Tanulmány

Fatiha Sadouki

Language contact in Algeria: A sociolinguistic study

Abstract

The present paper discusses the language contact in Algeria and how languages are used on a daily basis. One hundred and twenty Algerian participants of different age groups were the subjects of this study. In order to achieve the aim of this study, a mixed method was applied through a questionnaire to present the findings statistically, a group discussion that was analysed qualitatively to observe the linguistic behaviour, and a semi-structured interview to explore the attitudes of Algerians toward multilingualism was conducted. The findings showed a high degree of native language use (Algerian Arabic and Berber) in addition to frequent use of French and other languages, like English, and a low use of Modern Standard Arabic in different fields and in daily language use. Furthermore, Algerians perceive themselves as multilinguals due to their daily interaction and code-switching between more than two languages.
Keywords: *Bilingualism, multilingualism, language contact, linguistic behaviour, sociolinguistics.*

1   Introduction

Language contact is one of the most relevant issues in sociolinguistics and has been the subject of numerous studies in recent years. It has been seen as a crucial factor in the formation of new languages and language varieties, as well as in the emergence of multilingualism in many parts of the world. Language contact is a complex phenomenon that has been studied extensively in recent years (Muysken 2013; Myers-Scotton 2006; Poplack 1980). It is important to understand the various ways in which languages interact with each other, and the resulting effects on the languages in contact. To this end, this paper will draw on a range of theoretical and methodological approaches, including contact linguistics (Myers-Scotton 2006), bilingualism (Grosjean 2008), and code-switching (Poplack 1980).

In order to understand the linguistic background of a multilingual community, we need to define some terminologies related to multilingualism that could manifest the phenomenon of language contact such as bilingualism, multilingualism, and code-switching. Bilingualism and multilingualism are both phenomena that involve the ability to use two or more languages proficiently. Myers-Scotton (2006: 44) defined bilingualism as "the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation". This implies that bilinguals and multilinguals are able to use two or more languages with the same level of proficiency, as Myers-Scotton (2006: 3) further states that bilinguals have "acquired or learned to speak or understand – as a minimum – some phrases that show internal structural relations in a second

language". In addition to bilingualism, there is also the phenomenon of code-switching. Code-switching is the act of conversing in another language besides the mother tongue. In this regard, Eldin (2014: 78) defines code-switching as "the act of conversing in another language, besides the mother tongue". It is a commonplace occurrence and is used to overcome language constraints and to effectively deliver speeches. Moreover, prior knowledge can influence the process of learning a third language, with the second language providing support (Cenoz 2003; Hanafi 2015; Negadi 2015; Sadouki 2021; Talebi 2013; Tápainé Balla 2013).

Poplack (1980) classifies code-switching into three types, namely intersentential, intra-sentential and extrasentential. Intersentential is when the first part of the utterance is in one language and the second part is in another language, whereas intrasentential is when the switch occurs in the middle of the sentence and within the sentence units. Extrasentential is the use of tags and expressions from one language in sentence of another language. An example of intersentential code-switching is "Are you going to wait your brother *chez tes grands-parents*?" (English and French), whilst an example of intrasentential and extrasentential code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French are presented as follows:

(1) Kanet *la meilleure* fil 7afla *laquelle j'ai assisté* lbara7
(2) chofi l ostad had kan ya5dem 3andna, *mais* badel mn 3andna 3ando ch7al

The native languages in Algeria are Arabic and Berber, while French is the most popular non-native language due to 130 years of French colonisation that made French the first official language during the colonisation era (1830-1962). Arabic has two varieties; Modern/Classical Standard Arabic is used in formal contexts, such as schools, universities, media, and law, while Dialectical/Algerian Arabic is used in informal settings, such as when talking to family and friends. Furthermore, Dialectical Algerian Arabic has various varieties that differ from one region to another. For example, accents in the eastern part of the country differ from those in the middle, south, and west. Berber is also widely used in some parts of Algeria and likewise has different dialects that differ from one region to another, such as Kabayli, Shawi, Mzabi, Tergi, etc. French is commonly used throughout the country and can be used with Arabic and Berber in a form of code-switching, where one might find at least three French words in a six-word sentence, as in the following example:

(3) Je pense qu'Aicha rahi thama
    "I think Aicha is there".

To observe the linguistic background of a multilingual community, this study will collect quantitative data to investigate the influence of languages on each other, including non-native languages such as French, English, etc. Based on my knowledge of the context of the study, code-switching between the native languages and French, as well as other non-native languages like English, is formed by the use of different languages on a daily basis.

Overall, multilingualism is a complex phenomenon that requires further investigation in order to gain an understanding of how languages interact with each other. Through further research, it will be possible to assess the impact of code-switching on individuals' language abilities and to identify ways to maximise the potential of language contact and multilingualism in language learning. The current study seeks to explore language contact in Algeria, where different languages came into contact due to historical and cultural reasons. The goal of this investigation is to identify how frequently Algerians use different languages and to observe

code-switching. To study this linguistic phenomenon, a quantitative questionnatire will be conducted to observe the use of languages by people of different ages and social classes. Additionally, this study will examine the linguistic variability oral data to analyse language use and to observe how Algerians incorporate languages into their speech.

1.1 A sociolinguistic background of Algeria

Sociolinguistics is the study of how language is used in relation to particular social norms within a given society, and Algeria is no exception. Regarding the historical background, "Algeria was a place of invasion and a crossroad of civilizations that made the linguistic plurality reign among its speakers since the Antiquity" (Chami 2009: 387). The country has a complex linguistic background shaped by the influence of various nations, from the Numidians to the French, who have left their mark on the language of the Algerian people today. In Algeria, different diglossias are used in daily communication, which reflect the use of language varieties in Algerian society and the high- and low-value varieties of these languages and dialects. The formality of language(s) is related to the context in which these languages and dialects are used.

To understand the linguistic complexity of Algeria, it is important to introduce the historical background of Algeria, where various nations have influence the Algerian language, such as, Numidians, Romans, Byzantines, etc. Algerian history started with the Berber, who were the first natives of Algeria. After the expansion of Islam in North Africa, and Algeria in particular, Arabs lived in Algeria as they ruled it for more than nine centuries. During this period, Arabic was used everywhere in the country, while Berber remained used as a means of communication in the mountains and some regions only (Benrabah 2005). The co-existence of Arabs and Berbers continues to this day, building a society that is governed by co-existence and tolerance. Later, the Ottomans ruled Algeria between 1514 and 1830, before the period of French colonisation for more than 130 years, during which French was declared the first language in Algeria.

The sociolinguistic profile of Algeria has gone through different phases in which different languages have been used and have influenced the language of Algerians. The most critical phase was during the period of French colonisation when the French occupation of Algeria had a tremendous impact on the language of the country, with many Algerians becoming bilinguals, using their native language (Arabic or Berber) as well as French. In 1962, Algeria gained its independence after the revolution on 1 November and continued its journey to build an independent country. According to Benrabah (2004, 2005), the current linguistic landscape of Algeria is composed of two primary ethnic groups, Arabs and Berbers, who speak two different languages (Arabic and Berber).

All nations that have lived in Algeria, starting from the Numidians until the period of French colonisation (106 B.C.–1962), have played a role in shaping its sociolinguistic situation (Benrabah 2014). The nations that have lived in Algeria for a period of time have influenced the Algerian language, in which we can notice a mixture of different languages (Arabic, Berber, Turkish, French, Spanish, etc) in the speech of Algerians, as shown in the following examples that reflect the use of French in different ways as well as Algerian Arabic:

(4) 3labalek beli elle est depremée
    "You know that she is depressed".
(5) Ma mère ra7et lil la crèche bah tjib 5oya

"My mother went to the kindergarten to bring my little brother".
(6) Deviyat bih tomobile
"Sa voiture a dévié".

The first example illustrates code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French, the second reflects the use of code-mixing, and the third is an instance of nativisation where French words are adopted to Algerian Arabic and used as if they were Algerian Arabic words. Mesthrie et al. (2000: 156) discuss the complexities of bilingual communities in terms of language use, noting that "it is possible to identify certain broad regularities or patterns of language use". However, they emphasise that individuals may use language differently in order to convey certain messages that reflect their attitudes and relationships with others and speakers may use languages differently according to the purpose of conveying messages that reflect their own attitudes and their relations with others

To sum up, there are two high varieties of Arabic, namely Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which are used formally in "contemporary literature, journalism, some political speeches, television and radio newscast, administration and diplomacy" (Kerma 2018: 135). On the other hand, there is one low variety of Arabic, namely Algerian Arabic, which is not used in formal contexts, unlike Classical and Modern Standard Arabic.

1.2   *Multilingualism in Algeria*

The linguistic situation in Algeria has existed throughout its history. The co-existence of different languages has helped to create a unique language in that Algerians speak a mixture of Arabic, Berber, French, Spanish, Turkish and English. After Algeria's independence in 1962, the Arabisation movement was launched in 1991 in order to reduce the usage of French and revive the usage of Arabic. This has had a positive effect in terms of allowing for communication and the possibility for unity throughout the Arab world. French is still often mixed with Arabic and Berber as a kind of code-switching in everyday communication.

Ghriss (2007) argues that substituting the dominant French language of the ex-coloniser with the native Arabic language was necessary to assert the freshly recovered Algerian cultural identity. Moreover, Algerians were considered bilinguals due to their ability to use French and Arabic with a similar level of proficiency. This type of bilingualism does not fall into the concept of diglossia, referring to the use of two varieties of the same language, as Algerians use different languages and dialects in their everyday life.

The desire to maintain and valorise the country's identity through its languages has been a major factor in the implementation of language policies in Algeria (Gherzouli 2019). The government has recognised the importance of Arabic and Berber and how they represent the country's identity and has thus declared them official languages. In addition, French has been used as a foreign language, while English has been introduced as a modern language of communication and, increasingly, as a language of instruction in many universities and secondary schools. Nagadi (2015) mentions that the demand for learning and using English in Algeria is more noticeable than ever; people are showing interest in learning English and are using it more than before. Furthermore, the spread of English is improving the linguistic repertoire to include knowledge of other languages, such as English, Spanish, German, and so on. Tápainé Balla (2012: 28) suggests that teaching the first foreign language with the understanding that learners will likely start learning another one would result in more efficient

learning processes. The combination of Arabic and Berber as the language of identity and French as a foreign language has generated a multilingual society in Algeria. As Croisy (2008: 5) explains, the resurgence of Arabic has enabled communication and unity throughout the Arab world. However, its use can be problematic when constructing individual and cultural identities in Algeria.

Algerians during the French colonisation and the first years were considered bilinguals, as they used both languages with a similar level of proficiency, and even after independence, French is still often mixed with Arabic and Berber as a kind of code-switching in Algerians' everyday communication. The education system in Algeria has been bilingual (Arabic and French) in the first years after independence, but in 1991, Arabic became the first language of instruction. Furthermore, in 1989, English was added to the education system due to growth as a global language, allowing for more economical learning processes in the context of learning at least two languages beyond the mother tongue. The establishment of various TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language) schools has been a major step in the advancement of the language process in Algeria.

Regarding the concept of diglossia, which refers to the use of two varieties of the same language, such as Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic, Algerian bilingualism does not fall into this category as it refers to the ability to speak two different languages. Thus, the linguistic repertoire of Algerians includes different languages and various dialects, as illustrated by Figure 1 below. In other words of Mami (2013: 912): "While encompassing the motive of the venerable French grammar, the current view of the place of English in language learning is also filled with political scenes aiming to put one language at the edge of drowning". As such, the Algerian educational system has been updated to include the English language and the establishment of various TEFL schools, allowing more economical learning processes in the context of learning at least two languages beyond the mother tongue.

According to Ferguson (1959), diglossia indicates the sociolinguistic situation where two language are used in the same context but with different levels of proficiency. In Algeria, diglossia refers to knowledge of the two varieties of the same language, such as using Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic and the different varieties of Arabic. According to Kaouache (2008), bilingualism is not an aspect of diglossia because bilingualism refers to being able to speak two different languages at the same time, while diglossia is employed to explain the use of varieties of the same language. In fact, the linguistic repertoire of Algerians includes different languages and various dialects, and the following figure shows the linguistic repertoire of Algerians. The following table presents the different languages used in Algeria.
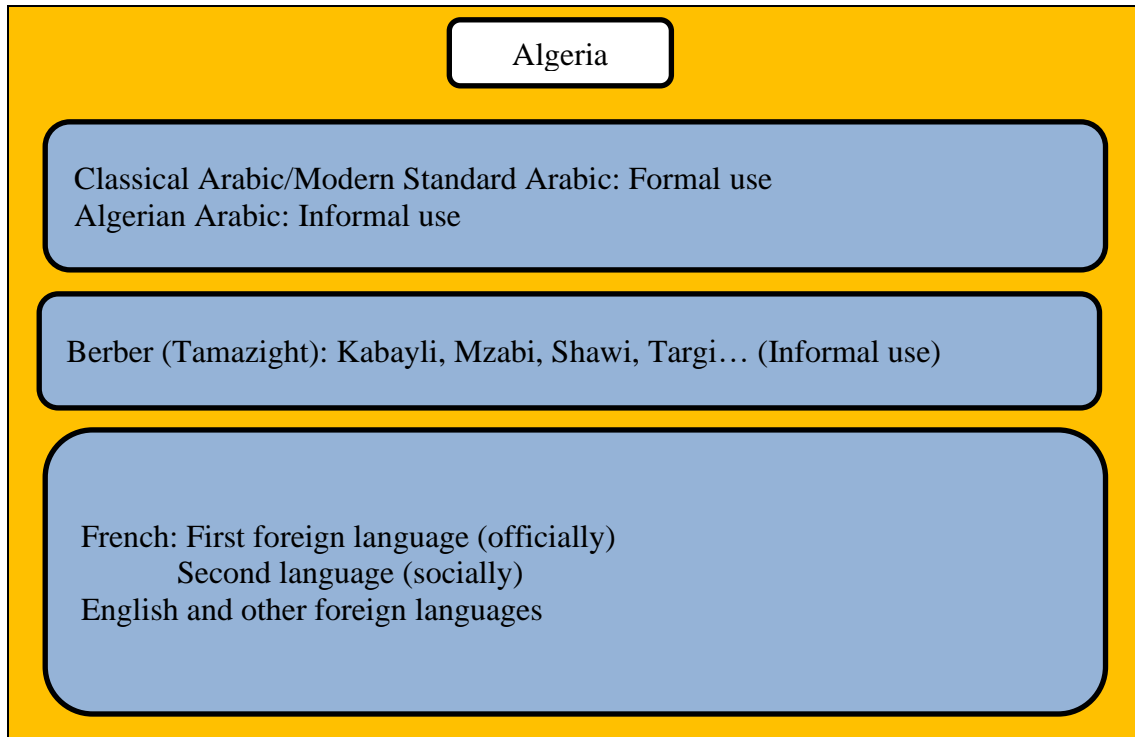
Figure 1. Linguistic diversity in Algeria

The use of different languages in the Algerian context reflects the linguistic diversity and explains how the society has become a multilingual community. The focus on developing the knowledge of other languages that are considered widely used, such as Spanish, German and Italian, was also taken into consideration to be taught at secondary schools in the foreign languages stream. It can be said that French influences Algerians more than the other languages for various reasons, such as the duration of the French colonisation in Algeria, which lasted for more than 130 years, when Algerian were forced to use French in everyday life. French was also considered the first language of instruction, and the use of Arabic was not allowed in the streets. Lacheraf (1965) states that the French colonialism eliminated the use of Arabic in the North African countries as it symbolized the resistance and considered is as a foreign language Algerians were not allowed to learn it or teach it in Algeria, and French gain an official status instead. The French colonialism policy aimed to separate the language from its society by imposing French to the society. There was limited use of Arabic at this time at mosques to ensure the revival of Arabic among Algerians. After independence in 1962, the language policy in Algeria went through different stages to change the language of instruction to Arabic and to implement other foreign languages into the education system, such as English in 1989 and other languages recently, like German, Italian, and Spanish, to pave the way for Algerians to learn other global languages. Meanwhile, the diglossic existence of different dialects and different languages contribute to the multilinguality of Algeria. Annab (2020) describes the different varieties of Berber in Algeria, mentioning the different Berber dialects and the regions in which they are used. Berber is used in North Africa and has various dialects, while Arabic is a language related to the Islamic religion and is used by more than one billion Muslims around the world

(Benmamoun et al. 2013). It is rooted in Middle Eastern countries, but with the spread of Islam, it has become a popular language among Muslims around the world.

The aim of the study is to investigate language contact in Algeria and to observe the frequency and use of different languages in the Algerian context. To achieve this, the objectives of this study are to investigate the language use of Algerians in different contexts in daily language use, to examine the attitudes of Algerians towards mutilingualism, and to investigate the pattens of code-switching. In order to investigate the language phenomenon in Algeria, the current study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do Algerians use the languages they know in their daily interaction?
2. Do Algerians perceive themselves as bilinguals/ multilinguals?
3. What are the attitudes of Algerians towards multilingualism?

2 The study

This study is an attempt to investigate multilingualism in Algeria, with a focus on the sociolinguistic situation of Algerian society. The scope of the current study focuses on the languages used by Algerians in their daily interaction and examines the frequency of language usage in Algeria. The data were presented quantitatively and qualitatively through a survey questionnaire, a group discussion and a semi-structured interview.

2.1 Survey questionnaire

The quantitative research was conducted via a survey questionnaire that included three sections: biographical data, language use and language attitudes. The first section included questions that helped in collecting demographic data about the participants, such as age, gender nationality, their mother tongue and education level. The second section was devoted to investigating the use of language based on context of use (with family, friends, teachers, in the street, etc.), and how often it was used was reported on a Likert scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, always). The last section was composed of open-ended questions designed to ascertain participants' attitudes towards the use of languages and multilingualism, in addition to some Likert-scale questions that investigated individuals' language perception and how they considered themselves multilinguals. Examples of the survey questions are given below:

1. Do you consider yourself a bilingual person?
2. Do you consider yourself a multilingual person?
3. What language(s) do you usually use when communicating with your family?
4. Do you watch TV shows where the language used is not your native language?

The questionnaire was written in Arabic, using simple and clear language to ensure all participants could understand the meaning of the questions, as participants were of different ages. I added explanations in brackets for some questions to help participants understand concepts that they might find difficult to comprehend, such as bilingualism and multilingualism. The questionnaire was distributed online to address the Algerians who were willing to participate in this study.

2.2 Group discussion

The second research instrument used in this study was a group discussion. The aim of the group discussion was to analyse oral production to find out how the language was used by the participants. Nine participants took part in the group discussion, which was divided into three groups of three participants each. Their discussion was recorded and transcribed in order to be analysed, taking into consideration the use of non-native language during the discussion. The duration of the discussion was 7 to 10 minutes. Participants in the first and second groups were university students (aged 20–25), while the age of the participants in the third group was between 35 and 42. The three groups were asked to discuss different topics (football, fashion and family). In the first group, three boys discussed football, the second group of three girls talked about fashion, and the third group discussed family. The focus was on how participants used different languages during their talk.

2.3 Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview was designed to ask participants about their attitudes towards multilingualism and how they see themselves as multilinguals. The interview aims at having a more detailed image concerning participants' perception of multilingualism. The interview was conducted with six participants; three of them are university students and the other three are workers. The interview questions were divided into three sections. The first section was devoted to biographic information about the participants, like age, education level, and the languages they speak, etc. The second section included questions about how the participants perceive themselves as multilinguals, and the third section was mainly about participants' attitudes towards multilingualism in general and the importance of multilingualism in Algeria.

2.4 Participants

One hundred and twenty Algerians participated in this study. The participants were of different age groups as shown in Table 1.

	Number	*Percentage*
Under 20 years old	4	3.3%
Between 20 and 30 years old	85	70.8%
Above 30 years old	31	25.8%

Table 1. Age of participants

As can be seen in Table 1, the majority of participants were aged between 20 and 30 years old (85 participants), while 31 participants were aged over 30 years old and only four participants were under 20 years old. Concerning gender, there were more female participants than male participants: 88 females versus 32 males. The participants were chosen randomly based on their willingness to participate in the study, in which there is linguistic diversity; namely, more than three languages are used in the Algerian context on a daily basis. According to the demographic information, 70% of the total number of participants had master's degrees in various majors,

such as languages (English, Arabic, French, Italian and Spanish), the sciences (medicine, biology, maths, etc.), social sciences, and so on. Sixteen of the participants, who made up 13.3% of the total percentage of subjects, had PhDs, while 11.7% had bachelor's degrees. The lowest percentage was for secondary school education, which six students had. Participants can also be divided into groups based on the number of languages they speak, as shown in Table 2 below.

Participants	Number	Percentage
Who speak one language only	9	7.5%
Who speak two languages	51	42.5%
Who speak three languages	40	33.3%
Who speak four languages or more	20	16.6%

Table 2. Languages spoken by participants

2.5   Data collection

The questionnaire was distributed online, and the answers were entered into SPSS to find out how Algerians use the languages they speak in different contexts. A total of 120 participants answered the questionnaire consisting of 25 questions. The questionnaire was distributed between October 2021 and February 2022. Participants' responses were examined based on their actual use of languages in the Algerian context and whether they perceive themselves as bilinguals/multilinguals as assessed on a Likert scale. The quantitative analysis was then undertaken to find out the frequencies, mean and standard deviations, in addition to one-way ANOVA to determine the use of language in Algeria.

   The group discussion was recorded and transcribed for analysis based on the languages used in the discussion. The focus of the group discussion was on the use of linguistic codes and dialects. The discussion took place whenever the participants were ready for it, and they were free to discuss the topic as they saw fit. For example, the topic for the first group was football, and this topic was not limited to football in Algeria or how the national team plays, but they were free to choose any context within the same topic. They chose to talk about the 'Champions League in Europe', and the discussion was recorded each time with one of the groups. In discussions, it was interesting how they code-switched different languages within the same sentence and within the same context.

   In light of the research questions, the aim of the questionnaire and the group discussion was to investigate the use of languages in the Algerian context (Arabic, Berber, French, English, etc). The recorded discussion was transcribed to calculate the frequencies of language use and to determine how code mix can be used with different languages at the same time. After this, the analysis was divided into two sections, with the aim of each being to answer one of the research questions. The first section was devoted to the present the use of languages in Algeria; the second section showed the attitudes of the participants towards multilingualism and how they perceived themselves as multilinguals. Considering the data analysis, both the questionnaire and group discussion contributed to answering the research questions. The questionnaire posed direct questions to participants about their language perception, while the

group discussion helped to analyse the real use of languages in a particular context in which participants practise it daily.

3   Results and discussion

3.1   Language use

Taking into account language use in various contexts, the study aims to investigate the use of different languages within the same context (Algeria). Another aim of the current study is to explore language usage and participants' attitudes towards multilingualism in Algeria. The findings related to Algerians' language use show that there is a high use of Algerian Arabic, Berber, French and English in comparison to other foreign languages. The results of the mean and standard deviation demonstrate that the use of different languages were as follows: Algerian Arabic (M = 1.89, SD = .20), Berber (M = 1.59, SD = .30), French (M = 1.88, SD = .18), English (M = 1.39, SD = .37) and other foreign languages (M = 1.10, SD =.39). This suggests that Algerian Arabic is the most commonly used language in Algeria, likely due to its status as the official language of the country. Berber, which is spoken by a large part of the population, is also widely used. French and English are also popular, likely due to their status as international languages and the presence of French colonial heritage in Algeria. However, it is important to note that the use of English and other foreign languages is relatively low. This may be due to a lack of access to foreign language learning opportunities or a lack of motivation to learn a language other than the ones already spoken in the country.

The use of languages differs based on the context, as the participants were asked which language they use in different contexts, such as with family, friends, at university, in administration, and so on. Another difference in the means of using languages is presented in table 3.

	Language use with family	Language use with friends	Language use on the street	Language use with teachers	Language use in adminstration and at universities
Mean	3.91	3.97	3.88	3.68	3.34
Standard Deviation	1.97	2.03	1.78	1.69	1.57

Table 3. Mean and standard deviation of language use in different contexts

It can be seen that the highest mean is for language use with friends (M = 3.97), which could possibly be due to the fact that friends tend to be more open-minded and tolerant of different languages. This is further evidenced by the relatively high standard deviation of 2.03, indicating that more than three languages are typically used in this context. Similarly, the mean for language use with family is 3.91 and the standard deviation is 1.97. This implies that people tend to use their native languages with family members. In comparison, the mean is slightly lower for language use with teachers (M= 3.68 and SD= 1.69) and at universities and in administrations (M = 3.34 and SD = 1.57), which suggests that people tend to use fewer

languages in these two contexts due to the fact that people's relationships are more formal and therefore likely to use fewer languages. The same can be said for language use in administration and at universities (M = 3.34 and SD = 1.57), which suggests that people typically use fewer languages in more formal contexts. Finally, the mean for language use on the street is also relatively low (M = 3.88 and SD = 1.78), which could be due to the fact that in this context, people use either their mother tongue or the language of the country they live in.

Figure 2 below shows the use of multilingualism in Algeria in different contexts. Participants responded to questions concerning language use in different contexts.
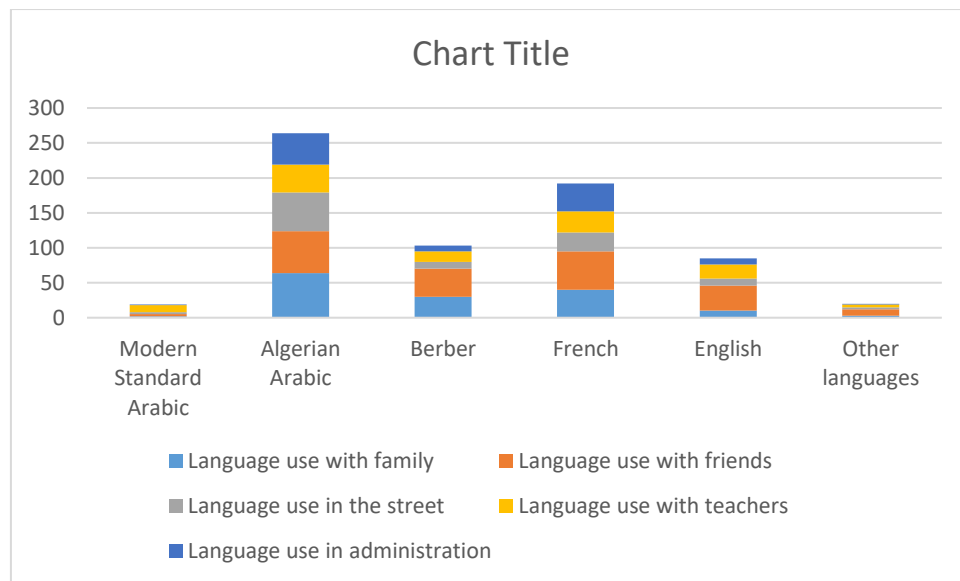
Figure 2. Language use in different contexts

Figure 2 indicates that the participants use Algerian Arabic, Berber and French in almost every context, particularly in social interactions, in addition to English and Modern Standard Arabic in formal contexts, such as schools and universities, plus the use of other languages, such as Turkish, German, Italian and Spanish among friends who speak these languages. Thus, the use of languages is related to the context in which the languages are used. Figure 2 shows that Algerian Arabic, Berber and French are highly used in almost all contexts; however, language use differs in the number of languages used in a given context. From the statistics analysis of the questionnaire, for example, participants tend to use more than three languages when they talk to their friends and families, whereas in other contexts, such as at universities and in administration, language use is mainly limited to Algerian Arabic, Berber and French. Also, 64 of the participants used both Arabic, Berber and French when communicating with their families. Furthermore, the use of foreign languages, such as English, German, Spanish and Italian, was more frequent among young people.

Based on the transcription of the group discussion, both groups used different languages and dialects in their discussion; they used Algerian Arabic, Berber, French, English and sometimes Turkish. Along with the linguistic diversity shown in the discussion, the participants' discussion also reflects diglossia. Different use of code-switching can be noticed during the discussion as follows:

(7) iiiih choft wach dar Ronaldo fi *Champions League ? c'etait magnifique.*
"Have you seen what Ronaldo did in the Champions League? It was amazing".

The participant uses code-switching between three languages (Arabic, French and English). They switch from one language to another one when speaking. This use of three different languages within the same sentence is known as 'intrasentential code-switching', where the speaker employs different languages within the same sentence (See section 1.1).

Another type of code-switching that occurred during the group discussion is 'intersentential code switching', in which the participants switch languages between sentences (See section 1.1) as in the following example:

(8) Tu as raison, hiya ta3ref telbes ; O kiz bir model.
"You are right, she is well dressed; that girl is a model."

That example was from the girls' group discussion about fashion. The speaker in this case uses three sentences in three different languages since they are learning Turkish and are using it in their discussion. The group of girls use Arabic, French, English and a little Turkish during their discussion. An example from the group discussion that shows another type of code-switching called 'extrasentential code-switching', which refers to using tags from various languages like French, English, Turkish and Spanish, can be seen in the following examples:

(9) Yokartek! Hadi awel mara nesma3 biha ana…tu rigoles?
"Unbelievable! This is my first time hearing such things….you are kidding?"
(10) Lwa9t tbadel ma b9ach kima bekri mais Allaho a3lam kifah ra7 ykono les generations mn ba3d.
"Time is changing, but Allah only knows how the coming generations will be like."

The two examples show extralinguistic switching between Arabic, French and Turkish. All participants used code-switching during the group discussion, but the majority was between Algerian Arabic, Berber, French, English and sometimes Turkish in the girls' group.

3.2 Attitudes towards multilingualism and language perception

Based on the findings of the questionnaire and interview in the previous section and the interviews, this section presents the participants' attitudes towards multilingualism in Algeria and towards their language perception as multilinguals. Two questions were asked to see how participants perceive themselves as bilinguals and multilinguals. The participants' responses showed that the majority of participants see themselves as bilinguals and multilinguals. Concerning bilingualism, 97 out of 120 consider themselves bilinguals, answering 'Yes', while five participants answered 'No', and the remaining 18 answered that they were not sure if they are bilinguals. Meanwhile, 65 of the participants perceive themselves as multilinguals, 20 participants do not think they are multilinguals, while 35 were not sure as they know more than three languages, but they are not sure they could consider themselves multilinguals. In addition, participants think that being multilingual might have impact of their life and career opportunities. In the following example, the participant mentioned one of the advantages of learning languages and being multilingual:

(11) Je pense que les langues sont très importantes aujourd'hui par ce que ta3tik la chance bah tet3alem 7yawej jdad w t3awnek bzaf bah tal9a 5edma….Kol ma te7ki des langues yaser kol ma tzid la chance ta3ek bah ta5dem….ana kont jat liya…. Net3alem 4 langues wela akther ….

"I think learning languages is very important nowadays because it gives you the chance to learn new things, and it helps you in finding a job…you know, the more languages you know the easier to get a job…..for me, if I have the chance to learn languages, I will learn four languages or more…."

Another participant talked about what it means to be multilingual, and they mentioned the languages they use in daily interactions, which, according to this participant, differ according to the context encountered. The participant mentioned that they use more than two languages on a daily basis as they code-switch between languages as follows:

(12) ….Ngolek 7aja, ana nesta3mel les langues li na3eafhom w li rani net3alem fihom kol youm psq n7eb nepractici wach rani net3alem w bah tani ma nansach les langues li na3rafhom… par example, ki nahder m3a dar nahder m3ahom bel 3arbiya w l9bayliya w lFrançais w m3a o5ti n7awel nahder m3aha be l'Anglais psq ana n7eb l'Anglais w madabiya n3od ne7kiha bel bien kima lFrançais…w nzidk m3a s7abi tani nahder bel 3arbiya marat yod5lo kalmat Français aki ta3rfi w marat nesta3mel l'Anglasi…

"…Let me tell you something, I usually use the languages I know and the languages I am learning every day because I would like to practice what I am learning and not to forget the languages I know (meaning French)… for example, when I talk to my family, usually I use Algerian Arabic, Kabayli (which is Berber variety) and French… When I talk to my sister, I like to use English because I want to improve my English to make it as good as my French… I will tell you one more thing … when I talk to my friend, I usually use Arabic, but sometimes some French words come to my mind suddenly you know, and sometimes I use English to practise it with him…"

In this example, the participant insists on their consistency in using more than two languages on a daily basis for practising the languages they know, such as in the case of using English with his sister and his friend. Other participants reported their unconscious use of French in their daily interactions, which they consider their second native language as they use it every day in different situations, as one of the participants highlighted as follows:

(13) be'nesba liya l niveau ta3i fi les langues 3ali bzaf swa fil Français wela l'Anglais wela l'Allemand psq ana n7eb les langues mais hakak w n7es ro7i fil Français 5ir men les langues lo5rin …. ne9der nahder nahder biha comme un native w nesta3malha yawmiyan fi kol phrase c possible tal9i deux ou trois mots bel Français…

"For me, I think I have a good level in the languages I know, like French, English or German because I like learning languages, but I feel that my level in French is better than in other languages, like English and German, simply because I can speak it very well like a native speaker, and I use it every day…. For instance in one sentence I use at least two or three words in French, and the rest are in Arabic…"

As far as language perception is concerned, some of the participants mentioned their attitudes towards multilingualism as they see it becoming a trend to learn languages, but sometimes languages influence each other. When two languages or more come into contact, the first language can influence the second language and vice versa. Participants reported the influence of French on both their native languages (Arabic and Berber) and their third language, such as English, as in the following:

> *(14)* hiya sa7 loghat y2athro 3la ba3dahom kima 7na fi dzair ma3rofa l Français m2athra yaser fil 3arbiya w zid nesta3mloha fi 7dithna l darajet kayen kalmat ngolhom directe bel Français kon tsa9sisni kifah ngoloha bel3arbiya ma na3rafch…. W zid marat talgi kalamt homa fi l'origine ta3hom Français bsa7 7na 3arabnahom w walina nesta3mlohom as if homa sa7 bel 3arbiya kima kalmet nrévizi, calmi ro7ek…
> "we all know the languages might affect and influence each other … for instance, it is very common to hear French in Algeria, and French influences Arabic in so many way, and we use it in everyday life ….when we want to say something, we use French words spontaneously, and sometimes we end up forgetting the equivalent of those words in Arabic because we usually use them in French like… kashir … and moreover, sometimes we use French words with an Arabic pronunciation, and we use them as Arabic words … if someone heard it, he would think it is an Arabic word, but in fact it is not like the word 'revise', keep calm …."

In this example, another phenomenon occurred due to language contact in the Algerian context, namely '*nativisation'*, which refers to the loan of French words and their use within the phonetic structure of Algerian Arabic. Nativisation was also evident during the group discussion when participants used French words with phonetic sounds of Algerian Arabic, as in the following example:

> *(15)* n9olek 7aja, 7na dima m3a Real w n'supportiw Real Madrid w madabina yetkalifaw 7tan yal79o lil demi-finale wela l finale 3lach la!… psq ta3 sa7 yal3bo lbola bien 5ir mn lo5rin ga3…. W c'est déjà dawha Champions League mn 9bal ya3rfolh mli7…. Homa ghir ydimariw bark ma tfi9ech tal9ahom la79o lil finale…
> "Let me tell you something, we are fans of Real Madrid and we always support Real Madrid… I hope they will qualify for the semi-final or the final … why not! . . . because they always play a beautiful game better than the other football clubs…. And they already won the Champions League many times, and they know how to play it well … whenever they start the game, they will reach the final like never happened …."

As mentioned above in example 5, participants talked about borrowing words from French and using them with an Algerian Arabic pronunciation, a phenomenon reflecting the daily usage of French by Algerians. Table 4 presents the words used by the participants in examples 4 and 5 that reflect nativisation.

Nativisation	*The original in French*	*The equivalent in English*
N'revizi	Je révise	I revise
Kalmi	Calme-toi	Calm down
n'supportiw	nous supportons	We support
yetkalifaw	Ils seront qualifiés	They will qualify
lbola	football	Football
ydimariw	Ils ont demandé	Ask for

Table 4. Examples of nativisation of French in Algeria

As can be seen in Table 4, all examples were borrowed from French and were adopted accordingly to fit the phonological structure of Algerian Arabic even though there are equivalent of these words and phrases in both Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. The nativasation phenomenon is related to colloquial Algerian French that include some word, phrases or sentences that are produced by Algerians who did not receive French in formal settings, and it is usually about producing French words in Algerian accent which are not formally correct but they are similar to the original words in French (Chebchoub, 1985).

3.3 The importance of multilingualism in Algeria

Participants mentioned the importance of learning languages and the usefulness of languages in different domains in their responses to the questionnaire and during the interview. They highlighted their desire to use the languages they speak in their daily interactions, and they emphasised this by giving the following reasons:

(1) Sixty percent of participants reported that they use foreign languages, such as French and English, on a daily basis, either to practice the language or to assist their children in learning these languages quickly. Additionally, 40% said that they use French spontaneously, as it is considered a native language for some of them and they are accustomed to it.

(2) Some languages, such as French, English and Turkish are used to show prestige among adults and especially among girls, as some of them mentioned that sometimes people judge if a person cannot speak a particular language, particularly French and English.

(3) Participants emphasised the importance of including other foreign languages in schools, such as Chinese, German, Italian and Spanish, in addition to French and English when learning languages in Algeria.

All participants in the interview showed positive attitudes towards multilingualism in Algeria as for them it is important to be able to express themselves in other languages. Due to the fact that Algerians start learning French at primary school and English at middle school, participants talked about the recent plans of the Ministry of Education about adding English to the primary school curriculum after it had been limited to Arabic and French and that this plan aims to start

teaching English in primary schools starting from 2022. The participants appreciated the decision, and they thought it would be a great opportunity for the next generation to start learning English at early age, which according to the participants, will help them improve their linguistic repertoire year after year.

4   Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate language contact in Algeria as one of the language phenomena related to multilingualism in this country where more than two languages are used on a daily basis. It is highly important to mention that the language situation in Algeria is complicated due to its history. Various languages have influenced the Algerian context and Algerian languages, such as French, English, etc. Language contact in Algeria went through different phases until the French colonisation (1830–1962). Considering the languages used in everyday life, we can see code-switching between Arabic, French and Berber and sometimes words from different languages, like English and Turkish. To understand multilingualism in Algeria, we need to address the different historic and linguistic factors that affect individuals and play a significant role in language contact in Algeria. Despite the role of the Arabisation movement that took place after Algerian independence, French is still used in Algerian society to this day, and other languages, such as English and Turkish, find their way into everyday interactions in Algeria. Last but not least, Algeria is considered a multilingual country due to the linguistic diversity that can be seen in people's daily communication.

The limitations of this study include a small number of participants, which may not accurately represent the entire population of Algeria. Future research should explore language contact in Algeria in greater depth and breadth, and consider various demographic factors such as gender and age. It is also essential to consider the various language varieties used in Algeria, and how they interact in different contexts. Such research would help to inform policy decisions and develop effective language teaching and learning strategies in Algeria. Additionally, given the current global context and the heightened interest in multilingualism, further research into the complex language situation in Algeria would help to shed light on the broader implications of language contact.

References

Annab, M. (2019): *Language Contact Phenomena Among Algerian University Students*. PhD Diss., University of Northampton.

Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S. & Polinsky, M. (2013): Heritage languages and their speakers: Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. *Theoretical Linguistics* 39.3–4, 129–181. https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2013-0009

Benrabah, M. (2004): Language and politics in Algeria. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10, 59–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537110490450773

Benrabah, M. (2005): The language planning situation in Algeria. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6.4, 379–502. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2005.10807312

Cenoz, J. (2003): Cross-linguistic in third language acquisition: Implications for the organization of the multilingual mental lexicon. *Bulletin VALS-ASLA (Vereinigung für angewandte Linguistik in der Schweiz)* 78, 1–11.

Chami, A. (2009): A Historical Background of the Linguistic Situation in Algeria. *Al-Mawakif Journal of Research and Studies on Society and History* 4.1, 387-395. https://silo.tips/download/a-historical-background-of-the-linguistic-situation-in-algeria (Accessed 03.04.2023)

Chebchoub, Z. (1985): *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Use of Arabic and French in Algiers*. PhD Diss., Edinburgh University.

Croisy, S. (2008): Algerian History, Algerian Literature, and Critical Theories: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Linguistic Trauma and Identity Reformation in Post-colonial Algeria. *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 10. 1, 84-106. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/41210007

Eldin, A. A. T. S. (2014): Socio linguistic study of code switching of the Arabic language speakers on social networking. *International Journal of English Linguistic* 4.6, 78–86. https://doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v4n6p78

Ferguson, C. A. (1959): Diglossia. *Word* 15. 2, 325–340.

Gherzouli, I. (2019): Educational Reforms and Language Planning Quandary in Algeria: An Illustration with Arabization. *Sustainable Multilingualism* 15.1, 27–47. https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2019-0012

Ghriss, M. (2007): Du pluralisme linguistique au lendemain de l'indépendance et de l'Algérianité. www.*Lequotidien-oran*. https://www.vitaminedz.com/fr/Algerie/du-pluralisme-linguistique-au-lendemain-de-12999-Articles-0-0-1.html (Accessed 03.04.2023)

Grojean, F. (2008): *Studying Bilinguals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanafi, A. (2015): The Second Language Influence on Foreign Language Learners' Errors: The case of the French language for Algerian Students learning English as a foreign language. *European Scientific Journal* 2, 30–38. https://doi.org/10.19044/ESJ.2014.V10N10P%25P

Kaouache, S. (2008): *Dialect stigma and prejudice: The case of the Jijel dialect.* PhD Diss., Mentouri University, Algeria.

Kerma, M. (2018): The Linguistic Friction in Algeria. *Sociology International Journal* 2.2, 134–140. https://doi.org/10.15406/sij.2018.02.00041

Lacheraf, M. (1965) : *L'Algérie: nation et société*. FeniXX.

Mami, N. A. (2013): Teaching English under the LMD Reform: The Algerian experience. *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology, International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering* 7, 910–913. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1081679

Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A. & Leap, W. L. (2000): *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Muysken, P. (2013): Language contact outcomes as the result of bilingual optimization strategies. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 16.4, 709–730. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1017/S1366728912000727 (Accessed 03.04.2023)

Myers-Scotten, C. (2006): *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Negadi, M. N. (2015): Learning English in Algeria through French-based background proficiency. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 199, 496–500. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.07.537

Poplack, S. (1980): Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y terminó in espagñol: Towards a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18.7/8, 581–618. https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1980.18.7-8.581

Sadouki, F. (2021): The Effect of the Second Language on Metalinguistic Awareness in Third Language Vocabulary Learning. *Romanian Journal of English Studies* 18. 1, 98–109. https://doi.org/10.1515/rjes-2021-0011

Talebi, S. H. (2013): Cross-Linguistic Transfer (from L1 to L2, L2 to L1, and L2 to L3) of Reading Strategies in a Multicompetent Mind. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 4.2, 432–436. http://dx.doi.org/10.4304/jltr.4.2.432-436

Tápainé Balla, Á. (2012): *The Role of Second Language English in the Process of Learning Third Language German*. PhD diss., University of Szeged.

Tápainé, Balla, Á. (2013): The perceived role of L2 English in the process of learning L3 German. *Romanian Journal of English Studies* 10.1, 62–76. https://doi.org/10.2478/rjes-2013-0005

Fatiha Sadouki
University of Szeged
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Doctoral School of Linguistics
English Applied Linguistics Program
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u 2.
Sadoukifatiha1994@gmail.com