

Amazigh-Arabic Code Switching in Amazigh Radio Discourse: Frequency and Structure



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ABSTRACT: Language contact has been one of the most interest-arousing disciplines for linguists, especially sociolinguists. The study of language contact explores mainly the nature and the outcome of the contact between languages or varieties in a bi-/multilingual setting. When speakers of different languages interact, they may use different varieties back and forth to convey and communicate their messages. This reciprocal interchange between two languages or varieties is called code-switching (CS hereafter). The present study attempts to document the nature of code switching between Amazigh and Arabic in the Amazigh radio discourse. The data of the study consists of three radio talk-shows that were aired in two different Amazigh radio broadcasts, so the source language is supposed to be Amazigh. The Amazigh variety involved in the talk-shows is Tashelhit as all the participants come from the Souss region where this variety is used. Therefore, we investigated the intervention of Arabic into the Amazigh discourse through CS. An integrated approach with both qualitative (structural analysis) and quantitative (frequency distribution) methods of analysis was adopted for the purpose of this paper. The results of the study reveal that the rate of Amazigh-Arabic CS is very high. It takes place at different discourse boundaries and involves various syntactic categories. It seems to be a natural linguistic behavior among Amazigh bilinguals. Besides, the analysis demonstrates that both Arabic and Amazigh interchange the role of matrix language (ML) and embedded language (EL) in the light of Myers-Scotton Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1993).

KEYTERMS: Code-switching, frequency, conversational patterns, structural constraints.

1. INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism is a prevailing phenomenon in African countries such as Morocco. The latter is known for its rich linguistic and cultural backgrounds, with the existence of different ethnic groups and linguistic variations. Currently, the official languages in the Moroccan society are Standard Arabic (SA) and Amazigh. The latter has recently become official due to certain socio-political circumstances. These two languages have been in contact for centuries and have influenced each other at various linguistic levels. This inter-influence has invited constant research and debate among linguists. Meanwhile, other foreign languages exist in Morocco such as French, Spanish and English. Each language has its own social function along with the home, official languages of the country, namely Standard Arabic and Amazigh. This enriches the linguistic ground of Morocco and makes it a fertile spot for research on multilingualism.

In multilingual contexts, languages interact and influence each other. This leads to a number of linguistic outcomes such as code-switching, borrowing, pidgin, creole, diglossia and transfer, among others. When speakers of different languages interact, they may use alternately different varieties to convey and communicate their messages. This reciprocal interchange between two languages or varieties is called *code-switching*. The latter is a linguistic behavior that is typically characterized in bi-/multilingual speech. It occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages or varieties in a single conversation or discourse.

Myers-Scotton (1977) defines CS as the “use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction”. As for Bokamba (1988), CS is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes and clauses from two distinct (sub) systems within the same sentence or speech event. According to Grosjean (1982), CS is “a complete shift from one language to the other, either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence”. Generally, CS is a natural language contact phenomenon which is omnipresent in bi-/ multilingual contexts. It is the outcome of a situation in which two or more linguistic varieties are in contact in a given speech.

The focus of this study is to examine the phenomenon of CS between the two official languages in Morocco, namely Arabic and Amazigh. In other words, the current research paper attempts to explore the nature of Amazigh-Arabic code Switching in Amazigh Radio Discourse. This linguistic investigation of Amazigh-Arabic CS in Amazigh radio talk-shows is approached from different perspectives. The first analytical task focuses on the study of the nature of CS between Amazigh and Arabic in terms of

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the frequency of switched elements and language dominance, while the second one investigates the different structural patterns or types of CS in the data.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Code-switching is a linguistic behavior that is characterized in bi-/multilingual speeches. It occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages or varieties in a single conversation or discourse. The literature is abundant with studies on CS from the mid-fifties up to now and in different contexts. In general, the study of CS has been developed in three directions: psycholinguistics, linguistics, and sociolinguistics (Namba, 2008). Some studies investigate only one aspect of CS, while others explore more.

MacSwan (2004) advocates that there are three main periods in the study of CS. The first phase dates back to the late 1960s and 1970s. It views CS as a linguistic behavior that is driven by social factors; it is associated significantly with the research done by Blom and Gumperz (1972). The second phase is characterized by the focus on the form rather than the social aspects of code-switched utterances. In other words, researchers in this phase believe that CS is not a haphazard but a rule-governed linguistic behavior; hence, they try to account for the grammatical properties of CS. The third phase is a contemporary one in which researchers attempt to analyze CS from different angles or perspectives mentioned above using a certain framework or model of analysis. Milroy and Muysken (1995:10) note that CS nowadays has become a complex field of study with a thriving research convention in which different approaches and analytical models are used to study data from different languages in different parts of the word.

Thus, various models have been developed for the study of CS from different perspectives. From a grammatical perspective, the main sounding constraints are the Equivalence and the Free Morpheme Constraints of Poplack (1978), the Matrix Language Frame Model by Myers-Scotton (1993), and Muysken's (2000) Three-typology Model. These models are among the most influential constraints in terms of contributing to the linguistic analysis of CS. They primarily focus on structural aspects that are involved in the CS constructions. In general, they suggest that the interaction of the two grammars during CS is ruled by a "third grammar" (Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

Meanwhile, other models have been proposed that study CS from a socio-pragmatic angle. The main among these models are Gumperz' (1982) Conversational CS Analysis approach, Auer's (1997) Sequential CS approach, which is an elaboration and part of Conversational CS Analysis approach, and Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness model. From a psycholinguistic perspective, very little has been done in this regard, most of the work is associated with Grosjean's (1995) psycholinguistic approach to CS. All of these approaches meet at the attempt to find out universal constraints that regulate and guide the occurrences of CS between different language sets.

One of the main focal areas of this study is to analyze the structural patterns of CS in its context. For analyzing CS grammatically, basic distinctions should be made. According to Dulm (2007) and Hamers & Blanc (2000), different types of CS can be recognized on the basis of the nature and length of switched units. Generally, there are four grammatical categories of CS:

- **Inter-Sentential:** the language switch occurs at sentence boundaries. For example, *illa yin ma-j-ti-skarn wa-lakin nahtaj lil 3azima.*
- **Intra-Sentential:** the switch takes place within a sentence or a clause. This type of CS is also called *code mixing*. For example, *l-qasida jadar-t-sawalfl-wafatj-immi*
- **Intra-word:** the switching occurs within a word boundary. For instance, *ur-ai-t-nasab.*
- **Extra-Sentential:** When a tag that comes from one language is inserted into an utterance that is in another language. For example, *llant kran tiyawsiwin fulki-nin giss, wla lla?*

The grammatical dimension of CS attempts to examine whether CS is haphazard or a rule-governed linguistic behavior, and if there are any systematic rules or syntactic constraints that guide this operation. Hamers and Blanc (2000:258) assert that the study of CS covers a variety of language pairs in order to explore whether this phenomenon "obeys universal constraints or follows discourse principles". For Poplack (2001), CS was depicted as an indiscriminate procedure. However, other linguists such as Bader (2003), Boztepe (2005) and Rezaeian (2009) argue that CS does not occur randomly but rather at specific switch points. According to Li Wei (2000), the occurrence of CS between or within sentences has been governed not only by extra-linguistic (social or situational) but also by intra-linguistic (structural) factors. Hence, for a better understanding for CS process, social and grammatical factors should be considered.

In the Moroccan context, CS has been examined from different perspectives and between different language pairs. Some studies focus on the grammatical or structural aspects of CS and come up with various results (Abbassi, 1977; Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Nait M'Barek & Sankoss, 1988; Heath, 1989; Lahlou, 1991; Aabi, 1999; Redouane, 2005; Luomala, 2016; among others). On the other hand, other studies have attempted to explore CS in Morocco from a sociolinguistic viewpoint (Wernitz, 1993; Wernberg-Moller, 1999; Lamkhanter, 2003; Sadiqi, 2003; Ziamari, 2006; Kossmann, 2012; C. Anderson, 2013; Boutmgharine, 2014; Akfir & El Habib, 2015).

It has been noticed that the majority of the studies on CS in the Moroccan context focus mainly on grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of CS. Other perspectives where CS could be studied have received very little attention, if no attention, such as the psycholinguistic one. Besides, most of the studies which have been conducted explore CS between French and Arabic, especially Moroccan Arabic (MA). Studies on CS between Amazigh and Arabic in the Moroccan context are very scarce in the

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literature; only two studies have been found (El Salmane, 2007; Kossman, 2012). Both of these studies treat CS between Amazigh and Arabic from a social perspective, and they focus on other Amazigh varieties rather than Tachelhit. Thus, this study aims to unravel the frequency and structural types of CS behavior in Amazigh radio discourse, especially in Souss region where Tachelhit variety is used.

3. THE STUDY OBJECTIVES

The current study aims at meeting the following key objectives:

- To examine the frequency of CS between Arabic and Amazigh in Amazigh radio talk-shows.
- To identify the types of CS patterns among Amazigh interlocutors in the Amazigh radio talk-shows.
- To investigate the roles that both Arabic and Amazigh play in terms of language dominance in the Amazigh radio talk-shows.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study seeks to answer these two main questions:

- What is the frequency of CS between Arabic and Amazigh in Amazigh radio talk-shows?
- What structural types of CS govern the linguistic behaviour of Amazigh interlocutors in the data of this study?

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. Participants

The participants in the current study consist of the speakers involved in the radio talk-shows being analyzed. The data consists of three radio talkshows. In the first one, there are two participants, the radio presenter and the guest, who is a famous artist in Souss region. The second radio talk-show involves three speakers; they are the radio presenter and two guests, who are teachers and runners of an ICT program for educational purposes. The third talk-show consists of five speakers. They come from different areas of Souss region. Therefore, this study involves ten speakers in total. They all speak Tachelhit variety of Amazigh language because they all come from Souss region in Morocco where this variety is used. The participants embrace different social variables such as age, gender, education, and social status.

5.2. Data collection

With regard to the radio discourse, the data of the current study is mainly based on three radio talk-shows which were aired on three different radio stations, namely *Al-ida3a Al-Amazighiya*, *MFM Souss*, and *Radio Plus*; these are the most popular Amazigh radio stations in Morocco. The radio talk-shows chosen tackle different issues. Concerning the first one, it was broadcasted on Radio Plus. It involves two speakers, the radio presenter and the guest. The latter is a famous artist in Souss region. They talked about different topics related to the life of the guest. This radio talk-show contains 164 utterances. The second talk-show was broadcasted in *Al-Ida3a Al-Amazighiya*. It consists of 146 utterances. The speakers are the radio presenter and two teachers. They spoke about the best ways for baccalaureate students to sit for their exams; they also talked about a project launched by the teachers via the internet to help baccalaureate students prepare for their national exam. Therefore, the main theme in this talk-show is education. The third talkshow is about an hour long. It was broadcast in *MFM Souss* radio station. The participants are the host and four guests; three of them are in the studio and the fourth is on phone. The topic is about the organization of a festival or fair of honey local products. This talkshow consists of 488 utterances; 413 of them witness CS, while only 63 utterances are in net Amazigh, which is the source language of the talk-show. It is noteworthy that all the speakers use the Tachelhit variety of Amazigh during both talk-shows. In total, there are 798 utterances in the talk-shows. These utterances are the focus of analysis of the current study.

5.3. Data analysis

The data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. As indicated above, this study aims to answer two main questions. The first question revolves around examining the frequency of CS between Arabic and Amazigh in the radio talk-shows being analyzed. Along with that, we also investigated the degree of language dominance between the two languages involved in bilingual discourse using Myers-Scotton (1993) MLF model.

The first analytic task is trying to distribute the talk-shows in terms of turns. In this study, a “turn” is defined as an utterance or a series of utterances that mark a change of speech floor among interlocutors. i.e., every time a speaker starts to speak, he/she takes a turn. Once the speaker finishes his/her speech about an idea, his/her turn ends and another speaker’s turn may start until the conversation finishes. A total number of turns in the corpus was counted; then, these turns were categorized in relation to CS into: between-turn switches and within-turn switches.

After determining the number of turns and classifying them with regard to CS phenomenon, the total number or utterances is calculated. An utterance is defined as a unit of speech such as a word, a phrase, a clause, a sentence which is produced by a speaker in order to express an idea and communicate a message. After identifying the number of utterances in the corpus, We calculated the number of utterances that witness CS. These utterances are subcategorized into: utterances in which Amazigh is the ML and others in which Arabic is the ML. In order to determine the features of ML versus EL, we relied on Myers-Scotton MLF

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model (1993). This exchange in the role of language dominance demonstrates a lot about the nature of CS between the two languages involved.

The second analytic task is concerned with the grammatical analysis of CS in the data; more specifically, we investigated the types of CS involved based on their discourse boundaries. According to Dulm (2007) and Hamers and Blanc (2000), various types of CS can be distinguished on the basis of the nature and length of switched units. Generally, there are four grammatical categories of CS: Inter-sentential CS, Intra-sentential CS, Intra-word CS, Extra-sentential (tag switching) CS. These four categories and were examined in the data.

6. RESULTS

The results are presented following the research questions aforementioned. The first analytical task to calculate the number of turns. The term “turn” is defined as a continuous sequence of utterances marking a change of speaker; every time a speaker has the floor to speak in response to the previous statement is considered a turn. The data reveals that the total number of turns is 183. These turns are categorized into *between-turn switches* and *within turn-switches*.

Table 1: Number of turns which involve CS.

Types of turn switches	N° of occurrences	Percentage (%)
Between-turn switches	71	38,79%
Within-turn switches	156	85,24 %

The data analysis indicates that the majority of turns taken by the speakers in the corpus involve CS. 38,79 % of these turns occur between the speech turns. Here are some illustrative examples. It should be noted that the Arabic elements are italicized all along the cited examples in this study.

(1) Presenter: ma t-*q̄sad*-t s *lwaḍ* *əl-fanni*?

What do you mean by the artistic situation?

Guest: *ʕakudan* t-lla tamimt.

At that time, there was a flavor.

(2) Presenter : ...l-virus lli t-ssest...

the virus that you know

Guest : *li ʔanna l-moʔkil* imqqorn iga-t...

because the biggest problem is....

The first example is an instance of a turn that starts in Amazigh while the previous one finishes in Standard Arabic. In this exchange, the presenter finishes his turn with an Arabic expression, “*lwaḍ əl-fanni*”, while the guest response starts in Amazigh, “*ʕakudan*”. On the other hand, the second example represents an instance of a turn that finishes in Amazigh while the next one starts in Arabic. In this example, the first speaker, the presenter, finishes his turn in with the Amazigh complementizer phrase, “*lli t-ssest*”, whereas the guest’s turn starts with the Arabic prepositional phrase, “*li ʔanna l-moʔkil*”.

As for Within-turn switches, they occur when a speaker alternates between two or more languages while he is speaking out during his speech turn. As indicated above, the majority of the turn-related cases of CS takes place within the speech turns. Here are examples:

(3) Presenter: *ahlan wa sahlān, merħba bik* h Radio Plus tiklit jadni

welcome, welcome to you in Radio Plus again

(4) Guest: iga ʔir *θaman ramzi*

it is just a symbolic price

In the example (3), we have a case of alternation between Amazigh and Arabic in which both language systems are activated. The utterance starts with Arabic, “*ahlan wa sahlān, merħba bik*”. The first part of the latter is in SA while the second, “*merħba bik*”, is in MA, so we have a case of diglossic switching, which is not the focus of this study. Within the same turn, the speaker switches to Amazigh through the prepositional phrase “*h Radio Plus tiklit jadni*”. In the second example, we notice the insertion of an Arabic noun phrase, “*θaman ramzi*”, into the Amazigh utterance. Hence, these instances represent cases of within-turn switching. It is worthy to note that most of the inserted Arabic elements into the Amazigh speech come from the SA variety.

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After determining the number of turns, the total number of utterances is counted. An utterance is defined as a unit of speech bounded by a pause or silence in which a speaker expresses a complete idea. It can take the form of a statement, question, an exclamation or a command. An utterance can consist of a single word, a phrase, a clause or a series of clauses spoken by a single speaker in a specific context. The table 2 below illustrates clearly the total number of utterances and specified the number of those involving CS.

Table 2: Number of utterances and CS.

Total number of utterances	798	100%
Code-switched utterances	609	76.31%

As we can see in the table, the total number of utterances is 798. 76.31% of them involve CS. Concerning the code-switched utterances, they were explored and subdivided into utterances in which Amazigh plays the role of ML and those in which Arabic is the ML. In order to determine the features of ML versus EL, we relied on Myers-Scotton (1993) MLF model. Basically, the ML is the dominant language that supplies the morphosyntactic frame and more morphemes in a bilingual sentence, while the embedded language supplies insertions mainly in the form of content morphemes which are embedded into the ML.

The analysis of code-switched utterances in the corpus shows that there are utterances in which Amazigh is the ML as its grammar constitutes the main structural frame of the whole utterances, into which lexical elements from EL (Arabic) are inserted. On the other hand, there are others, code-switched utterances, in which Arabic enjoys the role of ML while Amazigh is in the position of EL. Here we firstly provide instances in which Amazigh plays the role of ML, and then we move to explore the utterances in which Arabic is the ML.

- *Utterances in which Amazigh is the ML:*

(5) *da:ʔiman* tamazirt-ny nkni ixaʃsat aggi-s t-ili tazuknmit.
always, our homeland needs to have thyme in it.

(6) *ingmin n tassbiht n-yassa iga-t jan l-fannan, l-musiqar* imqqorn.
the guest of this morning in a big artist and musician.

The example (5) stated above is an instance of a code-switched utterance in which Amazigh is the ML. This utterance starts with an inserted Arabic item, which is the frequency adverb “*da:ʔiman*”, meaning “always”. The rest of the utterance includes only Amazigh items both at the level of system and content morphemes. The inserted Arabic element, “*da:ʔiman*”, is also used in MA, and it can also be considered as a borrowed item in Amazigh language with some slight phonological variation. However, the way it was uttered here by the speaker renders it as a SA element rather than MA or Amazigh. The second example (6) is also an illustrating case of code-switched utterances where Amazigh plays the role of ML and Arabic as EL, it is very noticeable that Amazigh is the dominant language of the utterance. The only Arabic items in the utterance are the inserted SA nouns “*l-fannan, l-musiqar*”. The rest of elements in the utterance are all in Amazigh.

- *Utterances in which Arabic is the ML:*

(7) *ʃadara min-hum* imik
They issued a little.

(8) *ar-n-t-qddam əddaʃm ənnafssi xuʃʃoʃan h lfatarat-ad*
we give the psychological support, especially in these periods

The instance (7) above shows an example of a code-switched utterance in which Arabic is the dominant or base language of the utterance while Amazigh contributes only with specific insertions. This utterance starts with the verb “*ʃadara*”, which comes from SA, then comes the preposition “*min*”, meaning “from”, followed by the object pronoun “*hum*”. The only Amazigh item in this utterance is the adverb “*imik*”, meaning “a little”. Therefore, this utterance exemplifies a case in which Arabic is the dominant or matrix language whereas Amazigh is the subordinate or embedded one. The example (8) shows also an utterance where Arabic provides the majority of elements, so it plays the role of ML and Amazigh is the EL. The only Amazigh elements in the utterance are the imperfective particle “*ar*”, the personal pronoun “*n*” which means for “we”, and the preposition “*h*”. All the other elements are in Arabic. It should be noted that all the Arabic element are in Standard Arabic. The latter is the one which is mainly switched to, rather than the Moroccan Arabic. Meanwhile, it was noticed that the intervention of Arabic in Amazigh radio discourse occurs in various discourse boundaries such as inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and intra-word levels. This is more thoroughly discussed in the the following part.

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The second part of the current study revolves around the types of CS witnessed in the Amazigh radio talk-shows analyzed. The results of data analysis demonstrate that switching between Amazigh and Arabic takes place at various discourse boundaries and involves various syntactic categories. More particularly, the analysis of the data investigates the four types of CS; namely, inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching, intra-word switching, and extra-sentential (tag) switching. Of these four categories, it was noticed that the intra-sentential CS is significantly the most prevalent in the data. Here are some examples of intra-sentential switching:

(9) *ma t-qṣad-t s lwadɣ l-fanni?*

What do you mean by the artistic situation?

(10) *əl-fnnana kolɣitn, inazorn kolɣitn ar-tɣkkan f l-moɣkil ad.*

all the artists complain about this problem

The examples above indicated cases of CS at the intra-sentential level. In the example (9), we notice the switch back and forth within the same sentence. The latter starts with Amazigh interrogative pronoun, “ma”; then comes the VP, *t-qṣa-t*, which consists of the Amazigh inflectional circumfix, which is used to indicate the second person, and the SA verb “*qṣada*”, so here is a case of intra-word switching as well. The sentence finishes with a SA noun phrase “*lwadɣ l-fanni*”. In the second instance, the speaker starts his utterance with the Arabic noun phrase, *əl-fnnana*; then he switches to Amazigh and back again to Arabic, using the noun phrase “*l-moɣkil*”, and finishes with the Amazigh demonstrative pronoun “*ad*”.

The second frequent type of CS in the data is the intra-word switching. Various examples illustrating switches within word boundaries can be cited. Interestingly, most intra-word CS takes place between standard Arabic verbs and Amazigh inflectional morphemes attached to it. Typical examples for such cases are:

(11) *ad-wakəb-n l-bara:miz*

they keep up with the programs

(12) *midn ar-t-waṣal-n s ism-nk*

people talk in your name

Both examples above represent cases of intra-word CS. In the first example, it takes place at the verb phrase level, “*ad-wakəb-n*”. The latter consists of the SA verb “*wakəb*”, the Amazigh inflectional morpheme “*ad-*” and the subject pronoun (plural) “*-n*”, meaning “they”. The same for the second example, we have the SA verb “*waṣala*”. Attached to it are the Amazigh inflectional morpheme “*ar-*”, which is an imperfective particle, the object pronoun “*-t-*”, referring to the previously mentioned noun “*midn*”, and the subject pronoun “*-n*”. Therefore, we have different morphemes from both languages within the same word.

As for inter-sentential CS, where switches can be at clause and sentence boundaries, there are several instances in which switches can be made between the two main clauses or between a main clause and a subordinate clause as in the following:

(13) *ar-ukan ttamzn midn lli ss-wuri-n y l-qarṣana, walakin aḍahira t-ntafer*

they do catch people who work in the piracy, but the phenomenon is widespread

(14) *ar-skarn l-maḡhudat-n; Allah iṣti-hum səḥḥa.*

they make their efforts, May Allah grant them good health

As we notice, the instances provided above represent cases of long inter-sentential-CS. The utterances start in a language and end in another. The long strings of mixed elements from both languages involved are juxtaposed in a way that indicates alternation at the clausal level. In the first example, the utterance is a mixed compound sentence that starts in Amazigh and ends in SA. The latter is activated in the first clause in which Amazigh is the Matrix language with the insertion of the noun phrase “*l-qarṣana*”. The latter triggers Arabic language in the next clause that starts with the Arabic coordinator “*walakin*”. The same goes with the second example stated above. It starts in Amazigh and finishes in Moroccan Arabic. Here, we also notice the activation of and alternation between the languages systems involved in a non-nested structure. It should be noted that only two cases of inter-sentential CS take place between Amazigh and Moroccan Arabic while Amazigh-SA cases are nine.

The last type of CS which is explored in the data is extra-sentential or tag-switching. The data witnesses no instances of switching in which tags in one language are inserted into an utterance of another one.

7. DISCUSSION

Generally, the data analysis shows that Amazigh-Arabic switching was bi-directional. Both languages play the role of ML and EL, with some favor in quantity to Amazigh language. Therefore, both languages involved hold the position of ML and EL interchangeably. This corroborates with the findings of Ashour's (2014) study which focuses on Tamazight-Arabic CS among Amazigh Libyans in media discourse, particularly in the First Libyan Berber News Broadcast. The analysis of data also demonstrates that Arabic is very frequent and prevalent in different conversational patterns of Amazigh radio discourse. It is noteworthy that all the participants codeswitch mainly between Amazigh and Standard Arabic, rather than Moroccan Arabic. The latter is rarely used, and its elements are mostly in forms of adverbials. Such findings corroborate with other previous studies (Kossmann, 2012; Ashour, 2014; Driouch, 2019 and others). It could be argued that SA represents a language of intellect and enjoys a high prestige among Amazigh speakers, particularly in formal settings like media. In this regard, Ennaji (2005, p. 145) advocates that the use of, or switching to, SA in Moroccan contexts often occurs in formal situations.

The intervention of Arabic in Amazigh radio discourse takes place in different positions (between-turn and within-turn switches) and at various discourse boundaries such as inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and intra-word levels. The Arabic insertions in Amazigh discourse include roughly all parts of speech. This shows that the switching channels are various and taps on the majority of types of CS when it comes to Amazigh-Arabic CS. Such findings support the results of various studies on other language pairs such as Arabic-French CS of Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Redouane (2005), Romanian-Arabic bilinguals by Kanakri and Ionescu (2010); English-Afrikaans CS by Van Gass (2002), Bowers (2006) and Dulm (2007), Alrowais (2012); and English-Arabic by Alhazmi (2016).

The results show that Amazigh-Arabic CS involves smaller and larger constituents (morphemes, words, phrases, and clauses). The analysis of the data yields that the intra-sentential switching is notably the most prevailing type of CS throughout the switched patterns in the corpus. The most frequently inserted items are nouns and noun phrases, followed by adjectives and verbs. This corroborates with a number of other studies (Redouane, 2005; Kossmann, 2012; Ashour, 2014; Alhazmi, 2016 among others). It should be mentioned that the majority of Arabic elements involved in the data comes from Standard Arabic rather than Dialectal/Moroccan Arabic. The latter's insertions are mostly limited to adverbs and adverbial phrase and are used as codeswitched elements at the intra-sentential level. Very rare cases of Amazigh-Moroccan Arabic CS at the clausal boundaries were witnessed.

The second most frequent type of CS is the intra-word switching. Such a finding of intra-word CS contradicts the assumption of Poblack (1980) that CS does not occur between a lexical and a bound morpheme, except in borrowing cases. The same claim was supported by Bentahila and Davies (1983:317) in the sense that "the only boundaries which seem to block switching are those morpheme boundaries internal to words". However, the data analysis of the current study asserts many cases of intra-word switching. Such switching is very frequent and seems very acceptable, especially in verb and noun boundaries, and the majority of the participants produced them. This was also found out by Alhazmi (2016) in English-Arabic CS.

In terms of inter-sentential switching, the findings indicate that the switches usually takes place between a main clause and subordinate clause. This corroborates the findings of study of Arabic-French CS by Redouane (2005) and Bentahila and Davies (1983). It was noticed that when switching occurs between two conjoined clauses, the conjunction is always in the same language as the clause it introduces. This was already claimed by Gumperz (1977). However, other studies do not approve this assumption and provide various counter-examples (Redouane, 2005; Bentahila and Davies, 1983; Bowers, 2006; and Alhazmi, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This paper concludes that CS between Amazigh and Arabic in Amazigh radio discourse is very prevalent and seemingly an acceptable linguistic behavior among Amazigh bilinguals. This is proven by the high rate and frequency of its occurrences in the data. The data analysis shows also that CS between Amazigh and Arabic is bidirectional. Both languages play the role of ML and EL in varying degrees. This exchange in the role of language dominance demonstrates a lot about the nature of the contact between the two languages involved in the context of this study. It is noted that Amazigh-Arabic CS is possible at various discourse boundaries where different types of CS are witnessed, namely: the intra-sentential switching, intra-word switching, and inter-sentential switching; there is an exception of tag-switching. The most recurrent types of CS in the study are intra-sentential and intra-word CS. In terms of the syntactic categories involved in Amazigh-Arabic CS, nouns with noun phrases as well as Adjectives represent the most frequent switched elements in the corpus. However, in terms of intra-word CS, verbs come in the lead, followed by nouns and noun phrases. Moreover, the analysis reveals that the majority of CS take place between Amazigh and SA; MA is rarely switched to.

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