

Socio-Pragmatic Functions of Algerian Arabic/French Code-Switching: The Case of Tlemcen Speech Community

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To cite this article:

Amina Benguedda. Socio-Pragmatic Functions of Algerian Arabic/French Code-Switching: The Case of Tlemcen Speech Community. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*. Special Issue: New Trends in Arabic Sociolinguistics. Vol. 5, No. 3-1, 2017, pp. 51-57. doi: 10.11648/j.ijll.s.2017050301.17

Received: July 27, 2017; **Accepted:** August 14, 2017; **Published:** January 10, 2018

Abstract: This work is a micro-sociolinguistic investigation of Code-switching (hereinafter, CS) in an Algerian context. It attempts to point out the socio-pragmatic functions of Algerian Arabic/French CS among adult bilinguals in Tlemcen speech community. The present investigation aims at showing the different instances of CS that occur in distinct settings and in daily conversations, in particular occurrences that may not always be interpreted literally as speakers say what they do not really mean. This work relies mainly on Gumperz's notion of 'contextualisation cues' that views CS as a communicative strategy to achieve certain socio-pragmatic functions. Moreover, it seeks out the fundamental reasons for which the bilingual speakers participating in this study may alternate either consciously or sub-consciously between the two genetically unrelated languages. A qualitative method is used to gather reliable data that are analysed as objectively as possible. The results show that the occurrence of CS differs from one case to another and is closely related to bilinguals. It is a discourse strategy used by speakers to communicate effectively and in certain cases it is mostly influenced by social aspects like the context, participants, the topic, and by social dimensions like status, solidarity, formality and functions.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Code-Switching, Motivation, Socio-Pragmatic Functions

1. Introduction

Speakers in Tlemcen speech community often alternate between French and Algerian Arabic within the same conversation for certain socio-pragmatic purposes. For instance, they may say something to imply something else to achieve certain communicative purposes. This remark supports the pragmatic and communicative functions of CS put forth by Gumperz (1982) when he introduced the notion of 'contextualization cues' (contextualisation conventions), asserting that speakers in a conversation need to provide a context for the participants and that this context, including the intentions of how something is to be understood and interpreted, is signalled through contextualisation cues.

The present paper shows the sociolinguistic relationship between the two codes. In addition to bilingualism as a pervading fact in Algeria, the two languages can sometimes be in a diglossic relationship where Algerian Arabic (AA) is regarded as a low variety used in informal settings and French as a high variety used in formal settings. However, it

is natural to see bilinguals mix the two codes even in informal contexts or use more French than AA, and in other cases the opposite is the adequate way of speaking. This may refer to the marked and unmarked codes of Myers-Scotton, that is, unexpected and expected codes, respectively. Moreover, Myers-Scotton states the effectiveness of CS through the existence of social Rights and Obligations (RO) in interactions and suggests that linguistic choices can be explained in terms of speakers' motivation. According to her, a speaker is a social member of his multilingual speech community and has the capacity to select the right code rather than the other and is conscious about the underlying set of rules that determine his choice. In this respect, she states that "*As speakers come to recognize the different RO sets possible in their community, they develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets*" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 88).

2. Methodology

As far as the methodology is concerned, for qualitative

analysis, we have used two main research instruments to gather reliable data free from bias as our fundamental objective is to have spontaneous speech that occurs in daily conversations.

- (a). Note taking Myers-Scotton (2006b) argues that only naturalistic data can inform CS research, as it is the only type of data that occurs in everyday situations. To obtain reliable data free from bias, we took notes from the radio station of Tlemcen, in addition to conversations in ceremonies (weddings, funerals, birthdays and parties), confabulations with colleagues (university teachers), students, friends, family members and foreigners. All data come from naturally-occurring situations where spontaneity of speech reaches its peak. We always noted down instances of CS immediately after we heard them if pen and paper were available, or instances of CS were saved as messages on a cell phone. The aim of this work is to focus on how bilinguals speak and not on what they say. In other words, using this tool, data collection was free from informants' social identities or any other confidential information.
- (b). Recordings: Poplack (1980) asserts that the recording of naturalistic data should be in a variety of settings such as public domain and family gatherings. Therefore, we have succeeded in recording bilingual speakers anonymously everywhere (in the street, on the bus, in the shops, in different ceremonies) but without their permission, as our objective was just to record their way of speaking without revealing their identities and without focusing on what they were saying. However, in other cases we informed speakers, our distant and close relatives, that they were recorded without revealing their identities.

Moreover, all of the gathered data have been transcribed using SIL Manuscript IPA93 but only for Arabic. The French language is written in bold type. This data serves as a basis for a detailed analysis of the socio-pragmatic functions of the alternation between the two genetically unrelated languages.

In Tlemcen speech community, the shift back and forth from one code to another is often done to achieve certain social objectives such as to attract listener's attention, to signal one's identity, for humor or to include or exclude someone.

3. Socio-Pragmatic Functions of Code-Switching

We have noticed that Tlemcen speakers frequently say what they do not actually mean, that is, they say something ironically to imply the opposite or generally some negative intention. Let us consider, for instance, the following AA/French sentences in which Gumperz (1982) 'contextualization cues' are clearly displayed:

- (1) J'emprunte de l'argent bæʃ naʃtɛlək! 'I borrow money to give you!' hædi c'est la meilleure! 'This

is the best one.'

In this case, the utterance must not be interpreted literally as the speaker says what he does not really mean. He uses 'the best' to imply that this is 'the worst' he is expecting. Therefore, the utterance should be interpreted as sarcasm or irony and it can be seen as corresponding to Gumperz 'contextualization cues'.

- (2) rik tsəχdəm pour ses beaux yeux 'You are working for her beautiful eyes.'

This is another context signaled by the speaker who says what he does not really mean: the French expression shows that the person the speaker is working for does not deserve that.

- (3) hædæk jbiʃ rχis? Tu parles! 'That one sells cheap? You're telling me! (You must be joking)'

This case, too, illustrates Gumperz 'contextualization cues' as the speaker says what he does not really mean and switches code using the French expression to show that the one with whom he was speaking was wrong.

- (4) Bien sûr marikʃ ʔarfa 'Of course you do not know.'

In this context, the speaker wants to mention indirectly that the one spoken to is lying by saying what she does not really mean.

- (5) Pas de café noir lija? 'No black coffee for me?'

A context that is different from what is expected is shown in this case as the speaker means exactly the opposite of what he says, that is, he does want black coffee!

- (6) duk jdʒibhælək tu peux attendre 'He will bring it to you. You can wait.'

Here, the speaker utters something to imply something else. He means that the listener can wait, but in reality, he will never get it.

- (7) duk dʒi ʔandi. C'est ça! 'You'll come to my house. That is it.'

Likewise, in this case, the speaker uses irony to express the opposite of his intention so he says what he does not really mean.

- (8) rani naʃmal hædɔʃʃi bəlʔæni, ça va? 'I'm doing this on purpose, all right?'

In this example, the speaker addresses the interlocutor by using the French expression 'ça va?' to harm, while it is normally used to inquire about someone's health or problem.

- (9) C'est pas la peine de chercher midi à quatorze heures; χaʔər matʃə:bha:ʃ 'There's no point looking for noon at 2 p.m., because you won't find it!'

Similarly, the speaker shows, in this case, a sense of bet since he takes the bet that the listener will never find it (solution) using the French expression.

All these switches, clearly corresponding to Gumperz 'contextualization cues', intend to reflect a strategy of CS to mean exactly the opposite of what is said.

Another social function of CS is noticed in our speech community: it refers to the fact that this linguistic phenomenon may be triggered by the compulsion to express a certain idea, feeling or attitude as well as to persuade and

convince the addresses and grab their attention. In the provided example, the young woman expresses her anger and dissatisfaction using first AA to ask for the thing she bought the day before, then she switches to French to announce angrily to her family members the decision she will take:

- (10) *ɣil lbarəh ʃrits waħda ʒdida fajərri ha masəbthəʃdorənavant je ferme ma chambre à clé.* 'Only yesterday I bought a new one! Where is it? I can't find it. From now on, I will lock my room.'

4. Motivations for AA/Fr Code-Switching

CS is an effective strategy and switches occur in daily conversations, especially in informal situations where bilinguals are, to a certain extent, free to express themselves the way they want. Basically, certain linguistic constraints and social aspects are usually the motivating factors in the bilingual acts of selecting a particular language, and hence CS. Besides, linguistic factors refer to the grammatical structure and constraints of the languages used in CS. However, Gumperz (1982: 72) pointed out that "motivation for CS seems to be stylistic and metaphorical rather than grammatical".

On the other hand, contextualization factors are determinant elements for the choice of a particular language code rather than another. Blom and Gumperz (1972: 421) state that social events, defined in terms of participants, setting and topic "restrict the selection of linguistic variables" in a manner that is somewhat related to syntactic or semantic restrictions. In other words, in particular social situations, some linguistic forms may be more appropriate than others.

Myers-Scotton (1993b: 75) also claims, on the one hand, that the use of CS may be unconscious because speakers can use available languages without a real awareness to choose one in particular. She adds that speakers do not always use the unmarked choice. However, she mentions later on (1998:19) that within the Markedness Model, code choice is intentional in that it occurs to achieve specific social ends. Speakers select these choices with the expectations that the addressee will recognize a choice with a particular intention. The aim of the speaker under this model, as aforementioned, is to enhance the reward and to minimize the cost. Therefore, the goal of the speaker is to optimize any chances of gaining some form of reward from the interaction (ibid, 1998: 19); that is to say, bilinguals will choose one code over another because its use is more effective than the other one.

CS can also occur when bilinguals get mentally or emotionally drained in particular situations. For instance, in cases where bilinguals are too tired to properly listen, they naturally choose the path of reducing syllables and follow 'the law of least effort'. The following conversation is between a daughter (A) and her father (B), who is dead tired after his work and replied to his daughter with the shortened form of the French sentence 'je ne sais pas' to 'j n'sais pas' to 'j sais pas' and then 'chais pas' [ʃəpa] an expression of only

two syllables instead of the AA one [maniʃ ʔarəf] which contains four syllables:

- (11) A: Papa, tu sais me faire ça? 'Dad you know how to make me that?'

B: lla ʃəpa. 'No, I do not know.'

In the same line of thoughts, another situation of CS occurs when the speaker selects a French word to substitute a whole sentence in AA. Therefore, the example below shows that the French expression 'C'est facultatif' is used instead of the AA one: [tʃhobb tsaʃʔamlu tʃhobb ma tsaʃʔamlu:ʃ]

- (12) lahli:b c'est facultatif. 'Milk is optional.'

- (13) In certain situations, some respondents view that the use of French among a group of people unable to understand and speak it seems pompous and rude, e.g., in the following conversation there is a positive attitude towards French and then CS occurs to show off since the educated woman uses French with less-educated women who were unable to understand her and, then, she purposefully switches codes translating to AA:

- (14) A: dərwa? ʒass le salaire du ménage dépasse dix fois le SMIG¹ pour pouvoir vivre. 'Now the wages of the couple should exceed ten times the SMIG to be able to live.'

B: kifəʃ ʒass 'How should it be?'

A: ʒass ʃʃahrija tsaʃ ləmra wərradʒəl tskun ʔaʃratsaʃ əlmarrat SMIG bæʃ jʔaddu jʃiʃu 'The wages of both wife and husband should be ten times the SMIG so as they can live.'

As Myers-Scotton (1993: 478) claims in the Markedness model, bilinguals often use their language choice to portray their identities, who they are, to the listeners. In this case, the use of CS, as a 'marked' code, draws attention to the switch and affects the social distance between individuals. Therefore, it occurs to create social distance between the speaker and his/her audience. Scotton (1983: 116) asserts that speakers intentionally "choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it symbolises the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange". The markedness model is used to explore speakers' motivation for CS.

Bilinguals usually codeswitch because they think that some concepts are simply easier to express in one language than in another. In many contexts, CS is seen as the best way to facilitate communication and to overcome the lack of some lexical items or expressions in a language. The following is the case of an educated woman who regards CS as a strategy used in daily conversations to facilitate speech. She, then, explains that sometimes she can better express her ideas and thoughts using French expressions rather than Arabic ones. She says:

- (15) Il y a des expressions li ʒassək tsʔulhum en

¹ SMIG: Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel Garanti 'Guaranteed Minimum Wage'

français pour mieux t'exprimer. 'There are expressions that you have to use in French to express yourself better.'

She also explains that people are used to alternating from AA to French mainly when discussing certain topics since sometimes speakers are not even aware that they alternate and use French.

- (16) hædi hiʒa on a pris le pli de parler en français
'That is it; we got into the habit of speaking French.'

CS can also be used for various socio-cultural reasons: to show one's identity, to indicate solidarity with another speaker; for humour; to signal a change of attitude or relationship; or to include or exclude someone from the conversation. For instance, in the following, two women of 45-60 years old talk about a girl of 4 years old; the conversation shows that the French language may often be used to exclude a third party from the conversation: the mother uses French to mention that her little daughter was jealous of her cousin, and then the girl understands the French word replying that she was not jealous by switching from AA to French.

- (17) A: hædi bents mən? 'Whose daughter is she?' B: bents ɣaj rijjad 'The daughter of my brother Ryad.' C: ana bents zahija 'I'm Zahya's daughter.' B: Elle est jalouse. 'She is jealous.' C: ana mæʒi jalouse. 'I'm not jealous.' B: Elle comprend très bien le Français. 'She understands French very well.'

Another conversation was taken from a civil servant talking on his mobile:

- (18) Téléphone kən silencieux. 'The mobile was in silent mode.' hæd le procureur ma jəfhəmʃ il n'a pas à... 'This prosecutor does not understand, he hasn't got to...'

Speakers accommodate or diverge their codes according to the intentions they want to achieve. For instance, we noticed that bilinguals shift from AA to French when facing an educated and francophone audience or when discussing certain topics mainly related to scientific, political or medical domains. However, in completely different situations AA is more appropriate, such as when facing less educated speakers or Arabophones or when discussing certain topics related mainly to this code such as traditions or religion.

At first glance into our data, some switches are linguistically motivated since speakers switch to French when they lack an Algerian Arabic lexical item or the opposite when they lack a French lexical item. The former is frequently used by educated speakers and Francophones, while the latter is used by speakers with less competence in French or the ones who prefer using their Algerian Arabic dialect. Some switches are usually, but not always, marked by pauses and hesitations.

Gumperz (1982) considers the different uses of CS as special discourse strategies which bilinguals usually use for different purposes during their communications. To illustrate this in the Algerian society, we can give the example of native Arabic speakers who may consciously choose to insert

French words into their utterances, in order to maintain their conversation and to transmit the meaning they want to convey.

On the radio of Tlemcen, a listener calls to give advice to a girl who raised her problem and inserts the French word 'conseil', though he could have said the Arabic word naʃe:ha. He says the following:

- (19) llaħ jɣalli:k ana bɣits naʃte un
conseillhæd lbənt 'Please, I want to give a piece of advice to this girl.'

- (20) As for the phrase 'les ovaires', the speaker uses French because he certainly ignores the equivalent in AA if it exists. ʔælli ʔamləts lbarasjun tsaʔ les ovaires lbarəh. 'He told me that she had an operation of ovaries yesterday.'

Another case in which bilinguals might codeswitch from one language to another occurs when there are no exact words in one of the two languages. For example, the bilingual codeswitches from French to Algerian Arabic because there is lack of availability specific to religion domain, such as the French equivalent of the word /ʔaʃur/ 'the day of Ashura' saying:

- (21) Je donne l'argent fəl ʔaʃur 'I will give alms the day of Ashura'

5. CS and Conversational Analysis

Because of several shortcomings of the main approaches employed in both Gumperz's and Myers-Scotton's work, other researchers focus on another approach in their analysis of bilingual interactions. Auer introduces a major theory that attempted to analyze the social implications behind the act of CS. The so-called *Conversational Analysis* (CA) emphasises on the 'sequential implicativeness of language choice' (Auer 1998: 162). The main interest of CA in comparison to the other approaches is that it does not examine CS in general, but it attributes to each occurrence different characteristics and considers it as unique.

Auer (1984:3) argues against the use of extra-linguistic macro-social categories of speaker's identity such as age, gender and ethnicity in the interpretation of bilingual conversations. Instead, he focuses on the fact that language alternation must be investigated from an interactional perspective which should employ a Conversation Analysis (1984: 4). This approach denotes that the linguistic code selected by the speakers influences subsequent interactions and their linguistic choice. In addition to that, in the CA approach, there is no influence of the context, i.e., it is not given a priori, but it is rather created from the interaction and the interlocutors. Therefore, CA analyses each CS occurrence separately in terms of the different speakers participating in it. Three most significant aspects of the CA approach are mentioned by Wei, "relevance, consequentiality and balance between social structure and conversation structure" (Auer 1998: 162).

Scholars in favour of CA approach argue that it is not interested in general assumptions or guesses of the reasons

for CS, but rather it investigates the specific reasons for which CS occurs in each case and it attempts to analyse it within the interaction. In other words, it attempts to attribute each one its unique characteristic rather than attaching the same specific macro-social aspects to all of them.

a). To reflect one's identity and social status

Language use plays an important role in understanding the norms of interaction (Gumperz, 1982). Gumperz also (1982: 39) claims that "language differences serve primarily to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions". Bilinguals may use different languages in their conversation in a specific situation to imply a certain social status or to distinguish themselves from others. Therefore, switching from one language to another conveys certain meanings or attitudes of the speaker (Ibid. 1982: 62). The choice of code is widely determined by the identity of the participants (McClure 1988). Subsequently, the debate continues to extend the understanding of the term (Auer, 1998). A set of publications appeared in the 1980s and 1990s, which expanded the concept of CS and Auer (1998:1) linked it to important "linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior".

For bilinguals, the most significant intention is to identify themselves within a community. In this regard, Coulmas (2005: 121) states that CS can be "a way of creating a unique language variety suitable to express the dual identity of these groups". On the other hand, speakers might tend to codeswitch when they want to express distance from somebody else. Furthermore, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 5) affirms that when participants of a specific community use two languages in the same conversation, it is because they are "expressing group identity". Auer (2002) says that "Code-switching carries a hidden prestige, which is made explicit by attitudes". For instance, in our speech community, we often notice that bilinguals and mainly men switch from AA to French to avoid using the stigmatised phonological [ʔ] that characterizes Tlemcen speech community with its feminine association; thus they select French to conceal their identity.

According to Myers-Scotton (1988), code choice is important to serve as a marker of group identity and by choosing a code the speaker can choose an identity. Furthermore, she argues that CS may be used to show solidarity, authority, or social status, and also for asserting a range of identities. For example, in Great Britain, the use of RP alludes to the status and education of speakers as belonging to the upper class.

b). To show solidarity

CS is used as more than a means of communication; thus, balanced bilinguals and even dominant bilinguals in certain conversations adapt their way of speaking and select a language so as to create group membership. In this respect, Holmes (2013: 35) states that:

A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity within an

addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose.

Furthermore, Fishman (1965) highlights that group membership can have an influence on the language selection and can be associated with the linguistic choices that speakers make based on the people they talk to, for example, a Black who prefers to use AAVE (African American Vernacular English) when speaking with other Black people.

c). Topic

Holmes (2000) mentions another factor leading bilinguals to shift from one language to another. According to her, topic is a major factor for which speakers codeswitch to express and transmit their ideas and thoughts. In this respect, she says that "people may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic". People sometimes prefer to talk about a particular topic in one language rather than in another. For instance, a speaker may often feel free and more comfortable to express his/her emotions and feelings in another language than the mother tongue. Topic as a social factor indirectly influences speakers' preference in one linguistic system when addressing certain topics in conversation. As Fishman (1965: 92) says, "the implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts".

As aforementioned, Blom and Gumperz (1972: 474-475) refer to this case as metaphorical switching. They found that the official code was supposed to be used in formal contexts and the local code was used when speakers wanted to express their local identities, values, and attitudes. In other words, Blom and Gumperz argue that a majority language can serve as a 'they' code, used to imply authority and objectivity, whereas a minority language serves as a 'we' code to imply privacy and subjectivity (Gumperz 1982). In our community, the topic of conversation is fundamental and plays an important role in the selection of the language: religious conversations are most of the time carried in Arabic whereas medical ones are carried in French or both.

Undeniably, in Algeria, the influence of the topic on the conversation is frequently noticed, especially when speakers discuss and exchange views on religion where the Arabic language is favoured. On the other hand, scientific and medical topics are rather discussed and debated in the French language because some concepts may be well expressed in the French language rather than in Arabic and sometimes speakers do not have in their repertoire words in a given language and this leads them to codeswitch. For instance, the following list of borrowings illustrates the case where speakers have no equivalents in AA and then are forced to use the French lexical elements instead: la tarte 'the cake', le filtre 'the filter', la clé 'wrench'. Therefore, these may be considered as trigger elements to CS.

d). Affection

CS in our speech community can be used to express certain feelings and attitudes. Speakers may switch codes when expressing happiness, excitement, anger, sadness and

other feelings. Holmes (2000) also illustrates a case of CS to express affection:

In the town of Oberwart two little Hungarian-speaking children were playing in the woodshed and knocked over a carefully stacked pile of firewood. Their grandfather walked in and said in Hungarian. 'Szo! Ide dzuni! Jeszt jeramunvi mind e kettutoko, no hat akkor!' 'Well Come Here! Put All This Away, Both of you, Well Now.' When they did not respond quickly enough he switched to German: 'Kum her!'[Come Here]''

In Oberwart a switch to German changes the mood and adds force to a statement since the grandfather used the German language to express a more straight and angry attitude to express his irritation of the behaviour of the children. In Haiti, patois (French Creole) is used to express intimacy, Standard French to create social distance. In Paraguay, people use Guarani for jokes and insults rather than Spanish.

e). To persuade Audience and to be emphatic

In other completely different contexts, we noticed that speakers shift from AA to French using certain French idioms and expressions to attract their listeners. These French idiomatic expressions add a loving tone to what has been said in Algerian Arabic and make the other participants laugh.

In Tlemcen speech community, many people consider the use of idioms as a tool of success mainly when used appropriately. Indeed, the Arabic and French idioms are often used when the speaker intends to express or emphasise his thoughts. In the same line of thoughts, Martin (1998: 178) claims about idiomatic expression saying that "it is one of the greatest joy of the French people, and, indeed, of many other cultures." Consequently, these speakers inherited many idiomatic expressions during the French occupation and they are still used today. As aforementioned, there are French expressions which are recurrently used in Tlemcen speech community, particularly by educated speakers and which lead to trigger CS.

(22) Coûter les yeux de la tête, equivalent of 'to cost an arm and a leg', Means a price that's very expensive. Eg bæʃ səggədnaha ça a coûté les yeux de la tête.

(23) C'est dommage. 'It's a pity'. Eg: ma kuntʃ hæʃəb hækdə c'est dommage.

(24) Etre bouche bée. 'To be open-mouthed'. eg ki ʔælli je suis restée bouche bée.

(25) C'est la goutte d'eau qui fait déborder le vase. The equivalent of English 'The straw that broke the camel's back.' Eg: kæn ʔla səbba c'était la goutte d'eau qui a fait déborder le vase.

(26) C'est une façon de parler. 'That is one way of putting it.' Eg: C'est une façon de parler hæda makæn. 'That is one way of putting it that is all.'

(27) En principe 'As a rule.' Eg: En principe reha məggda. 'Normally it is repaired.'

Furthermore, CS is often used in a rhetoric speech on purpose to attract the attention of the listener or to persuade

an audience. Another case where speakers resort to CS is for example when they are talking using a language that is not their native language and suddenly they want to be emphatic about an idea, and they either intentionally or unintentionally codeswitch from that language to their mother tongue. The phatic function can be observed in greetings and casual discussions on the weather, particularly with strangers as shown in the example:

(28) lhæl rah mliħ il fait très beau 'The weather is nice. The weather's fine.'

f). Interjection

Interjections consist of words or expressions used or inserted into a sentence to convey surprise, strong emotion or to gain attention. In our case this can be illustrated by the following French words used with a different rate: bon!, ah bon!, eh bien!, comment!, bien!, zut!, mince!, diable!, enfin!, bref!, voyons!, tant pis! The following sentences illustrate the way some of these interjection words are used:

(29) Bon!

rani məʃja nʔajjatəlha dərwa? 'Well! I am going top call her right now.'

(30) A bon? reha hna ma məʃətʃ? 'Really! She is still here, she did not go?'

(31) Mince!vil ana nəggdu whuwa jafzad 'D amn! Whenever I repair it, it is broken.

(32) Bref! reha ʔarfa kulʃi 'Anyway! She knows everything'

g). To quote fixed patterns

A speaker codeswitches to quote a famous expression, proverb or saying of some well-known figures. As illustrated in Tlemcen speech community, these French sayings, expressions are often used as follows to express certain thoughts:

(33) kima jʔul lgawri: les bons comptes font les bons amis 'As the French says: Good accounts make good friends.'

(34) kima jʔul lgawri: mieux vaut tard que jamais 'As the French says: Better late than never.'

(35) kima jʔul lgawri: bon débarras 'As the French says: Good riddance!'

6. Conclusion

This research presents valuable information regarding the French/Algerian Arabic CS phenomenon in Tlemcen speech community. It reveals that CS is a natural linguistic behaviour and unavoidable way of expressing one's thoughts among Tlemcenian bilinguals. The results show that the occurrence of CS differs from one case to another as it is closely related to individuals. In other words, it is a discourse strategy used by speakers to communicate effectively and achieve their objectives.

The results show that the use of CS is set to a wide variety of social and pragmatic purposes, from the need to fill lexical gaps to more complex discourse-level functions. Besides, it shows that the motivations behind CS may go deeper than just because of lack of competence in either language. The

socio-pragmatic analysis of AA/Fr CS reveals that language choice in Tlemcen speech community is heavily influenced by the social context in which it appears as speakers codeswitch in order to achieve various context-bound goals such as clarifying the content and /or managing contextual discourse and interpersonal relationships. Therefore, this investigation shows that the utterances cannot usually be interpreted literally but rather as sarcasm.

Another crucial result of the present research is that many cases show that respondents codeswitch because of the influence of French borrowing found in Algerian Arabic. Indeed, the use of French borrowings is regarded as trigger words in the sentence leading speakers to continue in the same language of the borrowed word and then to CS. Moreover, the results reveal that the use of French is marked in some situations such as when less-educated or Arabophones may use long stretches of speech in this second language. Consequently, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is asserted, particularly when bilinguals choose what may be considered as a marked choice to convey certain messages of intentionality.

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