

## Code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French in Jijel Speech Community: Motives and Functions

المزج اللغوي بين العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية في كلام مجتمع جيجل:

الدوافع والوظائف

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**Abstract:** The paper at hand attempts to explore the motives and functions of code-switching phenomenon between Algerian Arabic and French in Jijel speech community. For this, a questionnaire was administered to 60 informants who were randomly selected from different socio-educational backgrounds. Through the use of a mixed methodology, the analysis of the naturally-occurring audio recordings complements and supports the results attained from questionnaires. The findings revealed that speakers in Jijel code-switch with different degrees and in different ways to fulfill a variety of motives and functions as; appeal to the literate, appropriateness, conveying closeness-to or distance-from the addressee, filling a linguistic need, imitation, gain prestige, preference, showing off, speak about a particular topic and much more functions.

**Keywords:** Algerian Arabic, code-switching, French, functions, motives, speech community

**المخلص :** تحاول هاته الورقة البحثية استكشاف الدوافع والوظائف الكامنة وراء استخدام ظاهرة المزج اللغوي بين العربية الجزائرية والفرنسية في مجتمع جيجل. لهذا الغرض، تم توزيع استبيان على ستين شخصا تم اختيارهم عشوائيا من فئات اجتماعية وتعليمية مختلفة. ومن خلال استخدام منهجية مختلطة، تحليل التسجيلات الصوتية التي تظهر بشكل طبيعي وعفوي يساهم بدوره في إكمال النتائج المحققة من الاستبيانات ويدعمها. كشفت نتائج هاته الدراسة أن المتحدثين في جيجل يمزجون بين العربية الجزائرية واللغة الفرنسية في محادثاتهم اليومية بدرجات وطرق مختلفة لخدمة مجموعة متنوعة من الدوافع والوظائف أهمها: مجانسة المتعلمين، الملاءمة، التعبير عن القرب من أو البعد عن المرسل إليه، سد حاجة لغوية، التقليد، اكتساب المكانة الاجتماعية، التفضيل، التباهي، التحدث عن موضوع خاص، والمزيد من الوظائف.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** العربية الجزائرية، المزج اللغوي، الفرنسية، الوظائف، الدوافع، المجتمع اللغوي.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

In bilingual and multilingual societies, the mutual use of two or more languages in the same speech situation or even in a simple utterance is widely recognised. The appropriate term that fits such a description is code-switching or code-mixing. It is considered a common phenomenon that exists all over the world (Ayeomoni, 2006; Gardner-Chloros, 1997; Holmes, 2001; Wardhaugh, 1998). In the Algerian society, this linguistic behaviour emerges in a remarkable way since Algeria can be considered one of the most complex bilingual, diglossic and multilingual societies where genetically related and unrelated languages coexist (Stone, 1997). The languages that shaped the linguistic profile of Algeria are; Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber with its varieties, French and English (Bagui, 2014).

Since Algeria was a French colony from 1830 till 1962, some researchers argued that the use of French alongside Arabic was definitely tied to the abhorrent colonial factor. However, others stated that the colonial factor plays only a partial role besides education, globalisation, and some other factors. The specificity of such linguistic scene appears in that these languages are generally not used independently in different situations but as a mixed language by the same speakers, and even in the same speech situation.

For the present study, the speech community of Jijel has been taken as an appropriate setting where code-switching occurs mainly between Algerian Arabic and French. The reason behind choosing to investigate this very area of research is the remarkable widespread of the code-switching phenomenon and the ambiguity of its surrounding circumstances. For that, this paper tries to explore the real motives and functions that push speakers in Jijel speech community to code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French. This means that the paper tries to provide explanations to the speakers' shift from one language to another or their mixing between these spoken languages in the same conversation. In fact, code-switching occurs more frequently in informal settings and it is less frequent in formal situations (Hoffman, 1991). That is why the paper at hand was carried out outside any educational or formal settings.

Speakers in Jijel speech community generally use code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French in a variety of ways to fulfill different motives and functions. In this respect, Holmes (2001) stated that: “participants’ reason for switching is to show solidarity and ethnic identity” (Holmes, 2001, pp34-35). Besides, Grosjean (1982) mentioned some functions as; power relations, adding authority, raising status, filling a linguistic need or gap, discourse making, excluding someone from the conversation, etc. Similarly, Gumperz (1982) proposed six functions of conversational switching, namely; quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, personalisation versus objectification (Gumperz, 1982, p98).

From another perspective, Meyers-Scotton (1993) dealt with the socio-psychological motivations of code-switching through her “Markedness Model”. According to her, there are “marked” and “unmarked” language choices. The unmarked language choices depend on “Rights and Obligations sets” associated with a particular conversational exchange. However, the “marked” choices occur when the speaker is trying to negotiate a different “Rights and Obligations” balance. This means that speakers tend to code-switch especially when code-mixing is considered the “unmarked” language choice. However, in formal settings, where code-switching is undesirable and threatened, as in the case of a classroom context, it is the marked language choice. Consequently, it will be less observed in spontaneous conversations.

The classified motives and functions of the prominent researchers in the field shaped the general boundaries that the paper at hand revolves around. However, they are changed from one conversation to another and even within the same conversation. This means that even within the same speech situation, a variety of motives and functions of code-switching are used.

## **2. Insights into the Major Concepts**

Arabic was first introduced in Algeria, as a vivid symbol of Arabic identity and Islamic values, by El-Fatih Okba Ibn Nafaa in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century and early 8<sup>th</sup> century (Ibrahimi, 1997). During the French colonial era, Arabic was completely denied, neglected, and prohibited from education as a way to destroy culture through language. In spite of all these constraints, Arabic played a crucial role in the preservation of the Algerian identity. In this regard, Gordon (1966)

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stated that: “Islam and the Arabic language were effective forces of resistance against the attempt of the colonial regime to depersonalise Algeria” (Gordon, 1966, p137).

After independence, Arabic had been declared to be a nationalist symbol and the official language of independent Algeria. Conservative Academics of Arabic refer to it as Modern Standard Arabic or **Standard Arabic** to shape the Arab unity and solidarity. Thus, Standard Arabic represents the “high” variety of Arabic, and it is highly appreciated since it encompasses the entire Arabic grammar and lexicon. In this respect, Ferguson (1959) indicated that: “In diglossic communities, the high style may have striking differences in grammar and in word order, and in the area of vocabulary the high style may have a much more learned and classical lexicon than the low” (Ferguson, 1959, p330). However, Standard Arabic is not the mother tongue of Algerians and it is usually used in formal settings such as; legislation, university lectures, newspapers, TV news (McLoughlin, 1999).

Subsequently, **Algerian Arabic** represents the “low” variety of Arabic, which occurs in spontaneous daily conversations, and it symbolises the mother tongue of around 83% of the Algerian population (Sid Houes, 2008). It is also a mixture of words originated from Arabic, French, and Berber. Thus, it is widely used in informal situations, and it embodies the Arabic language's oral heritage, stories, and sayings. Regarding the roles allocated to the existed languages by the coloniser in Algeria, Benrabah (2013) stated: “Dialectal Arabic and Berber would be minorized and stigmatized, Literary Arabic confined to the devotional sphere and traditional values, and French to more prestigious functions” (Benrabah, 2013, p50).

After more than half a century of independence, the **French** language still occupies a significant position as the first foreign language, and it is regarded as an important medium of communication in Algerian society. The colonial inheritance and legacy of the French obviously appear in the people's everyday life as a mixed-code either with Arabic or Berber. It is also used as a functional instrument in the instruction of certain disciplines as; medicine, biology, physics,

mathematics, etc. (Mostari, 2004). Besides, it is the language of some daily newspapers as; ‘Le Soir d’Algérie’, ‘Le Quotidien d’Oran’, ‘Liberté’, etc. Despite the coloniser’s effort to sow the idea of “assimilation” and “French Algeria”, the French language did not totally replace Arabic due to the resistance of the Quranic schools at that time and the Arabisation programmes after independence (Grandguillaume, 2004; Mostari, 2004).

In Algerian society, the **code-switching** phenomenon mainly occurs between Algerian Arabic/French or Berber/French as genetically unrelated forms of languages. In addition, the switching may also occur between the genetically related languages as Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. In this respect, Gumperz (1982) stated when speaking about the code-switching phenomenon that: “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speeches belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p59). The common point between the two cases is that code-switched items appear in the same speech situation.

In fact, the language being spoken and the way of speaking give the impression about the speaker’s identity, ethnicity, and membership. They are also indicated that the speakers want to perform a particular function of their conversational exchange. Besides, mutual understanding and shared knowledge play a crucial role in building common notions, which shape the so-called “**speech community**”. Regarding this point, Hockett (1958) stated that: “each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other either directly or indirectly, via common language” (Hockett, 1958, p8). In this definition, a common language is a crucial factor in determining a speech community.

In the code-switching phenomenon, speakers exploit the socio-psychological values, which are associated with different linguistic varieties in the same conversation. The **motives and functions** of code-switching explain why speakers code-switch between two or more languages. These motives and functions could be related to linguistic or attitudinal factors (Kachru 1977). The linguistic factors are related to the level of mastery of both languages and the ability to recall the appropriate terms in order to fill a linguistic need, quote a famous expression (saying or proverb), insert sentence fillers, etc. In addition,

they could be related to attitudinal factors such as; applying social distance, conveying closeness to the addressee, etc.

### **3. Colonial Linguistic Inheritance**

Algerian history seems to be very complicated since Algeria was invaded by many colonial forces such as; the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Ottomans, and later on the French coloniser (Sid Houes, 2008; Benrabah, 2014). For that, Algeria was deeply influenced by the languages and cultures of these colonial forces, especially the French coloniser (Queffélec et al., 2002). This is what makes Algeria a melting pot of different languages and cultures (Alkhatib, 2006; Grima, 2009). Since language is the envelope of culture, one of the most policies of any coloniser is to impose his language on the colonised people and marginalise their languages (Benrabah, 2013; Ibrahimi, 2015).

The French long-term colonisation of Algeria lasted 132 years. During this colonial era, the French coloniser imposed the French language as an official language of education and of wider communication (Alkhatib, 2008). However, the Arabic language was declared by the French colony to be a foreign language in 1938 and then a prohibited language in 1951 (Sid Houes, 2008). When the French arrived in Algeria in 1830, the literacy rate in Algeria was approximately 40% which is far higher than in France. However, when the French left after 132 years, the literacy rate among Algerians was around 10% (Phillipson, 1992). The coloniser focused on the imposition of his language as a crucial step in acculturation, control, and domination (Ladgal & Bensaid, 2012). This was applied through schooling. In this respect, Rambaud (1897), the minister of public education in relation to Algeria, declared:

“...the third conquest will be by schooling, this should ensure the predominance of our language over the various local idioms, inculcate in the Muslims our own idea of what France is and of its role in the world, and replace ignorance and fanatical prejudices by the simple but precise notions of European science” (Phillipson, 1992, p114).

Besides, the coloniser’s philosophy was explained by a senior inspector with responsibility for overseas education in 1910 as follows: “... to attach them

to the metropole by a very solid psychological bond, against the day when their progressive emancipation ends in a form of federation, as is probable...that they be, and they remain, French in language, thought, and spirit (Ashby, 1966, p365). For that, the coloniser concentrates on schools that have a specific role to achieve such preprogrammed transformation as Ibrahimi (1973) stated:

“to transform the primitive peoples in our colonies, to render them as devoted as possible to our cause and useful to our commerce...the safest method is to take the native in childhood, bring him into assiduous contact with us and subject him to our intellectual and moral habits for many years in succession, in a word to open schools for him where his mind can be shaped at our will” (Ibrahimi, 1973, p12).

Consequently, the language of the colonised people was crucially affected and shifted from the fact of a pure language to the state of a mixed language. Hence, the spoken languages in Algeria seem to be a mixed-code either between Algerian Arabic and French or Berber and French, or the three languages at the same time, but with different degrees from one region to another.

After the independence of Algeria in 1962, four languages shaped its sociolinguistic profile and its verbal repertoire, they are; Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber language with its varieties, and the French language (Djellab et al., 2016). In fact, these languages allocated different statuses according to social use and political need (Mostari, 2005). Besides, the coexistence of Standard Arabic as the first language, with Algerian Arabic and Berber as mother tongue languages, and the French language as a functional secondary language creates a complex, diverse and rich linguistic scene that represents the Algerian bilingual, multilingual, and Diglossia situation. In addition, such linguistic coexistence gave birth to the so-called code-switching phenomenon through the mutual and simultaneous use of these spoken languages.

#### **4. Methodology**

This research took place in early 2020. It is a sociolinguistic study that is exploratory and descriptive. Its central objective is to explain why speakers in Jijel speech community code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French. In addition, the paper tries to describe how these speakers use such linguistic code-switching. Accordingly, the study tries to answer the following questions;

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-To which extent do speakers in Jijel speech community use Algerian Arabic/French code-switching in their daily conversations?

-What are the motives and functions behind the use of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching?

-How do speakers in Jijel use Algerian Arabic /French code-switching?

To do this, a total number of 60 informants were randomly selected to complete the questionnaire, and a number of 20 participants accepted to be recorded during the conversations. These respondents belong to different age groups including male and female informants, and they are from different places in Jijel as; Elkanner, Jijel center, Tassoust, Camp de Chevaliers, Taher, etc.

For the collection of the data, a mixed research methodology was used; audio recordings and a questionnaire. Firstly, audio recordings are a suitable tool for this kind of sociolinguistic research since the attained data are in the form of words, sentences, and utterances. These data reflect the natural and authentic appearance of code-switched items in the respondents' conversations. Among a total of 20 recordings, 3 representative samples have been selected since they need a detailed analysis of its utterances and even any single word. Through the analysis of audio recordings, the paper tries to determine how speakers code-switch between the Jijel dialect and the French language as well as their frequency of code-switching. Secondly, a questionnaire is an important means for code-switching studies. In this respect, Rubin (1968) mentioned that: "...Thus, while code-switching does occur in Paraguay, I did not isolate the social variables determining its occurrence through the questionnaire. I also doubt that a questionnaire would yield information on this type of usage" (Rubin, 1968, p101). As mentioned before, the two means of research are mutually supportive in terms of objectives. However, each method emphasises certain aspects of the phenomenon of AA/F code-switching.

Spontaneous audio recordings occur in naturalistic contexts so that the respondents did not produce, trigger or modify their speech in order to please the research objectives. In this regard, Farah (1998) stated: "the study of language must concern itself with describing and analysing the ability of the native



speakers to use language for communication in real situations” (Farah, 1998, p125). It is important to note that the informants’ permission to record the conversation is crucial and required in order to use them for research purposes.

Subsequently, the three selected samples of audio recordings are extracted from their original versions since some of them exceeded 20 minutes. The selected samples are in a form of conversations written in the way they were spoken. The samples are translated into English in order to facilitate the discussion and help the readers to understand the Jijel dialect, which has some regional variations at the level of phonology and morphology.

In the questionnaire, the 60 informants are given a set of 18 global motives and functions of code-switching proposed by prominent researchers in the field as; Holmes, 2001; Grosjean, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Meyers-Scotton, 1993. In more precise terms, the proposed motives and functions are; appeal to the literate/illiterate, apply social distance, capture attention, claim modernity, convey closeness to the addressee, direct the speech to a particular person, exclude someone from the conversation, express solidarity, expressiveness of French, filling a linguistic need, gain prestige, imitation, imposing authority, increase opportunities for practicing French, insert sentence fillers, quote a famous expression/saying/proverb, repeat the same message in the second language, speak about a particular topic.

In more precise terms, the informants’ task is to classify the suggested motives and functions according to their importance for them when they code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French. In order to attain a reliable classification, the focus was just put on the three first classified motives and functions of each participant as well as how many times these motives and functions are repeated. As an open-ended question, respondents were also asked to talk about the frequent switching between Algerian Arabic and French.

## **5. Results and Discussion**

At first, the three representative samples of audio recordings are transliterated as they were spoken in the real conversation as a mixed language between Algerian Arabic or the Jijel dialect and the French language. Then, they are translated to the English language. The transliterated audio recordings are

analysed in order to know the frequency of code-switching, the motives and functions that associate with each switching, and the way such switching was used.

The analysis of audio recordings is followed by the analysis of the questionnaire that is basically emphasised the classification of the proposed motives and functions of code-switching as well as the informants' point of views towards Algerian Arabic/French code-switching in terms of frequency and way of code-switching.

### **5.1 Audio Recordings**

First, the following sample was recorded in Tassoust (7km from Jijel center) with a female informant (28 years old). The conversation is quite natural and without any psychological constraints. This is due to the fact that the speakers were previously classmates at the University of Jijel. The speech was around a problem in her personal computer which started to get blocked from time to time. The conversation was as in the following;

A: /Kifah Abdesamed ça va chwiya?/ (How are you Abdesamed?)

B: /ça va bien hamdollah/ (It's fine, praise to Allah)

A: /ddit el PC nta3i 3and réparateur calli za3ma y3awadli el windows finalement calli après deux heures 3awad walli, ki wallit calli el windows nta3ak kayabloqi w lazam yrepreni mn dara wajdid lazamni nformattih, nittwayih, el problème c'est que la capacité nta3o d3ifa/

(I took my personal computer to the repairer, he asked me to come back in two hours. When I returned, he told me that my computer is stopped abruptly and it is essential to install it again, I must format it totally. The problem is that the computer's storage capacity is short.

Additionally, the general mood and the spontaneity of the conversation are preserved since the participants in this extract were previously classmates. The female speech appears as a mixed code between Algerian Arabic and French. She used code-mixing with a high frequency and she could not speak without

inserting French words. Whenever she finds it difficult in continuing her speech in French, she turns rapidly into the Arabic language.

A total number of 16 instances of switching appeared to the French language and 30 instances to Algerian Arabic. This is due to the effect of education on her speech (Benguedda; 2015, 2017). More importantly, females have the tendency to use the prestigious forms as a way of showing off or claiming expertise as Labov (1990) stated: “women favor the incoming prestige forms more than men” (Labov, 1990, p213). In addition, Milroy (1987) asserted that women not only favor the prestige forms, but, they create these forms and use them frequently until they become overtly prestigious in the community.

The conversation was initiated in Algerian Arabic and, then, there was a switch to the French language by inserting “ça va” (fine) which became part of the Algerian Arabic dialect. Speaker B replied by using the same expression “ça va” to express his closeness to the addressee. Then, the informant used the term “kayabloqi” (block) which sounds as if it belongs to the Arabic language. She inserted the Arabic sound “ka” (it) which refers to the computer. This Arabic sound precedes another Arabic sound “ya” as a prefix that indicates the present tense marker. The two Arabic sounds “kaya” preceded the French verb “bloquer”. Similarly, she used the term “yrepreni” (will resume) by inserting the Arabic sound “ya” which indicates, in this case, the future tense marker and it precedes the French verb “reprener”.

In another setting, the female respondent inserted the words “nformattih” and “nittwayih” by inserting the Arabic sound “n” which refers to first-person singular and it precedes the French verbs “formatter” (format) and “nettoyer” (clean). The common thing with all these verbs is that they are significantly assimilated and adapted to the point that they seem as if they are originated from Arabic and not French.

Subsequently, the speakers use code-switching for a variety of reasons such as; prestige, lack of appropriate word or inability to recall it at the appropriate time, emphasise a point, express closeness to the addressee, etc. This female informant uses code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French with a high frequency. She uses different strategies through inserting Arabic affixes with the French verbs to indicate different tenses. By doing this, the informant

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unintentionally uses the strategy of “language transfer” through applying first language rules in using the second language.

Second, the following audio-recoding took place at a public place in Elkanner (20 km from Jijel center). The topic was around military service, education, and employment. This male respondent (26 years old) is an engineer in Urban Technological Management. He spoke overtly about the topic of military service and the difficulty of finding appropriate jobs for each field of study. The conversation is as follow;

A: /kifah ba3toulak L’armée?/ (Did they call you for the military service?)

B: /za3ma le quinze normalement namchi wachno balak nrayya7 smana, trois jours, ça dépend, ih nretardi ma nro7ch f lwact, ki tkhalass l3amin navigui 3la ro7ak/

(Normally, I will go on the fifteenth of the month. However, I will stay for a week, three days, it depends, and yes I will exceed the delay. When you will finish your service you could search for a job)

A: /ckkoun raya7 m3ak?/ (Who will go with you?)

B: /wa7d sayad kan mrizervi m3ayi f chombra/

(A friend in the same residence booked room)

A: /kifah la spécialité nta3ak?/ (What is your speciality?)

B: gestion des techniques urbain, hadi la branche chwiya jdida w ss7ab

l’architecture w génie civil homa lli yddouha f la plupart des concours.

(Urban technology management, It’s a new branch. However, in employment tests, those who studied architecture and civil engineering have more chances to succeed than us)

Since the informant’s branch of study (Urban Technological Management) was taught in the French language, the male informant switches from time to time to the French language.

A total number of 20 instances of switching to French and 38 instances to

Algerian Arabic appeared in the above conversation. At first, the participant unconsciously inserted the French word “L’armée” which can be traced back to the colonial-era (Cotteral et al., 2014), and it refers here to the “military service”. In this respect, Hymes (1989) stated, “when the meaning of speech styles are analysed, we realise that they entail dimensions of the participant, setting, channel, and the like, which partly govern their meanings” (Hymes, 1989, p444). Even though the equivalent term of this word exists in Algerian Arabic, it is preferred to be used since it became part of the Algerian Arabic lexicon. Similarly, he used the terms; “le quinze” (the fifteenth), “normalement” (normally), “trois jours” (three days), and “ça dépend” (it depends) as prestigious forms (Benrabah, 2007) instead of their equivalent forms in Algerian Arabic. Besides, the speaker used the words “smana” (a week) and “chambra” (a room) instead of their French original forms “semaine” and “chambre” respectively and they became phonologically and morphologically assimilated in the Algerian Arabic lexicon.

Due to the impact of education and the motive of appeal to the literate, he used the terms; “la spécialité” (speciality), “gestion des techniques urbain” (urban technological management), “la branche” (the branch), “l’architecture” (the architecture), “génie civil” (civil engineering), “la plupart des concours” (most contests), which are used without any violation neither in morphology nor in phonology. However, when the speaker uses the French verbs, they are greatly assimilated, and they sound as if they are part of Algerian Arabic and not French. Then, the speaker repeated the same message in both languages as a way to emphasise the meaning of not going on time. He uses the verb “nretadi” by inserting the Arabic sound “n” which indicates the first person singular marker or the subject in this case, and it precedes the French verb “retarder” (to delay). In addition, he used the term “tnavigui” by inserting the Arabic sound “t”, which indicates present tense maker followed by the French verb “naviguer” (to navigate). In the same way, the informant uses the term “mrizervi” by inserting the Arabic sound “m” followed by the French verb “reserver” (to reserve).

Despite the major claims that females tend to code switch more than male speakers, the speaker in this conversation used code-switching with a high frequency since his field of study was taught in the French language (Bagui,

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2014). For that, the factor of education much affects the frequency of code-switching, especially those branches which are taught in the French language. When inserting French nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, there are no apparent changes at the level of words and sentences neither in phonology nor in morphology. However, when using the French verbs, speakers insert Arabic affixes attached with these verbs to indicate the subject, the object or as a tense marker.

Third, this conversation was around the referendum to amend the constitution in Algeria as a specific topic. It was recorded with a male informant (22 years old) who just had the secondary school level. He stated that he is working with his father on a farm. The conversation took place in Taher (around 9km from Jijel center) and it was as in the following;

A: /kach vote walla walo?/ (Are you going to vote or not?)

B: /ana manvotich/ (I will not vote)

A: /3lah?/ (Why?)

B: /20 sana makan 7atta changement, bladna hadi makan walo, lli ma3andouch grade ydifondi 3lih foc tabla walla chippa ta7t tabla ymout/

(After 20 years, there is no change, in our country, there is nothing if you do not have in your relatives someone having a high grade or without giving a bribe, you will die)

B: /Ah, non f had danya lazem tassber, sinon matacdarch t3ich/

(Absolutely no, you have to be patient, otherwise, you cannot live)

The above conversation contains 9 instances of switched items to the French language. The speaker (A) introduces his speech in Algerian Arabic as the unmarked language choice. Then, he shifted to the French as the marked variety by inserting the noun “vote”, and then he came back to express his ideas in Algerian Arabic. Since the term “vote” was used for a long period of time that can be traced back to the colonial era, the use of its equivalent term in Arabic is exceptional to be found.

Additionally, the informant used the term “manvottich” by inserting the Arabic negative item “ma”, and the sound “n” as a subject marker preceded the French verb “voter”, and then the Arabic sound “ch” which indicates also the negation. In this utterance, the informant uses the double negation or two negation forms to serve the same meaning. This way of negation has become commonly known and widely used in Algerian Arabic (Djellab et al., 2016).

For prestigious purposes, the speaker used the words “changement” and “un grade”, and not their counterparts in Arabic, otherwise the speech sounds somehow odd. At the level of verbs, the speaker uses the verb “ydifondi” by inserting the French verb “défender” preceded by the Arabic sound “y” which indicates present tense marker. In order to express his closeness to the addressee, the speaker, in this case, uses the term “cheappa” (the bribe). However, its equivalent term in Algerian Arabic “cahwa” (the bribe) is also commonly used. Instead of the French word “table”, the term “tabla” became morphologically and phonologically adapted into Algerian Arabic. The same with the French elements “non” and “sinon” which have become commonly and spontaneously used as sentence fillers.

It is clear that the speakers in Jijel speech community use code-mixing between Algerian Arabic and French almost all the time in all the settings. In fact, they code-switch to serve different motives and functions as; filling a linguistic need, imitation, repetition, gaining prestige, expressing solidarity, appealing to the literate/ illiterate, speaking about a particular topic, and the like. In this respect, Myers-Scotton (2006) stated: “any code points to a particular interpersonal balance. It is partly because of their indexical qualities that different languages, dialects, and styles are maintained in a community” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p127). When the speakers inserted adjectives, adverbs, nouns, this does not affect the morphology and the phonology of these languages. However, when inserting the French verbs, there are apparent changes at the level of phonology and morphology. These changes occur when inserting Arabic affixes attached with the French verbs as definite/indefinite articles, or to indicate adjective, adverb, or tense marker.

## **5.2 Questionnaire**

**Code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French in Jijel Speech Community:  
Motives and Functions**

In the table below, the focus was just put on the motives and functions that are classified by the respondents as the first, the second, and the third choices. Then, examining how much these three firstly classified motives and functions are repeated. On the basis of these selected motives and functions, the study attempts to make, somehow, a reliable classification of the motives and functions that push the speakers in the Jijel speech community to code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French in their daily conversations.

**Table N° 1: Motives and Functions of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching**

Motives and functions of AA/F code-switching	Classified the first				Classified the second				Classified the third			
	F	M	T	P	F	M	T	P	F	M	T	P
A- Expressiveness of French	3	7	10	16.66	2	1	3	5	3	0	3	5
B- Increasing opportunities for practicing French	4	2	6	10	1	2	3	5	1	1	2	3.33
C- Filling a linguistic need	6	3	9	15	0	2	2	3.33	1	0	1	1.66
D- Capturing attention	2	4	6	10	1	2	3	5	0	1	1	1.66
E- Imposing authority	1	4	5	8.33	0	1	1	1.66	1	1	2	3.33
F- Gaining prestige	/	/	/	/	2	10	12	20	1	3	4	6.66
G- Appealing to the literate/illiterate	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	2	5	8.33



H- Expressing solidarity	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	5	6	10
I- Conveying closeness to the addressee	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	2	3	5
J- Applying social distance	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	0	3	5
K- Excluding someone from the conversation	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	0	1	1.66
L- Imitation	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	5	7	12	20
M- Quoting a famous expression, saying or proverb	/	/	/	/	1	2	3	5	0	1	1	1.66	
N- Inserting sentence fillers	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	0	1	1.66
O- Repeating the same message in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> language	0	4	4	6.66	/	/	/	/	/	1	1	2	3.33
P- Claiming modernity	3	3	6	10	/	/	/	/	/	0	1	1	1.66
Q- Speaking about a particular topic	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	2	3	5
R- Directing the speech to a particular person	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	0	1	1	1.66

**(F: Females, M: Males, T: Total, P: Percentages)**

According to the findings in the table, the respondents have different

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opinions towards the importance of the motives and functions that may push these speakers to code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French. However, they show, somehow, a consensus upon some points. In some cases, respondents have classified certain items in the same order of importance. Consequently, the same number will be given in the classification of these items.

The motives and functions of code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French in the Jijel speech community are classified, according to the results represented in the table, from the most important item to the least important item as in the following:

1. Expressiveness of French.
2. Filling a linguistic need.
3. Claiming modernity.
3. Capturing attention.
3. Increasing opportunities for practicing French.
4. Imposing authority.
5. Repeating the same message in the second language.
6. Gaining prestige
7. Quoting a famous expression, a proverb, or a saying.
8. Imitation.
9. Expressing solidarity.
10. Appealing to the literate/illiterate.
11. Conveying closeness to the addressee.
11. Applying social distance
11. Speaking about a particular topic.
12. Excluding someone from the conversation.
12. Inserting sentence fillers.

12. Directing the speech to a particular person.

Through examining the above classification of the motives and functions of AA/F code-switching, the motivations that push the speakers to code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French are either linguistic as; the expressiveness of French, filling a linguistic need, increase opportunities for practicing French, or behavioural and psychological as; capturing attention, gain prestige, expressing solidarity. In this regard, Kachru (1977) states in his study of code-switching in an Indian community that the motivations for code-mixing are of two types: attitudinal and linguistic.

Additionally, some scholars focused on certain motives and functions as; Gumperz (1982) when he spoke about the intra-group identity and Kachru's (1989) emphasis on the poetic creativity and the undermining of certain traditional values. However, Kamwangamalu (1989) focused on the expressions of modernisation and imposing a given language as a norm. Similarly, Cheng & Butler (1989) stated that the switching generally occurred to the dominant language.

Socio-linguistically speaking, Kaouache (2008) stated that: "...all languages are equally good and that any judgments, therefore, as to superiority or inferiority of a particular dialect, are but social judgments, not linguistic ones" (Kaouache, 2008, p117). Thus, the notions of superiority and inferiority of a given language mean a lot at the level of individuals and the social dimension. This affects their way of speaking and partly justified their switching from one language to another. In this respect, White (2002) stated that: "wherever there is language hierarchy, language use has the potential to become an arena for symbolic acts of resistance in the expression of identity" (White, 2002, p17). Consequently, even if some speakers frequently code-switch to the 'Higher' or most prestigious language, their attitude may oppose their switching since it threatened their identity.

Subsequently, comments gathered from the open-ended question showed that despite the fact that the informants used code-switching with a high frequency, they are worried about the current linguistic situation in Algeria. A female informant said that "the situation is really very bad and needs to be changed as soon as possible". Concerning this point, a male informant defines

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the speech of Algerians as “a real catastrophe since the phenomenon threatens our identity”.

Regarding language attitudes, Benrabah (2013) wrote: “the debate on Algerian identity took into account the two pillars of Algerian nationalism, Islam and Literary (classical) Arabic” (Benrabah, 2013, p52). Similarly, another male informant said that “Arabic language is rich enough to cover all the conversational settings in any topic” and goes on by saying that “normally we should stop this strange mixture and give more importance to Arabic”. In addition, a male informant said that “code-switching has much to do the governmental policy since all official documents were written in the French language, and this is a contradiction with the legislation law that says that any official document should be written in Arabic”. However, a male informant said when speaking about code-switching: “it’s a sign of intellectuals, prestige, and modernity and it helps to acquire foreign languages”.

Even if some informants hold positive opinions towards the code-switching phenomenon, they asserted that there was a negative effect of frequent switching on their mother tongue language as well as on the acquisition of the French language. In that sense, a male informant said “It’s something good to learn foreign languages but not such a way”. He goes on by saying “code-switching neither helps to acquire French nor to preserve Arabic, by doing this we will master no language, so, why this mixture!”

In a similar vein, Davies and Bentahila (2006) defined code-switching as: “a slovenly way of speaking associated with carelessness, inarticulateness and even lack of mastery of the two languages” (Davies and Bentahila, 2006, p2). A male informant adds “It’s not a question of preference in speaking or divergence, such mixing affects personality and identity and ultimately ends in our language shift and death”. This means that frequent switching may affect the speaker’s identity since such behavior will gradually lead to the substitution of their native languages (White, 2002).

From the discussion of the informants’ opinions, it is clear that there is a connection between the phenomenon of code-switching and the speakers’

feelings, ethnicity, identity, personality, existing social norms, and values, etc. This can be explained by “the Negotiation Principle” proposed in Myers-Scotton’s model (1993) in the sense that speakers of the same speech community share the same “Rights”, “Obligations”, attitudes, and even aspirations in their spontaneous conversations as a negotiation of their social identities.

Regarding the “Negotiation Principle”, Scotton (1993) mentioned that the choice of a given language rather than the other can be explained as identifying of negotiation by the interlocutors. Similarly, Alrousi & Merghni (2019) stated that: “making a divergent code choice usually means that the speaker is negotiating the language of interaction with his addressees, and inviting them to adopt his/her preferred code” (Alrousi & Merghni, 2019, p264).

From the above comments and opinions gathered, the code-switching phenomenon does not only matter on its own as a linguistic phenomenon or in the intervening languages in such phenomenon. However, it exceeds some other factors such as; identity, personality, psychology, society, etc.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

To sum up, this present endeavor represents a tip of an iceberg from which inspirations can be drawn for further studies. It is, thus, a preliminary study to our knowledge in the research field “Code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French in Jijel Speech Community: Motives and Functions”.

Through the discussion of the findings of the analysis of audio recordings, speakers in Jijel speech community code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French to fulfill a variety of motives and Functions as; appeal to the literate, express closeness to the addressee, fill a linguistic need, show off, talk about a specific topic, etc. The common point is that most speakers code-switch to make their speech more elegant, prestigious, and respected (Benrabah, 2007).

Through the analysis of audio recordings, speakers code-switch between Algerian Arabic and French in a variety of ways with different degrees. However, female informants tend to code-switch more than male informants. In addition, the frequency of code-switching is affected by some other factors as; education, social networking, mass media, etc. The findings reflect the Functional

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Framework Theory proposed by Gumperz (1982) when he identified the stylistic functions of code-switching as; mimicry, quotation, interjections, reiteration, personalisation, objectification, and addressee specification.

Additionally, when the speakers insert French adjectives, adverbs and nouns there are no apparent changes when using code-switching. However, when inserting French verbs, morphology and phonology are greatly violated. By doing this, Algerian speakers shaped the so-called “Third Grammar” which is, somehow, in between the Arabic and French grammars.

The findings attained from the analysis of the audio recordings are supported by the results obtained from the questionnaire in which the respondents asserted that their switching from one language to another is guided by certain motives and functions, which are either linguistic or attitudinal such as; the expressiveness of French, filling a linguistic need, claiming modernity, capturing attention, increasing opportunities for practicing French, imposing authority, quoting a famous expression-saying-or proverb, imitation, closeness to the addressee, excluding someone from the conversation, etc.

Despite that the majority of the informants hold negative opinions towards the code-switching phenomenon between Algerian Arabic and the French, other informants hold positive opinions since it will gradually lead to bilingualism and multilingualism. However, such minority informants are also opposed to some ways of switching as well as the frequency of switching since, according to them, this will affect their identity and personality, and hence may end in language shift and death.

To sum up, the code-switching phenomenon is regarded as a very complicated mechanism that is governed mainly by many linguistic and social factors. In this respect, Grosjean (1982) mentioned that code-switchers accommodate each other through possessing a wider repertoire of adaptive strategies and modification devices than monolingual speakers. For that, it is a consequence of many inter-related factors that may lead to either problematic or beneficial linguistic changes as; language shift, language death, bilingualism, multilingualism, etc. Consequently, code-switching is a research field that

requires more and more investigations to dig into the various facets of this sociolinguistic behaviour embedded in cultural, social, and psychological factors.

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