A Sociolinguistic Study of Code Switching Motivations and Language Attitudes among Multilingual Algerians in the UK

By

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Abstract

This sociolinguistic study investigates code switching (CS) motivations in relation to identity construction, and language attitudes. The participants are twelve first generation multilingual, Arab and Berber Algerians living in different parts in the UK. This research argues that the practice of CS is governed by various linguistic attitudes and social motivations, among which speakers' identity negotiation is the most apparent one. Expressing an identity often requires the speaker to switch to a different language. However, attitudes, which also cover ideologies about languages, do not always appear to have a direct effect on the code choice of the speakers because the use of language also depends on the social context of the conversation.

To answer the concerns raised above, a qualitative methodology is adopted. I used semi-structured interviews only to develop three different data chapters. Chapter four uses interviews as linguistic material to analyse the practice of CS among the participants in light of the research questions. Chapter five and chapter six are built upon the self-reported opinions of the participants concerning their language use in general.

The analysis of CS practices in Chapter Four was undertaken through an interpretivist lens, drawing on reflexive thematic analysis. This analytical approach was subsequently applied to Chapters Five and Six, rigorously adhering to its structured phases. Moreover, an array of theoretical models— including the Markedness Model, the Gumperz Tradition, Communication Accommodation Theory, social identity theories, the tripartite model, and Family Language Policy—were integrated to interpret, and critically engage with the data obtained.

Findings revealed that participants engage in different linguistic behaviours, yet CS was the most frequent practice. Considering CS motivations, results suggested three factors prompting speakers to switch codes in a single utterance or conversation. (1) Context-related motivations contain factors such as interlocutors' relationships, setting, topic, and emotions' expression. (2) Message-related motivations cover factors such as the message itself, quoting and filling linguistic gaps. Regarding the third motivation, (3) participants adopted CS to construct and perform different identities which they struggle to maintain within other competing identities while living in the UK. As for language attitudes, results revealed that participants mainly regarded their linguistic repertoire favorably in different ways. Furthermore, participants' attitudes towards CS did not affect their linguistic behaviour. Though their understanding of the negative effects of CS on their first language, they still perform this linguistic behaviour due to various social contexts of conversations. Towards the end, participants shared some plans to transmit the heritage language to their children and strategies to maintain the language and preserve it from shift and/ or loss.

This study provides comprehensive insights of the practice of CS among the Algerian Arab and Berber ethnic minorities in The UK and how it is linked to speakers' identities, attitudes, and efforts to maintain the first language, Arabic. It contributes to the literature review on Arabic and North-African ethnic minorities in the UK in general, and Algerian minorities in diaspora in specific. It might be of interest in further research exploring the relationship between CS, identity, and attitudes among other multilingual speakers in diaspora. It might also be relevant for bi/ multilinguals experiencing CS in terms of adopting some policies to preserve their heritage language and identity from shift, attrition, or loss in host countries.

Acknowledgment

Conducting PhD research was a challenging journey full of ups and downs. It wouldn't be completed without the support, help, and encouragement of some important people surrounding me.

Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my beloved mother **Malika**, and my kind-hearted father, **Amar**.

To my wonderful son, **AMIR ZAIN**.

To my supportive husband **Omar**

To my most caring and caring sisters **Fairouz**, **Samiha**, **Faiza**, **Saliha**, and **Siham**, and to my brothers **Antar**, **Djamel**, **Younes**, and **Said**.

To all my family members and dear friends.

May Allah bless them with happiness, good health, and long life.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations

CAA: Colloquial Algerian Arabic

CM: code mixing

CS: code switching

FT: Free translation

H: High

HL: heritage language

L: Low

LT: Literal Translation

MM: Markedness Model

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

List of tables

List of figures

Arabic alphabet: Hans Wehr's Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1994)

Alif = **ʔ** =ء	Baa'= b= ب	Taa'= t= ت	Thaa'/ ṯ/ث	Jiim/ j/ ج	Haa'/ ḥ /ح
Ḵaa'/ ḵ /خ	Daal / d /د	Dhal/ ḏ/ /ذ	Raa'/ r/ ر	Zaay/ z/ ز	Siin / s/ س
Shiin/ š/ ش	Saad / ṣ/ ص	Dhaad / ḍ / ض	Aayn /ʕ/ ع	Ghayn/ ḡ/ غ	Faa'/ f /ف
Qaaf / q/ ق	Kaaf / k/ك	Laam / l/ ل	Miim / m/ م	Noon / n/ ن	Haa'/ H/ ه
Waaw /w/ و	Yaa'/y/ ي	Taa'/ ṭ/ ط	Dhaa'/ ẓ/ظ		

oo/ و و	ee/ ي ي	Stressed sounds= doubled consonants

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Research Overview and Rationale

The fundamental building block of this research is CS, which is defined as the utilisation of more than one language in one utterance or conversation (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 2005, 239; Matras, 2009). CS is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is widely spread among bilingual and multilingual speech communities. Thus, it attracts considerable research interest (Eastman, 1992; Obermueller, 2012).

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study which aims at investigating the different motivations for CS among twelve multilingual Algerians in the United Kingdom. It delves into how CS serves as a means for the expression of identity and examines participants' views of their languages and CS practice. In this research, I argue that the practice of CS is mainly influenced by speakers' identity expression and negotiation rather than their attitudes towards languages. Each used code refers to one identity or more depending on language users' preferences. For instance, data showed that CAA (CAA) is associated mainly with national and ethnic identity, whereas Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is linked to religious identity. I also argue that attitudes, which are also shaped and influenced by language ideologies, may -or may not- have a direct impact on the code choice of the speakers as language use and choice is also linked to the social context of the conversation. For example, participant Majdi perceives CS negatively, however, when I interviewed him, he often engaged in this linguistic practice due to the social context of the interview.

Investigating the intricate tripartite relationship of CS motivations, identity, and linguistic attitudes is significant given that it provides valuable understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of a group of Algerian diaspora in the UK. It also explains how individuals adapt their linguistic repertoires in different contexts to achieve various communicative needs. Besides, this thesis enhances the comprehension of CS' role in developing a sense of social integration to the Algerian speech community in the UK through highlighting the association of various languages, mainly Arabic, to different social identities, among which national and religious identities are the salient ones. Lastly, this thesis stresses the usefulness of language attitudes and ideologies in implementing strategies for heritage language (HL) maintenance among the participants.

There are five key terms in this study namely, CS, the use of multiple languages in a single linguistic interaction (Myers Scotton, 1993a); motivations, any factor triggering CS (Bhatia

and Ritchie, 2004; 2013); identity, a constructed image and/or a perception of self and others (Tajfel and Turner, 2004, Benwell and Stokoe, 2006); attitudes, social common evaluative beliefs (Van Dijk, 1998); and language maintenance, the use and preservation of a given language among a speech community (Pauwels, 2004). The current research relies on a collaboration of three theoretical frameworks, namely, the Gumperz Tradition (1982) (section 2.4.1.), the Markedness Model (1993b) (section 2.4.2.), and Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1991) (section 2.4.3.) to analyse data. Besides, it also adopts the tripartite model (section 2.7), some social identity theories (section 2.8), and the framework of Family Language Policy (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013) (section 2.9) to analyse identity expression, linguistic attitudes, and strategies of HL maintenance.

This research may be one among the first works that tackle the phenomenon of CS motivations in relation to identity and linguistic attitudes in an Algerian context in the UK. Hopefully, by the end of this research journey, the answers to these questions contribute to the field of multilingualism in sociolinguistics through exploring the understanding of general issues related to multilingual Algerians' language practices in a host country, CS motivations, and its relation to identity expression and performance. The answers also aim at highlighting the role of participants, through exploring their attitudes, in maintaining their HL and its transmission to the next generation in the UK.

In the next section, I further move on to discuss the methodology, the research questions which tackle and explain the concerns of this thesis, and some major findings.

1.2.   Methodology and Research Questions

The current research is exclusively qualitative based on constructivist and interpretivist epistemologies. Because of certain limitations (see 3.6), only semi-structured interviews were adopted to collect data from the accounts of twelve multilingual Algerians living in different parts in the UK. This research aims at studying a specific group of multilingual Algerians and providing an understanding of their linguistic behaviour, CS. It is far from generalizing the findings to the whole Algerian speech community in the UK or to other multilingual groups.

In chapter four, based on interpretivism, interviews were held as a daily conversation to analyse the participants' actual use of languages relying on researcher's perspectives and interpretations. On the other hand, in chapter five and six, the focus was put on how participants construct reality delving into what they report about their language choice including their views, beliefs, and reflections concerning language use in general. Reflexive

13

Thematic Analysis was applied selectively in Chapter four, while fully implemented in the subsequent chapters to code and categorize data into big and sub-themes. This dual application of the methodological instrument enables triangulation, enriching the data and facilitating cross-verification when necessary.

In order to conduct this study, I raised these research questions (henceforth RQ):

RQ1: What are the various patterns of code switching among multilingual Algerians living in the UK? What are their apparent and self-reported motivations for code switching?

RQ2: How can CS be a means to negotiate and express identity/ies among multilingual Algerians living in the UK?

RQ3: What are the attitudes of multilingual Algerians towards their linguistic repertoires and towards CS?

In answering the first research question, I examine the actual language use of multilingual Algerians in the interviews and participants' self-reported language use both while in Algeria and in the UK. The second part of this question aims at exploring the motivational factors that prompt participants to alternate between languages or varieties in a single conversation. The second research question aims at highlighting the relationship between CS and identity, and to look at the formation of social identity through the participants' linguistic choices. The third research question tries to find out how participants perceive the languages they use and the practice of CS. This question also aims to explore how the participants' attitudes are related to the expression of one's identity and the extent to which they influence participants' language choice. In all the three research questions, I opted to triangulate the self-reported views and attitudes with the actual practice of the participants in the interviews I conducted with them.

Findings revealed that the participants frequently practice CS to such an extent that it becomes unmarked linguistic behaviour. Furthermore, there are three prominent motivational factors that prompt participants to switch between codes which are (a) accommodation of interlocutor's code choice, (b) communication of the message, and (c) expressing identity. Findings also revealed that though participants have expressed negative attitudes towards CS, they still practice this linguistic behaviour which means that their cognitive and affective attitudes contradict their behavioural attitudes. Thus, one may conclude that participants' negative attitudes towards CS do not affect their linguistic behaviour and that positive attitudes may enhance the maintenance of their HL.

1.3. Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to widen understanding of the linguistic profile of multilingual Algerians in the UK, shedding light at the interplay between the languages used, namely Arabic, Tamazight, French, and English. Additionally, the study aims at exploring and enhancing the understanding of and enriching the body knowledge already existing on the issues of 'CS motivations, CS and identity, and language attitudes'. This exploration encompasses both participants' reported accounts (opinions, beliefs) and their actual language use (practice and performance). It aims to raise and enhance awareness about CS within a specific context: multilingual Algerian context in the UK, offering insights to bridge existing gaps in understanding and establishing a new line of thinking in the literature review. Ultimately, this research endeavors to provide an underrepresented voice and make a substantial contribution to the literature existing on the Arabic and Algerian speech communities in diaspora.

1.4. Motivation of the Study

A brief account of myself as a language user before being a researcher is relevant to set the context from which I approached my research. I am an Arab speaker who was born and brought up in a Berber region in north Algeria. My first language is Arabic. At the age of six, I learnt Tamazight through my friends and then at school alongside with French. English is my second foreign language which I started learning in the middle school at the age of twelve. I was a curious child who loved the world of languages and always dreamed of being a proficient multilingual speaker. I used to read lot of short stories and novels in Standard Arabic, English, and French. When I was in High school, German was included in the educational program for those who choose to study foreign languages. Once again, I became very fluent in German, yet I did not get the chance to continue learning it as I chose to study English at the university as a full-time student.

Being a multilingual person influenced me both positively and negatively. People around me usually consider any multilingual person as a competent speaker linguistically and communicatively who can read, watch, and communicate with foreign people. For instance, my friends, my neighbours, and my pen friends often compliment my talent in speaking different languages and my good accent in each language. Yet, I often face some linguistic and cognitive problems such as lack of certain expressions in either language, mispronouncing some words and sometimes I take few seconds to remember a word in a certain language.

When I came to the United Kingdom to attend a Pre-sessional programme[1] at Canterbury[1] Christ Church University (CCCU) in 2019, I found myself switching back and forth between four whole languages and sometimes borrowing from German. I realised how the shift between codes seems easy, but in fact, it is complex and triggered by various factors. I wanted to know what makes me, and my friends, select language A and not B among the four or five languages we speak. This experience inspired and motivated me to investigate this linguistic activity in terms of factors behind one's linguistic choice and how this is related to one's identity.

While socializing with the Algerian community in the UK, I could not help but notice the way they use various languages in the same word or sentence. Another thing that attracted my attention, is the arabised English words (an English word used and pronounced as an Arabic word for example 'school' becomes 'skola'). It was somehow surprising for me as I was used to hear arabised French words, but not English. All these factors enhanced my academic curiosity to investigate Algerians' language use and choice in a host country.

Besides, based on my initial reading, I deduced that (a) CS is practiced and regarded differently by people depending on their social backgrounds, shared experiences, and personal reasons and purposes. I also noticed that (b) not much research has been done about the Arabic and, specifically the Algerian speech communities in diaspora. Another motive that encouraged me to search this topic is the complexity of CS, the various attitudes towards it and my eagerness to learn how and why speakers practice it. Hence, I would like to contribute to previous research and enrich the existing body of knowledge with new findings about both the Algerian speech communities in diaspora, and their language use and choice in a multilingual context.

1.5 Linguistic reality in Algeria

1.5.1. Introduction

In order to be fully aware of the background of the linguistic profiles of participants taking part in current research, a section introducing the linguistic reality in Algeria is necessary. This section combines both the Algerian context and the diasporic context. Subsection 1.5.2. starts with describing the languages used in Algeria, a country characterized by its

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[1] **¹pre-sessional program** is a full-time academic English language and study skills program run by most universities in the UK. It prepares linguistically and culturally international students whose first language is not English for their future degree studies (undergraduate or postgraduate studies) (Lounaouci, 2021: 3)

multilingual linguistic diversity. Algeria recognized two official languages, namely Arabic and Tamazight. Due to historical reasons, the CAA or the non-standard Arabic is the first spoken language by Algerians mixed with some French words. French, the first foreign language, and English, the second foreign language play a vital role in various levels such as education, literature, and social media (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). This section also explores the distinction between Mashreqi Arabic, Maghrebi Arabic, and White Arabic. Subsection 1.5.3 refers to the diasporic context of this study offering a brief overview on the history of Arab and Algerian immigration to the world and to the UK specifically in addition to previous research among Arab and Algerian communities' linguistic practices in the UK.

1.5.2. Algerian Context

1.5.2.1. Arabic

Arabic is one of the Semitic languages. Wide reaching, it ranks the sixth spoken language as it has more than 300 million native speakers. It is the official language of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, Libya, the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Palestine and the states of the Arabian Peninsula. Within these abovementioned geographical areas, there are small minor groups who are non-Arabic speakers for instance, the Berbers of North Africa, the Kurdish (an Iranian dialect) in the north of Iraq and Syria, and the tribal populations of the southern Sudan. Arabic is also found in non-Arabic speaking countries such as in the south-western corner of Iran and in some enclaves in the Central Asian republics. (Ennaji, 1991; Bassiouney, 2009; Slade, 2014). The Arabic language is considered as a strong bedrock that unifies Arabs around the world. At the international level, it is an official language of the United Nations since the 01st of January 1974, alongside with English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese (Bassiouney, 2009).

Classical Arabic refers to the language used in the holly book of Islam, the Quran, and literature written in the pre-Islamic era. MSA, known also as "Fuṣha", is the language used in educational and administrative domains. It is less complex than Classical Arabic. It is written but not spoken in everyday life (Hachimi, 2013). CAA, on the other hand, or Darja is the language of everyday life among all Arab and Berber Algerian speakers. In contrast to MSA, which is considered a pure language, CAA is said to be "corrupted form of Arabic" because of the frequent insertion of French. It also plays the role of a lingua franca among Algerian Arabs, Berbers, and francophones (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). According to Zaytoni (2013), CAA is a colonial policy to diminish the usage of MSA after the latter was banned during the French colonization. In fact, speaking CAA alongside with other foreign languages such as French and English leads to the gradual replacement of MSA and

motivates developing an ideology of inferiority associated with this language in contrast to other languages which are considered prestigious (*ibid*).

Arabs represent 80% of Algerian population who speak mainly CAA. The latter is distributed to four main geographical areas in Algeria. Each one has its linguistic characteristics. (1) Central CAA is spoken in the capital of Algiers, and the surroundings zones such as Blida and Bouira. (2) Eastern CAA spoken mainly in high plateaus zones like Setif, Annaba outspreading to Tunisian borders. (3) Western CAA is used in west zones such as Oran and Mostaghanem reaching the Moroccan borders. And finally, (4) Saharan CAA spoken by Saharan people such as Tamenrasset, Adrar, and Janet (Benrabah, 2005 cited in Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021: 20).

1.5.2.2. Arabisation Policy

The French colonialism caused a 'languicide' in Algeria through banning Arabic in all spheres and many Algerians were obliged to speak French, or colloquial Arabic on few occasions (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). In 1962, after independence, the Algerian government launched an educational reform whose objectives were to revive Islamic culture, the Arabic language and restore everything (traditions, values, identity, culture...etc.) that has been hybridized during the colonial period (Maameri, 2009). To address the legacies of French colonialism, the Arabic language and Islam stood as bedrocks to the reconstruction and the recognition of the Algerian, Islamic, Arabic identity. When describing the relationship between the Arabic language and Islam, Rouadjia (1991: 111) says 'the Arabic language and Islam are inseparable. Arabic has a privileged position as it is the language of the Koran and the Prophet, and the common language of all Muslims in the world, language of science, and language of culture'. Islam was and still the source of legitimacy in Algeria. After independence, it was impossible to disassociate language from religion, hence the Arabisation reform took place in 1962 to suppress any trace that the French colonisation had left behind. Arabisation is the process of developing and promoting Arabic into a nation's education system, government, and media in an attempt to replace a previous language that was imposed into a nation due to colonization (Daoud, 1991; Ennaji, 1991; Benrabeh, 2004). Another major reason to implement this policy was to reduce conflicts which may arise from multilingualism (Benrabeh, 2004), using more than one language leads to inequality among the community's members and even exclusion. Hence, monolingualism was considered as a means to unify people (Benrabeh, 2004). Harbi (1984) says that "the revival of Arabic doesn't only aim at putting it in competition with French but as a barrier erected against

"foreign influences" (Harbi, 1984: 117-118). This policy then was meant not only to, but also to, to decrease conflicts between ethnic Algerian groups and to promote equality through monolingualism (Benrabeh, 2004).

Arabisiation aimed not only to promote Islam and eliminate French, but also to present a national integrity through restricting the use and spread of Tamazight that may lead to linguistic conflicts. However, this was not a welcomed plot by Berbers. The latter strongly refused the implementation of the Arabisation policy because it marginalizes their ethnic language Tamazight, oppressing and erasing everything that is of Berber heritage. During the presidency of Bouteflika, Tamazight was recognized as an official language, side by side with Arabic (Silverstein, 2004; Tilmatine, 2015; Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021) (see section 1.5.2.5).

Arabisation plot gave back the Arabic language its place by increasing its teaching all over Algeria and by decreasing the use and the teaching of the French language. Nowadays, Standard Arabic is used in official domains, education, art, media and advertising. It takes the lion's share in all spheres. Yet, even after independence, French is still used side by side with Arabic but in certain domains only (Benrabeh, 2002). Despite the fact that the policy of Arbisation was very encouraged in Algeria and many laws were established to diminish the use of French language, the latter kept its importance and its place (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021) but as a foreign language (Benrabeh, 2007).

1.5.2.3. Diglossia in Algeria

Diglossia is the coexistence of two varieties of the same language or unrelated languages, or even styles within a single speech community, in a complementary relation, where one is higher in social status than the other and has its own sociolinguistic functions and domains different from the other (Benrabah, 2005; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013; Sayahi, 2014).

Algeria is a de facto diglossic community. Diglossia, in the Algerian context, is the state of using two varieties of one language, namely high Arabic (H) (MSA) and Low Arabic (L) (CAA) (Djennane, 2004; Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). It was extended later into the existence of two unrelated languages, where one is used for High specific social functions and contexts, and another (Low) language used for different social functions and contexts (Meyerhoff, 2006). This research posits that the linguistic context of participants' language use and choice is diglossic given the different contexts associated with each language. For instance, MSA and French are reserved for high functions such as administrations and schools, whereas CAA and Tamazight are kept for informal domains.

19

In the Arab world, MSA is mainly learned through schooling. It is used in formal situations and contexts (Djennane, 2004; Rosenhouse et al., 2004: 842) such as reading sacred books, formal lectures, formal spheres, and spoken addresses and more. This H variety is called 'al-lugha al-fusha:' (the eloquent language). On the other hand, there are multiple L varieties. Those dialects are the first language of speakers. They are passed from parents to children through generations (Chebchoub, 1985; Rosenhouse et al., 2004: 842). The L variety is used in daily communications between family and friends, folkloristic proverbs, poetry, informal TV and radio and so on. It is called in Arabic 'al-lugha al-'a:mmiyya,' the common language or Darija (ibid). Each Arab country has its dialectal low variety such as Egyptian Arabic, Syrian Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, and so on. Contrary to the MSA, the L variety is written both in Arabic and Latin scripts, but only on social media. These two varieties differ at the lexical, syntactic, phonological, grammatical, and morphological levels, and language use (ibid; Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021: 20).

It should be mentioned that diglossia can be investigated within the framework of CS as switching does not only occur between languages, but also between high and low varieties of the same language (Bassiouney, 2009: 31). Speakers switch back and forth between MSA and CAA in everyday interactions which results in diglossic switching; for instance, they may use a poem, a verse from Quran, a proverb, and others in their casual conversations (Djennane, 2004; Sayahi, 2014). In research conducted to investigate the sociolinguistic functions of CS between standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic, Albirini (2011) found that important, complex, and serious issues are discussed using standard Arabic, whereas those with less importance and less seriousness are discussed in dialectal Arabic. This can be related to the shared norms between the participants who associate contexts of formality and importance with standard Arabic, whereas informality and unimportance are associated with colloquial Arabic. This is an example of an Arab diglossic situation which can be projected to all the Arabic countries in the world, among which Algeria is one. Relatedly, my findings showed that the participants have already experienced diglossic situations including both MSA and CAA in the same utterance. Thus, I consider any diglossic situation as a marked CS because there is a shift between two varieties of one language.

To sum up, the state of speaking two varieties of the same language is called 'diglossia'. This term is found in various speech communities. Yet, it is generally associated with the Arab world. It applies to Algeria as an Arab country regarding the Arabic language. The relationship between MSA and CAA is complementary and sometimes occur simultaneously. They are said to be in a diglossic relationship in the structural and functional

areas. On one hand, they are related functionally; in terms of speaking L Arabic at home while using H Arabic at school or other formal spheres. One variety has neither the characteristics nor the function of the other. On the other hand, they are connected structurally; there exist some differences (at phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic levels) between the two linguistic codes regardless that CAA is derived from MSA (ibid). In this research, I would consider switching between varieties of the same language as a diglossic situation, whereas switching between different languages is called a bilingual situation. Both terms are applicable to the data analysis chapters considering that participants experience both bilingualism and diglossia before settling in the UK.

1.5.2.4. Mashreqi vs Maghrebi Arabic, and White Arabic

Despite the fact that MSA or classical Arabic is the origin of all the Arabic dialects, there still exist mutual unintelligibility between Maghrebi and Mashreqi dialects. The Maghrebi dialects include the varities spoken in the five countries of the Arab Maghrebi Union namely Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. On the other hand, the Mashreqi dialects include the varieties of these four subgroups: (a) Egyptian in Egypt and Sudan; (b) Levantine in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan; (c) Iraqi in Iraq (d) and Gulf Arabic in Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States (Maamouri, 1998; Biadsy, et al., 2009; S'hiri, 2002; Hachimi, 2013).

Because of its dominance in Media, Arabic speakers are more familiar with Mashreqi dialects than the Maghrebi ones. Though it is a misconception, it is believed that MSA is selected to guarantee proper communication and intelligibility when Mashreqi and Maghrebi dialects are in contact. However, this is not always the case as S'hiri's findings clearly show that Tunisians switch not only to MSA, but also to some linguistic features of the Mashreqi dialect, and, according to my findings, to Maghrebi dialect alongside some English words (S'hiri, 2002). The combination of the linguistic features of MSA, Mashreqi and Maghrebi dialects can be referred to as "White Arabic" or "al-lahdʒah al-baidˤa:ʔ". White Arabic refers to a simplified Standard Arabic which does not strictly conform to the grammatical rules and permits the use of words from various Arabic dialects (Al-Shamsan, 2019; Alsaaeidi, 2022 cited in Alkhamees, 2023) excluding all foreign languages and aiming at proper communication between Arabic speakers.

1.5.2.5. Tamazight

According to Le Roux (2017), Tamazight is classified as the oldest language in Algeria. Some historians believe that the first inhabitants of Algeria were Berbers. Berber kings reigned the Numidian civilization till 202 BC after the decline of Carthage (nowadays

Tunisia) in 146BC (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021: 15). On the other hand, other historians claim that Numidia (nowadays Algeria) was not Berber because its language at that time was Canaanite Phoenician -the language of Arab tribes- and most of the present Tamazight words are originally taken from the Arabic language (Saadi, 2018). However, I believe the total denial of the Berber inhabitants is inappropriate. The scholar Ibn Khaldoun stated that the Arabic language appeared in Algeria with the arrival of two Arabic tribes from Yemen, namely Beni Hilal and Beni Salim (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). In fact, there exist some Berber manuscripts written in Arabic alphabets, however following the French colonisation, Tamazight language was written in Latin alphabets. This change serves to cultivate a Berber identity rooted in Latin rather than one connected to Arabic and Islamic heritage (Zahar, 2020). French used Tamazight as a tool of division between Algerians focusing on both language and ethnicity. Many Berberists led several civil revolts such as the Amazigh Spring movement of April 1980, the strike of the schoolbag in 1994-95, and the movement citizen of Kabylie in 2001-2004 rejecting Arabisation policy and claiming for the standardisation of Tamazight (Benrabeh, 2013; Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021: 15).

After the independence, Tamazight ranked the third after Arabic and French. Later, it was standardised and it entered the educational system. It was claimed as a national language in 2002 (Benrabeh, 2013) and declared as an official language in 2016 (Sabri, et al, 2018). Like the Arabic language, it has two different linguistic varieties which are the colloquial Berber which is used in everyday communication and Tamazight which is the standard language used in education and written in Latin rather than its scripts Tifinagh. There are noticeable dissimilarities between the two varieties. Berbers learn MSA from their first year in school. In parallel, primary schools in Kabylia (the Berber region) and some Arabic provinces start teaching Tamazight in order to promote the language (ibid).

Berbers represent around 20% of Algerian population who speak different varieties of Tamazight (Benrabah, 2005 cited in Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). These are Kabyle (Tizi-ouzou, Bejaia, Bouira), Mozabite (Ghardaia), Targui (Tamenrasset, Ilizi), Chaoui (Batna, Khenchela), Chenoua (Tipaza, Cherchel) and other minority dialects of some small groups. These dialects share a low degree of mutual intelligibility as they are separated by large Arabic speaking areas. Thus, they do not compose a linguistic or a geographical continuum. (Chaker, 1997. Haddadou, 2000; Selama, 2025).

1.5.2.6. French

One of the French colonialism remnants is the French language in Algeria (Ennaji, 1991;

Benrabah, 2013). Evidently, the use of CAA is most of the time combined with some French words. Over one century of colonialism in Algeria, France had left behind a great influence of its civilization including culture and language. Gradually, the use of French was increased despite the policy of Arabisation and Algeria's trials to eliminate anything relating to the French conqueror (Bnerabah, 2007). Yet, the impact is still spread among Algerians and the French language gained a place as a second language in Algeria (Ennaji, 1991; Benrabah, 2013) used alongside CAA in most informal cases (Youssi, 2001; Benrabah, 2014). French is also as important in scientific and technical subjects (ibid) as in standard curriculum being understood by most of the Algerian population (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021).

In contrast to PCGN (2003) which stated that French is viewed as the authentic lingua franca of Algeria because the latter's culture was not totally detached from the French colonization, Youssi (2001) and Benrabeh (2014) clearly state that French is regarded as the first foreign language and CAA is used as the lingua franca between both Arab and Berber Algerians. From a political-linguistic standpoint, French sometimes takes primacy over both Arabic and Tamazight languages, for instance in political discourses.

One cannot deny the fact that this language has gained a very strong position in Algeria. It has the prestige of a 'culture language', what creates a kind of competition between French, CAA, and MSA in different domains (Ennaji, 1991, Djennane 2004). This competition leads to situations of CS and CM (Rosenhouse, et al, 2004: 854). The influence of the French language on CAA is obvious as there exist a lot of borrowed words, some of which are taken as code switches, for instance, television= TV; telephone= phone; chauffage= heater …etc. Other French words are borrowed, yet modified to suit the Arabic language such as /kuzina/= une cuisine /a kitchen, tabla= une table/ a table; chemiza= une chemise/ a blouse…etc.

1.5.2.7. English

English is the second foreign language in Algeria. After the independence, plurilingualism was encouraged in Algeria. In 1979, English was incorporated in the Algerian educational system, and within few years it was promoted to compete with French over primacy as foreign languages (Benrabah, 2007; Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021). Recently, Algeria has shifted focus towards English thanks to globalization and the status of English as an international language. The start was by replacing French by English in some Algerian ministries such as National Education Ministry and Higher Education Ministry (Aouimar, 2019). Besides, English was introduced in Primary schools starting from the third grade (Selama, 2025). Despite all these initiatives, French retains a prominent and esteemed status

in the linguistic profile of Algerians and attempts to challenge the dominance of French have been opposed by some francophones mainly (Bouherar and Ghafsi, 2021).

The coexistence of these languages in one single geographical area made Algeria a multilingual and a multicultural market and the contact between Arabic, Berber and French has resulted in the extensive use of code-variation (Haouès, 2008). Yet, it shouldn't be assumed that every Algerian is a multilingual speaker as language proficiency differ form an individual to another. Speakers range from monolingual persons who use only one language such as Tamazight or CAA, bilinguals who know two languages, or multilingual speakers who master one foreign language or more other than their mother language.

1.5.2.8. First Language vs Heritage Language

Throughout this research, two terms are frequently used, namely first language and HL. First language refers to the language that children have been exposed to since birth. Research of language acquisition allocates this definition to both mother tongue and first language (Sabir and Safi, 2008; Albirini, 2016) which are considered to be the same in this research. For example, though my ethnicity (Arab) is different from my friend's (Berber), we both have Arabic as our first language because it is the language, we grew up speaking. In relation to current research, most participants have acquired CAA and MSA at an early age. They were exposed to Algerian Arabic through their parents, family, and the speech community in general. They were also exposed to standard Arabic indirectly through cartoons, stories, nurseries, Islamic schools, Quranic recitation, and religious speeches and sermons (Saiegh-Haddad et al., 2011; Aram, et al, 2013; Haeri, 2000;). However, at odds with Albirini (2016, 33), I would posit that only CAA, rather than MSA, is the mother tongue of individuals who speak Arabic as MSA is not used exclusively by individuals in daily communication. In some cases, I would use the term 'Arabic' to refer to both High and Low varieties of Arabic (Bassiouney, 2009). On the other hand, HL is associated with a minority language which is either immigrant or indigenous learned and used at home or in informal spheres. It is usually surrounded by a majority language which the speakers of the HL become competent in because of its dominance. The term also refers to a language of one's ancestors which he/ she identifies with culturally, and to a native or mother language as claimed by Valdés (Valdés, 2001; 2005; Polinsky and Kagan, 2007; Brinton, et al., 2017). For example, in North Africa, Tamazight is a HL because it is a minority language compared to Arabic, the dominant language. Likewise, Arabic, Chinese, Urdu, Turkish, etc. are HLs languages in diaspora in Europe and America. In the current research, Arabic is the first language of both

Arab and Berber participants. It also serves as a HL because it is a minority spoken language in the UK.

1.5.3. Diasporic context

In this sub-section, I briefly highlight what is meant by immigration and how it differs from migration. Then, I turn to describe the statistics of Arab and Algerian diaspora in the world and in the UK.

The term 'migration' refers to the movement of people from their home place to another place, usually for work or study, for a known limited period, with the intention of returning back home. Whereas 'immigration' is to move from one's country to a new country with the view of permanent settlement (Jamai, 2008). These two terms differ in terms of whether the person moving is going to stay in the new country or coming back to his/her home.

Immigration is a common phenomenon as it has been a part of the history of many countries. It is a recurrent activity. People migrate from one nation to another for different reasons, for instance: natural disasters, wars, historical, political and economic issues, geographical proximity, work opportunities, visa availability and family reunification (Russel et al, 2016). Therefore, in the last four decades, due to migration, many countries have become bilingual and others multilingual (Appel and Muysken, 2006: 4). In the coming lines, general statistics are displayed to give account to the Arab immigrants in the world and the United Kingdom in general and to the Algerian diaspora in the UK in specific.

1.5.3.1. Arabic diaspora

According to Egypt | IOM Country Office (2017), the Arab population in Europe is around 6 million Arab forming what is called Arabic diaspora i.e. ethnic Arabs or people descendent from Arabic origins. Most of them are based in Europe mainly in Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, and few are in America and south Asia. The majority of Arab migrants to these countries are from the Maghreb namely Algeria with 2.2 million, and Morocco with1.4 million immigrant.

Since the late of the nineteenth century Arab migration to the UK started from the Middle East as it was its colony and spread to reach north Africa (The Maghreb) and some other African Arabic nations (Egypt, Libya, Sudan, etc.). Yet, large waves of Arab migration dated from 1991. Various reasons were behind Arabs' migration, among which we find seeking peace, escape poverty, working and living a better life (Slade, 2014: 36–37 cited in Merzougui, 2018).

In addition to the British Arab, NABA estimates there are around 500,000 first- and second-generation British Arabs who are descendants from Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq. Most of those immigrants are centered in big cities such as London Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and others. In London, the largest groups of the Arab community are from Somalia, Iraq, Egypt and Morocco (Museum of London, 2005 cited in Merzougui, 2018).

1.5.3.2. Algerian Diaspora

This sub-section is concerned with presenting the profile of Algerian diaspora. However, it is an incomplete image of the real situation as there is little research investigating Algerian immigrants. The Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology advocates that in diaspora, a sense of difference is maintained in a new (or non-home country) location because of the notion of dispersal, in which people are dispersed across space.

The Algerian immigrant population vary from one organization to another. Thus, for the sake of comprehension and realistic estimation, this research relies on statistics provided by multiple reliable sources. Algeria ranked the 11th country in the world, and the third African country, which provided the most immigrants with a rate of 6.8% in 2010 (Hadjou, 2014). In 2017, Algerians are approximate to 0.7%, that is 2.3 million citizens living abroad (Musette, 2018). The formation of the Algerian diaspora started since the early 20th century and is tied to the French colonialism. The first waves of immigrations started from 1900, mainly to France. The foremost motive for France allowing Algerians' immigration is the need of labor force especially during the First World War (1914-18). Taking part in the First and Second World War grant Algerians freedom of movement, French citizenship and reunification with their families. Hence, the number of Algerian immigrants in France reached 100,000 people in 1930, 350, 000 persons in 1962 and 800, 000 persons in 1982 (Noiriel, 2008 cited in Hadjou, 2014). However, because of the economic crisis in Europe and France in the 1980s, the number of Algerian immigrants witnessed a dramatic decrease. Both Algerian and French policies restricting immigration from Algeria also played a significant role in decreasing the number of immigrants (Hadjou, 2014). In 1995, Algerian immigrants to France represent 74.5 % of the total of Algerian immigrants in the worldwide (Carim, 2010). The rest of immigrants is found in other European countries (14.9%), the countries of North Africa (4.2%), Arab (1.6%), North America (1,1%) and other (3.7%). From the 1990s headlong, both motives behind immigration and chosen countries have changed. Most male and female immigrant Algerians are looking for better employment, and

better life to live. Europe is on the top destinations selected by Algerians with 87% in France (Musette, 2018), then comes The United Kingdom, Belgium, Italy and Spain as second destinations (Hadjou, 2014). Other immigration destinations include Gulf countries and North America. African and Middle East countries are the least favoured destinations (Musette, 2018). Eurostat data (2017) estimates around 18,600 Algerians are in illegal situations in EU countries annually over the past decade (2008–2017) (Musette, 2018).

Taking the United Kingdom into account, The Office for National Statistics estimates that in 2017, 33,000 residents of the UK were born in Algeria. According to IOM (International Organisation for Migration), most Algerians in the UK can be found in the Greater London area, specifically in Walthamstow, Edgware, Leyton and Finsbury Park (the latter of which has come to be commonly known as 'Little Algiers'). Some of them reside in Glasgow, Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, Leicester and Bournemouth.

Collyer (2003), in a study comparing the Algerian migration to the UK and to France, found that the first reason for Algerians to migrate to the United Kingdom is to seek asylum after the black decade started in 1990. Other reasons such as study, where Algeria provides elites with scholarships to pursue their studies abroad, France continuous refusal and exclusion of Algerians, seeking jobs and better life (Collyer, 2003). Thus, UK became the favourite destination to Algerians. In the last three decades, Algeria witnessed big waves of brain drain reality (Musette, 2016). Skilled professionals, intellectuals, and highly educated individuals immigrate seeking better opportunities. Reflecting Musette (2018), I believe it is high time for Algeria to take measures to prevent these losses including the skilled workers and students funded by the Algerian government.

Certainly, these statistics on immigrants are subject to skepticism as they are subject to change and may contain errors though they are taken from reliable sources. However, this information can provide us with a sense of the distribution and the variation of Arab and Algerian world migrations and Diasporas around the world.

1.5.3.3. An Overview of diasporic Arab communities in the UK

Over the past few decades, numerous research has been launched to study different speech communities in the UK in terms of their language use and choice (Eid, 2018). For instance, studies investigating CS in classroom and attitudes towards CS among the Chinese community (Wei, 2007b; 2009; 2014); negotiating language and culture in classroom among Turkish children (Lytra, 2011); agency in language choice among Japanese children (Gyogi, 2015; Okita, 2002); and language choice among Punjabi/Urdu and Gujrati communities

(Harris, 2006) have all a common focus which is CS among a diasporic community in the UK. Besides, there exist various research on Arabic speaking communities in the UK tackling the issue of language use, bilingualism, multilingualism, identity in diaspora, CS and similar results, and HL maintenance. For instance, S'hiri (2002) investigated the social reasons for Tunisian speakers to accommodate linguistically to speakers of Mashreqi Arabic in London. Data proved that switching solely to MSA for communication is a misconception. Tunisian Arabic speakers use a combination of Mashreqi Arabic, English, and MSA as a way of convergence to their Mashreqi interlocutors. The participants feel pride in their Tunisian Arabic, though it is not frequently used, because they could maintain a sense of identity and their ability to code switch is regarded prestigious which enhances their self-perception. Another sociolinguistic research of language selection among individuals who are Arabic English bilinguals in Manchester revealed that Arabic was the main used language among participants and that the mixture between Arabic and English is determined mainly by the interlocutors (Othman, 2006). In a similar study, Othman (2022) investigates HL maintenance among Arabs in Manchester through analysing language choice interaction inside and outside home domain. Data showed that the intergenerational different linguistic choices are tied to the different motivations behind the selectin of Arabic or English among the speakers who belong to different generations, their linguistic competencies, the setting, and their conversational partners. Bichani (2015) compared language utilisation, attitudes, and identities of two Arab speech communities from different backgrounds living in Leeds and Ealing. Results showed that although participants' proficiency in Arabic was found to be lower than reported, participants hold positive attitudes towards Arabic and often associate the latter with different identities. In addition to the previous works, a recent study conducted by Al-Raddadi (2021) who explored the linguistic practices, attitudes, identity construction, and language maintenance among bilingual Arab children in supplementary Arabic schools in Manchester. Findings suggest that although there was a shift to English to be the dominant language among the participants, the Arabic language is maintained because it is the language of the Quran. Besides, Arabic supplementary schools alongside other strategies play a great role in maintaining Arabic among Arabs in diaspora.

On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, research on the phenomenon of CS, and its relation to attitudes and identity among the Algerian speech community in the UK is scarce. A recent study focused on online CS among Algerian students in the UK. Results showed that CS has multi-function use among Algerian participants in which revealing the Islamic identity was the most dominant feature (Merzougui, 2018). Thus, I believe that this research

is pioneering in its focus on the study of the interplay of CS motivations, identity, and linguistic attitudes among multilingual Algerians in the UK.

This thesis, therefore, seeks to investigate the practice of CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK. It essentially tries to bring to light the social motivations that prompt informants to switch from one language to another. Another point to explore is how the use of CS is related to the user's identity construction and expression. Finally, yet equally important, this thesis aims to examine the participants' attitudes towards languages and towards CS.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of a total of seven chapters, with each chapter dealing with certain concerns. The first chapter introduces a brief account of the thesis shedding light on the focus of the research, the objectives, the research questions, the methodology adopted to collect and analyse data, researcher's motivations, and the structure of the thesis. It also delves into the linguistic reality in Algeria.

The second chapter basically reviews the literature of CS. It stands as a background of the study offering various definitions for the main concepts. It also reviews significant theoretical frameworks for CS motivations, mainly the Markedness Model (1993b), the Gumperz Tradition (1982), and Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1991), , and Family Language Policy to analyse and discuss the obtained data. It also reviews other concepts such as CS motivations (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 2013; Holmes, 2013), social identity theories, the Tripartite model of attitudes, and Family Language Policy (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013). Within this chapter, more focus is put on the notions of identity (Goffman, 1959; Butler, 1993; Tajfel and Turner, 2004; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) and attitudes (Garrett, 2013) to figure out the relationship that exists between them and CS and what effect each notion has on the other among multilingual Algerians.

The third chapter presents and discusses the practical phase of this research, which is qualitative research. A detailed description is provided for the research strategies that have been chosen for the project in hand such as epistemologies (constructivism and interpretivism) and data collection tool (semi-structured interviews). Alongside the methodology, this chapter explains the analysis tool of the data collected through this study, which is thematic analysis.

The fourth chapter analyses the practice of CS patterns in 'interviews' and discusses the motivational factors for CS based on the researcher's perspectives and interpretations. The

fifth and sixth chapters deal with the interpretation of the results obtained through analysing the 'self-reported' answers about the motivations for CS, identity, and language attitudes. These three data chapters answer the research questions that were introduced in section 1.2 and offer a discussion of the findings.

Chapter seven summarizes the key findings in the thesis. It also sets out the implications and the limitations of this work and puts forward some recommendations for further research in the field.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1.Introduction

This chapter discusses concepts and theoretical frameworks that inform the study into understanding the sociolinguistic experiences of the participants with CS. It is divided into three main parts. The first part starts with briefly reviewing the phenomenon of language contact and some main linguistic results such as bilingualism and multilingualism as a background for the study. It also defines CS referring to its historical perspectives. Following some scholars (Gumperz, 1982; Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 7; Woolard, 2004; Poplack, 2004; Mahootian 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006: 239; Boztepe, 2010; Kharkhurin and Wei, 2014: 153), CS, in current research, is referred to as the alternation between languages within or beyond sentence boundaries. Furthermore, a distinction is made between some other linguistic results, namely code mixing, borrowing, translanguaging, and crossing to highlight the differences and similarities with CS.

The second part of the literature review refers to a range of theories, models, and approaches to explain the main concepts and to contextualize the current research in relation to other studies. They also offer a structured basis to analyze and interpret the data gathered. It starts

with the elucidation of three theoretical frameworks that contribute to explaining the social motivations behind participants' CS in a multilingual context namely: the semantic approach- or what is called the Gumperz Tradition- (1972; 1982), the Markedness Model (MM), and Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1991). A brief reference is made to Bourdieu's (1990) work explaining how CS stands as a sociolinguistic habitus in some multilingual communities.

The third part sought to review concepts related to CS namely identity, attitudes, and language maintenance. It starts with the work of Bhatia and Ritchie (2004; 2013) with reference to Holmes (2013) to discuss some of the motivations for CS. In Bhatia and Ritchie's study, motivations, which stand for any factor triggering CS, are classified into four categories, namely participants' roles and relationships, situational factors, message intrinsic factors, and language attitudes. The latter is explored through a Tripartite model (Baker, 1992; Garrett, et al., 2013) explaining its components, namely cognitive, affective, and behavioural attitudes. Although CS has been perceived negatively (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Edwards, 2004; Obermueller, 2012), it recently receives more positive attitudes among bilingual and multilingual speech communities (Dewaele and Wei, 2014; Yim and Clement, 2019) for

various reasons, among which expressing social identity is the salient one. This also can be related to speakers' language ideologies and the spread and acceptance of language myth given their connection to language attitudes. The last part also reviews the notion of language and identity putting in spotlight some theories of identity such as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; 2004), Social Self-Categorization Theory, Dramaturgical Approach (Goffman, 1959), and Identity Performance and Performativity (Butler, 1990; 1993). These theories can help both the researcher, and the reader understand the essence of the relation between language, hence CS, and identity, particularly when discussing the data.

Towards the end of the chapter, a reference is made to the theoretical framework of Family Language Policy (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013) as it contributes to discussing the strategies of HL maintenance among language users in diaspora.

It is worthy to mention that some works that I review some outdated. Yet, I decided to include them, as they are crucial for my research. These sources show how literature has evolved and how thought has progressed and changed. They also offer a basis for comparison between past and present perspectives -such as linguistic attitudes towards CS. Some of these sources might reflect worldviews that may not align with today's standards. To address this issue, I include recent studies which reflect contemporary perspectives. Furthermore, I critically reflect on claims where necessary, assert my own perspective as a researcher, alongside comparing them with recent perspectives. For the sake of clarity, I present some hypothetical, yet plausible examples of my own.

2.2. Language Contact: Linguistic Results

In essence, it is exceedingly unusual to find a language isolated and unaffected by the influence of other languages (Sánchez, 1995: 12; Thomason, 2001: 10; Gomez, 2012: 35). In the context of this study, the concept of language contact is a significant lens through which to explore the intricate contact between languages in a distinctive Algerian sociolinguistic context. Weinreich posits that two languages are said to be in contact whenever they are employed alternatively by the same speaker (Weinreich, 1953: 1 cited in Redouane, 2005). Whenever two languages are in contact, the linguistic repertoires are affected, and some linguistic features are transferred and modified. Some languages deviate from their normal form and their structure is re-shaped, others enrich their vocabulary, and some new languages emerge such as creoles (Appel and Muysken, 2006; Seimund, 2008).

Bilingualism and multilingualism are two prominent linguistic outcomes emerging from language contact. Both concepts are referred to here given that the phenomenon under

investigation *per se* stems from bilingual and multilingual contexts. Furthermore, all the informants taking part in this research are bilingual, if not multilinguals. Principally, the term 'multilingual speaker' is central to this discussion. Scholars like Hassaine (1984), Spolsky (1988), and Ennaji (2005a) describe an individual as bilingual if he/she has the ability to speak two different languages. In case the same individual speaks more than two diverse languages, he/she is called a multilingual (Ennaji, 2005a; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021). Notably in multilingualism, the number of languages to be mastered and spoken is not limited (Gunesch, 2002).

The terms 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism' may sometimes be used interchangeably (Edwards, 2004; Romaine, 2004). Haugen (1956: 9 cited in Myers Scotton, 1995) considered both phenomena as an umbrella term that indicates that individuals have different language skills where no features of monolinguals are identified. As Cruz-Ferreira (2010:2) states, 'multi-linguals are people who use more than one language in their everyday lives'. The scholar makes 'no distinction between bilinguals, trilinguals, quadrilinguals, pentalinguals, and so on. Hence, I decided to use the terms 'multilingualism' and 'multilingual' in my research to describe any individual who is not monolingual. A second reason why I prefer these terms is that I am all the participants of this study who are Algerians living in the UK, are multilinguals who speak Arabic/Tamazight, French and English.

2.3. Code Switching

Understanding the dynamic interactions between different languages is relevant. Evidence suggests different explanations that shape our understanding about the sociolinguistic activity of CS. Since CS means the shift between **codes** within a conversation, language as a code necessitates clarification. In this thesis, language serves as a complex code upon which human communication is established. Hence, languages used in isolation or the mixture of various codes both help language users achieve successful conversations based on their different needs and objectives.

Language, as a core element in linguistics, has got many definitions explaining what it is (concept) and what it does (functions). It is a means of social interaction aiming at establishing communicative relationships among individuals who belong to a certain speech community (Young, 1990). The term 'code' in CS is the conventional equivalent of 'language' (Blommaert and Meeuwis, 1998). It is referred to as the specific dialect or language utilised in a certain speech event either written, spoken or signed (Wardhaugh, 2010: 8; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021: 2). The term 'code' is often used as an 'umbrella term for languages,

dialects, styles etc.' (Myers Scotton, 1998: 3; Gardner- Chloros, 2009: 11). It is worthy to mention that research on CS use the terms 'code' and 'linguistic variety' interchangeably (Auer, 1998:34).

2.3.1. Historical Perspectives

CS is the shift between languages within a single conversation (Matras 2009:101). Although this sociolinguistic activity (Eastman, 1992: 8) was spread among many various speech communities, it was often unnoticed and of marginal importance in research. It has attracted linguists' attention because of many changes, notably social ones, for instance, immigration and globalization (Weinreich: 1953; Winford: 2003a; Bhatia and Ritchie: 2004: Nguyen: 2008; Obermueller: 2012).

In the early 20th century, Manuel Espinosa pioneered the first study of bilingual language use among a Mexican American speech community, defining CS as a random language mixture (Espinosa, 1917: 408 cited in Benson, 2001). This foundational work was developed in Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953), which became a central reference in CS research. Hans Vogt (1954), inspired by Weinreich, further expanded upon the concept, advocating that CS might be more psychological than linguistic (1954: 368) (see Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Myusken, 2000: 12; Benson, 2001). Shortly thereafter, Einar Haugen (1956) defined CS as the introduction of unassimilated words from one language into another (Haugen, 1956: 40), marking the emergence of modern CS research.

After this new term became an important concept to study from a variety of perspectives, many linguists launched different definitions of CS. Gardner-Chloros (1995) and Backus (1996) claimed that this linguistic phenomenon is confusing; it has no precise definition that is practical to situations of alternation of languages.

Since the study of Blom and Gumperz (1972) about CS in Hemnesberget, Norway, CS has been widely accepted that switching between codes is not random but has social significance. Gumperz (1972) explains that CS is 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems and subsystems' (Gumperz, 1982: 59). i.e., the alteration between codes (dialects or varieties of languages) in one single conversation as a legitimate strategy to communicate through either constructing or violating certain fixed rules. From the late 1970s onwards, several studies concerning CS emerged (Myers Scotton: 1993; Rampton: 1995; Auer: 1998; Wei: 1998; MacSwann: 2000; Benson: 2001; Cromdal: 2001; Jake, et al., 2002; Gardner-Chloros: 2009) and many publications were printed (Myers Scotton, 2002). One definition that summarises most of the explanations of

CS is that this linguistic practice refers mainly to the use and change of two or more languages in the same episode of exchange (Gumperz, 1982; Milroy and Muyken, 1995: 7; Woolard, 2004; Poplack, 2004; Mahootian 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006: 239; Boztepe, 2010; Kharkhurin and Wei, 2014: 153) without necessarily changing the topic or the interlocutor (Poplack, 2004: 2062, Mahootian 2006: 511). This definition is quite simple and thorough. Thus, it is adopted as a basic definition to refer to any use of two or more languages in the current research.

To sum up, there are plenty of explanations of CS, yet for the sake of conciseness, I selected only those relevant to my research. CS is the shift between two or more languages in the same exchange by the same speaker and with no change in the setting of the conversation (topic, interlocutor, etc.). Although CS happens between languages, dialects, registers and even styles (Grosjean, 1982; 2010; Myers-Scotton, 2006), this research considers only any state of shifting between either languages or dialects, a situation of CS.

2.3.2. Other Linguistic Results

The linguistic phenomena resulting from language contact are problematic because they are addressed using different terminologies. A large number of studies were conducted to differentiate between those phenomena, in particular CS, code mixing (CM), borrowing (B), translanguaging (TR), and crossing (CR) (see Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980; Appel and Muysken 1987; 2006; Rampton, 1995; Romaine 1995; Poplack and Meechan 1995; Grosjean 1988, 1995, 1997; Holmes, 2001; Treffers-Daller, 2007; Garcia, 2015; Wei, 2017; 2018). Therefore, this section delves into the exploration of these linguistic behaviours to gain more comprehensive understanding of similar linguistic outcomes stemming from language contact.

Early studies have different views about CM. For instance, Hudson (1996: 53) and Bhatia and Richie (2004) suggest that CM is 'a kind of linguistic cocktail' which consists of random order of words from different languages in one utterance. Interestingly, some linguists consider CM as a type of CS where the former stand for intra- sentential switching - switching within sentence boundaries- which is constrained by grammatical structures, and the latter stands for inter-sentential switching - switching across sentence boundaries- which is constrained by discourse principles (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980, Appel and Muysken, 1987; 2006; Poplack, 2004; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 2013). In line with the previous scholars, I would argue that CM stands for any combination of different linguistic systems within one sentence.

Concerning borrowing, I believe it is difficult to encounter a language with no borrowed features from other languages. Borrowing is the implementation of words, features, and structures, from one language into another (Matras 2009; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013, Talab Jaafar, et al, 2021). Myers Scotton believes that CS and B should be considered as linked processes. They are 'part of a single continuum'. Yet, she distinguishes between them in terms of belongingness, frequency, and phonology. She clarified that code switches are part of the embedded language (EL), whereas borrowed words belong to the unmarked language (Myers Scotton, 1993c). Furthermore, she believes that if a constituent from a second language occurs frequently in FIRST LANGUAGE, then it is a borrowed form. Whereas, if it occurs sometimes, then it is a code switch which belongs to the EL (Myers Scotton, 1992 cited in Eastman, 1992: 30). Phonologically, Myers Scotton (1992), claims that B forms are adapted phonologically by the ML whereas CS form remain part of the EL.

Further, translanguaging provides another dimension when languages are in contact. This phenomenon is a paradigm that explores what multilinguals do with language (García and Wei, 2014). It is a theory of knowledge which maintains that multilingual language users construct knowledge through incorporating all their languages (Wei, 2018). CS and translanguaging are epistemologically different. The former means moving from one named language to another. It is an external viewpoint of languages whereas the latter is an internal viewpoint (psychological). Translanguaging is a socially constructed language system covering features corresponding to different languages with neutral grammar. It is also to select features from one's linguistic repertoire to construct meaning considering all the available linguistic sources as one linguistic repertoire (Garcia, 2015; Wei, 2017).

Another similar linguistic activity is crossing (Rampton 1995). Language or code crossing is the use of language which is not typically considered to 'belong' to the speaker, i.e., the speaker performs a marked shift in language, dialect, accent, or style, etc. that can be identified to belong to the 'other' group (Rampton 1995; Rampton, Charalambous, and Charalambous, 2018: 3). It encompasses a broad range of sociolinguistic behaviours, for instance the use of a significant minority language by an outgroup. For example, Algerian Arabic speakers shift to Tamazight which is a minority language in Algeria for different purposes such as to have fun or to emphasise some words. It is usually used to self-identify with a certain group and distance from another one. Crossing also involves a shift across ethnic and social boundaries. (Rampton, 1995; 1997). Linked to CS, I would posit that crossing can be a type of CS. However, unlike CS, speakers tend to have limited knowledge of the language they cross into (Rampton, 1995; 1999).

All these phenomena are slightly different, but they still share the feature of 'two codes in one conversation'. However, this research categorises any combination of two/ or more languages in one word, within sentences, or beyond sentence boundaries under the umbrella of CS, regardless of whether it is CM, B, TR, or CR.

2.4.Theoretical Frameworks of Code Switching' Motivations

This section explains how Gumperz Tradition, Markedness Model, and Communication Accommodation Theory work collectively to analyse the findings of the current research. The sociolinguistic activity of CS can be investigated through three different approaches namely sociolinguistic, structural, and psycholinguistic (Bullock and Toribio 2010). The structural approach is concerned with the study of the grammatical rules of the different languages used in switching. Its main theories are the Government Constraint (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh, 1986), the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995), the Equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint (Poplack, 1980), the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993b), and the 4-M Model, which was developed as a revision of the MLF Model, where each M stands for a specific type of morphemes based on their role and distribution in language use. The psycholinguistic approach is interested in investigating the cognitive aspects related to CS. The sociolinguistic approach places its emphasis on the social aspects governing CS. The main socio-pragmatic theories are Del Hymes' (1972) Interactional Sociolinguistics, Auer's (1984, 1995, 1998), Conversational Approach, Fishman's (1972) Allocation Paradigm, Myers-Scotton's (1993c) Markedness Model later recast into the Rational Choice Model, and Blom and Gumperz' (1972) Situational and Metaphorical approaches. The current research relies mainly on the last two approaches, in combination with Communication Accommodation Theory, as they are useful in exploring the various social motivations for CS in a multilingual context. The three former approaches are beyond the scope of the research; thus, little is said about them.

2.4.1. The Gumperz Tradition: Situational CS vs. Metaphorical CS.

This research is inspired by Gumperz Dichotomy to classify the motivational factors of CS. However, it does not commit completely to the approach, but it adopts what is relevant and compatible with the data only. The distinction between the two types of CS is useful because it tells how and when CS occurs.

Blom and Gumperz (1972, 1982) launched a semantic approach which covers the conversational versus the situational CS, which is revised later to become the 'we code', 'they code' dichotomy. It is called semantic because, for Gumperz, each language of the

bilingual speaker has a meaning (*ibid*). At first, the distinction between situational CS and metaphorical (conversational) CS was not clear and controversial. Thus, some efforts were put together to differentiate between the two notions (Shoko, 2003: 138).

2.4.1.1. Situational Code Switching

The concept of situational switching maintains a direct association between the language and the social factors (Blom and Gumperz, 1972: 424). This type of switching occurs depending on the change of the social situational factors: the topic, the interlocutors, and the setting of the conversation (*ibid*). Speakers use a code in certain situations and another code for other situations. Besides, Holmes (2001) focused on the reasons behind CS as a basic point to describe situational CS. She argues that whenever language users engage in switching codes for apparent reasons, 'it is sometimes called situational switching' (Holmes, 2001: 36). She adds that a code would not be predicted unless the social factors are known in advance (*ibid*). An interesting example provided by Blom and Gumperz (1972) is about a conversation which took place in an office between the clerks and residents in Norway. Both the clerks and residents utilised standard Bokmål whenever talking about formal issues, and they used local Ranamål whenever the conversation is informal, for instance, talking with family or friends. In this situation, the alternation from Bokmal to Ranamål indicates a shift in the topic, the context, and the interlocutors (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). This example shows how the change of the domain/ the context of the conversation prompts speakers to change the code.

2.4.1.2. Metaphorical Code Switching

Metaphorical or conversational CS is a rapid and short exchange of language codes in the same speech episode (Holmes, 2001: 40-42). Two different grammatical linguistic systems can be used in the same speech event, and both can be associated with different social identities (Shoko, 2003: 140). There is no change in the topic, the participants, or the setting, rather the change is in languages. This type of switching is used to achieve some communicative effects such as drawing attention, emphasizing, quoting, commenting, and joking (Myers Scotton and Ury, 1977; Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984: 4).

In conversational CS, the code choice is not predictable like in the former type (Blom and Gumperz, 1972 cited in Shoko, 2003: 140). This type of switching goes beyond societal agreement as the speaker uses a marked code where normally the unmarked code should take place (Myers Scotton and Ury, 1977; Gumperz, 1982). Holmes (2001, 40- 42) presumed that

this type of switching is a rhetorical skill employed to convey one's ideas effectively. It is used as a metaphor to enrich the communication taking place (*ibid*: 41; Blom and Gumperz, 2000: 127; Holmes, 2013) through calling up the metaphorical 'world' of the code used (Gardner-Chloros, 2009) and a ''metaphore' for the relationship being enacted regardless of the situation'. (Fasold, 1984:194).

In conclusion, Gumperz dichotomy outlines various ways in which bi/multilingual speakers allocate different meanings to each linguistic code they perform. This work significantly enhances bilingual communication' understanding through distinguishing between two types of switching, namely situational and conversational code-switching, where the former includes a change in the situational factors, yet the latter doesn't.

2.4.2. The Markedness Model

The Markedness Model (henceforth MM) as a general, natural theory of markedness, is adopted in current research to account for the social motivations for CS (Myers Scotton, 1983). This model is one of the Rational Choice approaches which advocate that speakers have the ability to behave rationally and select the 'best choice' from the available set of linguistic choices (Wei, 2005).

Myers Scotton applied the MM essentially to study CS in African communities that she researched in the late of the 1990s (1992, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2006). However, the MM is applicable to all other communities not only African ones. It is also relevant to code choices at all the linguistic levels transcending CS (Myers Scotton, 1998).

Before going into deep details of this social theory, I want to review some terms briefly namely context and social meaning, social norms, and speech community. Context is the combination of comprehensions or anticipations shared by some groups at a certain time and place (Lessig, 1995: 958) and social meaning is 'the semiotic content attached to various actions, or inactions, or statuses, within a particular context' (*ibid*: 951). Thus, the social meaning of a context is meant to encourage actions in accord with social norms (*ibid*: 998). The latter refers to rules which govern individuals' behaviours. It is also a way of thinking and behaving that is accepted among the members of a group to be normal and proper in a social setting (Mackie, 2015; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021). Behaviours that conform to these social rules are 'normal', whereas behaviours that do not are 'abnormal'.

A speech community or a community of practice (Eckert, 1988; 2000; Mendoz-Denton, 2008) is defined by language, region, linguistic norms (individuals' evaluations to the used linguistic

variety), and social meanings to specific ways of speaking (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021), for instance 'Algerois'- the dialect used in the capital Algiers- indexes superiority and modernity. In its simplest meaning, a speech community is a group of individuals who share common linguistic norms and expectations regarding the language used. It may use more than one language for interaction, for instance, the bilingual Canadian community who uses both English and French, North Maghrebi communities (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) who use trilingual switching, Plurilingual Papua New Guinea, etc. (*ibid*)

The model maintains that speakers' main motivation to intentionally choose one variety over another is to '*optimise*', i.e., to increase rewards and decrease costs (*ibid;* Myers Scotton, 1993b: 100) as they expect more benefits from that variety. Increasing rewards refer to achieving successful communication between the speaker and his/ her audience. The message should be understood by the audience as it is intended by the speaker. Decreasing costs refers to avoiding conflicts which may result from miscommunication and misunderstanding. Speakers make their code choice depending on an optimal strategy that suits them (Myers Scotton, 1998: 20). While alternating codes, speakers do not rely only on what they intend to say, they also expect that their choice matches their addressees' understanding (*ibid*: 19).

The second major motivation for CS is social identity negotiation (Myers Scotton, 1993a:111). The scholar states that there is a set of maxims which govern the negotiation of identities in conversation (*ibid*: 115) (section 2.4.2.3). Myers Scotton explains further that the practice of CS implies a minimum of two Rights and Obligations sets (section 2.4.2.2), and thus, two different identities; each code stands for a specific identity (*ibid*: 122). Whenever speakers decide to engage in CS, this means they are establishing a new set of norms; in other words, they redefine and negotiate the interaction (Myers Scotton, 2000). This decision is an intentional social message which leads to the (re) negotiation of identities between the speaker and the addressee. For instance, a staff member (SM) meets with her manager, who is her mother:

(a) Manager: *Avez-vous transféré les documents demandés aux étudiants*?

FT: have you transferred the requested documents to the students

(b) SM: *Oui madame.*
FT: yes madame.

(When coming closer to each other)

Manager: **blouztek rahi mkamcha. Matensaych t3eyti l ḵaltek tji tefter ghedwa.**

FT: Your blouse is creased. And don't forget to call your aunt to have lunch with us tomorrow.

In turn (a), the manager used French, to address the staff member about some work to be done. The set of norms in this situation is a formal one requiring the interlocutors to use French, a high variety at work to discuss work issues. As for identity, the manager shows her authoritative identity over the staff member. In turn (c), the manager shifts from being a manager into a mother through the switch to CAA to talk to her daughter about a family affair. The set of norms also changes from formal to informal and the identity became more parental than authoritative.

For the sake of understanding the claims of this model, I refer to explanations of some main concepts which may appear frequently in the research, namely markedness, Rights and Obligations set, rationality, and maxims of the MM.

2.4.2.1 What is Markedness?

Myers Scotton (1993b) explains that markedness is a property of opposition. The terms 'marked' and 'unmarked' refer to a state of non-equivalence (Anderson, 1989; Myers Scotton, 1993b). This non-equivalence or opposition is a matter of implicit hierarchization of the polar terms: 'the simpler, more general pole is the unmarked term of the opposition while the more complex and focused pole is the marked term' (Batistella, 1990: 1). That is, the unmarked pole is simpler and more expected, whereas the marked pole is complex and less expected. This view can be applied to an interaction which is based on CS. The general, frequent language is unmarked, and the less used, unexpected language is marked (Batistella, 1990: 1; Myers Scotton, 1993: 81). For instance, in a conversation where Arabic and Tamazight are used, the presence of Arabic means the absence of Tamazight (AR is unmarked and Tamazight is marked) and vice versa. The use of a specific linguistic code over another is regarded in terms of marked versus unmarked opposition in reference to which extent the use of that code meets the expectation of the community norms, which determine the interpretation of choices (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 110; 1998). A code that is predicted by the community norms is unmarked, whereas a code that is not predicted is marked (Myers Scotton, 1998: 5).

Myers Scotton (1993: 75) declares that each person is born with a markedness metric or evaluator. This metric belongs to the innate cognitive faculty of all humans permitting them

to evaluate all code choices as either marked or unmarked based on the interaction taking place (*ibid*: 80; Myers Scotton, 1998: 6). It is also an element of one's communicative competence which is the speaker's understanding that goes beyond mere grammatical structure of the language. Competent speakers can not only distinguish between a correct and a wrong sentence but also can decide if a certain utterance is accessible or not (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 79). In the process of their familiarization with the community's sociolinguistic culture, and thanks to their previous social experiences with language use, speakers acquire the social meanings related to each language in different social contexts (Myers Scotton, 1993a). Thus, they are able to decide about the markedness of codes according to their community norms. This in return confirms that in most cases conversations are conventionalized (Myers Scotton, 1998: 109).

2.4.2.2. RO Set and Rationality

The main theoretical construct launched by Myers Scotton to measure markedness is Rights and Obligations set (RO). It accounts for the codes of behaviour and norms that are recognised and held in a given social community (Myers Scotton, 1993a). 'Rights and obligations' refer to participants' expectations in any given sociolinguistic conversation (Myers Scotton, 1998: 23). In other terms, norms, codes of behaviour, attitudes and expectations which individuals derive from salient situational factors specific to a certain community (*ibid*: 24; 1993: 84-85). For instance, two speakers who belong to one speech community and share the same social meanings expect what will be in an interaction. Rights refer to accepted notions to be received from the other interlocutor/s and Obligations refer to expected accepted notions to be delivered to other interlocutor/s. If a speaker used an unexpected language, this may indicate a less preferred RO set and may lead to a breakdown in communication or misunderstanding. The unmarked RO set of a certain interaction is derived from the social factors of the speech community. Factors such as ethnicity, gender, age, social status, and occupation are the main features of the social identity of the interlocutors taking part in the interaction (Myers Scotton, 1998). However, it is worth mentioning that code choices do not arise from the community norms, but speakers make these choices. Community norms are found to help the interlocutors interpret and weigh the costs and rewards of those code choices. Hence, speakers are responsible for generating codes and not norms (Myers Scotton, 1993b:111). In terms of indexicality, 'the universal ability derived from the markedness metric' (ibid: 88), all linguistic varieties are indexical in the sense that they refer to a different RO set within the conversation, and thus to different roles

and relations with the audience.

Rationality, in the MM, is the instrument by which choices are selected. It tells the speaker why choices are made and how they are made (Myers-Scotton, 2000: 1261). Myers Scotton (1993b) claims that language users are rational actors who can make the 'best choice' that will benefit them with less costs and more rewards; 'costs' may refer to the number of words and 'rewards' refers to intentional and referential meaning (Myers Scotton, 1993b). That 'best choice' is also related to the listener's expectations; if the latter are met, the choice is unmarked (the speaker has no intention to affect/ leave an effect on the listener). However, if the expectations are not met, the choice is marked (the switching has a motivation that a speaker wants to achieve for instance impress the listener). Myers Scotton and Ury (1977) maintain that social norms give meaning to people's language choice. Within the MM, code choice is intentional as speakers expect their audience to recognise their intentions and interpret them according to the social norms of the speech community (Myers Scotton, 1998). I think that sometimes the audience's expectations are not clear, and the speaker does not always meet his audience expectations because he decides about the codes deliberately and this results in making the speech event marked for the audience.

To sum up, the model explains how speakers use code choices to express different sets of Rights and Obligations. Speakers who belong to one speech community should share understanding of the social meaning (RO set) of the language used in order to negotiate their social roles (Myers Scotton, 1993b). They, as rational actors who are able to assess codes as unmarked or marked based on common RO sets, are aware that shifting to another code is more advantageous than sticking to a monolingual mode (Myers-Scotton, 2000: 1259). In this situation, CS is the marked choice that will establish a new set of rights and obligations.

2.4.2.3. Components of the Markedness Model

The MM is composed of one principle and three maxims: the negotiation principle, the unmarked choice maxim, the marked choice maxim, and the exploratory choice maxim. The subsequent sections below delve into exploring each maxim separately. Expand.

The Negotiation Principle

The negotiation principle and the three maxims are modelled from the cooperative principle launched by Grice (1975) where he declared that this principle enjoins speakers to act their social role as it is required or expected including the situation and the goal of the conversation (Grice, 1975: 45-46 cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993a). The negotiation principle introduces the MM's main claim. It describes the major motivations of bilingual and multilingual

speakers involved in a certain interaction. In this principle, speakers choose the code which enables them to express their social role that can be understood by the addressee in a conversation. This social role can only be understood by selecting a code that (a) leads to a successful conversation (optimisation) and/ or that permits the speaker (b) to negotiate his/ her identity against the interlocutor (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:113).

The Unmarked Choice Maxim

There are two types of unmarked choice maxim. The first type is labelled sequential unmarked choice. Myers Scotton explains that a speaker 'make (s)…code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when…wish (ed) to establish or affirm that RO set' (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 114). This type takes place when the situational factors change, such as interlocutors, topic, or setting, within the conversation. Thus, a new unmarked RO set is negotiated by the speakers based on the success of the previous experience of the rewards gained from the unmarked choice. This type of switching is consistent with context-related or situational switching (section 5.3.2).

The second type is CS itself as the unmarked code. It is the most employed choice among multilingual individuals where the switching between the first language and the second or foreign language is unmarked. This type of switching is not necessarily indexical, rather it is a vehicle to achieve communication. It is predicted when the HL is used alongside with an international language such as English or French. Yet, it is not predicted in diglossic communities such as in the Arab countries (North Africa, Middle East, and the Gulf countries). In a conventionalised conversation, participants use an unmarked code choice to indicate an unmarked RO set. For instance, the use of Arabic mixed with French in Algeria.

CS itself as unmarked needs the following principles to take place. The participants should be either (a) bilingual or multilingual speakers who belong to the same group, (b) they present their dual membership which stands for each code, (c) they have some extent of proficiency and/or familiarity with the used codes, (d) however, proficiency is not a requirement if the switching is in form of singly occurring constituents (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 119).

The Marked Choice Maxim

Whenever the participants or the topic changes, the RO set changes as well from unmarked to marked. In such situations, speakers establish a new RO set that matches the addressees as well as the topic. It is unexpected and interpreted to be a departure from the unmarked choice. In this maxim, speakers select a marked code (embedded language) to launch a new set of RO which represents a new social role. For Myers Scotton, the marked choice is a negotiation

against the unmarked RO set and a call for another RO set (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 1312). It is 'a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants' (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 160). One general motive to use the marked choice is 'to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it'. This change indicates for instance emotions, authority, high educational status, ethnicity, exclusion …etc. (*ibid*: 132).

The Exploratory Choice Maxim

The exploratory choice maxim posits, 'when an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour' (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 142). Put another way, in case the unmarked choice is unclear, the exploratory code plays its role as a representative for the unmarked code with an RO set. Thus, the speaker expects the addressee to understand and interpret the choice as 'take x as y' (in which the 'x' is the exploratory choice, and the 'y' is the unmarked choice). The exploratory code choice is rarely used as the unmarked choice is usually understood. It often occurs in less conventionalised conversations where the unmarked choice is not clear or where there is a clash between community norms. It is found also in situations where the language policy is changed, for instance, replacing English by French in Canada which creates confusion which language is the marked and which language is the unmarked (*ibid*).

Before moving to the criticism and the application of the Markedness Model, I would like to summarise the motivations for CS explained as a reference to analyse my data. Myers Scotton (1993) explained in her model that there exist two major motivations for selecting a variety over another, namely 'to optimise' which means to achieve effective communication, and/or to negotiate social identities between the interlocutors. Furthermore, Myers Scotton (1993, 132) cited various motivations for marked choices among bi/multilingual speakers (mainly African contexts) which are found by other researchers, for instance: to express emotions, social distance, ethnicity-based exclusion/ inclusion, the message is the medium, aesthetic effect, echoic effect, speakers are entrepreneurs. She, however, prefers to summarise these motivations under a general title which is negotiating the change of social distance between the participants through either increasing it or decreasing it (*ibid*). Interestingly, Myers Scotton (1993) argues that CS driven by a motivation is a marked choice, however, if speakers have not got any motivation in mind, it is unmarked choice. This claim is also confirmed by Auer (2009, 46), who found that this kind of CS is used in situations where both codes are unmarked to the speakers. Myers Scotton (1993) further

explains that CS in general does not necessarily have social motivation, an effect, or a function. In reference to the findings, both chapter four and five reveal that participants switch between codes based on context related motivations such as accommodating the interlocutor and changing the topic of the conversation (5.3.1 and 6.3.1), message related motivations like reiteration and filling linguistic gaps (6.3.2 and 5.3.2), and identity negotiation (5.3.3 and 6.4). Findings also show that there are other motivations for CS among the participants, among which, 'no reason' is a salient one.

2.4.2.4. Critics of the MM

Despite the fact that the MM has been very useful to research the social motivations for CS, it was criticized at various levels. For instance, Auer (1998, 2004) and Wei (2000; 2005) criticised the model because it did not take the speakers' perspectives into consideration as a motivational factor behind their CS. Auer claims that speakers, while switching codes, do not refer to any previous interaction as they may not have one (precedent case). Instead, they do so based on each other's understanding of the current interaction (Auer, 2004: 159). On the other hand, Blommaert and Meeuwis (1998), relying on the findings of a study of Zairians in Belgium, declare that the MM is limited because it fails to consider variability within languages such as styles, dialects, accents and others. They also challenge the model in supposing monolingualism as a point of reference in communication. Furthermore, they criticise the model for its failure in accounting for specific identities and in viewing optimization and social identity negotiation as the only motivations for CS. In addition, Woolard (2004) disagrees with Myers Scotton's claim of CS intentionality and posits, based on her research, that CS is not always a deliberate and a conscious practice.

More recently, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001: 1) readdressed the model in light of the Rational Choice Model with much focus on the speakers' personal motivations and objective opportunities in language selection. They review former explanations of CS which attribute the choice of codes to societal factors, discourse structure, or constraints. Though they do not deny the importance of conversational structure and societal factors, yet they emphasise the role of rationality as another crucial component in the Markedness Model. They claim that speakers are rational actors who select their codes rationally based on the cost-benefit analysis in a given conversation to achieve their communicative goals. However, I would agree with some scholars who argue that the Rational Choice Model does not contribute any novel information to the foundations of MM. For instance, Wei (2016) believes that there is no apparent difference between the MM and the Rational Choice Model as they are based on

rationality and social norms as mechanisms to explain code choices.

Despite the critics, I argue that MM can be applicable to current research given the fact that the functional social-oriented concepts of the MM help processing the data regarding motivations for CS. Strikingly, the MM is not espoused wholeheartedly to analyse the current obtained data. At first, I thought that this model will be used only to figure out the social motivations for CS among multilingual Algerians in the UK covering "optimization" and "identity negoriation", yet I concluded that it will be more appropriate to describe categories of CS while analysing 'participants' accommodation', as a factor behind CS based on the MM's maxims (section 4.3.1.1). Hence, this research will test the MM and its suitability in the analysis of CS categories and its social motivations. It will be mainly used in chapter four; however, it will be reviewed from time to time in chapter five and six as well.

In brief, the MM advocates that CS is intentionally and rationally practiced to achieve certain communicative ends between the speaker and the addressee. Speakers do not make random code choice, but rather they are aware of the consequences of their selection and are able to assess the costs and rewards of their code choice. They also have a 'schema' of how to conduct a conversation, and addressees as well as a sense to predict how the interaction will take place. These specific details are picked up from their experiences in their communities (Myers Scotton, 1993b: 152). However, speakers often make different code choices depending on their interlocutors, topic and setting. Through switching codes, speakers negotiate their rights and obligations and their desires about relationships, and therefore they negotiate different identities. This summarises the premise of Myers Scotton that linguistic choices often have motivations, and the latter are not static but dynamic and changeable according to the conversation change.

2.4.3. Communication Accommodation Theory

Hand in hand with the Gumperz tradition and Markedness Model, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is espoused in this study to explain the social motivations behind switching codes among multilingual Algerians in the UK.

In 1971, Howard Giles introduced this theory maintaining that speakers adjust their speech to match the audience's way of speaking (style, tone, rhythm, vocabulary, etc.) in an attempt to show agreement, to effectuate a successful conversation, and to initiate and maintain a positive personal and social identity (Gallois et al., 2005). CAT involves two main types of accommodation which are convergence and divergence. Convergence refers to adopting the same way of communication of the other interlocutor which decreases the social distance

whereas the latter refers to adopting a different way of speaking as an indexical of divergence and difference which increases the social distance (Giles, et al., 1971; 1991, 2001; 2013). There are other two types of accommodation, namely overaccommodation and underaccommodation, which has not been elaborated here as they are outside the scope of this research.

Giles (1991) suggests that accommodation occurs at three levels: phonological, lexical, and syntactic. At the phonological level, people can adjust their accents, pronunciation, and tone to conform to their audience's selection. For instance, an Algerian Berber from Tizi-Ouzou changes his accent to match his friend who is from a different Berber region, Bejaia. At the lexical level, people can adjust their vocabulary choices. For instance, an eastern Algerian may accommodate his listener's Algerian western vocabulary selection. Last but not least, at the syntactic level, people can adjust the structure of their sentences depending on the conversation's social context.

Failure to make appropriate adjustment eventually leads to dissatisfying conversation (Giles, et al., 2013). For instance, in the above example, if both Tamazight speakers diverge from each other's accent, the conversation may be felt in conflict and inappropriate as each one of them is trying to make his way of speaking (in this example, accent) the dominant one. This is called maintenance which refers to the absence of accommodation and it is usually accomplished as a way of preserving one's social identity against other identities in an intergroup social context (Giles, Reid, and Harwood, 2010; Giles, et al., 2013).

This theory can help explain and understand why speakers change their way of communication when interacting with other people either from a similar or different linguistic background. In this research, it is applicable alongside with the maxims of the Markedness Model introduced by Myers Scotton (1993). It explains one motivation for CS which is interlocutors' accommodation (sections 4.3.1 and 5.3.1)

Overall, the Communication Accommodation Theory suggests that speakers adjust their speech to either resemble or differ linguistically from their conversational partner/s, aiming at establishing and retaining shared meaning and social connections with them, all of which is found and discussed in the data chapters.

2.5. Bourdieu-ian *Habitus*

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) is relevant to this study given that it provides understanding towards the practice of CS as a sociolinguistic 'habit' among the participants. Bourdieu explains habitus as an

assemblage of structured dispositions that prompt individuals to act and react in specific ways according to specific situations (Bourdieu, 1990, cited in Thompson, 1991: 12). They are instilled through previous (childhood) experiences. Taking speaking for instance, a person grown up in a multilingual environment is likely to develop this multilingual skill at an early age influenced by the habitus of his/her environment. The social world surrounding individuals becomes common, 'self-evident', and taken for granted (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 127, 128). For example, the use of both Arabic and Tamazight in continuum at home is a habitus transmitted from my elder siblings to myself and my younger brother, from birth to adulthood. Nonetheless, this does not imply that habitus is impervious to change. Bourdieu (1990) recognises the potentiality of habitus to change depending on the different experiences the agents go through, hence, their ways of perceiving the social world surrounding them. Speakers' shift from intra- sentential switching habitus to an inter-sentential switching is a good example of habitus' change. A similar linguistic practice is common among the speakers taking part in this research, which is CS as a habitus.

2.6. Motivations for Code Switching

Since language is a means to communication, multilingual speakers often shift back and forth between different codes to achieve an effective conversation with their conversational partner. This swing, which happens between languages, dialects, registers, and even styles, is triggered by various motivations (Sharaf Eddin, 2014; Dewaele and Wei, 2014). Based on my reading about what causes CS, I would argue that there is no clear-cut distinction between the terms: motivations, functions, and reasons while studying CS. Many recent studies have targeted investigating the reasons for CS. Some of them tackled this issue under the term 'motivations' and others used the term 'functions', 'reasons' or a more general term 'factors'. For instance, Panhwar (2018) who investigated multilingualism in Sindh, Pakistan, used 'functions', 'factors', 'motivations', and 'reasons' interchangeably to describe what enhanced CS among the participants of her study. Another similar study was conducted by Mahsain (2014) about motivations behind CS among Kuwaiti bilingual students. The researcher also used the terms interchangeably to describe the functions of CS. Holmes (2013), when discussing the phenomenon of CS in chapter three, she uses 'factors' and 'reasons' frequently to refer to why CS happens, whereas Wei (2005) and Bhatia, et al., (2013) use 'motivation' and 'factor' very often. In order to avoid any ambiguity regarding how to label the factors affecting CS, I would argue that the term 'motivation', 'factor', or 'motivational factor' are the most suitable terms to use in this research. Motivations for CS will cover both reasons and functions as it is explained in the model below. I believe 'motivation is quite a distinct and

uncomplicated term to refer to any factor that triggers CS.

What are the factors that motivate people to switch between languages? This question has been discussed extensively in sociolinguistic literature. The answer may be 'various social and psychological motivations' driving the selection of language rather than another (Meyerhoff, 2006). In a multilingual community, speakers find themselves switching codes when they cannot find the appropriate words, express their feelings, or fill a gap in a conversation (Bhatia and Richie, 2004:18; 2013; Holmes: 2013). They also shift to give more weight to an idea, to stress a thought, to swing between contents and topics, to meet the linguistic skills of other speakers, to reinforce intimacy and so on (*ibid*). These are called motivations.

This research also sought to review the work of Bhatia and Ritchie (2004; 2013) which provides a structural and thorough presentation of various motivations for CS. Bhatia and Ritchie (2004: 339; 2013: 379) address four essential factors motivating multilingual speakers to mix between codes namely (a) the social roles and relationships of the participants; (b) situational factors; (c) message-intrinsic considerations, and (d) language attitudes. Furthermore, a reference to the work of Holmes is relevant. Holmes (2013) states that the way speakers make their code choice is determined by four working social factors behind linguistic choice: the participants (who; with whom), the setting (the social context/ where), the topic (what is being talked about) and the functions (why they are talking: the purpose of speakers during or after the conversation) (see Eastman: 1992; Myers Scotton: 1993; Bhatia and Ritchie: 2004; Eunhee: 2006).

2.6.1. Participants' Roles and Relationships

Participants are the users of language involved in a conversation which is composed of who is speaking and with whom is speaking (the speaker and the listener) (Inuwa, et al., 2014). The conversation between the speaker and the listener should be based on mutual intelligibility, stated relationship, roles, and social status. Speakers who have multiple linguistic repertoires usually mix between codes intentionally (Myers Scotton, 1993a; Yusuf, 2012) and unintentionally (Wei, 2000; Woolard, 2004; Auer, 2010) to accomplish effective communication. They usually choose a code that is intelligible to their addressees, for instance, I always make sure that my language is free of a foreign language whenever I talk to my grandmother. Here, French is avoided because it is not mutually intelligible. In reference to the Markedness Model, the deference maxim is present in this example; using English or French with my grandmother may denote lack of respect or offense. Secondly, the social status and the relationship between interlocutors is another motivating reason that decides

which code to be used (Holmes, 2013). Is it a relation between two friends, a parent and a child, a doctor and a patient, a teacher, and a student? Thus, the code is selected according to the persona and/ or the relationships the speaker wants to take place. (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 110). Alongside with these factors, the factor of formality is taken into account; whether the conversation should be formal or informal.

In brief, the relationships between speakers and their addressees affect the language selection. A code is selected according to the mutual understanding of the rights and obligations that exist between speakers and addressees (Myers Scotton, 1993a: 84, 2002: 43–6; Bhatia and Ritchie: 2013: 389).

2.6.2. Situational Factors

Bhatia and Ritchie's (2004) perspective revolves around that some languages are more suitable than others for some speakers in different situations, settings, and topics. They believe that social variables like gender, class, religion, and age play a significant role in influencing how individuals select various codes. In essence, social context is a crucial factor in language choice (Wardhaugh, 2011). By social context, I essentially refer to the setting where the interaction occurs. This encompasses 'where', 'when', 'the topic' (what is being talked about) and the functions (why they are talking: the purpose of speakers during or after the conversation), as emphasised by Holmes (2013). As an illustration, I use CAA at home as the language of home domain, but I speak Tamazight outside home domain. Code selection may also be determined by the topic factor. For instance, my family uses CAA to speak about daily matters, but we often shift to SA to discuss religious matters and French for scientific topics.

2.6.3. Message Intrinsic Factors

Some factors behind CS are associated with messages only such as quotations, reiteration, topic-comment, hedging, interjections, idioms, deep-rooted cultural wisdom, apologizing, greeting, etc. (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Holmes, 2013). It is about which function the speaker wants to convey. Speakers switch codes to report somebody's saying for the sake of keeping the same exact words. Others do so to translate or to emphasise an idea, or to mitigate tabooness. CS and CM effectively serve this function of hedging (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 2013). Another function of switching languages is to make interjections. In brief, different factors related to message transmission triggers speakers to switch to a different code, usually a marked code.

2.6.4. Language Attitudes

The alternation between codes is also related to how society perceives this phenomenon, either positively or negatively (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 348; 2013). Mixing languages may be less if the society views it as a negative aspect of language or as a lack of fluency or proficiency in any language. On the other hand, it will be more frequent if it is considered as a sign of proficiency and competence (ibid). For instance, the widespread trilingual mixing 'Arabic-French-English' among Lebanese is viewed as a distinguishing characteristic of Lebanese culture (Grosjean, 1982: 149). Contrariwise, Algerian southern people avoid switching to the French language because it is 'the language of colonizer'. In the following section, I will delve into exploring the concept of attitudes towards languages and towards mixing codes among bilingual/multilingual speakers.

In brief, though the concern of CS motivations is investigated in other research, Bhatia and Ritchie's (2013) work consists of four clear motivational factors that prompt the activity of switching codes in a single interaction. Firstly, the social roles and relationships of the interactants which Holmes (2013) refers to as 'participants' (who; with whom). Secondly, situational factors which are mainly, in Holmes' words, 'the setting' (the social context/ where), and 'the topic' (what is being talked about). Thirdly, message-intrinsic considerations which refers to the speaker's purposes to shift codes for instance quoting, translating, interjections, and so forth. Lastly, the interlocutors' attitudes towards each language stands as a motivational factor, whether switching to the more preferred language should take place or not. Bhatia and Ritchie's work is used in collaboration with the Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993a), Gumperz Dichotomy (Gumperz, 1982), and the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1991) to analyse what motivates participants to switch from one language to another in a bilingual/ multilingual conversation. This will be clearer in the data chapters number 5 and 6.

It is important to mention that, in data chapters, I did not follow the same categorisation of motivations as Bhatia and Ritchie did. Rather, I used different labels to classify my data as follows: 'context-related motivations', 'message-related motivations', and 'CS as an identity marker'. My selection of these labels is not random but based on the data obtained from the interviews and influenced by other works mentioned above. The analysis of the findings has led to the selection of these labels and confirms that the work explained above can be suitable and applicable to situations of CS.

2.7.   Linguistic Attitudes

Defining 'attitudes' is complex as they are latent and ambiguous, and therefore must be

inferred (Garrett et al., 2003: 2). Thus, the concept 'attitudes' receives much interest from various research fields and researchers provide different explanations depending on the context in which attitudes are examined (Van Dijk, 1998; 2008; Baker, 1992; Dörnyei, 2003; Garrett et al., 2003; 2007; 2010; Sallabank, 2013; Dragojevic, 2017). Attitudes are common opinions among a certain community to evaluate an object either positively or negatively through attributing different evaluative responses (ibid; Eagley and Chaiken, 1993: 1 cited in Redinger, 2010: 45).

Research in language attitudes is concerned with how (either positively or negatively) and why (reasons) speech communities perceive and evaluate languages in a certain way (Garrett et al., 2003: 13). Language attitudes or linguistic attitudes are perceptions and evaluations of individuals or groups of certain languages or linguistic practices. They are not limited to languages only, but also to dialects, minorities, speech styles, and language groups (Baker, 1992: 29). The notion of language attitudes is explored here as a means to understand language choice and behaviour (Baker, 1992; Dörnyei, 2003) among multilingual Algerians living in the UK, and if possibly determine any influence on the practice of CS *per se* and on the formation of identity if founded (Hogg and Smith, 2007).

In relation to my research, results about participants' attitudes show that the practice of CS is sometimes driven by their attitudes which are influenced by their ideologies about the languages they speak. For example, switching to English is frequent because it is highly valued as a prestigious language.

2.7.1. The Tripartite Model of Attitudes

Garrett (2010) suggested three main approaches that are employed to examine attitudes which are societal treatment studies, direct approach, and indirect approach. The former approach includes inferring attitudes from different social sources, such as TV programs, media scripts, government discourses, etc., using observed behaviours and sources. The direct approach involves asking informants explicit questions concerning their attitudes towards languages and towards linguistic practices in general through various methodological tools such as questionnaires, interviews, and surveys. The indirect approach relies on covert or indirect questions that help the informants reveal their attitudes unconsciously. The current research combines direct and indirect approaches to analyse the participants' attitudes towards used languages and towards CS.

This research adopts the tripartite model of language attitudes as a conceptual framework

which classifies three types of attitudes, namely cognitive, affective, and behavioural (Edwards 1982, Breckler 1984, Baker, 1992; Garrett *et al.,* 2003, Garrett, 2010). Attitudes mirror beliefs about an attitude object (cognition), include feelings about it (favourability and unfavourability), and associate the predisposition to behave in a specific way (behaviour) (Garrett, 2010: 23).

Cognitive attitudes refer to the evaluative beliefs people attribute to a given entity in relation to other entities. It is mainly what individuals know and think about a given subject (Baker, 1992; Garrett, et al, 2003: 3). Affective attitudes are evaluative responses driven by feelings and emotions. It defines the extent to which 'we approve or disapprove of the attitude object' (Garrett, 2010: 23). Significantly, the affective component is related to the cognitive component in the sense that the latter may be based on or lead to an affective attitude towards a given entity. Garrett further explains that beliefs albeit contain no affective content, they may provoke and certainly be provoked by strong affective responses (Garrett et al., 2003: 10). For example, the belief that the Arabic language is spreading all over the world and more learners are interested in speaking it may lead to more positive attitudes towards this language. 'Behaviour' is the third element of the tripartite model. It is also labelled 'readiness for action' (see Coady, 2001). For Eagley and Chaiken (1993: 12), the behavioural component contains both overt actions (concrete) and behavioural intentions (abstract). It does not essentially lead to actual behaviour. Rather, it can be manifested only through intentions (Bohner, 2001). For instance, the positive attitude towards the implementation of Tamazight in the educational program in Algeria may imply an intention to learn it. However, making efforts to learn the language is the actual behaviour.

Most of the studies conducted about attitudes are done on specific languages or varieties like English or a particular aspect of language like pronunciation or grammar. Yet, few studies about attitudes towards the alternation between codes do exist (Dewaele and Wei, 2014; Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 81–82). Thus, the main goal of the next sub-section is to shed light on how individuals view the practice of CS.

2.7.2. Attitudes towards Code Switching between Past and Present.

Definitions of CS as a linguistic behaviour were conflicting as it can be considered as a linguistic achievement, an identity marker, or nonsense speech (Dewaele and Wei, 2014). On one hand, some scholars considered CS as a negative result of language contact and an inferior linguistic form, which had its roots because of linguistic deficiency (Obermueller, 2012), unbalanced language proficiency, and memory recall limitations (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 349). Moreover, a large number of studies state that the majority of their participants'

attitudes towards CS were pejorative (Chana and Romaine, 1984; Bentahila, 1983; Lawson and Sachdev, 2000; Berthele, 2012). Monolinguals view it as gibberish or senseless discourse (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 19; Edwards, 2004: 78). Whereas, some bilinguals consider it as 'a sign of laziness, an inadvertent speech act, an impurity, an instance of linguistic decadence, a potential danger to their own linguistic performance' (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 350), verbal salad (in Nigeria), still colonised (Morocco) and very irritating (Hong Kong) (see citations in Lawson and Sachdev, 2000), a bastard language (Guessous, 1976), a handicap for thought and expression (Zaidane, 1980), and a deplorable medium (Lahlou, 1991) (see Ennaji, 2005). These expressions mirror ideologies of monolingualism and linguistic purism (the perspective practice of recognizing one variety of a language' as being purer or higher than other varieties), One Language Only (OLON) and One Language At a Time (OLAT), which lay behind attitudes against CS (Wei and Wu, 2009).

On the other hand, recent and present studies have accepted CS as a skilled and meaningful linguistic ability. In 1970 (Poplack: 1979, 1981; Blom and Gumperz: 2000), negative comments and views were challenged, and CS was considered to express language proficiency (Nguyen, 2008; Dewaele, 2010:201; Yim and Clément: 2019: 3), linguistic creativity and criticality (Wei, 2011) and communicative linguistic proficiency (Bhatt and Bolonyai, 2011; Grosjean, 2001; Kharkhurin and Wei, 2014) which refers to the knowledge and utilisation of multiple languages to achieve effective communication (Cook, 2008). Nguyen (2008), alongside Grosjean (2001), argues that alternating between codes is an ability found only in proficient skillful bilinguals in the sense that they control one (or more) foreign language alongside their first language. Speakers enjoy unfamiliarity with foreign languages and report that they are happy when switching between languages because this allows them to identify the ethnic group they belong to (Pena, 2004). It is worth mentioning that CS is taken as a tool to measure one's degree of competence in the used languages (Sayahi, 2014). In this vein, Poplack (2004) agrees that speakers who accomplish intra-sentential CS (code mixing) tend to be more competent than speakers who perform inter-sentential CS or single words insertion.

It is worth noticing that attitudes have changed over time. Most remarkably, this very first phenomenon gains more positive views in recent works. However, this does not mean that negative opinions are completely diminished.

One problem that should be taken into consideration is that participants may provide socially looked-for responses to seem socially acceptable (Garrett, 2010: 44). For instance, informants taking part in this research may give answers which they think the researcher is looking for or

expecting, though, in real life, they believe the opposite. For example, they may say that they prefer not to use French in informal conversations, but in reality, they use it to seem more prestigious. Thus, this limitation needs to be considered by researchers whenever investigating attitudes.

In brief, attitudes towards mixing codes differ from one community/individual to another ranging from negative to positive. There are no fixed opinions. Thus, views towards this phenomenon may shift through time depending on speakers themselves, as attitudes towards CS are related to who is doing CS and in which context (Berthele, 2012; Dewaele and Wei, 2014). The next section discusses identity, various theories surrounding identity, and the intricate relation to language and the phenomenon of CS.

2.8.   Theorising Identity

Identity is a controversial, complex, fluid, and multifaceted concept (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Ennaji, 2005; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Norton, 2006; Block, 2009; Bauman, 2013; Jenkins, 2014). Identity is how we perceive ourselves and others, and how others perceive us on the basis of various aspects such as ethnicity, race, culture, religion, and language (Deng, 1995: 1; Jenkins, 2014). Identifying oneself with a specific group means there are common things with that group and other different things from another group or what is called in Simon's words 'in-group and out-group self-definition' (Simon, 2004: 37). For instance, I identify my affiliation to a group of French speakers means also distancing myself from English or Spanish speakers. This group affiliation is taken from my understanding of who I am and who others are.

In agreement with the social constructivists and the poststructuralists, I believe that identity is dynamic and changeable in accordance with the requirement of social interactions and social norms. It is an in-process becoming rather than being and it is both a process and a product which can be constructed, negotiated, and re-constructed discursively in various contexts (Hall, 1997; Riley, 2007; Kramsch, 2007; 2009; Kiraly, 2014; Norton, 2006; Darvin and Norton, 2015). Based on the speakers' objectives in a certain social interaction, multiple identities may hierarchically be arranged according to their importance and suitability for that interaction which indexes complexity, flexibility, and multi-facets of identity (Omoniyi and White, 2006)

Suleiman (2011) insists on the importance of the association of identity with the context in which it is studied in the sense that context (time and space) is crucial to understand how individuals relate themselves to their world and how this relationship is constructed (Norton,

2006). I believe that individuals may construct their identities through linguistic utterances to specific audiences who are governed by the context of social interaction. The change in social context leads eventually to either change or reconstruction of identities through linguistic behaviours (Kayi-Aydar, 2015). For instance, in the current research, I am investigating social identity construction among Algerians after five years of settling in the UK. The results of this study may be different from a study exploring the same case but in a different geographical area, or research about Algerians residing in the UK for more than 30 years. This can be related to the claim that identities are dynamic which means that participants' identities after a short period in diaspora might be different from those residing longer periods (in diaspora).

Four types of social identity are found to be relevant to this research, and which are recurrent in the data chapters analysis namely, ethnic identity, cultural identity, religious identity, and national identity.

2.8.1. Facets of identity

Notably, various social variables can contribute to shaping different aspects of identity such as ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, social class, and race (Suleiman, 2011; Ennaji, 1999, 2005; Omoniyi and White, 2006; Fought, 2006). There are four major different, yet interrelated types of identities which will appear repeatedly in this research namely ethnic identity, cultural identity, religious identity, and national identity.

To start with, ethnicity 'is something that is being negotiated and constructed in everyday living…It is constructed in the process of feeding, clothing, sending to school and conversing with children and others' (Isajiw, 1993). Ethnicity is more linked to culture and historical heritage, and less to religion and politics (Albirini, 2016). From a cultural view, ethnicity is a 'cultural heritage shared because of common descent' (Joseph, 2004:162). Ethnic identity is the knowledge, perception of self, and pride to be integrated to a certain group who share the same ethnicity, culture and HL (Phinney, 2003: 63; Aboud and Doyle, 1993). However, the relationship between language and ethnicity is not deterministic: as Marques's et al. (2001) suggest, ingroup bias which promotes the sense of belongingness can extend to language, demonstrating that linguistic ingroups can be formed independently of ethnic affiliations. For instance, French-speaking post-colonial contexts.

Individuals' awareness of their ethnic identity becomes more apparent when faced with other ethnic groups in a large sociocultural setting (*ibid* cited in Eid Achkar, 2018). Put more clearly, when different languages, cultures, and traditions come into contact, individuals start

comparing their own group against other groups to profoundly comprehend their identity through developing awareness of the distinctions between various groups. This is the case of many immigrant individuals/ groups who find themselves surrounded by other ethnic groups and want to keep their attachment to their ancestral heritage and language.

Culture is another construct which influences the formation of identity through the distinction between the 'us' and the 'others'. Cultural identity refers to the relationship existing among members of a given ethnic group who have a shared language, system of beliefs, traditions, history, and ways of viewing the social world. People often stay attached to their culture despite immigration and/ or adoption of new cultures. (Ennaji, 2005; Norton, 2006).

For Durkheim (1976: 47), religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices which are associated with sacred things, and which belong to one single moral community. Religious identity refers to the belongingness to a certain group whose members share the same religious beliefs (Fox, 2013: 25) for instance, an individual is identified as a Christian if he/ she holds common Christian beliefs with other Christians. Religious identity may be somehow linked to cultural identity in the sense that religious beliefs are represented and reproduced in cultural practices (Cook 2000; Hervieu-Leger, et al., 2001). For example, celebrating Eid among Muslims or Diwali among Hindus is said to be a cultural celebration; however, the celebration originates from the religions Islam, and Hinduism respectively.

Finally, national identity is a sense of belonging to one nation or more (Tajfel and Turner, 2004). It is a set of common beliefs, opinions, emotional attitudes, and behavioural dispositions deep-rooted in and shared by individuals living in one *nation*. Linked to language, it is a result of a (Bourdieu-ian) habitus produced and reproduced through discourse. (Woodak, et al., 1999: 28-186-7 cited in Block, 2009: 29-30). For instance, findings of this research showed that the repetitive use of 'We Algerians' in different languages throughout the interviews implies the participants' sense of belonging to one nation, Algeria.

Having understood the concept of identity, some of its social variables, and how it is associated with context, now I put some identity theories in spotlight, mainly social identity theory, dramaturgical approach, performance and performativity.

2.8.2. Social Identity Theory and Self-categorization Theory

Social identity theory studies individuals' self-concept in terms of in-group and out-group membership to a certain social group with the view that identity is constructed based on the social groups' differences. The 'in-group' means the group that the individuals belong to, whereas the 'out-group' refers to the outsider individuals who are not members of that group

(Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 25).

Within Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (1979; 2004), a distinction is made between social identity and personal identity. The former refers to the 'individual's identification with a group' through establishing good knowledge and emotional attachment to that group membership (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). It is a group of people sharing some features or attributes such as attitudes, values, skills, skills, experiences, knowledge, opinions, and behaviours, etc. For instance, when we refer to American, Muslim, European, etc. as different social groups. This theory claims that identity is 'dormant', yet ready to be 'switched on' depending on the social context change, for instance, a speaker's Berber identity shifts to be Arab identity when other Arabic speakers join the conversation. Personal identity, on the other hand, is a set of features that guide and distinguish the individual's behaviour socially and which may (or not) be a source of pride for him/her (Fearon, 1999: 2). Social identity theory maintains that the behaviour of a given social group acts as an answer to motivations associated with the preservation and enrichment of social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986 cited in Klein, et al., 2007). As a way of example, the frequent extensive linguistic behaviour of a certain HL is enhanced by a desire and intention to preserve that language and the identity/ies associated with it.

Social self-categorization theory (SCT) expands the Social Identity Theory through examining the cognitive processes explaining how individuals perceive and define themselves within social groups (Turner, et al., 1994; Hogg, et al., 2006). It distinguishes between personal and social identity as dissimilar levels of self-categorization. It also explains how the way individuals perceive themselves changes from focusing on personal identification to identifying with a group. Self-categorization is flexible, changing over time, and context-dependent as it is based on social comparison and depends on the context or the group we are identified with (*ibid*). For instance, one person might identify himself as a proficient bilingual if surrounded by monolingual speakers, and he might perceive himself as an average bilingual if surrounded by multilingual speakers. In this situation, the social context plays a role when it comes to self-categorization. Reflecting on my personal experience with multiple languages and identities, speaking Arabic allows me to categorise myself with an Arabic speaking group, which I refer to as 'us', and distance myself from other speech groups or communities (Tamazight, French, or English) which stand for 'others'. This distinction is performed in social interactions where interlocutors express and negotiate their roles, responsibilities, and expectations (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

According to the social identity tradition, the shift between social identities is controlled by the norms, values, and beliefs which underline each specific identity, and which influence individuals' actions and behaviors (Reicher, 2004: 929). For instance, my identification as an Arab and the belief that the Arabic language is a linguistic wealth (belief) motivate me to improve my linguistic skills in this language (action). Rathbone (et al.) (2023) stresses the bidirectional relationship between social identity and adherence to social norms. The scholars believe that social identity enhances the conformity to norms, in turn, adherence to social norms reinforces one's sense of belonging to a certain group, most notably when social identity is contextually salient.

Social identity is in chorus something very personal to an individual and something shaped by cultural and historical factors. It is not only about being one person, but it also connects to the larger social world. This hybrid quality of social identity bridges between personal identity and broader society, positioning and categorizing individuals within their social context (Reicher, 2004: 929). The salience of social identities depends on these identities' relevance to situations and contexts. The categorization of groups enhances the activation of different social identities. For instance, individuals who identify themselves as Berbers tend to make their Berber ethnic identity more prominent and salient than any other identity, for example Arab or Algerian. In relation to social norms, individuals' adherence to the latter also paves the way for social identities to become salient (Marques, et al., 1998). Individuals' identification with their in-group leads to evaluating their group favorably in contrast to the out-group which is perceived less favorably primarily because they do not follow to the same social norms. Similarly, group members who deviate from social norms are derogated, whereas group members conforming to social norms are favored and praised (*ibid*).

2.8.3. The Dramaturgical Approach

Goffman (1959) provides the Dramaturgical Approach to explain individuals' behaviour, awareness, and attention to their role performances in front of others. He defines identity as individuals' presentation of self or persona in everyday social behaviours acting different roles for their audience. The same speaker may have different personas which she/ he performs according to his audience and the change in the social roles relies heavily on the audience as well. In this analogy, Goffman (1959) maintains that the role performance is said to be successful if the actors engage well in the presentation of self through wearing the persona mask appropriately in a given social interaction.

Goffman (1959) distinguishes between two stages of self-presentation. The frontstage where

actors enact public role performance in front of an audience. This is linked to the public or social identity shared with and performed in public. Whereas the backstage deals with various evaluations, perspectives, and feelings within the inner speech of the actor. It is a private area with no audience where the actor can be his/her true self 'stepping out from his/ her character' and putting his/ her mask aside (Goffman, 1959). The backstage is related to, what is called, the inner, or individual identity as it is kept intimate and personal. Both social and personal sides of the identity are connected within the same construct and occur at the same time while role performance (*ibid*; Vygotsky: 1978). Linked to language use, Vygotsky (1978) believes that there is inner and public language: the inner language is internal and kept inside, and the public language involves expressing and sharing that internal language with others. Thus, this research is interested only in the front stage where speakers perform different identities according to the setting, they are put in, using the public language. For instance, the performance of the Algerian Berber identity opposite to the Algerian Arab identity among a group of Arabic speakers. The backstage of role performance which incorporates inner emotions and evaluations is far from the focus of this research.

2.8.4. Identity performativity and performance

In everyday interactions, identity is 'performed, constructed, enacted or produced' (Benwell, 2006: 49). Constructionists reject the -essentialist- idea that identity categories are unchanging, single properties that define persons (Benwell, 2006). They view identity as 'not universal of nature or culture, but a question of performativity' (Barker and Galasinski, 2001: 87).

The concept performativity is used as an analytical tool in different research fields such as sociolinguistics, gender studies, science and technology studies, management studies, journalism, video art, social economics, and social sciences. Performativity and performance studies originated from the Speech Act theory, introduced by the language philosopher J L Austin (1950). Influenced by the latter, the poststructuralist feminist and gender studies philosopher, Judith Butler (1990) adapted Austin's concept of performativity to expand her 'gender theory' (Lloyd, 2015). She argues that gender is socially constructed through performative actions such as speech acts and nonverbal communication which serve to define and maintain identities. She also contends that performativity views the individual's *repeated* actions and behaviours as the source that leads to the construction and formation of the individual's identity through the repetition of performative actions and behaviours (Butler, 1990; 1993). In relation to language, Butler (1993: 2) defines performativity as the 'reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains'. In other words,

the power of language in shaping reality (idea, phenomenon, identity, etc.) which it seeks to govern. For instance, expressing identity X using language through a process of repetition and citation contributes to that identity's existence and maintenance (*ibid*; Gregson and Rose, 2000: 434). In short, performativity is a crucial conceptual tool to understand the construction of social identity through continuous performance of actions and behaviours.

This is regarding performativity on one hand. On the other hand, performance is 'what individuals act out' (Butler, 1993; Gregson and Rose, 2000: 434). Butler maintains that performance is encompassed within and related to performativity. The performance of social identities implies that identities are socially formed and shaped in and by social actions (Gregson and Rose, 2000). Interestingly, Klein *et al.* (2007: 30) defines identity performance as expressed -or suppressed- behaviours appropriate to conventionalised norms, which are associated with a specific social identity. They believe that identity performance can be manifested in different ways such as physical action, verbal expressions, and attitudes which are considered as normative of the in-group. *Purposeful expressions* refer to intentional behaviours which reflect the individual's belonging to a certain group, for example, switching from Tamazight to Arabic to address an Algerian Arab is an index of the speaker's in-group membership to the Arab group and distancing himself/ herself from the Berber group. I would align with Spears (*et al.,*) (2004) and Klein, (*et al.,*) (2007) in claiming that speaking one's first language is not an act of identity performance because this linguistic behaviour is a result of an automatic habit. However, in the context of this study, I would posit that using the first language in diaspora basically is a form of identity performance because it refers to which social group or speech community the speaker belongs to. Klein *et al.* (2007) suggest that both normative and anti-normative behaviours of a certain social identity can be regarded as a form of identity performance. For instance, opting for a language other than Arabic, to talk about an Islamic topic indicates that the speaker is performing another identity which could be a multilingual identity. However, this does not necessarily mean that he/ she distances himself/ herself from the religious identity, but it might be considered a performance of multiple identities. In the previous example, associating the Arabic language with Islamic identity performance is conventional among Arabic speakers in general.

Following Butler who maintains that gender is an 'act' that could be enacted through different means of communication, I would argue that social identity is also an 'act' that can be constructed and performed through different actions and behaviours, among which linguistic behaviour (CS) is a salient one in this research. Thus, language use is seen as a 'social activity' through which social identities are constructed and negotiated. In the current

62

research, I would use the concepts of performativity and performance to analyse how participants perform various social identities through their linguistic behaviour.

In brief, this subsection has concluded that identity is the result of repeated and imitated performative actions (Butler, 1990) and these actions also serve as a means of expressing identity (Klein, et al., 2007). Linked to language use, this literature helps examine the participants' language use and choice to construct and perform their various social identities in a multilingual context. This relation is more explored in the following sub-section.

In the current study, and based on the above various views, I would define identity as a constructed image and/or a perception of self and others which is manifested in various behaviours and social acts among which speech is the salient one. It is contextual and flexible and changes according to the social context.

2.8.5. Language and Identity

The relation between identity and language is intricate and has been discussed by different disciplines such as communication studies, sociology, linguistics, social psychology, anthropology, and history and from different perspectives, for instance social constructionism, post-structuralism, social and discursive practice, anti-essentialist view among others (Albirini, 2016). The debate about how identity influences code choice and how the latter contributes to identity formation and performance is still ongoing (Schreiber, 2015; David et al., 2017). This sub-section concludes that the relationship between language and identity is reciprocal and complementary in the sense that language constructs and is constructed by identity.

Gumperz claims that language itself and the differences between languages serve primarily as a social identity marker (Gumperz, 1982: 39). Each language can index a specific identity, and the difference between languages can indicate different identities because the relationship between language and identity is not only complex but also context dependent. For instance, Arabic is spoken by Tunisians, Iraqi, and Saudi people among others, demonstrating that a shared language does not necessarily mean or equate a shared ethnic identity. In terms of social categorization, Reicher (1997) highlights that identities are contextually constructed rather than fixed. Relatedly, linguistic practices may index various identities depending on different contexts.

In accordance with Gumperz, Bailey also (2002) posits that language is linked to identity. He argues that the first language is the means to define individuals and categorise them into groups (*ibid*). Essentially, speakers use language A to highlight different aspects of their

identities, and language B to refer to other aspects of their identities (*ibid*: 99). Therefore, language is a direct indicator of identity/ies given that the way an individual uses language gives a clear clue about his/her identity, social roles, affiliations, and other aspects of identity.

From a variationist sociolinguistic perspective- a theory that studies the connection between language use and social identity- Benwell and Stokoe (2006) maintain that identity is a construct associated with and causes linguistic behaviour. Language serves as a means where individuals position themselves and others (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). It is not given but rather built up through continuous social and cultural acts (speech, clothes, behaviours, and food) (see Butler, 1993 in 3.8.4) among which linguistic interaction is the dominant one (Pennycook, 2004; Stibbe, 2015). Thus, one may conclude that identity is constructed, negotiated, and performed through language in different social interactions, and to specific audiences (Goffman, 1959 cited in Deakin, 2016: 37; Joseph, 2004; Fina, 2012: 1). Conversely, identity is context dependent as it influences the linguistic behaviour of social actors while performing various conversations (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). Speakers may adjust their linguistic repertoire or shift from a code to another to perform a certain identity to accommodate to others (Giles and Powesland, 1997) (see 2.4.3) to strengthen the social bonds among the speech community's members (Miller, 2000; Shahrebabaki, 2018). For instance, Muslims often use Standard Arabic to perform their religious identity, and they use their first language to identify their belongingness to a given speech community, and to distinguish themselves from other speakers who do not speak that language (Blommaert and Backus, 2013). This attachment and/ or distinction is called ethnonational solidarity (Edwards, 2007) where speakers who share the same ethnicity and nationality use their first language to show solidarity between each other. Therefore, identity changes according to the change of social contexts.

To sum up, identities can be multiple, fragmented, contested, and salient at some points of individuals' lives (Block, 2007; Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006). The use of multiple languages obviously may lead to the construction of multiple identities through social interactions with different language users. Each language selection may index one aspect or more of identity that people adopt as a result of their membership in different groups. However, I would argue that it is not always true that the use of language leads to the adoption of a certain identity, rather the context does (Suleiman, 2011). This, again, can be linked to the flexibility and dynamicity of identity depending on the context of language use. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) gave a an example of a person speaking a 'Scottish accent', yet this does not express his/her Scottish identity. This implies that the various linguistic behaviours may not always reflect

identity.

2.8.6. CS as an Identity Marker

Using two languages in the same speech episode provides language users with a means to construct and negotiate their identities (Rampton, 1995; Ben Nafaa, 2015: 02). The two linguistic repertoires used by a bilingual cooperate (Woolard, 1999) to create a 'new' space for speakers to use to position themselves and others (Finnis, 2013, 2009).

Zentella (2008: 6) argues that multilingual speakers' identities (ethnicity, gender, social class, etc.) are manifested through their language choice in distinct contexts. In relation to CS, speakers often switch to another code in specific situations in an attempt to find out any common ethnic and cultural background of a particular community of practice (Gumperz, 1982:72). In such cases, shifting between codes may be an index of ethnic identity and/ or solidarity across the community of linguistic practice (*ibid*).

Recently, research on language attitudes and identities has reconsidered CS in multilingual contexts. For language users who engage in CS, the latter can be meaningful in various ways., Gardner-Chloros (et al.,) (2005), when investigating CS among the Greek Cypriot community in the UK, found that the younger generation considered this linguistic practice as part of their cultural identity, and to some extent, an index for their different identities. Lawson and Sachdev (2000) found that Tunisian bilinguals tend to regard their CS as an indicative to their bilingualism. It was also viewed as an unmarked in-group linguistic behaviour exclusive to the Tunisian speech community. In another study on alternation between languages, most Spanish Galician participants report that they are happy when shifting between codes because this permits them to be identified to which ethnic group they belong (Pena, 2004). Similarly, Bailey (2000, 2007) found that Dominican bilinguals view CS as the 'we code' and use it to confer a distinctive bilingual identity for the speakers. It is like a means through which they signal their affiliation with a specific group and distinguish themselves from newly arrived migrants in terms of language use and cultural integration. Following these examples, I believe that CS has a crucial role not only within speech communities but also with individual speakers as well. Speakers shift between codes mainly to identify their belongingness to one particular social group and not another.

In brief, the relation between language and identity is fundamental given that language plays a role in classifying individuals into groups. Identity is partially performed through language and causes language to be enacted. Thus, the relationship between the two is reciprocal and indispensable. Relatedly, CS can be an in-group speech activity, an index to the speakers' own

bilingualism, and most significantly, a marker to their group membership and identities. In relation to Butler's performativity (1990) and Bourdieu's habitus (1977), I believe that the repeated act of switching codes becomes both a performative linguistic behaviour and a linguistic habit at the same time which forms part of the speakers' social identity.

Conclusion

To sum up, identity is how individuals identify and perceive themselves, perceive others, and how they are identified by others. This thesis has explored three identity theories, specifically social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; 2004), positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990), and dramaturgical approach (Goffman, 1959). The theories mainly explain how individuals construct and perform different identities, and how they position themselves opposite to others. It is worthy to mention that the social identity theory gives more significance to the role of the group membership in influencing individuals' identity through the social categorization into 'us' and 'others'.

This section has explained the relationship between language and identity through referring to the different views concerning this relation (Gumperz, 1982; Bailey, 2002; Benwell and Stokoe, 2004; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Then, it has reviewed Blom and Gumperz (1972) study as an illustration to explore the link between CS and identity. It has shown how each language is linked with a distinct identity and how the difference between languages is an index of identity per se. It has concluded that language constructs and is constructed by identity in a complementary relationship. This literature may be useful in finding out how participants' identities are constructed, performed, and negotiated through their language use and through CS practice.

A reference to the literature of 'language maintenance' is relevant given that it is a recurrent theme in the research data. It is mainly linked to participants' motivations for code choice, identity construction, and linguistic attitudes, which is well explored in the forthcoming section.

2.9. Language Maintenance: Family Language Policy

One of the aims of current research is to seek understanding how HL is transmitted and maintained among first- and second-generation language users through exploring the theoretical framework of Family Language Policy. As a starting point, a brief distinction between language shift, language attrition, language loss, and language death are significant before delving into language maintenance.

Due to factors like colonization, migration, socio-political changes, and economic changes,

etc. speakers' first languages or HLs are increasingly vulnerable to endangerment (Pauwles, 2016). The risks manifests in language shift, language attrition, language loss, and ultimately language death, which I explore below. Pauwels (2016: 19-21) defines language shift as the process of change that results in the gradual replacement of a lesser-spoken language by a mainstream language in all domains of language use. Likewise, language attrition is when speakers forget a language totally or partially (Schmid, 2011: 3), i.e., individuals' proficiency in a given language decreases through time which affects the process of language transmission to the next generations. Language loss, on the other hand, is the result of continuous language shift, which, in utmost cases, leads to language death or linguicide. The latter refers to the extinction of a language, where there are no surviving speakers of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Duchêne and Heller, 2012; Pauwels, 2016).

Contrary to linguistic endangerments, language maintenance mainly means the speech community's use of language (first or heritage) though continuous interactions with the majority speech community (Pauwels, 2004). HL maintenance is evident in various speech communities where language users employ their linguistic repertoire for all forms of communication. It is found among speakers who relocate to a different linguistic environment, yet still largely use their HL in all communicative situations. Such speech communities are said to be self-contained communities where communications with the majority communities are limited, and the HL continues to be the main way of interaction (*ibid*; 2016; Eid, 2018).

One of the goals of bilingual or multilingual immigrant parents is to transmit their HL to their offsprings. Thus, they adopt various approaches to raise their children bilingually (Schwartz, 2008). Schwartz (*ibid*) considers 'family' to be a significant environment where children can acquire HL and where language policy can be better studied. She defines family as the most common and inevitable space where the mother tongue is used, transmitted, connected, and secured (1991: 94 cited in Schwartz, 2008). In line with other researchers, I believe that family is the social field where HLs are maintained or lost (Fishman 1991, Spolsky, 2012; Pauwels 2016, Haque 2019).

Family Language Policy is a new field that explains HL maintenance and language shift among multilingual families (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013) through exploring language ideology, language practice, and language management (Spolsky, 2004; Schwartz, 2008, 2010). Spolsky (2004) and Schwartz (2008) explain these three components of the Family Language Policy as elucidated: language practices are the habitual recurrent practices

of code selection which define the speaker's communicative abilities, whereas language ideology is the shared beliefs about languages and language practice. Immigrant parents often tend to have strong favorable beliefs about their HL which influence language selection among their children. Both parents' linguistic beliefs and attitudes determine the shaping of the linguistic environment of children (De Houwer 1999a; Spolsky 2007; Schwarts, 2008). Language management or planning, on the other hand, is any effort to change, control or influence the language practice among family members (Spolsky, 2004, 2007; Schwatrz, 2008). These efforts can be using first language at home or in specific contexts such as mealtime, frequent visits to home country, reading and practicing religion and rituals in first language…etc. (Spolsky, 2004, Deakin, 2016).

Though language ideology is a driving force in implementing a certain language practice (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2013) and language planning, the relationship between the three concepts can be indirect and even conflicting (Schwartz, 2008, 2010). For instance, parents' decisions about practicing their first language at home can be questioned and the planning can be challenged and resisted by children.

Acculturation, or adaptation of the culture of the host country, is one amongst some factors which affect the formation and the implementation of Family Language Policy, and hence, the preservation or the abandonment of the HL (Schwartz, 2008). Speakers adopt language, identity, and culture of the host country to improve their social status in their new community (Rubin, et al., 2011). Results in a study conducted by Pease-Alvarez (2003) who interviewed Mexican first and second-generation immigrant parents, showed that the use of Spanish has been replaced by English in an attempt to gain social status in the host community and facilitate the adaptation of the new English identity. Relatively, results indicate that immigration at a young age and the duration of residence in the host country contribute to acculturation and henceforth to first language shift and attrition (Doucet, 1991; Baker, 2001).

In relation to attitudes, the latter have a crucial role in the HL' maintenance (Bradley 2002, Wurm 2002, Pauwels 2016). Positive attitudes towards a certain language contribute to using, maintaining, and transmitting that language. For instance, if speakers view their first language favorably, they may have a sense of linguistic pride which eventually leads to efforts and plans to use and maintain that language. Conversely, if speakers consider a certain language to be inferior, unintelligible, or not prestigious, they may be less interested in using or passing this language to the next generation. As a result, these negative attitudes may result

68

in the shift, attrition, and loss of that language.

In sum, language maintenance may be achieved depending on the decisions embodied in terms of language policies. Relatedly, if speakers maintain a given language, this means the identity associated with that language is also maintained given that identity constructs and is constructed by language. In turn, speakers' maintaining both language and identity leads to positive attitudes towards their HL, and vice versa.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter has offered an overview of the core concept of this research, CS. Whenever two or more linguistic varieties are in contact, some linguistic outcomes take place such as borrowing, code mixing, CS, bilingualism, multilingualism, pidgin, and creole, etc. (Winford, 2013).

Section 2.3. has started by defining what is CS and how it was explained since it first appears in bilingual communities. The historical perspectives show clearly that this sociolinguistic behaviour was regarded negatively, however, this view changed over time and CS is now considered as a positive consequence of language contact. This does not mean that this view is generalised as there are still a few negative comments about it. Then, I have moved to similar linguistic activities related to CS, namely borrowing, code mixing, translanguaging, and crossing focusing on some similarities and differences.

Section 2.4. has discussed the collaboration of three key theoretical frameworks contributing to analyse data in the current research. The first main approach is the Semantic Approach introduced by Gumperz (1972; 1982) which distinguishes between the situational switching and the conversational switching. Following this dichotomy, I have developed a distinction between the situational motivations for CS and labeled it 'context-related motivations', and conversational motivations which I have called 'message-related motivations'. Both types of motivations may occur in the same speech event. Yet, the interpretation may differ from one researcher to another. Some examples of CS could be explained as situational, and the same examples could be considered as metaphorical (Shoko, 2003). The second main theoretical framework opted for data analysis is Markedness Model, which was labelled later the Rational Choice Model (Myers Scotton, 1993a). It is used in this research in combination with the Communication Accommodation Theory to describe categories of CS including some of its social motivations mainly interlocutor accommodation and social relationships.

The last part in the current chapter explores the work of Bhatia and Ritchie' (2004; 2013)

about motivations for CS. This work is used in collaboration of the above- mentioned theoretical frameworks to find out the factors motivating multilingual Algerians to switch between languages. The work classifies participants' roles and relationships, situational factors, message intrinsic factors, and language attitudes as motivations for CS (Bhatia and Ritchie,2013: 378). Then, the focus has shifted to review language attitudes, delving into the Tripartite model (Baker, 1992; Garrett, et al., 2013), outlining its elements, and reflecting upon it with some nuances from the findings. Furthermore, some results from other similar studies about attitudes towards CS have been underlined, which can be used as corroborative evidence to strengthen the validity of the findings. This research has argued that linguistic attitudes are not fixed, rather they are changing according to the change of the social context of the conversations.

This part has also explored the notion of language and identity casting light on some identity theories, mainly Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; 2004), Social Self-Categorization Theory, Dramaturgical Approach (Goffman, 1959), and identity Performance and Performativity (Butler, 1990; 1993). These theories help both the researcher, and the reader comprehend the core of the relationship between language, hence CS, and identity, specifically when examining the data. This chapter concludes by reviewing language maintenance highlighting the framework of Family Language Policy as it is important in discussing strategies adopted to maintain HL among speakers in diaspora. I believe that the combination of these theories and concepts may provide useful insights to understand the practice of CS, its motivations, and CS' relation to identity and attitudes.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1.Introduction

This study responds to a need to find out apparent and self-reported motivations for multilingual Algerians' CS, the relationship between CS and identity, and the participants' attitudes towards languages and towards CS. I chose to conduct qualitative research to understand participant's views, reflections, attitudes, and CS practice more widely and deeply in an attempt to answer the research questions. This qualitative approach, grounded in interpretivist and constructivist epistemologies, was based exclusively on semi-structured interviews as its primary data collection tool. I analysed the interviews in two distinct ways: while participants' actual practice of CS – what participants do with languages- in interviews was analysed from the researcher's interpretivist perspective, self-reported views about and attitudes towards CS – what participants say about language use and choice- were analysed from the participants' constructive perspective using reflexive thematic approach. The chapter concludes with discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations of the methodology adopted in this research.

3.2.Paradigm and Research Questions
3.2.1.   Research Focus and Research Questions

The initial focus of my PhD idea was investigating CS and first language attrition at the grammatical and lexical level among Algerian immigrants in the UK. In other words, how can the use of extensive CS contribute to the change of first language of individuals, and what effects can be brought on one's social identity. Then, my focus shifted to the current research because of one major reason which is the limitation of time. Language attrition phenomenon needs longitudinal ethnography, which I cannot conduct as I am a full-time student. In the present research, I opted for a qualitative approach relying on semi-structured interviews which can be conducted and analysed within a short period of time.

For the purposes of this research, the emphasis was put on the sociolinguistic phenomenon known as CS, which is defined earlier as the interchanging of two (or more) different languages within the same sentence / phrase (Redouane, 2005; Matras, 2009). Therefore, I try to find out what are the main motivations behind switching between codes, how identity is constructed through the use of languages, and what are the language attitudes of multilingual Algerians in the UK. This research is based upon the belief that CS is widely used and practiced by multilingual Algerians.

The research questions are concerned with real life interactions among multilingual Algerians. Each question is based upon a concept that needs to be explored to provide more understanding about the phenomenon under investigation.

This research was not approached with predetermined hypotheses to test, but with questions that were answered through the collected and analysed data. Therefore, this qualitative research was mostly inductive since it was based and driven by data. It was also partly deductive as it relied on my previous knowledge (Lindlof and Taylor, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2013) of the investigated topic, which was used to design the questions of the interview. In this case, the researcher directs the interview using the questions which aim at looking for specific information. Besides, some theories were used to make sense of the data (*ibid*, Robson, et al., 2016), namely the Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993b), the Gumperz (1982) Tradition, Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, et al, 1991), and Family Language Policy (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013), through testing their appropriateness for analysing the gathered data.

To remind the readers, the following are the research questions:

RQ1: What are the various patterns of code switching among multilingual Algerians living in the UK? What are their apparent and self-reported motivations for code switching?

RQ2: How can CS be a means to negotiate and express identity/ies among multilingual Algerians living in the UK?

RQ3: What are the attitudes of multilingual Algerians towards their linguistic repertoires and towards CS?

It is worthy to mention that the second research question evolved progressively from the data. Through examining the data over and over, the concept of identity and its relation to language began to surface. This concept was constructed and became apparent as participants engaged in discussing their language use and choice across various domains. Participants often stated explicitly the term 'identity' and sometimes referred to it implicitly when discussing their attitudes towards languages. Their accounts served as a rich source of evidence which revealed that various aspects of identity were expressed either using individual languages, or the combination and the switching from one language to another. Consequently, it was crucial to incorporate this data given its relevance and connectedness to the first and third research questions which are about motivations for CS and language attitudes respectively.

3.2.2. Research Methodology: Qualitative Approach

To conduct this research, I reviewed different approaches of qualitative research to find the best methodology to study CS, identity, and language attitudes. I believe that this study is better explored qualitatively to gain deep and wide understandings, perceptions, reflections, suggestions, and behaviours, which may not be accessible through quantitative instruments or may be more or less limited to specific answers or options.

Qualitative approach is based on collecting and analysing non-numerical data to understand concepts, phenomena, opinions, and experiences, and often informants' viewpoints in 'real world context' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2013; Hammarberg, et al., 2016; Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). It is influenced by various philosophies such as constructivism, interpretivism (*ibid*; Guba and Lincoln, 2005) which will be elaborated in the forthcoming section.

The field of qualitative research is the world of lived experiences of people where the phenomenon, concept, or event is explored in its real world setting in an attempt to find out its meaning from the respondents' standpoints. Qualitative researchers translate the lived world into a presentation which they elaborate through words (Silverman, 2006: 34; Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). Since the aim of this study is to gain knowledge about how multilingual Algerians make sense of their experiences with CS including their perspectives, motivations, and attitudes, I believe that a qualitative approach is the most suitable to address these points.

As a qualitative researcher and an interpreter, I tried to 'make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning that people give' me (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 2). I used participants' voices to give a thorough picture of the case under investigation through providing detailed perceptions (Creswell, 1998: 15). In order to learn about the informants' views about a certain phenomenon or situation, I had to get as close as possible to the participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Connecting with them cognitively and emotionally to understand their opinions was a necessity. This allowed me to gain more insights about the phenomenon under investigation, comprehend their accounts and interpret it properly.

The selection of the research method depends on the nature of the study. Since qualitative research is interested in delving into 'specific social settings rather than at broad populations' (Holliday, 2016: 6), the ultimate goal of this research was not to generalise, but to investigate CS, identity and language attitudes among a specific social group- multilingual Algerians living in the UK- through collecting participants' opinions, language behaviours and attitudes which I believe are better gathered through qualitative instruments. Most of the works done

about CS in general and CS motivations in particular were based on ethnography as a core methodology. Also, research about language attitudes can be investigated both qualitatively, such as observations, and interviews, and quantitatively, like using matched guise technique, and questionnaires. Yet, because of some limitations (see section 3.6 and 7.3), I opted for simple qualitative research which basically relied on interviews only. The rationale behind choosing this approach is that it goes well with the two epistemological perspectives chosen in this study which are constructivism and interpretivism. It also goes well with the aims of my research cited above.

Spolsky (2000), Dörnyei (2001), and Wei (2007) stress the usefulness of qualitative research when it comes to searching language attitudes, motivations, and identity practices. In addition, it is a suitable approach to study a small population and its language use. It also allows flexibility, empowers richness of the findings, and enhances their validity and trustworthiness (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). This qualitative approach permitted me to cross-check the results adopted from one source with the results of another. It helped also produce and present deep, rich, and more detailed results regarding this minority group in the UK.

3.2.3. Shifting methodology: short ethnography without observation

Being limited by time to complete the research by the end of 2023, I was not able to conduct a longitudinal ethnographic study. Thus, I initially opted to conduct a short ethnography. My research design primarily included three methodological instruments to gather data which are: participants' observation, audio recorded natural conversations, and semi-structured interviews. This triangulation aimed at checking and ensuring data validity and credibility (Meriam and Tisdel, 2016). I also planned to spend three months to immerse myself in the Algerian speech community living in the capital London, exactly in Finsbury Park or what is called 'Little Algiers', where most of the Algerians live and work. I decided to rent a property in Finsbury Park and be as close as possible with Algerian families there in order to get in depth data about their linguistic practices.

However, as the pandemic of COVID 19 unfolded, the restrictions of health and safety concerns obliged me to revise my plan. Most cities were under lockdown, public gatherings and events were not allowed, and travelling was difficult and unsafe. For my personal safety and the participants', I decided to forgo 'participant observation' as it is impossible to conduct it under such circumstances. Neither I nor my participants can take a risk and arrange a meeting without respecting the instructions of Health Organisations in general.

Furthermore, participants' non-collaboration to share audio recorded or videotaped

conversations due to personal concerns further complicated the implementation of my initial plan. This method would have helped me to collect real time instances of language use allowing me to analyse CS, its patterns, motivations, and frequency.

Obviously, both observation and recorded conversations were major tools in completing this investigation. However, interviews were such a useful and invaluable tool. I adapted interviews by focusing on two different aspects: (a) participants' views about CS, and (b) their actual practice of CS (more details in section 3.3.1.). This alteration allowed me to gain valuable insights into the linguistic practices of the speech community under investigation. It also highlighted the nature of flexibility and adaptability of ethnography when confronted with such challenges.

3.2.4. Epistemological Perspectives: Constructivism and Interpretivism

Thinking epistemologically is to answer the question what the nature of knowledge is and how it is produced (Willig, 2013: 114). The aim of using this knowledge claim is to rely on how the participants construct reality about the phenomenon under study (*ibid*) and how the researcher interprets their views and practice of CS. Constructivism is established upon the belief that reality is socially constructed, and that human behaviour is defined by social constructs through interactions and interpretations (Robson, et al., 2016: 24; Creswell, 2014). While 'socially constructed reality' refers to the collective beliefs, perceptions, and norms of society, which are modeled by the socio-cultural contexts where individuals live, 'individually constructed reality' refers to personal and subjective perceptions of the world, which are crafted by personal experiences, and interpretations (*ibid*; Savin-Baden, et al., 2023). Constructivism also pertains to how the constructed realities change according to the change of social situations and circumstances (Grix, 2004; Bryman, 2012). Hence, it is concerned with how individuals make sense of the world they live in -reality is individually constructed-. A constructivist approach is sometimes referred to as 'interpretivist', as its main concern is to interpret how social worlds are experienced (*ibid;* Robson, 2002). From an interpretivist perspective, the researcher cannot be detached from the research given their active involvement in the research process, which may lead them undoubtedly to influence the results obtained. Interpretivist researchers' role is usually to observe the social phenomenon or behaviour and explain its meaning (Angen, 2000). Therefore, their interpretation tends to be more subjective due to their integral subjectivity and personal perspectives. My role, as a researcher, is to uncover the various meanings of the individuals' accounts. In this case, I lean on the informants' perspectives about the case under investigation; what they say they think of themselves doing with languages (constructivism),

and what they do with languages (interpretivism). Relatedly, the informants taking part in this research should have experienced the phenomenon under investigation to be able to construct knowledge about it.

The role of the researcher is to understand 'the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge' presented by informants (Creswell, 2014:25). For this reason, I used interviews to learn about their different opinions (*ibid*). The findings here are extracted from the answers of the informants about this language behaviour, their attitudes, and their CS practice is analysed during the interviews.

It is important to mention that individuals' construction of reality of the same phenomenon is different because they experience the phenomenon in different ways (Raskir and Bridges, 2004). Each one makes sense of himself/ herself and of the social world surrounding him/ her through his/ her own understanding. For instance, participant Amir did not view CS in the same way Noor did. The former saw switching between codes as a linguistic wealth, whereas the latter viewed it as a threat to the first language which necessitated measures to be controlled at some point of time. Relatedly, the constructed realities by participants -presented in chapter five and six- can be interpreted differently and subjectively by other researchers who can generate different codes and themes as a way of analysis.

3.3. Data Collection Instrument

Since I relied on one methodological instrument only, which was semi-structured interviews, I made use of them in two ways: 'what the participants say' (answers) served to explore the opinions and beliefs of the participants, and 'what the participants do' (practice) served to analyse the actual use of languages, and hence CS. The double usage of a single tool helped support the findings and compare the informants' practice (what they do) and their answers (what they say). The informants were first asked by word of mouth to take part in this research, then they were sent a consent form to sign. This research mainly focused on adults' speech. All the interviews were transcribed and taken as examples in this study both as instances of language use, and as self-reported views and perceptions.

3.3.1. Interviews

Interviews tend to be the most common methodological instrument to collect data in social research, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, multilingualism, and other research (Robson, et al., 2016). In this study, I chose semi-structured interviews which stand for 'face to face interaction that is recorded' (Becker, 2013: 92), and which are based on open-ended questions in addition to unplanned follow up questions which may be asked during or after the interview

(Robson, et al., 2016: 285). Semi-structured interviews allow flexibility for both the researcher and the interviewee (Robson, et al., 2016: 284); for the interviewer to clarify any misunderstandings and to elicit more extended stretches of conversational speech (Milory and Gordon, 2003: 58), and for the interviewee to feel free to say whatever he/she wants about the topic under discussion. Interviews, however, do not reflect reality but help to reveal how participants' social worlds and experiences are socially constructed (Miller and Glassner, 1997: 100; Gaskell, 2000: 38-39; Pavlenko, 2007: 176-77).

I attempted to engage the informants in free conversations to get spontaneous natural speech. I used different techniques such as asking *ad hoc* questions so as to keep the conversation going. For this purpose, I opted for interview guides (Lindlof and Taylor, 2017: 200) where I prepared questions in hand in addition to other questions which I expected to be generated from the respondents' answers. They were organised in a checklist which contains all the areas that should be covered during the interview. The questions' wording and organization were changing depending on the participants' answers and the flow of the conversation.

The participants were allowed to choose the time and place of the interview in order to let them feel more confident, natural, in control, and at ease (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 150). They were interviewed individually and not as a whole group to get personal understanding and interpretations of the phenomenon under investigation. In an attempt to keep a good flow of the conversation, I did not control the interview or showed that I am the leader of the discussion, but I positioned myself as a learner whose aim was to learn from the interviewee (Labov, 1984: 40). This strategy was meant to make the interviewee feel more comfortable, free, and spontaneous while responding to questions. Developing a lower authority during the interview also allows the interviewees to take as much time as they wish to finish one idea and move to another one (*ibid*). I will pick up again on my position in this research in sub-section 3.3.6.

The interview questions were meant to know about the informants' language practice, views, and attitudes. The participants were given enough time to express themselves, give their opinions, and tell their experiences and explanations about the topic.

Interviews are not a source of opinions only. They can be stand-ins for observation of actual behaviour (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984, cited in Benwell, 2006). Thus, I considered the interviews as naturally occurring data which serve as a source of two different types of findings. First, what the participants said about their experiences with language use and language choice. This covered their opinions, reflections, attitudes, suggestions, and

concerns. Whereas what participants did with languages in the interviews covered the actual use of languages or what is called the linguistic behaviour. I used extracts from the interviews as data to analyse CS in terms of which languages are used and for what purposes.

Though the setting of the interviews was more informal to make it look like an everyday conversation, it was more or less subject to the interviewer's manipulation, direction, and intervention (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984, 2). Thus, the interviewees may give responses that meet the expectations of the interviewer, or may feel limited in expressing their opinions, or focusing on some points while neglecting other relevant ones. This may result in unreliable, biased responses, and unreal experiences altered to be socially accepted. In an attempt to avoid these results which may affect the data analysis, I paid careful attention to have a neutral position, avoid leading questions and interruption, be a good listener, paraphrase, and reflect on the whole process after the interview.

3.3.2. Online Interviewing

There are some cases where participants are not accessible face to face for various reasons. For instance, shy people often hesitate to talk in front of others, especially if a sensitive subject is discussed. Others feel uncomfortable staying one hour or more with the interviewer answering a series of questions (Flick, 2004; Creswell, 2007). Other reasons include distance and periods of pandemics as COVID 19. In such cases, the researcher should look for a potential alternative technique which may be 'online interviewing'. Online interviewing is a form of asking questions and getting answers directly and immediately using internet on different platforms. It is nearly the same as face-to-face interview, yet it is online (Flick, 2004: 266). Flick (2004) refers to another form of online interviewing which is 'email interviewing'. Email interviewing is 'a series of email exchanging' (Flick, 2004: 267) which depends mainly on sending the participants the questions and waiting for the answers. In the case of semi structured interviews, the researcher can add some follow up questions to clear up some misunderstandings in the previous answers and to inquire about ambiguous points if there are any (*ibid*).

There are two main limitations of these methods of interviewing. First, verbal exchange is replaced by written one which may be 'difficult to transport and integrate'. Secondly, not all people are ready to use computer-mediated communication (Flick, 2004: 267).

One of the advantages of online interviewing is that the participants are more at ease behind the phone or laptop, they don't have to control their facial expressions and / or physical gestures, in case of calls only. Moreover, they are more comfortable when they don't see the

recording instrument which may affect their behaviour and responses and make them nervous (Rapley, 2004: 19).

All the interviews were held remotely. I emailed the participants and explained my inability of relocation to their places because of the pandemic. I also requested them to select a social platform and a schedule to meet and do the interview. WhatsApp, skype, and a call over the phone were mainly the preferred methods to conduct the interviews.

3.3.3. Questions Source, Content, and Language.

The questions asked in the interview were concerned with what participants think, feel, and do with their linguistic repertoire i.e., opinions, attitudes, and language behaviour respectively. The main objective of conducting interviews was to understand what motivates participants to choose one code over another, and how they perceive the phenomenon of mixing languages. At first, the participants were asked to talk about their language use in Algeria and in the UK, and the difference between the two. The aim of this question is to see how they use languages and to what extent they switch between them in two different geographic locations. They were asked also about how they perceive their first language within the phenomenon of mixing codes in one single conversation. This question sought to deepen the understanding about the informants' attitudes towards CS.

I started the interview using Arabic to create a comfortable atmosphere for a good fruitful conversation. The participants were informed from the beginning to use any language they wish to, to skip any question if they want to, and to stop at any time if feeling uncomfortable. This allowed them to be more natural and spontaneous to express and interpret their social worlds in their manner having no pressure either by the research or the setting of the interview.

In brief, to my mind, the semi-structured interview was a relevant tool to approach the participants, explore their views, feelings, perceptions, and reflections about the phenomenon of CS in order to have a clear image about how they make sense of their linguistic experiences as well as to observe their practice of CS directly.

3.3.4. Sampling

A good sample population should be carefully chosen to answer the research questions and reach the objectives of the study. A sample is 'any list which enumerates the relevant population' (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 25). In any research, it is crucial to determine the sample size. Yet, it is a bit challenging for the researcher's sample to achieve representativeness. A representative sample should take into account as many various subjects

as possible in order to avoid bias while generalizing the results. A problem which may arise while defining the sample, is what type of sampling is suitable for certain research. In the coming lines, a paragraph is devoted to describing which sample type is more appropriate for this study that may provide us with reliable data. (*ibid*, Patton, 2002)

Due to constraints in both time and resources, I opted for a convenience sample which involves selecting participants based on their accessibility and availability (Patton, 2002; Lindlof and Taylor, 2011). Participants selection began by a post on Facebook in a group called 'Algerian Community in the UK' to give each member the opportunity to be selected. I first introduced myself and my PhD topic, then I asked to message me privately if anyone was interested in participating in the research to get more details. Eighteen participants living in different parts of the UK, who were self-selected, messaged me with their favourable answers. I called some and texted others to explain more about the point of my research. Then I asked for their emails to send them the participant form to read and the consent form to sign and send back to me. Twelve of eighteen participants returned to me with the signed consent form. Four participants were eager to do the interview as soon as possible, yet the rest were very busy, and it was somehow difficult to arrange a time to interview them.

The sample of 12 informants may sound not representative of the Algerian speech community in the UK, yet I believe it would give us good amount of data to analyse. It also can stand as a basis for large-scale studies whose aim is to explore CS among Algerians in diaspora.

3.3.5. Piloting

A pilot study is a small-scale study to 'pre-test a research instrument' in terms of feasibility (Baker, 1994: 182-3). The main objective of this test is to check to what extent the instrument and its questions are appropriate and feasible. In this research, to pilot the interview's questions, I designed the latter based on my research questions and the probable answers and notions that I expected may appear later in the analysis. Then, I formulated simple, straightforward questions that may help participants convey their experiences and opinions. I used English as the academic language to write the questions and divided them into sections that align with the focus of the research questions, for instance a section for motivations, a section for attitudes, etc.

The questions were piloted with three multilingual Algerian participants who speak English, Arabic, French, but not Tamazight. Based on the informants' performance during the interview and my reflection on it, I found that there are things that need to be either changed or removed. For instance, using English as a basic language to conduct the interview was not

such a brilliant idea because it gave the impression that I was expecting participants to respond in English. Also, the interview seemed more formal and controlled by the interviewer. Though I mentioned that they are free to use any language they like, the participants stick to English as questions were in English. Thus, this prevented them from using other languages and hence, CS, which is the main goal of the study. As a result, I switched from using English to either Arabic or Tamazight. The latter was not used as a basic language during the interview as the participants preferred to speak Arabic rather than Tamazight because of their low level in it.

Another change I made after piloting was editing, merging, or omitting some questions in a way that made them clearer and easier to understand and answer. For instance, instead of asking a general question such as 'what are the languages used among the Algerian community in the UK?' I asked a question at the personal level of each participant: 'which languages do you tend to speak while you were in Algeria/ the UK? Which one is the most used, the least used, which one is in between? Where and with whom do you use it?' Another example of improving my interview's questions was by removing unnecessary or redundant questions such as 'How do you perceive foreign languages other than your first language?' because it was asked in a previous question in a different way, 'Which language do you encourage your children to learn the most? Why? And how?'; and other like 'Which language do you use while talking to your children and close relatives (those with whom you live)? Why?'.

To conclude, the process of piloting had a pivotal role in my research endeavor. It served as a valuable stage that helped me to check the instrument's appropriateness and the feasibility of questions. Piloting allowed me to decide about which questions to be kept, which ones to be changed, and which ones to be eliminated from the final questions.

3.3.6. Positioning Myself in Research

The position of researchers in their research has become the interest of scholars in different domains (Corbin Dwyer et al., 2009). Researchers' selection to investigate a certain topic rather than another one is driven by various reasons. Some of them use their personal experiences with languages as a case study to empower their research (Pavlenko, 2003). The position of the researcher in his/her study is very controversial as it impacts the process of data collection and data analysis (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

Being an Algerian multilingual speaker helped me understand the kind of issues that multilingual speakers may face. I, as a multilingual Algerian, have used few examples from

my daily conversations to illustrate and support my research. Belonging to the Algerian community in the UK permits me to be more knowledgeable about how languages are used there. Hence, I am an insider researcher as I share the same linguistic experiences with the participants about multilingualism in general and the use of a HL in a host country in particular. This role enabled me to gain access to the population easily and rapidly. In addition, it opened the door for me to get deep data. In fact, group membership 'provides special insight into matters' based on the researcher's knowledge of the group under investigation (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Kikumura, 1998: 140-141), or what is called 'inside knowledge' about the informants (Rabe, 2003). Thus, having the role of an insider researcher helped in gaining deep understanding of the participants (Kanuha, 2000) and their perspectives (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 103-112; cf. Canagarajah, 1999). I was also an insider because parts of my conversation with the interviewees were analysed in chapter five when focusing on CS practice.

One problem that needs to be acknowledged is the influence of the researcher on the participants by certain characteristics such as ethnicity, age, gender, purpose of the study, and so on. For example, introducing myself as a Tamazight speaker might have given the impression that I am Berber and might have led participants to show positive attitude to Tamazight even if in fact they had negative view towards it. Another major problem with being an insider researcher is role confusion (Råheim, et al., 2016). The researcher's own experience and assumptions may cause, for instance, misinterpretation of the gathered data or focus only on aspects that may interest the researcher while neglecting others that may be new and important for the study. It can also affect the interview process negatively when the researcher's experience guides the discussion and not the participants.

In an attempt to overcome these problems, I made a deliberate effort to keep a neutral position, avoid leading questions and interruption, actively engage as a silent listener, paraphrase participants' responses, and reflect on the whole process after the interview.

Braun and Clarke (2013) define reflexivity as the acknowledgment of the researcher's role in producing knowledge and shaping the research process and outcomes. My reflexivity on the research was obvious throughout the chapters. In the introduction chapter, I explained that my experience with CS and the complexities with language use and choice drove me to conduct this research. I also clarified that the common linguistic and cultural background with participants made the data collection and analysis easier than expected. Thus, being subjective towards the data is ineluctable. Furthermore, I acknowledged that data analysis

and interpretation might have been affected by my own biases and preconceptions. As a result, my interpretation for the current data would be different from another researcher's interpretation with different perspectives. Alternatively, in an attempt to mitigate my position as being subjective, I reported the participants' views transparently and faithfully (in chapter five and six) and cross verify them with the findings in chapter four.

Contrary to the insider researcher, the outsider researcher is placed in a 'neutral' stance because for instance he/she has not enough knowledge about the researched group, community, event or phenomenon (Rabe, 2003). Having the role of an outsider means that there is much to know about the population under study. Though I have the same background as the participants, I don't completely share the same exact experiences with them. For instance, the length of stay in the UK, membership in the British society, career, having children in the UK, etc. Thus, sometimes I find myself discovering things that I am not accustomed to as an Algerian living in the UK, what pushed me to consider myself as an outsider. I collected data with my 'eyes open' (Asselin, 2003), yet I was assuming I know nothing about the phenomenon under investigation as I wanted to keep my experience unknown and so as not to have any influence on the participants' answers.

Acker (2000) believes that researchers may find a way to be both insiders and outsiders. My inside status in the researched group paved the way for me to be an insider, yet I was an outsider because I am the researcher who researches a group of people -in this case multilingual Algerians living in the UK-. In brief, my position in this research was not static, but rather dynamic. I was both an insider and an outsider at the same time.

3.3.7. Participants

In the course of my pre-sessional program in Canterbury 2019 which lasted six months, I made an initial contact with some Algerians in different parts in the UK as well. I met some of them in Kent Mosque and exchanged phone numbers. I knew others in social media as I am a member of many groups that are concerned with the Algerian community's issues. I contacted people whose contact details I had and asked them about their willingness to take part in my research, and some of them accepted without any issues. My background as an Algerian student helped me build a good relationship and trust with them. In fact, I found that Facebook groups are good means to reach people from different backgrounds.

The research participants of this research were selected based on the following criteria, namely, Algerian individuals who were born in Algeria, and currently living in the UK. Furthermore, they should be either Bilingual or multilingual speakers. The participants

include both genders who were from different: ages, level of education, social status, and ethnic backgrounds (Arabs and Berbers). The rationale behind investigating this specific group is that multilingual Algerians' linguistic use and choice is underrepresented in research. I also targeted this population sample because they are easy to access as we share common experiences with language use. Besides I would like to fill a gap in the research of CS motivations, identity, and attitudes among Arabs, and specifically among Algerians in diaspora.

It is worthy to remind of the linguistic repertoire of Algerians in general and introduce that of the Algerian community in the United Kingdom generally. Algerians' first language is either Arabic or Tamazight. They learn French as the first foreign language at an early age at home or at schools. English is considered to be the second foreign language in Algeria as it is the lingua franca of the world. Based on my personal experiences with Algerians living in the UK, I would say that Algerian Arabic as a HL is highly preserved for both Arabs and Berbers. Almost all the informants I met were very fluent in Arabic, but few knew limited words in Tamazight. The French language is always present in their linguistic behaviour. Many French loan words, and expressions are used. Taking English into account, it is used in parallel with Arabic as it is the language of the host country. A detailed account of the linguistic background of the participants is given in chapter five (5.2).

The table below shows basic details of the informants taking part in the current research. One open question was asked as a starting question: tell me a little about yourself. The answers were between short and long answers but all of them gave basic information for instance age, occupation, number of children, and length of stay in the UK. Table 1 provides the personal details of the participants.

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Ethnicity	Spoken languages	Years in the UK	Interview's length
Reem	45	F	Science teacher	Berber	AR/ FR/ ENG	22	36mn
Amir	31	M	Teacher	Berber	AR/ FR/ ENG/ BR/ SP	6	54 mn
Fella	35	F	PhD Student	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	10	32 mn
Majdi	45	M	Pharmacist	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	22	43 mn
Noor	52	F	French teacher	Berber	AR/ FR/ ENG	20	39 mn
Mira	38	F	Journalist	Berber	AR/ FR/	5	34 mn

					ENG/ BR		
Hala	30	F	Accountant	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	13	21 mn
Sarah	29	F	PhD Student	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	5	35 mn
Reda	35	M	Lawyer	Berber	AR/ FR/ ENG	25	65 mn
Racha	30	F	PhD Student	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	9	36 mn
Sami	30	M	PhD Student	Arab	AR/ FR/ ENG	5	42 mn
Zain	57	M	Computer scientist	Berber	AR/ FR/ ENG/ SP	25	28mn

Table 1: Participants' details

Key: F: female; M: male; AR: Arabic; FR: French; ENG: English; SP: Spanish)

The informants' age ranges between 30 to 57 years old. Most of the informants were born and brought up in Algeria except three of them who lived their childhood in France. All of the informants who are either Arab or Berber declared to be married to an Algerian partner except one who was married to a British one. This fact may justify later why Arabic is the first used language by the majority of respondents. I did not ask any question about the ethnicity of the respondents, but it was deducted from their accent. Later on, and throughout the interview, six participants confirmed that they have Berber origins.

Most of the participants spent more than ten years (10-25) in the UK and most of them have children here. Four of them were newcomers who have been in The UK for 5 or 6 years. This may be another important factor which helps explain the occurrence of CS among the participants.

Four participants are PhD students, four are PhD holders, one journalist, one lawyer, one teacher, and one accountant. All of them have a professional career in the UK which is reflected clearly in their competence in English as it is the first used language in the host country. These high educational achievements combined with white-collar jobs suggest that the socio-economic status of these participants is high. Although the factors of age, occupation, gender, and length of stay are not the core of this research, they are tackled in chapter five as they are likely to influence the use of CS among multilingual Algerians.

There was no question asked about the participants' religion. Yet, it was revealed through their answers concerning attitudes towards languages that they are Muslims. The relationship

between language choice, attitudes, and identity including religious identity was further explored in the data chapters to provide an accurate picture about what role attitudes and identity play in maintaining the participants' first language.

I should mention that I am investigating twelve multilingual Algerian speakers who are defined by time and space (Stake, 2005). Hence. All the data analysis, interpretation, reflections, insights, and conclusions are solely taken from these particular participants. Thus, this research does not aim at generalizing the findings to other groups or contexts and that the findings should not be introduced in another study by any means, except for comparison or illustrations.

3.4. Data Analysis: Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (henceforth TA) was first developed by Gerald Holton in the 1970s (Merton, 1975 cited in Braun and Clarke, 2013), but it has only recently been recognised as a distinctive method with a defined set of phases for the social sciences (Braun and Clarke, 2006, Joffe, 2011: 210). Some scholars maintain that TA evolved from grounded theory, yet it seems that both approaches are informed by and developed from Content Analysis (Clarke et al., 2019). In this research, I am interested in the adoption and application of the reflexive TA (inductive/ data-driven approach) to analyse self-reported opinions about CS rather than the actual practice of CS (see 4.4.7).

TA is a practical data analysis approach. It is widely used in qualitative research. It relies on coding qualitative data through analysing, identifying, and reporting repeated patterns and then getting themes from these codes. TA aims not only at summarizing the content of the data, but also to interpret crucial features of the data guided by the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013). It is used to analyse both small and large data (*ibid*). It explores what is beyond the data or what is cited explicitly and implicitly (Guest, et al., 2012). Even though some researchers declare that TA is used only in ethnographic studies (Aronson 1995) or phenomenological studies (Joffe, 2011), Braun and Clarke (2006) maintain that it is an approach that can be applied also to other qualitative research approaches. Hence, I find it very useful to apply it to analyse data of the current qualitative research.

The rationale behind selecting TA as an approach to analyse and interpret data is related to the goals of the research. I believe that TA is the most appropriate method to understand informants' opinions, thoughts, behaviours and practices, the factors that influence and form a specific phenomenon, as well as the social construction of meaning and the representation (Braun and Clarke, 2012; 2013; Kiger and Varpio, 2020). TA is meant to look for shared

meanings. Hence, it is much related to other qualitative methods such as grounded theory and ethnography in the sense that they share some steps like coding and generating themes (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). Reflexive TA is also known to be flexible with regards to theory, research questions, research design, and a wide range of theoretical and epistemological frameworks (*ibid*)

Before delving into the steps of TA, the concept 'theme' needs to be clarified. For Braun and Clarke (2006: 82), theme is a 'patterned response or meaning' in data. It is broader than a 'code' in the sense that many codes can be grouped under one theme (ibid; 2013). It can be identified depending on how many times the idea or the item has been repeated in the data. Yet, the frequency of appearance doesn't necessarily denote the importance of the idea, rather to what extent the idea is relevant and responsive to the questions in hand (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). In an attempt to select appropriate themes and codes, I always relate them to the research questions and check their relevance to my research.

Themes are either semantic or latent; semantic themes or data-derived themes reflect surface meanings of data, whereas latent or researcher-derived themes mirror deeper meanings and interpretation of data (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Latent themes require the researcher to engage deeply with data to gain experience that allows him/ her to generate such themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 210). A theme which has a central organizing concept, contains many codes (ideas) that fall into the same categorization (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 224). Some rich codes became independent themes (Charmaz, 2006) such as attitudes towards monolingualism and multilingualism. At first, I intended to include this code as a sub-theme or even refer to it briefly. Later, and through re-examining the data, I found it is crucial as it can stand as a theme by itself.

Braun and Clarke (2006) set up six phases for TA which I followed respectively to analyse the interviews. A detailed table about codes and themes' generating, editing, and finalizing illustrated by some extracts from the data is put after the explanation of the six steps. More examples are found in appendix 5 and 6.

3.4.1. Step One: Familiarization with the Data

The first step in reflexive TA is to be familiarised with the data in hand through reading and re-reading; in this case reading transcriptions of the interviews. Familiarisation means to read the data 'actively, analytically and critically' and to start thinking and guessing what the data mean (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 205). While transcribing and then reading the transcripts, I was immersed in my data (Marshall and Rossman, 2016) having some expectations and

impressions about it, for instance which languages are used, how they are used, and how sentences are formed. I also noticed some interesting points that were raised implicitly in the informants' answers, such as different views towards languages or the practice towards mixing codes. As a novice researcher, I was not aware that these remarks should be recorded in a notebook or in a memo, yet I was able to remember a few of them as they were striking and not easy to forget. These noticings or 'rush ideas' (Braun and Clarke, 2013) were very helpful when starting data coding.

3.4.1.1.Transcription and translation

After enough data is collected, the researcher moves to data transcription (Flick, 2004: 266) which is part of the analytical process (Brauns and Clarke, 2013: 173). I had a total of more than 8 hours of interviews. I spent between two to three hours and half in transcribing each interview. I scheduled time to transcribe each interview after it took place within two maximum days to remember many details about the participants' answers in the interview. The transcription phase was done manually. I used the notation system for orthographic transcription outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013) including the identity of the speaker, turn taking, laughing, pausing and so on (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 165). I used pseudonyms to identify my participants. I moved to a new line each time a new question takes place, and a new answer is received to make the transcript visually easy to analyse. It is worth mentioning that I transcribed the interviews in the original languages used. I used Latin alphabet to transcribe utterances in Arabic (CAA and MSA) to avoid any disorder in the Microsoft word format, as the Arabic language writing starts from right to left, which is opposite to other languages used in the current research. I used also some agreed upon letters for some sounds which are particular to the Arabic and Tamazight languages (see translation key below). The transliteration system used in this study is the same used in Hans Wehr's Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 4th edition (1994) and also used in other research on Arabic linguists such as Brustad (2000) and Othman (2011).

Listening and transcribing at the same time gave me a chance to familiarise myself with the data at hand. Pausing and re-listening to the participants' answers paved the way for me to think about what is coming in the next step, which is coding, and made me underline some crucial answers while transcribing or highlight them in a different color to remember them easily later.

One problem that made my transcription slow was punctuation; when to start and when to finish a sentence. For this reason, I included little punctuation to facilitate the readability of

the transcript and not to change the meaning of the transcription. I developed a personal notation key to facilitate the transcription' s decoding to the reader. I kept all the utterances as they are: incomplete sentences, misheard or mispronounced words, incoherent ideas, the use of American English, or any other language. I did not translate anything but kept each used language as it was. Incomplete sentences were still meaningful because I could relate their meaning to the next or previous sentences to get the full meaning of the answer.

Regarding the excerpts' translation, I analysed the data in its original languages which are the Algerian Arabic dialect, Tamazight, French, English and MSA to avoid losing the true meaning of the data. Relying on the key provided below, I applied different formatting to the used languages to help readers identify which language is utilised in each excerpt. I translated the original used languages to English while illustrating by examples from the data because this PhD thesis is for English readers. Knowing that Arabic does not follow the English word order, I opted for literal translation (LT) to preserve the exact meaning and structure of the source language and to allow readers from different backgrounds and monolingual English speakers to know what each word stands for (Hepburn and Bolden, 2012). I also opted for free translation (FT) where I keep only the sense of the excerpts. I determined the meaning of the utterance, then I reconstructed this meaning using the appropriate structure in the target language which is, in this case, English. For instance:

'**W men bab lḵedma taʕi** *il faut métriser la langue maternelle l'anglais.*'

LT: **and from door the job mine** *it needs master the language mother English.*

FT: Because of my work, I need to master the native language, English.

While translating, I aimed at keeping the actual meaning of the original utterances and at the same time giving readers accurate examples to understand. Not being a native English speaker stood as a barrier in my translation from CAA, French and Tamazight to English. However, I kept checking reliable sources for translation such as dictionaries and native English friends and colleagues whenever I face such challenges.

I developed the following transcription key in my data analysis:

Language	Key
Algerian Arabic	**Bold**
Modern standard Arabic	**Bold and underlined**
French	*Italicised*
Berber	Underlined

Spanish	***Bold and italicized***
Mashreqi dialect	*Italicised and underlined*.
English	Free translation is referred to as FT.

Table 2: transcription key

Transcription Symbols	Meaning
…	part of the speech has been omitted for privacy purposes.
(…)	misheard words (usually due to internet issues)
[…]	Silence
' '	reported speech
[ ]	explaining, replacing names for anonymity reasons.

Table 3: notation transcription key

3.4.2.   Step Two: Generating Initial Codes

Coding means identifying items of analytic interest in the data and marking these with a coding label (Boyatzis, 1998). The first reading of each interview was so slow and difficult to decipher as I had to move from one language to another in a single sentence. Yet, I could start categorising the answers of the informants using different colors for each category randomly. After reading each interview several times, I was able to put more comments on each category and classify and connect them under various codes. I opted for a simple method to compare between answers by putting the codes in a table of several sections, organise the codes in the same way for each participant, and then use the same color for the same code to indicate sameness and matching. At the beginning, this method was useful for a small number of interviews (3 or 4 interviews) (see appendix 5, table 06), yet it became difficult and confusing to compare between codes when I combined the 12 interviews together.

As an alternative, I preferred to stick to a simpler method of coding data, which was analysing each interview by itself and using the same colors in all interviews to identify similar responses which can be grouped later under one code. Then, I gathered all responses serving to answer a distinct question in one Word document to make it easy to use them in the research as illustrations. In addition, collating data together helped in deciding how codes can be grouped and how a theme can be labeled. For instance, these were some initial codes I found when analysisng the question 'what makes you shift to another language': 'expressing feelings, excluding other people from conversation, changing topics, formality and solidarity' were grouped under the theme 'context related motivations.' Reasons coded as 'lack of knowledge, momentary language loss, hiding a secret, fun' were put under the theme

'message related motivations.' Whereas reasons like cultural and Islamic identity, a sign of education, a habit were clustered under the theme 'CS as social identity marker'.

Re-reading the transcriptions helped me distinguish some recurrent codes which I concluded later that they are crucial to my study, for instance the theme 'identity' which I designate no question to ask about it, yet it appeared many times in each participant's answer.

In this step, codes can be related either to semantic or latent meanings (Braun and Clarke 2012) and given a label to distinguish them from other codes. When I started coding, I opted for selective coding rather than complete coding. Selective coding means to choose only what is relevant to my research questions and interests. For Braun and Clarke (2013: 206), this type of coding requires pre-existing theoretical and analytic knowledge that enables the researcher to identify the analytic concepts that he/ she is searching for. On the other hand, complete coding is to identify 'anything and everything of interest or relevance' in the obtained data (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p. 207). Thus, I shifted from selective to complete coding as I found in my data a lot of instances which I couldn't neglect in this very first step, and which appeared later to be reinforcing and strengthening my arguments. I coded all the data I have in hand, and later, I became more selective. Having specific final research questions helped me select which codes to take and which codes to let go. As a way of example, I thought that the strategies obtained by the participants to maintain their HL were not relevant to the research. However, I found later that they were related to both participants' identity and attitudes towards languages and towards CS.

Having similar answers which were regularly found in the interviews drove me to compare between them through identifying features that allow them to be unified under one main theme (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

3.4.3. Step Three: Searching for Initial Themes

Generally, themes are not derived from data (Varpio et al., 2017), but from the researcher's analysis and comparison of the codes and trying to figure out how they are related to or differ from each other (Braun and Clarke 2006; 2021). Themes do not emerge, but they are co-constructed between the participants and the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2021) either inductively (by data) or deductively (by theory) (*ibid*, 2006; 2012; Kiger and Varpio, 2020). In this phase, the researcher cannot be certain of which themes to be kept and which themes to be edited or cancelled at all (*ibid*, Kiger and Varpio, 2019). After I coded the gathered data, I reviewed all the codes I had already created, then I classified those which are similar to each other, or which form a central organizing concept for a particular pattern under one theme

(Braun and Clarke, 2013: 225). For instance, Codes such as spending some time in the home country, daily use of Arabic, Arabic and Islamic schools, family role were all grouped under the theme of 'language maintenance strategies'.

After generating provisional themes, I was ready to let go of some of them as they might not serve the research questions or lead to unnecessary results. For instance, the frequent theme 'linguistic competence' was omitted later as it is far away from other important themes and is not related to my research.
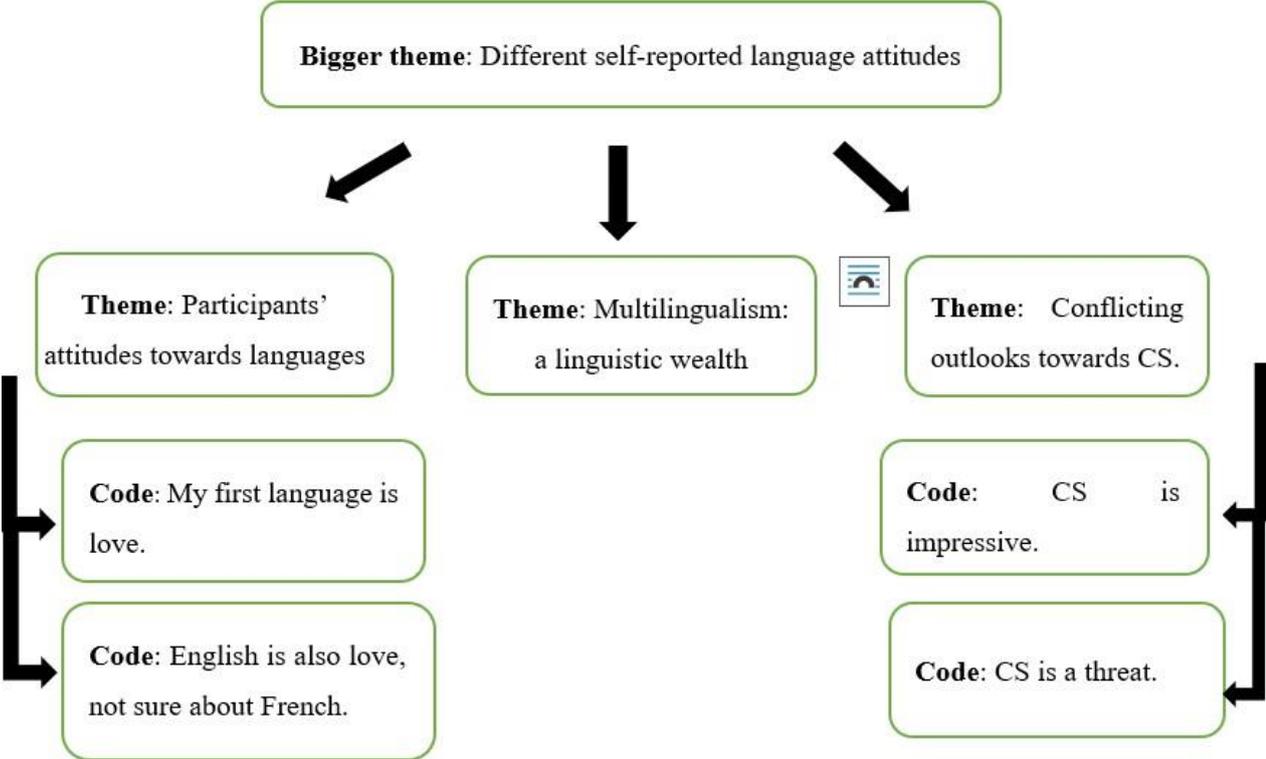
Figure 1: Searching for initial themes.

In the findings, each theme contained some subthemes that target and develop crucial aspects of the central organizing concept of one theme (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 224). These aspects cannot stand by themselves as major themes, thus they were classified under and covered by one umbrella theme. For instance, 'my first language is love', 'English is also love, not sure about French', and 'multilingualism is a linguistic wealth' were codes covered by the theme 'participants' attitudes towards languages'. This will be clearer in the following figure.

3.4.4. Step Four: Reviewing and Defining Themes

After I finished labelling my themes, I moved to the stage of themes' revising and checking. I reviewed each theme and the subthemes under it to check their coherence, connection, and adequacy. I also took each theme separately and checked it within the data I already coded

and saw if it really fits my research and answers my research questions. In this stage, the researcher needs to finally decide about themes, what to include, what to change, and what to exclude. Whenever the researcher is confident about the themes, the first stage of analysis is completed (Braun and Clarke 2006). Yet, a revision is needed in order to move to the next level of analysis. Hence, I combined, re-read and re-examined both codes and themes to see if they really represent the body of the data and introduce a 'story' that is easy for the reader to understand. Thus, TA is a recursive process and not a linear one (*ibid*). For example, I reviewed the theme 'motivation for CS' and split it into two sub-themes which are context-related motivations and message-related motivations. I also edited the theme 'attitudes towards CS' to be 'conflicting outlooks towards CS' and split the latter into two sub-themes which are 'CS is impressive', and 'CS is a threat'. Moreover, I combined the themes 'CS for translation', 'CS for emphasis' and 'CS for reformulation' into one sub-theme which is 'CS for reiteration'.

3.4.5. Step Five: Finalizing Themes

The second stage of analysis covers the last two steps of TA. In the fifth step, I defined and named the themes and stated their importance to the whole study in general. The names of the themes were brief and descriptive in order to be put in the final report. Each theme should cover a certain part of the study and contribute to the general understanding of the question under investigation (Braun and Clarke 2006). Sub-themes can be also identified within this stage to reinforce and support the main themes. In this stage, I extracted direct quotations from data and used them to illustrate key points and explain the significance of themes and their relation to the overall research (Braun and Clarke 2012).

The table below presents a small side of the process of generating initial codes and themes, illustrated with some extracts from the data.

1/ ça dépend la personne li rahi goddami. (FT : it depends on the person whom i talking to)./ W tani it depends mʕamen rani ncommuniki (Also, it depends on the person I am communicating with).	1/The interlocutors' relationships and accommodation.	Participants switch codes to accommodate to their interlocutors.	Context-related motivations
2/ I also code switch when I don't want someone to understand what I am saying./ W mʕa rajli mnindak ki nḥeb drari ma yefehmouš nehderlou français (FT: I use French with	2/Interlocutors's exclusi	Participants switch to another language to include or exclude other interlocutors	

my husband when I don't want my kids to understand what I am saying).	on	from the conversation	
3/ nhess rouhi mertabta liha, nḥeb ṭaqafa lbarbariya w kamel. (FT: I feel linked to Tamazight. I love the Berber culture) 4/ lazem t'hot lbasma dyalek, tbeyyen belli nta dziri (you always need to put your own touch to show that I am Algerian)	3/Ethnic identity 4/National identity 5/Islamic identity	CS is used to express different identities among the participants.	CS as an identity marker
5/ Dok ki nqerri benti lʕerbiya lweš, beš tehkem lmashaf teqrah (FT: For what purpose should I teach my daughter Arabic? So that she can read Quran.)			
6/ ki nezgui ʕla wladi généralement nbeddel la langue men français lel ʕarbiya. (FT : generally, when i shout on my kids, i switch from french to English)/ Ki nkoun berra w nkoun mqalqa wella, I speak in my language beš waḥed mayefhemni (FT: when I am outside home and I get angry, I speak my language so nobody can understand me.) / I prefer to express my emotions in another language rather than Arabic.	6/Feelings expression	Participants switch to another language either to express negative or positive feelings	The mood factor/ CS to express feelings.

94

Table 4: Examples of generating codes and themes.

'Extracts' contains transcribed data, 'codes' are given depending on the content of the extract, followed by a definition. Then, the same codes are categorised under one general theme. For instance, extracts 1 and 2 were about some factors driving participants to shift to another language. Thus, they were labeled 'interlocutors' relationships and accommodation' and 'interlocutors' inclusion' respectively, which were covered by the theme of 'context-related motivations' Also, codes 3,4, and 5 discussed language use and choice in relation to different identities, hence fit under the theme 'CS as an identity marker'.

3.4.6.   Step Six: Writing the Final Report

The last step in TA is to produce the final report of the data. I wrote up the final analysis where I did not only present the findings, but also interpreted, reflected, and compared the data with other works in the field. In this report, which was presented in the three data chapters (four, five, and six), I explained how this analysis largely and fully answers the research questions raised in the beginning of the study (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2013) through bringing relevant theoretical frameworks, relevant literature review, and personal interpretation together.

3.4.7.   Process of Analysis of CS Practice

This subsection describes the process of analysing instances of CS in the interviews I conducted with multilingual Algerians living in the UK. It is worth mentioning that while chapter five and six analysed both CS motivations and language attitudes among the participants, chapter four focused only on the motivations for CS. Thus, the analysis focused only on what prompted speakers to engage in the linguistic behaviour, CS. Moreover, while the analysis of reported opinions was based on the participants' perceptions, the analysis of participants' actual language use was based on the researcher's observation, perceptions, and interpretations. It is the role of the researcher to infer and interpret why CS is used in a specific setting.

Inspired by reflexive TA, I adopted some steps to analyse the actual practice of CS. The first readings of the transcriptions primarily targeted the opinions and perceptions of the participants. However, I started the phase of familiarisation with data from scratch focusing only on the practice of CS, which languages were used (CS patterns), how languages were used (types of CS), and why this language was used and not the other one (motivations). In this phase, I could identify different types (inter-sentential, intra-sentential, borrowing, arabised words) and patterns of CS (unmarked language and embedded language) while reading the

transcriptions several times. In Word document, I used different formatting to highlight each language following the transcription key (table 001) to facilitate the readability of the transcriptions. Then, I classified the most often patterns into categories, for example, CAA+ French, CAA+ French+ English, and CAA+ English. Other less frequent patterns of CS are classified together such as Tamazight+ CAA, and Spanish + CAA.

In a different Word document, I went through all the data and selected CS instances which showed apparent motivations behind that code choice. Based on the three developed theoretical frameworks of CS [Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993a), Gumperz (1982) Tradition, Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, et al, 1991)], and on the analysis of self-reported opinions, I categorised similar instances of CS according to specific frequent motivations. This phase is similar to 'generating initial codes' where I used different colors to highlight extracts which belong to the same category or code, for example CS to accommodate the listener's choice, CS for reiteration, CS for quotation, CS for identity expression, CS for emotions' expression, etc. (see table below). There were some instances of language use where I could not identify why participants shift from one code to another, which I classified as 'CS for no apparent reason', and which I explained later that this switching can be any motivation from the above listed ones.

The table below shows some of the classification of the findings into codes and themes.

Extracts	Codes	Themes
(12a) Me: **w dokka weš tehdri** in your daily life? FT: how about now? Which language do you speak in your daily life?	CS as an unmarked practice. (12b used the same pattern of CS (CAA+ English) to	CS for participants' accommodation: categories of CS.
(12b) H: mmm *au début* it was **dziriya** *par ce que* **kunt neḵdem mʕa dziriyin. oumbaʕdatik** *c'était* English and then Classical Arabic **lluḡa alʕarbiya alfuṣ'ḥa** FT: mmm at first, I was using Algerian Arabic because I was working with Algerians. After that, I started using English and then Classical Arabic, which is Standard Arabic. [because I worked as a translator].	accommodate to the code choice of 12a)	

Reem : **ana nšof'ha** *compliqué* **bezzaf**. I feel it is very complicated. FT : I feel it is very complicated.	CS for reformulation and translation.	CS for reiteration.
we call this blindly reviewing or blindly revision. I used to have it when I was a child…So **ki kunna sḡar baba kan yheffedna lQur'an… So ḵellini nebda belʕarabiya wel Qur'an w InšaAllah rebbi ɣtebbetni'** FT: we call this blindly reviewing or blindly revision. I used to have it when I was a child. When we were kids, our father used to use this method to teach us Quran… So, I will start teaching him Arabic and Quran and I ask Allah for steadfastness in this affair.	CS as an index of religious identity	C S as an index of identity

Table 5: categorisation of instances of CS into codes and themes

Because I initially started by analysing participants' self-reported opinions, the phase of categorising codes under themes was much easier. I ended up with four bigger themes namely CS for interlocutors' relationships, CS for message qualifications, CS as an index of identity, and other motivations for CS. Each theme includes a variety of sub-themes and codes as explained above.

I acknowledge that the analysis of actual practice of CS primarily relies on my perceptions as a researcher and an analyst, informed by some theoretical frameworks. I believe, however, that the analysis of participants' self-reported opinions regarding the factors driving them to switch between codes is particularly evident as it sets the scene for subjective experiences, opinions, and attitudes to become more apparent.

3.4.8.   Triangulation

As explained above, the data of the current research was obtained exclusively from semi-structured interviews. However, I opted for triangulation in data analysis through analysing the same data from two different perspectives in light of the research questions. I first adopted Reflexive TA to analyse the self-reported data following the six phases set by Braun anClarke (2006; 2013). Then, I sought to reinforce the research findings through analysing the same data relying on my perceptions as a researcher, informed by certain theoretical frameworks. The aim of data triangulation in this research was to 'enhance the validity of the findings' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018: 765), increase the quality of the research (Patton, 2015), and to give a full picture of the issue under investigation. For instance, the findings in

chapter five showed that one of the motivations, which drive participants to engage in CS, was to accommodate to the code choice of their interlocutors indicating social solidarity and group membership. Likewise, self-reported opinions confirmed this finding, given that all participants state that they often select a language that is used by and intelligible to their audience. Combining data analysis from participants' perceptions and from researcher's perceptions with personal reflections stands as an interpretive instrument for the various discussed concepts and relations, which goes well with the paradigm of interpretivism.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The consideration of ethical issues during the field work is crucial in conducting qualitative research (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000: 83-103; Murphy and Dingwall, 2001) given that it protects participants' data and builds trust between the researcher and the respondents. In this respect, Grix (2010) says:

> 'Ethical considerations ought to be greater for those conducting qualitative research, given the direct contact researchers have with people, their personal lives and the issues of confidentiality that arise out of this'. (Grix, 2010: 121)

This section is concerned with highlighting some ethical issues related to the current study. My ethics application has been approved because it complied with the requirements for ethical and governance review, as set out in Canterbury Christ Church University's Research Ethics and Governance Procedures. Following the ethical guidelines, I designed my semi-structured interviews questions, wrote an introductory paragraph where I explained my research idea to the respondents, and gave details about the withdrawal process if wanted. I also clarified how the researched people are involved in the study, which tools are used and how the data is accessed.

The British Psychological Society (2009) defines research ethics as the 'moral principles guiding research from its inception through to completion and publication of results' (British Psychological Society, 2009: 5). There are moral rules and professional codes to conduct research especially when entering people's personal lives through interviewing and/or observing them. Research ethics are meant to protect the informants' rights and avoid any harm that could be caused either during or after the research.

Before entering the field research, I was aware of the ethics that should be considered while conducting any research. I treated people taking part in the research as participants and not

subjects. I tried to establish connections with participants, including some who I had not previously known or met, and I achieved success in forging these bonds thanks to our shared backgrounds in a foreign country. Since the researcher is 'the instrument through which the data are collected and analysed' (Patton, 2002: 276), he/she needs to present their data and their analytical procedures completely and truthfully. I did not dictate to the participants what to say during the interview. Instead, I let them be spontaneous and natural as they are in their daily lives. Moreover, I kept all their information (personal details and data) private and anonymous. I used pseudonyms to replace any real names and places in order not to indicate anything related to the respondents. While transcribing the recorded conversations and the interviews, I omitted some parts of the informants' speech to preserve their privacy.

Both the consent form and the participant form gave instructions to the respondents about what they are required to do in the research, explain the procedure of withdrawal, and list of the researcher, the supervisors, and the university details if any inquiry was needed. Before the interview started, I reminded the participants that they can use any language they like, that they can skip any question, and that they can stop the interview at any moment if they feel uncomfortable.

In the beginning, in both the consent and participant form, I put the title of the thesis as it is, i.e., 'a sociolinguistic study of CS motivations and language attitudes among multilingual Algerians in the UK'. However, I changed the title to 'The use of language among multilingual Algerians in the UK' for two reasons: (a) I was afraid the title will either confuse them because it is a new term for the informants or affect their responses if they get its meaning, and (b) I was afraid that participants will try to give responses that they think I want to hear. Hence, that title was very simple and easy to understand. I did not receive any questions concerning the research topic's meaning. After conducting the interviews, I revealed the real title to the participants, and I clarified why I replaced it with the simple title.

All the gathered data were saved in my personal laptop in a secured folder with a private password, and it is used only for academic purposes. After the research is completed, all the data will be destroyed.

3.6. Limitations and Issues

The choice and the use of research methods should be selected according to research questions and objectives of the study, with regard to time and available resources (Milroy, 1987). My selection of a qualitative approach relying on semi-structured interviews as a source of two distinct data was appropriate given that it met the objectives of the research through answering

the concerns raised in the introduction chapter. One main limitation of using qualitative research was the small number of the investigated population and the lack for generalizability of the results. Due to time limitation, a maximum of twelve participants were recruited, who, I argue, are not representative of the whole Algerian speech community in the UK. As a result, the findings cannot be extended to a broader context but rather remain specific to this particular population. However, they can be transferred to another researched groups and contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Through my experience, one drawback of semi-structured interviews is that no interview is complete in one session. The openness of the interview's setting allowed me to move from one question to another depending on the informants' answers, but on the other hand, it also resulted in occasional lapses where I overlooked certain questions. Thus, follow up questions were scheduled to cover the missing questions and expand some answers which I noticed that they were incomplete or confusing. So, I contacted some interviewees, via email and social media, to ask for more clarifications. Only Few of them got back to me with detailed answers and examples. For instance, on Facebook, I asked Noor to expand more on her answer to what makes her shift to another language, and she replied in writing: 'it can be the stress. I speak to my kids in English and start panicking I will switch to French. I don't find the word in Arabic I will switch to either French or English'. I added another question to elaborate more saying: what do you mean by panicking'. She said, 'imagine I am in park with my boys I always speak English in front of people but if they do silly things or dangerous, I will definitely talk in French'.

Another drawback of using interviews to collect linguistic data is the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972). This concept refers to the alternation of natural linguistic behaviour due to the presence of researchers, resulting in biased language use. The role of the interviewer disrupts the spontaneity of participants' natural speech. Also, participants' awareness that their recorded speech will serve research purposes prompts them to speak differently from their typical natural speech. For instance, participant Sami clearly stated 'I think **lmawdooʕ b had datou youfrod ʕlina nehedrou** English. And maybe to make it easier while transcribing' FT: I think the topic itself forces us to speak in English upon the question 'why did you use a lot of English in this conversation? Additionally, the unclearness surrounding my ethnicity -whether Arab or Berber- may also have influenced participants' discussion of the linguistic reality among Algerians, including the debate which language is the heritage ethnic language of all Algerians: Arabic or Tamazight.

During the interviews, it seems that participants select the 'frontstage' (Goffman 1959 see section 2.8.3) to perform their self-presentation. They enact public role performance in front of an audience, the interviewer. In this case, participants successfully engage in discussing their language use through wearing the appropriate persona mask in a manner suited to the social context of the interview. Probably, to gain positive face, they might also have adjusted their language selection and answers in a way they deemed more socially acceptable or consistent with the researcher's expectations.

Collecting data remotely, specifically audio calls only helped informants be more comfortable not seeing the interviewer and the recording instrument. Moreover, in an attempt to reduce my effect as a researcher-observer, I insisted that the participants were allowed to use any language they wish to, including Arabic, Tamazight, French, and English. This made the conversation less formal and helped the informants to be more at ease when answering the questions.

Notably problematic is the fact that the absence of naturally occurring linguistic data, for instance audio recorded or videotaped spontaneous conversations, constrained the confirmation of participants' self-reported claims against real-world practices. Despite this limitation, which was partially mitigated through the triangulation of data analysis and theoretical framework, the findings mainly relied on participants' perceptions and interpretations, which were essentially affected by the research context.

Notwithstanding these limitations, conducting research with a small number of participants undeniably had its advantages. Qualitative research, with its focus on providing a specific description of a certain phenomenon within a particular context (Creswell and Creswell 2018), facilitated more detailed insights, which, in turn, enabled me to delve into the different experiences of language use and choice among the participants. Having said that, it allowed me to capture the various nuances and intricacies of this CS practice, giving voice to my participants' accounts and bringing them into the spotlight.

3.7. Conclusion

The ultimate goal of this research is to understand the participants' motivations for CS, CS' relation to identity, and participants' attitudes towards languages and towards CS. In this research, which is qualitative in nature with constructivist and interpretivist epistemologies, I opted for semi-structured interviews to collect necessary data. The findings were based on the informants' actual language choice (chapter five), which were analysed relying on my interpretivist perspectives. On the other hand, findings about how participants construct reality

when it comes to language use (chapter five and six), were analysed using TA. Within this chapter, I have also discussed sampling, piloting, researcher's position, and who the participants were. In the last two sections, I have looked at the ethical considerations and highlighted the limitations of the chosen methodology. After explaining the practical phase, I further move to the next three chapters to discuss the findings of the research.

Chapter 4: Apparent Patterns and Motivations for Code Switching: Insights from Interviews with Multilingual Algerians.

4.1.Introduction

This chapter mainly emphasises the linguistic patterns of and motivations for CS in actual use in a single speech event, which is the interviews I conducted with twelve multilingual Algerians. Though participants belong to the same Algerian Arabic speech community, yet, they do not have the same command of their linguistic repertoires, and they do not use the codes with the same frequency.

The purpose of analysing the different patterns of CS is to explore the extent to which participants practice this linguistic behaviour. Results revealed that there are three frequent patterns of CS, namely CAA+ French, CAA+ English, CAA+ French+ English, opposite to five less used patterns, such as CAA+ MSA and French+ English. These various linguistic patterns can refer to the richness of the participants' linguistic repertoires as well as their positive attitudes towards multilingualism, individual languages, and CS.

This chapter also discusses apparent motivations for CS as observed and inferred from participants' linguistic practice. I categorise the findings into three core motivations namely, interlocutors' relationships, message qualifications, and social identity performance. In discussing 'CS for interlocutors' relationships', I start with participant's code choice accommodation where I refer to four categories of CS drawing upon a combination of the Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993b) and Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, et al, 1991) proving the suitability of both theories in analysing some factors motivating the practice of CS. Furthermore, I explore how changing topics and expressing feelings trigger CS among the participants. In the context of 'CS for message qualifications', data revealed a few factors which are all related to conveying a meaningful message to the audience such as reiteration and quoting. Lastly, 'social identity performance' addresses the use of CS to index different group memberships. Participants often employ CS to signal one or more aspects of their identity.

In line with Smith and Osborn (2008) who emphasise the direct relation of form and content, I believe that analysing the language use of participants -form- helps me gain more insights of their experiences with languages -content-, specifically with CS (chapter five and six). Throughout this chapter, the objective is not only to identify the patterns of CS, but also to

understand the underlying motivations that drive participants to perform this linguistic behaviour.

Due to some limitations in data collection (section 3.6. and 7.3.), I use interviews as material to analyse the use of languages among the participants. It should be mentioned that the focus is put on both the use of languages in the extracts and its functions (section 4.3). The interviews were conducted mainly in CAA. Yet, the interviewees were given the green light to choose any language (CAA, Tamazight, French, or English) they would prefer to use. The majority of participants opted for switching between CAA, French, and English. Four of the respondents tried to stick to English only, yet they could not help but borrow either from French or Arabic. I admit that it is sometimes difficult and somehow tricky to find the suitable FT from Algerian Arabic to English because the two languages are different in general. Some translated segments do not give the precise meaning; hence, some crucial connotations may not be transmitted appropriately.

4.2.Participants' Background: Patterns of Code Switching

This section serves as a thorough exploration of the diverse patterns of CS (CS) employed by the participants, focusing on the specific languages they use during the interviews. It delves into the participants' linguistic backgrounds, providing an insightful examination of the intricate processes involved in seamlessly mixing two or more languages within a single utterance. Moreover, this examination goes beyond mere observation. It seeks to unravel the potential implications of these CS practices.

This section draws insightful conclusions regarding how these various CS usages may affect the maintenance of participants' first languages or potentially contribute to language shift, attrition or loss. This exploration aims to enrich our understanding of the intricate world of multilingual communication and its probable consequences for language vitality and the identity/ies linked to it.

Results showed that all the participants mix several languages and varieties in different ways (types) and different contexts which reflects their comfort level with CS. I select the most often used patterns of CS among multilingual Algerians and illustrate them by instances of actual use of languages in the interviews. It is worthy to mention that, in each pattern's title, the first language is the unmarked language with more constituents, and what follows is the

embedded language/s with less constituents. For example (CAA+ French) means CAA is the most used code and French is the less frequent code.

4.2.1 Pattern 1: CAA and French

(01) '**W men bab lḵedma taʕi** *il faut métriser la langue maternelle l'anglais.*'

LT: **and from door the job mine** *it needs master the language mother English.*

FT: Because of my work, I need to master the native language, English. (Reda, Interview)

In the example above, the participant starts his utterance with CAA and then shifted to French to form an inter-sentential CS (switching beyond the sentences boundaries). This is a frequent pattern among the participants in the interviews. In a similar study about CS use in social media (Facebook and Twitter) among Algerian students in the UK, Merzougui (2018) found that the Arabic+ French pattern is ranked the third after English+ Arabic and Arabic+ English patterns. This can be referred to the domination of English, the language of the host community's linguistic practice, and their preference of Arabic as the HL of the Algerian speech community. The pattern of CAA+ French can be related to the habit of switching practiced in participants' home country, Algeria. I would say since it is a habit, there is no apparent motivation to switch codes. It is a result of a continuous unintentional language choice which relies on speakers' rationality. This goes well with Myers Scotton's claim (1993; 2000) that switching between codes is unintentional produced by rational actors.

4.2.2. Pattern 2: CAA and English

(02) '**ʔna ki jit hna qotlo nehedro** English **ki twelli l ddar**

LT: **I when came here I-said-to-him we-speak** English **when you-come-back to home**

beš netserreḥ w nwelli confident'

LT: **so-that I-am- released and I-become** confident.

FT: When I came here, I asked him to use English once at home so I could achieve mastery and confidence in the language.   (Mira, Interview)

(03) '**Dḵelt** domain **taʕ lqanoun w lqit rouḥi nesbeḥ fih**, different environments, different

LT: **I-entered the** domain **of the-law and I-found myself swimming in-it**

    challenges every day'

FT: I ventured into the realm of law and delved deeply into its intricacies**,** different

105

environments, and different challenges every day. (Reda, Interview)

This pattern of CS consists of mixing CAA as the dominant language with few embedded constituents of English. Intrasentential switching in (02) and intersentential switching in (03) are two instances of many other switchings found in most of the interviews. Interestingly, I would say that this pattern replaces the previous one since English became more used than French among the participants given that it is the language of the receiving country. Thus, undoubtedly, there are some situations where English is the dominant language and CAA is the embedded one, for example Fella said:

(04) 'it is not only the language **li tewledna biha** but also a love and a passion'

LT: it is not only the language **which we-were-born with-it** but also a love and a passion

FT: it is not only the language that we were born with but also a love and a passion

(Fella, Interview)

In example (04), the participant uses English as the main language and incorporates some Arabic words to complete her idea. This switching seems to be spontaneous and effortless as the speech is produced smoothly without any pauses. Most of the constituents are in English which means it is the unmarked language. Only three constituents are in CAA which makes it the marked language. However, this type of switching becomes unmarked code choice among the participants as it reoccurs on a daily basis as a linguistic *habitus*.

4.2.3. Pattern 3: CAA, French, and English

The findings showed that ten out of twelve participants usually start with CAA and then insert another language/s in different forms of CS.

(05) '**Ki ykoun** *la personne* **li** *en face* **lik maʕand'haš** the same background **dyalek**,

    LT: **when it-is** *the person* **who** *opposite* **to-you she-doesn't-have** the same background **yours**

    tkoun different background *donc tu es obligé* **texprimi b** *les langues* **waḥed okrin**'

LT**: it-is** different background *so you are obliged* **you-express with** *the languages* **one others.**

FT: When the person you are conversing with doesn't have the same background as yours, you are obliged to express yourself using other languages. (Reda, interview)

106

This pattern of switching is a result of mixing the two previous patterns together where Arabic is the dominant language, whereas English and French are the embedded languages. Participants' preference of Arabic as the matrix unmarked code may refer to their awareness, willingness, and motivation to maintain their HL in diaspora.

The unmarkedness of the Algerian Arabic language implies its status as a privileged code because it is the indigenous language for both Arabs and Berbers taking part in this research. Regardless of whether it is intentional or not, participants' use of their first language is meant to maintain it and protect it from shift, attrition, and loss. However, the limited practice of these patterns and the use of other patterns such as (English+ French), French only or English only may lead speakers to make less efforts that enhance the maintenance of their first language. Importantly, the majority of participants consider the mixture between Arabic and French (borrowing or switches) as unmarked code because it is a common feature of the speech of Algerians to the extent it became part of CAA. This can be related to the length of time Arabic and French have been in contact because of colonization (French in Algeria), and immigration (Algerians in France) (Bentahila and Davies, 1995; Youssi, 2001; Benrabah, 2014). However, the embedding of English into the CAA + French pattern is marked yet expected because English is the mainstream language of the UK, and the Algerian linguistic community is minor compared to the English community. Thus, the last pattern (CAA+ French+ English) moves from being marked to unmarked because of its frequent occurrence.

One cannot deny the fact that French has gained a very steady position in the linguistic profile of Algerians. Both in Algeria and United Kingdom, it has the prestige of a 'culture language', what creates a kind of competition between mainly French and CAA in different domains (Ennaji, 1991, Djennane 2004) leading to situations of CS and code mixing (Rosenhouse, et al., 2004: 854).

The above three patterns of CS are the most frequently used ones among the participants offering a glimpse into the Algerian speech community in the UK. In contrast, there are also less used patterns of CS among the Algerian community in the UK including:

4.2.4. Pattern 4: French and English

(06) '*On a le même* background'

LT: *one has the same* background.

FT: We have the same background.   (Reda, Interview)

Few participants, who learnt French at an early age or who lived part of their lives in France and England, are found to use this pattern of switching. They reported previously that they were influenced first and foremost by their Algerian francophone parents, reading French literature, and studying in French institutions.

In line with Grosjean (2001, 2010), I would argue that speakers who mix different foreign languages- in this research French and English- in a single linguistic interaction are said to be competent bilinguals who have a very good control over the languages they use. Though the neutral to positive attitudes towards (7.2.3.1) switching codes in general, this pattern, I believe, may negatively remind the speakers of their weak linguistic abilities in their first language. Yet, it indicates the extent to which participants preserve their second language (French) in a non-francophone speech community.

4.2.5. Pattern 5: CAA and MSA

(07) '<u>liʔanni ʔna ḍid ṣaḥafiyin</u> li yesteʕmlou <u>kalimat bluḡa okra</u>'

LT: **because-I-am myself against journalists who they-use words with-language another.**

FT: Because I am against journalists who use words from other languages.

<div align="right">(Mira, Interview)</div>

(08a) 'kitkoun <u>ḥalet wafat be lʕarabiya lfuṣ'ḥa ʔhsan 'inna lillah wa inna</u>

LT: **when-it-is case-of death with the-Arabic standard better 'we-are to-Allah and we-are**

   <u>ilayhi rajeʕoon', 'ʕaḍḍama Allaho ʔjrakoum', 'ʔlhama ḍawikoum</u>

LT: **<u>to-Him going-back', 'he-glorifies Allah your-reward', 'he-inspires your-relatives</u>**

   <u>ṣabra w salwan'</u>, kišḡol ʔdʕiya'

LT: **<u>patience and solace'</u>, for-example <u>supplications.</u>**

FT: to console someone, I'd better use standard Arabic to say supplications such as 'We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall return', 'May Allah reward you greatly', or 'May Allah grant you patience and solace'.   (Reda, Interview)

In extract (07), Mira, explaining her annoyance from journalists who use foreign languages instead of Arabic, uses only one switch to CAA 'li yesteʕmlou', which is originally borrowed from MSA (yasteʕmil/ to use). Also, in example (08a), talking about preferences and suitability of languages when consoling someone, Reda uses only two words in CAA

'**kitkoun**' and '**kišḡol**', yet the remainder of the sentence is in Standard Arabic to substantiate his opinion with sayings from the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Such diaglossic situations are rare and used mostly to talk about Islamic affairs and sometimes academic and professional stuff. It is usually used by the elite group as an indication of both their academic and religious identities.

4.2.6. Pattern 6: Tamazight and CAA

(09) '*azul ayegma, anda* t*ellid?* **Win rak**?'

LT: *hello oh-my-brother, where you-are*? **Where you-are**?

FT: Hello brother, where have you been?   (Amir, Interview)

Overall, it was rare to find these two patterns of CS (pattern 5 and 6) as both languages MSA and Tamazight are the least used among the Algerian community in the UK, as reported by the participants. They are used occasionally, for instance MSA is used to talk about religion mainly, education, or to quote a poem or a proverb from Arabic literature. However, some Tamazight words are used because they are popular and easy to learn such as the word 'Azul' which means (hello). Switching to these codes often denotes a reference to self-identification with a certain group, for instance, MSA refers to Arab identity and Tamazight refers to Berber ethnic identity. This result echoes the findings in section 5.4.2. where participants often shift to their first or ethnic language to show the strong attachment to their ethnicity (Cho, 2000; Joseph, 2004). Though switching to these codes is less frequent, yet it is still present in some interactions for different purposes depending on the participants' communicative needs as well as the social context of the conversation.

4.2.7. Pattern 7: Spanish and CAA

There are two participants who declared that they have learnt Spanish. However, only one of them continues to use it alongside with other languages such as CAA or English. Here is an example of this CS pattern (it is a made-up example by participant Amir) illustrating how Spanish is integrated in the linguistic repertoire of the participant.

(10) Amir: '*holla hermanito, dondé éstas*?'

    LT: *Hello my-little-brother, where are you*?

    FT: Hello little brother, where are you?

 Friend: '*estoy aqui,* **ʕlah**?'

   LT: *I-am here*, **why?**

FT: I am here, why?   (Amir, Interview)

4.2.8. Pattern 8: Spanish, CAA, English, and French

(11) '***No pasa nada***, do not worry we will sort it out, **ma tqelleqš berk**, *d'accord* ***hermanito***?'

LT: ***no-happen-nothing***, do not worry we will sort it out, **don't you-worry only**, agreed my-

little-***brother***?

FT: It is fine, do not worry, we will sort it out, just do not worry. Okay little brother?

<div align="right">(Amir,
Interview)</div>

The pattern of CS above includes four languages in one sentence which is rare and used only by competent multilingual speakers (Grosjean, 2010). The use of the four languages is meant to communicate different identities and ideologies. Through this CS and repetition of the same discourse in different languages, Amir insists on his multilingual Algerian identity performance. In fact, all the participants showed their ability to combine more than two codes in a single sentence whatever their level of proficiency in each language is. This result posits that even language users who have limited proficiency in a certain language, they are still able to switch to that language using some words or phrases (Holmes, 2013).

Even though some participants state that they still use the same codes and the same patterns of switching as those spoken while being in Algeria (chapter five), yet their actual use of languages denotes the opposite. It is evident that participants' CS patterns, while being in the UK, are significantly affected by the language of the dominant speech community, namely English. This influence is manifested in different patterns including the integration of English and the formation of new coined words through mixing different features of both/ all the used languages.

Remarkably, the participants' use of CS doesn't corroborate with their self-reported attitudes towards mixing languages in one sentence (see section 6.2.3). Though they regard CS as a potential threat which affects and changes their first language, they continue to engage in this linguistic behaviour. This can be related to what Bourdieu (1992) calls *habitus* which refers to a habit socially ingrained in the individual, which is the case of the informants taking part in this research. The mosaic of patterns may also be related to the different motivations for CS which are mainly to convey a message, to accommodate a listener, and to express social identity (sections 4.3; 5.3; 5.4).

In relation to identity, these observed patterns of switching indicate the plural identity of

110

participants. Each instance of CS marks one or more facets of their identity. This result aligns with the finding of Franceschini (1998) who studied Second-generation Italian migrants in German-speaking Switzerland (cited in Schmid, 2005). He found that the Swiss-German waitress switches to Italian, not because of linguistic requirement, rather in an attempt to identify herself with her peers' group.

Conclusion

To restate, this section has demonstrated the various patterns of CS among multilingual Algerians residing in the UK. results have shown that Algerian Arabic is the unmarked language in most of the interactions held in informal settings with frequent switches to either French or English. Interestingly, the selection of each code is meant to reinforce a certain identity the participants wish to have in place. This language practice is driven by the ideological belief of first language pride and retention. Results also have revealed that switching to Tamazight, MSA, and Spanish is less frequent because they are the least spoken languages among multilingual Algerians.

4.3.Apparent Motivations for Code Switching

The previous section has analysed and discussed the practice of CS in terms of identifying patterns as a background of the participants' linguistic repertoire. This section explores apparent factors motivating participants to shift between languages through analysing the linguistic performance of the participants, i.e., the actual CS practice in the interviews relying on researcher's observations and interpretations. A general argument here is that participants commonly switch between codes to achieve fruitful communication with their audience and to express and negotiate their identities (Myers Scotton, 1993a). Results also showed that participants shift from one language to another for different reasons among which filling linguistic gap, showing group membership, changing topics, expressing emotions, and message transmission are the salient factors. Nonetheless, I am inclined to classify the apparent motivational factors behind CS into three distinct categories to allow comprehensive exploration of each factor, mainly CS for interlocutors' relationships, CS for message qualifications, CS for social identity performance.

In this research, motivations for CS are either dynamic or static. The term 'dynamic' covers the factors that changes according to the context change such as the message, the interlocutors' relationships, and the topic. Whereas the term 'static' is used to describe a fixed factor that the speaker cannot change such as the length of residence abroad, and the host speech community. These two factors are included under the title 'other motivations for CS'.

The extracts employed help readers understand how the participants shift between different languages to accomplish specific functions. The data analysis adopts the translation conventions expounded in 4.3.3 which are: Algerian Arabic is in bold, Standard Arabic is in bold and underlined, French is italicised, Tamazight is underlined, Spanish is put in bold and italicised, Mashreqi dialect is italicised and underlined, and English is referred to as FT.

4.3.1. CS for Interlocutors' Relationships.

Findings reveal that various factors related to the context of the conversation motivate participants to shift from one code to another. This subsection focuses namely on interlocutors' relations, changing topic, and feelings expressions as elaborated below and illustrated by extracts from the interviews conducted with the participants.

4.3.1.1. CS for Participants' Accommodation: Categories of CS

Participants often select codes taking into consideration the interlocutors they are conversing with. I detail four categories of CS using the Markedness Model launched by Myers Scotton (1993) (see section 2.4.2) which classifies code choices in terms of markedness, which code is marked, or unmarked, taking into account the markedness metric, the Rights and Obligations set, and the different components of the Markedness Model. In combination with the Communication Accommodation Theory, these categories of CS display how participants accommodate (converge or diverge) to their conversational partners' code choice (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991; Giles, 2001; Holmes, 2001; 2013) and what role social norms play in selecting a language over another.

4.3.1.1.1. CS as an Unmarked Choice
CS is unmarked when it is expected to take place between speakers who share the same linguistic background in bilingual and multilingual contexts. In the example below (12), Hala uses a mixture between CAA, French, and English assuming the listener understands these languages taking into consideration the social norms shared among multilingual Algerians in the UK.

(12a) Me: '**w dokka weš tehdri** in your daily life?'

 LT: **and now what you-speak** in your daily life?

FT: how about now? Which language do you speak in your daily life?

(12b) 'hmmm *au début* it was **dziriya** *par ce que* **kunt neḵdem mʕa dziriyin. oumbaʕdatik**

LT: **hmmm** *at first* **it was Algerian** *because* **I-was I-work with Algerians. Then**

c'était English and then Classical Arabic **lluḡa alʕarbiya alfoṣ'ḥa**'

LT: *it-was* English and then classical Arabic **the-language the-Arabic standard.**

FT: hmmm at first, I was using Algerian Arabic because I was working with Algerians. After that, I started using English and then Classical Arabic (I worked as a translator).

I initiated a question using intra-sentential CS (12a) where Arabic is the dominant code and French is embedded. This code selection is unmarked because it is predicted by the Algerian community norms (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 1998). Influenced by my code selection, the participant gave a favourable response to the used codes using the same repertoire (12b) indicating approval or convergence. This type of switching is the most recurrent among the participants where CAA is the unmarked language with few embedded constituents either from English or French. Speakers' expectation is built upon the shared Rights and Obligations set among speakers who belong to a specific speech community. Contrary to the other types of CS, this type does not necessarily have indexicality (*ibid*). It is meant only to achieve successful communication between the interlocutors.

4.3.1.1.2. CS as a Sequential Unmarked Choice

The change in situational factors in a conversation leads to the negotiation of a new RO set in line with the previous successful experience. By 'successful', Myers Scotton (1993b) means an experience where speakers maximise rewards and minimise costs by selecting the best choice that benefits them in the sense that they transmit their message effectively and influence their conversational partner to take an action or response to their message.

(13a) **'W berra ki noḵroj mʕa wladi, nehderl'hom belʕarbiya beš ma**

 LT: **and outside when I-went with my-kids, I-talk-them in-the-Arabic so-that don't**

 yefehmouš. Nqoulhom ahedrou bel ʕarbiya'

LT: **they-understand. I-tell-them talk in-the-Arabic.**

FT: Once outside home, I speak CAA with my children to keep our conversation private.

(13b) Me: **'win tṣibi rouḥek testeʕmli kter men** language? *est ce que* **kayen** specific

LT: **where you-find yourself you-use more than** language? *Is it that* there-is specific sitautions?'

FT: when do you use more than one language? Are there any specific situations?

(13c) **'ʕandek mʕa** another Algerian **yetḵelto kamel luḡḡat. ʕlabali belli had l**

LT: **you-have with** another Algerian **they-are-mixed all languages. I-know that this the**

113

Algerian **yefħem kulleš yefħem gaʕ luḡḡat'**

LT: Algerian **he-understands everything he-understands all languages.**

FT: whenever I speak with another Algerian, I use all the languages I know because I am sure that he/ she can understand me very well. (Reem, interview)

In the example above (13), in the first turn, Reem uses CAA to talk about what language she uses with her family outside home. Then, I asked a question using CAA and some embedded English words. This intra-sentential CS is unmarked because of the common background of the interactants and familiarity with both languages: CAA and English, expecting the interviewee to accommodate to the selected codes. Reem replies using the same linguistic repertoire as an index of approval as well or what is called convergence (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991; Giles, 2001). CS in (13c) took place, in line with the previous successful conversation in (13a) and (13b), to accommodate to my code selection. Another case of accommodation is found at the phonological and lexical level. The speaker in (13b) used the word 'tṣibi' (you find) and changed the accent to sound like speakers who live in the capital 'Algiers' to converge to the dialect and the accent of the interlocutor in (13a). Moreover, this convergence can be considered a way of inclusion and integration to a different group through adapting the dialect of the listener. Findings show that there is extensive use of sequential unmarked CS similar to that one in example (13) which is meant to build good social relationships, positive personal and social identity, and acceptance (Gallois et al., 2005).

4.3.1.1.3. CS as a Marked Choice

Selecting a marked choice is 'a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who is the speaker) and the speaker's relation to other participants (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 160). Put clearly, the speaker selects a different way against the unmarked RO set, thus, launching a new marked RO set where one of the situational factors changes (Myers Scotton, 1993b; *ibid*). Thus, the addressee (re) engages in the (new) defined social norms to build and maintain relationship with the speaker. The excerpts below are extracted from an interview with Noor.

(14a) Me: 'I can deduce from your accent that you are Berber, aren't you?'

(14b) Noor: '*Oui* ḥna Qbayel *mais* **ma neʕrefš qbayliya mlih. Tʕellemt'ha šwi f fransa**
LT: *yes*, **we-are Berbers** *but* **not I-know-not Tamazight well. I-learnt-it little in France**
win kanet *la communauté* **gaʕ qbayel.** *Donc* **nefħem šwi mʕa ḥbababti**
LT: **where it-was** *the community* **all Berbers.** *So,* **I-understand little with my-besties**
w *mes amis*'

114

LT*: and my friends.*

 FT: yes, we are Berber, however, I do not speak Tamazight very well. I learnt a little bit when I was in France in a Tamazight speech community. I still understand a few words when talking to my friends.

(14c) Me: '*parceque l'accent* **ta3ek bayna belli tmili lelqbayel**'

LT: *because the-accent* **yours obvious that you-lean to-the-Berbers.**
FT: because your accent is similar to Berbers'.   (Noor, Interview)

Based on the self-presentation Noor gave, I selected English (14a) to make an assumption about the ethnic origins of Noor. My code choice was meant to avoid being rude or infantile when asking such a personal question. It also denotes uncertainty and confusion about which code to select. Both Arabic and Tamazight were available to be chosen, yet English was more convenient, in my point of view, as it creates a formal atmosphere, hence, increases social distance and it evades embarrassment in case the interviewee chose to ignore the question. However, Noor made an unfavourable response (14b) through the use of CAA with a switch to French at the end of the sentence. The absence of accommodation in Noor's code selection indicates that she wants to decrease the social distance and preserve national identity/ between herself, and the other interlocutor (Giles, Reid, and Harwood, 2010; Giles, et al., 2013) given that both are Algerians. This code choice, in turn, indexes a new marked RO set which leads the listener to abandon the previous RO set and affirm the new one through adopting the same code (14c).

The marked choice in (14b) refers to the persona of the speaker (Myers-Scotton, 2006); the speaker's identity. Noor wanted to describe her ethnicity (Berber) through the use of an ethnic language rather than a foreign language (English or French). Her code choice is also used to reduce the social distance between herself and the listener indicating solidarity, informality, and national identity.

Another example is found in a different interview where participant Mira, who is a journalist, used MSA mainly throughout the interview with some switches to CAA.

(15) 'Gult lazem luḡḡa ʔlʕarabiya taʕi tkoun saleema. ʔkeed men naḥiyet lqawaʕid wel
LT: I-said must language the-Arabic mine it-is intact. Surely from the-side rules and
ʔʕrab maʕandiš mouškil beṣṣaḥ lkalimat li maraniš neddawelha
LT: parsing not-I-have-not problem but the words that not-I-am-not I-circulate-it
raḥouli fa bdit nrekkez ʕla luḡḡa ʔlʕarabiya w hiya li nḥeb'ha b

LT: **they-went <u>so</u> I-strated I-focus on <u>language the-Arabic</u> and she that I-love-it <u>with daraja l'ʔoola ʔkeed'</u>**

LT: <u>**degree the-first surely.**</u>

FT: I said that my Arabic language should be good. Grammar and parsing in   Arabic are easy for me. However, I can't remember some words easily because I am not using them anymore. Thus, I put more focus on standard Arabic, the language I love the most (Mira, interview)

(16) '<u>liʔanni ʔna did ṣahafiyin</u> li yesteʕmlou <u>kalimat biluḡa ʔoukra</u>. ʔya

LT: **because-I-am I against journalists who they-use words with-language other so**

　　 lqitini kunt raḥ nekteb post ʕla had ʔalʔamr'

LT: **you-found me I-was will I-write post on this subject.**

FT: I am against [Arab] journalists who use foreign words in Arabic reports Indeed, I was about to write a fakebook post about this problem.

(Mira, Interview)

In this case, the participant's use of MSA alongside CAA is a marked code choice which is probably meant to show the degree to which she commands the Standard Arabic language and her feeling of security when using this language. In fact, this code selection is recurrent all along the speech event where the participant sticked to marked inter- sentential CS. The switching to MSA is marked because it is not expected according to the RO set shared between the addressor (interviewer) and the addressee. Thus, this code choice indicates the negotiation of new RO set (Myers-Scotton, 2006), which may be in this case the degree of education and to what extent the participant is influenced by the performance of her professional identity. In reference to Gumperz Dichotomy (1982), this category of CS fits well with conversational CS as it is marked and does not involve a shift in the situational factors, but rather a shift is in focus.

In line with the findings of Myers Scotton (1993) who investigated CS in African contexts, the above data show that both types of inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS fits well with the category of CS as a marked choice among the participants.

4.3.1.1.4. CS as an Exploratory Choice

Another category of CS which serves both convergence and divergence to the other interlocutor's code selection is the exploratory choice. The speaker selects CS to explore which codes are the best choice to have a successful conversation. This type is used when the speaker is not sure of the code the addressee will select.

116

(17a) Me: '**dok nta ki teh'der** *par exemple* **mʕa saḥbek be lʕarbiya w men**

LT: now you when you-speak *for example* **with your-friends in the-Arabic and from**

baʕd tḵellet *le français* **wella** *l'anglais, est ce que* **teqṣed had el** mixture, *est ce que* you mean it'

LT: after you-mix *the French* **or** *the-English, is-it-that* **you-mean this the** mixture *is-it-that* you mean it. [exploratory code]

FT: when you talk to your friends for example in Arabic and then you move to French or English, do you intend to do this mixture. Do you mean it?

(17b) 'Oh no. I don't choose like now I just switched to English just because I feel more comfortable telling you this in English Emm like when I am Emm it depends on the subject, I don't decide what language I am going to talk. When I feel the person, I am talking to understand what I am going to say I just go ahead and speak the language I am the most comfortable with' [marked code/ divergence]

(17c) Me: 'In a way you are saying that this mixture of languages is spontaneous' [unmarked code/ convergence]   (Zain, interview)

In the first turn (17a), I used a mixture between CAA and French to explore which code is suitable for the conversation taking into consideration the background of the interviewee and assuming that he will accommodate with the code choice. Nonetheless, this trial was declined because the interviewee used English only (17b) as a marked code which indicates the discussion of a new marked RO set. This CS denotes that the participant may want to create a formal atmosphere with me having known that I am doing academic research. In this context, English is highly marked to the extent that the interviewer in (17c) used the same code as a way of approval and keeping the relationship and the atmosphere the participant wishes to be in force. In this case (17a), English is the `best choice` because it meets the listener expectations and thus becomes unmarked in the rest of the conversation.

In the four categories, participants switch to different languages depending on their conversational partner's code selection where the former either converges or diverges from the latter's code choice. The participants decide about the markedness of codes relying on the shared understanding of the social meanings (RO set) of the languages used to express and negotiate their social roles. Taking advantage of their rationality and markedness evaluator, participants select codes depending on their previous sociolinguistic practices in their speech

community. For instance, Amir speaks Spanish whenever he meets his friend because he knows she understands this language. His selection is not random but based on a previous experience.

The speaker sometimes falls short of the listener's expectation and selects unexpected codes purposefully which leads to the utterance to be marked (5.3.1.1.3). Thus, this code selection entails an apparent motivation which the speaker uses to affect the listener. For instance, in example (14b), Noor used her first language as a marked code to show her ethnic identity. Conversely, if the expectations of the audience are met (5.3.1.1.1 and 5.3.1.1.2) and the speaker selects an unmarked code, the latter is called the 'best choice' which is used to minimise costs (using a smaller number of words and reaching referential meaning) and maximise rewards (avoiding communication breakdown) (Myers Scotton, 1993b).

In brief, this section has classified four categories of CS in accordance with the Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993a) and the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, et al., 1991; Giles, 2001). It is evident that both the participants and I switch codes to accommodate each other through either convergence or divergence (ibid; Holmes, 2001; 2013). They often adopt CS to '*optimise*' (Myers Scotton, 1993a), which means to increase rewards (successful conversation) and minimise costs such as avoiding misunderstanding and wasting time and efforts without transmitting the message. The four categories clearly show that all language choices can be assessed as either marked or unmarked depending on the participants' previous social experiences and community`s social norms (RO set) (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 1998).

4.3.1.2.CS to Change Topics.

Another factor that drives participants to switch codes is the topic of the interaction. For instance, in the interview, some respondents (Sarah, Fella, Zain, and Sami) preferred to use English mainly with few switches to CAA and French considering that the interview will be used in academic research. Sarah says: (18) 'First, I try to talk their dialects to make them understand me and then when I continue speaking with them for a long period of time, **darja taʕi li teḡleb**.' LT: **Colloquial mine that beats**. FT: Algerian Arabic is the dominant. This is one of many utterances performed by the participants where they use English as the unmarked language and CAA or French as embedded languages. Other participants shift from Arabic to either English or French to talk about subjects related to education in general. For instance, Reem says:

(19) '**dert** English **set šhoor oumbaʕd dert** *Master* **f** biotechnology, **oumbaʕd ḡir kemmelt**

LT: I-did English **six months then I-did** *Master* **in** biotechnology**, then as I-finished**

ʔna kunt men lmafrood neḵdem f *la recherche.* **ṣebt** un job **f hada win rani**

LT: **I I-was from the-supposed I-work in** *the research.* **I-found** a job **in this where I-am**

dok f international school as a science teacher **w rani qaʕda f** *le meme* job'

LT: **now** in international school as a science teacher **and I-am staying in** *the same job.*

FT: I studied English for six months. Then, I did my master's in biotechnology. After I finished my master, I was supposed to carry on in my research. I found a job, my current job, in an international school as a science teacher and I am still in the same position.   (Reem, interview)

Majdi says:

(20) '**jit beš ndir** post graduate studies **F langliz** *donc* initially **kunt** *je fais un diplôme de*

LT: I-came to I-do post graduate studies **in England** so initially **I-was** *I-do a diploma of*

pharmacie en Algérie **w mbaʕda jit hna beš ndir** *Master* **f** *la pharmacie industrielle*

LT: *pharmacy in Algeria* **and then I-came here to I-do** *Master* **in** *the pharmacy industrial*

et après ça j'ai fait un-PhD en pharmacie industrielle aussi à l'université de

LT: *and after this I-had done a PhD in pharmacy industrial also at the-university of*

Bradford et après ça j'ai travaillé à Bradford l'industrie pharmaceutique'

LT: *and after this I-had worked in* the-industry pharmaceutical.

FT: I came to the United Kingdom to complete my postgraduate studies. So, I initially had a diploma as a pharmacist in Algeria. Then, I did my Master and my PhD in industrial pharmacy at Bradford university. After that, I worked in the pharmaceutical industry.(Majdi, interview)

Reem and Majdi shift from Algerian Arabic to English and French respectively to talk about their academic achievements, career, and current job. Apparently, they find it easier to use the languages in which they fulfilled their studies, and they are using now at work to accomplish effective communication.

Most participants use and shift to Algerian Arabic and mainly standard Arabic to talk about things related to their religion, Islam, or when they want to show their religious identity. A very good example of switching codes to talk about a different topic is the interview of Fella who was talking in English only, however, she switched to both varieties of Arabic (H and L) to talk about her plans to teach her son the Holy Quran. This point is much linked to the use

of CS to index religious identity and is more discussed in section 4.3.3.3.

Zain who sticks to inter-sentential CS between English and French all along the interview, uses French to talk about Algerian-related affairs and shifts to English as the unmarked language to talk about his life in the UK, for instance his job, family, and friends. For example:

(21) '*certains amis avec lesquels je mélange l'anglais et l'arabe par ce que là mes amis*

LT: certain friends with who I mix the-English and the-Arabic because here: *my friends*

algériens qui sont ici à Londres je ne peux pas dire qu'on parle tous le temps en arabe

LT *Algerians who are here in London I not can not say that one speak all the time in Arabic*

algérien. Ça dépends des sujets ehh des sujets légers et ce qui ont un rapport avec

LT: *Algerian. It depends the subjects ehh the subjects lightweight and that which have a link with*

l'Algérie on parle on utilise l'arabe algérien, par contre on parle de qui se passe ici

LT: *the-Algeria one speak one use: the-Arabic Algerian, per contra one speak of which itself happens here*

en Angleterre généralement nous utilisons l'anglais, j'utilise l'anglais'

LT: *in England* generally we use the-English, I-use the-English.

FT: I cannot say that I, with some Algerian friends here in London, talk Algerian Arabic all the time. We often mix Arabic with English. It depends on the subject. For instance, subjects related to Algeria are discussed in Algerian Arabic whereas what is happening here in the UK is discussed in English.   (Zain, interview)

In chapter six, Zain informed that he feels Algerian when speaking French. He uses both CAA and French when talking about his home country. This association of language-topic (French/ CAA= Algeria) indexes that the participant wishes to make his national identity obvious through his language selection. This also can be related to the fact that he has grown up as a simultaneous bilingual where he acquired both Arabic and French at an early age and at the same time (Davison, 2009; Babatsouli and Ball 2020).

Shifting from English to Arabic (example of Fella) reflects the change of the social roles of the participant. For example, Fella moves from being a PhD student who uses English mainly to an Arab Muslim parent who speaks Arabic. For participant Zain, he shifts from the role of an Algerian patriot who speaks French to the role of an English citizen. This switching is situational because it has resulted from a change in one of the situational factors which is

topic. A change in topic, therefore, leads to a change in the set of rights and obligations held among the interlocutors (Myers Scotton, 1993b).

To sum up, participants' language use in interviews has proved that the topic of the linguistic interaction influences the speaker's choice of language (Fishman, 2000b; Baker, 2006; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013). Findings reveal that participants often use a specific language to talk about a specific topic. For example, English and French appear to be used to talk about education, jobs, academic and scientific subjects and to discuss matters that are related to the host country such as family and friends. Standard Arabic is reserved to talk about matters related to the religion of the participants, Islam. Finally, alongside with CAA, French is used to discuss matters related to Algeria in general. In relation to attitudes, the latter also matches with the participants' self-reported positive cognitive and affective attitude towards their linguistic repertoire which is reflected in their behavioural actions.

4.3.1.3.CS to Express Feelings.

Findings reveal that some participants use a different language to talk about their feelings. They select their first language to express negative feelings such as sadness, anger, and regret. For instance, Reda says:

(22a) '*Le plus important* **ʔna qbayli beṣṣaḥ manehderš qbayliya hadi li qeʕdetli**

LT: *the most important* **I Berber but not-I-speak-not Tamazight this which it-stays**

ḥorqa f qalbi.' LT: **burning in heart-my.**

FT: the most important thing is that I am Berber, however I don't know Tamazight. This breaks my heart. (Reda, interview).

In a similar context, Majdi says:

(23a) '*Berbère* **ma nehderhaš li-sooʔ lhadh**.'

LT: *Tamazight* **not I-speak-not for-misfortune the-luck.**

FT: Unfortunately, I do not speak Tamazight. (Majdi, interview).

Both participants who are Algerian Berbers shift from French to CAA/ MSA to express their sadness and disappointment about not being able to learn or speak Tamazight.

Conversely, other participants prefer to use another language other than their first language to express negative emotions. For example, Amir says: (24) 'The classical Arabic, I am not

confident at all. I feel ashamed and stressed'. Amir switches to English to describe his sorriness for not being a fluent speaker in Arabic. Likewise, Noor says:

(24) '**Manḥebbeš yeḵelto f** *les langues* **w ki nšouf** *des mamans* **yḵelto mʕa**

LT: **Not-I-like-not they-mix in** *the languages* **and when I-see** *the mothers* **they-mix with**

wladhom, ʕlabalek *je suis intolérante*.'

LT: **children -theirs, you-know** *I am intolerant*.

FT: I don't like it when they mix languages. When I see moms doing this with their children, you know, I am intolerant'. Participant Noor made a marked switching from CAA to French to describe her dissatisfaction and annoyance towards parents mixing between languages especially with children.

Considering the findings, where both participants switch to a foreign language, I would argue that, unlike self-reported claims in chapter five (5.3.1.4), expressing negative feelings is not always associated with participants' first language, but with a marked switching to a target language, mostly the first available one. This goes well with the claim of Myers Scotton (1993: 132) concerning the use of marked switching to express authority, anger, and annoyance which fall under the category of negative feelings primarily.

Above are some findings about expressing negative feelings on one hand. In contrast, some participants use Arabic most of the time to convey their positive emotions such as love, happiness, and pride. Below are some extracts from the data to illustrate this:

(25a) '<u>**luḡḡa lʕarabiya**</u> **w hiya li nḥeb'ha** <u>**b daraja l'ʔoola ʔakeed**</u>.'

LT: <u>**the-language the-Arabic**</u> **and it-is that I-love-it** <u>**with degree the-first surely.**</u>

FT: Arabic is the language I love first and most.   (Mira, interview)

(26a) '<u>**Lfos'ḥa**</u> *c'est une trés grande richesse*…**w rani** <u>**fakoor**</u> **ʔna**.'

LT: <u>**the-standard**</u> *it-is a very big wealth*… **and I-am** <u>**proud**</u> **myself**.

FT: Arabic is a very great linguistic wealth. I am proud of it.   (Majdi, interview)

(27) '*c'est pour ça* **nefreḥ ki netlaqa b dziriyin taʕ langliz**'

LT: *it-is for this* **I-feel-happy when I-meet with Algerians of England.**

FT: that's why I feel happy when I meet Algerians here in the UK.   (Hala, interview)

The three participants shift from French mainly to Arabic to communicate their positive feelings in different contexts. Mira uses strong MSA words 'first and foremost' to describe the extent to which she loves her first language. Similarly, Majdi shifts to Arabic to express his pride in the linguistic wealth of the Arabic language. In extract (27), Hala also switches

from French to CAA to express her happiness when she meets members of the Algerian community in the UK. This suggests that the first language is more preferred to express positive feelings than any other language (see Ramonienė, 2021; Dewaele, 2004, cited in Pavlenko, 2005: 259). These results correspond with those of Pavlenko (2002) and Chen (1996) who highlight that bilinguals use their second language to talk about negative feelings, taboo, and profanity, while the native or first language is reserved for positive feelings.

4.3.2. CS for Message Qualifications

It is important to remind readers that a context related, or situational switching implies a change in one of the situational factors, for example interlocutors, topic, or setting. Whereas a message related factor, or conversational switching enriches the communication (Myers Scotton and Ury, 1977; Blom and Gumperz, 1982; 2000: 127; Auer, 1984: 4; Holmes, 2001; 2013). This type of switching includes no change in the situational factors; no interlocutors join the conversation, and no topic or setting changes. CS for message qualifications is a conversational switching that aims at 'emphasizing', for instance, emphasizing a message, group-membership, solidarity, etc. In line with Wardhaugh (2009: 104), I would argue that conversational switching has a pragmatic function which a speaker uses to convey meaning that goes beyond the word itself. These factors are more purposely chosen and controlled by the speaker who assigns a social meaning for each code.

4.3.2.1.CS for Reiteration

The first apparent motivational factor is 'reiteration' which includes other sub-categories such as translation, emphasis, explanation, and reformulation depending on the CS' context (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1995; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 2013; Albirini, 2011: 541). As an illustration for this factor, I provide the following examples taken from the interviews.

(28) **ʻFi lbaṣala sisaʔiʼya dyalna**, *la matière grise* **daḵel ʕadna ʕarabiya fusʼḥa**

LT: in the-onion political ours, *the material grey* **inside we-have the-Arabic standard**

FT: Standard Arabic is stored in our brain that is why we understand it.

In this example, the participant translates the scientific term from MSA to French to clarify to me what he means by this term. I would say that participant Reda assumes that French is more useful and much more expressive. He opted for translation thinking that the term is not intelligible for the listener because it is not widely used, hence not everyone can understand it. In this case, switching to another language to translate indicates the multilingual or the second language identity of the speaker. The use of a scientific term 'grey matter' in both

MSA and French implies the educational level of the speaker.

Another example taken from Hala's interview:

(29) 'I moved to The UK thirteen years ago. *ça veut dire* exactly **dok ʕandi Ṯlettaš sna**'

LT: I moved to The UK thirteen years ago. This wants say exactly now I-have thirteen year.

FT: I moved to The UK thirteen years ago.

Hala uses English first and then reformulates her utterance in CAA to emphasise the long period of her life in the UK. The selection of CAA may denote the participant's ideology of the appropriateness of the language to deliver her message effectively. She also uses a French borrowed word '*ça veut dire*' (which means) to shift from English to Algerian Arabic. This embedded constituent can be considered both a borrowed word and a switch at the same time depending on the frequency of the utilisation. If an utterance is used frequently, it is said to be borrowed only, however, if it is used only few times, it is regarded as switching which belongs to the embedded language (Myers Scotton, 2002).

Other similar examples of message emphasis, explanation, and reformulation:

(30) '**Ana nšofʰha** *compliqué* **bezzaf**. I feel it is very complicated.'

LT: **I I-see-it** *complicated* **very**. I feel it is very complicated.'
FT: I feel it is very *complicated*.   (Reem, interview)
(31) 'People who speak one language they are linguistically handicap, **muʕaq luḡawiyan.**'
LT: People who speak one language they are linguistically handicap, **handicap linguistically.**
FT : people who speak one language only they are linguistically limited. (Amir, interview)

(32) '**hada meskin ʔommi ma yeʕref yekteb mayeʕref yeqra…hada meskin** *il ne*

LT: **this poor illiterate not he-knows he-writes not he-knows he-reads…this poor** *he not*

sait pas ni lire ni écrire.'

LT: *knows not neither to-read not to-write.*

FT: the poor man is illiterate. he does not know how to write or read …the poor does not know how to read or write.   (Majdi, interview)

In the above three examples, it appears that the participants repeat themselves in different languages to emphasise, explain, and reformulate their previous statements. This is done with an assumption that the message will be delivered more effectively by switching to another

124

language.

Another example is where Amir switches between different languages to explain what he meant by the term below. He says:

(33) '*Une personne xenophobe* **waḥed li mayḥebbeš nas. Ma yḥebbeš barraniyin, li**

LT: *a person xenophobic* **one who not he-likes people. Not he-likes foreigners, who**

yḥeb ykon waḥdo … **waḥed** *qui n'aime pas partager sa vie avec les autres*

LT: **he-likes he-is alone** *…* **one** *who not-loves not share his life with the rest*

Someone who doesn't like foreigners.'

FT: a xenophobic person is someone who does not like strangers. He prefers to be alone … someone who does not like to share his life with others, someone who does not like foreigners.   (Amir, interview)

Amir defines and explains what is meant by a xenophobic person through using trilingual CS between Algerian Arabic, English, and French. This switching refers to the multilingual Algerian identity of the speaker. It also indicates the extent to which Amir is knowledgeable and familiar with the definitions of this term, which in return indexes his academic identity. This finding is consistent with what Amir reports in chapter five about using CS to show one's linguistic competencies. Furthermore, it is obvious the participant' positive cognitive attitude towards CS influences his behavioural response which is represented in the use of multiple languages to express one idea.

4.3.2.2.CS for Quoting

Throughout data analysis, I noticed that some participants switch to another language to report someone else's saying in order for them to keep the same exact words as the speech was firstly produced. For instance, Amir moved from using CAA to a range of mixed utterances to quote another person:

(34) 'I went to the gym, I found my friend's parents there, they were like [*ya hala ʕazizi*

LT: I went to the gym, I found my friend's parents there, they were like *oh welcome my-dear*

kif akbarek, kif dirassa, wellah netmennalk kol kir]'.

LT: *how news-your, how the-study, By-Allah we-wish-you all good.*

FT: I went to the gym, I found my friend's parents there, they were like 'Hi dear, how are you doing? We wish you all the best'.   (Amir, Interview)

The participant was able to continue talking in CAA, but he preferred to quote his friend using another Levantine (Mashreqi Arabic) just to keep the same exact wordings, to add credibility and to bring the listener closer to the original speech. The participant's use of direct quotations demonstrates the quotee's identity which is Mashreqi (Middle East) identity. In this situation, changing codes also indicates a change in the participant's social roles; from a speaker to an author and denotes a dual identity; the speaker's identity and another identity of 'an author' (Goffman, 1979). He also moves from his personal identity as 'Amir', to a parental identity mimicking his friend's parents in the way they speak with love and care. The participant's adherence to the social norms of the conversation reinforces his social identity as being a multilingual and a multicultural speaker (Rathbone *et al.*, 2023).

This CS can be labelled 'double voicing' which stereotypically signals a social identity distinct from one's own identity (Bakhtin, 1984: 200). This switching is a sequential unmarked CS. The language utilised for quoting is unmarked for the RO set presented earlier in the conversation (that the parents of Amir's friend are from the Middle East who speak Levantine dialect). Amir's switching to Levantine Arabic in the above extract implies the ideology that Mashreqi Arabic is preferred rather than CAA (Maghrebi Arabic) which could be less intelligible. This can be referred to the fact that North African Arabic is regarded to be inferior to the Middle eastern Arabic (Ibrahim, 2000; Hachimi, 2013). This is similar to the results of Hachimi (2013) who found that Moroccans regard Syrian Arabic as the best Arabic rather than their national dialect, Moroccan Arabic. This preference is linked to a range of ideologies and attitudes.

4.3.2.3. CS to Compensate Linguistic Deficiency.

Findings demonstrate that most of the respondents experience what is called *linguistic gaps* in their linguistic repertoire. This might be related to the learning of many different language systems at the same time. In the interviews, participants often switch from Arabic to either French or English whenever they struggle to find the right word in their first language. They sometimes remain silent for some time or hesitate to say the utterance, For example:

(35) 'w f briṭanya ma qdertš nekdem f ʔy qanat liʔannoo fel ʕaqd taʕi

LT: **and in Britain not I-could I-work in any channel because-it in-the contract mine ṣawti malazemš ykon f ḥatta qanat ajnabiya liʔanni rani f [...]** *Je suis en*

LT: **voice-mine not-must it-is in any channel foreign because-I I-am in [...]** *I am in mise disponibilite*, **ḥalet ʔstidaʕ mateqdriš teḵedmi f qanat ʔoḵra.'**

LT: *position availability*, <u>**case furlough**</u> **not-you-can you-work in channel another**.

FT: I cannot work on any television channel in the UK because I am on case furlough /a sabbatical break. The contract I have with the Algerian channel states that my voice should not be heard in any other channel in the world. (Mira, interview)

Another example produced by Sami:

(36) '**nsit kifeš yqolo** *les allumettes* in Arabic […] <u>**ʕolbet kebrit.**</u>'

LT: **I-forgot how they-say** *the matchsticks* in Arabic […] <u>**box of sulfur.**</u>

FT: I forgot how to say matches in Arabic […] a box of matches. (Sami, interview)

(37a) '**Nḵerrej les nerfs beṣṣaḥ bla manerbeḥ lʕayb w bla mandir**

LT: I-take-out the nerves but without not-I-win the-taboo and without not-I-make

mašakil […] netnerva w I have to say something.'

LT: **problems** […] **I-get-irritated and** I have to say something.

FT: I express my anger but without directing it to people […] I get angry, and I need to voice my thoughts. (Racha, interview)

In examples 35 and 36, participants temporarily have forgotten how to call some terms in standard Arabic. They were silent for some time to remember or substitute the word they wanted to say in another language. They shift to the first available language to fill this linguistic gap, which is French in the above two examples. Then, after remembering the words, they immediately shift to MSA as a self-repair or translation.

This instance of switching is often found in the interviews conducted with the participants. They frequently switch from CAA to either English or French to fill lexical gaps to keep the flow of the conversation. A similar result is found in Panhwar's (2018) research where she found that her participants switch to English mainly to fill lexical gaps in Urdu and Sindhi.

In the above examples, the change of languages includes borrowed words, arabised words, and switching. For instance, Mira's example is a switch because, to my knowledge and experience, the sentence 'Je suis en mise a disposition' does not occur frequently in the speech of Algerians, but '<u>**halet ʔstidaʕ**</u>' (sabbatical break) is commonly used because it has no synonym in CAA. Whereas, in 37a, Racha's use of 'les nerfs' is a form of borrowing from the

French language because it is often used in CAA and became part of it. Moreover, 'zalamit' (les allumettes/ box of matches) and 'netnerva' are instances of arabised words where both French words are altered according to the Algerian Arabic dialect. It should be highlighted that, based on the absolute frequency, 'zalamit', 'les nerfs' and 'netnerva' are part of the unmarked language CAA. However, 'Je suis en mise a disposition' belongs to the embedded language, French (see Myers Scotton, 1992; 2002 section 2.4.2).

4.3.3. CS for Social Identity Performance

A major motivation for CS is to negotiate one's identity in each speech community (Myers Scotton, 1993). In the current research, identity refers to how individuals define themselves in relation to others and which social groups they belong to depending on various aspects such as nationality, ethnicity, culture, religion, age, education, and career. Respondents of this study identify their group membership and/ or distance themselves from certain groups mainly through their language choices, manifesting various social identities.

4.3.3.1.CS as an Index of National Identity

Data demonstrated that the respondents negotiate their identities through shifts in language use through describing 'self' and 'others'. For instance, some participants identify themselves as Algerians which refers to their national identity. Though they spent a long time in the UK, they still relate their affairs and plans to their country of origin, Algeria. These nuances can be found in the following extracts:

(38) 'With my husband we speak all the time in Arabic. **ḥna ka dziriyin aṣlan luḡa**

LT: With my husband we speak all the time in Arabic. **We as Algerians originally language**

taʕna yexisti fiha French **meme matḥebbiš testeʕmliha.**'

LT: ours it-exists in-it French **even not-you-like you-use-it.**

FT: I speak Arabic all the time with my husband. As Algerians, there exists some French in our language even if we do not like to use it.   (Racha, interview)

(39) '*C'est trés important* for us as Algerians to speak languages properly.'

LT: *it-is very important* for us as Algerians to speak languages properly.

FT: it is very important for us as Algerians to speak languages properly.   (Majdi, interview)

The switch to the phrases '**ḥna dziriyin**' and others such as 'us as Algerians', and 'les *Algériens'* which all mean 'we Algerians', implies solidarity and in-group membership

128

echoing national identity against other Arabs, and Arab identity against non-Arabs such as English and French identities. Participants move from describing themselves as individuals to a group which forms a speech community. It is a shift from personal identity to social identity which is governed by social context and social norms (Reicher, 2004).

It is clear that CS itself indexes the Algerian national identity of the participants. This practice is regarded as a language *per se* and a habit among Algerians both in Algeria and in diaspora (section 5.3.2.6). Switching back and forth between different languages, participants connect themselves to their heritage linguistic origins highlighting their national Algerian identity. It also fosters their sense of belonging to a complex linguistic and cultural identity which stands as a hallmark of the Algerian multilingual speakers in diaspora.

The findings also showed that participants express their Algerian national belonging through both their first language- Arabic- and their foreign languages, mainly French. Worth referring to the reported statement by participant Zain who said that he feels more Algerian when he speaks French (more details in sections 5.4.1; 6.2.1.2). Unlike Edwards (2007) who maintains that individuals use their first language to show their ethnonational solidarity with other members of the same nationality or ethnicity, this finding indicates that national identity is not restricted to the first or ethnic language only but can be expressed via any accessible language.

4.3.3.2. CS as an Index of Ethnic Identity.

Through my data analysis, I noticed that participants' language selection reflects two different ethnic identities. The majority of respondents identify themselves as Arabs and use both varieties of Arabic in their conversations to refer to their ethnic identity. For example, Mira states:

(40) 'ṣaḥafa kanet ṭomooḥ taʕi melli kunt sḡira w alḥamdoulillah Rebbi

LT: journalism it-was ambition mine since I-was little and thanks-to-be-to-Allah

weffeqni b faḍl Allah w b fadl lmousaʕada taʕ lwaldeen.'

LT: **My-God He-enabled-me with favor Allah and with favour the-help their the-parents**.

FT: journalism has been my dream since I was a child. Thanks to Allah and with my parents' help, this dream comes true.   (Mira, interview)

In this extract, Mira uses mainly CAA as the main language and switches to MSA as the

embedded language to talk about her profession. Throughout the interview, the use of CAA refers to her ethnic identity as an Arab and the switch to MSA indicates her social status as a member of the elite class. Switching to MSA also refers to her educational level and multilingual Algerian identity. This indicates that a single switch to a different language may have many implications and may index different identities (Ochs, 1992).

Other participants identify themselves as Berbers though they do not speak Tamazight fluently. For instance, participant Amir uses some Tamazight words to refer to his Berber ethnic identity as in:

(41)'I have another Berber friend with whom I speak a little of Tamazight like *[azul*

LT: I have another Berber friend with whom I speak a little of Ṯamazight *[hello*

ayegma, anda Tellid]'

LT: *oh-my-brotherwhere you-are]*.

FT: I have another Berber friend with whom I speak a little of Tamazight like 'hi brother, where are you'.

Amir gave an example of the use of his ethnic language with another Berber friend. Though he knows only a few words in Tamazight, he makes use of them, when necessary, with different members of his ethnic group to indicate in-group membership. The use of some Tamazight words or expressions is common among the participants such as '*azul*' FT: hello; *ʔmmi*' FT: my son; and '*ʔmmis ntmurt'*, FT: patriot. The shift to Tamazight is a *self-ascription* to present oneself as a member who belongs to the same Berber ethnic group (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 598; Auer, 2005). It is also an indication of language ideology and language pride where participants associate themselves with their ethnic language by using it despite their limited knowledge of the language.

I would like to highlight again that Arabic serves as the first language for Algerian Berbers, and both the ethnic and the first language for Algerian Arabs, mainly in this research. Participant's use of their ethnic and first language in a multilingual immigrant context indicates their strong desire to safeguard the language and the identity/ies associated with it, including ethnic identity. Thus, any efforts threatening the language may directly affect (ethnic) identity as well.

In chapter six, I referred to the Berber participants' confusion and concern about having two conflicting ethnic identities namely Arabic and Berber. The analysis of the actual practice of CS and its relation to identity performances demonstrated how these participants make use of

Arabic to guarantee acceptance as in-group members (Klein, et al., 2007) of the Algerian speech community whose dominant language is Arabic. From a performative perspective (Butler, 1990), they are considered to have an Arabic ethnic identity through their repeated linguistic behaviour (speaking Arabic as a first language). They cannot be Berbers unless they perform some behaviours and actions which identify them with the Berber ethnic group.

4.3.3.3.CS as an Index of Religious Identity.

Regarding religion, there were no questions asked about the respondents' religion. Yet, it was revealed through their answers, concerning attitudes towards languages, that they are all Muslims. Findings show that the participants express their Islamic identity through switching from any used language to Standard Arabic. For instance, Fella says:

(42) 'we call this blindly reviewing or blindly revision. I used to have it when I was a child…So **ki kunna sḡar baba kan yḥeffeḍna lQur'an… So ḵellini nebda**

LT: … So **when we-were little daddy he-was he-helps-us-memorise the-Quran I-start**

be lʕarabiya we lQur'an w InšaAllah rebbi ytebbetni'

LT: **with the Arabic and the-Quran and if-Allah-wills My-God he-stabilizes-me.**

FT: we call this blindly reviewing or blindly revision. I used to have it when I was a child. When we were kids, our father used to use this method to teach us Quran… So, I will start teaching him Arabic and Quran and I ask Allah for steadfastness in this affair if Allah wills.

Fella switched from English to CAA to talk about something related to religion. She described how she learnt Quran at a very young age. She mentioned her intention to adapt the same approach her father followed to teach her child Arabic through teaching him Quran. Again, she uses the English word 'so' in (42), and then switched to CAA to finish her previous idea. At the end, she concluded her sentence with an invocation in MSA taken from Ahadiths of the Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) and uses 'InšaAllah. FT: If Allah wills, a universal phrase used by Muslims and Non-Muslims around the world (Panhwar, 2018). All along the speech event, which was held mainly in English, the participant expressed her religious identity through switching to Arabic mostly. Another participant states:

(08b) 'kitkoun ḥalet wafat be lʕarabiya lfuṣ'ḥa ʔhsan 'inna lillah wa

LT: **when-it-is case-of death with the-Arabic standard better 'we-are to-Allah and**

inna ilayhi rajeʕoon', 'ʕaḍḍama Allaho ʔjrakoum', 'ʔlhama

LT: **we-are to-Him going-back', 'he-glorifies Allah your-reward', 'he-inspires ḏawikoum ṣabra w salwan', kišḡol ʔdʕiya'**

LT: **your-relatives patience and solace', for-example supplications.**

FT: to console someone, I'd better use standard Arabic to say supplications such as 'We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall return', 'May Allah reward you greatly', or 'May Allah grant you patience and solace'.   (Reda, Interview)

While explaining that Arabic has powerful expressions to console someone better than other languages do, Reda uses a diglossic situation (both Low and High variety of Arabic), which is a marked switching, to illustrate by extracts from both Quran and Ahadiths. Furthermore, all the interviews contain at least one of the following tags such as 'InšaAllah' (If Allah wills), 'Ḥamdoullah ' (Praise to be/ is due to Allah), 'Subhan Allah' (Glory be to Allah), and 'Wallah' (I swear to Almighty Allah). Adhering to the "norm" of using certain languages in specific contexts may strengthen individuals' connections to their cultural and religious heritage (Rathbone et al., 2023).

In both examples (42 and 08b), switching to MSA (expressions and tags) indexes that the participants wish to construct their Islamic identity. It also indicates that despite their long immigration history, participants succeeded in maintaining their religion and their Islamic identity in a multi-identity environment. Relying on both the content and the form (the practice) of the extracts above, participants' language ideology is manifested in (a) prioritizing standard Arabic to transmit the language itself and the religion to the next generation, and (b) favouring standard Arabic over other languages to express condolences. This language ideology implies the positive attitude the participants hold towards the Arabic language.

Unlike the findings of Bichani (2015) who found that some of her interviewees emphasise the association of Arabic with ethnicity and culture more than religion, my findings revealed that Arabic is mostly associated with religion more than any other social variable. However, both studies found that the participants acknowledge the significance of religion in maintaining the HL, though, in the former research (Bichani, 2015), informants state that religion plays a minor role in their lives. Therefore, this indicates participants' awareness of the strong relation involving the Arabic language and the religion of Islam.

So far, I agree with Fishman's (2000) claim that being a member of a certain group triggers and controls language choice. Likewise, being a Muslim likely requires speaking or switching to some tags in standard Arabic such as ḥamdoullah (FT: All praise is due to Allah) or

InšaAllah (FT: if Allah wills) and the five prayers which are performed in Arabic mostly.

Being a minority group in an overwhelming non-Muslim country, I conclude that the participants' Islamic identity becomes stronger and more salient, and it is used to resist cultural assimilation and identity meltdown because of the influence of the different surrounding identities in the host country. This implies that religion is an important practice in participants' routine which is mainly safeguarded through language.

In brief, I have found that participants use CS as a variety itself to establish different identities that fulfill the requirements of the different social interactions. Each code indexes a specific identity language users wish to construct and negotiate with other interlocutors. For instance, the utilisation of Algerian Arabic marks the Algerian identity opposite to other Arabic identities such as Syrian, Lebanese, or Iraqi. Likewise, the use of Arabic with foreigners (non-Arabs) indicates the participants' Arabness. Thus, in line with Auer (2005), I believe that CS indicates social membership beyond the membership indexed by each code. I have also shown how participants express their Arabic and Berber ethnic identities through switching to Arabic and Tamazight respectively. Towards the end, I have discussed how participants opt for a marked diglossic CS (L and H variety of Arabic) to construct their Islamic identity.

4.3.4. Other Motivations for CS.

4.3.4.1.CS for no Apparent Reason.

Sometimes it seems that there is no reason that triggers switching to another language. Participants tend to select the first available language in an attempt to keep the flow of the conversation. Below are two extracts which include both the practice of CS and the participant's opinion about CS as a habit. The focus is put on the practice only:

(43)'m**ʕa** another Algerian **yetḳelto kamel luḡḡat, ʕlabali belli had l** Algerian

LT: **with** another Algerian **they-are-mixed all languages, I-know that this the** Algerian

yefhem kulleš nesteʕmel language **li nḥess yweṣṣel lfikra aṣraʕ**.'

LT: **he-understands everything I-use** language **that I-feel it-delivers the-idea faster.**

FT: I mix all the languages I know when talking to another Algerian. I know that this Algerian person understands me well, so I use the language which conveys the meaning well. (Reem, interview)

(44) 'ʕlaš maši Darja. ḥna l'iškal f Darja taʕna we do CS a lot. Neḥkou

133

LT: why not colloquial. We <u>the-problem</u> in colloquial ours we do CS a lot. **we-narrate ʕarbiya, ndekֲlo** *mot en français, mot en angalis*, **nconjuguiw be lʕarbiya,** etc.'

LT: Arabic, we-insert *word in French, word in English,* **we-conjugate with the-Arabic,** etc**.**

FT: why not CAA. The problem with CAA is that we code switch a lot. We speak Arabic and we put a word in French and another in English. We conjugate verbs in Arabic, etc.

(Sami, interview)

Both Reem and Sami use a trilingual switching between CAA, English/ French, and MSA to avoid any pauses or breakdown in communicating their ideas. Mixing languages in one sentence (**lfikra <u>asraʕ</u>**, another language, *mot en français*), borrowing (*donc, etc*), and arabising French (**nconjuguiw**) alongside with English words are all *habiti* resulting from a continuous repeated patterns of language use. However, I believe that though speakers and researchers may not be able to explain the switching to a different language, there should be some hidden motivations that stand behind the switch. In my opinion, in case there is no obvious reason to switch codes, I would associate the switching with appropriate message transmission, and identity expression, in this case, multilingual Algerian identity. In this context, I relate to Gumperz (1982) who claims that switching is natural and common among bilinguals as they shift from one code to another without pauses or hesitation and they are able to keep a fluent, spontaneous mode of communication.

Throughout all the interviews, it is evident that CS is the norm among the participants (Myers Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001), and using a monolingual mode or an inter-sentential switching is the exception.

One limitation of using interviews as authentic material to analyse the linguistic behaviour of the participant is that the topics discussed in the interviews were limited to language use mainly. It did not cover various topics such as family activities, leisure, and travel for instance (see 7.4).

5.3.4.2. Others: Static Motivations

This subsection includes two static factors which contribute to enhancing the practice of CS among the participants. By static, I mean a relatively stable factor that goes beyond the control of the speaker. The first factor is the length of residence in the UK. All informants have been away from their home country for extended periods of time which range between 5 and 25 years. They established their lives in the UK having different careers and starting families.

Their children are second generation immigrants who prefer speaking English over their parents' first language which is Arabic or Tamazight.

The second static factor is the host speech community which speaks English as the unmarked language. Participants find themselves using English extensively to communicate with people from different backgrounds for several purposes, for instance contacting schools, universities, employment agencies, hospitals, and interacting with people in public spaces. This finding is found elsewhere in a study about language behaviour among Georgian ethnic minorities (Kandelaki, 2017). In the current research, these two factors are mainly behind replacing the French language by the English language which eventually impacts the CS patterns of the participants. In all the interviews, it is noticeable that English is indispensable from the participants' language use either as a matrix or an embedded language. For example, participants embed more English constituents instead of French. So far, I believe that these two static factors do not affect the practice of CS only, but also affects the cultural identity of the participants given that language is a carrier of identity/ culture. (Wei, 2005: 56; Tong and Cheung, 2001; Ennaji, 2005; Zhong, 2022).

Before concluding, I would argue that the three motivations, namely accommodating the interlocutor's language choice, communication of messages, and expressing identity, are interrelated and work in continuum influencing one another. Each motivational factor implies within it other hidden factors. For instance, Hala's switching from English to Arabic to accommodate to her audience's language selection, may also imply a motivation to convey a message appropriately on one hand. Switching to a code that the other interlocutor comprehends is crucial not only in ensuring that the message has been transmitted, but also understood correctly. On the other hand, it may also provide information about Hala's identity- in this case- to express her national and Arab identity. In the above example, code choice accommodation is the main motivation, while conveying a message and expressing an identity are the secondary motivations.

In essence, language selection in communication is governed by an intricate interaction of various factors which may -or sometimes may not- be knottily intertwined. Language users' recognition and understanding of these motivations may pave the way for more successful communications.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined and discussed the participants' practice of CS in a specific speech event which is 'interviews' conducted to answer the concerns of this research. It has been

argued that CS becomes unmarked among the participants because of its constant extensive use. Section 4.2 has presented the various patterns of mixing between languages and concluded that CAA is the unmarked language in most of the interactions, used in combination with another embedded language/es such as English and/ or French. Attributing dominance to the Arabic language indexes the extent of the respondents' efforts to preserve this HL amid a continuous linguistic conflict over domination in a multilingual immigrant context.

Section 5.3 has analysed the various reasons motivating the practice of CS in the interviews. Findings have shown that there are various social, psychological, and linguistic factors leading participants to switch codes. This chapter has combined both the Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993b) with the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1991; Giles, 2001) to refer to the factor of 'interlocutors' relationships' as an apparent motivational factor for CS. Though the MM is meant to analyse the social motivations for CS, nonetheless, in this research, it is used to classify the practice of CS into four main categories depending on the markedness of the languages; which one is marked or unmarked. In addition to accommodating an interlocutor's code choice, this factor also covers changing topics, and expressing emotions. The second main apparent motivation is 'CS for message transmission' which covers filling lexical gaps, reiteration, and quoting. The third motivation is CS for social identities performance. Results have revealed that participants' CS in the UK marks different identities depending on the social interaction they are put in. Switching to Arabic mainly reflects Arab and national identity, CAA and Tamazight refers to ethnic and cultural identity, and Arabic diaglossic switching (Low and High variety) indexes the Islamic identity of the participants. Finally, some other motivations have been elucidated such as the length of residence in the UK, the host speech community, and unspecified reasons which may be any reason of the ones mentioned above.

Chapter 5: Self-reported Code Switching Motivations and the Role of Language Choice in Constructing Participants' Identities.

5.1.Introduction

While the preceding chapter is concerned with the analysis of CS practices in actual use, this chapter tackles the participants' reported answers, opinions, and reflections on the practice of CS. Section 5.2 presents participants' self-reported language use and contexts of CS inside and outside home. In line with section 4.2, it gives a full image of the participants' linguistic repertoire and the setting of the practice of CS. Section 5.3 is concerned with analysing the views of the participants about motivations for CS. In accordance with chapter four, this chapter argues that there are three prominent motivational factors that prompt participants to switch between codes which are (a) interlocutor's code choice accommodation, (b) communication of the message, and (c) identity expression. I develop a distinction between context related (situational) and message related (conversational) motivations. Situational motivations cover factors such as interlocutors, setting, and topic, whereas conversational motivations cover factors like message and linguistic gap factors.

Section 5.4 discusses the last part of the argument and provides an answer to the second research question -How can CS be a means to negotiate and express identity/ies among multilingual Algerians living in the UK? - It presents findings that demonstrate how the respondents think of themselves constructing and negotiating their identities through the practice of CS. They report that their use of language defines who they are in each different context, for instance, the use of Algerian Arabic with other Arabs shows their national and ethnic identities. Whereas the use of foreign languages indicates their multilingual Algerian identity. Delving into participants' self-reported answers, these sections help readers understand the findings and cross-check the latter with those of chapter four which dealt with CS practice in the interview setting. This chapter answers the first and the second research questions of this thesis which are: what are the linguistic practices of multilingual Algerians living in the UK? What are their motivations? and 2. how can CS be a means to negotiate and express identity/ies among multilingual Algerians living in the UK?'

Some data in chapter four is also included here. This should not be regarded as redundancy as the analysis of data in each chapter is different. The difference should be clear by the end of each section.

5.2. Self-reported Language Use and Contexts of Code Switching
5.2.1. Participants' Language Use

While I acknowledge that this sub-section ideally should be placed at the beginning of the data analysis, together with Section 4.2, it has been postponed to Chapter five due to considerations related to the thesis's structure. Put more clearly, this subsection contains self-reported language use, and as such, it doesn't align with the content of the first chapter of data analysis (Chapter 4), which discussed the practical aspects of CS -what the participants do with language/s-. In contrast, this sub-section delves into the various opinions -what the participants say about language/s- regarding language use and choice in both Algeria and the UK. It highlights what changes have occurred on the participants' linguistic repertoires and to what extent CS is practiced. One main noticeable change is the replacement of French by the English language, and therefore, the rank and the frequency of the languages' preference changes.

In regard to the participants' language use in Algeria, the informants state that they usually utilise a range of languages namely Arabic, Tamazight, and French. The first and the most used variety is CAA with its different dialects and accents reserved for specific sociolinguistic functions which are detailed in the forthcoming sub-section (5.2.2). Evidently, CAA, which is learnt at a very early age through parents and siblings, defines the Algerian speech community. It is used mostly in informal situations among families and friends. A big majority of respondents say that they often use CAA accompanied with borrowed words from the French language in their daily informal conversations except two informants who report that they use CAA only. Embedding French constituents in CAA is a result of the French linguistic heritage left in Algeria after the latter's independence which is still prominent in the speech of Algerians (Youssi, 2001; Benrabah, 2014; Haouès, 2008: 142).

Only one among six Berber participants states that she uses Tamazight whenever she visits her grandparents and sometimes with some friends. The six participants claimed to have the same linguistic repertoire as Algerian Arabs, that is to say CAA, which is their first language, juxtaposed with French. Though they still understand some basic words, yet they feel upset about not being able to speak Tamazight for different reasons such as living in an Arabic speech community (6.2.1.1). Despite the standardization of Tamazight and its implementation in the educational systems, it is still spoken only by a minority who live in Kabylia (Berber regions) with a percentage of 19% of Algerians (Filhon, 2009). Conversely, Berbers living

outside Kabylia speak Arabic mainly as a way of integration into the Arabic community which, I believe, leads the way to not using Tamazight, and thus can cause language shift, attrition, and even loss.

The use of the English language is uncommon among the participants while being in Algeria. It is only used in formal situations, such as lectures at the university. Though English is the dominant lingua franca in the modern world, it ranks after Arabic and/or Tamazight and French in Algeria.

Regarding the participants' language use in the UK, seven informants say that they keep using the same codes and the same pattern of language mixing which is CAA peppered with French borrowed words (CAA + French patterns). Four participants claim that they use only English most of the time in different contexts. Only one informant declares that the French language is the most used code in her daily life along with her family. Moreover, with the exception of one participant, all others report that they do not speak Tamazight except for very few words used occasionally.

Some participants maintain that, in terms of mixing CAA with another language, the use of French is lessened and replaced by the mainstream language, which is English. This is a clear example of habitus change. After moving to the UK, participants report to find themselves going through new linguistic experiences and adapt new dispositions and new ways of perceiving the social and linguistic world surrounding them.

Regarding frequency of language use, they report that CAA and French (both as borrowing and switching) are the most used while living or visiting Algeria. However, language choice differs once in The UK in that French and Tamazight are the least used as proper languages (not borrowed) compared to CAA and English which are unmarked in their linguistic repertoires.

From the data stated above, I conclude that the linguistic repertoire of the participants is rich and variant and that many linguistic outcomes result from the contact of these languages such as borrowing, transfer, crossing, translanguaging, code mixing, and CS (Haouès, 2008). CS is a salient linguistic behaviour that is present in each participant's linguistic repertoire. Most of the participant speech is either in form of CS, code mixing or borrowing words from another language (mainly French, Tamazight, and English) and embedding them in CAA. It is very uncommon to find all the constituents in a sentence in one single language.

In brief, participants reported that CAA is the first used language by all the informants both in Algeria and the UK. However, English and French, as embedded languages, fluctuate in position and compete against each other where French is most spoken in Algeria, however it is replaced by English once participants settled in the UK. All the informants report that they practice CS very often, and in various forms and contexts (CS, CM, and B). The following sub-section discussed domains of CS among multilingual Algerians in the UK only.

5.2.2.   Participants' Contexts of Code Switching

This section offers a presentation of different code choice contexts reported by the participants both inside and outside home domain. Linked to section 5.2, this section also stands as a background of participants' language use in different settings and with certain sociolinguistic functions. The focus is placed on communication among Algerians. However, communication with other speakers from different countries is also referred to. The reason for not including contexts of language choice in chapter four is that there is only one context of the interviews taken as a real-life conversation to analyse (one setting, one interviewer, and an interviewee).

In this research, the field that participants refer to is where the conversation takes place, either inside home or outside home. 'At home' field covers the informal conversations with close people such as family. Most of the participants say that they speak a mixture between CAA+ French+ English; where CAA is constantly the unmarked language, and French and English are the embedded languages. French tends to be the preferred linguistic code among some parents whenever they want to keep the conversation private from their children. These findings suggest that the participants are confident language users whose linguistic repertoire permits them to interact with people from different backgrounds and in different sociolinguistic contexts.

In interaction between parents and children, participants state that CAA is frequently used in parallel with English. They report to motivate their children to speak their first language (CAA) so as to increase their proficiency in it and use it with family members whenever back home (see 6.4) especially those who lack proficiency in English. Additionally, most of the respondent reveal that they keep the use of MSA for special contexts for instance religious matters and stories, proverbs, sayings, and literature. Concerning the French language, it is sometimes utilised alongside with Arabic and/ or English, however, the majority of participants state that its use is limited to borrowing rather than switching. Only one participant (Noor) say that French is the dominant language at home and serves as the first language of her children. The latter exclusively speak French with no switching to any other

140

language even English. Similarly, participant Majdi reports that English is the only dominant language at home because his partner and children do not speak another language other than English. Furthermore, there is a general agreement by Berber participants that Tamazight is used neither inside nor outside home because of their limited proficiency in the language.

On the other hand, 'outside home' field covers formal interactions such as work and university, and informal interactions such as those with friends, or in public places such as parks and restaurants. All the informants state that English is the most preferred code whenever the setting is formal like work and university. However, they declare that they use a mixture of CAA, English, and French with their Algerian friends who share the same background with them. Considering communication with people from the Middle East and the Gulf countries, participants claim that they use CAA with some MSA which replaces French words or adapt the listener's Levantine dialect. Whereas participants who have francophone friends report that they prefer to use French rather than English to accommodate their friends' preferences. In the above various kinds of conversations, CAA is not used only for communicative purposes, but also as an identification to the Maghrebi identity and group membership to the Algerian speech community.

In brief, all respondents share that they mix between CAA, French and English mainly while being inside home and while holding informal conversations, however, English is basically kept for formal settings or outside home. I would contend that CAA and English exhibit a 'specialization of function' (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013) given that they serve distinct sociolinguistic purposes (Sebba, 2011). It is possible that these two languages are seldom incompatible, with each being appropriate in certain contexts where the other is not. For instance, English can be used in the workplace, while Arabic cannot be used there. Conversely, Arabic can be used for communication with individuals in Algeria, whereas English cannot be employed for this purpose.

The reason for not including excerpts from data to back up my findings- in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2- is that I aimed at avoiding overwhelming the section with participants' accounts while I can paraphrase them. Besides, the objective of the section is to present the reported various contexts of language use only. It is worth noting that some extracts can be found in appendix three.

5.3.Self-reported Motivations for Code Switching

Motivations underlying CS behaviour are once more addressed in section 5.3, but this time with a focus on what the participants report, instead of what they do -actual linguistic practice. This section provides a detailed answer listing various factors prompting participants to engage in this linguistic practice. Unlike section 4.3. which discusses the motivations behind CS through analysing the actual language use and choice, this section is concerned with analysing how participants construct reality about their language use and choice. It sometimes refers to the results found in chapter four.

Among the interview's questions, there was only one direct general question about what makes the participant move from one code to another: 'what makes you mix languages'. The answers of the respondents were different and rich at the same time. Some participants have turned to this point in earlier questions about their language use in general.

Built on the data, I argue that there are three interesting motivations that lead speakers to switch codes which are accommodating the interlocutor's language choice, communication of messages, and expressing identity. For more details, I develop the following distinction between context related motivations and message related motivations. The former category includes situational factors such as the setting, the interlocutors, and the topic. The second category covers conversational factors such as the message and the linguistic gap factors. It is worthy to bear in mind that attributing reasons to certain instances of CS presents a partial picture only.

5.3.1. Context-related Motivations

In this category, I focus on motivations that contribute to the initiation of CS among the participants such as the interlocutors, the setting, and the topic with more focus put on the accommodation of the interlocutors' code choice. These motivations are related to the context of the conversation which are consistent with those in chapter four, in section 4.3.1. Following Blom and Gumperz (1982) and Myers Scotton (1993b), I seldom refer to them as situational motivations.

5.3.1.1.Interlocutors' Relationships and Code Choice Accommodation.

Participants report to have different factors that drive them to practice CS among which 'the interlocutor' is the main one. This factor is either related to the speaker (s) or to the listener (s). All participants claim that they select the code that is mutually intelligible to the person

they are conversing with to make him/her at ease and have a fruitful conversation. For instance, Amir says:

(45)'In order for me not to embarrass or to intimidate that person, I would speak a lot of Arabic with some English words, for example when I speak to some of my friends in The UK I say 'salamouʕalykom ḵo, weš *ça va*? labes? alḥamdoulillah rana, this is life, you know the UK'(LT: peace upon you bro, what *it goes*? Fine? Thanks to Allah. FT: 'Hi bro, what's up how are you? Are you alright? Praise to be to Allah. This is life, you know the UK.'   (Amir, interview)

In this example, which is often recurrent among Algerians in the UK (section 4.2.3), the speaker uses a common structure which is mixing Arabic with English. He started by CAA accompanied with some borrowed French words (*ça va*? = how are you?), and he finished the sentence using English. The speaker believes that it is the appropriate selection because he was talking to an Algerian like him. Being aware of the background of other interlocutors helps the speaker select a language that will lead to appropriate communication without any missing gaps. Another example which supports that the participants' selection of a particular code relies heavily on whom they are addressing, where Majdi shares:

(46)'Dokka ʔnaya même lahja taʕi kifeš nehder *ça dépend* mʕamen nehder. Ila nehder
LT: now I also the-dialect mine how I-speak *that depends* with-whom I-speak. If I-speak
mʕa waḥed maši qari bezzaf madarš higher education wella ʕando *un niveau*
LT: with one not intellectual much not-he-does higher education or he-has *a level*
intellectuel maši ʕali bezzaf nehder mʕah ʕadi kima šaʕb. Waḥed *francophone*
LT: *intellectual* not high much I-speak with-him normal like people. One *francophone*
nehder mʕah *en français n'y a pas de problème*. Waḥed yehder bel
LT: I-speak with-him *in French not-there is no of problem*. One he-speaks with-the
fuṣ'ḥa nehder mʕah bel fuṣ'ḥa.'
LT: Standard- Arabic I-speak with-him with-the Standard-Arabic.
FT: the way I speak depends on the persons I am conversing with. If I am talking to a person who didn't get the chance to do higher education, or who hasn't a high intellectual level, I adjust my language to be more relatable. I talk to him like I talk to laymen. If he is a French speaker, I talk to him in French without any problem. Someone who speaks standard Arabic, I will reply to him in standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic.   (Majdi, interview)

The participant explains that he selects the language that meets the needs of his audience. The expression '**I talk to him like I talk to laymen**' implies that he uses only CAA whenever he addresses monolinguals or speakers with low level in foreign languages. He gives later an example of code selection when he is conversing with a friend with low academic level. He says that he uses very basic, descriptive words with this friend to make sure that the point has been transmitted properly. It seems that participants opt for speaking CAA in case they do not know the linguistic background of their audience, or when the latter speaks only Arabic. This goes hand in hand with Gumperz's belief that speakers switch codes when addressing people who do not share the speaker's proficiency in a given language (Gumperz, 1982). However, most participants say that they switch between languages whenever they know that other interlocutors share the same linguistic repertoire with them or have some degree of proficiency in the languages used.

Some participants associate CS with confidence, and credibility. Sami states:

(47) 'In order for me to feel more confident, I use more than language. It is like a confidence. How I knew this definition of a xenophobic person because I review many languages to cross check the definition. So, this one makes it more credible, so it is for the sake of insuring trustworthiness and credibility as well'.   (Sami, interview)

Participant Sami considers CS as a technique to enhance self-confidence in speaking different languages. He explains that he always makes sure he knows the equivalence of one word or expression in the other languages he is interested in to sound more credible. His view implies, in return, a positive attitude towards the use of CS. This result is consistent with what Al k̲atib found among Lebanese-English bilinguals growing up in the UK who switch to a code, which is reserved for outside home interaction, to sound more credible (Al k̲atib, 2003 cited in K̲attab, 2009).

An unpredictable language use which appeared in the collected data, which is the use of English, or English mixed with MSA to communicate with Arabs of the Gulf and the Middle East. All participants agree to use English with non-Arabic or non-French speakers. Yet, the use of English with Arabic speakers was a little bit surprising as it is common to use Arabic among Arabs in general. Racha states:

(48) '**hiya tefhemni wana nefhemha**. To have an effective communication

LT: **she undersands-me and-I I-understand-her**. To have an effective communication

men ḡir dziriyin, I speak in English'.

LT: **from except Algerians,** I speak in English.

FT: with people other than Algerians, I speak English to have an effective communication, so we can understand each other'.

In a similar context, through investigating social reasons behind linguistic convergence to Mashreqi speakers among Tunisians in London, S'hiri (2002) found that her participants used both the linguistic features of Mashreqi dialects and MSA alongside English to achieve good communication.

The participant prefers speaking English whenever talking to non-Algerians in general. She often faces some difficulties in transmitting a meaningful message when using CAA alone. Thus, she opts for using English mixed with Standard Arabic. The reason that participants receive comments that CAA variety is unintelligible to other Arabic speakers is the extensive borrowing from different languages such as French, and Tamazight. Obviously, the participant uses English as a lingua franca to achieve effective communication which makes English a more powerful language among the other available languages.

Only one participant reports that he prefers using his Algerian dialect by making it as simple as possible along with MSA. Whenever talking to his friends from Gulf or Middle East countries, he always makes sure to avoid unintelligible Algerian words, or French words and replace them by switching to MSA. He explains:

(49) '**Lazem nehkoo mʕahoom bluḡa baɣda neseteʕmloo kalimat dyawelna li**

LT: **obliged we-speak with-them with-language <u>white</u> we-use <u>words</u> ours which**

yeqedroo yefehmoohem zaʕma ʕandek *le choix au lieu* **tqooli hak,**

LT: **they-can they-understand such-as you-have** *the choice in place* **you-say take,**

tqooli <u>kood</u> yeqder yefhamha.'

LT: you-tell-me <u>take</u> he-can he-understands-it.

FT: We need to speak with them using a simple white Arabic language. We use clear words, for example you have the choice instead of saying 'hak', you can say 'ǩoud' (take) which he can understand'.   (Reda, interview)

Reda opts for White Arabic language, -in this case MSA mixed with CAA- which can be understood easily by all other Arabic speakers. The combination of simple CAA and MSA is an index of both the Arab identity and the Algerian identity through which the participant intends to challenge his audience's impression or stereotyping about Algerians as being non-Arabs.

5.3.1.1.1. Participants' Inclusion and/ or Exclusion

Participants declare that they sometimes select a language over another in order to include or exclude some interlocutors from the conversation. Reem says:

(50) 'W mʕa rajli mninḏak ki nḥeb drari ma yefehmooš

LT: **and with my-husband sometimes when I-like children not they-understand**

nehderlou *français*. **W berra ki noḵroj mʕa wladi nehderl'hom**

LT: **I-speak-him** *French*. **And outside when I-go-out with children-my I-speak-them**

bel ʕarbiya beš ma yefehmooš nqoolhom ahedrou ʕarbiya.'

LT: with-the Arabic so-that not they-understand I-tell-them you-speak Arabic.

FT: When I speak with my husband and I do not want my children to comprehend what I am saying, I use French. And when I am out, I use Arabic with my children

in order not to let others (non-Arabic users) understand what we are talking about. (Reem, interview)

The participant maintains that she usually uses French with her husband whenever she wants to discuss private matters. She chooses this language because she knows that her children do not understand it. This selection of French is a marked switching with new marked RO set that excludes Reem's children from the conversation. Using CAA or English is a call for the previous unmarked RO set that permits the children to be part of the conversation because they speak English and manage to comprehend CAA as well. Reem further explains that she uses the same strategy whenever she is outside home with her children to exclude non-Arabic speakers from their interpersonal interaction. This strategy is called *Participant-related switching* (Appel and Muysken, 2006: 119) or *addressee specification* where the speaker uses a particular language to build a certain rapport with the listener which creates an in-group association (Gumperz, 1982). This can be related to the concept of 'convergence' found in the accommodation theory where speakers accommodate their audience's code selection to reduce social distance. Yet, it also leads to the exclusion of other interlocutors (Romaine, 1995: 163), putting the listener at distance (Holmes, 2013) or what may be called out-group association (Gumperz, 1982). This factor implies a directive function (Appel and Muysken, 2006), and it is related to Gumperz's (1982) *we-code, they-code* strategy which is mainly used to construct speakers' identity. In the above example, CAA is the `we code` which indicates the ingroup identity, and English is the `they code` which refers to outgroup identity.

Though switching enhanced by addressee specification is classified as conversational switching (Gumperz, 1982), I put it under the situational switching category as I believe it is more related to the interlocutors. This is meant to avoid ambiguity and repetition of data.

5.3.1.1.2. Social Status and Relationships

Another motivation, closely linked to the aforementioned one, is shifting to another language based on the social status of the language users and their mutual social relationships. Following the extract (46), participant Majdi explains further that he chooses a code that helps him express his social role either as a pharmacist (where he uses English), a friend (where he uses either CAA, French or CAA mixed with French or English), or a husband (where he uses English only), and a father (where he uses English with a little of CAA). His selection goes with what Myers Scotton, (1993b) calls the Rights and Obligations (social norms) of a given speech community. In order to have an adequate chat, he needs to meet the expectations of the addressee(s), which, in this case, depends on the social group or speech community he wants to be integrated to such as Algerian or English social groups or speech communities. Majdi's performance of one social role does not prevent another role to take place at the same time. For instance, being a pharmacist and a father at the same time. This multiplicity of social roles in a single conversation leads to the emerging of multiple identities (Kayi-Aydar, 2015), in the example above, a combination between a professional identity and a parental identity.

Few participants report that the use of CS especially shifting to foreign languages implies prestige. For instance, Racha reports:

(51)'I will be honest with you **beš tbani** *la classe* **beš tbani ḥetta**

LT: I will be honest with you **so-that you-look** *the class* **so-that you-look elegant**

tdekli bezzaf klayem *en français*. **beš tbani** high level, prestige this is the

LT: **you-insert many words** *in French*. **So-that you-look** high level, prestige this is the

right word *genre* **ki yjou hakka ḍyaf wella tekorji wella nesteʕmloo** français

LT**: right word** *genre* **when they-come like-this guests or you-go-out we-use** *French*

bezzaf. … W hadi maʕroofa fel Algerian society they use French to seem prestigious and

LT**: much… and this known in-the** Algerian society they use French to seem prestigious high class.'

FT: honestly, I insert lot of French words to show my high status or class. To show prestige, this is the right word. For instance, when some guests visit us or when I go outside, we use a lot of French. This is ordinary and popular among the Algerian society. They use French to look prestigious and to show their high class.   (Racha, interview)

The participant explains that she embeds lot of French words and expressions into CAA to look prestigious and to show pride in being a competent speaker in a foreign language. She

uses the terms 'high status' and 'high class' which refer to identifying her 'social status' in contrast to other people. Besides, she adds that this is common among Algerians who want to show their social status and academic level. This is similar to the findings of Alḵresheh (2015) and Al Heeti, *et al.,* (2016) who concluded that Jordanian and Iraqi participants switch to English to indicate their social prestige. This factor is also similar to what Gumperz (1982) and Malik (1994) label 'grabbing attention' to impress the audience by the richness of their linguistic repertoire (see 6.3.2.3). I would relate the concept of prestige to speakers' sophistication and identification with modernity (Migge, 2007; Holmes, 2013).

Interestingly, the research population refers to the concept of formality while switching between languages. This motivation is related to the previous one in the sense that speakers' social status defines the formality of the relationship, for instance, teacher-student or doctor-patient requires High or Standard code because it is a formal conversation, whereas conversations between friends, family members, or neighbours are less formal (Haouès, 2008, Albirini, 2011; Holmes, 2013).

5.3.1.1.3. Solidarity

Another reported motivation that triggers switching between languages is to promote solidarity with a certain audience which leads to reducing the social distance between the interlocutors. Hala states:

(52) '*des fois* **tani ki … nesmeʕ dziriya, kišḡol** *un reflex* **ʔna tani nehder b dziriya**'.

LT*: some times* **also when … I-hear Algerians, like** *a reflex* **I also I-speak with Algerian-Arabic**.

FT: sometimes I speak Algerian Arabic as soon as I hear someone speaking it. It is like a reflex.

Another participant declares as well:

(53) '**maṭalan ida lqit keš** *groupe* **w fih waḥda qbayliya balak nehder mʕaha**

LT: **for-example if I-find any** *group* **and in-it someone Berber perhaps I-speak with-her**

par ce que ḥabba neʕref wešmen jiha hiya, nḥeb neʕref berk mel *la*

LT: *by-this-that* LT: **I-am-willing I-know what side is-she, I-like I-know just from- the**

petite **wella** *la grande Kabylie*'. LT: *small* **or** *the grand Kabylia.*

FT: for example, if I met a Berber person in a group, I would talk to her just to know where she is from exactly; Small or Big Kabylia.' (Mira, interview)

148

Besides Zain expresses himself saying: if someone I know and I want to have a community with him, I'd probably shift to the language that he is most comfortable with just to get closer to somebody (Zain, interview).

The three participants report that they switch to another language to establish solidarity with other speakers who belong to their social group (Algerians) or speech community (Arabs). Hala and Mira express their gratitude to hear other Algerians using CAA or Tamazight in the street. Mira explains that she feels happy when she meets other Berbers and that she is curious to initiate a conversation with them to know their origins (which Berber region they belong to). In this example Mira, through CS, is expressing high solidarity in low social distance context to know more about the ethnic identity of her audience and to create connection and strengthen the in-group identity with them. This result is consistent with the study of Greene and Walker (2004), about African Americans who opt for CS to express solidarity with their minor racial speech community (2004: 436).

Other participants state that they use Arabic tag-switching such as 'InšaAllah', and 'ḥamdoullah' to indicate their Arabic- Islamic identity which indexes solidarity with Arabs and Muslims in general. A similar finding is mentioned by Holmes (2013) where the tag-switching to the first language is meant to index solidarity among different minority ethnic groups who have previously held conversations in a second language. Nonetheless, participants sometimes switch codes not because of a linguistic necessity but to define themselves with a certain group. It is, however, difficult to distinguish between CS because of linguistic necessity and CS as a choice (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

Formality, solidarity, and social status are often mutually influenced; however, it is not always the case. For instance, a pharmacist would use a low variety to explain the use of the medication to the patient and a father would use a formal code in high social distance when addressing his son who is a catholic priest. Each motivation implies an indication of one identity (ies) or part of it. For example, solidarity with a certain group means identifying oneself with that group. The same thing with social status, and social variables, etc.

In brief, results have shown that interlocutors' relationships, participants' inclusion or exclusion, social status, and solidarity are *speaker-centered factors* that enhance switching codes in conversation. The speaker, in each of these motivations, wants to define himself/ herself with a certain group of people through mixing codes. For instance, shifting from CAA to Tamazight in a group of Algerian Arabic speakers is a form of solidarity between Tamazight speakers. According to the findings, I would argue that opting for CS to identify oneself is an

index of positive attitude towards the selected language and to this linguistic practice per se. Furthermore, the employment of language taking into consideration the audience's feelings and desires to have a good communication is an index of the linguistic politeness and the positive face the speaker wants to put in place (Dewi, *et al.,* 2021).

5.3.1.2.   Setting

By the concept setting, I am addressing where and when the conversation takes place. Two distinct domains have been identified based on participants' self-reported claims: in the home domain, and outside the home domain. Participants' use of language differs depending on where and when to use a certain language and not another. For instance, participants who are married with Algerian partners use CAA as the dominant language inside home among partners, children, and siblings, with some switching to either French or English. However, those married to non-Arabic speakers tend to use a foreign language at home like the case of Majdi. In addition to the setting, the factor of 'interlocutor's accommodation' is inevitable in the code selection as demonstrated in the following extracts. Since conversations are inherently interactive, the interplay between speakers cannot be overlooked. Worth of notice that most of the factors driving CS can be interrelated, reflecting the fact that linguistic interactions include who (interlocuters), what (topic), where/when (setting), and why (the purpose) (Inuwa, et al., 2014; Holmes,2013). In an attempt to address this confusion, the analysis of the extracts solely focused on the 'setting', deliberately setting aside the factor of 'interlocuter accommodation'. Mira gaves an example of her partner's linguistic preference:

(54) '**qali maḏabiya ki nedḵol leʕšiya nehder mʕak ʕarbiya.**'

LT: **he-told-me what-on-me when I-enter the-evening I-speak with-you Arabic.**

FT: He said that I would prefer to speak Arabic with you once at home (Mira, interview)

Despite the fact that both Mira and her partner are fluent multilingual speakers, they set a language policy to speak Arabic only at home. Given the dominance of English over the participants' HL, 'inside home' is seen as one of the limited settings where Arabic is actively spoken, allowing its speakers to maintain the linguistic and cultural ties associated with this language. 'Inside home domain' may become a symbolic refuge enabling participants to resist the influence of the host community language and deepen their connection to their cultural heritage.

Obviously, the use of Arabic inside the home is not a random selection of language among the available languages, but an ideological conviction that connects language with the

formation of one's identity (Norton, 2013; Phinney et al., 2001). It is also considered as a strategy to maintain the HL among second generation in diaspora. More discussion about identity and language maintenance in sections (5.4) and (6.3) respectively.

The gathered data revealed that there is one out of twelve participants who uses French as the dominant language inside home along with English and Arabic as embedded languages. Noor details:

(55) '*Français c'est la langue de communication familiale*, **kifkif men sbaḥ ki**

LT: *French it-is the language of communication family*, **the-same from morning when**

ynodo drari nehdro *en français*, **kolši** *en français*. ʔ**na** *la langue*

LT: they-wake-up children we-speak in French, **everything** in French. **I** the language

maternelle **taʕi** *c'est l'arabe mais* wladi *c'est le français, alors c'est naturelle*

LT: maternal **mine** it-is the-Arabic but children-my it-is the French, so it-is natural

yehedro *français. On est une famille francophone* m**a nekdebš ʕlik**. *Ça fait français,*

LT: **they-speak** French One is a family francophone **not I-lie on-you**. It makes French,

anglais, arabe L'anglais **binat'hom yehedrouha**.'

LT: English, Arabic. The English **between-them they-speak it.**

FT: French is our family communication language. We exclusively speak French from sunrise to sunset. Everything is in French. My mother tongue is Arabic, but my children's is French. Therefore, it is natural to speak French. We are a francophone family to be honest. So, we speak French, English, and then Arabic. My children use English between each other. (Noor, interview)

Spending a long period of time in a French speaking country and working as a French teacher in an international school paved the way to the French language to be the most frequently used language inside Noor's home. Yet, switching to other languages such as Arabic and English is still present despite the fact that it is less used.

Noor holds a strong positive attitude towards the French language. The participant's claim implies the extent of detachment from the HL and identity, and the attachment and integration to a foreign society. The use of French instead of her ethnic language, Tamazight or first language, Arabic might be linked to lack of motivation to preserve the language and hence, it may lead to a rejection of language and identity through time. This is similar to the findings of a study about Greek families in Luxembourg (Gogonas and Kirsch, 2016) and another study about immigrant Lebanese families in the UK (Eid, 2018).

151

None of the Berber participants I interviewed report to use Tamazight in their daily life inside home with their children and siblings. Respondents share that there were few opportunities to learn the Tamazight language because of the surrounding linguistic environment, which is most of the times Arabic, and at times French or English. Another reason, they unveil, which enhances the limited use of Tamazight language is the mixed marriage with non-Berber Algerians where another language other than Tamazight becomes the dominant one.

Participants' language use outside home domain differs from the inside home domain in terms of language preference and frequency. Sami mentions:

(56) 'I use English with my English Muslim friends. We meet in Masjid or in the charitable events. We speak English only'.

In the same context, Fella explains:

(57) 'for me now and after I got married…, in most cases, I use English either outside or inside the house for example…supermarkets, in the hospital, or wherever'.

Participants inform that their use of languages changes depending on the setting they are put in. There are some situations where only one language is spoken. For instance, they state that English, the language of the host country, is used in almost every domain outside home such as university, place of work, supermarkets, hospitals, schools, and parks. Thus, they shift from using Arabic alone, or Arabic mixed with French or English to using English only. Worth mentioning that the shift in linguistic behavior inherently prompts a corresponding shift in the social identities of the speakers. Furthermore, the switch from personal to social or formal to informal identity indicates the flexibility, dynamicity, and context-dependent salience of social identity (Reicher, 2004) of the conversation.

Only one participant claimed to shift from English to French at the place of work because she is a French assistant teacher at a high school. This CS is due to the setting of her profession. Both English and French are used to communicate with colleagues and students. Other participants report to use a mixture between CAA, French and English whenever they meet their Algerian friends in public places such as parks, restaurants, and cafes. This code mixing goes back to the common linguistic background that multilingual Algerians have, what makes it easy for each speaker to be mutually intelligible.

'Setting' as a motivation for CS can also be related to formality, where the language used inside home is an informal code, and the outside home language is most of times, a formal code. However, the two factors are traditionally separated because formality refers to the

social situation and setting refers to the actual location.

5.3.1.3. Topic

Another context-dependent motivation, reported by the participants, that enhances the use of CS, is the topic of the conversation. When I asked Zain about what motivates him to shift from one language to another, he replied:

(58) 'it is the subject, for example when I talk about things that are related to Algeria I tend to start talking in Arabic, then when I start talking about politics, I can choose…French…but when it is something to do with work, with computer science, computers, technology I start speaking in English…so it depends on the context.'   (Zain, Interview)

Participants' switching between languages is triggered by the topic under discussion and thus leads to change of roles as well (Holmes, 2013). In the above example, Zain moves from being a layman to a politician, to a scientist only through switching from Arabic to French, to English respectively. The change is also from personal conversation to formal interaction. Similarly, Noor shifts from the social role of a 'teacher' who uses French as a main language mixed with some English when talking about academic topics to the social role of 'friend' who uses CAA mixed with French when talking about daily life topics such as family. This switching is called situational CS (Blom and Gumperz, 1982), i.e., a change in one of the situational factors (interlocutors, topic, or setting) leads to a change in the language. Therefore, a change in the topic indicates a change in the set of rights and obligations (common norms among a certain speech community) between the speaker and the addressee (Myers Scotton, 1993b). This finding is in line with what participants report in chapter 5 about using French or English to talk about academic and scientific topics (4.3.1.2).

According to the findings, participants believe that there are various types of topics which lead them to allocate a specific language to each topic. For religious topics, they state that Standard Arabic is the selected one because it is much related to the religion of Islam and because the sacred book 'Quran' was revealed in this language. In addition, most of the Islamic rituals are practiced in Arabic, and all Islamic religious matters are better discussed in MSA. Reda emphasised this point by giving some examples which I could not include all of them because of their length. He says:

(59) **'Tani ki nkoun mʕa ş'ḥabi w kamel w nehdrou ʕla mawdouʕ deeni**,

LT: **also when I-am with friends-my and all and we-speak about topic religious,** *automatiquement* t**rouḥ** *directement* **lel ʕarbiya** straight away, **lfuş'ḥa ḵater**

153

LT: automatically **you-go** *directly* **to-the Arabic straight away, Standard-Arabic because**

bi šahadat ʔḥadeeƮ w l Qurʔan w tneqqeṣ men Darija w

LT: with witnesses sayings and **the Quran** and **you-decrease from Algerian-Arabic and**

testeʕmel kalimat ʕarabiya fuṣ'ḥa li ʕand'ha quwwa'

you-use words Arabic Standard which **it-has power**.

FT: When I discuss a religious topic with my friends, I automatically opt for MSA. I use some Aḥadith (Prophet's sayings) and verses from Quran which are in Standard Arabic, and which are more powerful (to convey or defend a message) alongside with few words in CAA. (Reda, Interview)

Reda's opinion is stated elsewhere by the rest of the informants who agree on the effectiveness and suitability of MSA to discuss religious topics. These views give a hint about the participants` religious identity and their positive attitudes towards Arabic in general. I will pick up on the connection between the Arabic language and Islamic identity in a separate section (section 6.4.3).

Taking cultural topics into account, some participants say that they select a particular code which is usually French or English with some CAA to discuss subjects related to general worldwide culture. Reda states:

(60) '*Par exemple* **ki teḥki ʕla ṯaqafa**, *par exemple la musique classique* **ma**

LT: *for example* **when you-speak about culture,** *for example the music classical* **not**

teqderš teḥkiha bel fuṣ'ḥa wella ḵater *ça n'existe pas*'.

LT: you-can you-speak-it with-the Standard-Arabic or because *that not-exist not*.

FT: For instance, when you talk about culture, for example classical music, you can't discuss it in MSA or CAA because it (the register) doesn't exist.

 In the example above, the participant believes that a cultural subject such as 'classical music', which originated in Europe, should be discussed in a language other than Arabic. Whereas, when talking about Algerian culture, for instance cultural events, traditions, and feasts, some participants claim to use CAA in general with some Berber words that are indispensable to the Algerian culture. A similar result of a research which explains that multilingual Japanese language users switch to their first language to discuss issues related to culture and religion as the latter are mainly discussed using first language (Wong, 2000). Relatedly, this opinion reflects the participants' favourable attitude towards their ethnic/ first language. In this context, I would claim that the continuous association of religion and culture with Arabic

helps enhancing both the Algerian Arabic identity and maintaining the language among Algerians in the UK. This goes in line with Holmes' (2001) finding about Greek migrants who show more resistance to language shift because of their positive attitude towards the Greek culture.

Another topic that initiates shift between languages, is taboo. In this context, Zain explains:

(61) '*même certains sujets qui sont taboo … je préféré utiliser une langue qui est plus riche*
LT*: also certain subjects that are taboo… I prefer to-use a language that is plus rich*
 ou je peux m'exprimer mieux sans choquer par exemple la personne qui est en
LT: *where I can me-to-express better without to-chock for example the person that is in*
train de m'écouter. Si j'utilise l'arabe algérien ça va peut être mal-interprété.'
LT: *process of me-to-hear. If I-use the-Arabic Algerian that goes can to-be mis-interpreted.*

FT: Talking about taboos, I prefer to use a rich language that allows me to express myself without shocking the listener. The use of Algerian Arabic might be misunderstood.   (Zain, interview)

Zain and other participants share that they prefer to discuss taboo and derogatory issues in another language other than CAA to mitigate the message, make it less vulgar to the listener and to avoid embarrassment. Surprisingly, this result contradicts what Albirini (2011) found about speakers of the Levantine, Egyptian, and Gulf dialects who shift to Colloquial Arabic to discuss taboo topics. On the other hand, it is compatible with Panhwar's (2018) finding about Sindhi women who prefer a foreign language which is mainly English to talk about taboo subjects such love, intimate body parts, sex, pregnancy, and homosexual people which are considered sensitive topics in Pakistani culture.

To sum up, participants claim that they allocate a specific language to each different subject to discuss it appropriately. Most of them share that they use CAA whenever talking about affairs related to Algeria, for instance cultural topics; French to talk about worldwide political and scientific topics; MSA to address Islamic affairs, and English to speak about what is happening in England. According to the participants` claims, I would argue that CS is highly triggered by the topic of the conversation. Each topic requires a certain language and certain terms to fulfil a proper conversation without any gaps or misunderstandings.

In fact, the selection of a language other than another to talk about various subjects is spontaneous rather than premeditated. I would argue that this spontaneity is a result of linguistic habitus that participants experience (section 5.3.2.6). Below are some extracts

155

explaining the extent of their spontaneous language selection:

(62) Sometimes it is randomly. For example, I don't find the word in the Algerian dialect, then I use English. I am conscious that I am using English, but it is still random. I just use English without thinking for a second. It just happens quickly. I don't think about it. I just have to use another language.   (interview, Sarah).

(63) it is a hundred percent a sub-conscious process. I would say that code switching is natural, it happens naturally, spontaneously, haphazardly without any programming. I think my brain got programed automatically.   (interview, Amir).

(64) **Mateqdriʃ tdiriha by purpose…w hadik hiya li jat ʕla lsanek**

LT: **not-you-can-not you-do-it by purpose… and that she which it-came on tongue-your**

…twesli lfikra …b ʕafwiya, makiʃ rayha tebedli majhoud…

LT: **…you-arrive-it the-idea in spontaneity, not-you-are-not going you-make effort…**

beʃ nentaqil luɣɣa oukhra…Donc ndir'ha b ʕafwiya bitalaqa.

LT: **so-that you-move language other…so I-do-it in spontaneity in eloquence.**

FT: You can't do it by purpose…that's the word that's on the tip of your tongue…you communicate the idea spontaneously, you are not going to make efforts… to move to another language… so, I do it spontaneously and fluently.   (interview, Mira).

The majority of participants express their unintentionality in selecting one language over another while communicating with different backgrounds-peers. They agree that it is a random unplanned shift of language that is mainly provoked by an array of motivational factors (sections 4.3 and 5.3). This observation aligns with Holmes' (2013) perspective, which highlights that style shifting or language accommodation frequently takes place subconsciously. These findings underscore the natural adaptability present in the language use of multilingual individuals. Drawing on Holmes (2013), I contend that this CS is a fundamental acquired aspect of speakers' linguistic repertoire. Speakers intuitively alternate between languages to accommodate their audience, modify the conversation's focus, or convey messages more effectively. This innate ability paves the way for individuals to navigate the complexities of multilingual communication, underlying the dynamic relationship between language, identity, and social context. On the other hand, these results challenge Myers-Scotton's (1993) theory that speakers are rational actors who make intentional decisions regarding language selection based on sociolinguistic factors. Instead,

participants' accounts suggest that their language choices often occur as an unconscious process, rooted in their sociolinguistic competence.

These findings match well with the findings in chapter four, where topic is identified as a prime motive to select a code than another (4.3.1.2). Significantly, one crucial reason to switch between codes is what I call 'the suitable language for the suitable subject'. A certain language can be more appropriate to talk about a given subject than another language. For instance, the use of MSA to talk about religious matters seems more suitable than using CAA or Tamazight or French. The point is not that other languages cannot be used to negotiate religious matters, yet it is about the appropriateness of language. In this vein, I align with the idea proposed by Fishman (1965) which states that certain topics are sometimes better discussed in a multilingual context in a particular language rather than another (Fishman, 1965: 92).

5.3.1.4. Mood as Motivation and the Affective Function

Most informants report that their emotional state or mood is a very strong driving motivation that controls their language use. They emphasise using the first language when expressing negative emotions such as sadness and anger. Sarah says:

(65) '**Waḥed ki yezʕef ma ysebbeš b** l'anglais **ḵater ma yḥessel'haš** donc

LT: **one when he-gets-mad not he-curses with** *the-English* **because not he-feels-it** so

yseb be luḡa li kber biha.'

LT: **he-curses with the-language which he-grew-up with-it.**

FT: Whenever an Algerian gets mad at something, he does not curse in English, as he cannot express himself very well in that language. Thus, he curses in the language that he acquired as a child. This is similar to an example, given by Holmes (2013), of a student swearing at the teacher in her ethnic language. Though the student is aware that the teacher does not understand his language, he uses it to achieve an affective function. Some respondents state that they use CAA with their children in parks and shopping centers to express anger if the children did something wrong. In the example below, Racha says:

(37B) '**Nḵerrej les nerfs beṣṣaḥ bla manerbeḥ lʕayb w bla mandir**

LT: I-take-out the nerves but without not-I-win the-taboo and without not-I-make

mašakil […] netnerva w I have to say something.'

LT: **problems** […] **I-get-irritated and** I have to say something.

FT: I express my anger but without directing it to people […] I get angry, and I need to voice my thoughts. (Racha, interview)

Participant Racha, who uses mainly English with her child, says that she often switches to her ethnic language, Arabic to express anger. This marked switching confers primacy on Algerian Arabic as she believes it is more suitable to express her feelings and to keep their conversation private excluding other audiences. Feeling more comfortable while using CAA to express one's emotional state indicates a positive attitude towards that language. This finding mirrors all the participants who prefer Arabic when it comes to expressing emotions. This is consistent with the findings of Pavlenko (2005) and Dewaele (2010) who claim that more CS is used by multilingual speakers to express emotions, however, in other cases, a monolingual mode is preferred. In relation to identity, Racha's shift from English to Arabic is a self-identification where the respondent identifies herself as an Arab Algerian speaker opposite to the listeners surrounding her.

Unlike negative emotions, where speakers switch to their first language, positive emotions are expressed the other way around. In this context, Reda said:

(66) 'ḥna dziriyin ma netkelmouš bezzf ʕla l emotional side. **Ma nexplikiweš**

LT: **we Algerians not we-speak-not a-lot about the** emotional side**. Not-we-explain-not**

mlih b Darija *donc* **nrooḥo luḡa waḥed ouḵra**'.

LT: **well with CA** *so* **we-go language one other.**

FT: We (Algerians) do not talk too much about the emotional side. We do not explain (our emotions) very well in CAA, so we opt for another language.

Reda further explains:

(67) **'Waḥed dziri ki yḥeb yʕebber ʕla šooʕooro, yʕebber bel**

LT: **one Algerian when he-loves he-expresses about feelings-his, he-expresses with-the**

français, **weʕlaš hadik luḡa** *elle es plus facile de s'exprimer f les émotions'.*

LT: French, **why that language** *she is most easy to himself-express* **in** *the emotions.*

FT: When an Algerian wants to express his [positive] feelings, he uses French because it is the easiest language to express one's emotions. Interestingly, the participant reports that Algerians usually move from their first language to a foreign language, mostly French, to express positive feelings such as love and happiness. Yet, this selection does not apply for all participants. Sami believes that he could better express his feelings towards his partner, for

instance, in CAA peppered with MSA which he finds very rich in terms of powerful expressions using poems, proverbs and idioms. A similar finding is discussed in Ramonienė's (2021) study where she found that a participant prefers her Lithuanian HL over Italian to express 'beautiful feelings' to her children. This is consistent with Dewaele (2004) who claims that bilinguals frequently go through intense emotional statuses when they express their feelings in the first language compared to another language.

Evidently, the findings in this section partially contradicts what I found in chapter four (4.3.1.3) where participants shift to their first language, Arabic to express their positive feelings. However, it is consistent with results about switching to the first language to describe the negative feelings.

Conclusion

To restate, this sub-section has tackled four context-related factors motivating CS. Participants have revealed that though situations of CS differ, they all have some reasons which lead them to switching from one code to another depending on the context of the conversation. They select a code that conforms to the rights and obligations of the speech community they belong to. This code enables them to express their social roles and allows them to be understood by the addressee in the talk. The relationships between the interlocutors gain more attention and emphasis in the sense that the speaker and the audience are the main blocks of the conversation. This motivation covers the participants' inclusion, exclusion, social status, solidarity, and formality. Two other motivations are the setting, and the topic factors which influence the selection of codes in conversations. For instance, shifting from a political topic to a religious topic also leads to a shift in codes. Furthermore, being inside home or outside home affects participants' code selection in terms of which languages to be mixed and how to be organised to perform an adequate, expressive talk. Another motivation highlighted by the respondents is the affective function and the mood of the participants. They believe that they switch codes whenever they want to affect the listener and/or to express their emotions to their audience. Based on the data discussed so far, I would argue that the listener, the topic, and the setting are external factors which are outside the control of the speaker. Conversely, the following section explains internal factors, mainly factors related to message communication.

5.3.2. Message-related Motivations

In the subsection above, I have discussed context-related motivations driving participants to engage in CS. Now, I turn to highlight the various motivations related to conversation within the course of CS. Participants report that they often move to another language for different

purposes related to the message. These motivations are elucidated below by illustrative examples extracted from the data, such as to simplify meaning; convey messages; report and quote; reiteration; emphasise a point; provide translation; self-expression; incorporate interjections and inject humor among others. This section places a heightened emphasis on the role of message communication as a prominent factor motivating participants to shift between languages. It is crucial to note that the overall findings in this section are consistent with those in Chapter four, in Section 4.3.2.

Worth remembering that situational (context-related) switching redefines the situation, yet conversational (message-related) switching enriches the communication (Myers Scotton and Ury, 1977; Blom and Gumperz, 1982; 2000: 127; Auer, 1984: 4; Holmes, 2001; 2013). It occurs without any obvious reasons for the switching. No new participants join the conversation, and no topic or setting changes. It is meant to emphasise, for instance, messages, group-membership, solidarity, etc. Following Wardhaugh (2009: 104), I argue that conversational CS has a pragmatic function that speakers use to convey meaning that goes beyond the literal meaning of an utterance. Based on the findings, I argue that these motivations are more purposely chosen and controlled by the speaker who assigns a social meaning for each code.

5.3.2.1.CS for Message Transmission and Self-expression

All the informants report that they place more emphasis on the message itself when conversing with other interlocutors. Their first and foremost aim is to deliver meaningful ideas and thoughts through switching codes back and forth. For instance, Reda says:

(68) 'beš manehderš bezzaf neqʕod nerḡi *donc* naʕteek zouj kelmat

LT: so-that not-I-speak-not a-lot I-stay I-speak-a-lot so I-give-you two words

belmaʕna *directement*, nmixi kulleʕ beš nwessel *le message*'.

LT: with-the-meaning *directly*, I-mis everything so-that I-transfer the message.

FT: In order not to talk too much, I say few meaningful words. I mix all languages just to convey the message.   (Reda, interview)

The participant avoids monolingual mode to convey his opinion; rather he prefers a mixture of different languages to transmit the message to the person opposite to him using short sentences. This CS fulfills a referential function to facilitate communication and an expressive function which allows the participant to express himself appropriately (Ennaji, 2005; Appel

160

and Muysken, 2006)

5.3.2.2.CS for Reiteration

The motivational factor 'reiteration' includes other sub-categories such as translation, self-repair, emphasis, persuasion, explanation, and reformulation. The findings showed that persuading the listener is a factor that sometimes may require the speaker to shift to another language. To illustrate, Mira states:

(69) '*je suis de genre* **lmohim nweşellek lfikra taʕi w nqenneʕ <u>lmostamiʕ</u>**.'

LT: I am of genre **the-important I-transfer-you the-idea and I-convince the listener**.

FT: I am kind of person who cares about transmitting the idea and convincing the listener. The participant explains that her main aim is to communicate her message and convince her audience with what is she saying. Similarly, other participants state that they opt for using a different code to convince other interlocutors of their point of view. They believe that this option might give them higher chances to persuade the listener. Another participant claims: (70) 'I think when I use only one language is going to be tricky and difficult to persuade the person who is with you'. (Amir, interview).

Amir believes that using a monolingual mode does not help speakers to convey their thoughts or ideas. Hence, opting for two codes or more is preferable for multilingual users.

Another example of reiteration, Zain states:

 (71) 'sometimes even if I am talking to somebody who speaks French, I start speaking English to him and then I have to go back and say it again in French'.

The switch from English to French may function as explanation, reformulation, simplifying, and translation which all aim at emphasizing the point the participant wants to deliver to his/her audience. I believe that reiteration is only a common feature of bilingual/ multilingual speakers as it does not add something special to what has been said before. This is called 'quasi translation' into other languages used to emphasise a message (Auer, 1995: 120).

5.3.2.3.CS for Poetic and Rhetoric Skills Performance

In addition to message transmission and reiteration motivations, some participants report that they switch codes to show their multi-linguistic skills, and sometimes for poetic purposes such as humour. Amir says:

(72) 'I would use with her French and Ṯamazight just to have fun' (Amir, interview). Likewise, Fella shares

(73) 'I use Arabic with him sometimes when I am telling a joke'. Participants' language choice to create a funny and/ or poetic atmosphere varies according to the context and their conversational partners. For example, Amir shifts from Arabic to either Tamazight or French to fulfill this function, while Fella adopts the other way around shifting to CAA when telling jokes to her partner. This can be related to the shared RO set with their interlocutors and also linked to their previous successful experience using these languages in similar contexts (Myers Scotton, 1998).

Only two participants consider the use of a different language alongside the first language as a means to impress the listener. Amir shares:

(74) '[cs is a sign of] showing off at the same time, and a sign of education. If I know many languages and I don't practice them, what is the point?'

Amir reports that he uses CS to show his academic level and rhetorical skills to positively affect his audience. He emphasises that CS is kind of positive showing off. Thus, I would call this factor a 'linguistic show off' to refer to someone who is proud of his, either monolingual or multilingual, linguistic capacities. It is also called, in Appel and Muysken's (2006) words, CS for metalinguistic function. A similar result found in a study of CS among Chinese community in Toronto where respondents regard their CS as an indicator of their proficiency in both English and Cantonese (Yim and Clément, 2019).

5.3.2.4. CS for Quotation

Another reason for switching, that participants report, is to introduce a quotation or to report someone else's saying. Fella states:

(75) 'I use Arabic with him sometimes when I am […] reminding him of someone who said something'.

Participant Fella who uses English as the main language at home shares that she shifts to Arabic when quoting or reporting someone to her partner. This switching is meant to transmit a message through keeping the original exact wordings. This is similar to other findings and claims provided by other researchers such as Myers Scotton (1993); Malik (1994); Albirini (2011: 541), Bhatia and Ritchie (2004); and Holmes (2013). Switching to quote or to report some proverbs and sayings is believed to have a referential function (Eid, 2018).

162

Drawing upon the above reported opinions, it seems that participants use two (or more) different codes which they associate with various identities. For instance, saying an utterance in Arabic, and then translating it into English indicates dual identities of the speaker: the use of Arabic can refer to Arab/ Algerian/ or ethnic identity, and the use of English can refer to multilingual/ academic/ or English identity. The same can be applied to all the switches participants perform because identity is indispensable to language (Bailey, 2002; Jenkins, 2008). Each language reflects the membership of a certain group. On the other hand, mixing codes also indicates the different shared ideologies among a group of speakers (Ben Nafaa, 2015) which are inferred from the social context where the conversation occurs (McGroarty, 2008). For example, many participants usually assign MSA to talk about religious topics. This selection is driven by the belief that standard Arabic is the most suitable language to talk about Islamic affairs in general. However, this ideology is not taken for granted, otherwise it will be considered knowledge (Van Dijk, 2013: 177).

5.3.2.5.Filling Linguistic Gaps

According to the participants, another motivation that enhances switching between codes is filling a linguistic gap in a conversation. In this research, the informant Hala explained her shifting from Arabic to French stating that:

(76) '*par ce que* **ma nelqaš** the right word **wella** right expression in Arabic for example'.

LT: *by-this-that* **not I-find-not** the right word **or** right expression in Arabic for example'

FT: [I switch to another language] because I can't find the right word or the right expression in Arabic for example'.

In a similar context, Reda reports:

(77) '**nbeddel lluḡa…ki tkoon lkelma taḥt lsanek w matelqayhaš**'.

LT: **I-change the-language… when it-is the-word under tongue-your and not-you-find-it-not**

FT: I move to another language…when the word is on the tip of my tongue, and I can't recall it'.

In an attempt to keep a smooth flow of the talk, participants say that they often look for an equivalent word or expression in other available languages whenever they are unable to recall a word in the used language or because of a lack of competence in the language of the

conversation or when experiencing on-the-tip-of the tongue moments. This result mirrors a result in Malik`s (1994) and Heredia and Altarriba (2001) research about CS reasons. Malik found that lack of facility or what he explains as the inability to find the right word, drives the interlocutor to move to another code to cover up his linguistic shortcomings.

To sum up, CS occurs because of words or expressions' inaccessibility in first language. This unavailability can be attributed to the lack or absence of synonyms in first language, lack of knowledge in one language which results in limited proficiency, and momentary memory loss or lapses where the speaker momentarily forgets a word in a certain language but can recall it in another (Auer, 1995, Gumperz, 1982; Bhatia and Richie, 2004:18; Kutas et al., 2009).

5.3.2.6.The No-reason Factor: CS is a Habit.

Only one participant reports that sometimes there is no obvious reason to switch between codes. Here comes the question 'are participants able to identify reasons behind their switching? And the answer would often be 'yes'. Yet, whenever they say 'I do it for no reason' or 'I just do it like this', I would argue that they are not aware of the real motive that pushes them to shift to another code. In this case, it is the role of the researcher to look at the reason behind this CS through observing CS practice (see 4.3).

Interestingly, participants claim that mixing between languages in one word, sentence or conversation is a habit which they got used to it since their early years. Sami says:

(78) 'it is a kind of language. So, the combination of those codes makes a new language…it is in me. It is the way I speak. It is the way I engage in conversations. It is a habit **li trebbina ʕliha melli kunna sḡar**'. LT: **which we-were-raised about-it since we-were young.**

FT: It is a habit that we got used to since we were children.   (Sami, interview)

The informant relates this claim to the habit of practicing since his infancy which developed into a habitus (Bourdieu, 1992). He also believes that CS can stand as a separate dialect. Though participants are aware of the negatives effects CS has on their HL (see 6.2.3.2), they share the same opinion as Sami and encourage its use. They report to include a lot of French and English borrowed words to their Algerian dialect, for instance 'ponda' (pound); movit (I moved); skola (school) and others. These arabised words are characterised by an English or French stem with Algerian Arabic suffixes / prefixes and an Algerian accent. These words are agreed upon by Algerians and conforming to this agreement is an index of integration into the Algerian speech community and accepting the rights and obligations set by its members.

Participants believe that mixing between Algerian Arabic, French, English, and sometimes Tamazight may lead to coin a dialect unique to the Algerian speech community in the UK. With a similar view, Hala says that the practice of CS is impressive and use the term '*language*' to refer to this practice she says:

(79) 'it is my favourite language' which she speaks especially with her Algerian peers. Another participant claims:

(80) '**Lukan nelqa luḡa waḥda tejmeʕ lʕarbiya**, *l'angalis* **w** *le français* at the same

LT: **if I-find language one it-combines the-Arabic,** *the English* **and** *the French* at the same
     time, it is perfect.'

FT: I wish there exists a language that combines Arabic, English, and French at the same time. It is perfect.   (Reda: interview).

The ideology of the new language' composition, which is unique to the Algerian speech community in the UK, suggests the ingroup identity that participants wish to have in place. It is regarded as a behavior that aligns with cultural and linguistic norms within the Algerian speech community in the UK, in the sense that it promotes identity and belonging in diaspora. This also indicates the extent to which participants are proud of their multilingual Algerian identity.

Conclusion

To sum up, the participants have reported various message related motivations that drive them to code switch, which I have classified as conversational motivations. Conveying a message appropriately is one of the crucial motivations that participants claim to focus on. This factor covers some purposes such as reporting, quoting, simplifying, emphasising, self-repairing, joking, reiteration, and self-expressing (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 2013). Filling a linguistic gap is another motivation, the participants refer to, whenever there is a lack of facility in one language or when a word or phrase is missed momentarily in one language and recalled in another language. The no reason factor was unanticipated in this research. Yet, it implies other undefined reasons the speakers may not be aware of.

All the motivations mentioned above (6.3.1 and 6.3.2) fall under the 'negotiation principle' where participants who are rational actors select the code which allows them to communicate their social roles that can be comprehended by their audience (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). All their code selections are governed by the Rights and Obligations set (shared norms) which are based on the shared understanding of the social meanings of one speech community. In line with Myers-Scotton (1993b), results have confirmed that participants' main motivation to switch between codes is to '*optimise*' which means decreasing costs by using less words and

increasing rewards by achieving successful interactions.

According to these results, it seems that participants make use of all the available codes they know to achieve more effective and richer communication with less costs. I would argue that these motivations are somehow related to their attitudes, identities and ideologies about their linguistic repertoire and the practice of CS itself.

I should acknowledge that participants did not report as much as functions as there are in their practice of CS. However, readers can go back to chapter four (4.3) to have clearer image about the motivations for CS among multilingual Algerians in actual conversations. I should also mention that while references to the relation between identity and CS have been made throughout the above section (6.4), a separate section is allocated to delve more deeply into this intricate relationship, which stands as another motivational factor *per se*.

5.4. CS as Social Identity Marker

'Identity' is a striking theme that the participants often referred to implicitly and explicitly. Relying on self-reported opinions (6.4), I argue that expressing and negotiating one's identity is a major motivational factor that drives participants to switch between codes. I also argue that the Arabic language is essentially important in negotiating each aspect of the participants' identity. In this section, and based on the principle of indexicality, the participants emphasised four significant identity performances and explained how these identities are related to CS and to their language use in general. They report that they use each language to perform a certain role which indicates a distinct identity. Indexicality, in this analysis, involves how language is used to construct identity positions, for instance explicit reference to identity types, stance taking, assumptions, language selection and so on (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

5.4.1. CS and National Identity

It is worth reminding that CS is unmarked among Algerians as they consider it a habit which they get used to since their early years (6.3.2.6). However, it is marked with other speakers from different backgrounds. Participants report that switching between Arabic, French, and English is a marker of national identity whenever it is used with non-Algerians such as other Arabs, English or French speakers. However, it indicates other identities such as ethnic, cultural, and religious identities when conversing with their Algerian peers in the UK. Reda explains:

(81) ʻluḡa bayḍa li yeqedrou yefehmouha *mais* lazem t'ḥot lbaşma

LT: languagewhite which they-can they-understand-it but must you-put fingerprint

dyalek, tbeyyen belli nta dziri, wešrak *ça va*? lazem yesmeʕ'ha

LT: **your, you-show that you Algerian, how-are-you** *that goes?* **must he-listens-it**

   hakka yeʕref bli nta dziri w howa   yrejjeʕlek '*ça va bien***' ki nroḥo**

LT: **like-this he-knows that you Algerian and he responds-you '***that goes well***' and when**

deep conversation **testeʕmel luḡa bayḍa li hiya qriba w mel fuṣ'ḥa.'**

LT: **we-go** deep conversation **you-use language white which she close to standard-Arabic**

FT: I use white language with other Arabs. However, I always put my own touch to show that I am Algerian for instance 'wešrak ça va?' (How are you doing'?) needs to be there and he replies to me 'ça va bien' (I am Okay). Then, when we go into deep conversations, we go back to speaking the white language which is close to MSA.   (Reda, Interview)

Participants who have Arab friends from Gulf and Middle East countries mention that they use what is called White Arabic language- simplified MSA- where the speaker omits all the foreign borrowed words such as French in the example of Algerian Arabic. They declare that White Arabic language is employed in the first interactions as an Arab identity marker, then CAA is introduced to express one's national identity as an Algerian individual. In the extract above, participant Reda shows his enthusiasm to put his 'Algerian touch' to the conversation through speaking CAA to identify himself with the Algerian speech community. Then, he switches to MSA to indicate his Arab identity. In contrast to other studies about Arabs in diaspora who use their Arabic dialect (Syrian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Iraqi Arabic etc.), participants in the current research use Standard Arabic to express Arab identity when interacting with other Arabs because CAA is not intelligible to them. In this context, MSA is considered to be the superposed variety to express both Arab and Muslim identities among Arabs (Albirini, 2011). I believe that this type of conversations may contribute to keep CAA closer to standard Arabic and suggests the possibility of speaking Arabic exclusively without borrowing words from other languages such as Tamazight and French.

An unexpected opinion claimed by the participant Zain, a simultaneous bilingual, who relates his Algerian nationality to the French language. He reports: (79) 'French for me is like the Algerian language. I feel Algerian when I speak in French […] [it] allows me to keep the connection with Algeria'. I believe that this can be related to the fact that Zain was speaking French mostly when he lived in Algeria and France and continues to use it as the main language while being in the UK. This also can be related to post colonialism effects on the linguistic repertoire of Algerians. Thus, the participant connect himself with his home country not only through speaking Algerian Arabic, but also through French.

5.4.2. CS and Dual Ethnic Identities

CS is an in-group practice which connects speakers with their different speech communities. It allows them to identify themselves with a certain group through using its language. According to the findings, all the participants report to code switch to the Arabic language to express their ethnic identity because it is their first language. Reem shares: (80) 'I feel strongly about Arabic. I feel it is my identity basically. It is what makes me linked to my origins'. This statement implies the strong attachment between the informant and the language she grew up speaking. In this example, Arabic is called the 'we code' which signals an in-group identity (Gumperz, 1972; 1982 cited in Ben Nafa, 2015; Pena, 2004) which is the Arabic ethnic identity. The same participant adds:

(82) **'hado** *par example* **taʕ lḵalij daymen yqolona ntoma fransis maši ʕrab, ʕlaš ki**

LT: **those by example of Gulf always they-tell-us you-are French not Arabs, why when yesmʕoona nehedro Darja binatna w** *le français* **daḵel fel**

LT: **they-hear-us we-speak colloquial-Arabic between-us and** the french **inside the west. Hadi ḥebbit neḥḥiha. Hna** *l'identité* **taʕna elhiwiya taʕna maši fransa,**

LT: **middle. This I-want I-remove-it. We** *the-identity* **our the-identity our not France, ḥebbit neḥḥi fransa mel…**ça fait que **nḥawel nqellel qadra elmustataʕ**

LT: **I-want I-remove France from…** *this makes that* **I-try I-decrease extent the-possible beš ndeḵel'ha f Darja taʕi'**

LT: **so-that I-enter-it in colloquial-Arabic mine.**

FT: for instance, people from the Gulf countries think that we are French because they frequently hear us (Algerians colleagues) use some French alongside Arabic. I would like to change this stereotyping. Our identity is not French. That is why I minimise the use of this language.   (Reem, interview)

In this extract, the participant identity is said to be a 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1963) because it is not perceived by others as it should be. Reem says that she avoids speaking French as much as she can. She explains that she wants to show her Arabic ethnic identity to her Arab colleagues, who categorise Algerians stereotypically to have French origins, and separate herself linguistically and culturally from the French identity. The expression 'Our identity is not French' implies the ideology of belonging and othering. The participant explains that she only belongs to an Arabic in-group and has an Arabic identity, and she separates herself form the French identity.

Participants of Berber origins whose first language is CAA report that both Arabic and

Tamazight are markers of their ethnic identity. However, they feel strongly attached to Tamazight more than Arabic because, for most of them, it is the language of their parents and grandparents. For instance, Mira states:

(83) '**maṯalan ida lqit keš** *groupe* **w fih waḥda qbayliya balak nehder mʕaha** par ce LT: **example if I-find any group and in-it one Berber maybe I-speak with-her by this**

que **ḥabba neʕref wešmen jiha hiya, neʕref berk mel** *la petite* **wella** *la grande Kabylie*'

LT: that I-like I-know what-from side she, I-know only from *the small* **or** *the big* Kabylia.

FT: for example, if I met a Berber person in a group, I would talk to her just to know where she is from exactly; Small or Big Kabylia.

She further adds:

(84) '**lukan tqolili nti mnin nqollek** *je suis kabyle*, **tsemma ḥaja nefreḥ biha**
LT: **if you-say you from-where I-say-you** *I am Berber*, **it-means thing I-rejoice in-it**

ʔna qbayliya, nḥeb kulleš metʕalleq bihom, nḥess b <u>intimaʔ ʔkbar</u> **lel qbayliya.**'
LT: I Berber, I-love all attached in-them, I-feel in <u>belongingness bigger</u> **to Tamazight.**

FT: if you ask me about my origins, I will say I am Berber. It is something that I am proud of and happy to be. I love everything related to Berbers and I feel I belong more to Tamazight.

The participant clarifies that she will rather switch from Arabic to Tamazight if she meets a Berber person to show that they share the same language, Tamazight and ethnicity. Switching from Arabic to Tamazight signals distinctiveness, group membership and self-identification of the participant as a Berber who is proud of his/ her ethnicity. Therefore, an Arabic-Tamazight bilingual mainly uses Tamazight when interacting with a Berber, and Arabic when conversing with an Arab. Thus, this switching indicates group membership, using two languages in two different turns marks two different identities.

I previously mentioned that five out of six Berber participants have very low level in speaking Tamazight. Yet, they report that they sometimes try to use some basic words to show their link to this language. Taking my experience into consideration, whenever I meet Berber Algerians and as soon as they know that I speak Tamazight, they incorporate some Tamazight words to identify their ethnic identity. It is, however, clear that participants struggle in identifying themselves as Berbers or Arabs. For instance, Reem states:

(85)'**kanet ʕandi daymen ʕoqda, f** *la fac* **maṯalan fi wetšši nban qbayliya,**
LT: it-was I-have always complex, in *the uni* **in face-my I-look Berber,**

yʕayrouni yqololi nti qbayliya w matehdrihaš, mazal'ha sayretli

LT: they-mock-me they-tell-me you Berber and you-not-speak-it-not, still-it happening

ʕoqda w bdit netʕellem waḥd lwaqt beṣṣaḥ lwaḥed ki yetʕellem luḡa w howa kbir

LT: complex and I-began I-learn one time but one when he-learns language and he big

maši kifkif w lazemlek daymen *les conversations*…**ʕlabiha ḥna ʕadna iḵtilaṭ**

LT: not the-same and must-you always *the conversations*…**that-is-why we have mixing**

fel hiwiya manaš fahmin rana ʕrab wella ʔmaziḡ, *déja* **manaš**

LT: in-the identity we-not understanding we-are Arabs or Berbers, already we-not fahmin škoon luḡa taʕna.'LT: **understanding which language our.**

FT: during my time at university, my appearance clearly indicated that I am Berber, and my friends would playfully tease me for not speaking Tamazight. I still have this complex [not speaking Tamazight], and I made efforts to learn it at some point, but I struggled due to the limited conversations in the language…that is why we, Berbers, have a mixed identity and we are unsure whether we consider ourselves as Arabs or Berbers, or which one is our heritage language, Arabic or Tamazight.

In the excerpt above, participant Reem summarises a major common problem among Algerian Berbers which is the conflict between two ethnic identities. She reports her ongoing struggle to figure out whether she should identify herself more with Arab or Berber ethnic groups. She relates her self-identification with the ethnic language she should speak as a native speaker. Apparently, the participant's dilemma arises from being unable to fully embrace her Berber identity because of her limited linguistic proficiency of Tamazight, and the acknowledgment that simply speaking Arabic does not automatically make her an Arab.

Nonetheless, Reem and other Berber participants report to have dual ethnic identities but they (except for Mira) cannot decide which one they prefer or which one they feel they belong to more than the other one. They consider themselves Berbers by 'name only' because they do not know or use the HL which is the major link to their ethnicity. They feel ashamed, guilty, and upset (see the second part of 6.2.1.1) to identify themselves as Berbers, but they cannot use Tamazight to communicate with their grandparents for instance. Therefore, I would partially agree with Wright (2003) and Mills (1995) who claim that the linguistic behaviour is defined by the speaker's ethnicity. This claim cannot be applied to Berber Algerians whose first language is CAA because of the reasons explained above.

Moreover, though there is a conflict about which ethnic identity to be identified with first, I would argue that there is no paradox between the two identities as there is neither competition

nor contradiction between the two. Put more clearly, participants may identify themselves as Arabs because they speak Arabic, and as Berbers because they have a shared social heritage which is the Berber culture without affecting any of the identities. Interestingly, their awareness of their ethnic identity is noticeable when confronted with other ethnic groups. They perform actions, among which the linguistic behaviour is the most apparent one, to refer to their ethnicity.

Both Edwards (1997) and Joseph (2004) agree that language has a significant role in maintaining a strong ethnic identity, most notably to ethnic minorities. Furthermore, some scholars such as Bankston (*et al.*) (1995) and Cho (2000) believe that being a proficient speaker in one's HL paves the way for speakers to have a strong ethnic identity and attachment to their ethnic group. I totally agree with the two above statements, however, I would argue that even non-proficient speakers have strong attachment and affiliation to their ethnic identity and more integration to their ethnic group without being obliged to speak the HL as is the case of Berber participants. It is enough to share the same ethnicity, culture, and pride of the common descent to be part of a certain ethnic group.

The participants' attachment to their Arabic and Berber ethnic identity does not exclude them from constructing other identities for instance English or French identities which I label second language identities. Participants' integration to the English society through taking part in different domains fostered the adaptation of the English culture, and therefore the English identity, yet, without sacrificing their ethnic identities. The same can be applied for participants who are members of French speaking communities.

5.4.3. CS and Religious Identity

Relevant to notice that almost all participants refer to the Islamic identity more than the ethnic identity on the question about the frequent switching to the Arabic language which implies its importance. One of the reasons why participants hold favourable attitudes towards the Arabic language is the relation between Arabic, identity, and religion. They relate the use of Arabic to their social identity whether ethnic, cultural, or religious. They report that they cannot talk about their language without referring to identity and religion. In this sub-section, I give a thorough picture of what participants say about and how they connect language and identity in details. I use the concepts 'religious identity' and 'Islamic identity' interchangeably.

In defending why switching to Arabic takes place, all the informants relate language preservation with identity preservation. They convey that the Arabic language is a means to self-identification with specific groups. Here are two statements claimed by Reem and Majdi:

(86) 'I feel strongly about **Darja** and **Fus'ha** (**CAA** and **MSA**). I feel it is my identity basically. It is what makes me linked to my origins and my religion.'   (Reem, interview)

Majdi adds :

(87) '<u>**Lfos'ḥa**</u> *c'est une trés grande richesse*…**w rani <u>fakoor</u> ʔna**. *J'encourage* **wladi tani**

LT: <u>**the-standard**</u> *it-is a very big wealth*… **and I-am <u>proud</u> I**. *I-encourage* **children-my also**

yetʕelmou maši ḡir lʕarbiya, *français, allemand, espagnol*, but in the first place Arabic

LT: **they-learn-it not only the-Arabic**, *French, German, Spanish*, but in the first place

because it is identity because it is an identity issue here.''

FT: Arabic (MSA) is a great linguistic wealth. I am proud of it. I encourage my children to

learn not only Arabic, but also French, German, and Spanish, but in the first place Arabic

because it is an identity issue here.   (Majdi, interview)

Reem and Majdi' associating Arabic to religious identity is reverberated by all the participants throughout the interviews. The attempt to preserve the language is related to the identity these participants wish to construct and maintain and to the community they wish to be part of (Norton, 2013), which is in this case the Algerian community. Prioritising Arabic over other languages is not a random selection, but a result of an ideological belief that indexes the favorable views towards this language (see section 6.2.1.1). It also denotes the degree to which religion plays a basic role in the lives of this minority. Participants state that Islam is the first motive to encourage their children to learn Arabic (MSA) because it is the language of 'Quran'. It seems that the love of religion is transmitted to language and through language. Below are some extracts taken from the data where the participants express how they see the link between the Arabic language and their Islamic identity: Fella shares:

(88)'**Hiya l** main thing **li ḵellani nʕelmou ʕarabiya hiya** religion.'
LT: **she the** main thing **which it-let-me I-teach-him Arabic she** religion.

FT: the main thing that motivates me to teach him [her son] Arabic is religion.

She adds in the same vein:

(89)'It is my identity. When he learns Arabic, he will learn about his religion and this what I want. I don't want him to lose his identity and his religion. This is a loss for me. So InšaAllah (if Allah wills) when he learns Arabic, he will learn how to pray, how to read Qur'an and other things about his religion and about his identity.'   (Fella, interview)

Similar views by other participants:

(90)' **ki nqerriha lʕerbiya lweš? beš teḥkem lmaṣ'ḥaf teqrah.**'

LT: **when I-teach-her Arabic in-what? For-that she-picks the-Quran she-reads it.**

FT: For what purpose should I teach my daughter Arabic? so that she can read the Quran**.**
(Racha, interview)

(91)'**Ljanib deeni howa <u>ahham ši</u>**.'

LT: **the side religious it-is <u>the-most-important thing</u>.**

FT: the religious side is the most important thing.   (Reda, interview).

(92) I want them to learn Qur'an and know their religion. They have to be like real Muslims practicing their Islamic activities properly using the language.   (Sara, interview)

By advocating these views, participants are constructing their Islamic identity through associating two crucial concepts: language and religion (Tannenbaum, 2005; AlSahafi, 2016). The above five excerpts underline a strong link between the Arabic language and religious identity among the participants. Evidently, participants report their concern about maintaining their religious identity, especially among the next generation. They view the only way to preserve identity, particularly religious identity, is through preserving their HL, Arabic. This indicates that language is not only a vehicle of culture, but also a vehicle of religion. The participants believe that teaching their children Arabic is a means to instill religious principles and values. It is not only about gaining linguistic competence in the language, but also present religion to children authentically to help them learn how to practice Islamic rituals such as reading Quran, comprehending various religious books, engaging in religious activities, and performing prayers.

Participants' religious identity is quite clear in their use of language, for instance, in this context, Sarah gave an example about a habit of switching to some words while conversing with other non-Arabic speakers to show her Islamic-Arabic identity. She says:

(93) **'ki netlaqa bṣaḥebti lburtuḡaliya nehder** English **maṯalan tqouli 'how**

LT: **when I-meet with-friend-my Portuguese I-speak** English **example she-says 'how are you' nqol'ha 'ḥamdoullah** I am fine' **ḥamdoullah w Inšallah laṣqin**

LT: are you' **I-say-her 'thanks-Allah, I am fine' thanks-Allah and if-wills-Allah stuck fiya. Homa dok yeʕerfo weš maʕnahom.'**

LT: in-me. They now they-know what meaning-theirs.

FT: I speak English with my Portuguese friend. When she says, 'how are you', I answer 'Ḥamdoullah I am fine'. I always use Ḥamdoullah and InšaAllah with her, and now she knows their meanings.   (Sarah, interview)

Participant' language choice, 'Ḥamdoullah' and 'InšaAllah', with non-Arabic speakers is indicative to her desire to assert and uphold her Arabic and Islamic identities. Mira is constructing her identity through switching from English to Arabic amidst other different identities. The use of tag switching such as 'InšaAllah' (If Allah wills or God willing), 'Ḥamdoullah ' (Praise to be to Allah), 'Subhan Allah' (Glory be to Allah), and 'Wellah' (I swear to Almighty Allah) in the middle or the end of an utterance which is entirely produced in English/ French is common among the informants of this research (see section 4.3.3.3). This switching to Arabic expressions carries cultural and religious significance, and their frequent utilisation indicates a deliberate effort to express, maintain and reinforce the Arabic and Islamic heritage in a non-Arabic speaking context.

Comparatively, in a study about language practices and attitudes, Eid (2018) found that religious identity functions as a divisive force that separates the Lebanese Arabic community in England because of the different religions (Muslims, Christians, Druzes, Alawites…etc). Conversely, I would argue that Islamic identity is a force that unifies the Algerian community in the UK regardless their ethnicity. Side by side with the Arabic language, religion, hence religious identity, is highly valued, and its maintenance is always linked to the maintenance of Arabic.

The strong connection between the Arabic language and Islam is undeniable. Yet, one cannot aver/ assert that the two notions are inseparable. Consideration should be made to non-Arab Muslims like Berbers in North Africa, Kurds in the Middle East, and Asians such as Bengalis, Pakistanis, Indians, and Malaysians.

5.4.4. CS and Cultural Identity

In the context of relating CS to cultural identity, the case of Berber participants is a good one to elaborate on. Though they are not proficient Tamazight speakers, they still link to the Berber culture as a social heritage. For example, Noor declares:

(94) '**leqbayliya manehdrouhaš**, *mais* **nefhem'ha šwi**, *ça fait partie de ma culture.*'

LT: **the-Tamazight not-we-speak-it-not**, *but* **I-comprehend bit**, *this makes part of my culture.*

FT: I do not speak Tamazight; however, I understand it a little bit. It is part of my culture.

Though Noor does not speak Tamazight, she reports that she has a strong attachment to the Berber culture. She identifies herself with the heritage Berber culture to show her independence from the dominant culture in the UK and, to some extent, from the Algerian Arabic culture as well. This separation indexes the ideology of Othering; Berbers vs Arabs/ English. However, she does not separate herself totally from the latter as she is still living in the UK and counting as a member of both the English and the Algerian communities.

All the speakers taking part in this research are multicultural in one way or another as language is used both to communicate and to carry culture. Some participants argue that speaking other languages or dialects leads them to acquire the culture they carry. For instance, learning the English language helps the participants integrate to the English culture. Thus, all the participants are bicultural if not multicultural individuals who integrate to more than one culture. In line with Berry (2006), I argue that though participants adapt a new language accompanied by a new culture, this does not necessarily mean that the previous culture (s) is replaced or left aside. The adoption of the culture of the host community benefits the participants in integrating the new society whilst maintaining their cultural identity. In this context, CS as an ingroup practice represents the different cultures Algerian participants adopt through their use of different linguistic choices. This adoption leads the way to the participants to be identified as bi/ multi-cultural individuals.

Unfortunately, unlike the three above identities, little is reported about cultural identity. However, I would argue that it is much more linked to ethnic identity. Expressing cultural identity is often marked by a switching to Arabic and/ or Tamazight. In accordance with Kramsch, I would argue that CS to ethnic languages is used by participants as an index to show cultural solidarity, to distance themselves from other cultures, and as an act of cultural identity. (Kramsch, 1998: 125, cited in Konidaris, 2010: 287; Gardner-Chloros *et al.,* 2005).

A striking opinion claimed by one participant about the relationship between language and identity. Zain says:

(95)'I don't link my identity to a particular language, even though language places a big part in defining my identity. Most of the Algerians I know are as comfortable in French as I am, so I don't feel like I have to speak a certain language to be close or to feel I really belong together to the same group. Even though we speak French we still Algerian.'   (Zain, interview)

Though the participant admits that language defines his identity, he reports that the link between language and identity is not fundamental because he can express his identity through many ways and many languages as he can use one language to express many identities.

In reference to chapter four, these results show that the participants' performative linguistic behaviour (what they say) (chapter five) correlates well with their social identity performances what they do) (chapter four). Each language in the participants' linguistic repertoire indexes a specific identity and switching between languages means also switching between identities. CS itself is a marker of social identity (Gumperz, 1982) which differs and changes according to the interlocutors and the context of the conversation. The relation between language (including CS) and identity is fundamental given that language is a means through which individuals are categorised into groups (Bailey, 2002; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Furthermore, the influence between language and identity is reciprocal and indispensable. According to the literature in section (3.5.3), I would say that both concepts may be two faces of the same coin. Language is part of individuals' identity. It is associated with, expressed, constructed, and negotiated through language (Goffman, 1959; Joseph, 2004; Fina, 2012: 1; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). For instance, results revealed that the performance of national identity is expressed and negotiated though different languages among different participants: through Arabic for most of the participants, through French for participant Zain (section 6.4.1; 5.3.3.1), and through English for participant Hala (section 7.2.1.2).

5.4.5.   CS and Age Relationship

Apart from identities, age is reported to be an interesting social variable that affects the use of CS among the participants. Participant Zain explains:

(96) 'I think if somebody lived in a multilingual environment…obviously the older he gets the more proficient he became in the two, three languages that he has been exposed to…you can choose one language compared to the other, and also you avoid mixing the languages because your vocabulary is richer. You do not need to borrow from one language to another. With age, you will be also exposed to more situations in different languages.'(Zain, interview)

Participant Zain relates CS to the factor of age claiming that older multilingual speakers can control their language use in the sense that they can produce one sentence/ paragraph in one language and the next one in a different language. He also believes that inter-sentential switching is related to language proficiency. He explains that speakers' exposure to different languages in different contexts allows them to become fluent language users who do not need to code switch because of linguistic necessity. So far, relying on participants' accounts and the actual practice of CS in the interviews, I believe that inter-sentential switching seems to be more used among old participants (more than 50 years) than young ones who prefer intra-

sentential CS.

According to Alfonzetti (2014), age cooperates with both the degree of proficiency and attitudes towards CS. In the current findings, in contrast to younger generation (20–50), older generation (plus 50) negatively evaluate the practice of CS. This group of participants are known for their balanced bilingualism, where their linguistic repertoires are equal in terms of proficiency. Besides, these participants report to have negative attitudes towards CS in general (7.2.1.2), and more specifically towards intra-sentential CS (code mixing) because of the negative influence this linguistic behaviour has on their first language. The group is also known for inter-sentental CS' preference, however, intrasentential CS is included sometimes for the sake of message transmission generally. This result is similar to Backus (1992) and Bentahila, et al.,' (1991) findings about bilingual participants who prefer inter-sentential CS mostly.

It is worth mentioning that other social variables such as gender, social status, ethnicity, etc. are not less important than 'age'. However, they are not applicable to the current study. Conversely, the 'age' variable was a recurring result, reported by the participants, associated with the practice of CS.

Participants' switching between various languages categorises individuals into different groups (Bailey, 2002; Bchlotz and Hall, 2004). It is evident that switching between languages results in adopting different identities and indexes that the latter are not fixed but dynamic (Norton, 2006: 25; Block, 2007: 867). Participants adopt an identity depending on the context they are placed in or the question they are asked for example how they identify themselves (see also Edwards, 2011; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). For instance, in interviews, the informants switch between national, ethnic, cultural, and religious identities according to the subject under discussion using CAA, Tamazight, and MSA respectively.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed participants' experiences, opinions, and views towards their linguistic choice in general. The main argument held in this chapter is that there are three core motivational factors which lead participants to code switch, which are accommodation to interlocutor's language choice, message transmission, and identity expression. This chapter has started with exploring the self-reported accounts of language use and the contexts of CS inside and outside home (section 6.2). Then, in section (6.3) I have developed a distinction between situational and conversational motivations inspired by the dichotomy of Gumperz (1982) and supported by the Markedness Model (1993) with reference

to the works of Bhatia and Ritchie (2013), and Holmes (2013). Situational or context-related motivations cover motivations such as interlocutors' relationships, setting, and topic. According to the participants, they move from one language to another to accommodate the listener's code selection, include or exclude the listener, and to express their social status, solidarity, and formality with their audience. Participants have also reported that the setting (where) and the topic of the conversation influence the choice of languages. The codes used inside home are different from those used at formal places and with colleagues for instance. Findings have also shown that the mood of the participants affects their code selection. Participants have assumed that they can better express their emotions through switching to/ between CAA and/ or French. Conversational or message-related motivations, on the other hand, cover factors related to the message on its own right. The informants have stated that their CS is sometimes prompted by various motivations such as reiteration, quoting, joking, translating, emphasising, and self-expression. They have also emphasised that they often experience a lot of linguistic gaps, thus they switch to another language to fill these gaps. Furthermore, they have reported that sometimes they have no obvious reason to move to another code. Yet, I have argued that the no-reason factor can be explained by any motivation from the abovementioned ones.

Alongside with section 5.2 and 5.3, and based on the actual practice of CS and the self-reported opinions about the same linguistic practice, sections 6.2 and 6.3 have provided a thorough answer to the first research question raised at the beginning of this thesis: What are the various patterns of CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK? What are their apparent and self-reported motivations for CS.

Section 6.4 has answered the second research question - how can CS be a means to negotiate and express identity/ies among multilingual Algerians living in the UK? - tackling the third motivational factor through explaining how participants think of themselves constructing their identities through their CS. This section has argued that identity expression and negotiation is one main motivation behind CS. It has also argued that Arabic and Islam are two basic pillars upon which participants' identities are constructed. Participants have detailed that they shift from one language to another to refer to specific identities. For instance, shifting from Arabic to Tamazight indexes the Berber ethnic identity and switching to MSA indicates their religious identity. Some participants have maintained that they switch to White Arabic (simplified MSA) to perform their ethnic, Arab, and Algerian national identity. In this context, White Arabic is said to act out multiple identity performances. Thus, I have concluded that these identities may be complex and ambiguous, and at the same time

178

flexible and multi-faceted (Omoniyi and White, 2006). Similarly, Berber participants switch to Tamazight to identify their Berber and cultural identities which can be simultaneously performed in a single social interaction. Thus, as a linguistic practice, CS can be a means through which speakers (re) construct, and negotiate their identities (Grosjean, 1982; Rampton, 1995; Norton, 2006; Kiraly, 2014; Dewaele and Wei, 2014; Ben Nafaa, 2015; Darvin and Norton, 2015). Interestingly, all participants have agreed that Arabic has a strong connection to their different social identities because it is what links them to their nation, ethnicity, culture, and religion. They have insisted more on the relation between religion and Arabic and consider it a fundamental link that should be maintained and passed to the next generation because, for them, this leads to the maintenance of their identity.

It is important to highlight that participant's motivations for CS are a result of their ability to behave rationally through selecting the 'best choice' from the available linguistic choices. That 'best choice' helps speakers achieve an effective communication with more rewards and less costs (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 1999; 2002, Wei, 2005).

Eventually, together with data in chapter four, examining and discussing the self-reported opinions and views of the participants give readers a clear image about the main concern investigated in this research and answering research questions number one and two respectively. The next chapter examines and discusses the context of CS, the various language attitudes, and the strategies of language maintenance adopted by the participants.

Chapter 6: Self-reported Language Attitudes and Strategies for Language Maintenance among Multilingual Algerians

6.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to present and discuss the participants' views, attitudes, and thoughts about CS. It argues that participants' attitudes towards multilingualism and towards the practice of CS vary from negative to positive based on the degree of risk these linguistic behaviours pose to their first language mainly. It further posits that attitudes towards each language depend on the language being a first language or a HL, the historical context of colonialism, and on the worldwide value associated with a given language.

Section 7.2 examines participants' attitudes towards their linguistic repertoire and towards CS. Participants report directly and indirectly different views regarding multilingualism in general, their linguistic repertoire, and CS. They believe that CS is a useful linguistic behaviour which brings all their multilingual competencies into practice, and which marks their linguistic capital. At the same time, they view it negatively, if it is used extensively, for fear of changing or losing HL.

The chapter ends with plans adopted by the participants to transmit their HL to the next generation and strategies to maintain that language and preserve it from shift, attrition, and/ or loss.

This chapter answers the third research question, which is: 'what are the attitudes of multilingual Algerians towards their linguistic repertoires and towards CS?' It concludes that negative attitudes towards CS do not affect the participants' linguistic behaviour and that positive attitudes towards the HL may contribute to the maintenance of the language.

6.2. Participants' Various Attitudes Towards Languages and CS.

The examination of the participants' attitudes is important not only because it helps explain language patterns (section 5.2), but also because it informs us why a language is used or not used which may affect the motivation for CS and the process of language maintenance as well. I would consider various feelings, degrees of prestige, complexity, poetics, stylishness, and importance as attitudes which the participants hold towards different codes. Attitudes can be investigated through collecting self-reported answers or observation (Fishman, 1991; Garrett, 2010). This section presents and discusses the participants' self-reported (direct attitudes) and

expressed (indirect attitudes) attitudes towards (a) their linguistic repertoire, (b) multilingualism, and (c) CS. It aims at comparing and cross-checking the respondents' claims and their actual practice of CS in the interview (Chapter 5). This section argues that participants' attitudes are guided by their beliefs about each language and practice. It also argues that participants' attitudes vary in accordance with the contexts of language use. However, I posit that these attitudes are not clearcut attitudes as they may contain exaggeration or understatement, and they may change according to the setting's change.

6.2.1. Participants' Attitudes towards their Linguistic Repertoires

When the participants refer to their linguistic repertoire and how they use it in different contexts, here comes the question 'how do you perceive this language' in order to assess their perspectives about these languages in use and also to examine the extent of language maintenance. I start by the participants' first language which is Arabic, and Tamazight for some of them, then, the second language which is French for most of them, and lastly, the foreign language which is English.

6.2.1.1.My First Language is Love

Most of the participants do not make a distinction between High (MSA) and Low variety (CAA) of Arabic when reporting their attitudes. They call both varieties 'Arabic'. This implies an indirect positive attitude towards Arabic. A similar result raised by a Greek researcher who found that her participants consider modern standard Greek and Greek Cypriot as 'the same thing'. This language sameness is driven by an ideological belief that there are few differences between the H variety and the L variety at the level of the form and structure which do not make the two varieties distinct. Nevertheless, in this research, because of the diglossic nature of Arabic, respondents with less favorable attitudes consider MSA slightly different from CAA. Amongst the twelve participants, eleven express strong and positive affection for the Arabic language. Indicative instances are presented below:

(97)'it just makes me happy when I talk in Arabic'   (Amir, interview)

Fella, who concurs with Amir, avows:

(98) 'It is also love, it is not only the language **li tewledna biha** but also love and passion.'
LT: which we-were-born with-it.
FT: that we were born with.

A similar, and a slightly stronger view, stated by another participant who reports with conviction and trust in her voice:

(25b) '**luḡḡa lʕarabiya** w hiya li nḥeb'ha **b daraja l'ʔoola ʔakeed**.'

LT: **the-language the-Arabic** and it-is that I-love-it **with degree the-first surely.**

FT: Arabic is the language I love first and most.   (Mira, interview)

The participants report to value the Arabic language because it is the language they grew up speaking. They convey their profound attachment to it using terms such as 'love', 'passion', and 'happy'. On the question 'how do you feel about this language', their tone becomes stronger and more expressive. They seem very motivated to speak their first language and express its importance in their lives. A similar view was expressed by Reda. He says that he finds H Arabic a beautiful, poetic, and rich language that one can express himself/ herself aesthetically, especially when it comes to emotions. He says that he usually uses it when conversing with people from the Arabian Gulf and the Middle East. All these instances demonstrate that Arabic is highly regarded by the respondents.

Another participant adds that he recently went back to reading books in Arabic after a long break. He says:

(99) 'it is a language that I always liked […] I feel close to that language even though I don't need it in my daily life it is something that […] I would be feeling sad if I don't have access to it'   (Zain, interview).

Like other participants, Zain seems to be strongly attached to his first language, Arabic, and keeps connected to it through continuous reading. Based on the respondent`s claims, I would argue that this attachment to the Arabic language is linked to the in-group solidarity which permits participants to integrate into their own linguistic speech community (both Arab and Algerian) in the UK and to keep and strengthen the Arab and Algerian identity. This attachment also plays a major role in maintaining the first language as advocated by Fishman (1991, 2000).

On the question about what language the participants encourage their children to learn first and foremost, ten out of the twelve respondents insist on the Arabic language: both H and L varieties.

(100)'I want them to have access to all the writings that are available in Arabic and to be able to connect with people in Algeria when we travel over there […] and be comfortable staying with them because if they speak only English, it is gonna be very difficult for them

to go over there. So, they need a bit of Arabic to be integrated or feel comfortable with the people there.'   (Zain, interview)

Zain believes that Arabic is very important for his children in the sense that it connects them with their country of origin. He shows his awareness that English does not permit them to integrate to the Algerian society, but Arabic does. Zain declares that he makes a language policy at home to speak only Algerian Arabic with his children as a way of practice. He insists on the usefulness of Arabic for the children whenever visiting their family back home. This opinion was echoed by most of the participants who seem to make efforts to preserve the family ties through speaking Arabic and vice versa. They report that failure to pass this language on to the next generation will result in a break in connection and communication with relatives, and obviously to language loss through time. This is similar to the study of the Lithuanian language in diaspora where respondents reveal their positive affective attitudes towards their HL because it connects them with their families back home and allows them to integrate to 'little Lithuanian' speech community (Ramonienė, et al., 2021).

Though most of the respondents claim to have a weak level in speaking MSA and sometimes in writing because it is not used on a daily basis, it is the first language they assert its value, and they encourage their children to learn it. This contrast: weak communicative skill and favourable attitudes towards MSA, is found elsewhere in other studies about ethnic minorities in diaspora (see Edwards, 2011; Bichani, 2015: 179).

By contrast, three participants report that they prefer their children to learn and speak either English or French first. Subsequently, they say, they will introduce Arabic later at the age of 3 or 4. Despite placing Arabic after English or French, these participants acknowledge its importance and explain their attachment to it for different reasons, among which religion is the strongest reason. Noor states:

(101) '*C'est important* **yetʕelmo lʕarbiya beš yetʕelmo ʔomoor taʕ ddin, ṣalat.**'

LT: *this-is important* **they-learn Arabic so-that they-learn things of religion, prayer.**

FT: It is important to learn Arabic to learn religion affairs and to learn how to pray.

Noor, whose family speaks French only at home, insists on the importance of teaching Arabic to her children to allow them to learn and practice their religion. This again shows a very good appreciation of and a resilient link to both the Arabic language and religion. One such study conducted by Bichani (2015) found that religion is one of the reasons, contrary to

Ealing, Leeds parent participants insist on teaching Arabic to their children.

These are the positive attitudes the participants hold toward their first language on one hand. On the other hand, some participants, though admitting the importance of Arabic, describe it as being not appropriate to use at all times. For example, Zain believes that Algerian Arabic is not suitable for formal conversations or for discussing particular subjects because of the lack of vocabulary. In addition, Reem states that CAA is very complicated dialect compared to other Arabic dialects which is, for her, a negative aspect. She explains:

(102)'Arabic **ana nšofʔha** *compliqué* **bezzaf**. I feel it is very complicated. **dok tehdri** Italian

LT: **Arabic I see-it complicated lot** I feel it is very complicated. Now you-speak Italian, Italian is Italian, French **win trooḥi** is French. **Ḥna elʕarbiya win trooḥi kayen**

LT: Italian is Italian, French **where you-go** is French. We the-Arabic where you-go there

ʕarbiya mḵtalfa, haylik yqololna ntom leʕrab taʕ lamarrok w dzayer lahja
LT: **Arabic different, there-you they-say-us you the-Arabs of Morrocco and Algeria accent**

taʕkom waʕra, lmaṣriya, soʕoudiya el ḵalij, ʔlfaliṣtiniya hado *les colleagues*

LT: **your difficult, Egyptian, Saudi, the Gulf, Palestinian, those** *the colleagues*

tawʕi ma yefehmoo waloo yqolo kifeš hadi luḡa, Luḡat loḵrin

LT: **my not they-understand nothing they-say how this language, languages others**

nšofhom sahlin lel taʕallum moqarantan maʕa lʕarbiya ʔna I think **belli luḡat loḵrin**

LT: **we-see-them easy to learning compared with the-Arabic I** *I think* **that languages others**

as'hal. yjooni sahlin ḵater ʕand'hom <u>namaṭ</u> **waḥed yetkelmooh** *malgré* **sah ʕandhom**

LT: **easier, they-come-me easy because they-have** <u>type</u> **one they-speak-it** *though* **true they-have**

les accents, **ḥna** *le probléme* **maši** *les accents* **berk** *meme* **lkalimat** completely different

LT: *the accents*, **we** *the problem* **not** *the accents* **only** *also* **the-words** completely different

<u>ḥatta ṭariqet el noṭq</u>, **hiya saḥ** *c'est une richesse* **beṣṣaḥ** at the same time **tferrqna.'**

LT: <u>**also way of pronunciation**</u>, **she true** *this-is wealth* **but** at the same time **it-separate-us**.

FT: I think Arabic (CAA) is very complicated. For example, Italian is Italian, French wherever you go it is French. But Arabic wherever you go there is a different Arabic (dialect). People usually tell me that Moroccan and Algerian Arabic are very difficult to understand. My colleagues from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Palestine don't understand me when I speak CAA. They often ask me what language is this? I think that other languages are easier to learn than Arabic. They have one version of the language to speak despite the different accents. The problem in our language is not only the accents but also the different

vocabulary and even the pronunciation. It is true that Arabic is a linguistic wealth, yet at the same time it separates us (Arabs).   (Reem,

Interview)

The participant points out to an interesting feature of the Algerian Arabic dialect. The latter, as a Maghrebi dialect is less or sometimes totally incomprehensible to Mashreqi dialects (Bichani, 2015: 176; Eid, 2018: 24). The reason can be referred to the geographical distance between the regions (Ennaji, 2010; Palmer, 2007). Relatedly, this fact, the participant believes, leads to a separation between the Arab nations because of the lack of mutual intelligibility. This view was expressed with a low voice and less excitement which indicates a less favourable attitude towards the Maghrebi dialects in general. Nonetheless, most of the participants state that Algerian Arabic is much easier to learn than MSA which may lead to less positive comments towards MSA. For instance, on the question about preferred languages to transmit to children, Amir states that he prefers CAA and ranks MSA in the last position after English, French, and Spanish. He says that he uses standard Arabic in the religious domain only for example when he does the five Islamic prayers or when reading Quran.

In contrast to Amir, Racha reports that she prefers to teach her daughter MSA without CAA because, for her, the standard language is more important than the dialect. She states that she believes that CAA and MSA are so different and even if she taught her child the dialect, she would start from scratch when she learns standard Arabic. Thus, she decides to exclusively focus only on MSA when her child is four years old. Racha further notes that the sole advantage of learning CAA is to master the pronunciation of the Arabic letters only, while MSA allows more job opportunities and makes communication with Arabs from different countries easier.

Considering these unfavorable evaluative reactions, one thinks that these informants hold negative attitudes towards Arabic because of its complexities and inappropriateness for certain subjects and contexts. In contrast, the participants are supportive of their first language. They say that they have always a desire to maintain it and pass it on to their children any way. I would argue that the Low variety of Arabic is indeed complicated and difficult to learn and understand due to its incorporation of not only Arabic elements but also a considerable number of words from other languages such as French, Turkish, English, Persian, among others. Consequently, it is not appropriate for discussing formal subjects. In contrast, the High variety of Arabic enjoys a greater linguistic richness and is more suitable for use in different domains,

185

boasting overt prestige because of its high status. On the other hand, Algerian Arabic is associated with covert prestige when used with other Arabic varieties like Levantine and Gulf, given that it is less intelligible. However, I posit that it carries overt prestige to express group membership and foster solidarity (Holmes, 2013: 412) among Algerians.

Aside from the Arabic language, five out of six Berber participants reveal that they feel upset for not being able to speak or learn Tamazight. Reem states:

(103)'**ʔna lukan tqolili weš howa** language **li tehelmi tʕelmih** next **nqollek** *le*

LT: **I if you-say-me what he** language **which you-dream you-learn-it next I-say-you** *the*

*Berber***…fiha Ṯaqafa kbira…nhess rouhi mertabta liha, nḥeb <u>Taqafa lbarbariya</u>.**'

LT: *Tamazight*…**in-it culture big…I-feel myself linked to-it, I-love <u>culture Berber</u>.**

FT: if you ask me which language you wish to learn next, I will say Tamazight…it covers a rich culture which I love…I feel linked to it. (Reem, interview).

(22b) '*Le plus important* **ʔna qbayli beṣṣaḥ manehderš qbayliya hadi li qeʕdetli**

LT: *the most important* **I Berber but not-I-speak-not Tamazight this which it-stays**

ḥorqa f qalbi.' LT: **burning in heart-my.**

FT: the most important thing is that I am Berber, however I don't know Tamazight. This breaks my heart. (Reda, interview).

In a similar context, Majdi says:

(23b) '*Berbère* **ma nehderhaš <u>li-sooʔ lhadh</u>.**'

LT: *Tamazight* **not I-speak-not <u>for-misfortune the-luck</u>.**

FT: Unfortunately, I do not speak Tamazight. (Majdi, interview).

Respondents express their bother, disappointment, and regret for not commanding Tamazight fluently. Yet, they state, they are proud to have it as a HL and they feel linked to it as a cultural and an ethnic heritage. This is similar to the case of Berbers in Morocco who still feel Berber though they do not speak their ethnic language (Ennaji, 2005). Furthermore, these participants report that they would love to learn Tamazight at some point of time as a way of HL maintenance.

Only one participant speaks the language and intends to teach it to her children when they are grown. She says:

(104)' ḥatta lʔmaziɣiya maḏabiya wladi yetʕelmou luɣa li ʔna tʕellemt'ha.

LT: also Tamazight what-on-me children-my they-learn language which I-learn-it

Luɣa taʕ jdadna hadi hiya li tʕebber ʕan lʔsl dyalna.'

LT: **language of grandparents-our this she which she-expresses on origin our.**

FT: Even Tamazight, I would love my children to learn the language I speak. The language of our grandparents which relate us to our origins.   (Mira, interview).

Throughout the interview, Mira shares that one of her aims is to transfer her multilingualism to her children focusing more on Tamazight as a core language because she believes that it is what defines them as Berbers. The participant is constructing a sense of belongingness to her ethnic group that shares a common HL and culture. This pride, cultural attachment, and the willingness to preserve it and transmit it to the next generation indicate the favourable attitude towards Tamazight as a HL.

From the different views reported above, the participants maintain and develop favourable attitudes towards their first language which denotes language pride. I believe that the speakers' symbolic attachment to their first language, the continuous practice of it, readiness to transmit it to the next generation, and the motivation and enthusiasm to preserve identity may contribute to the maintenance of this language. It is worth mentioning that the participants report the three core reasons that encourage them to continue using Arabic and transmitting it to their children which are: good command and access to the HL, communicating with family back home, and learning and practicing Islam (see next section 6.3). In regard to Tamazight, most of the participants do not speak the language, yet they attribute a highly positive value to and take a great pride of it being a cultural and an ethnic heritage for Berbers.

6.2.1.2.   English is also Love, Not Sure about French.

This sub-section presents and discusses the participants' attitudes towards two foreign languages namely French and English respectively. Regarding French, six among twelve participants report to have favourable comments on French. For example, Hala says:

(105) '*Français c'est une belle langue je trouve en plus mon pére c'était un froncophone*

LT*: french it is a beautiful language I find in plus my father it-is a froncophone*

a **ʔna nbookini** *en français je trouve que c'est une langue* **li wladi yeqdroo yetʕelmooha.**

LT: **I read-books** in french I find that it is a language which **kids**-**my they-can they-learn-it.**

J'aime bien la langue alors j'aimerais bien **yetʕelmooha'**

187

LT: *I-love well the language so I-would-love well* **they-learn-it.**

FT: I find French a beautiful language. My father was a francophone, and I was reading a lot in French. I love this language very much and I believe it is a language that my children can learn. (Hala, interview)

Participant Hala, who insists that her children should learn this language, seems to be emotionally attached to French, largely because her father being a French speaker. Hala's opinion finds resonance with four other participants, who express their profound affection for this language because they learnt it at an early age as they spent some time in a French speaking country, and most of their readings were in French. Thus, it somehow binds them to their childhood memories. Beyond its aesthetic appeal, the four informants relate French's importance with keeping family ties. Noor informs:

(105) '*C'est trés important pour moi* **yetʕelmoo** *le français par ce que les cousins* **taʕhom**

 LT: it-is very important for me they-learn the french through this that the cousins **their**

gaʕ f fransa. Beš ki yroḥoo l fransa maykonoš mayeʕerfooš

LT: **all in France. So-that when they-go to France not-will-be-not not-they-know-not**

 wella w tkoon ʕand'hom *la possibilité de communication* **mʕahom. Taʕtilhom**

LT: **or and it-is they-have** *the posiibility of communication* **with-them. It-gives-them**

des opportunités par ce que je ne pense pas **rayḫin yʕišou f dzayer.**

LT: *the opportunities through this that I not think not* **they-are-going they-live in Algeria**

W tani beš yzidoo f *les compétences* **taʕ'hom** *pour le travail.*'

LT:. **And also so-that they-increase in** *the competencies their for the work.*

FT: it is very important for my children to learn French because all their cousins are in France. French gives them this opportunity to communicate well with their family because I don't think they are going to live in Algeria. In addition, they can improve their competencies (in French) to get higher chances in getting jobs. (Noor, interview)

Noor's view is reverberated by few participants explaining the significance of French for them and their children given that French allows them to communicate with relatives back home and France. Furthermore, they report that it allows its speakers to have more opportunities to develop their career and break away the narrowness of monolingualism.

Among the positive views towards French, an interesting opinion was reported by Zain. He explains:

(106) 'French for me is like the Algerian language. Speaking Algerian Arabic is also

speaking French. I feel Algerian when I speak French with them. French is close to my heart on one hand, and on the other hand, it allows the access also to quite big corpus of writings of French and Algerian literature […] about Algeria because most of them are in French and few are published in Arabic. French allows me to keep the connection with Algeria.' (Zain, interview)

Similar to previous opinions, participant Zain says that he uses French to interact with his family back home and goes further when he says that this language connects him with his home country. He strongly favours this language and relates it to his national identity. He expresses his deep sentimental attachment to it and says that it helps him have access to national and cultural heritage. I would argue that this strong attachment to French can be attributed to several factors, including being a simultaneous bilingual, the longitudinal contact with the language, and the close association of the latter with identity. Associating positive attributes to the French language gives a hint about the participant's French cultural identity, possibly influenced by the historical remnants of the French colonialism in Algeria. In addition, this deep attachment is enhanced by the participant's time lived in France and his ongoing constant linguistic use of French. It is important to note that Zain's view is exceptional and rare, as most Algerians prefer either Arabic or Tamazight to express their belonging to their nation.

In contrast to the positive comments about the French language, there are few participants who hold neutral and/or negative attitudes. For example, Reem reports:

(107) '*le français* for me **ʕandi iḥ'sas taʕ meši mliḥ ʕlajal tariḵ w kamel beṣṣaḥ maši**
LT: *the French* for me **I-have feeling of not good for-that history and all but not**
ʕandi ʕoqda malazemš nehder *français* **wella lakin nḥeb nqellel nehder'ha.'**
LT: **I-have complex no-must-not I-speak french or but I-love I-reduce I-speak-it.**
FT: I have a bad feeling towards French because of the colonial history. However, I don't have that complex that I should not speak the language, but I would like to lessen its use.
(Reem, interview)

The participant expresses a negative perspective towards the French language because of historical reasons, particularly French colonialism to Algeria and its remnants. However, she adds, these feelings do not prevent her from speaking the language, yet she actively avoids using it wherever possible. Reem adds further that she sees no merit in including French in the learning program of her children. She believes that it is enough for them, for now, to use Arabic at home and English at school.

189

Five respondents state that they stand in a neutral position when it comes to French. For example, Mira says:

(108)'<u>kanet ʕalaqti jayda</u> mʕa <u>luḡa lfiransiya</u>, lakin melli jit ḥna rajli Qalli

LT: <u>it-was relation-my good</u> with <u>language French</u>, but since I-came here he-told-me

<u>mamnooʕ</u> firansiya f ddar... Qali lala manḥesseš rouḥi mertaḥ,

LT: <u>forbidden</u> French in home… he-told-me no not-I-feel-not self-my comfortable,

qali maḏabiya ki nedḵol l ddar nehder mʕak ʕarbiya.'

LT:, he-told-me what-on-me when I-enter to-the-house I-speak with-you Arabic

FT: I have a good relationship with the French language. However, since I came to England my husband asked me not to use French at home. He said that he does not feel comfortable speaking another language other than Arabic. (Mira, interview)

Though Mira is very fluent in French, she rarely uses it alongside another language for instance, Algerian Arabic. She reports that her partner sets a language policy to speak only Arabic at home despite they are both Berbers, and competent French speakers. Mira and her partner's code choice mirrors a neutral cognitive attitude towards French and Tamazight on one hand, and a positive affective attitude towards Arabic on the other hand. In this example, -Mira's partner'- favouring Algerian Arabic at home may imply a negative attitude towards Tamazight as an ethnic language, and using CAA reflects the desire to integrate to the Algerian speech community. This is no surprising if one considers the fact that these Berbers grew up in an Arabic speaking environment while being in Algeria. One would assume that having a negative attitude towards a language leads speakers not to use it. However, this is not the case for the participants in this research. In contrast, as explained above, they report to hold very positive attitudes towards their ethnic language, Tamazight. Thus, I would argue that the attitudes towards a certain linguistic code are not necessarily associated with the extensive utilisation of that code. By way of illustration, Reem's negative attitude towards French and Mira's and Racha's positive attitude towards Tamazight and MSA respectively.

In the above sub-section, I have delved into the various views shared by the participants regarding their perceptions of the French language. Now, I shift my focus to presenting the attitudes held by the same participants towards the English language. Remarkably, an overwhelming majority of the participants- eight out of twelve- claim to perceive the English language positively. They assert that it is important to master this language because they are living in an English-speaking country where their first language(s) constitute only a minority presence. Besides, they passionately report admiring this language as it is a beautiful and

190

accessible language to learn and converse in. To encapsulate these attitudes, below is a statement claimed by Sarah which echoes and summarises the essence of all the reported views about English:

(109) 'For English, I don't know how to say it, **ʕandi ḥob liha** (LT: **I-have love to-it**. FT: I love it) and I want to improve it more and I want to read more about learning English, and for my kids, I will encourage (them) to learn it of course because it is a global language and the language of science.'   (Sarah, interview)

Sarah emphatically explains that she is keen to improve her English level and transmit it to her children given that it is an important global language. She underlines the paramount significance of English proficiency being the mainstream surrounding speech community. Sarah's perspective concurs with Reem, Fella, and Mira who believe that English is the language of science. These participants seem to be influenced by the ideology of English supremacy in the world, reflecting a highly positive attitude towards the language. However, they all insist on initially teaching their children their first language before introducing English. This, in turn, implies that English is valued but not sufficient in its own within diaspora. Consequently, this preference emphasises the significance of maintaining their linguistic and cultural heritage-first/ HL - while acknowledging the importance of English.

Another informant, Hala, says that she favours English because she is a British citizen who must speak the language. She explains:

(110) '*anglais* **ḵeyert'ha** *par ce que l'angleterre* **tani** *c'est mon pays. La langue* one

LT: English **I-choose-it** *throughthis that the-England* **also** *it-is my country. The* language one

for me. I am a British citizen which means **wladi raḥ ykouno** British, so it is very

LT: for me. I am a British citizen which means **kids-my they-are** British, so it is very important for them to speak English very well.'

FT: I prefer English because England is also my country. English is number one for me. I am a British citizen which means my children will be British, so it is very important for them to speak English very well.   (Hala, interview)

This participant performs a self-identification as a British citizen which implies the national identity associated with the English language, reflecting a positive perspective attributed to this language. She firmly believes that speaking English is a necessity for a British citizen as it is the code that permits her and her children to integrate to the English society. In this

191

context, English is not only a means of communication, but also a crucial way for cultural integration in the British community.

While maintain their HL, speakers hold positive perspectives and affectionate attachment to the English language. This can be related to acculturation where the adoption of the language of the host country leads to the adoption of its culture and identity (Rubin, et al., 2011). It reflects participants' willingness to integrate into the host community through converging to its preferred and unmarked language. This in return allows them to gain social status in the host speech community.

Three informants chose not to disclose their genuine points of view concerning English. Instead, they insisted on perspectives towards the language they prefer to speak, maintain, and transmit to their children, namely Arabic. However, relying on their inferred and reported patterns and contexts of CS (5.2, 6.2), I would say that they acknowledge that the role of English is undeniably important as they live in an English host community.

Based on the above findings, I would argue that English is valued as a linguistic capital which opens the horizons for participants in a globalised world for effective communications with people from different backgrounds (lingua franca), educational achievements, and professional success.

In line with Garrett *et al.,* (2003: 9), I would argue that participants' language attitudes and their language behaviour are subject to change depending on the context and its complexity. For example, Reem shifts to French, which she views negatively, to exclude her children from the conversation and Majdi who dislikes CS, yet he mixes Arabic with French to express himself appropriately.

To sum up, this sub-section has presented the self-reported and expressed attitudes of the participants towards French and English. The comments about the French language range between positive (for family ties), neutral, and negative attitudes (historical reasons). However, all respondents view the English language favorably because it is the dominant language in the UK which basically allows integration into the English society. Generally, these attitudes reflect the different ideologies the participants hold and indicate their open mindedness and acceptance of other languages. Thus, one can assume that participants' attitudes may be organised and controlled by their linguistic ideologies (Van Dijk, 2005) given that the use of languages on social worlds relies mostly on what and how speakers think about that language.

6.2.2. Multilingualism: A Linguistic Wealth

Data about attitudes towards speaking only one language or more was striking in this research. I asked no question that may raise this concern. However, most participants turn to this point in different parts of the interview. They express various views toward multilingualism referring to both bilingualism and monolingualism. I start first by presenting reported views about multilingualism, then I refer to comments about using one language only.

Many participants report that speaking more than one language is advantageous and express their gratitude for being multilingual speakers. They all agree that their rich linguistic repertoire allows them many opportunities for work, travel, openness, and seamless integration with others' cultures and speech communities. These perspectives convey the importance of multilingualism both on the personal and social level. Mira explains one side of speaking multiple languages:

(111) '**lhaja lwaḥeeda l'ʔijabiya f hada ʔnnek twelli teʕref lissan taʕek**

 LT: **the-thing the-only the-positive in this tha-you you-become you-know tongue yours**

 raḥ ykon ṯariy w raḥ tderreb lmaḵarij taʕek ʕala maḵarij lam yaʕtad ʕalayha.

 LT: **it-will rich and it-will you-train the-exits yours on exits not it-gets-used-to on-it.**

 Maṯalan 'l' li fi 'milk' hada ṯara' luḡawi belnesba lelsan.'

 LT: **For-example 'l' which in 'milk' this wealth linguistic for the-tongue.**

 FT: the positive side of [multilingualism] is that it cultivates fluency and exposes and trains you a wide range of sounds. For instance, you will be accustomed to diverse phonetic subtleties such as the English sound 'l' in 'milk', which I consider a linguistic wealth. (Mira, interview)

Participant Mira believes that speaking different languages is a linguistic richness since the speaker becomes linguistically skillful especially at the phonetic level where he/she can articulate different sounds, for instance the Arabic letter 'ḡ/GH' 'Ḵ' 'Qu', the Tamazight letters 'Ĝ' 'Ḳ', the English letter 'L', and the Spanish letter 'D'.

In addition to their rich linguistic repertoire, participants express their willingness to improving and/ or learning additional languages when time allows. Moreover, they report their readability to raise their children in a multilingual environment, implying favorable attitudes towards multilingualism. They convey their desire to pass on their positive experiences with languages to their children to offer them more opportunities, especially for career development.

The participants value multilingualism, as a linguistic capital, not only for socio-cultural and communicative purposes but also for career and academic achievement. Hence, devoting personal knowledge, time, and materials are all efforts to transmit not only the first language to children, but also other languages which is again an index of positive attitudes towards multilingualism. This finding is similar to other research about multilingual families (Curdt-Christiansen and Wang, 2018, Eid Achkar, 2018). Taking these views into consideration, I would argue that a positive language ideology and attitude are dominating among the participants given the importance of being multi-language users in general. This fact encourages and keeps bi/ multilingualism active (De Houwer, 1999).

These were the positive views on one hand. On the other hand, respondents also claim facing challenges as multilingual speakers, which they consider the downside of multilingualism. For example, Reda states that he frequently experiences difficulty recalling some words in certain languages (see linguistic gap factor 5.3.2.5). Furthermore, Amir prefers to use the term 'limitation' instead of 'disadvantage' expressing regret over losing his first language, Arabic, because of his growing proficiency in other languages. He explains: (25) 'a language if you don't use it, you lose it'. Both participants acknowledge that this linguistic diversity is one of the factors, alongside migration, that causes language shift, or even language loss. Challenges associated with using more than one language are more explored in the following sub-section (7.2.3).

Only one participant expresses his negative attitude regarding speaking one language claiming that monolingual speakers are linguistically handicapped, having very limited communication abilities with other people from different backgrounds and languages. He goes on to assert that they remain confined within their linguistic box or bubble. This strongly negative attitude implies to what extent the participant is in favour of learning and speaking more than one language.

6.2.3. Conflicting Outlooks towards Code Switching

In the previous two subsections, I have presented and discussed the participants' attitudes towards their linguistic repertoire, multilingualism, and monolingualism. The current subsection addresses how the participants view CS, and what factors affect their attitudes towards it, for instance historical, socio-cultural, political, and psychological factors. In essence, the participants report to have different evaluations regarding CS. They consider it very normal and natural to code switch in informal contexts, but it is not acceptable at all in formal contexts such as workplace and classroom. Thus, I devoted two separate paragraphs

presenting attitudes for and against CS. I should mention from the outset that attitudes towards CS are characterised by conflicts and paradoxes.

6.2.3.1.   Code Switching: A linguistic Capital

All the participants report that they code switch to convey messages appropriately and to achieve good communication. They state that it is something that they should be proud of because it shows their rich linguistic abilities and to what extent they are skillful in multiple languages. For instance, Amir uses very strong favourable terms to describe how he perceives CS. He states that he hopes that (26) 'all the world code switch' between languages in order not to have any communications breakdown. Reem adds that CS is a cognitive process which she considers an effective linguistic tool to communicate with multilingual speakers. She states:

(112) 'I think it is a brain agility, I read some articles **hakda yqollek** to be able to do this

LT: I think it is a brain agility, I read some articles **that-one he-tells-you** to be able to do this

you have to have brain agility *c'est à dire* **raki** flexible **fi rassek** *tellement* **raki metmekna**

LT: *it-is to say* **you-are** flexible **in head-your** *very* **you-are competent**

li teqdri hakka testeʕmli ʕidat luḡat f nafs *le the conversation*, **tsemma** I think it is a

LT: **which you-can like-this you-use multiple languages in same** *conversation*, **it-means**

strength to be honest not as a weakness.'

FT: I think it is a brain agility. I read some articles stating that to be able to code switch you need to have brain agility which means your brain is flexible. You are so competent that you can use different languages in the same conversation. So, I think it is a strength, not a weakness, to be honest.   (Reem, interview)

Reem relates the ability to code switch to the flexibility of the speakers' cognition. A bilingual brain can control two different languages, using them separately while activating one code and deactivating the other (Bialystok, 2001, 2005; 2010). This ability makes bilingual speakers flexible using different languages in the same conversation, nonetheless, it makes them slower in recollecting words (Sullivan et al., 2018). Looking at CS from a psycholinguistic perspective is beyond the scope of the present research, nevertheless, a brief reference to the relation between the phenomenon of CS and cognition is a plus.

Other participants view CS as a funny and useful tool to express their thoughts and opinions

with different people as long as the listener can understand and follow the flow of the conversation. This implies the poetic function of CS (Apple and Myusken, 2006, Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Holmes, 2013). Reda says:

(113) '**ḥaja mliḥa**. It has been existing forever. **Lukan kul waḥed yeḥki luḡa taʕoo**

LT: thing good. It has been existing forever. **If each one he-speaks language his**

w mayeswitšiš lhadi, raḥ dir ʕarqala.'
LT: **and no-he-switches-not to-this, he-will make** hindrance.
FT: it is something good. It has been existing forever. However, if each one speaks only his first language and does not switch to another language, he will create barriers in communication. (Reda, interview)

Reda explains that it is useful since it keeps the communication going among different speech groups which allows them to share their cultures, beliefs, and opinions. He adds that lack of CS means failure of communication, and at the same time means limited knowledge and limited linguistic capacities. Reda believes that the practice of CS cannot affect standard Arabic because it is written and has many dictionaries, and most importantly it is preserved in the Holy Quran. Yet, he reports that the CAA is subject to change and possibly can vanish because it is not written and because it is originally composed of different languages. He thinks that CAA will continue this composition which will eventually lead to the loss of the very first basic language which is mainly Arabic. This opinion suggests the participant's awareness of the negative effects of CS on his first language. However, it seems that he is not worried about the standard language to be changed or lost unless the Quran did. This shows part of the religious identity of the informant who believes that the Quran has never changed and will never change.

Other participants commented on CS:

(114) 'CS is nowadays popular. **ḥaja la mafarra minha** (LT: thing no escape from-it. FT: **something obligatory**). I consider it positive because there is no harm in using both languages in the same conversation.' (Sarah, interview)

(115) I see it as a very normal linguistic phenomenon as long as it is unintentional. There is no problem with it. It is our nature, the same thing as using facial expressions or body language to convey a meaning. (Sami, interview)

Participants assert that CS is not a deliberate choice, but rather unintentional practice inherited in their multilingual communication. They also consider it a natural phenomenon that is

deeply established within their linguistic practices, that they cannot avoid. Furthermore, they believe that CS has evolved into an 'inescapable linguistic practice' because they have become accustomed to it as a means to express their thoughts and ideas effectively.

Based on the sum of self-reported attitudes, I conclude that CS is perceived as a form of linguistic capital, a powerful tool, and an effective strategy to gain and/ or attain pre-determined social objectives such as integrating to different social and linguistic communities, improving educational advancements, and professional careers.

6.2.3.2. Code Switching: A Threat to First Language.

In the previous subsection, I have examined the participants' positive attitudes towards the practice of CS. In the current subsection, I refer to the participants opposite views to the same sociolinguistic phenomenon. Unexpectedly, the same participants report to hold negative cognitive (opinions) attitudes towards the phenomenon of CS for different reasons. For example, Majdi explains:

(116) 'I think it is mutating the language... It is very important for us as Algerians to speak languages properly *c'est à dire* (LT: *it-is to say*. FT: which means) to speak a language from the beginning to the end…in one single language and when you want to mix you can do that if you feel more comfortable. But I strongly believe we need to speak each language separately. We need to have this ability without mixing languages... **kayen** *certains*

LT: **there-are** *certain*

compatriotes **li yehdrou** *que le français et là je ne change pas, je parle le*

LT: *compatriots who they-speak that the French and there I not change not, I speak the*

français de début jusqu'à la fin par ce que moi je n'aime pas changer trop les

LT: *French of beginning till-to the end through this that me I not-love not change a-lot the*

langues ça fait j'aime bien garder la même langue.'

LT: *languages this makes I-love good keep the same language.*

FT: when conversing with certain compatriots who speak French only, I use French from start to end without shifting to another language because I do not like to mix languages that much. So, I keep using the same language throughout the conversation.   (Majdi, interview)

Reem says with concern:

(117) '**hiya saḥ t'eṭer, kayen bezzaf kalimat twelli ma testeʕmlihomš li**

LT: **she true it-affects, there-are lots words it-becomes not you-use-them-not which homa men turaṯ taʕek, tsemma raki stebdeltihom, ʔna nšoufʔha mʕa lwaqt**

LT: they-are from heritage your, it-means you-are you-changed-them I see-it with time

it replaces your language **wel** identity **taʕek šwiya tetbeḥer.**'

LT: it replaces your language **and-the** identity **yours little disappear.**

FT: [CS] indeed influences the mother tongue. You will use less words, which are related to your culture, and replace them by other words. I believe [CS] will replace your language through time and you will lose your identity little by little.   (Reem, interview)

Participants Majdi and Reem explained that they are very worried about their first language to be changed and/ or lost because of using their dialect alongside other languages which may affect it through time. They report that, though they have no issue switching between languages, they prefer speaking each language separately. Majdi adds a specific detail when he declares that he does not *like* mixing between languages (affective attitude). This view, stated in the examples above, was expressed by the majority of the participants, which indicates their awareness about the effects CS can bring to their first language. Additionally, Zain states that the practice of CS is difficult because (118) 'it is costly on the brain'. Sometimes the listener cannot follow the speaker at the same speed moving from one language to another, which will lead to concentration and communication' thread loss. Thus, he avoids using more than one language in a sentence. He reports that he prefers to use inter-sentential CS with persons of the same linguistic background as him. Zain gave an example of how CS contributed to the replacement of Spanish by English and the replacement of Arabic by French. He says:

(119) 'Now if I start thinking about […] saying words in Spanish I find myself using words in English. When I was in Algeria, I had a similar problem but with French […] the more I became confident in French the least I like to speak in Arabic. I found myself using more and more French words and longer French propositions and sentences and especially when the person you are talking to is understanding.'   (Zain, interview)

Participant Zain explains how his proficiency and extensive use of one language diminishes the use of the previous language. He relates this to the audience in the sense that the code selection is much dependent on whom he is conversing with (6.3.1.1).

One participant reported an unexpected affective attitude towards mixing languages in one conversation. Noor says:

(120)'*À la base, ce n'est pas joli de tous*. **Nšoufʼha ḥaja** *negative* **bezzaf** *par ce que*

LT: *to the base, this not-is not nice of all.* **I-see-it thing** *negative* **lot** *by this that* **it-affects**

tʼʔatter ʕla *la langue maternelle de la personne*. **Bešwi šwi ywello ma yefḥmouš**

LT: **on** *the language maternal of the person.* **with-little little they-become not they-understand-not**

la langue **taʕhom w yensawha. Maši ḥaja li zedti biha**, *ça*

LT: *the language* **theirs and they-forget-it. Not thing which you-increased with-it,** *this*

fait **makaš sabab yҟellik testeʕmliha. Lʕarbiya** *et le français c'est tout*

 LT: *makes* **there-not reason it-lets-you you-use-it. The-Arabic** *and the French it-is all*

à fait compréhensive, mais **lʕarbiya w** *l'anglais, non.*'

LT: *to make comprehensive, but* **the-Arabic and** *the-English, no.*

FT: Basically, it is not nice at all. I consider it very negative because it affects the person's mother tongue. Little by little, they will not understand their language and they will forget it. It is not something that you were born with, so there is no reason to use it. I can understand the mixing between Arabic and French, but not English.   (Noor, Interview)

Noor conveys her cognitive unfavorable opinion about using more than one language in a conversation because, for her, the first language is already affected negatively. She expresses her intolerance towards CS, particularly between parents and children. She acknowledges the historical reasons which led to embedding French in Arabic, yet she sees no justification in incorporating English into Arabic. The negative impact of the French language on the Arabic language is deemed considerable, leaving no necessity for further impact from the English language. In this statement, Noor critiques speakers who deviate from expected language practices that are expected from Algerians in the UK. Such members can be categorized deviants from the Algerian speech community for not adhering to its prescribed social norms (Marques, et al., 1998).

This unfavorable attitude suggests the participant's willingness to maintain her first language away from the English effect. So far, I would argue that restricting and minimizing the practice of CS to other foreign languages may probably contribute to first language maintenance.

Other participants report that they are against the practice of CS in formal situations such as the workplace. Mira states:

(121) '**ʔna ḍid ṣaḥafiyin li yesteʕmloo kalimat bluҕa ʔokra. wellaw**

LT: **I against journalists who they-use words with-language other. They-become**

yqalqoni f *les chaines privés.*'

LT: **they-make-mad-me in** *the channels private.*

FT: I am against journalists who use some words in different languages other than Standard Arabic. I feel very annoyed when I hear them mix languages on private TV channels. (Mira, interview)

Mira, as a journalist, explains that she prefers sticking to one language at the workplace because she does not want new foreign words to be incorporated into the jargon of journalism, which is based only on Standard Arabic, for fear of Arabic change. However, she is totally fine with switching between CAA and any other language though she prefers using one language- one subject. Relatedly, although Racha assumes that CS is something good as long as is understandable among people with the same background. She states that she does not appreciate it that much. She avows that CS is a bad habit that leads to linguistic gaps; incomplete sentences; borrowing from an unintelligible language; interaction limitation, and first language loss. A similar result was found in Ennaji's (2005) work about CS among Moroccans where most participants attribute negative attitude to CS because of the harm it causes to both Arabic and French (shift, attrition, loss, and death).

Reasonably, other participants claim that CS does not affect them as first generation, but it will certainly influence the language use of the next generation. Sarah clearly says:
(122) '**manšoofš ʕandha taʔṭeer kima nqoloo** radicale. **Hiya** the negative effect
LT: **not-I-see-not it-has influence like we-say** radical. **She** the
taʕha (LT: hers) it will be maybe on the next generation…but me
omazalni nqool w neʕref belli lkuzina hiya <u>**lmatbak,**</u> **tsemma neʕrefhom…**
LT: **yet-I I-say and I-know that the-kitchen she the-<u>kitchen</u>, it-means** I-know-them …
Tsemma dok my kid **yesemʕoo tqool ḡir lkuzina berk**, they will not know what
LT: it-means now my kid they-hear you-say just **the-kitchen only**, they will not know what
<u>**lmatbak**</u> means.'
LT: **the-<u>kitchen</u>** means.

FT: I don't see that [CS] will change my first language radically. But rather its negative effect will be on the next generation. I still know that 'lkuzina' is '<u>lmatbak</u>' (kitchen)…If my kid hears me saying 'lkuzina' only, they will not know what '<u>lmatbak</u>' means. (Sarah, interview)

Participant Sarah maintains that she is not worried about losing her first language (language

200

attrition) because she is confident about her proficiency in the Arabic language. However, she anticipates that CS may affect transmitting the HL to her children who are second generation Algerians. She gave an example of the French borrowed word 'cuisine' which is incorporated in and became part of CAA '**kuzina**', instead of '**<u>lmatbak</u>**' (MSA). She explains that if she continues using such borrowed words and switching from Arabic to other codes, she may fail to teach her children Arabic properly. Therefore, this may result in failure in maintaining the first language.

In brief, depending on the context and effects on their HL, informants report to have different views about CS as linguistic behaviour. They generally consider it good practice of languages which indexes their linguistic capital -multiple linguistic proficiencies and identities-. The positive attitude towards CS may reflect participants' view that CS is a way through which they balance between different cultures and identities, referring to their acceptance, integration, convergence, gaining social status in the dominant culture while maintaining ties with their heritage culture. This aligns with the accommodation theory (Giles & Powesland, 1975; 1991), which posits that individuals adjust their linguistic behavior to conform to their interlocutors to demonstrate agreement, force a sense of belonging, to establish an effective conversation, and to initiate and maintain a positive personal and social identity (Gallois et al., 2005).

Conversely, the same participants view CS negatively when it is perceived detrimental to their first language. This may be explained by participants' willingness of separation (Berry, 1997) or divergence (Giles & Powesland, 1975; 1991) from the host community when the latter threatens their HL and culture. This goes with the concepts of linguistic purism and identity preservation tackled in Gumperz (1982), where challenging the host culture's linguistic influence stands as a means of maintaining a separate cultural and linguistic identity.

Conclusion

In the above section (7.2), I have presented the participants' attitudes towards (a) their linguistic repertoire, (b) multilingualism, and (c) CS. Some are self-reported, and others are expressed indirectly. The difference in views makes the findings more interesting. Participants report heterogenous cognitive and affective attitudes which vary from positive, neutral, negative, unstated and unexpressed opinions. For instance, Arabic and Tamazight, being the ethnic and first language respectively, are highly valued. The same thing for English, which is viewed positively given that it is the language of the host country. However, French receives different attitudes depending on the participants' personal, communicative, and academic

needs, and also based on some historical factors. Interestingly, in combination with Arabic, some participants regard speaking and learning French as a must to keep family connections and develop personal careers. Others, however, view it negatively for historical, colonial reasons.

Considering multilingualism, informants report that it refers to linguistic wealth and that, being multilingual speakers, is beneficial at various levels. Just as importantly, mixing between languages is generally accepted among most of the informants. However, using other languages alongside with CAA is considered as a linguistic threat which leads to language shift, attrition, and probably language loss and death over time. Interestingly, participants show awareness that the H variety of Arabic is far from being affected by the practice of CS because it is already reserved in the Holy Quran. Obviously, the comments appreciating CS are cognitive attitudes, whereas those disfavouring it are affective attitudes which express how participants feel about the possible results of the extensive use of CS, which 'language loss and death' may be major negative effects. These attitudes are explained by participants' ideologies, and judgments of appropriateness of the languages.

Participants' attitudes towards each language are associated with the construction and the performance of different identities. For instance, although some participants do not speak Tamazight, they view it positively because it relates them to their Berber ethnic identity. The same thing applies to English which is the participants' passport to integrate into English society and grant them social membership. This section 7.2 answers the third research question and shows its linkage to the second research question which is about identity and language choice.

6.3.First Language Maintenance: Strategies at Family Level

The extensive practice of and the negative attitudes towards CS raise the participants' concerns about their first language shift or loss throughout time. The fear of losing their HL alongside their identity is translated into strategies and policies to maintain the language and the associated identities. Throughout data analysis, I could not disregard the theme of 'language maintenance' for its relevance to the whole research. The concept of language maintenance is mentioned previously in different sections, which indicates that it is related to various concepts in this research, such as attitudes and identity. I adopt the framework of Family Language Policy to highlight the main plans set by the participants to maintain the first language mainly, which is Arabic among adult speakers in a foreign country. Then, I list the strategies to transmit and maintain the HL among the participants' children and how

participants' attitudes and identity influence this implementation. By the end, I briefly highlight the difficulties faced by the participants implementing these strategies among their children. Participants hold both behavioural intentions and actions to preserve their HL and identity. The behavioural intentions cover their plans and strategies, whereas the implementation of these strategies is the actual behaviour.

All participants express their concerns about the HL change or loss because of the various linguistic behaviours such as borrowing, and CS. Reda suggests:

(123)' you need to practice. You need to read […] to refresh your memory. **Neqra mnin ḏak**

LT: you need to practice. You need to read […] to refresh your memory. **I-read from that**

des articles en arabe **w** *biensur* **nehder'ha daymen.'**

LT: *the articles in Arabic* **and** *of-course* **I-speak-it always.**

FT: I speak Arabic most of the time and sometimes I read articles in Arabic.

Reda and some other participants emphasise that the Arabic language can only be maintained through practice which involves reading and writing Arabic literature, listening, and watching Arabic TV shows. This practice also includes communication with Algerian peers both in the UK and back home.

Turning now to plans implemented by the participants to transmit and maintain the HL among their children who are second generation. All respondents report that using HL at home is the basic block to transmit that language to the next generation. One participant gave an example of her extensive use of Arabic idioms, proverbs, and stories at home. Reem explains:

(124) 'wladi lukan nʕellemhom bhadi tariqa a big chunk of vocabulary **mayewṣelhomš,**

LT: children-my if I-teach-them in-this way a big chunk of vocabulary **not-arrives-them**

donc **ʔna nseyyi kifeeš neḥkilhom ḥkayat zman, nehder bezzaf bel ʔmṯal wel ḥikam fe**

LT: so I I-try how I-tell-them stories era, I-speak lot in-the examples and wisdoms at

ddar beš yqoli wlidi weš maʕnaha beš yehfedo kater ḥakka

LT: home so-that he-say-me what means-she so-that he-memorises because like-this

ʕelmouna jeddati beš yebqa turaṯ'

LT: they-taught-us grandmothers-our so-that he-stays tradition.

FT: if I teach my kids through mixing languages, they will miss a big chunk of vocabulary.

Thus, I try to use a lot of stories, proverbs, and idioms at home. They ask me each time what does it mean? I believe this way helps them learn the language better and maintain the culture. (Reem, interview)

The participant thinks that the use of idioms and proverbs helps her hit two targets with one stone: (a) she helps her children learn many new words and grasp their meaning form the context they are used in, and (b) through transmitting the language, she transmits the culture as well. Reem's example shows how culture is encoded in language (Kramsch, 2014) and how language is a carrier of culture (Wei, 2005: 56; Tong and Cheung, 2001; Ennaji, 2005; Zhong, 2022) (see 5.4.4)

Two participants share the same experience of dedicating one 'Special day for learning and speaking Fus'ha (MSA)'. Hala says:

(125) 'yawm eljomoʕa ʕarabiya fuṣ'ḥa zaʕma nhar gaʕ wana nehderha beš yetʕelmo

LT: **a-day Friday Arabic standard example day all and-I –speak-it so they-learn-it**

FT: I devote Fridays to practicing Standard Arabic. We exclusively speak Arabic throughout the day. (Hala, interview)

Hala and Reem report to have one day per week to speak MSA only both at home and outside home. They believe that this practice enhances vocabulary learning and makes children understand more about the value of the Arabic language. This policy shows the ideology and the positive attitude adopted by parents to foster the use of HL in diaspora. Both participants believe that this strategy helps their children practice what they are learning in real life. Their selection of Friday, which is a Holy day for Muslims, to learn and practice Standard Arabic is not random, but intentional which indicates the extent to which the participants wish to construct an Arabic Islamic identity and a favourable attitude towards Arabic in their children.

An important plan claimed by Noor, whose family is francophone, is the 'one parent one language'. She says:

(126) '**Enta tehder mʕa bentna bel ʕarbiya w** *surtout* **ma tḵelletš**

LT: you you-speak with daughter-our in-the Arabic and *especially* **not you-mix-not**

langliziya…W ʔna nehder mʕaha ḡir *en français.* **Kunt** *très stricte* **f had lḥaja.'**

LT: English… **and I I-speak with-her only** in French. **I-was** *very strict* **in this thing**.

FT: [I told my partner]: 'you speak Arabic with our daughter without shifting to English, and I speak only French with her. I was very strict concerning this issue'.

Noor adopts the policy of transmitting one language through one parent, and the second language through the other parent. The participant believes that parents' sticking to one language only paves the way to the child to be exposed to two different languages at an early age, which will help him/her acquire two native languages. She insisted on the point of doing this without mixing any other languages especially English because the latter will be learnt principally at nursery or at school. This strategy is found in many works such as Dőpke (1992); De Houwer (2009b); and Baker (2014) adopted by bilingual parents to raise their children bilingually. Nonetheless, Romaine (1995) claims that this approach is not guaranteed because of the surrounding speech community which may affect the code selection of the children. In the current example, though Noor's children acquire both Arabic and French at an early age, they might shift to use English as it is the language of the dominant speech community.

Sending children to Arabic and Islamic schools is another important strategy that participants report to adopt to attain two targets in one go: learning the Arabic language and learning Islamic rules at the same time. Participant Reda informs:

(127) '**melli ykoonoo sḡar w houoma yeqraw f madrasa ʕarabiya**.'
LT: **since they-are small a they they-study in school Arabic.**
FT: 'they study at an Arabic school from an early age'.

Like other participants, Reda trusts that sending his children to Arabic Islamic school helps them learn the language and the Islamic values together. Islamic institutions known as 'Madrassa' or 'Mosque school', which offer 'Quranic studies and Islamic values' (Eid, 2018) provide an appropriate environment and opportunities for children to be involved in Muslim communities and offers Arabic and Muslim identity teaching missing from the mainstream schools (Hall et al., 2002). Other respondents state that they subscribe to online teaching for their children to learn MSA and Quran especially during the spread of the pandemic of Corona virus. Worth noticing that participants emphasis the age of exposure to different languages. They believe that children should be exposed to the target language before the age of school which is usually 5 to 6 years. However, the factor of age alone is not enough to learn a language appropriately. Thus, it should be accompanied by the quantity of the input which differs from one group age to another.

A similar strategy to the previous one, is the blind revision of Quran to learn the Arabic

language. Fella states:

(128) 'we call this blindly reviewing or blind revision. I used to have it when I was a child. So, I am planning to do the same for him. **Nebdaleh bel Qur'an (LT: I-start -him in-the Quran.** FT: I will start teaching him Quran). He will blindly learn Arabic without knowing that this is Arabic, or this is Quran. By the age of five or six he will realise that he learned too much good Arabic **lihia l Quran** (LT: **which-she the Quran**. FT: which is the language of Quran).'   (Fella, interview)

Participant Fella shares a positive attitude towards her experience of memorising big Chapters of Quran when she was a child. She explains that blind revision or review is a way of learning Arabic through memorising Quran without knowing which one is Arabic, and which one is Quran. This strategy helps the child memorise a big bunch of Arabic and Quran at an early age with less focus on the meaning. The participant intelligently combined both the factor of age and the quantity of the input to make her child a competent native Arabic speaker.

Another plan to enhance the HL learning among children, is the habit of watching Islamic and Arabic cartoons. Hala reports:

(129) 'I am also planning **inša'Allah ki ywelli ʕomro ṯlaṯ snin** […] he should

LT: I am also planning **if-wills-Allah when he-becomes age-his three years** […] he should watch […] **rosoom** in Arabic.'

LT: watch […] **drawings** in Arabic.

FT: I am also planning, if Allah wills, when he turns three years, he should watch Arabic cartoons.

The purpose of this plan is to allow the child to receive more input in different contexts through cartoons which will help him grasp more words. Last but not least, many participants report that spending some time in Algeria is crucial to practice the language and to keep connection with relatives over there. Reda informs:

(130) '**neddihom yʕeešo f dzayer** *au moins* **ʕamayn.** *La plus part* **drari li**

LT: I-take-them they-live in Algeria *at less* **two-years.** *The plus part* **children which**

nejḥoo f luḡa li dawhom waldihom ʕašoo f dzayer.'

LT: they-succeed in language they they-took-them parents-their they-lived in Algeria.

FT: I will take my kids to live in Algeria at least two years. Most children who are competent

in Arabic are those who lived in Algeria for a period of time.

It seems that the informant is influenced and motivated by other Algerians' successful experiences whose frequent visits to Algeria helped their children to pick up the language. This is consistent with Eid (2018) who found that one of the participants' main purposes of visiting Lebanon is to maintain the language among both adults and children. I believe that putting the children in authentic social interactions helps them get socialised into both the Arabic language and the Algerian culture. This strategy also suggests the national and cultural attachment of the participant which he wishes to transfer to his children.

It is worthy to highlight that participants are not worried about the attrition of their first language because they are confident and proficient enough in Arabic. Nevertheless, their primary concern lies in ensuring the transmission of their HL to the next generation, particularly since this language is spoken by a minority community compared to the English mainstream speech community.

Given the fact that participants' HL is subordinated to the host community, they favor CS and make efforts to preserve their HL. These behaviors are considered as a way of resistance (Reicher, 2004) against the host community. Put more clearly, participants resist assimilation by preserving their linguistic identity through code-switching or deliberate use of their HL. Throughout analysing the strategies advocated by the participants to transmit and maintain their HL, it becomes clearer the extent to which participants are attached to their country of origin including language, identity, and religion. This also shows their awareness of the importance of language maintenance and transmission to the next generation which, in turn, indexes their positive attitudes towards their HL.

6.3.1. Challenges to Language Maintenance

There seems to be a conflict between participants as parents and their children when it comes to implementing language policies. Some participants report that sometimes even though they address their children with Arabic, they receive a reply in English with little CS to Arabic (the case of Reem with her children). Thus, the language policy set to speak only Arabic at home is challenged and resisted. Reem states:

(131) 'wlidi sḡir yeḥder bel *anglais*, **yefhem ʕarbiya beṣṣaḥ yehderlek**

LT: child-my small he-speaks in-the English, he-understands Arabic but he-speaks-you

anglais **wana mnin ḏak nensa rouhi nehderlou bel** *anglais*.'

LT: *English* **and-I from there I-forget myself I-speak-him in-the** *English.*

FT: 'because my little child speaks in English though he understands Arabic and sometimes I forget myself and talk to him in English'. In this extract, Reem explains that though Arabic is planned to be the dominant language at home, her child challenges this policy through switching to English. Consequently, she goes on reporting, she unconsciously surrenders to the use of English as well to accommodate her child's communicative needs and to keep the flow of the conversation. However, participants state, they continue repeatedly reminding their children with this policy to develop their proficiency and enhance the preservation of the language. This is similar to what Hua (2008) found among Chinese immigrant parents in the UK and their second-generation children who challenge the socio-cultural values through their language choice (English over Chinese).

Another factor that hinders the participants from embodying their strategies to maintain their HL is the dominant English speech community which surrounds their children and affects their language choice. Zain states:

(132) I used to push them to learn Arabic and they used to speak Arabic very well when they were younger because we have a rule in the house which is 'you are not allowed to speak English. So, when we get to the house, we all speak Algerian Arabic. But when they grow older, and they start going to college or high school hmmm things start to change which means the rule can't be forced anymore.   (Zain, interview)

The participant explains that the rule he previously set to speak only Algerian Arabic is not obeyed anymore, particularly when his children started their high school and college. Principally, the children preferred the dominant language to integrate to the English society and stepped away from using CAA. Other participants report the same case for their children who seem to adopt their peers' English language which is the dominant over the language spoken at home, Arabic. This finding is in line with the Group Socialization Theory (Harris, 1995) which emphasises that children are in favour of their peers' language acquired outside home over their parents' language used at home (cited in Schwarts, 2008). Explaining the above theory is beyond the context of the research.

Majdi mentions another factor which makes the transmission of Arabic difficult. He sadly reports:

(133) '*malheureusement* **ma šeddooš lʕarbiya, neddihom f** *l'ecole arabe* **madrassa**

LT: *Unfortunately*, **not they-catch Arabic, I-take-them in** the-school Arabic **school**

ʕarabiya b sebt beṣṣaḥ *puisque* **yemmahom** *anglaise donc* **nehdero f ddar** *en*

208

LT: **Arabic in Saturday but** *since* **mother-their** English *so* **we-speak in home** in *angalis ...* they have been in the Arabic school for three years now. They are not doing

LT: English… they have been in the Arabic school for three years now. They are not well but it is better than nothing **beşşaḥ ʔna tanik** *la faute* **taʕi manoqʕodš mʕahom**

LT: well but it is better than nothing **but I also** *the mistake* **my not-I-stay-not with-them feddar** *c'est difficile.'*

LT: **in-home** *this-is difficult.*

FT: unfortunately, my kids did not learn Arabic that much though they study at an Arabic school each Saturday. The reason is because their mother is English, so we speak only English at home… they have been in the Arabic school for three years now. They are not doing well but it is better than nothing. It is also my fault because I do not spend much time teaching them at home. It is difficult.   (Majdi, interview)

Participant Majdi states that because his partner is an English speaker, which results in speaking English only at home, the transmission and the maintenance of the HL is difficult and slow for his children. He adds, even sending them to Saturday Arabic school does not help them learn the language because they study few hours only compared to English which they speak all the time. He blames himself for not being able to teach them and practice Arabic with them at home.

The claim that a good educational level in the first language helps ethno-linguistic minorities to maintain their first language (Lambert and Taylor 1996; Allard and Landry 1992) is not always applicable. Though the participants are first generation settlers who have completed their university degrees in Algeria or England, which implies their good educational level in their HL, few of them (Majdi, Noor, Zain) admit their failure in transmitting and maintaining the HL to their children who are second generation. This is similar to the findings of Doucet (1991), who found that the higher the educational level of the respondents was, the more the shift from the first language use.

It is worth mentioning that though the British government discourse highlights the importance of multilingualism (Martin, 2007), no support is offered to maintain the first language of participants (Arabic language). Thus, parents send their children to supplementary schools to learn their first language alongside religious studies, in addition to other languages most notably French and Spanish. These schools include official Arabic schools, mosques, and online schools.

Surprisingly, Berber respondents did not refer to any plans to transmit Tamazight to their children. Despite their pride in their Berber ethnic and cultural identity, they do not consider Tamazight as a priority because they basically do not speak the language. Instead, they only focused on maintaining the language they grew up speaking, which is Arabic. Focusing only on Arabic transmission and maintenance indicates the extent to which participants wish to consolidate their social identity through seeking and securing acceptance as in-group members of the Algerian Arabic speech community in diaspora.

To sum up, the participants reveal their awareness that the maintenance of language, identity, religion, and culture is put on their shoulders. Results show that participants exercise a kind of control on children's language (Spolsky, 2007) to create a linguistic environment suitable for HL transmission and maintenance. This control is embodied in various plans for instance using first language at home or at least in some contexts inside home (mealtime, ceremonies, etc.), spending time in the home country, reading in first language (bed stories, novels, social media), sending children to schools to learn first language, doing some activities in first language, and practicing religion and rituals using first language. These efforts are often accompanied by the intention of identity and culture transmission through language. This section ends up underlining some challenges the participants report to face when trying to set a language policy at home such as children's refusal to stick to one language at home, and English being the dominant spoken language in the UK.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed participants' views and attitudes towards the practice of CS. It has been argued that participants' viewpoints regarding multilingualism and CS fluctuate from unfavorable to favorable based upon the potential threat these language practices pose to their first language. Moreover, it has argued that attitudes towards each language are influenced by whether that language is a first language or a HL, the historical reasons (colonialism), and the worldwide importance attributed to a given language.

The first section has discussed the participants' self-reported attitudes towards their language use. Participants state both explicitly and implicitly various views concerning multilingualism, their linguistic repertoires, and CS. Focusing on the latter linguistic behaviour, on one hand, they report to regard CS positively because it facilitates communication and allows their multilingual competencies to be put into practice. On the other hand, they report to view it negatively because it jeopardises their first language which may lead to its shift and loss.

The chapter has ended with some strategies the participants report to adopt to transmit and maintain the HL among both adults and children, such as sending their children to Arabic and Islamic schools, setting Arabic as the home dominant language, and spending some time back home to practice the language. The last section also included the reported challenges faced by participants while implementing the above strategies.

All through chapter five and six, I made comparison with and reference to findings in chapter four (practice vs opinions). I have concluded that participants' self-reported negative cognitive and affective attitudes towards their linguistic repertoire and towards CS (chapter 6) do not affect their linguistic behaviour (chapter 5). Also, I found that positive attitudes towards Arabic contribute to maintaining it as a HL in diaspora through ongoing linguistic practices in different social contexts.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1.Introduction

This sociolinguistic study aimed to respond to the need to investigate language use, particularly CS, among Arabic and Algerian speech communities in the UK and diaspora. CS is one salient linguistic outcome of language contact that received various explanations and attitudes (Offiong, 2005). This sociolinguistic activity, which refers to the alternation between languages within or beyond sentence boundaries (Gumperz, 1982; Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 7; Woolard, 2004; Poplack, 2004; Mahootian 2006; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; 2006: 239; Boztepe, 2010; Kharkhurin and Wei, 2014: 153), forms the foundation of this thesis. The focus of research was put on investigating the various motivations triggering CS among twelve multilingual Algerians in the United Kingdom. It explores how CS serves to express identity and considers participants' attitudes towards their languages and towards CS practice as well.

This research argues that the practice of CS is influenced by a set of linguistic attitudes and social motivations, among which speakers' desire to express and negotiate their identity/ies is the salient one. Both the use of one language and the combination of two or more languages often reflect one or more facets of the participants' identity. For instance, data showed that switching to Tamazight refers to expressing ethnic identity, whereas a shift from colloquial Arabic to French is associated with expressing social status and prestige among some participants. The research also argues that language choice does not always appear to align with the expressed attitudes as the decision to select or to shift from one language to another is intricately tied to the social context of the conversation. For example, participant Reem views French negatively, however, when I interviewed her, she often embeds French words and phrases into Arabic due to the social context of the interview. Embedding switches from foreign languages, namely English, French, and Spanish into Arabic was the case for most participants because of the sociolinguistic setting of the interview which was similar to an everyday conversation among multilingual Algerians in the UK.

Examining the intricate interplay between CS motivations, identity, and linguistic attitudes is important as it offers insights and understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics of a group of Algerian diaspora in the UK. It contributes to understanding how individuals utilise their linguistic repertoires in different contexts to fulfill various communicative needs. Also, this thesis enhances the comprehension of the role of CS in raising a sense of social integration to the Algerian speech community in the UK through highlighting the association of various

212

languages, mainly Arabic, to different social identities, among which national and religious identities are the salient ones. Lastly, this thesis emphasises the effectiveness of language attitudes and ideologies in implementing strategies for HL maintenance among the participants.

In examining CS, I drew on the theoretical concepts of motivations, language attitudes, identity, and language maintenance. Motivations for CS refer to any factor triggering CS (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 2013) such as expressing solidarity, conveying a message, quoting, or expressing identity. The latter, which means a constructed image of self and others (Tajfel and Turner, 2004, Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) was found to be the main motive for CS among multilingual Algerians in the UK. On the other hand, attitudes, the social common evaluative beliefs (Garrett *et al*., 2010), were found to be less effective in language use and choice among the participants. However, they are useful in implementing plans and strategies to use and preserve participants' HL (Pauwels, 2004) amidst other languages conflicting over linguistic dominance.

The current research has adopted a combination of three theoretical frameworks which contribute to explaining the social motivations behind participants' CS in a multilingual context. The first theoretical framework adopted to analyse data is the semantic approach proposed by Gumperz (1972; 1982) which distinguishes between two types of CS: situational switching and conversational switching. Inspired by this dichotomy, I have categorised motivations for CS into context-related (situational) factors and message-related (conversational) factors (chapter five).

The second framework of CS is the Markedness Model (MM) which maintains that speakers switch from unmarked code to a marked code (or vice versa) to establish, maintain or negotiate the Rights and Obligations set between them and their conversational partners. This is done either to achieve efficient successful communication and/ or to express and negotiate various social identities (Myers Scotton, 1993a). The third theoretical framework is Communication Accommodation Theory which explains how speakers select their languages either to diverge from or converge with their conversational peers. The collaboration of the three above theories has provided exhaustive and comprehensive understanding of the practice of CS among multilingual Algerians in the UK. Last but not least, this research has also adopted the framework of Family Language Policy (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013) to analyse strategies of HL maintenance among the participants.

In this study, I have chosen a qualitative approach to collect data about language use and CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK. Due to four main limitations, I have excluded participants' observation and audio-recorded conversations as detailed in section 8.4. Consequently, the research exclusively relied on semi-structured interviews which have been used in two different ways, namely (a) data obtained from the real-world practice of CS, which were analysed based on my perspectives and interpretations and (b) data obtained from participants' opinions and perspectives about their practice of CS. This data (b) was analysed from the participants' perspectives, specifically how they construct reality in their world, relying mainly on reflexive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Below, I summarise the main findings of the thesis together with providing answers to the three research questions raised in this thesis's introduction (1.2).

Overall, this chapter provides thorough answers to the research questions raised at the beginning of this thesis. It also discusses the study's limitations (8.3) and presents the implications of the findings (8.4), and recommendations for future research (8.5).

7.2. Main Findings: Answering Research Questions

The findings of the current research were discussed in three data chapters. Chapter four examines the participants' actual practice of CS in a real-life situation, in this case, an interview. Chapter five and six were devoted to analysing and examining the participants' self-reported opinions and attitudes regarding their language use and their practice of CS. In both chapter four and five, I have discussed the linguistic background of the participants, contexts of language use and code choice, and the main motivations for CS. Throughout the data analysis, I have referred to similarities and differences between the findings in chapter four and those in chapters five and six and concluded that the self-reported motivations for CS, which are interlocutors' accommodation, message communication, and identity expression, are the same with those inferred from the actual practice. However, participants' reported attitudes towards CS contradict their actual language practice. To provide a more detailed explanation, despite participants attributing negative effects for the consistent practice of CS, they persist in engaging in this linguistic behaviour in various ways and contexts resulting in a clear contradiction between their opinions and their actual language use.

This section (8.2) provides answers to each research question based on the findings of the research. It starts with exploring the motivations for CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK, then outlining the relation between CS and identity, and, finally, ending with the

discussion of participants' language attitudes respectively. As such, the answers provide a picture of the relationships between CS, motivations, identity, and language attitudes in a diasporic Algerian multilingual context.

7.2.1. RQ1: What are the Various Patterns of Code Switching among Multilingual Algerians Living in the UK? What are their Apparent and Self-reported Motivations for Code Switching?

The answer to this question was explored through analysing both the practice of CS in the interviews (sections 5.2 and 5.3) and the self-reported claims about language use and CS (sections 6.2. and 6.3).

The linguistic repertoire of multilingual Algerians living in the UK is found to be rich and variant in the sense that most of them use three to four languages in daily conversations. Their use of languages varies depending on the context of the conversation. 'Outside home domain', particularly in formal contexts such as workplace, university, administrative settings, and occasionally in less formal contexts like parks, playgroups, hospitals, and supermarkets, English stands out as the most often used code. Within 'inside home domain', both varieties of Arabic (High Arabic and Low Arabic) are commonly used among siblings and other members of the family in the UK and back home. Alongside with Arabic, French is frequently incorporated either in form of switching (part of the embedded language) or borrowing (part of the unmarked language). Tamazight, the ethnic language of Algerian Berbers, is the least used due to the limited linguistic knowledge of the participants. Yet, some basic words are occasionally referred to in specific contexts. Based on the participants' reported accounts and their actual use of languages, CS is identified as a prominent linguistic practice observed consistently throughout the interviews. This leads to the question of why participants frequently shift between languages within the same utterance or conversation, with the forthcoming answer provided in the subsequent paragraph.

In line with Myers Scotton (1993b; 2000), the participants' main motivation to select a variety over another one is to '*optimise*' which means increasing rewards and decrease costs. The findings indicated 'increasing rewards' is embodied in three core motivational factors which are interlocutor's code choice accommodation, message communication, and social identity expression. 'Decreasing costs' refers to using fewer words and avoiding any pitfalls that prevent '*optimisation*' from taking place, such as misunderstanding and spending time and effort without achieving effective interaction. The results below also came in

correspondence with the works of Gumperz (1982), Holmes (2001; 2013), and Bhatia and Ritchie (2004; 2013) as explained below.

7.2.1.1.Accommodation of the Interlocutors' Code Choice

Results showed that participants engage in CS considering the linguistic preferences of their conversational partners. This is called code choice accommodation. Converging with or diverging from the listener's selected language (see Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 1991), alongside identifying which language is marked and which one is unmarked (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 1998) is a salient point to be discussed here. Four categories of CS are explored to show how participants accommodate to the language choices of their audience with reference to the social norms within the social context of the conversation. These categories are CS as an unmarked choice, CS as sequential unmarked choice, CS as a marked choice, and CS as an exploratory choice.

The first two categories namely, CS as an unmarked choice, CS as sequential unmarked choice, are merged explaining that CS among participants is unmarked because it is expected by the other interlocutors based on the shared RO set, i.e., social norms of the Algerian speech community in the UK. Participants often use the same pattern of CS as selected by the other interlocutor as a way of convergence. CS is also unmarked when it takes place in line with a previous successful conversation- in this case, it is called sequential unmarked choice-. Participants' accommodation to the code chosen by their interlocutors goes beyond the choice of language, encompassing both the lexical and phonological levels aiming at constructing and maintaining social relationships, giving positive face, and gaining acceptance (Gallois et al., 2005).

The third category is CS as a marked choice. The selection of a marked code against the unmarked code is a negotiation of the speaker's identity, and his/ her relationship to other participants. It also shows that the speaker is involved in reestablishing the RO set within the new social context. A marked CS is sometimes initiated by a change in one or more of the situational factors such as the speakers, the topic, or the setting (Myers Scotton, 1993b). The findings showed that marked switching is often used for the following purposes: to diverge from the selected code as a way of disapproval (Amir, Zain), to exclude participants from the conversation (Reem, Racha), and to increase social distance and formality (Sami, Mira, Sarah).

Results revealed that CS as an exploratory choice serves both convergence and divergence to the other interlocutor's code choice. In this scenario, the speaker employs CS to investigate which language would be most effective for ensuring a successful conversation, or what is in Myers Scotton's words 'increasing rewards or 'optimisation', which refers to an effective communication where there is mutual understanding of the discussed topic. Exploratory CS is useful when the RO set is not shared among the conversational partners, who are uncertain about the language the other speaker intends to use. The speaker tries different languages until he/ she selects a code that can be labeled the 'best choice' (Myers Scotton, 1993b) and that meets the listener's expectations, and subsequently, this code remains unmarked throughout the remainder of the conversation, if wanted. This category of switching is found in all the interviews conducted with the participants. For instance, in example 17, I opt for a mixture between CAA and French (17a) to explore which code is mostly preferable for the conversation considering the background of the interviewee and supposing that he will accommodate with the selected code. Nevertheless, this trial has failed because the interviewee used English only (17b) as a marked choice which implies the negotiation of a new marked RO set. This code choice indicated that the participant may prefer to have a formal conversation with me. In this context, English is highly marked to the extent that I used the same code (17c) as a way of approval and to keep the relationship and the atmosphere the participant wishes to be in force. In this example, English is the 'best choice' because it meets the listener's expectations and thus becomes unmarked in the rest of the conversation.

In all categories of CS, participants decide about the markedness of codes (which code is marked and which one is unmarked) based on the shared understanding of the social meanings (RO set) of the used codes to construct, negotiate, and maintain their social roles, for example being a parent, a husband, a teacher, a lawyer, etc. Participants also leverage their rationality and markedness evaluator as they make choices about which codes to use, drawing from their prior social experiences with language within their speech community. However, they sometimes fail to meet the listener's expectation (as in example 17) through selecting a marked code driven by a motivation that they employ to influence their audience. Alternatively, in case speakers adhere to a code expected by the listener and opt for an unmarked code, it is referred to as 'optimis [ation]' (Myers Scotton, 1993a) which aims at reducing costs by using fewer words to convey referential meanings, while maximizing benefits by preventing communication breakdowns (Myers Scotton, 1993a; 1993b).

Throughout most of the interviews, not only CS between Arabic, French, and English was unmarked, but also opting for a monolingual mode was marked. Both the interviewees and I accommodate each other's code choice based on the shared RO set. The purpose of code accommodation was to ensure effective communication through mutual understanding of the topic under discussion.

Both the opinions of the participants and their actual language use revealed that 'accommodation of interlocutors' code choice' as a motive for CS encompasses other sub-motives as are detailed next. Unlike a few participants who switch from their first language to a foreign language to express positive feelings (ex*tract 64*), all participants describe and express their negative feelings through switching to their first language, Arabic. The same code selection applies to express solidarity, levels of formality, or to exclude other interlocutors from participants' private conversations, mainly English or French speakers.

Following Gumperz (1982), these factors can be termed 'situational motivations' because the change in the languages is enhanced by the change of the situational factors such as the interlocutors and the topic. Furthermore, I argued that these factors are external factors which are outside the control of the speaker given that the audience also contributes to deciding which languages to be used and which topics to be discussed.

7.2.1.2.Message Communication

Findings also demonstrated how transmission of the message to other interlocutors serves as a motivating factor in shifting between languages. Unlike situational, or context-related switching, message communication involves no change in situational factors, but more emphasis is put on the conversation to enrich communication (Blom and Gumperz, 1982; 2000: 127; Auer, 1984: 4; Holmes, 2001; 2013). I argued that message-related switching or conversational switching has a pragmatic function to convey meaning that goes beyond the literal meaning of the utterance which helps interpret the speakers' intentions.

Other related message motivations practiced (5.3) and reported (6.3) by the participants were self-expression, reiteration, rhetorical skills performance (linguistic show off), quotation, lexical gaps filling, and the no reason factor which can be any factor of the above- mentioned ones. For instance, participants often switch for reiteration, which involved translation, reformulation, and explanation, and which were meant to emphasise the meaning of the message. They believe that using a different language to say the same thing may help transmit the message appropriately than using one language only. Switching languages for

quoting was meant to add credibility to the message being transmitted and to bring the listener closer to the original language in which the message was produced. Results also illustrated that being a multilingual speaker leads to experiencing 'linguistic gaps' which often drives speakers to switch to another language to compensate for this linguistic deficiency or momentary memory loss.

Once again, drawing from Gumperz's work (1982), I would label these factors 'conversational motivations' as they are meant to put more emphasis on the meaning communicated in the conversation. Contrary to the previous CS motivations, I contended that 'message communication' as a motivation for CS is an internal factor wherein the speaker controls the message production and transmission to his/ her audience.

The third factor is explored as an answer to the second research question in the following section.

7.2.2. RQ2: How Can Code Switching be a Means to Negotiate and Express Identity/ies among Multilingual Algerians Living in the UK?

This question explores the third motivational factor of CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK which is 'identity expression'. Based on the data, I would argue that participants' CS is a performative linguistic behaviour which indicates multiple socio-cultural identities such as national, religious, and ethnic identity. Furthermore, following Myers Scotton (1993; 1993b; 1993c), I would argue that participants' construction and negotiation of identity is also one form of the rewards and benefits resulted from their selection of the best code which leads to effective communication.

Results suggest that participants switch to another language to express various social identities (Myers Scotton, 1993a). Engaging in CS means establishing a new set of norms (Rights and Obligations set) which redefines and negotiates the speakers' social roles, hence, the negotiation of identities between the speaker and the listener (Myers-Scotton, 2000). For instance, participants' shift from Tamazight to MSA and then to English or French indexes the shift from ethnic identity to religious identity, and then to multilingual Algerian identity respectively.

Both in actual practice and self-reported answers, CS is found to be used as a means through which participants identify themselves with certain groups, such as Arabs, Berbers, Muslims, Algerians, etc. Since language and identity are interconnected, the switch to a different

language also meant the switch to a different identity, for instance ethnic identity, national identity, and religious identity (Gumperz, 1982; Myers Scotton, 1993; Ochs, 1992; Bailey, 2002; Blommaert and Backus, 2013).

Throughout the analysis, findings showed that one most salient identity shared among the participants is the multilingual Algerian identity where they show different linguistic backgrounds through performing switching CS back and forth. Multilingual Algerian identity is found to be linked to multicultural identity given that each spoken language carries and embodies a distinct culture. Likewise, switching to the Arabic language, including High and low Arabic, refers to multiple identities. For instance, participants shift to CAA alone to refer to their national Algerian and ethnic identity, whereas they shift to White Arabic (simplified MSA) to index their belonging to a group of Arabs. Moreover, switching to MSA indicates Islamic identity which stands as a basic pillar unifying the Algerian speech community in the UK regardless of their ethnicity. In this context, participants showed determination and commitment concerning strengthening the link between Arabic and Islamic identity and passing this linguistic and religious heritage to the next generation because, for them, this contributes to the maintenance of language, religion, and culture. Finally, switching to Arabic and/ or Tamazight indexed the participants' cultural identity, cultural solidarity, and distanced them from other cultures.

Berber participants experience a conflict between dual ethnic identities, namely Arabic and Berber. They feel they cannot identify themselves as Berbers because they do not speak Tamazight on one hand. On the other hand, speaking Arabic is not enough to identify them ethnically as Arabs. This may imply stereotypically that the Berber identity was disregarded. Building upon the findings, however, I argued that even non-proficient speakers have strong attachment and affiliation to their ethnic identity and more integration to their ethnic group regardless of the ethnic language mastery. This was clear when participants of Berber origins switch to the few Tamazight words they are familiar with. This is similar to Scottish Highlanders and Maori people who use words and short phrases of Gaelic and Maori despite their limited proficiency in these two ethnic languages. This code choice is made purposefully to identify their ethnic identity and construct and foster solidarity with their audience (Holmes, 2013: 35).

Interestingly, switching to French was found to index national identity among some participants. For example, Zain linked his attachment to his country of origin through the use of the French language. This association can be related to his linguistic and academic

background given that he started speaking French at an early age and continued to do so till his fifties. Both in participants' language use and self-reported accounts, switching to French also indicated socio-cultural dimensions such as showing prestige, social class, and educational level of the participants. These participants are elite bilinguals who often use foreign languages which grant them value and benefits in the target society (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2013), -in this case the English society-.

Unexpectedly, findings showed that some participants shared the idea of designating CS as 'a distinct language', which is unique to the Algerian speech community in the UK. This suggested the ingroup identity that participants wished to have in place. This also indicated the extent to which participants were proud of their national and multilingual Algerian identity. To the best of my knowledge and linguistic experience, I would argue that this idea is already in process of being embodied in real life interactions and translated into a tangible language because CS as a 'we code' (Gumperz, 1982) is unplanned becoming the sociolinguistic identity marker (*ibid*, Dewaele and Wei, 2014) for Algerians in the UK and diaspora as well.

Among various social variables which define identity, age was found to affect the practice of CS among the participants. Results demonstrated that the younger generation (20–50) tend to use CS extensively in different forms such as borrowing and code mixing (inter- sentential CS). However, the older generation (plus 50) opt for using each language in a separate sentence or paragraph because, they believe, they have achieved a high degree of proficiency in the languages they use (see Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Alfonzetti, 2014).

The third motivational factor 'identity expression' explained how participants thought of themselves constructing their identities through their CS. I conclude that the practice of CS *per se* was a marker of the participants' social identity (Grosjean, 1982; Rampton, 1995; Norton, 2006; Kiraly, 2014; Dewaele and Wei, 2014; Ben Nafaa, 2015; Darvin and Norton, 2015). It was apparent in the participants' language use in the interviews that the national, cultural, ethnic, and religious identities were continuously associated with the Arabic language and sometimes, for some participants, with Tamazight. Thus, one may come to conclusion that identities may be complex and ambiguous, and at the same time flexible and multi-faceted (Omoniyi and White, 2006). Noticeably, participants placed more emphasis on the relation between Islam and Arabic considering it a crucial relation that should be maintained and passed to the next generation because, they believed, this may lead to the maintenance of their identity. Furthermore, it appears that switching from and to foreign

languages such French, English, and Spanish indexes participants' multilingual and multicultural identities and sometimes national identity (French for Zain and English for Hala).

7.2.3.   RQ3: What are the Attitudes of Multilingual Algerians towards their Linguistic Repertoires and towards Code Switching?

7.2.3.1. Conflicting Attitudes Towards Languages and towards CS

Sociolinguistic research posits that behaviour is better comprehended through understanding the attitudes behind it (Coupland et al., 2005: 18). One of the aims of this research is to examine the link between participants' language attitudes and their linguistic behaviour, namely CS. For the sake of clarity, I compared the participants' practice of CS in a real speech event (see 4.2), namely interviews, to their self-reported attitudes (see 6.2).

The answer to the above research question was presented in the argument that participants' attitudes towards their code choice were shaped and influenced by their ideologies about each language and about CS practice in specific; what they think and believe about a specific language and practice. For instance, all participants had the idea that Arabic as a first language and HL should be promoted and maintained because it relates them to their country of origin, religion, and culture. In short, it identifies them to a specific social group. Thus, they developed more positive attitudes towards that language, Arabic. Likewise, for example, Reem' s negative attitude towards French was a result of her belief that the language of the colonizer should be minimised or even excluded, especially considering that English is now part of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual Algerians living in the UK. I acknowledge, however, that participants' language attitudes and language ideologies are complex and multifaceted given that they are subject to change in response to changes in society, politics, and culture. This research also argues that participants' negative attitudes towards languages and towards CS did not affect their linguistic behaviour. Conversely, positive attitudes towards HL contribute to the maintenance of that language. These points are further explained in the following discussion.

Overall, most participants expressed cognitive positive attitudes towards multilingualism. They believe that speaking different languages opens the horizons for them to improve themselves including their careers. They reported that multilingualism is a window to the world which allows them openness and integration into different cultural and speech communities. Participants' positive experiences being multilingual speakers motivated them

to raise their children in a multilingual environment to permit them to experience this linguistic wealth.

Concerning attitudes towards various languages, evidence from data showed that participants have love for both their first language Arabic, and for some of them, the ethnic language, Tamazight. Both languages were explicitly associated with pride and passion as participants believed that these two languages linked them to their origins, nation state, religion, and culture. This, as a result, refers to the participants' awareness of the relationship existing between the two languages and their ethnic, national, religious, and cultural identities respectively. (This point has been discussed in the second Research Question 8.2.2). Regardless of their proficiency in these two languages, most participants also expressed positive affective attitudes implicitly through their extensive use of both varieties (High and Low) of Arabic in the interviews as the unmarked language, and few embedded Tamazight words. In opposition, few participants described the weak points concerning the use of CAA exclusively in conversation, reporting that it is complicated and inappropriate to use in certain contexts. Nonetheless, Arabic was still given primacy over other languages given that it is the first language for some participants (Algerian Berbers), and both the first and the HL for others (Algerian Arabs).

All participants expressed positive affective attitudes towards the English language stating that it is 'love' which grew up with them since their childhood. They also reported other favourable cognitive attitudes based on the belief of English as a global language required for career development and high education achievements. Conversely, attitudes towards French were fluctuating between cognitive-positive, neutral, and affective-negative attitudes. Some participants valued French because it was a language they started using at an early age and a language that kept family ties with relatives living both in Algeria and France. Others complemented the beauty and the power of the French language in discussing topics such as global culture and emotions. Participants' negative attitudes toward French were affective as they were based on the belief that the use of the language of the colonizer should be reduced because of the dark history of the French colonization in Algeria. Nonetheless, the use of French seemed to be indispensable from the participants' language use as it was present in their interviews either as CS, borrowing, or arabised words. Interestingly, this proved that code choice was driven by the context no matter the attitudes.

Finally, yet importantly, participants' attitudes towards the practice of CS were paradoxically conflicting. To begin with, all participants claimed that their multilingual

environment influenced them to adopt the practice of CS as a habit since their early childhood. It is considered as a sign of a rich linguistic repertoire useful in terms of fulfilling effective communication. CS is also regarded as a flexible practice where speakers shift from one code to another aiming mainly at effective communication and identity expression (see Pena, 2004; Gardner-Chloros *et al.*, 2005; Dewaele, 2010; Yim and Clément, 2019). All these findings implied the cognitive positive attitudes of the participants towards the practice of CS on one hand.

On the other hand, findings showed that the same participants associated CS with negative attributes which were both cognitive and affective. The main concern that the participants have is that the extensive use of CS may lead their first language to be changed and/ or lost in the long term, especially among second-generation Algerians. Some participants believe that this practice affected not only their first language, but also other languages they learnt in the sense that the most used language gradually replaces the least used one, as it is the case for Zain's Spanish. Other participants expressed negative affective attitudes stating that they dislike this practice and strongly refuse it, especially between parents and their children. Other views such as CS being difficult, costly on the brain, and unaccepted in formal conversations (see in Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 19; Edwards, 2004: 78; Obermueller, 2012; Dewaele and Wei, 2014), were also echoed by the participants.

Finally, findings showed that both affective and cognitive attitudes led to behavioural attitudes which were manifested either through action or intention (Eagley and Chaiken, 1993; Bohner, 2001; Garrett, 2003). In detail, the participants' positive language attitudes were embodied into action through the use of code choice in the speech event, and into intention through their future plans about their language use. For instance, Fella and Sarah, who reported to love English, used (action) this language extensively during the interview as a way of expressing their favourable view towards it. Conversely, Majdi, who considered CS as a threat to his first language, advised and wished (intention) to use each language separately in an attempt to preserve them from shift or loss. Both examples are behavioural attitudes where the first one was expressed through action, whereas the second one was expressed through intention.

Ultimately, I conclude that the negative language attitudes of multilingual Algerians living in the UK did not affect their actual linguistic behaviour. Even though they were concerned about their first language shift and/ or loss because of their continuous CS, they still opt for mixing different languages both at the word and the sentence levels. This was very clear in

chapter four where most participants struggled to stick to a monolingual mode and used different patterns of CS in different contexts.

Eventually, these results and arguments were obtained from self-reported attitudes compared to participants' limited language behaviour in interviews. Consequently, I posit that participants probably missed other aspects of CS that can be gathered from ethnographic observation which stands as one of the limitations of this study. A major problem with the self-reported data was that the participants may want to give the researcher a positive self-image, or to show open-mindedness, tolerance, and education. Thus, their expressed attitudes towards languages and linguistic practices may include exaggeration. As a way of illustration, Majdi and Noor's negative attitudes towards CS, and Reem's negative attitude towards French may be exaggerated as they contradict their language use in the interviews. Both Majdi and Noor opted to frequently engage in CS. Likewise, Reem incorporated lot of borrowed French words in her speech while taking part in the interview. Also, positive attitudes towards Tamazight seemed inflated to possibly give positive face about participants' strong attachment to this HL in parallel with the positive attitudes attributed to Arabic, which is the first language, yet not the heritage language, for Berber participants.

7.2.3.2.Language Maintenance Strategies at Family Level

'First language maintenance strategies' was a striking theme which appeared as a result of questions about how participants view each language and how they consider the practice of CS. Findings revealed the participants' recognition and awareness of the negative effects of CS on their first language and their readiness to preserve the latter form shift and loss through transmitting it to the second generation. Participants showed confidence about the unlikelihood of their heritage language change among them because they are first generation settlers who have good knowledge of their language. They suggested extensive practice of the four skills of Arabic (listening, writing, speaking, and reading) as a way of language maintenance. However, they express their concern about language shift or loss among their children being second generation dominated by the use of English. Consequently, different strategies take place in an attempt to transmit and maintain Arabic at the family level.

Two main strategies were emphasizsd by all the participants, which serve as a means to both first language maintenance alongside with the associated identities. The first strategy is the extensive use of Arabic at home domain such as telling short stories, proverbs, and idioms. This strategy serves a dual purpose of both teaching children their HL and fostering the

connection with the Algerian cultural identity. The second strategy is embodied in sending children to Arabic and Islamic schools or arranging for online Arabic classes. This, in turn, deepens the children's understanding of their faith, Islam, stressing the participants' willingness and commitment to passing on their Islamic identity alongside with the language. Other strategies such as dedicating a special day for using MSA only; conducting blind revision of both Quran and Arabic; exposing children to Arabic and Islamic cartoons at an early age; practicing the 'one parent one language' OPOL approach; and spending some time in the home country, are repeatedly emphasised by the participants in an effort to preserve both the language and the identities associated with it.

Remarkably, the Berber informants did not discuss any plans or intentions to transmit Tamazight to their children. Despite their pride in their Berber ethnic and cultural heritage, they probably did not attribute priority to Tamazight because they basically do not speak it. Instead, their concern revolves around maintaining the language they grew up speaking, which is Arabic.

A general conclusion of this research is that multilingual Algerians have various motivations prompting them to engage in CS, namely accommodating the code choice of their interlocutor/s, having successful conversation through message communication, and expressing identity. These motivations are shaped and influenced by participants' language attitudes, language ideologies, and the social context of the conversation. Furthermore, participants' positive attitudes towards the languages play a significant role in reinforcing and maintaining those languages, along with the associated identities. For example, Arabic is highly regarded because it encompasses and embodies a wide range of identities, such as national, ethnic, religious, and cultural identities. Additionally, positive attitudes towards the participants' HL and/ or first language, Arabic, enhance its maintenance through various language policies within the household, such as the use of Arabic in family interactions, performing Islamic rituals, and celebrating cultural events.

7.3. Limitations of the Study

While the objectives of the current PhD paper have been fundamentally accomplished, some limitations should be acknowledged. These are summarised in four major constraints, namely Covid 19, corpus, sample, and researcher's position.

A major limitation is the pandemic of COVID 19 that spread after three months of commencing my research. Originally, my plan was to undertake an ethnographic study through observing participants in real life situations to examine their practice of CS. Yet, for

safety reasons, this methodological tool was not possible. Alternatively, I intended to request participants to either audio-record or videotape themselves while having conversations with other family members. However, unfortunately, participants' non-collaboration resulted in the exclusion of this tool as well. Therefore, the data analysis of CS practice was limited only to the interviews conducted with the participants. Due to participants' refusal to be audio-recorded or videotaped, a significant part of spontaneous natural language use and choice was not captured. Audio-recorded or videotaped conversations discussing other different topics might have contributed to different forms of CS. Moreover, it was not possible to access more informants of various linguistic backgrounds and experiences to get further data which may enrich the current data. Hence, this sample is not representative of the Algerian speech community in the UK and cannot be generalizable or have a broad application. It does not reflect all the Algerian groups and experiences related to CS phenomenon. I believe that some groups are left behind for instance, Algerian Christian families, and Algerian families who speak mainly MSA or Tamazight at home. Another limitation found in this research is the researcher's position. Having an insider position in the research might have affected the objectivity and the selection, and interpretation of data. Further, my familiarity with the context of the research might have caused me to overlook or leave some data unexplained. Also analysing part of my speech in the interviews (chapter 5) might have made the analysis more subjective through selecting extracts that fit well with the themes discussed and interpreted.

7.4. Contributions of the Study

This investigation constitutes original research in the sense that it addresses a significant gap in the existing literature concerning linguistic practices among Algerians in diaspora. It offers valuable and original insights about the social motivations behind the sociolinguistic phenomenon of CS among multilingual Algerians living in the UK, examining CS as an identity marker, and exploring participants' linguistic attitudes. Furthermore, it casts light on the distinctive categories and patterns of CS among the participants, thereby enriching the understanding of this sociolinguistic practice. Lastly, this research emphasises the role of Arabic (CAA and MSA) through associating it with different social identities and underlined policies aimed at maintaining this HL among the studied population.

This study contributes to the existing body literature on the Algerian speech communities in diaspora, with particular emphasis on those residing in the UK, as limited scholarly attention is given to this area. Moreover, it offers valuable insights applicable to other underrepresented Arabic speech communities in the UK providing robust and reliable results

which can stand as a foundational background for further similar research endeavors. By tackling this gap, the study enriches the understanding of linguistic practices within diasporic communities and serves as a catalyst for further sociolinguistic investigations.

A prominent finding is that most of CS practice is not random, but purposeful. Though participants insist that their CS occurs unintentionally, results show that the practice is neither random nor arbitrary. Instead, it is a deliberate linguistic choice which serves specific communicative and social functions. Through CS, different social identities are referred to that participants wish to take place, among which national and religious identities are the salient ones. This may enhance the comprehension of the role of CS in developing a sense of social integration to the Algerian speech community in the UK.

The distinctive sociolinguistic setting (multilingual Algerians living in the UK for more than five years) of the research plays a significant role in shaping the various motivations for CS. While some motivations are found in various speech communities, others are somehow unique to the Algerian speech community in the UK. For example, the preference of a certain language to indicate religious affiliation and expressing positive emotions in a second language rather than the first language are examples of these motivations. These findings can provide understanding of how individuals adapt their linguistic repertoires in different contexts and for different communicative needs.

In terms of contributions to theory, this research gives evidence that the combination of linguistic models alongside social-psychological theories has provided a thorough and nuanced comprehension of CS practice among multilingual Algerians in a diasporic context. By synthesizing these perspectives, an exhaustive analysis of the interconnectedness between CS, its motivations, and its role in forming social identity and linguistic attitudes. The Markedness Model (Myers Scotton, 1993b) is suitable for the analysis of the Algerian linguistic practice in diaspora. On one hand, it analyses the social motivations for CS, and, on the other hand, it analyses the categories of CS relying on the Model's maxims in collaboration with Communication Accommodation Theory. Gumperz Dichotomy and Bhatia and Ritchie' s work were also a source of inspiration in categorizing the situational and the conversational motivations for CS which are used in parallel with the concept of context-related motivations and message-related motivations respectively. In addition to that, social identity theories and the Tripartite model of attitudes have been instrumental in examining the different social identities of participants and their corresponding linguistic attitudes. This theoretical integration not only advances the understanding of CS within this specific speech community

but also serves as an interesting foundation for future investigations into various linguistic practices in multilingual contexts.

Furthermore, these results contribute to a growing body of knowledge supporting the significant role of language attitudes and ideologies in implementing the strategies for language maintenance. Results showed how the participants' positive linguistic perceptions towards their first language, Arabic, influenced the accomplishment of the policies aimed at maintaining Arabic alongside with the identities associated with it.

In terms of methodological contributions, this research proves the feasibility of investigating a sociolinguistic phenomenon resulting from language contact using solely interviews to look both for participants' self-reported claims and their actual CS practice in the interviews. This approach gives a nuanced exploration of the relationship between verbal accounts and the real-world manifestations of linguistic behaviors, presenting important insights about the complexities of language interaction in a multilingual context. After analysing the self-reported opinions about CS and the actual practice of it in the interviews, I concluded that the self-reported motivations for CS are in parallel with those inferred from the actual practice. Nevertheless, negative attitudes towards CS are not embodied when it comes to actual language use given that all participants engaged in CS throughout the interviews.

Overall, this research contributes to the growing body of knowledge of multilingualism in sociolinguistics through presenting findings about a distinct sociolinguistic group in terms of language use and choice, identity construction, and language attitudes. It also offers a basis for comparison with other sociolinguistic groups with different backgrounds and different linguistic experiences.

7.5. Implications of the Study

This study implies that consideration could be made for integrating various models and theories to investigate different multilingual interactions resulting from language contact, especially in diasporic settings, where each speech community has specific linguistic practices, developed in response to their social and cultural environment. It also suggests that using semi-structured interviews solely may be instrumental in providing rich data about these sociolinguistic phenomena, highlighting both informants' personal perspectives and observable practices.

Moreover, this research suggests that implementing strategies to maintain HL can be enhanced through highlighting and emphasising the relationship between HL and identity or identities associated with it. For example, maintaining Arabic among first- and second-

generation language users is associated with maintaining national identity, Arab identity, religious identity, cultural identity and ethnic identity. Also, consideration should be made to the social context of the strategies and the social environment surrounding language users. For instance, leaving children in an English-speaking community only will slow down the effectiveness of the strategies. Parents should select their linguistic environment and their children's to help implement those strategies. For example, taking children to family and friends' gatherings where Arabic is mainly spoken. As reported by the participants, spending some time back home will help them preserve their language and enhance their competency in speaking Arabic.

As for language attitudes, positive attitudes towards languages would be useful and beneficial if they are embodied in real life. The same thing can be applied to negative attitudes towards CS. Speakers who view the practice of CS negatively should reduce or limit this linguistic behaviour. This will result in a correlation between attitudes and CS practice.

7.6. Recommendations for Future Research

Building upon the overall findings and the above-mentioned limitations, this section presents some recommendations that can be embodied and expanded into future research which may further contribute to the knowledge of this field. Initially, this section starts by providing recommendations to the selected methodology, then it proceeds with addressing some issues that were not tackled in this study, or which are explored differently.

I argue that the use of interviews exclusively is not a major limitation as this research achieved what was primarily aiming for relying on this methodological tool. However, the same research can be investigated using observation and tape-recorded conversations to get deeper data. Furthermore, using other methodological tools to collect attitudinal data such as matched guise, questionnaires, observations, etc. is vital. Likewise, a longitudinal ethnographic study might be important to assess the changes of speakers' language use and choice and their attitudes as well.

Turning now to the theoretical side, the same researched topic can be investigated using the structural approach (the study of the grammatical rules of the different languages used in switching) such as the equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint (Poplack, 1980), the Government Constraint (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh, 1986), the Minimalist

Program (Chomsky, 1995), the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993b), and the 4-M Model. Or from a psycholinguistic approach which studies the cognitive aspects related to CS in an endeavor to gain more understanding of the practice of CS from different perspectives.

Concerning the content and the context, other research can build upon my study to investigate other results of language contact such as translanguaging, crossing, interference, and transfer in relation to identity and attitudes. Contrary to this research which focuses exclusively on the oral practice of CS in interviews, other research may examine various motivations for CS in other speech events like family and friends' gatherings, schools and universities, and cultural events. Also examining written corpora such as social media posts, diaries, literature writings, etc. would be useful. It would be also interesting to put more emphasis on the linguistic analysis of borrowed and loan words and their relation to identity expression. Other researchers may be interested in investigating the nature of the relationship between the linguistic competence of language users and motivations for their practice of CS.

This research has focused mainly on the first-generation multilinguals with small reference to the second generation when discussing the adopted policies for language transmission. Hence, it would be of a paramount importance to examine language use and choice among second generation Algerians to check the extent of transmission and maintenance of language and identity. Building upon the findings, all the participants are Muslims and view the Arabic language positively because it is directly linked to Islam. A comparative study between Muslim and Christian multilingual Algerians in the UK would be crucial to assess language attitudes and their relation to identity, specifically religious identity. Likewise, it would be equally interesting to look at the practice of CS among a specific gender or making a comparison between males and females language use to examine how gender influences the use of language/ CS.

To conclude, the results of this research are built upon a small population of the Algerian speech community in the UK and are not meant to make generalizations. Nevertheless, they provide some understanding about the practice of CS among specific participants exploring CS motivations, and its relation to identity expression and attitudes. Additionally, this thesis has pointed towards fresh directions to investigate matters related to CS among Arabic and nonarabic multilingual speech communities in the UK and in diaspora. Furthermore, these results might be of interest for bi/ multilingual immigrants who engage in the practice of CS,

as it may inform some strategies to maintain their first language and identity from shift, attrition, or loss in host countries. Although it has its limitations, I hold the view that the results of this research provide a foundation for forthcoming sociolinguistic investigations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview's Questions before and after Piloting

Questions before piloting:

1. What is the language that you speak most often now? What are its usages?

2. What are the usages of other languages you know?

3. What language is most used in your community now? Can you rank them from the most used to the least used?

4. Does it happen that you use more than one language in one single conversations? Which languages?

5. In which situation(s), do you think that you tend to use more than one language?

6. Is your use of more than one language intentional? If so, why? / Are you conscious about the shifting between languages?

7. While talking, what motivates you to select another language? Or: what is the reason that pushes you to shift to another language?

8. What purposes do you have in mind when you use more than one language?

9. Which language do you use while talking to your children and close relatives (those with whom you live)? Why?

10. Which language do you encourage your children to learn the most? Why?

11. How would you describe your competence in the following languages? Arabic, English, Tamazight, French, and Spanish if applicable.

12. is there a relationship between the use of languages and age?

Question after piloting:

1. Tell me a little about yourself.

2. Which languages you tend to speak while you were in Algeria? Which one is the most used, the least used, which one is in between? Where and with whom do you use it?

3. Which languages do you speak now (in the UK)? Which one is the most used, the least used, which one is in between? Where and with whom do you use it?

4.   Why is this language used the most in your daily life?

5.   In which situation(s) do you use more than one language?

6.   In which situation(s) do you use only one language?

7.   What motivates you to move to another language?

8.   Which language do you encourage your children to learn the most? Why? How?

9.   How do you see your first language within this mixing of languages? How do you see other languages you know?

10. how do you perceive this practice of mixing languages?

11.   Do you think there is a relation between age and code switching?

Appendix 2: A Translated Version of One Interview

Amel: **tell me a little about yourself.**

Amir: My name is Amir; I am 31 years old. I am a teacher. I came to the UK six years ago. I am Algerian and I speak Arabic, English, French, Spanish, little of Tamazight and a little of Chinese.

Amel: what are the languages used among Algerians in the UK in general?

Amir: I would say they speak Arabic in the first language accompanied with some French words and the second one is English. It is not the other way around. **We start by Arabic and** *French***, then** English. The least used language, I would say French among the Algerian community.

Amel: which languages do you speak?

Amir: If you are talking to Amir as a teacher, I would say English then Arabic. But if you are talking about Amir who is a normal person, I would say Arabic and then English. I speak English with some Arabic let's say with students, with teachers back home, with colleagues and I speak Arabic then English when I am talking to laymen people whose English is not great.

In order for me not to embrace or to intimidate that person, I would speak a lot of Arabic with some English words, for example when I speak to some of my friends in London I say '**<u>Hi</u> brother,** *how are you*? **Alright? I thank Allah.** This is life, you know the UK'**. We speak more Arabic than English** *because* **some of them haven't <u>great linguistic repertoire in English</u>**. Even in Facebook group messenger, we just speak in Arabic '**hey nice people, how are you? Happy Ramadan'. There are <u>few simple English words.</u>**

Amel: how about other languages that you know?

Amir: I speak Spanish with a Portuguese friend. She is a friend of my friend P. We speak Spanish most of the time because her English is not that good. She is a beginner in English. If I want to speak to her, I will say '*hello, how are you?'* and she tells me '*Hello, I miss you'* and so on. However, if my other friend P came to join us, we would speak English that is a lingua franca because P doesn't speak Spanish. So, it would be unfair to speak Spanish whenever we are with P because she doesn't understand. there is another situation where Spanish is a lingua franca, that is whenever I, my friend M and her husband meet we speak Spanish because both of them are not fluent in English. So, it depends on situations and

context that I would use a particular language. Each context is unique. I would speak the language that that person understands. So, it has to do with the context and with people.

Amel: <u>to what extent</u> do you move from one language to another?

Amir: I have a friend of mine who speaks the same language as me. We studied Spanish together in the university. It has been two years now, we've been practicing Spanish, so if we want to talk about any topic, we will discuss it in Arabic-English; then Spanish, then French. She says, **'hello brother, where are you?'** I say, **'I am here, why?'** I could say '*estoy aqui, proqué*?' **but I said** 'ʕlah' in Arabic. This what happens when you know so many languages. You start playing with languages. **One day, I called her, and I was so nervous**, she said '*No pasa nada*, don't worry we will sort it out, **ma tqelleqš berk**, d'accord *hermanito*?'/ **'don't worry,** don't worry we will sort it out**, just don't worry,** *okay brother***?'** so four languages in one sentence. **I speak Spanish only with her. I speak** Arabic**,** French **and** English **with others. But** English is the least used one. Even in WhattsApp, I speak to my friend in English Arabic, French, not Arabic English, French because we are colleagues. I have another Berber friend with whom I speak a little of Tamazight like '*azul ayegma, anda Ṯellid'/* **'**<u>*hi dear, where have you been?',*</u> I would use with her French and Tamazight just to have fun, it is not because I don't know how to say it in English **for example** '*how are you doing. It has been a long time since we met*', it is not to show off, but it is for fun. **For example, I ask her what she thinks about this idea**, she says 'I think, **but I am not** *sure*, please don't get me wrong' **for example** emmmm *I don't know*, **look it comes** spontaneously, why I didn't say 'I don't know', *because* I am being at ease, **I speak with you** *normally*. **But if you told me from the beginning that I should speak only in English**, *Ii is impossible* I tell you *I don't know*. I tell you I don't know *because* you make me feel at ease, so it is all about the person with whom you are conversing. I have an Arabic lecturer in my university, sometimes I use Arabic with him. It just makes me happy when I talk to her in Arabic because I use English everywhere at the university, with my housemates and so on. If I don't speak Arabic, then it will slowly disappear. If I don't call my family, if I don't practice Arabic, this language will fade away. *In addition*, we need to take into account the linguistic repertoire of the person we are talking to, otherwise it will be rude if you use a language with someone who doesn't understand it. It happens to me when I want to a Berber region in Algeria, the lady working in the pharmacy kept speaking Tamazight which I couldn't understand, in this case I used French to explain what I needed. I didn't want to use Arabic as I was afraid, she will not understand it. Tamazight made me feel insecure, that's why I avoid speaking it with people as I am not very fluent in

it. In order for me to develop a feeling of security and protection, I would speak the language that makes me at ease alongside with the listener. I can say that English is my passport to travel around the world, even though I know Spanish, but I prefer to speak English whenever I go to Spain. For example, French cannot be a passport, I would say it is only a visa in a passport. French, Spanish, Italian are only visas not passports. Wherever I go, I take English with me. It is my best friend not Arabic. I am not trying to minimise the importance of Arabic. I use Arabic only in Arabic countries.

Amel: **tell me about** situations **where you use** only one language.

Amir: I use English only with academic people and with English speakers. For example, my landlady, she knows only English, so I have to speak her language. Last time I had a sore throat, I had to call the ambulance and explain everything to them in English. There is no way I can think in Arabic. There is a situation where I speak only Arabic, it is with my friend's family who is from the Middle East. Last time, before the lockdown, I went to the gym, I found my friend's parents there, they were like '*welcome my dear. How are you doing? We wish you all the best*'. **I am not used to speak** nespeaki this dialect, so I had to be like '*Oh thanks uncle*' even I have to fake the intonation, I said *'never mind aunty*' *parce que* she used my machine, and she didn't clean it. **I didn't say** '*no problem at all*' because I knew she wouldn't understand. There is another example with a Saudi Arabian guy who was living with me last year. He came to the UK to study English as a foreign language *par niveau*. His English is catastrophic honestly. I don't understand what he says. The only way we speak is **Standard Arabic** par example '<u>**where you lived before?**</u>' I was trying too hard to speak classical Arabic. I also speak only darja/ CAA with a friend of mine who doesn't know English because she is surrounded only by Arab speakers like she is in Algeria away from Algeria. Each person and situation is different.

Amel: *do you* **intend to move from a language to another?**

Amir: it is a hundred percent a sub-conscious process. I would say that code switching is natural, it happens naturally, spontaneously, haphazardly without any programming. I think my brain got programed automatically.

Amel: **what makes/ pushes you to move from a language to another**? Reasons.

Amir: when I want to convey the message. I use different languages just to help the listener and help myself get the message. I think when I use only one language is going to be tricky and difficult to persuade the person who is with you. It is to reduce ambiguity and increase

clarity. I think it makes me more confident to code switch. In order for me to feel more confident, I use more than language. It is like a confidence and showing off in the same time, and also a sign of education. If I know many languages and I don't practice them, what is the point? I would say it is a positive showing off. Nobody is going to know about your rich linguistic repertoire unless you spoke those languages with those people. It is absolutely fine to show off. You remember when I said clarity, there I meant clarity because the message is not clear and maybe because I don't have enough knowledge in a particular language. Maybe you ask me what it means 'xenophobe', I say it is just like French, here I am showing I know the equivalence in French. *A xenophobe person* **is someone who doesn't like people, foreigners, someone who prefers to be alone**… *you see what I mean* **someone** *who doesn't like to share his life with others,* someone who doesn't like foreigners. Here I am killing two birds with one stone, first to get the message across because mmm I dunno how to express this in English so have to use other alternatives, and the other one is to show off that you know, and of course to express yourself freely. This makes my understanding solid, by solid I mean valid or trustworthy. How I knew this definition of xenophobic person because I reviews many languages to cross check the definition. So, this one makes it more credible, so it is for the sake of insuring trustworthiness and credibility as well. I also develop a sense of superiority when I switch between languages because I am linguistically rich. For me, people who speak only one language they are linguistically handicap, **<u>linguistically handicap</u>**. I think we need to raise people's awareness to acquire as many languages as they can because this will help them acquire a linguistic capital. It is like a linguistic repertoire. Those who know only one language are very limited, and they will be in their own bubble. They can't go out of the linguistic box. Learning many languages has advantages as well as disadvantages of course. I would not call it disadvantage; I will call it limitation. Like I know many languages, but my Arabic get lost. Sometimes I don't know how to say this in Arabic. I feel ashamed. For example, last time I forgot how to say les *matches* in Arabic, **matches**. A language if you don't use it you lose it. Last time I forgot how to say the mattress in English, why because I know other languages that substitute **that** lack of vocabulary because sometimes, I have a problem with Arabic especially when it comes to classical Arabic.

Amel: what language/s do you encourage your children to learn? Why?

Amir: The first language they will learn is English of course by hook or by crook. The second language is I want to teach them Arabic, why? It is the Quran language, Islam language.

I can say English and French with it, and then when they grow up a little bit, I will teach them Spanish but Arabic always must be there because when I take them to Algeria, my father will be like '*well, I speak Arabic and I speak French. What should we do now. You need to learn French*' I need to teach them French, why? Because it is a language that they will be using. When I go to Algeria, they go with me, and they need to speak Arabic with French. If I take them to Spain, at least some words in Spanish. I think children who can learn English and French in a very young age, they will pick up any language easily. So, I would say, regardless of English, the second will be French, Arabic and then Spanish. I order them according to their importance, English is universal, French is also spoken, and they will need it when they go to Algeria. I want my children to become like me, multilingual. I am gonna leave them linguistic heritage.

Amel: How do you see/ feel about other languages that you know?

Amir: unfortunately, classical Arabic is fading away. It is not being used. I would give it 2 out of 10. The only time I use it is when praying or reading Quran, that's all. If I use it, I will use a weak version of it because most of the time I speak English, French, and Arabic. Darja/ CAA I would give it ten out of ten because I use it in my daily life. When I go to Algeria I say, **'how are you dear brother'** I **don't say '<u>hi, how are you brother</u>'.** French I would say eight out of ten. It is important especially in Algiers, we often speak French. English ten out of ten here in the UK, but in Algeria three out of ten.

Amel: how would you describe your competence in each language?

Amir: good. I would say that I am confidently highly competent in English. I feel like I possess it, I own it, it is mine. French I would say very well. Spanish I would say good because I can live in Spain no problem, but not perfect. Darja, of course I speak it. The classical Arabic, I am not confident at all. I feel ashamed and stressed.

Amel: how do you see this phenomenon? Or code switching.

Amir: I think it is very important of people to switch from a language to another language. It is great to speak many languages and use them interchangeably with people who are able to code switch, of course there are some conditions. You can never code switch with monolingual speakers. I encourage people to learn languages. What is the point of learning many languages and you don't use them. You have to practice and use them. It is like you are rich, but you are stingy you don't spend money. I have a highly positive attitude towards code

switching and I cannot stop raising this process. I really hope all the world code switch. It will be perfect, honestly. And this is what I am gonna teach my children InšaAllah.

Amel: *do you* **see/think there is a <u>relation</u> between** code switching **and** age**?**

Amir: I think there is a category that is suitable for them to code switch. I think the younger generation, us, ummm I never noticed someone like my dad, or he is in his age who code switch. It has to do more with young people from 11 **and forward**, I would say between 10 and 40. Learning languages depends on the person and on his cognitive ability.

We came to the end of the interview. Thank you so much for your collaboration.

Appendix 3: Translated extracts about Language Use and Contexts of Code

Switching Language use in Algeria

Reem : Algerians in the UK generally speak Algerian Arabic with its different dialects, such as Oran dialect, Tlemcen dialect, etc. We also speak English. Some of us learn it at schools, and others learn it once in the UK, for example at the workplace. Algerians also speak French and Tamazight. For example, my friend's children do not use Arabic at home, but Tamazight only. I am originally Berber, but I don't speak Tamazight. My parents did not teach us how to speak it unfortunately.

Sami: basically, I am using Arabic darja. I use it with my friends whenever with my family. I use also English mostly at the university. When I used to be in the university back in Algeria, it was most of the time during the lectures. But whenever we go outside, we finish the lecture, most of my colleagues were not interested in English so we stop speaking it. So I tried my best to use English in order to improve it and you know this stuff. I tried to use it with let's say who have the same interest with me trying to improve their English and at the same time I was using darja.

For French, yes, I know a little bit of French but not that much. I am not that proficient or fluent. I can understand a text or when someone is speaking in French but of course not all what he says, or she says but I try to use some words in French sometimes.

Language use in the UK

Majdi: in general, Algerians speak mainly Algerian Arabic. They incorporate a lot of French. For example, I have a friend from south Algeria who speaks Arabic more than french. There are some Algerians who, after moving to the UK, speak Arabic mixed with English. Personally, I cannot do this mixing.

Zain: at workplace, it is mostly English. At home, it is mainly a mixture of Algerian Arabic and English. With my children, I principally use English, and occasionally Algerian Arabic. During the weekends, I use mostly Algerian Arabic with Algerian friends, sometimes mixed with English. When with non-Algerian friends, I might occasionally switch to French.

Racha: when I came to the UK, English became number one and Arabic is number two. I sometimes use french with my friends, the Algerian community in general, or with my husband.

Code switching contexts.

278

Amir: I speak English with some Arabic let's say with students, with teachers back home, with colleagues and I speak arabic then English when I am talking to laymen people whose English is not great…I use English only with academic people and with English speakers. For example, my landlady, she knows only English, so I have to speak her language. Last time I had a sore throat, I had to call the ambulance and explain everything to them in English. There is no way I can think in Arabic. There is a situation where I speak only Arabic, it is with my friend's family who is from the Middle East. Last time, before the lockdown, I went to the gym, I found my friend's parents there, they were like 'ya hala ʕazizi, kif aḵbarek, kif dirassa, welah netmennalk kol ḵir'. FT: Hi dear, how are you doing? How is your study going. We wish you all the best.

Reem: my use of languages depends on whether I am inside or outside home. At work, I use mainly English and sometimes French because I have French colleagues. I also have Arab colleagues with whom I speak Arabic, but I speak mainly English at workplace. So, outside home, it is generally English. At home, I principally speak Algerian Arabic alongside with English.

Hala: at workplace is the only situation where I used one language only, English. In my everyday life, I use French to talk with my family in France. I don't mix languages with people who speak English only. However, whenever speaking with Algerians, I speak Algerian Arabic and I always put a word or two in English or French.

Fella: for me now and after I got married it is most of the time, in most cases I use English either outside or inside the house and for example. Outside the house I use only English because I live among an English society, in the supermarket, in the hospital, or wherever. In the house I speak English because for example if I am making something in the kitchen and my husband starts a conversation with me, I have to speak in English because he will not understand Arabic. This is how I use English. I use Arabic with him sometimes when I am telling a joke or reminding him of someone who said something. M3a darna nehki (FT: with my family back home, I speak) Arabic because they don't speak English. With my friends and colleagues, I speak English mixed with Arabic most of the time. It is just a mixture.

Appendix 4: Ethics Approval Email

Decision - Ethics ETH1920-0019: Miss Amel Ben Said

Research Space <researchspace@infomanaged.co.uk>
To: ○ Ben Said, Amel (a.ben-said1315@canterbury.ac.uk)
Mon 04/01/2021 14:54

Research Space

Miss Amel Ben Said

School of Language Studies and Applied Linguistics

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

4th January 2021

Dear Amel

Confirmation of ethics approval: Doctoral Research Project

Your ethics application complies fully with the requirements for ethical and governance review, as set out in this University's Research Ethics and Governance Procedures, and has been approved. Please see the note from Judy Durrant.

You are reminded that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the

You are reminded that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the policies and procedures set out in the Research Governance Framework and any relevant academic or professional guidelines.

Any significant change in the question, design or conduct of the study over its course will require an amendment application, and may require a new application for ethics approval.

It is a condition of approval that you **must** inform ethics@canterbury.ac.uk once your research has completed.

Wishing you every success with your research.

On behalf of

Faculty of Arts and Humanities Ethics Panel

BusinessOps.education@canterbury.ac.uk

Ethics ETH1920-0019: Miss Amel Ben Said

Appendix 5: Coding

Codes/ Participants	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5
Amir	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer
Sarah	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer
Fella	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer
Zain	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer	Answer

Table 06: First method of coding

Extracts	Initial codes
Racha: lḥaja lʔoola ʔna nḵemmem ʕla l meaning, est ce que fehmooni wella lala. Zaʕma rani nehder ʕerbiya, nḥess lukan nḥot hadak l word in French or English yeʕti meaning ʔkṯar, hada number one. The second one des fois tohrobli dik lkelma belʕarbiya tjini temtem in English wella bel français. Sometimes I lose the words, nensahom. W tani it depends mʕamen rani nkommuniki. Par example nkoon berra w nkoon mqalqa wella, I speak in my language beš waḥed mayefhemni. Nḵerrej les nerfs beṣṣaḥ bla manerbeḥ lʕayb w bla mandir mašakil. W tani maneqderš nmed soora maši mliḥa ʕlina. Netnerva Allah ḡaleb w i have to say something, I say it in Arabic. The choice of language manerbtooš bel mawdooʕ, mahma kan lmawdooʕ. ʔna ʕandi zooj swaleḥ: 1	CS reasons: Transmit a meaningful message Lack of knowledge Temporary memory loss It depends on the audience Emotions: Switch to CAA to express anger

281

For example, kayen waḥed mʕana professeur when he speaks he speaks mainly in English wella b Darja. He doesn't use French.	ENG+ FR+ IT with translation + Eastern Dialect/ no CAA
Another one who speaks English and French, and some Italian. He explains to us, we discuss, we laugh. He uses also Arabic taʕ lmaʃriq. Fel context taʕou win ʕayeʃ, l partner taʕou maʃriqiya. So for many years he got used to the Arabic of the Middle East. So he doesn't speak Algerian Arabic very often.	
There is another one who hasn't got a good academic career. He uses mainly English and Algerian Arabic. So our conversations in those social events are very so distinctive it depends on the person you are talking to.	The use of language depends on whom I am talking to
Mawadiʕ win tehder b luɣa wahda berk w tkoun mqayyed biha mateqderʃ tekhroj ʕliha.	One language situations
S: I got friends whom I meet them quiet regularly. They don't speak neither English, nor French, nor Algerian Arabic so I speak their own Arabic accent. For example, Egyptian friends mayehkiw ni anglais ni nothing donc lazem nehki l accent taʕhom beʃ netfahmou.	With monolingual speakers Eastern arabic dialects with some friends

Table 07: second method of coding

Appendix 6: Themes

وصف سريعة.

15/03/2022

Motivations of code switching. (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2062).

1. Participants' roles & relationships

Lit Rev. {
Speaker.
Addressee.
social status & relationships
formality.
solidarity?
} data {
Adressee
social position & relat
formal vs informal
solidarity
}
and identity (speaker' identity?)

2. Situational factors:

Setting / Context.
topic
social variables (age, gender, religion)
| data |
topic.
context.
age. A

3. Message intrinsic factor.

Message
Quotations reiteration translation
hedging interjections topic convent
| data |
clarification, emphasis
convince. rhetoric
reporting

4. Language attitude, dominance & security.

positive or neg attitude
ge dominance & proficiency
security.
| data |
attitudes.
to develop a sense of security
proficiency.

Attitudes to FR & ENG
14 July 22

5.4 Attitudes towards used languages, multilingualism & CS
  5.4.1 Att towa lges
  5.4.1.1 Att to Arabic & Tamazight
  5.4.1.2 Att to French & English.

Att towards FR & ENG.
              FR   ENG.
Omar: FR 8/10 pos   +pos/10   —> D2 3/10
Reen: Neg.   + Pos   ✔
Thad: # pos   + Pos   ✔
Mayd: + pos   pos.
Hala: pos   + pos   ✔ ⟩=
Noor: ++ pos   ⟋   ✔
Mira: neg hus   ⟋ neutral but no use.
Pella: Neu   pos.
Sarah: pos   + pos ✔

Sam: ⟋   ⟋ ⟍ at school. ⟍
Reda: ⟋   pos   ⟩ No Quote.
Rach: ⟋   +pos   ⟋

[FR.]   Pos   Neut / Neg.
        embedded in CAA.   lge of colonizer.
                                     not import
French lk CAA.   avoidance of use
α loves literra
  FR identity. Mha
  beautiful. sara rach   — lge politics no FR
α lire: gra spa FR Hd Noor Hayd sara sarah   at home
↗ important family conne. Noor mira sella sar. ⟋ English.
job oppot Reda rach sara   ⟍⟋
  good lge mira   ⟋ 8pos   3 Neutral.
6 pos   ⟋ Love lge of science.   global lge
                 ⟋ lge of host country.