuss a topic which requires French, such as medicine and health problems".

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

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

نريد التحدّث بالّلغة الفرنسيّة للإندماج مع المجتمع و لنبيّن مستوانا الدّراسيّ.

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

لإبراز ما نعرفه من اللّغ الفرنسيّة.

"To show our French knowledge".

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

عمل الفرنسيّة لتسهيل الحديث.

"I use French to facilitate speech".

هناك عبارات فرنسيّة لا توجد في لغتنا اليوميّة و لكي أكون واضحاً و فصيحاً في مناقشتي مع الطرف الآخر.

"There are French expressions which have no equivalents in our mother tongue and I use French also for discussion and clarification with the other side".

- Other social reasons: 32% of the sample give other reasons and say:

لإقصاء بعض الفئات في الحديث كالأطفال والشيوخ.

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

أستعمل الفرنسيّة لأسباب دراسيّة وخاصّة في الأماكن المخصّص بها.

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

We have noticed that the informants of Birouana answered this question in French, whereas those of Boudghène answered in Standard Arabic. One of the most important reasons that motivate speakers, both in Birouana and Boudghène, to switch from one language to the other is to facilitate speech and to transmit the message to the hearer. We have noticed that speakers, either man or woman, often shift from Algerian Arabic to French when they are facing the opposite sex, especially when they are strangers. Gender, here, is not relevant since in the two districts both men and women codeswitch. The use of the French language is frequent in Birouana whereas in Boudghène it is used, by educated speakers only; however, in borrowings it is used by most residents. The major factor that influences CS is the level of education and the mastery of the French language since we notice that even educated speakers in Boudghène do not master this first foreign language. Age is found to be significant, to a certain extent, especially in Birouana, since speakers of the generation who lived with the French colonizers use the French language

frequently and correctly even if they are less educated or uneducated. For the next generation, on the other hand, only those who have learned this first foreign language at school can use it correctly and frequently. In contrast, in Boudghène, age does not affect our results since neither of the generations had been in contact with the French colonizers and therefore they are not able to use the French language correctly. Accordingly, French colonialism in Algeria has had a great impact on the way people speak.

6. Conclusion

Code switching is a social language skill in actual interaction which can enhance mutual understanding and personal relationships. As for a community such as that of Tlemcen, people who come from different areas and who speak distinct dialects, styles or even different languages can live and interact with each other using a common language in order to communicate.

Myers-Scotton's (1993) theory may be applicable to the two districts under investigation in our research work, and can serve as guidance to the use of CS in expressing identity, solidarity and/or exclusion. It is hoped that a comprehensive conversational presentation and analysis of this theory might help to be more aware of how to select the right code and how people resort to it in different situations so as to optimize their intentions. All language studies tend to understand how speakers use different language varieties strategically as a means of negotiating, maintaining or exchanging relationships with others. Context, topic and various other social factors such as level of education, socio-economic status play an important role in language choice and CS. The purpose of the linguistic choices and the results created by the choice reveal that CS, when used consciously, is used as a communicative strategy to achieve particular conversational goals in their interactions with others. For example, factors motivating the use of CS in this study are familiarity of words, phrases, or sentences, lack of competence in the languages at play and inability to continue the conversation, topics of the conversation and the identity of the interlocutors. The present work has shown that in these two districts, particularly in Boudghène, both borrowed words and intrasentential CS are much more used than intersentential ones, which reflects the high number of less educated people who cannot carry on a conversation in the second language. However, the low level of education is not always the only reason for which people cannot use French appropriately, since in Birouana, as mentioned above, there are fewer uneducated people than in Boudghène; but these are proficient in using French eloquently as a result of the long time they spent with the French colonizers. We have also found that, in both districts, people do resort to French for linguistic reasons. That is, they use French items to fill lexical gaps. The two districts are contrasted socio-economically, Birouana being high and Boudghène low

status. People of low socio-economic status have less opportunity to attend formal education and as a result they have linguistic deficiencies in both Modern Standard Arabic and French. The social background of the Boudghène district did not affect the use of French, because we have seen that the majority of these residents inserted French items whenever possible to express their ideas easily and to show that they are able to use this language, especially with strangers. Old people may stick to their native language and decline the use of French because of certain psycho-social factors, saying that: French is the language of the colonizer and Arabic is the language of the holy book Koran. In Birouana, people use French to facilitate speech and we have seen that even those with low level of education can speak French as a result of the linguistic environment in which they have grown up, going abroad (particularly to France), and watching French TV channels.

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

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