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Code Switching as an Identity Marker among Algerian Bilinguals: A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Arabic-English speakers

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Abstract

Keywords

Code-switching Cultural Profiles Cultural Values Identity Relatedissues Social Identity used to communicate, express one's thoughts, ideas, and emotions. Yet, no language exists on its own, individuals have the ability to learn more than one language and this, of course, results different products. The present research paper tackles one of language contact outcomes that is code

switching. Actually, it is considered as a language resource

Language is assumed to be related to human species as it is

that individuals use to express, negotiate, and construct their social identities. In this research, a semi-ethnographic study was used to collect the necessary data and to attain research objectives. Both observation and audio-recordings were applied on a sample of eight participants. The data were analysed qualitatively in order to explore the function of CS and its contribution to identity construction. The findings reveal that alternating codes has a significant role in bilingual speech and has an indexical meaning. Second, it has been demonstrated that such a phenomenon is intentionally used by Algerian English speakers as the target language has more power, and it is strongly related to speech goals and identity related-issues. Thus, the present research work is a contribution to literature concerning code

switching as an identity marker.

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1. Introduction

Language is deemed to be a set of symbols and patterns that play a significant role in people's life. In fact, it hold a paradoxical place in the speech community; on one hand, it is considered as an essential element in communication process as it facilitates sharing ideas, thoughts. feelings, transmitting and messages. On the other hand, it is viewed as an identity marker as long as it represents particular individuals and makes them different from others. With these advances in mind then, language has two sides of the same coin: it is a means of communication and it serves as an identity marker. Joseph (2006) insists on the fact that identities are manifested in languages and this brings to light that people construct their identities through the instrumentality of language.

Language, formerly, used to be studied as a single entity and its analysis was related to internal including age, gender, urban, and rural However, with the technological development and increase of communication tools, language researchers focused on language as related to other languages and shifted attention to external factors that can influence languages such as colonialism, travelling, technology, globalization, tourism, economy power, mixed marriages, etc. giving consideration to modern studies sociolinguistics, researches show that this language contact gives birth to different linguistic phenomena including bilingualism, multilingualism, code switching(CS), code mixing (CM), language shift, etc.

In the present research paper, the focus is on one of the previous language contact outcomes that is code switching. It basically refers to the alternating use of two or more varieties in the same speech, i.e., switchers tend to simultaneously use two genetically different codes to express

themselves in conversations. In this line of thoughts, Bullock and Toribio (2009) argue that "all speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the need of the speech participants and the conversational setting" (p.02). From that perspective, CS is viewed as a language resource that determines individuals and their affiliation as well.

Due to the fact that language is part of human identity, any language contact outcome, including CS, represents one's identity and it is through different linguistic behaviours that they determined. Based on this, the question of identity and the use of CS is perceived as a crucial issue in sociolinguistics. Indeed, by bringing identity to light when analysing switchers' linguistic behaviour, shifts attention from grammatical, linguistic, and psychological factors of CS to different social factors that individual choose in order to display and reconstruct their identities. In the same vein, Nilep (2006), defines CS as the strategy of choosing certain linguistic items to contextualise them in conversations based on certain discourse settings and varied identities (cited in Zaid 2020, p.21). Simply, CS could be investigated taking into account its relation to identity- based issues in order to understand bilinguals' behaviour and the identity they want to project.

2. Literature review

Various research works tackled the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, namely bilingual speech and code switching. SID (2009), for instance, studied CS and borrowing as related to the Algerian society. In his study, the focus was on CS and borrowing from Arabic to French language considering that French language is widely used in Algeria since the independence. The investigation was conducted using an ethnographic approach and information were gathered from a sample that consisted of 112 participants at

Mentouri University of Constantine, Algeria. The researcher randomly asked the students to record segments. Of natural conversations. That took place in different places such as campus, halls of residence, the university cafeteria, etc. The final conclusions of that research paper indicate that although code-switching and borrowing are distinct phenomena, they may both be used within the same utterance.

Kelkoula & Djaileb (2019), also, made a contribution to the field of bilingualism. In their work they investigated different types of code switching and students' attitudes towards the use ofphenomenon. This study was conducted at the department of letter and Arabic languages ENSC, Constantine, Algeria as well. The database were collected using both questionnaires and observation. The first one aimed at identifying students' attitudes when using code switching while the second tools helped in identifying different types of CS used during the interaction. The results reveal that students hold positive attitudes towards the use of code switching in classroom. For them, it is just a matter of alternating language and they found it beneficial and fruitful especially in the classrooms. In fact some students wanted their teachers to use code switching as a constructive tool in the learning environment.

In another research work that was conducted by Zitouni & Saaid (2019), CS also was investigated in terms of attitudes and motives. This study focused on analysing the multilingual Arabic-French – English discourse of Algerian young Facebook users, living in Oran, Algeria. These participants, indeed, were university students. Yet the major aim of that examination was exploring participants' attitudes towards Arabic, French and English language use in concordance with code switching phenominality in online written discourse. Results show that a great majority of the respondents did code-

switch in Facebook. Furthermore, it was found that students are highly positive in their attitudes toward the use of codeswitching in Facebook communication. Besides, it was suggested that many of the Algerian Facebook users employ CS as a tool not only to enhance socializing but also academic activities.

Unlike the previous research works that focused mainly on attitudes, motives, grammatical and lexicon, and vocabulary functions of code switching, the present investigation aims at opening new angel in order to make a significant contribution in the field of sociolinguistics. The current research paper shifts attention from analysing the structural functions of CS and relates this language resource to social identity construction and negotiation. This contribution is marked by two main principles, the first is stance based approach while the second one is. after a long process of observation, the infiltration of English language and culture as well in the Algerian society due to many factors namely globalization. Hence, switching in this research paper perceived as a language resource (focusing on switching from Arabic/ French to English) that Algerian bilingual speakers use to reconstruct and negotiate their identities.

In practical terms, a stance based approach is used because speakers' stance are intricately connected to the messages being transmitted; besides, in order to find specific meanings a careful analysis must be implemented. The application of this analytical approach on CS and identity requires relating these stances to one's social background and cultural values. In the light of the above considerations, analysing the linguistic behaviour of the participants in the current examination is strongly based on speakers' stances, it examines CS and its relation to identity construction. Accordingly, to conduct this research two main questions are put:

- 1) How do Algerian bilinguals use CS to construct their identities?
- 2) To what extent the speakers' stances influence their aspects of social identity?

The mentioned research questions led to the formulation of the following research hypotheses:

- 1) Algerian bilinguals are living in a specific social and cultural environment, opting for another language would help them in expressing themselves and projecting their labelled identities.
- 2) Algerian switchers may reconstruct their identities based on the used language and its cultural values.

3. Research methodology and procedures

3.1. Participants

The selected sample, in the present study, is purposive one. It was carefully chosen based on close and long process of observation different CS patterns which were initially hypothesized to be relevant to the current study. These patterns can also be used to tackle CS and identityrelated issues. The sample included 8 students of different affiliations, most of these students were friends as they took part in a cultural club Called STOFLISH. It stands for students of English but it includes students from various departments in additions to English one. Only eight participants were selected although there was a large number of participants, they were assumed to be code switchers and each two of them did belong to a specific department. The following sample is not claimed to be representative as it includes specific population. Besides, the major aim is exploring the phenomenon rather than generalizing it. To guarantee research validity, pseudonyms are used and all participants signed a consent from, the participants' profile are represented in

Name	Age	Education	English level
Yanis	21	2 nd year	Upper
		Biology	Intermediate
Adam	22	2 nd year	Upper
		Biology	intermediate
Noor	23	3rd	Upper
		English	intermediate
		language	
Meriem	22	3rd year	Upper
		English	intermediate
Amina	21	1st year	Intermediate
		English	
Nihel	27	PhD	Advanced
		literature	
		and	
		civilisation	
Yassine	24	Master	Advanced
		literature	
		and	
		civilisation	
Ali	23	Master	Advanced
		literature	
		and	
		civilisation	

table3.1.

Table 3.1 participants' profiles

3.2. Instruments and data collection procedures

The current study adopted two main which research instruments were observation and audio recordings. The first one was, actually, at the very beginning of the study where the researcher attended the meetings that were weekly organized by the club members. In this meetings they discussed different cultural, social, and educational topics. The medium communication was English; hence, the observation was realized either before the discussion or after finishing where they started talking in Arabic and CS/ mixing maintained in their conversations. The second research tool was audio-recording, eight participants were selected to be recorded and they were also asked to make self-record. The peer conversations lasted from 15 to 20 minutes. The data were analysed qualitatively and the researcher obtained major themes that were later analysed and linked to CS and identity related-issues.

4. Results

The results are presented, in this research work, based on speakers' stances and language index as related to identity based-issues. In here, the focus was mainly on CS as a language resource and its relation to social identity reconstruction. The collected data allowed the researcher to get different themes that strongly show the relationship between CS and identity construction among Algerian bilinguals. Most switches were made from Arabic to English, in some cases English was used to sound more polite and make compliments while Arabic was used to be direct and harsh. It was found that the used language was tightly related its cultural values. Accordingly, the next section discusses some of the speakers' stances that are associated to English and these are politeness, positivity, individuality, authenticity, defensiveness,

4.1. CS as indexing positivity

Findings demonstrate that positivity was one of the stances participants associate English with. Indeed, they switched to English to express positive minds. In various situations, participants were likely to use English language to express their emotions. As illustrated in example 1, Noor yelled in English uttering "Cool" with a high and continuing pitch expressing her happiness mentioning that she finished reading the book. Meriem when answering this, she was tal²²king in Arabic yet when expressing her excitement

she switched to English. This could also signify solidarity between these friends as they used English to express their positive feelings. **Example1**

Noor: /jadra jadra kifas lhala?/

how is it going?

Meriem: /iwa rani neqra kol jom mankdebf Slik mayasnich nayser/

I read every day honestly I don't want to loose

Noor: /hata ana/ Me too

Meriem: /ni qrib nkeml the last hours/

I am going to finish the last hours

Noor: COOL! Well I finished it yesterday.

Meriem: /yaya ana baqili Safra taS les pages wella qal /

I still have ten pages or less to read.

Noor: Yes! We are almost there, it's the 15th on the list

The practice can be a result of frequent use of English that less fluent English speakers may not display. In example 2, there is another use of English language. Ali switched to English when talking about his actual situation and expressing his feelings. In reverse, Yassine also used English utterances to motivate him and show empathy like 'come on!, he 'seriously?' used with higher intonation when he was surprised. Ali did the same thing saying 'oh my god!' with high pitch that signified his surprise. Yassine also used English when starting his motivating talk maybe because English is a powerful language here, and what was said could be better perceived in English. Example2

Ali: /jadra vadi nkemlo challenge

wela kifas? Honestly bedit nasja/

So do you think we will finish the challenge? I'm getting tired

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Yassine: come on! /matgolf haka/

don't say so you have to keep up the good spirit, after all we live only once we either take this chance or we lose the opportunity, /ana tbali matvamarch/ I believe you should not give up

Ali: /ni Sarf beli sadi nendem welah mani Sarf Jandir ni has lwaqt

yejri w manif n avancé, t?amen
qrit vi rebsa ana/ I know I will
regret..I don't know what to do.. I
feel like time is running and I
don't
make any progress.. you know I

 $\begin{tabular}{lll} Yassine: & seriously? & / fakont & dir & men \\ qbel?/ & \end{tabular}$

read only four

what did you do before?

Ali: /Slaf ntaja fehal rak qari?/ Why?

How many books did you read?

Yassine: tessa w rani f lsafer / nine and I

am reading the tenth

Ali: Oh my God! Great /hna confirmit

beli ana mavadif nkemel/had

challenge Now I'm sure I won't

finish the challenge

Yassine: seriously? I said so to motivate
you! Come on! /W zid mazal
baqilna bezaf lwaqt/ and we still
have a lot of time

This would make sense when considering that collectivist based societies are not encouraged to express their feelings; for that reason, Ali, Yassine, Noor, and Meriem take the English voice to express their feelings, show positivity, and display emotions. Indeed, English does

belong to individualistic based societies and English people are encouraged to express their feelings as opposed to collectivist societies, including Arabs, who are not encouraged to express their identities. (Hofstede, 1990, Ting-Toomey, 1999. Gao &Ting Toomey, 1998).

4.2. Cs as Indexing Polite Attitudes

Individuals' behaviours, both linguistic and non-linguistic, are strongly associated with their cultural values. These values determine their actions, behaviours, communication, and so forth. Example3 illustrates how participants used English to make another positive move, be nice and polite to others, and respect their ideologies. In this conversation, they were talking about people that judged them based on the language they were speaking. Some of students were criticised for their actions and broke up the conversation by saving 'evervone minds his businesses' and left. Yanis talked about breaking down the conversation and leaving without arguing and Yassine did not agree with him. Their use of Arabic sound a bit critical and direct but not necessarily so. Adam noticed this and he paid attention that Yassine was surprised by Ali's comment and started making up for this. In doing so, he opted for the English voice to reduce the sharpness and directness of Arabic. He stated his point of view maintaining high level of respect to others with their beliefs and never talking about one's reaction as it could be the outcome of mistreatment and this led both Ali and Yassine to agree with him. In other occasion, Adam ended up the conversation politely and Yassine seemed fine with closing this endless debate. In here, the use of English reduced the tension and was a good option to end up a conversation unlike the first debate which was a complete failure, the use of Arabic was purposefully done to mark the directness and seriousness. Example3

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Yanis: /slaf nad w mabvaf ykml debat?/
why did he broke up without
finishing the debate

Ali: /jbalk taja kan valaţ ki gal beli kol waħad jediha f rasou?/

> Do you think he was wrong when he said everyone minds his own business?

Yanis: /kan aumoin jegSod w ydefendé

Sla raṣah maʃi ʃart jweri beli

majbviʃ li jentaqdah/ He could

have stayed and defend himself

rather than showing that he doesn't

accept criticism

Ali: /sema kifaʃ?/ so what?

Adam: actually No, we should never give judgments /bla manefahmou/ without understanding

mdejn kamel nesemSoha

Ali: /hija lokan galha kaf waħad vrai

w nesektou Mais ki jgolha
wahad normal/ we are like
'what'? If a religious man said so
we carefully listen to him but
when a normal one say so

Adam: this is my view we should respect each one's beliefs.

Ali: I do agree

Adam: I got go, this debate will never come to an end

Yassine: ((laughing)) yes this is taking forever.

Ali: yeah see you around guys!

This alternate use of English and Arabic was slippery, English was

associated with softness and politeness and Arabic, as related to cruelty and directness, could be an outcome of participants' admiration and adoption of target culture values such as politeness and positive mind-set.

4.3. CS to Express Individual Concerns

Findings also demonstrate that switching to English was culturally motivated in the sense that language was guided but its social background and speakers were guided by cultural values. This clearly appeared in the following example where participants were using English to express individual concerns since English belongs to individualistic based society, while Arabic belongs to collectivist ones. This excerpt shows frequent use of 'I guess', 'I believe', 'I respect one's beliefs', 'avoid making judgments' 'I mind my own business', etc. they even discussed the fact that whenever someone is talking in Arabic, s/he uses the 'we' as if he is responsible for the whole and this motivates their use of English to express individual concerns. Example4

Adam: I guess all people do it.. believe
me even you, /kamel nsofo f
doyan jdar rajel beşah hram yi
Sla lmra//We all that smoking
only hurts men's health but it is
forbidden on women/

Ali: yeah and I try to stay away from making judgments as much as I can.

Nihel: this saves you away from judgments?

Adam: yeah.. I think that I can do entertainment and this is bad for

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me to be miserable and I take it as a joke. /Kol masza w tetsalag
men krasha/ ((Algerian
proverb))... actually I mind my
own business.

Ali: but seriously... here whenever someone is speaking he uses the 'we' as if he is responsible for the whole society... misery!

Adam: smahl, beşah I literally hate that like tkon gasd f aman rabi jʒi fajat slik wahd jgolk ha qajemna malek, wela rak takol ha dewaqna//Excuse me! but...

you are sitting alone and someone came to you saying talk to us what's wrong with you?.. or you are eating give us some./
... holly crap! I see only one person talking where are the others?

Ali: /hata ki jaylaţ kaʃ wahad jgololah ntouma w jeʒmʕo/

/And if someone does something
bad they generalise/ they feel
embarrassed when talking about
individual achievements, and if
the speaker does not feel so... the
listener again make judgments
and believe that the speaker is

showing on... again! Judgments

Nihel: this is taking like forever.

Ali: yeah

Adam: have a good one

Nihel: bye

4.4. CS to Perform Authentic Speaker's Identity

The obtained results, in this section, illustrate that participants in some cases used English as a habit. They always added English words to their talk, to either make comments, bring additions, make tags, to sound serious, or be funny. For instance, in example 5 Adam used only one word to describe his opinion and this was 'deception' no need to talk or argue, this happened maybe because English holds a powerful status and the choice was motivated but this power. Also explicitness that English includes unlike Arabic where there is a lot of implicitness and interlocutors are expected to read between lines the same thing was applicable where he was talking in Arabic and finished his 'big flop' sentence with since summarized all what was mentioned in Arabic. In another example the English reduced the directness of Arabic especially when making comments, using taboo, and cursing. Example5

Yanis: /aj nemsiw nederbo dora f foyer ni mijet b ser/ hey shal we go to the cafeteria I'm starving

Adam: /tas şah mazal baqilna sasa wahdosra

baf neqraw/ You're right we still have one free hour

Ali: ok, /nemʃiw/ let's go!

Yanis: /haqa fefto/ oh yeah did you see last

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episode of game of thrones?

Adam: deception

Ali: actually I'm not really deceived, /beşaħ

smaħli/ big shit((laughing))

/But excuse me/

Yanis: Sansa the queen ((laughing))

Adam: /ija saji lokan gas melewel daroha slaf

bihom gas had si w production w

draham.../ They should have done this
from the beginning without wasting
their money big flop

In example 6, the conversation took another track, students started teasing their friend Ali. English in this example was used to express sarcasm and joking such as that one made by Yanis. He mocking at his friend using the English language, this could motivated by various reasons for instance, being sarcastic was taken mainly from the TC and participants talked many times that Americans are always sarcastic people and that is why the had participants tendency towards American English and people as well. Second, again English here reduced the directness and cruelty of Arabic, Yanis and Adam were laughing at Ali's stance, their comments were in English to sound sarcastic. Same thing was shared by Ali as he followed the track of sarcasm and asked their friends to 'band the knee', to show that he was right and they had to confess, yet the use in English made it sounding funny. The whole conversation was carried and ended up in English; again, to sound funny 'whose gonna pay?' was used bearing in mind that before sitting on the table everyone paid for his order. Thus, such an expression has two main functions: ending up the conversation and sounding funnier. Example6

Ali: /jak rak Saqel ana gaS ki welat ana

fagotlkom? Gotlkom/ she'll betray john snow!! *Do you remember what I said when*

she came back? I said

Yanis: /lhaq lhaq gotlna/ as if you are the person

who wrote the script Honestly you said so

Adam: you're right but we can't deny that he is a good analyst

Ali: band the knee@@@

Adam: be hamble bitch@@@

Ali: I am

Yanis: /jbali nzido hada howa lwaqt/ I believe

we should go, it's time!

Adam: /tas sah manziw nweşlou jkon nisan

lwaqt/ you're right it's high time to go!

Ali: who's gonna pay?

Yanis: I know such a tone ((laughing))

Adam: who's gonna know ((sarcastically))

[bearing in mind that they paid, each one

for his order, before sitting on the table.]

4.5. Using CS as a Defensive Strategy

One of the reasons that led participants to use English in their speech was defending one's position. In fact, using English as a defensive strategy could be triggered to find more excuses in unexpected situations. In example 7, participants were talking about getting up early and having enough sleep. In here, Amina said that she always wakes up early even if she sleeps only two hours. This seemed weird for Nihel and her comment in Arabic did sound more critical to Amina. Again, Amina responded in English using that code as a defending strategy as she did not accept Nihel's comment. She used 'of course I have an inner alarm that wakes me up' in a strong voice and high pitch to show her

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disagreement. In reverse, Nihel also responded in English to show that she strongly stick to her point of view. Later, Amina reiterated and claimed that "this is something personal" and "it's impossible for Nihel to understand" and Nihel responded competitively saying that "Amina can't understand her as well".

Example7

Noor: /w tnodi bekri/? Seriously? *And you wake*up early?

Nihel: /ih γaja w nodi ʃebʕana rgad?/ good and you have enough sleep?

Amina: of course, like I have an inner alarm that wakes me up that moment, this is
/qasdi, fhamti?/ This is what I mean

Nihel: honestly how can you get up? /F had sasa
w tija rgedti meme pas rebs swajas/
In this hour and you had only four hours
sleep

Amina: /ki jʒi waqti nhal fajni/ when it's time,

I automatically open my eyes

Nihel: I can't understand you /şaraħa/ honestly,

I can't even put myself in your shoes.

Amina: /flabalk/ you know, it's impossible for you to understand

Nihel: /hata ntija jbali/ even you, I think, it's impossible to understand my situation.

A thorough analysis of the obtained data unveils substantial realities and major outcomes about code switching and its role in identity construction. Indeed, English language is related to a specific culture and identity, it carries a specific cultural background and it is guided by the TC values. In the same vein, Tong and Cheung (2019) assert that any language carries a cultural identity with it and learning a new language means opting a new cultural beliefs and values. In simple words, individuals may use a specific language as

it holds particular values and when switching codes, they are opting for another voice to express themselves and convey specific messages. Therefore, CS has two main sides, due to our study, it first is a language resource that participant resort in order to negotiate, reconstruct, and rebuilt their identities. Second, it is considered as an identity marker.

The results maintain that participants strongly associate code switching and the use of English with positivity, politeness, individuality. In many cases, they use English to express their emotions, make compliments, sounding more polite, and sounding more individualistic. Due to the fact that Arabs do belong to collectivist based societies, there are many things that characterize their society for instance, they are not encouraged to express their feelings, being polite can be implicit, indirectness when communicating present and interlocutors are expected to understand was not explicitly said, they give more importance to group concerns, etc. All these features led the participants to opt for the English 'voice', since that language belongs to individualistic based societies where the people are strongly encouraged to express their feelings and emotions, their speech is direct and does never include implicitness, they discuss new and taboo, and they learn from others. Besides, they give more importance to the individual rights.

When analysing CS, language was approached incorporating the concept of culture due to the fact that language does not exist without its culture and such culture is transmitted through language. It is also worth mentioning that language is guided by its cultural values; admittedly, Ting-Toomey (1999) asserts that "Cultural values orientations drive language usage in everyday lives" (p.85). Hence, when learning/ using a specific language one is transmitting a specific cultural meaning. Besides, both language and culture are essential elements of identity and any

linguistic behaviour could contribute in its construction and CS can be the outcome that joins their feelings and the identity they want to project.

5. Conclusion

Language has various functions to serve including communication, expressing one's feelings, emotions, thoughts, ideas, and identities. In reality, when talking in a specific language people are defining who communicating they are and identities. It is through the language they speak, they could be recognized. Yet it is worth mentioning that no language exists on its own and language contact permits individuals to opt for another languages to achieve specific purposes and this, of course, allows them to establish another identity through another voice.

In fact, bilingual speakers switch codes for many reasons depending on different factors, age, gender, place, level of bilingualism, etc. This research work opened another angel for CS analysis, this language phenomenon was carefully examined in relation to identity reconstruction. Indeed, bilingual speakers may opt for different languages to fulfil and attain different meaning that cannot be easily expressed in their native language as it lacks the needed aspects. Actually, each language is strongly related to cultural values and learning such language means adopting its cultural values that strongly determines language use.

Therefore this paper recommends focusing more on cultural values that are related to both native and foreign languages in order to better understand the linguistic behaviour of switchers. Hence, the current investigation is considered as a contribution to literature about code switching and identity-related issues, it gives a full insight about language use and its link to identity.

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