Mixing Languages in the Spoken Discourse of the Algerian Radio Broadcasters: a Strategy for an Effective Communication

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Abstract: Mixing between many languages and varieties constitutes the strategy of communication adopted by the Algerian radio broadcasters to address people from different backgrounds. This paper sheds light on the particularity of this mixed code which; in addition to Arabic language; contains borrowed words from other languages especially French, Spanish and Turkish words. These words, which are spoken and rarely written, slipped into the oral speech of the Algerian radio broadcasters, some being adapted morphologically and phonologically and others being used with no modification. Mixing between all these languages gives birth to a specific variety of Arabic called Algerian Arabic which is understood by everyone. On the basis of various spoken texts involving mixing between the languages already cited, this paper stresses then the historical and socio-cultural factors responsible for this language contact situation in which Algerian radio broadcasters do not use what could be called pure Arabic. It is suggested to maintain this particular code in the spoken discourse of the Algerian radio broadcasters because it reflects the Algerian history, culture and identity.

Keywords: Arabic varieties, Algerian Arabic, Language contact, Code mixing, Communicative strategy

Introduction

Language is a uniquely human phenomenon .Either spoken or written, it plays a great role in our daily relationships. It serves a vast range of communicative needs, not just a means of communication but also a marker of social identity. Among the social phenomena that interested to a great extent researchers in the field of sociolinguistics, is the phenomenon of language usage inside the same speech community. However, studies on language contact phenomenon in the media and especially in radio broadcasting stations are scarcer although this sociolinguistic situation is largely spread in such a professional environment especially in Algeria which is regarded as a linguistic market where many languages coexist together in different domains and in various contexts. On the basis that language should be studied and investigated in relation to its social context "speech is not personal possession but a social: it belongs not to the individual but to the members of society". Whitney (1867:404) quoted in (Fatmi: 13-14), this research paper attempts to explore the particularity of radio broadcasters' oral discourse taking into consideration the linguistic diversity of the Algerians' verbal repertoire.

Since Algerian radio broadcasting is a real laboratory for sociolinguistic studies because of radio broadcasters' daily exposure to language mixing phenomenon, the paper at stake accordingly investigates radio broadcaster's ability to mix between many languages in different situations and contexts. This research study comprises data from radio passages with frequent language mixing which will be transcribed to the written form. It is worth noting that the researcher profession as a radio broadcaster for more than eleven years will provide useful insight to the subject matter.

The State of Multilingualism in Algeria

Algeria as a North African country has experienced long-term linguistic and cultural contact with many societies and civilizations. Dynamic and complex bi and multilingual situations and other language contact phenomena have resulted from this linguistic experience. Across history Algeria was noticeably marked by the emergence of several languages; one of the most important effects was the great number of words which slipped into the Algerian verbal repertoire. Due to the complex history the country has gone through, the Algerian speech community has acquired a distinctive code which is characterized by a dynamic speech variation.

About the complexity of the Algeria's linguistic situation, Bagui (2014) points out: "the complexity of the Algerian linguistic situation can be clearly attested in individuals' day-to-day linguistic behaviour. Not only a diglossic situation where two varieties of the same language are in a functional distribution exists (Ferguson 1959), but also a linguistic phenomenon of an inter-lingual situation that occurs when distinct languages are in contact" (p.86).

Nowadays, Algeria's linguistic profile comprises:

Classical Arabic

CA is a variety of Arabic which is acquired through learning in educational institutions and used in formal situations for example in schools and religious speeches. It is perceived as the language of Islamic religion and considered as a high variety of Arabic. Kerma(2017) states: "Classical Arabic enjoys the prestige of a written language, but is no one's mother tongue. It is used by a group of scholars who have always taken great pride in their ability to speak flawless Arabic, and therefore always looked down upon any colloquial interference with the classical forms" (p.134). It is important to note that Classical Arabic has recently undergone a slight shift from classicism to Modern Standard Arabic.

Modern Standard Arabic

Derived from Classical Arabic in order to meet socio-cultural and linguistic needs, MSA is a contemporary variety of Arabic language which is now used in literature, education, administration and to some extent journalism. Said (1967) indicates that Modern Standard Arabic is "that variety of Arabic that is found in contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines, and that is used orally in formal speeches, public lectures, and television" .Modern Standard Arabic is used as the official and national language of all Arab countries including Algeria. It is standardized and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Arab World at large.

Tamazight Language

Tamazight or Berber language is a minority language spoken by some people in different regions in Algeria mostly in kabylia. It has been recognized as an official and second national language in the Algerian constitution of 2016 after years of struggle by Tamazigh advocates. This step attempted to strengthen Algeria's democracy, a starting point to draw up a new map of the nations' identity which consists of a linguistic and cultural diversity. Among the practical measures which have been recently untaken, the integration of Tamazight into the educational system. More human and financial resources have been attributed to the progressive teaching of Tamazight especially at the primary schools in order to promote the language.

Algerian Arabic

AA is the mother tongue of all Algerians. This colloquial variety of Arabic which has developed many regional varieties in Algeria is considered as a low variety of Arabic for the reason of containing many foreign borrowed words, but still occupies an important stand in the Algerian society. Instead of being exclusively spoken, it is to mention, however, that the written form of Algerian Arabic was used in the 80's and 90's as stated in Bishai(1996) "Desirous of reaching the general public and perhaps also because they had not fully mastered classical Arabic, the speakers of the revolutions have often used colloquial expression in their formal speech". It is also worth noting that the written text of Algerian Arabic still exists in many Algerian news papers .This,

without ignoring the growing tendency to find lexical and structural elements from Algerian Arabic in informal writing such as private correspondences in social media.

It is relevant to adduce here the fact that the two varieties of Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic) remain two distinctive codes especially on the phonological and morphological levels. Phonologically, most MSA vowels are deleted or reduced. Here are some examples:

Table 1. Phonological differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	The significance of the word in English
/ʃaʒara/	/ʃaʒra/	a tree
/ȷ̣af u:zu/	/ȷ̣fu:z/	to win
/təɣrisu/	/təɣrəs/	to plant

Morphologically, AA is much simpler than MSA because of the absence of the case-marking inflections and the plural inflections .Consider the following examples:

Table 2. Morphological differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	The significance of the word in English
/ta:baʕtum:ha:/	/tabbaʕtu:ha/	You have followed
/istafadtum/	/stfadi:tu:/	You have taken benefit.
/jahummu/	/jhamm/	It interests.

French Language

It is a foreign language which is used in social life and educational domains. French language, although remains the language of the colonizer, is considered in Algeria as the most important language for economic purposes, scientific research and modern culture. Akila affirms: "French has become an elitist language, symbol of social success and remains omnipresent in the fields of the bank of economy and the opening up on the universal". (quoted in kerma p.138)

All these languages mentioned above are mixed together to form a distinctive code called Algerian Arabic. One may consider that often Arabic speakers from the Middle East do not recognize what has being said by an Algerian; the reason is that Algerian Arabic is largely influenced by many other foreign languages. In Algeria actually, mingling many languages together is a plain fact. It is not surprising that non educated Algerians use borrowed words without actually mastering foreign languages. This is in fact the result of the historical contact with many languages during the occupation of Algeria. Arabic, Tamazight, Spanish, Turkish, French are all languages which are incorporated into the verbal repertoire or Algerians and used in their daily interactions. The aspects of language mixing situation in the Algerian society occurs thus as a natural outcome of language contact due to the historical and socio cultural factors responsible for such a linguistic complexity.

Algerian Radio Broadcasting Overview

Radio broadcasting is the most popular media in Algeria. Having played an active role in the war of independence, the radio remains one of the most accessible vehicles for communicating information. State-

owned National Radio Broadcasting (Entreprise Nationale de Radiodiffusion Sonore ENRS) manages national radio stations. Similar to the ENTV(Entreprise Nationale de Television) i.e. Algerian Television, the ENRS is expanding and modernizing its network in preparation for eventual sector liberalization and has entered into partnership with France's INA (Institut National de l'Audiovisuel) for training personal, enhancing programming and facilitating the transition to digital radio.

Today, Algeria has three national radio stations: Arabic language channel 1, Berber language channel 2 and French language channel 3.There are also four themed radio stations available nationwide: radio culture, radio Quran, music station El Bahdja, and 24 hour news station Radio International which broadcasts in Arabic, French, English and Spanish. From July 2009, Algeria had 44 local radio stations and by the end of 2009 is set to have 48; a radio station in each province.

After Algeria's independence, a strong unilingual dominance characterized the Algerian media. Modern Standard Arabic; which is the national and official language in Algeria; was at the forefront of state media. It is the case for Arabic language channel 1.As for the other radio stations especially local radios; recently inaugurated in each province in Algeria; the dialect known as Algerian Arabic is the language of communication.

Chachou (2011) affirms that "it was at the beginning of the 2000s that an important change takes place within the linguistic practices due to the economic openness, the development and even the sudden emergence of new technologies (TV satellite and internet)…Excluded for a long time from the media at the expense of institutional Arabic, the native languages make up the ground especially due to some local radio programmes; since they are open to the public, the interactions are broadcasted in these languages"(p.161-163).

The Local Radio of Ain Temouchent (The Case Study)

The local radio of Ain Temouchent is a state-owned station, inaugurated on March 26th, 2008. It broadcasts over its 95.9 FM frequency, as it can be reached by internet and satellite. Its news and programmes are in Arabic language and it covers daily events in many sectors. The local radio serves its listeners by offering a wide variety of content that contains news coverage and different kinds of programmes. The media institution counts thirty one employees among them eight journalists and eleven radio hosts.

The Reality of Language Mixing in the Algerian Radio Broadcasting

Language scholars started to be interested in studying the spoken language with the advent of structural linguistics. However, language variation gained attention with the appearance of sociolinguistics which has for objective to study and investigate the spoken varieties and dialects with the necessary tools already provided to the written form of language. According to Cantone (2007) "language mixing means that a word from language A or an utterance which contains elements from languages A and B is mixed into the language contact of language B" (quoted in Vasquezp.09). Language mixing is often seen by linguists as similar to code switching. The linguistic scholar Grosjean (1982:145) defines code mixing and code switching as the "alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation".

Language mixing constitutes a grassroots phenomenon at the Algerian radio broadcasting. Arabic, Tamazight, Spanish, Turkish and French are languages which are related in their context of use in the spoken discourse of Algerian radio broadcasters. The mixture between Arabic and these languages results in a specific and a distinctive code which is adopted and adapted to the Algerian use with new functions and structures. This mixture between Arabic language and other foreign borrowed words may occur between two utterances as it may occur within a single utterance. Accordingly, the shift between the different languages takes place spontaneously and in a natural way in the spoken discourse of radio broadcasters.Consider the following utterances extracted from Ain Temouchent local radio programmes.

Table 3. The mixture between Arabic language and French language

Utterance	Arabic words	French words	Translation to English
/deːʒa tnəkkas la sirkulasj ɒ n fa sajf/	/tnəkkas/ /fa sajf/	/deːʒa / /la sirkulas ɒn /	It actually reduces the traffic jam in summer.
/nakaduː nawasluː zeɣɒ ka/	/nakaduː/ /nawasluː/	/zeɣɒ/ /Ka/	We can reach zero case
/lɜːzəm diruː pɒrt a pɒrt p uː ɣ s ɒnsibilize /	/lɜːzəm/ /diruː/	/pɒrt a pɒrt / /p uː ɣ/ /s ɒnsibilize /	You have to start door to door sensibilisation

In the above utterances taken from Algerian radio broadcasters' spoken discourse, one may observe a sort of fusion between Arabic and French languages which are mixed together to form a specific code: Algerian Arabic. It is clearly noticeable that French language is playing a more dominant role than the other languages, which results in the impact of French colonialism in Algeria. It is not surprising to hear radio broadcasters switching back and forth between Arabic and French in a single utterance simply because French language is prominent among Algerian speakers and deeply implemented at both formal and informal levels. Considered as a language of modernity, it is to note that French words are also used among broadcasters to designate many technical items. Words such as: transition (transition sound), bande-annonce (preview), indicatif (call sign), habillage (soundtrack), info (news) are largely used .In addition to other English words such as streaming, jingle and briefing. Indeed, the mixture between Arabic and French takes place spontaneously and performed in a natural way.

Table 4. The mixture between Arabic language and other borrowed foreign words

Utterance	Arabic words	Borrowed foreign words	Translation to English
/natʕarfu ljuːm ʕla tabak dolma/	/natʕarfu/ / ljuːm/ /ʕla/ / tabak/	/dolma/ (Turkish) a Turkish dish	Today we will discover the dolma dish.
/maʕrouf lɣarb lʒazajri bel karantika/	/maʕrouf / / lɣarb/ /lʒazajri/	/Karantika/ (Spanish) Algerian tradidional dish from the Spanish word "caliente"	Western Algeria is known by karantica.
/la plupar de zalʒeɣiən yhabuː yakluː ,lbuːraːk fi ramdan/	/yhabuː/ /yakluː/ /fi / /ramdan/	/La plupar / French /de zalʒeriən/ French buːraːk (Turkish)	Most of Algerian people like eating burak in Ramadan

As shown in the above table, other borrowed foreign words are integrated in the verbal repertoire of radio broadcasters including Turkish and Spanish words in addition to French words. Basically, some borrowed foreign words are used in most cases when there are no equivalent words in Arabic language. Radio broadcasters in this case call for the use of foreign words to fill the gap. It seems to be a part of a linguistic behaviour to conform to a more context –appropriate style of speech.

Table 5. The mixture between Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic

Utterance	MSA	AA	Translation to English
/ba:ʃ ma:jku:nʃ ʕandhu:m ha:ð lʔirtiba:tˤ lwaθi :q bil ʔaʒhiza ððakijja /	/lʔirtiba:tˤ / / lwaθi :q / /bil ʔaʒhiza / /ððakijja/	/ ba:ʃ / / ma:jku:nʃ / /ʕandhu:m/ /ha:ð/	To avoid the close connection to smart devices.
/ɣadwa: nʃa:allah jʕa:wad jalqa:kum albarna:maʒ fi: nafsi ʔalmawʕid /	/jalqa:kum/ /albarna:maʒ / / fi:/ /nafsi /ʔalmawʕid/	/ɣadwa:/ /nʃa:allah/ /jʕa:wad/	The programme will meet you at the same moment Tomorrow inchallah.
/ħaqi:kat lʔamr annana: ngu:lu: bazza:f swa:laħ wa la:kkin ma: ndi:ru:hu:m ʃ/	/ħaqi:kat/ / lʔamr/ /annana:/ /wa la:kkin/	/ngu:lu:/ /bazza:f/ /swa:laħ/ /ma: ndi:ru:hu:m ʃ/	Actually, we don't do what we say

The data gathered from the table above indicate a mixture between two varieties of Arabic: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) referred to as the High variety (H) and Algerian Arabic (AA) referred to as the Low variety (L) (Fergusson 1959). The mix between the two varieties takes place between or within utterances. At the grammatical level, MSA is considered more complex in comparison with AA. The reason for which, some linguistic items are completely deleted or replaced by others from AA. However, one may notice a sort of fusion between the two varieties of Arabic. This connection is resulted in the existence of an intermediary form of Arabic which is known as "the middle variety" or "Educated Spoken Arabic". The basic features of this variety are predominantly standard, but adapted to the colloquial use.

The emergence of an intermediate form of Arabic

The coexistence between MSA and AA is evolved from a diglossic situation that Algeria denotes. Freeman (1996) argues that "no discussion of Arabic is complete without at least a cursory discussion of diglossia" (p1).It is apparent from table 05 that the combination between the two varieties: MSA and AA gives birth to an intermediate form of Arabic; a new linguistic code, specific to the media use which is codified by radio broadcasters in their daily interactions with the audience to the extent that it can be easily understood by all radio listeners.

A related point to consider is that this mixed code is characterizing almost all radio programmes except for the news which are broadcasted in Modern standard Arabic. Nevertheless, one would stress that during news presentation, some linguistic items are delivered in borrowed foreign words, as already mentioned in table 04 for instance: karantika (Spanish word). Some of these borrowed words are used without any modification such as dolma (Turkish word); others are adapted phonologically and morphologically to the Algerian Arabic use. Some examples of these borrowed foreign words are: 'sakwila' from the Spanish word 'escuela' (school), 'tabla' from the french word 'table' (a table), 'nayer' from the tamazight word 'yennayer' (the first day of the new Amazigh year). Part of the insertions also consists of lexical items referring to Ottoman Turkish lexicography including: 'cherbet', 'tkacher', 'nichan', 'zerda', 'baklawa', 'burak', 'kahwaji', 'telwa', 'tbassa', 'dolma', 'brania', 'balak', 'kabssa', 'derbouka', 'rechta' (Bou Cheneb 2012) .It is worth to highlight here that the Turkish elements that occur in Algerian Arabic are generally nouns, other constituent types are embedded with low frequency.

Reasons for Language Mixing in the Algerian Radio Broadcasting

Algerian Arabic which relies largely on mixing many languages is used by Algerian broadcasters for many reasons:

- To address not only the educated people but all Algerians who remarkably differ in their educational and cultural backgrounds.
- To fit situational, social, cultural and relational context.
- To tone down the complexity of the literary standard Arabic.
- To accord radio broadcasters the possibility of being close to the audience, far away from formality and distance.

Algerian Arabic: a distinctive code for an effective communication

Many studies undertaken to investigate language contact phenomenon indicate that code mixing/switching is a strategy of communication. For Gumperz (1970) "code switching is meaningful in much the same way that lexical choice is meaningful. It is a verbal strategy used in much the same way that a skillful writer might switch styles in a short story" (p152).

In this sense, Vasquez (2012) indicates that "Language mixing does not only relate to a momentary linguistic need; it is also very useful communication recourse. It takes place unconsciously; speakers are often relatively unaware that they are switching from one language to another. The main concern is transmitting a message or a purpose and they know that the other person will understand them whether they use one or two languages when transmitting the message". She adds:" very often a bilingual knows a word in both language X and Y, but the language Y word is more readily available at that moment when speaking language X" (p 09-10).

Algerian Arabic which is the mother tongue of the Algerian society is gradually integrating the Algerian media. It becomes now the communication medium of the majority of radio broadcasting stations especially local radios which are more close to the local community. Badawi(2006) highlights the fact that "whereas the 'Quranic' variety of Arabic was previously the model of Standard Spoken Arabic, the language of the media is becoming the model for present-day educated and non-educated native Arabic speakers".

On the basis that media language should be understandable by the wide range of audience, Algerian Arabic which relies largely on mixing many languages represents the specific code used by Algerian broadcasts to address not only the elite but all Algerian people who remarkably differ in their educational and cultural backgrounds. This Algerian distinctive code constitutes a specific linguistic style employed for a specific goal: an effective communication.

In addition to increase understanding, radio broadcasts adopt this communicative attitude to fit situational, social, cultural and relational context. It means that radio broadcasters aim at being close to the people since the radio is beyond any doubt the citizens' voice. For such a reason, radio broadcasts perform multiple aspects of their socio-cultural identities. Fishman states that "the appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behavior obviously calls for considerable insights into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual settings at particular periods in their history" (p92).

One point worth noting is that this specific Algerian Arabic used by radio broadcasts is considered as an appropriate and suitable code which avoids rudeness and discourteousness .It is called by some linguists "the middle variety". Al Toma (1969) assumes that "Speakers mainly educated ones may switch for a shorter or longer period of time to the high variety, or they mix the two varieties in the same conversation. This kind of speech is the middle variety" (p05).In the media field, this distinctive code is known as Educated Spoken Arabic and which is supposed to lessen the linguistic tension between the educated and non educated Arabic speakers. In this regard Ferguson (1959) explains that ESA is "a kind of Spoken Arabic much used in semi-formal and cross-dialectal situations which has highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary" (p433) .Relying on Modern Standard Arabic, colloquial Arabic and foreign languages, ESA has the capacity of being understood by educated and non educated people. Bouhadiba (1998) notices that "the amalgamation of the different varieties in place gives birth to an intermedial level of Arabic: "al Lugha al Wusta" or intermediate Arabic.

Recommendations

Language mixing in the media field is largely criticized by some defenders of Arabic language on the basis that this linguistic behaviour could represent a real threat for Arabic in an age of worldwide globalization and rapidly spreading communication technology. In contrast to this idea, one may call for a better appreciation of language mixing at the Algerian radio broadcasting for the reason that within this language contact and combination that Arabic language can stay up-to date and open to the world. Taking into consideration the linguistic diversity of the Algerian verbal repertoire, Algerian Arabic; which constitutes the result of this language mixing phenomenon remains an important variety which plays a great role for an effective communication. Thus, it is highly recommended to maintain and preserve this distinctive code in such a professional milieu since it reflects the Algerian history, culture and identity. It would also be interesting for further researches to experiment written texts in other types of media especially social media texts which have added new dimensions to language evolution. It is to note accordingly, the growing tendency to find lexical and structural elements from Algerian Arabic in informal writing such as private correspondences. Haugen (1970) argues "language can be best understood in its social context. This social context determines which forms of speech are more appropriate than others" (p57).

Conclusion

The linguistic diversity instigates frequent language mixing in Algeria. Due to historical events and socio-cultural changes the country has passed through, Algerians are multilingual by necessity; they frequently mix different languages in their daily interactions. Since the radio broadcasting is actually a mirror of the society and by the fact that radio programmes are related to the social domain and therefore to the informal frame, mixing languages occurs among radio broadcasters as a natural and inevitable consequence of multilingualism that Algeria witnesses. Giving birth to a specific code called Algerian Arabic; which has its own structures and rules, mixing languages in the spoken discourse of the Algerian radio broadcasters is adopted as a strategy of communication to deliver a simple and clear message to the large audience from different socio-cultural backgrounds. It represents consequently the adequate means for an effective communication.

List of Acronyms
CA : Classical Arabic
MSA : Modern Standard Arabic
AA : Algerian Arabic
ESA : Educated Spoken Arabic

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