



## Code switching between Hassania dialect and Spanish language as a Communicative Strategy among Sahraoui Bilingual People

DR. Hassan HIMIM

Morocco

### **Abstarct:**

This is a qualitative, social study that closely analyses informal conversations, Peer group interaction of a small group of adult, men, Hassani-Spanish bilingual friends, who are part of the Hassani-speaking society in Moroccan Sahara. The research investigates the relationship between Spain and southern Sahara of Morocco and how people there use code switching from Hassania dialect to Spanish language. Furthermore, to talk about historical background between Sahara and Spain we mention the linguistic situation comparing between Spain and Arabic as two languages and Moroccan Arabic also Hassania as two dialects. Additionally, we express the definition of code switching and its types. The results indicated that most people in Moroccan Sahara use code switching for different reasons.

**Keywords:** code switching, Hassania dialect, Spanish language, borrowing.



## **Introduction:**

The kingdom of Morocco holds a unique position in the history of colonization and this is thanks to its geographical situation at the gateway of Africa and junction of Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic Ocean, the region of Sakkia El Hamra and Oued Dahab as well as the cities of Tarfaya and Sidi ilfni was under the Spanish occupation in 1884; When Spain proclaimed its protectorate over the Sahara after signed a secret agreement with France ( Gaudio, 19777, p159). At that time, Sahara preheated by various nomadic tribes who interact by means of their dialect Hassania and each member of this community acquired this diversity as it his mother tongue. Movers, kids were families with classical Arabic since it is introduced to them in Koranic school ( Bentahila, 1985, p 5), After 1884, the impact of the Spanish on Hassania became to be more conspicuous as the intention of some native to use loan word. Historically speaking, There was an attempt to assimilate the community into the Spanish culture and the whole area was referred to as the “ The Hispanic Sahara”. The area was proclaimed Hispanic province in 1958 ( Mourin, 1993, p 1417). This situation is similes to the French who came to Morocco with the attention to civilise and educate its people. As a result the original group was forced to learn the language of the newcomers and there was an increase in Hassania Spanish bilingual until 1975 when Spanish left the area and gave the administration to the Moroccan authority (Marin, 1993).

## **I\_ Linguistic situation:**

Morocco is a multilingual country that is to say the language situation has always been complex. There is a mix of many languages and dialects. In what follow, we will consider the language situation in southern Sahara and coexisting variety in the area.

### **1\_ Classical Arabic:**

Classical Arabic is an international language spoken by millions of people. It has its over literature for a very long period ( Ferguson, 1970) it is that official language in Moroccan, it is officially declared as the medium oral and written communication in the government and serve as a medium of teaching in primary and secondary schools and replace French in university through the process Arabisation.

### **2\_ Moroccan Arabic:**

Moroccan Arabic is a dialect of Arabic and it is the mother of a great number of Moroccans. Moroccan Arabic is used in every day conversation and it is informal.

### **3\_ Hassania:**

Hassania is a dialect of Arabic spoken in southern of Morocco, It is not written but is spoken, it is the mother tongue of most people from the region especially from Mauritania ( Cohen, 1963). It has its own over literature mainly poetry.



#### 4\_ Spanish:

Spanish was first introduced to Morocco during the Spanish rules. Mainly, in southern Moroccan areas. When it fought the French colonization imperialism, Morocco has retained French as a tool of international relations and as a vehicle of modernization in the country, But when it fought the Spanish imperialism in the for southern Sahara, Morocco abandoned the Spanish language from domains. But Spanish was medium of interaction in all government schools during the Spanish settlement in the region.

#### II\_ Code switching:

##### 1\_ The definition of code switching:

Code switching is the alternation between two codes (languages or dialects.) Between people who share those particular codes. Choices about how code switching manifests itself are determined by a number of social and linguistic factors. It is quite typical in multicultural and immigrants population.

There are numbers of definitions that put forward to define code switching, all of which seem to agree about what code switching is:

For example Skiba (1997, Para, 2) states that “ code switching is phrases from both languages, and switching in long narrative. In normal conversations between two bilinguals code switching consists of Eighty- Four percent – clause switching.

Another definition is given by (Ronald World Haugh, 2002, P 100) “ code switching happened when people decide to switch for one code to another or mix code even within sometimes very short attendance and there by create a new code in process known as code switching. Here Ronald refers to code switching as the shift from one variety to another to create a new code. There is another definition of code switching given by Grojean (1982, P 149) which like the previous one “code switching is the alternative use of Two or more languages. Grojean adds that sentences are not the only items codes switched even words and phrases may be involved.

As for Dulay (1982, P 143, 144) code switching “involves the rapid momentary from one language into another this alternation may occurs many times with a single conversation and is not in common within single conversation “this definition doesn’t show code switching as a different languages it says that code switching is momentary and rapidity is what make people think that there is a lack of control over bilinguals Two languages.

There is another definition that is provided by Bentahila (1983v, P 17) who unites:

“code switching where the bilingual changes from One language to the another perhaps several items within utterance”.



This definition shows code switching as the tendency to use his two or more languages within the same utterance in conversation.

There is another definition is given by (Hudson 1980, P 54 ) who says that code switching is involves when a single speaker uses different varieties at different times. Here Hudson shows code switching as the act of shifting from one variety to another by the same speaker and at different occasions.

These definitions above show code switching as an accept strategy for communication where items such as sentence, phrases, and words from the bilingual Two or more languages are involved.

## **2\_ Types of code switching:**

Even if code switching maybe generally perceived as the fact of shifting from one code to another. Sociolinguistics tends to consider types of code switching which are very common and frequent and which are maybe significant to our research. There are many types of code switching. In the following example we will consider these main types of code switching.

### **1\_ conversational code switching:**

It's the First type of code switching and it's occurring when a speaker switches code within the same speech. There is no change of situation in this type ( Hudson ) it should be mentioned also that conversational code switching is more used within varieties which are clearly different.

Also conversational code switching permits more metaphorical and situational ones.

### **2\_ intra-sentencial code switching:**

Intra-sentencial code switching is another type of code switching. In this type the shift is done in the middle of a sentence until no interruption, hesitation or pause indicating a shift. The speaker is usually unaware of the switches and it is seen mostly in the Hispanic communities of the United States ( Lipsi, 1985, P 05).

### **3\_ Inter-sentential code switching:**

In this type the languages switches is done at sentence boundaries. This is seen not often between fluent Bilingual speakers, in this type of code switching the switched item is a whole sentence, in other words the bilingual shifts to this second languages after uttering a sentence in his/ her first language.

Part Two

## **III\_The process of code switching from Hassania dialect to Spanish language:**

### **1\_ Reasons behind code switching:**



Concerning the reasons behind code switching, we are going to talk about the reasons in general. Then we will specify by explaining the main reasons of code switching in Moroccan Sahara.

According to Hoffman (1991, P 116) there are seven reasons for bilingual to switch their language.

The seven reasons as follow first talking about a particular topic. Second quoting somebody else, Third emphatic about something. Fourth interjection, sixth intention of clarifying the speech content for interlocutor. Finally, expressing group identity. Beside the reasons suggested by Hoffman Saville Troik ( 1982, P 69) who gives additional reasons: First, softening and strengthen request or command, Second, because of real lexical need either if the speaker knows the desired expression in One language can not be satisfactory translated into Second, Third , to exclude other people when a comment in intended for only limited audience. So after talking about the reasons of code switching in general, we are going now to express the main reasons behind code switching in Moroccan Sahara so that we can pick up from them the factors that makes the bilingual use code switching. When we analyse the data that have provided in our community we recognise that they are different opinions about the reasons behind code switching, so a huge number of them say that they use code switching as a habit whereas others think that the reason is to clarify which means to give more explanation and they are others believe that the reason is to exclude someone. There are another kind of people say that they use code switching just to show off the last Two items reiteration and quotation and these Two reasons are the lowest percentages since only 20/° choose reiteration and quotation for code switching.

The reasons above are used in a different way from female and male, also there is a great difference in their choices of factors.

For instance, Huge number of male think that the reason is to exclude someone and only grew number of female think so and this is may a result of woman's politeness.

## **2\_ Situations of code switching:**

The examination of situations where Spanish language is used is a real evidence for decrease the use of itself. For our study of data in Sahara we notice that street is the main place where speakers use code switching, Most of people ( maybe 90 % ) there claim that they use Spanish in street because they say that they use it in cafes and others say that they use it at work, Whereas the home is the lowest place where people use code switching. On the other hand, People there emphasis that they use Spanish with their Spanish language with their brother, sisters, and sometimes with kids what makes it clear that there is a break between adults and kids since code switching is not often used with children so the fact that only a few people use code switching with their parents and children reflect the extent of the break. Therefore the separation of children from Spanish language is an



evidence of discontinuity in the use of this language, Also, from our deep investigation we find out that most of the speakers in Moroccan Sahara use code switching only to be proud so they use code switching to show others that master more than One language and this is a real evidence that speakers use code switching and they are not aware of practicing code switching and that is refer to situational code switching.

## V\_ Code switching in Moroccan Sahara:

### 1\_ Conversational code switching among Hassani community:

Our aim in this section is to provide an explanation about conversational code switching in Moroccan Sahara, from time to time people in that area tend to use **code** switching in their daily conversation which provide both Hassania dialect and Spanish language at the same time.

#### Example 1:

According to the following conversation speakers **X1** and **X2** are friends and **X1** is guest visiting **X2**:

**X1:** السلام عليكم

**X2:** و عليكم السلام

**X1 :** Como esta tu familia

( how is your family)

**X2 :** ؟ y tu بخير عليهم Bien

( Good and u )

**X1 :** bien الحمد لله

( good thanks allah)

**X2:** شطاري

( How are you and what's the new)

**X1:** كون الخير

( Fine)

**X2 :** ؟ trabajo مع شنبتك

( how is your job)

**X1:** كلشي بخير

( Everything is good)

**X2 :** vaso de tea إلا هلي الطيلة نعمروا

( give me the table we would like to make a cup of tea)

#### Example 2 :



Among the conversation of tea :

X2 : vaso de tea بسم الله اكبط

( by the name of allah take a cup of tea)

X1 : Gracias amigo

( thanks my friend)

X1 : es buena calidad de té

( it is good quality of tea)

X2 : claro porque جاي من إسبانيا

( exactly because it comes from spain)

X2 : partido del barelona واش شفت

( have you watched the match of Barcelona )

X1 : si muy bonito

( yes it was nice)

X2 : desayono كعد معانا نوكلوا

( could you stay with us to have lunch )

X1 : no no mi amigo معيطلي الليلة

( no no my friend invited me today)

### Example 3 :

A conversation between Two men, One of them wants to check a paper inside an administration so we will mention to the first by X and the second by Y.

X : السلام عليكم

Y : و عليكم السلام

X : عندي papels ندور نصادق عليهم

( I have a papers i need to check them)

Y : con mucho gusto

( with pleasure)

X : شنبتك مع العمل

( how are you with work )

Y : bien الحمد لله

( good thanks allah)

Y : voy a la cas راني عيان شوي

( i will go home because i'm tired)





X : claro خاصك تستراح  
( exactly you should take rest)

**Example 4 :**

A Conversation between Two friends speak with a servant so we will use **A** and **C** to mention to these friends and **B** to mention to the servant.

A : camarero تعالى هون  
( waiter came here)

C : Dos vasos من القهوة  
( Two glasses of coffees)

B : راعيهم لكم  
( here they are)

A : cafe شنبت عندك دي  
( what is your opinion about the coffe)

C: muy bien  
( it is nice)

C : camarero جييلي cuchara  
( Waiter bring me a spoon)

A : esta cuchara no ésta limpia  
( this spoon is not clean)

A : mi amigo شطاري من الاخبار  
( my friend tell me what the news)

C : hopital mi primo مشيت ليوم عند  
( i went to the hospital to visit my cousin)

A : شنبتو شوي  
( how is he)

C : الحمد لله muy bien  
( thanks allah he is so fine)

We should mention that there is not a change situation in this last conversation which make it clear that the speaker shift to another variety and when one of them ask by using spanish and the other one answer by using Hassania so the reason is simply to reply and we don't have to forget that this situation is informal.

**2 \_ the words classes in conversational code switching :**





From our deep research in Moroccan Sahara we found out that there is a variation in the word classes, they seem as nouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections.

### **A\_ nouns :**

Most of the switched items in the speech of Hassania dialect and Spanish language are nouns, we notice that these nouns are sometimes switched with determined and other time without it.

- cuchara أعطيني  
( could you give me a spoon)
- la musica زينة كبالا  
( this music is very nice)
  - mi hermano لاهي يطلع للثانوية  
( my brother will attend the high school)
  - mi amigo جابلي cama  
( my friend bring me a bed)

### **B\_ Adjectives and Conjunctions :**

Concerning the use of adjectives and conjunctions in code switching from Hassania dialect to Spanish language is very rare. It often correlates with higher education. The following example shows the use of adjectives and conjunctions in Hassania.

- nesesario ذالي عدل كان  
( what he has done was necessary)
- seguro لاهي يجي mañana  
( sure he will come tomorrow)
- en primer lugar لاهي ندير ميعاد مع مول الطاكسي  
( firstly i will make an appointment with a taxi)

### **C\_ Conjunctions :**

- trabajar mañana لاهي نركد بكري بيا  
( i will sleep tomorrow early because i will work )
- madrid y barcelona لاهي يلعبو hoy  
( Madrid and barcelona will play today)

These examples above show that people of Moroccan Sahara use different utterance of Spanish which demonstrate the deep effect of Spanish as a language and Hassania as a dialect which comes from Arabic.



**\_ The most borrowed items in Moroccan Sahara :**

Another topic which is very interesting and attract our attention in the area of Moroccan Sahara is Borrowing.

For Grojean Borrowing is the act of taking a word or expression from one language and integrate it in the language system of borrowing variety whichvis not the case with code switching in which we use the whole expression without integrate it with the other language and this is the diffeence between code switching and borrowing in the following examples we will mention the most borrowed words and how people in Moroccan Sahara use borrowing.

**The borrrowed word - Spanish transcription - Hassania transcriptions  
the meaning in English**

_ Tienbo	_ Tiempo	_ Tiempu	_ Time
_ Pluma	_ Pluma	_ Bluma	_ Pen
_ Resedencia	_ Resedencia	_ Resedensia	_ residence
_ Primero	_ Primero	_ Primeru	_ First
_ Frio	_ Frio	_ Friu	_ Cold
_ Cama	_ Kamas	_ Kamat	_ Bed

**Conclusion :**

At the end of this study, we wish we have wiped the dust of some misconceptions that the ordinary reader can fall into ; Indeed we intended to explain how Sahraoui code switching look like through the way Moroccan Sahraoui people interact in their daily conversation. And express how people in that area use code switching in their daily interaction to convey a certain messages.

To some extent, we tried to give an empirical study of code switching in Sahara to show the reader the right picture of this area.



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