

Functions of Code Switching in Contemporary Algerian Rap Song

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Abstract:

The use of multilingual lyrics in contemporary rap song is a recurrent phenomenon in Algeria. If the lyrics are generally based in Algerian Arabic, the rappers saturate them with other languages. These multilingual songs are most often manifested in the form of code switching. Therefore, this investigation aims to identify the functions that code switching fulfills in song lyrics. Indeed, the analysis is mainly qualitative study. A corpus of 10 songs from five Algerian rappers are collected and analyzed, using a functional approach. The research answers the question: What are the functions of code switching in the Algerian rap song lyrics of this period? The findings reveal that the multilingual code switching is underpinned by a strategic positioning of the rappers based on the social representations that specify each language in the Algerian sociolinguistic space in particular functions and considerations.

Key words: Code switching; code switching in song; functions of code switching; language status; rap song

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I. Introduction

The use of multilingual lyrics in contemporary Algerian rap songs is a recurrent phenomenon in Algeria. If the song lyrics are basic Algerian Arabic, singers saturate them with other languages including French, English, Spanish, Berber (Tamazight) and Standard Arabic to create strong mixed lyrics.

These plurilingual song lyrics are most often manifested under the form of code switching where each used language assumes a particular discursive functionality. The alternation of codes is thus underpinned by the strategic positioning of the singers based on the social representations that specify each language in the Algerian sociolinguistic space in relation to the functions and special social considerations.

The phenomenon of code switching (CS henceforth) constitutes one of the prominent manifestations of Algerian multilingualism, which generally finds its preferred ground in song lyrics. It allows a multilingual singer to take advantage of the resources of the different languages, which exist in his/her linguistic repertoire that he/she fully or partially masters. Therefore, it offers, in multilingual situations, additional linguistic possibilities in order to gain a high level of discursive and pragmatic performance.

The use of multilingual lyrics, in Algerian songs, is governed by these same modalities. In these hybrid lyrics, we will not be interested only in Algerian Arabic, which is the default language, but more particularly, our analysis will focus on Standard Arabic, Berber, and other foreign languages, which assume several functions in these multilingual lyrics. After taking stock of the situation and elucidating the key concepts, we will analyze the different functions assumed by these languages. Evidently, those functions are reflected at the level of rap songs' lyrics whenever CS is used in a given passage. The analysis is maintained elaborating first how these languages participate in strengthening the terminology of Algerian Arabic, then showing that they can be markers of euphemism in certain sensitive themes. The analysis also demonstrates how they can act occasionally as means of strategic positioning for Algerian rappers.

While there has been a substantial interest in studying CS phenomenon in conversations in Algeria and in other places, there were only few concerns about analyzing code switching in song in general and particularly in contemporary Algerian rap song lyrics. BENTAHILA and DAVIES (2002 :119) point out that 'Code-switching in song lyrics is a very different phenomenon from code switching in conversation, as it is neither spontaneous, nor is it intimate'. In fact, it seems interesting to study CS within contemporary Algerian rap songs, since many characteristics of CS in terms of types, functions, syntactical and lexical frequency may have changed.

In addition, the Algerian linguistic landscape continues to undergo significant changes. Today, foreign languages occupy a major role in the society, and this is found in all sectors: educational, economic and even social spheres. The recognition of this reality drives researchers to pose questions about the phenomenon of language contact and its influence on Algerian society and its daily discourse.

Accordingly, the present paper is an empirical investigation based on sociolinguistic analysis. It aims to examine some of the recent Algerian rap songs for the sake of determining the functions of multilingual CS embedded within the target lyrics. The overall aim of the study can be formulated in the following research question:

What are the functions of CS in the lyrics of contemporary Algerian rap songs in this period?

II. Literature Review

Before discussing the methodology used for answering the research question, it is initially important to review the different conceptions of CS in literature, as well as elaborating the contextual background of the study and presenting some of the influential models that were put forward to facilitate the examination of CS from a functional approach.

1. Different Perspectives on Code Switching

While there is abundant work on CS, it should be noted that recent theoretical developments on this phenomenon have been mainly oriented toward approaching it from a discursive and pragmatic perspectives. Nevertheless, before discussing it from this angle, we first need to review POPLACK's (1980) typology of CS that seems relevant for this study, as long as the categorization of the different forms and types of CS occurring in the corpus are concerned.

POPLACK (1989) has mentioned three main types of CS. First, "tag switching" refers to the switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one language to another one. Second, "intra-sentential switching" refers to switching from one language to another within the same sentence or clause. Finally, "inter-sentential switching" involves a switch transcending the clause or sentence boundary level, where each clause or sentence is embedded with a discrete language or language variety.

Indeed, beyond the intrinsically linguistic aspects linked to the typology and modes of structuring of CS, recent works on this phenomenon have specifically highlighted the oral and conversational dimensions of CS in line with their multiple discursive and pragmatic functionalities (GILES, et al., 1987; GILES & COUPLAND, 1991; GARDNER-CHLOROS, 1995; GILES & SMITH, 1979). From these analyzes, we can first retain the major distinction made by MYERS-SCOTTON (1993) between the two modes of code switching: 'marked' and 'unmarked' code switching. In its logic, there is a sought-after and calculated dimension of code switching with a particular aim alongside the unmarked variant, which is spontaneous and often unconscious.

GUMPERZ (1989) refined this distinction by emphasizing the characteristics of each pole. He thus assimilates marked alternation to situational switching and unmarked alternation to conversational alternation. Situational alternation is linked to constraints relating to the communicative situation, namely change of interlocutor, setting, and topic. It stems from a rational intentional focus as it is usually guided by a discursive or even pragmatic purpose. On the other hand, conversational alternation involves the spontaneous and unconscious generation of language forms. It does not occur because of sensing a change of interlocutor, topic or setting; it is not consciously motivated and proceeds through an effortless customary way of language use.

This clearly delineated dichotomy can be considered today as a milestone in understanding the notion of CS. It involves what Gumperz call "situational alternation" and "conversational alternation". The former is the more understudied subject because CS is rarely understood as a spontaneous and random mixture of languages, rather it is more considered as a real communicative strategy used by bilinguals or multi-linguals among themselves.

This functional logic has led pragmatists like GARDNER-CHLOROS (1991) to examine this phenomenon under the notions "convergence" and "divergence" developed in "Communication Accommodation Theory" (GILES & SMITH, 1979). According to them, the speech styles may be used to 'converge' or 'diverge' from a particular audience. In particular, they explain that:

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“during interaction individuals are motivated to adjust (or accommodate) their speech styles as a strategy for gaining one or more of the following goals: evoking listeners’ social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities. In addition, it is the individual’s perception of the other’s speech that will determine his or her evaluative and communicative responses” (GILES, et al, 1987:14–15).

On the other hand, "divergence" refers to those instances in which individuals accentuate the speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and their interlocutors. (GILES & COUPLAND, 1991). In the context of this study, the singer and his/her targeted audience share, to some extent, their sociocultural background. Therefore, in this situation, the singer may adjust his style, through switching to Berber, for instance, to draw closer to his audience in order to show solidarity with Algerian Berber speakers; and in the same time can maintain it, in order to show his Algerian identity.

Moreover, this dichotomy of convergence vs. divergence can be associated with the study of CS in terms of language prestige. In other words, one can adjust one's style to a variety that is higher or lower than one's own in terms of status. In fact, accommodation may have more of an impact over status in some cases (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 1991). In the context of this research, the singer may switch to standard Arabic, as it is the sacred language of the Quran and the first official language of Algeria; or to French or English as they are the languages of technology and education; or to Berber and Algerian Arabic as they are the native languages of the country.

2. Functions of Code Switching

After all, these considerations aim to highlight the functional dimension of CS, which stays as a part of a communication strategy. They will also lead some specialists to attempt to identify the different discourse and pragmatic functions of CS. GUMPERZ (1982 ; 75-84) identifies in his work six conversational functions of CS, which may be useful in a study of discourse functions of CS in the multilingual contemporary song lyrics. These functions include ‘quotations’ (idem: 75), ‘addressee specification’, where one language is directed at a particular person or persons (idem: 77), ‘interjections’ (idem: 77), ‘reiteration’ (idem: 78), ‘message qualification’ (idem: 79), and ‘personalization vs. objectification’ (idem: 80-81), whereby one language could be more authoritative or factual than another. APPEL and MUYSKEN (1986: 29) who add these following conversational functions, namely ‘referential’, ‘directive’, ‘expressive’, ‘phatic’, ‘metalinguistic’, and ‘poetic’, enrich this repertoire of functions.

It seems that these functions overlay, to some extent, with those proposed by GUMPERZ. However, there are limits to the definition of these functions. They believe that they are not all applicable to all bilingual communities (APPEL & MUYSKEN, 1986), unlike GUMPERZ (1982) who found out that the same functions are applicable to three different multilingual speech communities.

However, these lists can offer us a conceptual starting point to approach the analysis of our corpus that, undoubtedly, will reveal others.

Although many studies have been conducted on CS, scholars have not reached the consensus in defining this phenomenon. As linguists and sociolinguists’ role is to designate the aspects of language contact phenomena taking place in speech or statements, they have proposed a

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series of terminologies to differentiate between the distinct notions related to CS. On the other hand, numerous scholars have used CS as a cover term by subsuming the associated concepts under the same label of CS. In fact, as this study is concerned with CS in song lyrics and discusses both switching within single verses and between verses, there is no special need to distinguish between all these terms in the present paper. Indeed, if researchers want to understand the social and cultural aspects involved in CS, they have to free themselves from the need to distinguish CS, code mixing and borrowing (EASTMAN, 1992), as well as they have to consider CS as “an exception rather than rule” (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 1995:68). Therefore, CS is defined following CLYNE (1987:740) as “the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences”. Such a concise definition is hereby adopted as an umbrella term because of its relevance in relation to the nature of CS involved within the examined corpus.

3. Social Status of Languages Involved in Code Switching

The three languages involved in code switching occupy an important space in the sociolinguistic landscape and sociolinguistic representations in Algeria.

First, with regard to Tamazight, It suffered for years from the marginalization and the competition of Arabic and French. In spite of not acquiring the status of an official language in the Algerian constitution alongside classical Arabic until 2016, it has penetrated the majority of institutions in the country, particularly in Kabyle regions. Further, it has far crossed the borders between ethnic groups and countries because it is even spoken and written in the majority of North African countries. Therefore, it can be argued that it has become a default language for Algerian Berbers and an unmarked language that provides a basic user communication.

Second, Algerian Arabic has also almost experienced the same way and evolution as Tamazight. It was the result of the contact of all the colonial languages with the native language of the country, notably Tamazight. Although it does not enjoy a constitutional status as an official language, it has been present in all fields on a wide scale, it has also reached the top of the state since the supreme authority, and the presidential discourses are expressed via this language.

Thirdly, French is a colonial legacy. It has been imposed by power and violence, in the colonial era, as the official language of the country. After colonization, the trends were reversed. Arabization policy, led to the quasi-replacement of French institutionally, but the language of the colonizer managed to maintain its status within the Algerian speech community. However, far from this linguistic legislative conflict and in the sense of our analysis, it should be noted that in terms of social representations, French is the language of technology, education, intellectual elite, and the language of access to the international academic sphere in almost all domains.

As for Standard Arabic, it should be noted that it is rooted in the Algerian community as a language of religion. Although it has been imposed as an official language, since Algerian independence, fluency in SA is often equated with mastery of the Quran and Islam. This is the reason why this language is extremely sacred and allotted with high prestige among Algerian people.

Finally, English and Spanish have the less sociolinguistic representation in Algeria. However, they are introduced to the Algerian system of education. English is always considered as a “lingua franca” and a language of science and new technology.

From these considerations, we can develop a functional categorization of the languages involved in the CS that mark the rap song lyrics.

4. Basic Language vs. Source Language

In CS, interacting languages do not have the same hierarchy. One language draws the frame of the speech while the other languages provide discursive, pragmatic, and aesthetic resources to enrich this framework. The main language that draws the speech frame is called base language while the other languages can be called resource languages. The basic language is always unmarked while the resource languages can be marked or unmarked depending on usage. As far as our corpus is concerned, Algerian Arabic represents the basic language, since it is the language that the singer uses spontaneously. The others are resource languages insofar as it is in these latter languages that the singer draws strengthening the performance of his Algerian Arabic lyrics.

This dichotomy is based on a stylistic use or not of CS. The notion of style that we have already mentioned in this work supposes an overrun of the function of the language, that is to say a language that is not only confined for a simple user purpose, in addition to its natural role as a mean of communication, an aesthetic and a discursive function.

In this respect, the alternation is said to be unmarked when it has no style value; that is when it is spontaneous, unpremeditated, and proceeding in a banal and customary way of using the basic language. Conversely, marked alternation is the stylistic use of CS. In other words, at this level, the alternation is motivated by a discursive and / or aesthetic purpose; it proceeds from a stylistic and discursive choice. DAVIES and BENTAHILA (2008:1) found out that “switching is skilfully exploited to add to the rhetorical and aesthetic effect of the lyrics”

In the analysis, our attention will be put on the alternations that focus on the functions that we will try to reveal.

III. Methodology

This study is situated in the field of sociolinguistics, and takes as its focus the local Algerian situation. It aims to survey the CS phenomenon within the contemporary Algerian rap songs, in order to discover what types and functions of CS are used in those songs. Therefore, it adopts a qualitative approach for the collection and analysis of data. Moreover, the present study adopts a qualitative content analysis due to the flexibility of this method in the analysis of data. Content analysis is defined as a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). Furthermore, the study employs the POPLACK's (1980) model of the typology of code switching, as well as the different general pragmatic theories of GUMPERZ (1980) and APPEL and MUYSKEN (2006).

1. Data Pool and Coding Procedures

The used data pool consisted of ten contemporary Algerian rap songs of the five well-known rappers in Algeria, namely Soolking, Algerino, Palermo, Mok Saib and Raja Meziane. In the last three years, all these singers released their top songs. As such, song titles are understood to be a means of communication through which singers describe the reality they live within.

This body of lyrics constituted a useful sample of convenience. At the time of analysis, (shortly after the publication of the songs) most of the lyrics were available on the Web; this would not have been true for more recently released material. The five rappers in question have a loyal “underground” following in Algerian rap circles, and the last three years marked the reinforcement of their national and international success in the artistic scene. We consider that this period output

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of these five singers is a synchronic “snapshot” that constitutes a representative sample of rap from the Algerian underground at that time.

Multiple passes were made through the lyrics and all words and phrases coded for one of the six linguistic categories listed. When the lyrics were available on the CD inserts, these were transcribed; otherwise, lyrics were usually available on the Web. A minimal amount of new transcription was necessary. After all the lyrics had been set down, they were checked at least twice against the recorded versions of the songs by two different coders, and corrections were made as necessary.

Finally, in all quotations from the lyrics, French, Spanish and English parts are presented in normal orthography, while Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and Berber are presented in phonemic transcription, using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

When coding was complete, the available formatting resources of our word processing software had been thoroughly exploited to enable us to code every word in one of the six categories listed below, using every possible combination of bolding and italicizing as follows:

1. French (unmarked code)
2. **Spanish (bolded)**
3. **English (bolded)**
4. Standard Algerian Arabic (unmarked code)
5. *Algerian Arabic (italicized)*
6. ***Tamazight or Berber (bolded and italicized)***

- Each verse is immediately translated into English. For the translation, we favoured the use of italics.

Finally, the classification of the three types of CS were based on POPLACK's (1980) typology of CS. Then, all words, clauses, and phrases of each variety of languages that appeared in songs as CS passage were categorized and interpreted through the support of the functions of CS given by GUMPERZ (1980), APPEL and MUYSKEN (2006), and other pragmatic functions of CS mentioned previously in the literature review.

Since our analysis focuses on the phenomenon of CS that manifests in the singers' song lyrics, it seems relevant to examine the models that attempt to explain this process. Using both data transcription and interpretation, we will try to highlight the languages, types and functions presented in our introduction by identifying and classifying them into categories and then interpreting them in order to reveal the different aspects of CS presented in the theoretical part. In fact, based on both the transcription and the interpretation, we will analyze the use of CS.

IV. Findings

In what follows, we tackle the significant part involved in the analysis of the corpus. Our objective will therefore be to identify and analyze the different types and functions of CS at the

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level of the songs' lyrics involved in our corpus. This analysis made it possible to put into orbit the classic functionalities that can be found in the functional repertoire of CS, but also original and even unprecedented functions that are specific to the Algerian sociolinguistic context.

1. Code Switching for Language Convenience

CS phenomenon that carries a referential function is usually due to language convenience and appropriateness. Hence, bilingual speakers switch languages for a particular topic; when certain terminologies are not available in the target language; or when words are used to express particular cultural connotations and denotations that do not have an available equivalent in Arabic. In nearly all of the cases identified in the corpus, French or other languages were used since there was no other acceptable label or concept which matched the intended meaning in Arabic, French and other languages were really fulfilling the function of convenience in language use. For instance, in the few cases where foreign brands, products or figures were referred to in the present corpus, they did appear in their original languages.

Example 01 : Soolking' s song

Ɛarbi comme French Montana, j'ai mis Gucci et Versace.

Arab as French Montana, I put on Gucci and Versace.

Example 02 : Palermo's song

Ma yhemhach ykoun bared l'essentielle 3endo le Benz

It is not important to be a man without feeling; the main thing is that he has a Mercedes Benz.

Example 03: Algerino's song

Cacher le iPhone s6

Hide the iPhone s6

In these first three examples, the singers use the different foreign products/brands accordingly, Gucci ET Versace, Benz, and iPhone s6, to refer to those prestigious and hyper class clothes or marks which have no equivalent name in Arabic language.

Example 04 : Palermo's song

Trap King dgajez mi enti machi Beyoncé.

Trap king passed, but you are not Beyoncé.

This example clearly refers to Beyoncé Giselle Knowles, whose popularity among Algerian youth maybe overwhelming. It would probably be strange for young people to do not be acquainted with Beyoncé's name, particularly in a verse like this one which begins with the English noun 'Trap King' and deals with beauty.

Unlike conversational speech, song lyrics are premeditated and structurally organized into predetermined patterns in advance. Likewise, words from the source languages used within the songs are deliberately selected, often for particular properties that Arabic does not contain. The following example indicates the use of language accepted by youth in the corpus, where a Berber

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expression is used instead of Arabic to convey peculiar political meanings for youth that cannot be transferred in Arabic:

Example 05: Raja's song

*Fi bir tah el 3jachi w chabiba ma ta3jach, **ulach smah ulach**.*

El 3ajachi fell into the well, youth will never tire, no forgiveness.

In this example, the singer switches to Berber to refer to the Kabyle slogan, which is shouted during the Kabyle movement in 2001. So, Berber was used quite deliberately to express specific linguistic and cultural information. Arabic was not used because the contextual information here does not only require the right equivalent in Arabic, but also demands a change in the used linguistic code in a way that better suits the political theme targeted by the artist. It is not just a case of selecting a Berber translation or an equivalent Arabic item in convenience with the topic, but rather a case of using Berber as a vehicle of political beliefs through slogans related to historical events. Berber has been used for decades as a means to express opposition to governmental policies. Obviously, resorting to complicated explanations through the base language would not be appropriate for rap music.

The Standard Arabic word “elkadā” (justice) is used because the language used in Algerian court is the first official language of the country, which is Standard Arabic.

2. To Identify/Draw Attention of Addressee

The most evident function of code switching is the vocative function; that is, the switch functions to draw the attention of, or to identify, the addressee. Similar to what GUMPERZ (1982) called “addressee specification”, CS can be used as an effective strategy to direct a message to a specific person in a conversation by switching language and vice versa. This can be seen in examples (6 and 7). In these two examples, the base language is French and the switch is into Algerian Arabic.

Example 06: Raja's song

*Allo, allo, allo, systeme? **Rak tesma3 fija?***

Hello, hello, hello government? Do you hear me?

The question “Allo, allo, allo, systeme?” (“Hello, hello, hello government?”), as in example (6), occurs in the corpus and also serves as a discourse marker—here, to attract the attention of the addressee at the outset of an utterance that then continues in Arabic.

Example 07 : Algerino's song

*L'Algérie, comment va? **Hamdoullah, khoya, labas***

Algeria, what up? Fine brother

In example (7) the addressee is Algeria and the switch includes the rhetorical greeting “comment va?” that serves to attract the attention of the interlocutor.

3. To Accord with Social Norms

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According with or adjusting to social norms is another function of CS found in Algerian rap songs. In this corpus, foreign languages are often used when expressing certain things perhaps thought to be too direct, too rude or too uncomfortable to say in Algerian Arabic or Berber. English, French, and Spanish may also be used to present language that violates certain social taboos, or as terms of endearment.

Example 08: Palermo's song

Rah nebda n visé, I am crazy. I begin to shoot, I am crazy

Ya Omri tu m'as blessé rani m brisé. You have Brocken me my love and I am hurt

*3cheqna **solido**. Our love is strong*

Allo tu me manqué. Hello, I miss you

Ja 3omri kunek gentile. Be kind my dearest

Ja manich normal zero morale. Ah, I am not normal, I am demoralized

Djillali Palermo, in this example, uses English, French, and Spanish words to express his fragile emotional state. Although such words have their equivalents in Arabic, he preferred other foreign languages because it seems to be the appropriate one when the theme deals with love and emotion. In addition, Mok Saib's "I am sorry mamma" song, the English word 'sorry' and the French terms "J'ai pas le choix" (I have not a choice), are used as expressions of apology several times in a direct way. The direct use of this apology term in English may be because the singer managed to save face in front of his mother because he is living far from her home. It is the same thing for Soolking's direct use of French terms "excuse-moi", in his song "la liberté", it is "to save face".

In the song "Youv" by Soolking, the singer uses many French words such as "la mula", "biff", "gow", and "gringo loco" which appear to be taboo in Arabic. In Algerino's 'Banderas', he uses also the French phrase "espece de cone", which means, "you bitch" in English. It would likely be very offensive to the Algerian audience, but it is tolerated when used in French language that represent a linguistic system of a foreign culture.

For the purpose of expressing emotions, there are many English, French and Spanish phrases: "je t'aime"; "mi **amor**"; 'baby'; and 'love', which are used as terms of endearment, throughout Algerino's "**mi amor**" and Mok Saib' 'baby' song it is probable that these words appeared due to the influence of Western musical styles and the kinds of vocabulary expected to be used in a such context. The fact those terms of endearment are seldom used in the Arabic language; they are correlated with the inconvenience of Arabic when it comes to similar words of intimacy. As it has been previously argued, Arabic is considered as the common and primary language used predominantly for religious discourse. This can justify the singers' bias toward choosing French and Spanish to express terms of endearment.

4. As Markers of Social/Cultural Identity

CS as a marker of social or cultural identity is a very prevalent function of CS in this corpus. In line with the subjectivity of artists, we find CS instances where the singer's personal perception of reality is repeatedly communicated even if it invokes controversy at a societal level. In addition, the point of view defended by rappers is fully assumed, and creates a certain pride. It is

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of course affirmation of identity. Therefore, it is about an important element in the life of each artist. Through this identity, he/she manages to situate himself, to express solidarity, and sometimes to alienate others.

We will therefore address in our corpus the salient features that attests both to the singers' individual and collective identity affirmation.

Example: 09 Soolking's song

Ceci notre message, notre **ultima verba**, Soolking w ouled el bahdja

This is our message, our last words, and Soolking and ouled el bahdja

Through the insertion of the Arabic name "ouled el bahdja", which means a campaign among fans of the capital Algiers football sports club 'USMA', Soolking affirms his Algerian identity.

Example : 10 Algerino' song

L'Algerie ma patrie pour qui je donnerai ma vie

Algeria my homeland for whom I will give my life

On écrira l'histoire comme nos héros, nos martyrs.

We will write history like our heroes, our martyrs.

Ana weldek ntija JA manish berani, Tessendiyi damazigh talwith Kan imevghir

I am not a stranger, I am your son, and you know I am amazigh who wish you peace

In this song, Algerino claims the Algerian identity by these expressions «L'Algerie ma patrie" (*Algeria my homeland*), and "*Ana weldek ntija*" (*I am your son*). His emotions, which are often expressed with passion, his concerns, his reference to the glorious past of this country, are all proof of his attachment to the Algerian identity. Most of the songs we have selected involve the common theme of Algeria. In addition to the affirmation of Algerian identity, we find an affirmation of Amazigh or Berber identity; evoked by Algerino, through his use of the Berber expression "**Tessendiyi damazigh**" (*I am amazigh*).

Alongside the affirmation of the Algerian identity, the affirmation of the Arab identity is claimed twice, in the corpus, by Soolking and Algerino using respectively these two Arabic expressions "*J'suis 3arbi de luxe*" (*I'm a luxury Arab*) and "*mes 3arbi*" (*my Arabs*). The two singers, to avoid being labeled a regionalist, go further by inserting their identity in its entirety. That is to say stressing the Arabic identity that is even more inclusive and unifying than the Algerian identity.

5. To Facilitate Rhyme

By using marked alternation, the singer often sets up his own style but also positions himself in Algerian artistic domain. Thus, the frequency of using a particular language can be a clue and / or a strategy that can stylistically categorize the singer.

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Among these stylistic strategies, we find rhyme. The use of rhyme in rap lyrics—both final and internal—is crucial to the success of any rap number (SARKAR et al., 2005: 2070).

In our corpus, every singer tried to respect this rule of versification by sometimes opting for originality, which lies in the construction of rhyme based on code switching as in these examples:

Example: 11 Raja's song

Toxic, toxic raha toxic *toxic, toxic it is toxic*

Tetnehaw ga3 avec une révolution pacifique

You will be fired with a peaceful revolution.

Lhala mkhelta w jqolouli khtik men politique

The situation is mixed up and the say stay away from politics

Example : 12

Rah nebda n visé. I will start aiming

I am crazy. *I am crazy*

Examples: 13

Venga venga mi amor *Come come my love*

Way way way bouge ton corps *Way way way shake your body*

Piña colada, chicha menthe, si señor *Pina colada, mintchicha, yes sir*

Chemise ouverte, relex en or *Open shirt, gold Rolex*

Example: 14 Palermo's song

Love of my life *Eli khelani* *love of my life that left me*

Take all you want *ja koulchi feni* *take whatever you want; all things end*

In these excerpts, and in so many others, the rhyme is constructed through the addition of two terms each belonging to a given language or to a same language, with a phrasal construction arising from the intra/ or extra sentential code switching. Rhyme in question is constructed using the repetition of the phoneme, respectively "ique", "zi", "or", and "ni" at the end of the words «toxic», «pacifique», «politique», «visé», «crazy», «amor», «corps», «senor», «or» (gold), «khelani», and «feni». Thus, these alternations allow the singers to marry perfectly the sounds of the two languages in order to respect the order and rhythmic balance in his/her text.

Example: 15 Algerino's song

J'suis en mode Emirates Fly *I am in Emirates fly mode*

Verre de rosé, J'suis die *a glass of rosé wine, and I am dead*

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The rhyming syllable in example (15) is /ai/. It occurs in “fly” and “die”.

In Algerian rap song, the possibilities to create rhyme are multiplied by the availability of so many languages and language varieties. Rappers draw on all possible linguistic repertoires in their rhyming through the extensive use of CS.

V. Discussion

The present paper attempted to explain songwriter's CS in Algerian rap song lyrics from a functional perspective. When the songwriter engages in writing or performing his/her songs, he/she has specific communicative goals. In order to achieve or approach these communicative goals, he/she has to make a choice about which language to use.

While multilingual speakers make use of multilingual forms to achieve a more interesting, meaningful and effective communication, it is also natural for singers, who incorporate two or more languages into their lyrics, to exploit CS phenomenon as a device to reach their communicative intents. In this study, we have noticed that the new generations of Algerian rappers switch between different languages. Algerian Arabic, which is their mother tongue and the French language as the second widely, used language in the country. In addition to French, the findings identified other languages accordingly, English, Spanish, and Berber.

Furthermore, these young singers put more emphasis on the utilization of Algerian Arabic language because it is considered as the most used language variety in Algerian society. By doing this, they may direct their messages to a larger number of people. Additionally, this is because rappers in most of the times are inspired by the reality that the Algerians live and the experiences they go through in their life. Therefore, the artist cannot overlook the languages used in society because they are a part of peoples' identity as well as the means of communication through which they describe the reality they live within.

Regarding foreign languages, they are considered as the languages that identify intellectuals and trendy people who are seen as national or international figures. In this respect, their presence in the majority of songs is not always linked to a terminological deficit; to avoid offensive and taboo language; or to add to the rhetorical and aesthetic effect of the lyrics as we have seen upstream. In many cases, the rapper uses them to show that he/she has intellectual logic and that he/she is up to date with what is going on in Algeria and around the world. It may also be explained by the desire to reach a very large audience outside the country in order to transmit their messages all over the world. In addition to this, it might be related to the origin of rap music, which emerged in USA as rappers try to make use of English to adhere to the conventional language through which rap songs are usually composed and lyrics are communicated.

We can therefore remember that beyond the many communicative possibilities that CS offers to the rappers, they have also the genius of harnessing the symbolic and representative force of languages in interaction to position oneself on the discursive and identity level.

Berber language was the less used language in the songs. It can be justified by the fact that the selected rappers do not have enough linguistic competence of the Berber language, even though they are native Berbers. They have lived far from the Berber linguistic environment.

The results of this study are in line with previous literature regarding the role of CS in the construction of a discourse with multiple variants to achieve the singer's communicative purposes (DAOUDI, 2000; HAFIZ, 2001; DAVIES & BENTAHILA, 2008). The study also reflects that

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code switching in song lyrics should be studied from a sociolinguistic perspective; and the analysis of the pragmatic and discourse functions of CS highlights the relationship between language and identity. The findings agree with the findings of similar previous studies (BENTAHILA & DAVIES, 2002; SARKAR, WINER & SARKER, 2005; MILIANI, 2000).

Our investigation of the linguistic characteristics of Arabic-based Algerian rap is still in its beginning stages. Working with a limited sample consisting of the rap lyrics commercially released by the five rappers Soolking, Algerino, Palermo, Mok Saib and Raja Meziane in the last three years, we have tentatively identified a number of the functions this CS tends to perform. We anticipate that the analysis of an extended corpus will confirm and extend these findings, and will allow us to incorporate fuller data on linguistic, stylistic, and socio-cultural aspects of CS. Our forthcoming PhD thesis will include a discussion of such findings.

VI. Conclusion

Being assimilated to a common and banal language practice in the Algerian society, CS in Algerian rap song lyrics is the result of complex interactions between different languages that are at stake in plurilingual discourses. We tried to show that it is often part of a communicative strategy that exploits the representative and symbolic force of code switched languages in discursive, identity and pragmatic aims.

Our analysis has shown how the use of CS within rap song lyrics constitutes a terminological reinforcement tool for Algerian Arabic in exploring certain areas; then seeing that it can also function as a marker of euphemism that allows the rappers to discuss themes relating to offensive language, emotion, and love. When doing so rappers tended to resort to French, English and Spanish to communicate the western values that may be considered, to a certain degree, as taboos in the Algerian society. Furthermore, it is shown that switch patterns may interact with elements of lyric structure, such as rhyme, to add to the rhetorical and aesthetic effect of the lyrics.

Finally, we have tried to demonstrate how these code switched languages can constitute, for different singers, a strategic positioning tool on the stylistic, discursive and pragmatic levels.

There are clear implications, in this investigation, for educators and policymakers. CS in songs is a reflection of the current linguistic situation in Algeria; and CS does not only arise in songs, but also in various Algerian modes of communication. Therefore, if this linguistic creativity and the constructive anger channeled by rap songs could be accepted, legitimized and used to help people from different cultural backgrounds to work together for positive change, there would be a tremendous potential for transformation. It can increase the potential of promoting freedom of expression, multilingualism and modernity.

We hope to expand the database through the inclusion of further works by other Algerian rap artists, with samples of both older and more recent compositions, and expanding data-collection to include freestyle rap song. In addition, corpus analysis in relation to these three aspects with regard to features that may enhance the popularity of these songs, an audience study based on fieldwork in Kabylie, which will include data collection from online surveys and individual interviews, will be added.

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