Code Alternation on the Air

The use of Arabic religious expressions in Algerian television interviews

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Abstract

In a study involving two languages: French and Arabic, this thesis examines the patterns and meanings of Arabic religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews. It is concerned with investigating what participants may accomplish by selecting Arabic over French in some points of interaction to deploy religious expressions in their utterances. It also aims at exploring what the function is that these expressions may achieve for the organization of talk-in-interaction. Based on their manifestation in the participants’ utterances, the current study identifies four categories of the use of religious expressions in Algerian media talk where they appear as: transition words to switch to Arabic to keep going on in interaction; in adjacency pairs as a result of a reciprocal invocation between participants; devices to hold the floor and continue turns in interaction; and finally, signals for closing turns and shifting topics where a speakership change or a move to a new topic is possible.

Keywords: conversation analysis, code alternation, code-switching, transfer, religious expressions, turn constructional unit, transition relevance place.
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Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to express sincere thank and gratitude to my supervisor, Associate Prof. Mathias Broth, for his valuable comments, encouragement and support during the long period of writing this thesis. Without his attention, patience, and kind advices, time would have stretched forever for me.

I also wish to extend my profound gratitude to Dr. Anna Ekström for her encouraging comments, suggestions and advices during thesis meetings and seminars.

I am very thankful to all my teachers at Linköping university and my fellow students in Language and Culture in Europe Master Programme, particularly those who attend our thesis seminars for their helpful comments and suggestions.

My final thank and warm appreciation go to my wife for her support and patience during the whole period of studying in the master programme.

My acknowledgements would not be complete without expressing thank, gratitude and full satisfaction to Allah. I therefore would like to say ‘Alhamdulillah’ that this work has finally been achieved.
1. Introduction

This thesis is about the use of Arabic religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews. It demonstrates how Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ and its cognates operate in Algerian media talk. It also shows what participants may accomplish by selecting Arabic over French in some points of interaction to deploy religious expressions in their utterances.

The linguistic situation in Algeria is known for the co-existence of both Arabic and French. Algerians always go back and forth between these two languages to achieve certain communicational purposes in their everyday interaction. The competence in these two languages seems to be a “pre-requisite for any significant participation in social life” (Gafaranga 2007: 12). On the one hand, French cannot be regarded as a foreign language, because it is a tangible reality in the experience of Algerians. They are familiar with it as long as it is present in their everyday interactions (Amara 2010: 132). Further, French enjoys a prestigious status in Algeria today, since it plays an essential role in the economical, political, educational and social domains. On the other hand, Arabic has a greater effect on its speakers, since it appears to be an inseparable part of the Islamic faith. Algerians, as Arabic speakers, seems to have “absorbed a repertoire of divine sentiment into their daily speech, assigning Allah’s influence over every area of their lives” (Morrow and Castliton 2007: 202).

If we ask who is bilingual in Algeria, the simple answer is almost everyone; as the ability to shift between French and Arabic is quite a normal phenomenon in formal and informal conversations. Code alternation is a familiar habit and a common practice since there is a tendency to mix French and Arabic in a single conversation. Religious expressions have a special importance as they are not only distinctive expressions, rather they are deeply rooted in the thinking of the speaking community. According to Nydell (2005), “[a]n Arab’s religion affects his or her whole way of life on a daily basis. Religion is taught in schools, the language is full of religious expressions” (p. 81).

As part of their Islamic faith and their religious affiliation, Muslims are keen to use Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ and its cognates in their everyday interaction. The holy Koran\(^1\) always encourages people to say Insha’Allah ‘God willing’. It says: “[a]nd never say of anything ‘I shall do such and such thing tomorrow’. Except (with the saying) ‘If Allâh

\(^1\) The Koran is the holy book of Muslims.
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wills!”

Likewise, Koran asks people to express their gratitude and thank to God by saying *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’, as Allah says: “If ye give thanks, I will give you more”

These expressions, among many others, are commonly used by all speakers of Arabic, “[…] including illiterates, ignorant speakers of rudimentary Islam, and speakers with non-Muslim affiliation.”

The main purpose of this paper is to discuss the specificity of religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews. It is particularly concerned with investigating what participants may accomplish by deploying religious expressions in their utterances and what the function is that these expressions achieve for organizing talk-in-interaction. Accordingly, the following research questions are considered in this study:

1. How do religious expressions operate in television interviews interaction?
2. In what form of code alternation do religious expressions occur and what each form may accomplish in conversation?
3. What the use of religious expressions may accomplish in interaction?
4. What are the functions that participants may assign with the use of religious expressions in conversation?

According to the aim of this empirical study, I develop a number of aspects in the theoretical background. First of all, I outline the language situation in Algeria to give an idea about the linguistic environment in this country. Then I discuss previous studies and findings on television interviews, code alternation, fixed expressions as a form of code alternation and conversation analysis with a special focus on what may participants accomplish by code alternation in interaction. After having done this, I present the collected data materials and the applied method in this investigation. Then, in the analysis, chapter (4), I present my transcriptions with a detailed analysis of relevant extracts. The analysis is divided into the following sections according to the occurrence of religious expressions in the collected corpus of video recordings where they appear:

1. As transition words to switch from French to Arabic, section (4.1).
2. In adjacency pairs occurring within or in independent turns, section (4.2).

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2 Koran, Surah Al-Kahf, No.23: It is the Cave verse number “18” in the holy Koran talking about a group of young men fled for refuge in a cave.
3 Surah Ibrahim: verse No. 14 in the holy Koran.
3. Preceded by hesitation pauses and/or discourse markers from either Arabic or French, section (4.3).
4. As signals for closing turns and shifting topics, section (4.4).

In the summary, discussion and conclusion, section (5), I outline the results of the analysis of the use of different religious expressions in Algerian television interviews. I conclude that code alternation by using these expressions is a commonly used practice to organize and enrich speech in Algerian media talk. They are used to achieve a number of conversational functions: as transition words to switch to Arabic to continue a conversational activity; in adjacency pairs, as a result of a reciprocal invocation between participants; as devices to hold the floor and continue turns; and also as signals for closing turns and shifting topics.

2. Theoretical background

In this section, I will briefly develop a theoretical framework for exploring how fixed expressions operate as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews, and investigating precisely how they are used, as effective tools, to achieve certain conversational goals. Five aspects will be presented: (i) the language situation in Algeria; (ii) television interviews as a form of media talk; (iii) code alternation, where I discuss code-switching and transfer as a manifestation of the code alternation phenomenon; (iv) fixed expressions as a form of code alternation; and (v) an introduction of the conversation analytic perspective: what participants may achieve by code alternation.

2.1 The language situation in Algeria

The French arrived in Algeria in 1830 and, as part of the newcomers policy, Algeria was viewed as “an extension of metropolitan France on the southern side of the Mediterranean sea” (Mostari 2005: 41). A “harsh programme of acculturation” was imposed in Algeria, whereby French was positioned as the dominant language, while local languages as Arabic and Berber⁴ were marginalized and ousted (Maamari 2009: 77). The school was the most effective tool for the “assimilation” of Algerians during the French occupation. Special attention was thus paid to the field of education, where “the motto of the Ecole Coloniale was

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⁴ Berber or Amazighia is a language spoken by the Amazigh community in Algeria.
‘épousez le pays’\(^5\) (Maamari 2009: 77-8). Furthermore, the French administration went so far as to enact a law, according to which Arabic was classified as a foreign language and then should be prohibited in the schools as well as in the official documents. French was thus the only official language in the country for one hundred and thirty two years, while Arabic was confined in its use to the religious schools.

After the independence in 1962, the situation reversed, and the era of French dominance ended. The successive governments tried to revive Arabic and to reestablish it as the national language in all public domains. An “Arabization” programme was launched in Algeria to regain its Arabic identity. Arabic was thus claimed to be the official language and imposed to replace French. A number of laws, decrees, and ordinances were enacted to reinforce and strengthen this programme (Mostari 2005: 37).

Notwithstanding the “Arabization law” (Mouhadjer 2002: 989), French is still to be the dominant language, especially in the field of business and professional domains. French is not viewed as a foreign language, since it is part and parcel of the linguistic environment in Algeria. Today, French goes in parallel with Arabic, especially in education, administration, finance, industry, social life, army and so on. Simply, French is “recognized covertly as the second official language in Algeria” (ibid.). That is to say, to be able to interact in accordance with the community communication conventions, a speaker should master both Arabic and French. Moreover, television, radio and the press “made an ample room for the use of French” (Bensafi 2002: 838). There are a number of public and private TV channels and radio stations that broadcast their programmes in French. Media talk, in other words, reflects the reality of the linguistic situation in the Algerian community.

### 2.2 Television interviews as a form of media talk

Television interviews occupy today a prominent place in the landscape of mass media broadcasting. Interviewing has long been an essential journalistic tool – “perhaps the most important tool” – for eliciting information (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 1). Further, television interviews are characterized by producing “visual and other contextual information” (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 96), through which researchers can capture some important “empirical details” of human behavior (Heath and Hindmarsh 2002: 103).

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\(^5\) "Marry the country".
Talk in television interviews is a form of “public institutional talk” (Scannell 1991: 7) which is “designed and display itself as being designed, explicitly for overhearers” (Hutchby 1991: 119). This means that television interviews are to some extent prepared for “audience consumption” (Clayman 1991: 55). They can be seen as an attempt to reproduce the world as ordinary, by employing a variety of small techniques and specific practices to produce that “deeply taken-for-granted sense of familiarity with what is seen and heard” (Scannell 1991: 8).

Television interviews are organized according to the “question-answer format” which is fundamental for their structure (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 95). Questions are viewed as the “core” of talk in television interviews, as they are strategic and powerful tools to control interaction. That is to say, media talk is an institutional interaction shaped by a number of restrictions: the “discourse of the participants” and the “turn-taking system” (Tanaka 2006: 361).

Previous studies have described news interviews as being “brought into being”, or “talked into being” (Heritage 1984: 290). In ordinary conversation, topics can emerge freely, and participants are free to make various contributions to the subject at hand. In television interviews, on the contrary, participants are constrained by the “boundaries of the permissible” (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 97) and controlled by the “non-mechanistic turn-taking conditions” (Hirsch 1989: 157). This may suggest that television interviews are characterized by their “distinctive and institutionalized turn-taking system” (Heritage 1998: 6). A central feature of this stance is that opening and closing an interview, selecting a next speaker and changing a topic of discussion are afforded to the interviewer according to the applied rules and practices in television interviews.

A special feature characterizes media talk in Algeria; it is the code alternation phenomenon, which is part and parcel of everyday interaction. The occurrence of code alternation in television interviews interaction can even be viewed as clear evidence that media talk is a naturally occurring interaction, since participants always go back and forth between French and Arabic in the same way as they do in ordinary conversations.

2.2 Code alternation

Bilingual interaction contains numerous and frequent cases of alternation between two codes. The alternation between codes is viewed as a resource for the construction of interactional meaning. This section deals with code-switching and transfer as they are commonly used
forms of code alternation in Algerian television interviews interaction. The term “code alternation”, proposed by Auer (1988), is adopted here as a generic term to refer to both code switching and transfer.

2.3.1. Code-switching

Code-switching had remained “invisible” in studies on bilingualism until the work of Gumperz and his associates in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 7). Blom and Gumperz conducted a number of interesting researches, and their oft-cited study on code-switching between “Ranamål” and “Bokmål” in the Norwegian town of Hemnesberget (see e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972) was an influential one, not only for introducing the situational and metaphorical code-switching theory but also for establishing code-switching as a “phenomenon amenable to analysis” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 46).

According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching is “[t]he juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59). Gumperz suggests that there are two types of code-switching: situational and metaphorical. “Situational code-switching” occurs when speakers use one language in one situation and another in a different one. Namely, language changes according to the situation in which speakers find themselves. “[M]etaphorical code-switching”, on the other hand, occurs when speakers switch to another language upon a topic change (Wei 1998: 156 italics in original). Myers-Scotton (1993) has also suggested and drawn a distinction between two types of code-switching; the “allocational” pattern, through which language use is determined by the social structure; and the “interactional” one, whereby speakers make “rational choices” to achieve their interactional goals (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 66).

Code-switching is the alternate use of two or more languages within one “conversational episode” (Auer 1998: 1). Previous studies (see e.g. Auer 1984; Gafaranga 2007; Mondada 2007) argue, the use of resources from two languages, in the same conversation, is definitely a conversational strategy that participants employ for specific interactional tasks. Code-switching is thus a form of language use by means of which bilingual individuals draw on their linguistic resources to accomplish conversational goals (Heller 1995: 161). This suggests that switching from one language to another in one conversation is not arbitrary, rather it may be associated with local problems of language choice, competence, preference and so forth (Auer 1984: 104). Code-switching is therefore a
central feature that can serve various functions as “word-finding, self-editing, repetition, emphasis, clarification [or] confirmation” (Milroy and Wei 1995: 151).

Previous studies emphasize, as well, that code-switching is associated with a particular point in interaction. It occurs when “language alternation leads to the adoption of a new language-of-interaction” (Gafaranga 2007: 205). This implies that languages are clearly separated from each other in code switching as it may involve a complete shift to another language system for a word, a phrase, a sentence, etc. However, Myers-Scotton (1993), among many other scholars, argue that code-switching does not necessarily require a complete shift to another code, but one of the used languages in talk-in-interaction takes a more predominant role. This language is viewed as the base language or “matrix language”, and the other is the embedded or “guest language” (Treffers-Daller 2009: 66).

2.3.2. Transfer

Transfer, which is also known as L1 interference, is seen as “a production strategy or a communication strategy” (Treffers-Daller 2009: 71). It is not related to a certain point in conversation, rather to a certain “well-defined unit which has a predictable end that will also terminate the use of the other language” (Auer 1988: 203). Transfer is viewed as a momentary functional departure from the language of interaction as it usually consists of certain identifiable items, e.g. single words and fixed expressions (Gafaranga 2007: 132).

There are two types of transfer: direct and indirect. “Direct transfer” refers to the importation of a new item from another language, whereas “indirect transfer” refers to a category that does not have a parallel in the contact language (Treffers-Daller 2009: 71). In any case, transfer occurs when code alternation is associated with a particular conversational structure in interaction. It is, in other words, the use of an identifiable stretch of talk (e.g. a specific expression) in other language rather than the dominant one.

It is maybe difficult, as Poplack (1990) and de Bot (1992) point out, to distinguish the different language contact phenomena from each other. Code-switching and transfer, for instance, are manifestations of the same phenomenon, i.e. “the influence of one language on another” (Treffers-Daller 2009: 59). However, many other researchers think of code-switching and transfer as different phenomena. It is maybe clear that speakers, in the case of code switching, can decide when to switch and when not to, but they cannot control transfer in the same ways. Transfer or interference can be produced “even in the most monolingual of situations” (Treffers-Daller 2009: 60). Namely, it appears as a powerful mechanism to work
in monolingual and bilingual contexts. Further, “the non-contiguous stretches of talk”, e.g. one occurs at the beginning and the other at the end of a conversation, cannot be viewed as an instance of code-switching. Rather, it can be seen as transfer because it is a juxtaposition of two codes which are parts of two different systems that cannot be related to each other (Auer 1990: 72).

With all this as a background, code alternation appears as a significant social practice that takes various forms and occurs in different points of interaction to accomplish certain conversational activities. The use of both French and Arabic within the same conversation in Algerian television interviews is seen as a manifestation of this phenomenon where the use of fixed expressions is one of its major forms.

2.4 Fixed expressions as a form of code alternation

A fixed expression is a standard phrase that has a very specific meaning. Each language has its own set of fixed expressions that make it unique and distinguished from all other languages. Fixed expressions express their uniqueness by their association with one language and one culture in which they are originated (Strakšiene 2009: 18). They basically serve a twofold function: they define the cultural concepts of that society, on the one hand; and they reflect the system of ideological beliefs and values which constitute its cultural identity, on the other (Pawley 2007: 23). Further, there are lots of expressions or phrases that uniquely belong to a particular language and cannot be expressed in another one. They appear as a “badge of belonging”, since they are not only distinctive expressions, but rather are “ingrained in the thinking of the speech community” and can be seen as the “air that people breathe” (Wierzbick 2007: 49).

There are lots of fixed expressions in Arabic, and they are commonly used in formal and informal day-to-day interaction; e.g. expressions of gratitude, greetings, welcomings and invitations. Arabic, as Harrell, Abu-Talib, and Carroll (2003) observe, has “an important cultural pattern that compliments or words of praise should be accompanied by a deferential reference to God. Without the reference to God, such statements appear crude […]” (cited in Morrow and Castliton 2007: 205-6). Fixed expressions in Arabic can be divided into two main categories: religious expressions and social expressions. The concern of this paper is the religious expressions which are employed in Algerian television interviews.

Religious expressions are phrases where the name Allah is part of their composition. They are commonly used not only by Arabic speakers, but also by all Muslims in whatever
language they use in their everyday interaction. The Arabic language appears “saturated with a rich variety of expressions invoking Allah explicitly or implicitly [...]” (Clift and Helani 2010: 358). Indeed, the “Allah lexicon” is a rich repertoire to construct a long list of hundreds, maybe thousands, of religious expressions that appear as salient features of Arabic (Morrow and Castilton 2007: 202). They include but are not limited to:

[I]nsha' Allah [God willing], alhamdulillah [Praise be to God], subhan Allah [Glory be to God], masha Allah [It is the will of God], baraka Allahu fik [May God bless you], jazaka Allah khayr [May God reward you], fi amanillah [God with God], inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji’un [From God we come and to Him is our return] and a multitude of others. (Morrow and Castilton 2007: 202).

Due to the frequent use of these expressions in everyday interaction, the Arabic language appears to be an inseparable part of the Islamic faith for its speaker. It is, as Stewart Desmond (1968) observes, the language of Koran, and it has an even greater effect on its speakers than other languages have on their speakers. Thus, Arabic seems not only a unifying bond of the Arab world, rather “it also shapes and molds that world” (cited in Morrow and Castleton 2007: 202-3).

In bilingual communities, each language has its function which no other language could fulfill, and it is the situation that determines which language to be used (Hudson 1999: 52). According to the close relation between Arabic and Islam, religious expressions are preferred to be expressed in Arabic. Therefore, Algerians switch often from French to Arabic when they come to use these expressions to emphasize maybe their Islamic identity and express their affiliation and adherence to their religion. The following section, which discusses what participants may accomplish by code alternation from a conversation analytic perspective, will reveal more details about this topic.

2.5. An introduction of the conversation analytic perspective: what may participants accomplish by code alternation?

Conversation analysis (henceforth CA) is “the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction” (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 14 italics in original). CA is associated with the names of its pioneers Harvey Sacks and his co-workers, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Steensig 2003: 796).

Acknowledging the fact that there may be “order at all points” of interaction (Sacks 1984: 22), conversation analysts assign considerable efforts to understand what really happens
beyond the structure of language, and how meanings are produced in talk-in-interaction. That is to say, CA endeavors to trace the “procedures and expectations” (Heritage 2006: 1) in terms of which participants, as Heritage and Arkinson (1984) observe, “produce their own behaviors and understand and deal with the behavior of others” (cited in ten Have 2004: 2).

One of the key features of CA is the emic perspective, according to which talk organization is seen from participants’ own perspective (Gafaranga 2007: 117). The emic viewpoint, as Pike (1967) emphasizes, “results from studying behavior as from inside the system” (cited in Seedhouse 2004: 4). The emic perspective is thus the analyst’s task to reveal and interpret the “underlying machinery” (Seedhouse 2004: 12) through which participants achieve the “sequential development of utterances” in their interaction (Steensig 2003: 800).

Previous studies emphasize that “[h]uman actions are meaningful and involve meaning-making” (Heritage 2011: 209). However, an utterance is socially meaningful only when it is understood and shared by a recipient of the act. The understanding of an activity, in other words, is inherent in the sequence of its events, and precisely in the turn-by-turn mechanism, because each action in social interaction can be understood as responsive to a previous action and a frame to a subsequent one. That is to say, utterances are not single events, rather they are connected in a network of actions which can be noted by identifying the patterns, practices or devices employed by participants to produce meanings and actions.

If we take this in consideration, the meaning of code alternation should be analysed as a part of the interactive process, since it cannot be understood without referring to the conversational context (Wei 1998: 162). It is a socially significant behavior, and it “carries more social meaning in bilingual conversation than do gestural or prosodic cues in monolingual conversation” (Wei 2002: 167-71).

This takes us back to the question what may participants accomplish by code alternation. A growing number of contemporary studies have shown that code alternation is not a random phenomenon, rather there are intentions and functions assigned with this behavior (see e.g. Gumperz 1971; Myers-Scotton 1988, 1989; Hoffman 1991; Wei 1998, Gafaranga 2007). Code-alternation should be analysed as a “contextualisation cue”, because it functions in many ways just like the other contextualisation cues (Auer 1995: 124). A contextualization cue, as Gumperz (1982) defines it, is “any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions” (p. 131). Besides its own characteristics, code alternation has other features that it shares with gestures, prosodies and other phonological variables that participants use to achieve their conversational activities.
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(Wei 1998: 164). Hence, code alternation is understood as an “endogenous resource” which is defined and shaped by participants themselves to produce a specific order of interaction (Mondada 2007: 300).

Code alternation is, undoubtedly, based on the fact that speakers intend to express some factors that may include but are not limited to “solidarity, accommodation to listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance” (Wardhaugh 2006: 104). It is maybe obvious that the choice of code also reflects how a speaker want to appear to others, i.e., how they want to express their identity and/or how they want others to see them (p. 112). Further on, the choice of a code for a specific topic “adds a distinct flavor” to the utterance that may reflect certain social values (p. 104). Furthermore, many sociolinguistics studies have reported that there are “extra-linguistic factors”, e.g. topic, social values, relationships between participants and so on that influence a speaker’s choice of language in a conversation (Wei 1998: 156).

With all this in view, one may conclude that French and Arabic go side by side in Algerian verbal communication. This means that it is a prerequisite for Algerians to master both languages to be able to communicate in the different situations of social interaction. Code alternation appears as a significant social practice and commonly used strategy, which takes various forms and occurs in different points of interaction, to accomplish certain conversational activities. Media talk, as it forms a large and rich domain for the use of French, reflects the reality of the linguistic situation in Algeria. The use of both French and Arabic within the same conversation in Algerian television interviews is a salient phenomenon where the employment of religious expressions is one of its main characteristics. Hence, the concern of this study is to examine what participants may accomplish by using these expressions in their utterances.

3. Data and Methodology

This section intends to shed light and to give a rough presentation of the primary sources used in the current investigation, as well as to reveal what methodology is applied here to analyse the collected materials.
3.1 Data

The empirical data of this study consist of a corpus of 15 hours of television interviews that represent different types of naturally occurring conversations in institutional settings\(^6\). They were collected from two main sources: Canal Algérie and Beur TV which are available on youtube.com (see Appendix 4: Primary Sources). These interviews were recorded in 2010 and 2011, and held by different reporters with some brilliant figures: sport, art and music stars in Algeria. Generally, there are two participants in each video: the interviewer (IR) and the interviewee (IEE). The topics discussed in these interviews are different, depending on the guest’s field of activity. However, the discussion is mostly associated with the guest’s career and his/her future projects.

As the aim of this study is to investigate the use of religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews interaction, the first step of processing data consists of watching the collected video recordings to select the extracts that contain features relevant to the purpose of this study. From the total amount of the collected data materials, eighteen extracts were chosen that document the use of Arabic religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian media talk. The process of selecting the relevant extracts is performed according to the manifestation of religious expressions in the participants’ utterances with the focus on where in turn or in conjunction code alternation occur.

3.2 Methodology

In accordance with the general CA principles, this study is concerned with naturally occurring verbal talk-in-interaction. Talk is socially organized through the coordinate practices of participants who produce the interaction (Liddicoat 2011: 5). In the current study, the talk of the participants, though it is produced by means of two different codes, is organized and carries a sense of order all through the process of interaction. The following discussion aims at presenting some general methodological principles which are applied to analyse the collected data materials in the context of CA.

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\(^6\)“Talk is a richly occurring natural phenomenon on radio and television; [...] its study can reveal much more about the communicative character or ethos of broadcasting as an institution; about the quality of public life today; about the structure of identity, performance and social interaction in today’s society” (Scannell 1991: 7).
According to the CA methodology, transcription is an essential step to make possible the analysis of the recorded interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 73). The second step of processing data consists thus of transcribing as accurately as possible the selected extracts. This process requires listening to them again and again in order to include what exactly each participant says in the recorded conversations. All data have been transcribed according to the transcription conventions developed by the conversation analyst Gail Jefferson (2004) and the system for multimodal resources proposed by Mondada (2007). A brief summary is provided in Appendix 2.

As an integrated part of producing a clear and readable transcription, translation is an essential process as the talk in the collected video recordings is in languages other than English. Accordingly, transcription will mostly appear, in the course of this empirical study, in three lines. The first line is a transcription of the talk in the two original languages involved in the extracts: French (in plain characters) and Arabic (in bold). The second line is a word-by-word gloss to clarify what is exactly said in each utterance and to indicate precisely where the code alternation occurs, so that it can be easily distinguished. The third line presents an italicized idiomatic English translation to give a clear idea about what information speakers convey to each other.

Consequently, there are two types of data employed for the purpose of this study: the collected video recordings and the detailed transcription of some of the extracts that expose the phenomenon of code alternation between French and Arabic. These two types of data are both essential for the analysis process. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) and Drew and Heritage (2006), among many others, stress the fact that it is impractical to analyse transcription without referring to the video recordings, because, while video recordings are seen as a “reproduction” of a determinate social action, transcription is viewed as a “representation” of data (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 74). Yet, transcription cannot, in any way, replaces video recordings as data, rather it provides the researcher with a resource to decode data and to be familiar with details of the participants’ conduct (Heath and Hindmarsh 2002: 109).

As a bottom-up data analysis method, CA stresses that analysis “should not initially be constructed by prior theoretical assumptions” (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008: 20) or based on “any background or contextual details” (Seedhouse 2004: 16). This means that the analysis of the detailed transcription of relevant extracts, which is provided in chapter 4, is achieved according to the emic or participants’ own perspective. From a CA point of view, this study thus aims at the interpretation of the participants actions without any preconceived idea or
theory in mind. The focal point of the analysis is the description and explication of the competences, strategies and mechanisms that speakers use and rely on to accomplish their participations in Algerian television interviews.

4. Analysis

This chapter presents a corpus of transcribed extracts of French/Arabic bilingual interaction in Algerian television interviews. French is viewed, in most of these extracts, as the language of interaction since the interviews, from where I get my data materials, are recorded in French. The analysis focuses on the manifestation of religious expressions as code alternation practice to achieve certain communicational purposes. It is divided into four main sections with some interrelated parts.

4.1 Religious expressions as transition words to switch to Arabic

As I have mentioned earlier, Algerians switch to Arabic in which they can say what they cannot properly express in French especially when it comes to religious expressions. However, switching is not confined to these expressions, rather it continues; and the continuation takes different forms: it may occur in one item, short phrase or a complete sentence. That is to say, code alternation by using religious expressions seems affect speakers’ turns as they continue their utterances in Arabic.

Let us consider the following example where the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ is used as a transition word to switch to Arabic to keep going on in interaction. *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ is a well-known expression occurs as an invocation and hope regarding the future. It is an expression widely used in everyday interaction throughout the Arab world to express a number of things: courtesies, wishes, congratulations, hopes and the like (Masliyah 1999: 113).

In extract (1) below, the IR asks the IEE about the World Cup 2022, which is expected to take place in Qatar. She asks him if he has the ambition to be there as a sport commentator. He replies, that will be *dans onze ans*, ‘in eleven years’, and he does not know whether he will be there or not.

(1) **World cup** (37:34 – 37:44)

1. IR ↑>JUSteMENT<
The IR repeats in line 5 the IEE’s utterance and switches from French, the current language of interaction, to Arabic to add a comment in a form of religious expression, *insha’ALLAh la ahyana rabi* ‘God willing, if we remain alive’. There are three points one may notice in the IR’s turn: first of all, the repetition of the IEE’s utterance is to emphasize the time, which will be eleven years. An important event is expected to take place in the future. Thus, the phrase *insha’ALLAh la ahyana rabi* ‘God willing, if we remain alive’ comes to express a desire and hope to live and see this event. Second, as it has been previously mentioned that each language, in a bilingual community, has its function that no other language could fulfill; switching to Arabic indicates that this expression reflects some Islamic values that cannot properly be conveyed in French. Third, the code alternation in the IR’s turn is not confined to the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’, rather it continues to cover the rest of her turn and to produce a new TCU. *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’, in other words, is used as a transition word whereby the IR crosses to the other side of her linguistic repertoire to complete her turn, on the one hand, and to express probably her religious affiliation, on the other.

To understand the code alternation in extract (1) above, we should refer to the conversation context and the surrounding utterances. The interactants talk about the World Cup 2022 that will take place, in eleven years, in Qatar. So the will of God is a pre-requisite since one cannot conceive the occurrence of an event except if God wishes it. This suggests that choosing Arabic over French, in the IEE’s utterance, seems to result from the need to
structure the activity in which participants are engaged, and to convey the appropriate utterance by using the suitable language for the occasion.

In the following extract (2), besides being used as a transition word to switch to Arabic, *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ occurs accompanied by a discourse marker and hesitation pauses to indicate the desire of the speaker to continue his turn. This extract starts with the IEE’s answer to a question about the preparation of his musical team to produce their first album.

(2) Clan 23 (07:34 – 07:47)

1. IEE  
   ":::t une (xxx) avec (.) Nariman aussi (.)  
   a (xxx) with Nariman aussi

2. ➔ hhh (.) e:::t WA::: inshallah nakamelo ↓e:::::::  
   and God willing we will achieve it

3. (6.0)

4. IR  "euh"

5. IEE ➔ walalbum inshallah au début rde (xx) ↓ inshallah  
   and the album God willing at the beginning of (x) God willing

6. IR  > L(xx) tous le (marque) ↓ je vous souhaitez <  
   I wish you all the (xx)

The IEE switches to Arabic in line 2 to use the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ as he is talking about how the preparation is going on to achieve a future task. It occurs in the IEE’s utterance to do its familiar function as invocation and hope regarding a desired outcome. However, code alternation is not only confined to the applied expression, rather the IEE continues speaking Arabic to produce a new TCU, *nakamelo* ‘we will achieve it’. This means that *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ is used here as a transition word to switch to Arabic and construct an extended turn.

Notwithstanding, the obvious “turn-yielding cues” (Duncan 1972: 286), i.e. the ending pitch and the 6.0 silent pause that the IEE deploys to show that he has finished what he wants to say, the IR produces ‘euh’ in line 4 as a “back-channel cue” (ibid.) to indicate that he does not wish to talk. The IEE therefore resumes his turn in line 5 to produce a new TCU, where the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ occurs two times. Though it conveys the same meaning in the two cases as an invocation and hope regarding the future, *Insha’Allah* ‘God
willing’ serves two different functions: in the first one, it is used as a routine expression to gain time to plan and formulate the next step in the IEE’s utterance since he produces it after an incomplete phrase *walalbume*  ‘and the album’ where a complement is needed to make a structured and understood sentence. In the second case, it occurs at the end of the IEE’s turn after answering the IR’s question and providing the required information about the topic. *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’, in this position, seems to be used as a closing word to announce the IEE’s desire to relinquish the floor (see 4.4.2) as it comes after a complete TCU and is accompanied by a dropping pitch, where he reaches a possible transition relevance place (TRP). This may indicate that the use of *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ as a transition word to switch to Arabic leads the IEE to build up an extended switching that covers a number of TCUs in his subsequent turns.

Furthermore, besides the discourse marker WA:::  ‘and’ and the prolongation in the vowel (a), *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ seems to be used as a floor holding device that the IEE deploys to express his desire to continue speaking and completing his turn (see 4.3).

Not only can the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ be used as a transition word to switch to Arabic in Algerian media interviews, there are also many other expressions that work in the same way. *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’, for instance, is one of “Allah lexicon” expressions (Morrow and Castilton 2007: 202); speakers frequently switch to Arabic when they come to use it in their interaction. It is a widely used expression to show gratitude and full satisfaction to God. Further, it occurs, as we will see in the course of this analysis, in the same positions and serves the same functions as the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’.

In extract (3), the IR asks the IEE if he could join the group and play the next match against the Irish team, or his injury may prevent him from achieving this ambition. The IEE replies that he feels all right, and that he hopes to play the match because his injury, in comparison to another player, is not a severe one.

(3) The match (05:32 – 05:55)

1. IR ↑(xx) **hata anta andak** ISSAbeh matele’absh amam elmuntakhab elirlandi::
   (xx) even you have you an injury not play you against team Irish
   (two syllables ‘name) even you have an injury; you won’t play against the Irish team

2. .h ↑(.) **TAM’ana hata anta**
   reassure us, even you!
   *reassure us*

3. (0.4)
The IEE switches to Arabic in line 4 when he comes to deploy the religious expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’. Then, he continues his short inter-sentential switching after this expression where he produces only one item, *ana* ‘I’, that he repeats directly when he switches back to French in line 5. It is a “self-repair” (Schegloff et al. 1977: 363), which shows that *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ is not only a fixed expression, but rather a useful strategy with a considerable productive capacity that enables the speaker to formulate his utterance and complete his turn.

*Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’, which is used here as a transition word to switch to Arabic, serves two functions: first, as a religious expression to express gratitude and thank to God as his injury is not a severe one and he may recover soon, and maybe can play the next match. Second, besides the hesitation pause in “e::”, switching to Arabic may indicate that the IEE wishes to continue his speaking turn. This suggests that *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ operates as a routine expression whereby the IEE intends to gain time to formulate his next utterance. *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ seems as a part of the preparatory items that the IEE deploys to produce a new structured and understood TCU in line 5. It appears as an independent clause of the sentential structure as its removal from its place will not affect the new TCU structure or meaning.

The analysis of extracts (1-3) reveals that participants in Algerian television interviews deploy the religious expressions: *Insha'Allah* ‘God willing’ and *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ in their utterances since they are part and parcel of their everyday interaction. Besides the linguistic meanings that these expressions convey, participants use them as transition words to switch to Arabic and continue their speaking turns.

Since Arabic, as I have mentioned earlier, is an inseparable part of the Islamic faith for its speakers, religious expressions are viewed as “the distinctive sign and the parable type of
social life of the Islamic community” (cited in Traverso 2006: 262). The given analysis in this section shows that *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ as invocation and hope regarding the future and *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ as gratitude and full satisfaction to God seem to be unavoidable and necessary expressions in Algerian media interaction. They are used as useful strategies to provide participants with a number of resources to deal with each other and to organize their interaction.

Another important point to be considered here, the analysis of these extracts demonstrates that participants, in many occasions, adopt Arabic as the language of interaction instead of French. This implies that code alternation is not only confined to the applied religious expressions, rather it extends to cover other TCUs.

### 4.2 Religious expressions in adjacency pairs.

This section investigates the occurrence of religious expressions in adjacency pairs. They are used to serve functions other than the ones that we have already discussed in the previous section. When an interactant switches to Arabic to produce a religious expression, the other party will be influenced by this switching, namely, s/he also switches to Arabic to respond with a similar or another religious expression. This means that, in bilingual interaction, whatever language a speaker chooses for the organization of his/her turn or for an utterance which is part of the turn, “the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers” (Auer 1984: 5).

Code alternation of this kind originates by either party: the same speaker may initiate switching to Arabic and produce a first-pair part within his turn. Sometimes the recipient begins to develop the reciprocity of intersubjectivity between participants by producing a first-pair part which stands as “conditional relevant” (Schegloff 2007: 20) where a second-pair part is due. In addition to that, these forms operate as any other adjacency pair forms since they demonstrate the mutual understanding between participants to build up and maintain the sequentiality of interaction.

#### 4.2.1. Adjacency pairs in independent turns

Consider the following extract (4) where an adjacency pair of religious expressions occurs in independent turns. It is a reciprocal invocation between participants initiated by the recipient.

---

7 “[...] le signe distinctif, la parabole type de la vie sociale pour la communauté islamique”, original text.
This extract starts with the IEE’s utterance about his departure to live and work in Qatar. The IR asks him how long he stayed alone until his family could join him. He replies that he stayed alone for one month, and on the eve of Ramadan, his family arrived and joined him.

(4) One month (10.30 – 10:44)

1. IEE ↑ J’ETAISe seul pendant un mois, la famille n’était pas encore venue ↓
   I was alone during a month, the family no was not yet came
2. (0.6)
3. e:::┌ ┬ :::::
4. IR ↓ COM bien d’ temps > jilest lewahdek? ↓ <
   How long sat alone you
5. IEE un mois (.)
   a month
   one month
6. IR UN mois
   a month
   one month
7. (0.2)
8. IEE et la VEILLE DU MOIS DE RAMADAN ils sont venus↓
   and the eve of month of Ramadan they are came
9. IR "aya alhamdulillah"
   so thank God
   so, thank God
10. IEE "hamdulillah yarabi"
    Thank God o my God
    o my God, thank God
11. IR ↑wa HOMA WALFOO?
    and they adapted
    and they being adapted?
12. (0.2)
13. IEE e::: une semaine seulement
    a week only
    Only one week

The IR’s utterance Aya alhamdulillah ‘so thank God’ in line 9 occurs as a response to the IEE’s turn in line 8 in which he states that his family joined him on the eve of Ramadan after one month of his departure to start his new life in Qatar. By employing this expression, the IR expresses her gratitude and thank to God as a kind of solidarity with the IEE, and also to
congratulate him in the occasion of his family arrival and joining him. She seems to say to him “I thank god that your family arrived and joined you”. In addition to that, the IR’s utterance initiates the first-pair part as its production projects a relevant next action.

The IEE switches to Arabic in line 10 to respond to the IR’s utterance. He uses the same expression *hamdulilah* ‘thank God’, with a small change by adding the expression *yarabi* ‘o my God’, to confirm that thank and gratitude are addressed to God. Yet, it is of politeness and good behavior to respond to such expression to comply with the prevailing social values in an Islamic community, especially when it occurs as an invocation and congratulation for a favor that the other party gets, otherwise failure to respond will be “noticeable, accountable and sanctionable” (Seedhouse 2004: 10).

Moreover, the occurrence of these expressions in an adjacency pair form shows the reciprocity and reflection between actions, on the one hand, and the mutual understanding or interpersonal alignment between participants, on the other.

Let us now consider another form of adjacency pair practice in the following example. *Allah yabarek* ‘God bless’ and *allah yabarek feek* ‘God bless you’ are other religious expressions from “Allah lexicon” commonly used in the verbal Algerian interaction as invocation and congratulation expressions. They usually appear in adjacency pairs to demonstrate the mutual understanding between participants in talk-in-interaction.

*Allah yabarek* ‘God bless’ is used as an invocation and congratulation expression for a favor or a grace that another party gets. It is different from the self-invocation expression, *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ (see extract 6). Namely, upon its production a second preferred action is due. Furthermore, the word *feek* ‘in you’ that occurs at the end of the expression *allah yabarek feek* ‘God bless you’ indicates that there is a similar invocation produced by a co-participant. In other words, *allah yabarek feek* ‘God bless you’ cannot be produced in interaction without the occurrence of *Allah yabarek* ‘God bless’ by another participant.

In extract (5) below, the IR asks the IEE how many kids he has. He replies that he has three children; one girl and two boys with indicating their names and ages.


1. IR LES ENFANTS il-y en TROIS the children it there of three

   *the children, you have three*

2. (0.2)

3. IEE “trois”
three

4. (0.4)
5. IR noor (.) S ۱ala
   Noor Salma ((names))
6. IEE ۱NOOR
   Noor ((name))
7. (0.2)
8. IEE kameel il a sept ans et > naseem < il a deux ans ↓ (.)
   Kameel he has seven years and Naseem he has two years
   *Kameel is seven years old and Naseem is two years old*
9. > IL AURA deux ans au mois ↓ d’octobre <
   It will two years in the month of October
   *He will be two years old in October*
10. (0.3)
11. IR → "allah yabarek”
    God bless
12. IEE → "allah yabarek f ۱eek”
    God bless you
13. IR L.hh E::t (. ) >COMMENT ILS SONT (. ) LA-BAS =
    and how they are there
14. = Ils a e::y …
    They have

The IR switches to Arabic in line 11 to produce the religious expression *allah yabarek* ‘God bless’, as a response to the IEE’s utterance in line 8, where he states how many children he has. The IR’s utterance comes in a form of invocation to God to bless the IEE for this favor. By deploying this expression, the IR initiates the first-pair part, where a second-pair part by the IEE is due. As a result, since it is of politeness and good behavior to respond to such invocation and congratulation with a similar or even a better one, the IEE switches to Arabic in line 12 to deploy the religious expression *allah yabarek feek* ‘God bless you’ that forms, at the same time, the second-pair part in this symmetrical adjacency pair. The occurrence of these two phrases depends on each other. That is to say, the production of *allah yabarek* ‘God bless’ provokes the occurrence of *allah yabarek feek* ‘God bless you’ immediately and without any interval between the two actions.

The analysis of extracts (4-5) reveals that switching to Arabic and initiating a first-pair part is produced by the recipient as a response, in a form of invocation and congratulation, for a favor or a grace that the speaker gets. In adjacency pairs, religious expressions work in the same way as greetings since they reflect solidarity and mutual understanding between
participants, on the one hand, and politeness and good conduct, on the other. Thus, failure to respond to such invocations may be accountable and sanctionable.

In the following example, we encounter a different case compared to the two cases discussed earlier. The speaker himself initiates switching to Arabic and produces a first-pair part within his turn to express his thank and full satisfaction to God for a favor that he himself gets. However, the same effect happens on the other party’s turn; namely, she switches to Arabic to respond and produce a second-pair part.

The extract (6) below starts with the IEE’s utterance about how he has been adapted to live and work in Qatar, stating that factors like family and the job that he likes helped him to be adapted to the life there.

(6) The work (02:44 – 02:59)

1. IEE on sait s’adapter facilement surtout qu’on est une famille (.)
   one know adapt easily especially since one is a family
   *we can adapt easily especially since we are a family*
2. .hhhhh surtout qu’on FAIT un métier qu’on aime
   especially since one make a work that one like
   *especially since I do the job that I like*
3. .hhh e::: > surtout quand’on est “à l’aise” ↑ <
   especially when one is at ease
   *especially since I’m pleased*
4. → moi je suis très à l’aise > hamdulillah ↑ YARABI< (.)
   I’m very at ease thank God O my God
   I’m very pleased thank God O my God
5. IR “alhamdulillah” (.)
   thank God
6. (0.2)
7. IEE e::: je ↑ fait un métier (.) que j’aime” beaucoup”
   I do the work that I like very much
   *I’m doing the job that I like a lot*
8. (0.3)
9. J’ai très RESPECTE par par par par les collègues par >tout le MONDe<
   I have very respected by by by by the colleagues by all the word
   *I’m very respected by the colleagues and by everyone*

The religious expression hamdulillah YARABI ‘thank God O my God’ in line 4 occurs as a compliment to the IEE’s utterance moi je suis tres à l'aise ‘I’m very pleased’. He switches to Arabic to express his gratitude, thank and full satisfaction to God for having these good things: the family, the good job and above all to be pleased in his life. In her turn, the IR
responds by using the same expression *alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ in line 5 to express her solidarity and her accommodation to the speaker.

Upon its production as a first-pair part, the expression *hamdulillah YARABI* ‘thank God O my God’ provokes the occurrence of *hamdulillah* ‘thank God’ as a second-pair part. The reciprocity and reflection between these two utterances can be understood through the mutual relation of dependence. That is to say, without the occurrence of the first expression, the second one will not be produced.

4.2.2. Religious expressions as a pair part within a turn

The next examples (7 and 8) present a different form of adjacency pair. A religious expression can be used as a response to a greeting where they build up a mixed form of adjacency pair within turns. In extract (7) below, the IR welcomes the IEE, who is a Rai star, to his program.

(7) Music (03:20 – 03:26)

1. IEE ↑binat ⊂(binatna MUSIQUE) ⊂c’est c’ est c’est bien c’est bienγ (.)
   (binat music) this is this is this is good this is god
   *(Binatna Mucsic) It is god*

2. IR ⊻IHAHheheheheheheheheheheheheh .hhhhh ⊻
   (laugh)

3. IR ➞ EN TOUT CAS MARHABA BEEK DO ⊂NC E::::: ⊂γ (mami) POUR .hh
   in all case welcome you then (mami) to
   *Anyway, you are welcome Mami to*

4. IEE ➞ ⊻allah yassalmek ⊻
   God protects you
   *God protects you*

5. (0.2)

6. IR POUR C’EST ÉMISSION ET RAVI (. ) DE T’ACCUEILLIR
   to this is emission and happy you welcome
   *To this program and happy to welcome you*

The IR switches to Arabic in line 3 to welcome the IEE by deploying the expression *marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’, which is a commonly used greeting and welcoming expression in Algerian everyday interaction. *Marhaba* ‘welcome’ or *Marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’ can be used as an independent greeting expression, or a welcoming expression usually appears after greetings. It seems that Algerians usually switch to Arabic when they greet or welcome each other to express sincerity and accommodation to their co-interlocutors.
The response to a greeting or a welcoming like *marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’ can be achieved by using the same expression, which is also widely used in the everyday Arabic interaction. However, religious expressions that contain invocation and praise to God seem to be preferred as they convey solidarity and sincerity.

As it has been mentioned before, religious expressions work in adjacency pairs just like any other pairs that may be formed by question/answer, offer/agreement and so on. In this extract, the welcoming expression *Marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’, which occurs within the IR’s turn in line 3, is viewed as the first-pair part as it projects a relevant action that should be produced by the other participant. Accordingly, the IEE deploys the religious expression *allah yassalmek* ‘God protects you’ in line 4 as a response to the IR’s welcoming phrase, which initiates, at the same time, the second-pair part. This means that invocation to God in line 4 is used to respond to the welcoming phrase that the IR produces in line 3 to construct together this form of mixed adjacency pair.

In the next extract (8), besides constructing an adjacency pair, the greeting and the religious expression are also used as transition words to make an extended switching. In this extract, the IR greets and welcomes the IEE, who is a famous Algerian singer lives in Montreal, at the beginning of the interview.

(8) Montreal (00:10 – 00:22)

1. IR > (Aziz) bonjour< (.)

   (Aziz) good morning

2. IEE "bonjou: r::r’ γ

   Good morning

3. IR > l-merλ ci de venir met† VOIR <(.)

   thanks to come me see

   thanks for coming

4. IEE je vous remercie r beaucoup γ

   I you thank much

   thank you so much

5. IR ➞ l-MAHABA-J beek fil jazayer

   welcome you in the Algeria

   you are welcome in Algeria

6. (0.2)

7. IEE ➞ allah eh YASSALMIK i r-bal γ adi (.)

   God protects you my country

   God protects you, it is my country

8. IR l(h’a) ↓

9. IR hehehe IBLA r-DEK ihehehe γ
After greeting her guest with the common greeting expression *bonjour* ‘good morning’ in line 1, and thanking him for coming to the program, the IR switches in line 5 from French, the current language of interaction, to Arabic to deploy the commonly used Arabic welcoming expression *marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’ which appears as the first-pair part that projects a relevant action. As a response to the IR’s welcoming, the IEE produces *allah YASSALMIK* ‘God protects you’ in line 7 which, at the same time, forms the second-pair part of this mixed adjacency pair.

Furthermore, *marhaba beek* ‘you are welcome’ is used here as a transition word to switch to Arabic, since the IR continues her utterance in Arabic in the subsequent turns. It seems that the effect of her first switching in line 5 and the conveyed meaning from that utterance lead the two participants to make an extended switching. They continue speaking Arabic in the subsequent turns in lines 8-10 to cover the discussion of the topic that the IR initiates in line 5.

As it has been discussed earlier, each turn in interaction is operate as a responsive to a prior turn. The IEE’s switching seems to result from the situation and is constructed according to the preceding utterances. This suggests that he switches to Arabic to tie with the IR’s switching, and to convey the appropriate response.

The analysis of extracts (4-8) shows that religious expressions are used as congratulation and greeting phrases. Their occurrence in adjacency pairs shows the reciprocity and reflection between utterances, and the mutual understanding between participants. Further on, switching to Arabic can be initiated by either party to create a first-pair part that projects a second-pair part to be produced by the other participant.

The analysis also demonstrates that switching to Arabic is not only confined to the applied religious expressions, but rather it leads participants to construct a reciprocal and
extended switching. This implies that code alternation is seen as a point of departure into another language of interaction since participants adopt Arabic as the language of interaction instead of French in their utterances.

4.3 Religious expressions preceded by discourse markers

In this section, religious expressions occur, as independent clauses, accompanied by hesitation pauses and/or discourse markers from either Arabic (e.g. ‘wa’ or ‘ew’ and), or French (e.g. ‘et’, and; ‘mais’, but; ‘donc’, so; ‘puis’, then and so on). This occurrence may encourage the assumption that religious expressions are used here to work just like these devices to prepare the ground for extended turns. When speakers wish to continue speaking past a TRP, the simplest and the most frequent technique is to employ what Sacks et al. (1974) call an “utterance incompletor” (Coulthard 1977: 57 italics in original); these are words like “‘but’, ‘and’, ‘however’ and other clause connectors” (ibid.). Their importance is generated from their ability to turn a potentially complete turn into an incomplete one.

4.3.1 Discourse markers from Arabic

In extract (9), the expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ occurs merged with an Arabic discourse marker and accompanied by hesitation pauses. This extract starts with the IEE’s utterance where he states that the national team of Algeria needs to be accustomed to the lack of oxygen before being ready to the World Cup 2010 in South Africa.

(9) Viva L’algerie 3 (00:40 – 01:15)

16. IEE = on a pris l’altitude UN PEU (X) ON ON A –
   one has taken the altitude a little one has
   to be accustomed with the altitude a little bit, we will
   (0.6)
17. (0.2)
18. on a pris l’habitude de de >de manque d’oxygène <
   one has taken the habit of of lack of oxygen
   we have to be accustomed to the lack of oxygen
   (0.2)
19. (0.2)
20. *winshallah* e:::
   and God willing
21. (0.2)
22. .hh (0.3) en(.)core une semaine à fond “on sera prêt” ↓
   again a week a hundred percent one will be ready
   yet one week we will be completely ready.
23. (0.4)
As the IEE speaks about the training plan for the next days, Insha’Allah, ‘God willing’ is part of the structure of his turn. Without Insha’Allah, ‘God willing’ the utterance will be missing the invocation regarding the future. It seems odd to speak about the future without expressing, either explicitly or implicitly, the invocation to God.

The IEE switches to Arabic in line 20 to use the religious expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’, which comes merged with the discourse marker wa ‘and’. Namely, they are produced in one item, winshallah, ‘and God willing’. It is a common way of speaking, in the verbal interaction, to enhance speed and fluency. Besides the expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ and the discourse marker ‘and’, the silent pauses in lines 19 and 21 and the filled pause after the expression are all used here as strategies to hold the floor and continue speaking. Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ seems to be used as a part of these devices that speakers deploy to express a desire to keep going on in interaction since it is an independent clause of the new TCU which is produced just after it.

In the following example, the religious expression Alhamdulillah ‘thank God’ occurs preceded by the discourse marker ew ‘and’ from Arabic dialect. This expression usually operates in the same way as the expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’.

In extract (10) below, the IR asks the IEE how he evaluates the training camp of the national team in Miko. He replies that everything is ok and the team will be ready within two weeks for the World Cup 2010 in Africa.

(10) Viva L’Algérie 1 (00:40 – 01:15)

1. **IR** keifsh tqaqam ehhh li:(elstivema) doma eli jahazohum min eh min el staj? how evaluate you ( ) those that prepared they from from the course How do you evaluate those ( ) that they have been prepared for training?

2. (0.7)

3. **IEE** .hh u:::m

4. (0.7)

5. ça fait:: smaina rana hana↑
it make week still here it's still one week here

6. (0.4)

7. → ew::: (0.3) "elhamdulilah"↓ and thank God and thank god

8. (0.6)

9. "on a complexe" MAGNIFIQUE (.)
The IEE switches to Arabic when he comes to use the expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ in line 4 to express his gratitude and thanks to God for what they, as a team, have at hand: the wonderful training place and the very good and qualified staff.

As it has been indicated before, discourse markers and hesitation pauses are important devices that speakers rely on to express their desire to hold the floor and to continue a speaking turn. *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ occurs in line 4 preceded by the discourse marker *ew::* ‘and’, and a 0.3 silent pause. This expression can be seen as a part of these devices that the IEE employs to express his desire to start a new TCU in line 9, because the new information is provided directly just after it. In other words, it is an independent clause of the sentential structure as its removal leaves the sentence structure intact. Thus, *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ operates, as it is clear in the IEE’s utterance, as a part of the floor holding devices rather than of the new TCU in line 9.

The analysis of extracts (9-10) reveals that religious expressions operate just like the Arabic discourse markers *wa* or *ew* ‘and’ as devices to express a desire for holding the floor and continue a conversational activity. They are used as “‘discursive particles’, namely, as elements which are used, at different levels, to indicate the continuity of discourse” (Traverso 2006: 260). Thus, they appear as parts of the applied discourse markers rather than of the TCUs that are produced after them. Let us now move on to the following section to see how religious expressions work when they occur preceded by discourse markers from French.

### 4.3.2 Discourse markers from French

The extract (11) below demonstrates how the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ serves the same function, as floor holding device, when it comes preceded by a discourse marker from French. This extract starts with the IEE’s answer to a question about the efforts that he exerts in the training camp. He replies that he wants to keep fit and be ready especially for the first match in Miko.

---

8. “‘particules discursives’, c’est-à-dire comme des éléments qui, à différents niveaux, servent à indiquer la continuité du discours”, original text.
Code Alternation on the Air: The use of Arabic religious expressions in Algerian television interviews

(11) Match in Miko (01:32 – 01:42)

1. IEE (x) beaucoup de (x) qoutiDIEn (. ) pour pouvoi::r e::↓
   (x) a lot of daily to be able
   A lot of (x) daily to be able
2. .h↑ GARDER LA FORME mai::s
   keep the form but
   to keep fit, but
3. (0.2)
4. .hh (.) inSHAllah être (.) prêt (.) pour:::↓
   God willing be ready for
   God willing, to be ready for
5. (1.8)
6. "pour le match e::’ (. )
   for the match
7. >surtout de le premier match à miko<
   especially for the first match in Miko
   especially for the first one in Miko

The IEE switches to Arabic in line 4 to deploy the religious expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’, which occurs here as an invocation to God and a hope for a desired outcome as he speaks about a future task. It appears as a kind of prayer, through which he asks God to enable him to be ready for this task.

The expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ in the IEE’s utterance appears in line 2 preceded by the discourse marker mai::s ‘but’ with a prolongation in the vowel ‘i’. In addition, a 0.2 silent pause in line 3 followed by an inbreath and another silent pause. All these cues indicate that the IEE intends to hold the floor and continue his turn. The religious expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ seems operate as a supporting item to these devices, or as a routine expression that may give the IEE few seconds to formulate his utterance. Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ is seen as a part of the devices that the IEE deploys to convey a message to the IR that he wishes to continue speaking and provide more information. It is an independent clause of the TCU, être prêt pour::: ‘to be ready for’, and its removal from its place will not affect the structure of this unit.

In extract (12) below, the religious expression Insha’Allah ‘God willing’ occurs preceded by another discourse marker from French. It is also used to serve the same purpose as a floor holding device that may help the IEE to continue speaking to construct a new TCU.

In this extract, the IEE, who is a Raï star, answers a question about his future projects and his
preparations to produce a new album. He insists that the most important thing is the quality; the case is thus how, rather than when, the album will be produced.

(12) Album  (01:39 – 01:47)

1. IEE  c’est pas quand (xx) que qu’il va sortir ↓(.)
   This is not when (xx) that it will release
   It is not when it will be produced
2. c'est c'est COMMENT il va sortir
   this is this is how it will release
   rather it is how it will be produced
3. (0.7)
4. → donc inSHALLAh
   therefore God Willing
5. (0.2)
6. il faut (0.2) > bien preparer< (.)
   it must well prepare
   it should be well prepared

The IEE switches to Arabic in line 4 to deploy the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ as an invocation to God and hope for a desired outcome since he is planning to produce a new album.

*Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ occurs preceded by a 0.7 silent pause in line 3 and the discourse marker *donc* ‘then’. This implies that besides the religious meanings and values that this expression conveys, it can be seen as a floor holding device. *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ appears to be one of the preparatory items deployed here to start a new complete and understood TCU in line 6. Further, though the expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ seems necessary to maintain coherence and cohesion in the IEE’s turn, the structure and the meaning of his utterance will be intact and understood even without this expression since it is an independent item of the sentential structure and its removal will not affect the IEE’s utterance.

In the following example (13), I will go back to the extract (3) to use it again here but for a different purpose. There is an interesting case in line 5 of this extract associated with the topic of this section. The religious expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ occurs preceded by the French discourse marker *mais* ‘but’. It seems that *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ works just like this marker as a device to hold the floor and continue a speaking turn.

(13) The match (05:32 – 05:55)

1. IR  ↑(xx) hata anta andak  ISSAbeh matel’aabsh amam elmuntakhab elirlandi::
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The IEE switches to Arabic in line 5 to use the religious expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ in order to thank God as he feels well without having any risk of missing the chance to play the next match. On the other hand, the occurrence of this expression preceded by a silent pause and the discourse marker *mais* ‘but’ makes it appear as a part of these devices that the IEE uses to hold the floor and continue speaking past a possible completion point. This means that *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ is not a part but rather an independent clause of the TCU, *ça va* ‘all right’ as its removal will not affect the meaning of this unit. It might be concluded from this that *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ seems to operate just like the marker *mais* ‘but’ as a floor holding device that the IEE deploy to express his desire to keep going on in interaction.

The given analysis of extracts (9-13) shows that religious expressions occur accompanied by hesitations pauses and discourse markers from both French and Arabic. They operate just like these devices that lead speakers to construct extended turns. That is to say, besides their familiar use as invocation and gratitude expressions, both *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ and *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ are used, in these extracts, as parts of the devices that participants deploy to express their desire to hold the floor and continue their turns, and also to gain time to formulate their future utterances.

The analysis also demonstrates that code alternation takes two different forms: (i) transfer, as analysed in the extracts (9,11,12) as it is confined to the applied religious expressions. Namely, it is a momentary functional departure from the language of interaction
where it consists only of certain identifiable items; and (ii) code-switching, as analysed in the extracts (10 and 13) since it is an extended switching where participants adopt Arabic as the language of interaction instead of French in some points of interaction. Furthermore, it can be interesting to note that the used language in the discourse markers determines what form of language alternation is applied in interaction. It is code-switching when religious expressions appear preceded by markers from Arabic since switching extends to cover other items in speakers’ turns, whereas it is transfer when they come preceded by markers from French as it is only confined to the employed religious expressions.

4.4 Religious expressions as signals for closing turns and shifting topics.

In the previous section, we have seen that religious expressions can be used as devices and routine expressions to hold the floor and gain time to formulate next steps in interaction. However, these expressions can be employed to serve a different function. *Insha’Allah ‘God willing’* and *Alhamdulillah ‘thank God’* can be used as signals for closing turns and shifting topics.

It seems strange that the same expression can serve two contradictory functions. A question may be raised here: how can a religious expression be both turn holding and closing? In the former case, as we have already seen in 4.3, religious expressions precede sentences; they appear as independent clauses of the sentential structure and occur accompanied by discourse markers and/or hesitation pauses. Generally, there are new TCUs to be produced just after them. In the latter one, on the contrary, religious expressions appear as independent words after a complete sentence. They occur accompanied maybe by a gaze toward the other party, ending pitch and some other prosodic features which signify that a speaker reaches a TRP.

4.4.1 Closing turns

In extract (14) below, the IR asks the IEE, who is a player in the national team of Algeria, about his injury that may prevent him temporarily from joining the preparatory training camp for the World Cup 2010 in South Africa. The IR asks him how long he will stay behind the group, and he replies that it may take one week before joining the group.

(14) Viva L’algerie 4 (00:22 – 00:30)

1. IR … > baqaitsht khalf el group ↑? <
In answering the IR’s question, how long will you stay before being able to join training, the IEE composes a mixed utterance using the two coexistent languages to produce his utterance. The word *smaina* ‘week’, which is used in lines 3 and 5, is neither an Arabic word nor a totally French one. Actually, it is an in-between word derived from the French word *semaine* ‘week’ and modified to be uniquely associated with the local Algerian dialect. It is maybe noteworthy to indicate that Algerians use it more when they speak Arabic, namely they treat it as an Arabic word. This may clarify some important features about language contact. I will not go further as this topic is beyond the scope of this study.

In any case, the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ occurs in line 3 accompanied by a gaze towards the IR and followed by 0.5 silent pause. It comes as an independent item of the sentential structure to signify that the IEE reaches a TRP. Simply, it appears as a closing item and an obvious signal that he wishes to hand over the floor as he has answered the question. However, the IR does not start his turn, and the microphone remains on the IEE’s side. This may indicate that the IR wants him to continue and provide more information about the topic. As a result, the IEE resumes, in line 5, his turn in Arabic as he seems still influenced by his first switching in line 3. However, when he comes in line 6 to the last item in his utterance, the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’, he gazes again towards the IR. Gazes provides an important cue for the organization of conversations. In turn-taking mechanism, gaze can be seen as an additional signal to signify a desire to relinquish the floor upon completion of an utterance (Goodwin 1981: 9). *Insha’Allah* ‘God
willing’ occurs after a grammatically complete sentence and accompanied by a gaze and ending pitch where the IEE reaches a TRP to announce that he has finished what he wants to say. In the two cases, the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ occurs accompanied by a gaze towards the other participant. It is used as a closing word for the TCU in line 3, and for the whole turn in line 6, where the IEE expresses, in both cases, his desire to hand over the floor to the IR.

In the next extract (15), the IEE uses the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ as a closing word for his turn and a signal to express his desire to relinquish the floor. This extract starts with the IEE’s utterance, in which he states that there is a concert will be held in Marseille on the thirtieth of April.

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In this extract, the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ appears two times in the IEE’s turn. First, it occurs in line 5 as an invocation and hope for a desired outcome, where he hopes that the concert of Marseille will be a big one and attract a lot of people. As it is an independent clause of the sentential structure that surrounds it, the IEE uses *Insha’Allah* ‘God

(15) Concert in Marseille (04:03 – 04:11)

1. **IEE** le trente eu:----: r:avril(.) ∨
   the thirty        april
   *The thirtieth of April*

2. **IR** > l(DANS DEUX- JOURS)<
   within two days

3. **IEE** au d au do::me de:: r::
   at       at   dome

4. **IR** lAU DOME DE MARSEILLE ∨
   at dome of Marseille
   *At the dome of Marseille*

5. **IEE** de Marseille insallah c’est va etre:------:
   of  marseille God willing this is will be
   *of Marseille God willing which will be*

6. (0.3)

7. **Un bo:::n un grand concert ↓ in r:shallah↓
   a good        a big concert       God willing
   *a big concert God willing*

8. **IR** lUN G  ∨ RAND CONCERT
   A       big       concert
   *A big concert*

*In this extract, the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ appears two times in the IEE’s turn. First, it occurs in line 5 as an invocation and hope for a desired outcome, where he hopes that the concert of Marseille will be a big one and attract a lot of people. As it is an independent clause of the sentential structure that surrounds it, the IEE uses *Insha’Allah* ‘God*
willing’ as a routine expression to buy a few seconds of planning time to formulate his utterance. Second, it occurs at the end of the IEE’s turn in line 7, namely, after providing the full information about where and when the concert will be held at the dome of Marseille, he switches to Arabic to insert the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ accompanied by a dropping pitch as a closing item to his utterance.

Besides its familiar use as an invocation and hope regarding the future since the IEE’s utterance is concerned with an event that will take place in the future, another important feature can be drawn from this employment. The expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ serves another function; it is used to announce the end of the IEE’s turn where he expresses his desire to hand over the floor to the IR, who directly starts his turn in line 8 after this expression.

As we have seen before, both expressions, *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ and *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’, work in the same way and serve the same functions in Algerian television interviews. In the following example, the religious expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thanks god’ is used as a closing word and signal to hand over the floor to the other participant.

The extract (16) below starts with the IEE’s answer to a question about the period of terrorism in Algeria and why she did not leave the country under that hard period. She states that, despite the danger, she decided to stay because she could not leave her roots.

**(16) My country (08:55 – 19:10)**

1. IEE "je ne pouvais pas quitter mon pays"  
   * I could not leave my country
2. (0.4)
3. Je pouvais PAS quitter mes racines  
   * I could not leave my roots
4. .hhh >(xxx) fil (sandouq)<  
   * In the box
5. .hhh e::: "qoutelhom hana yamout qaussi"  
   * said I them here dies the harsh
   * I said them, her the harsh will die
6. (0.2)
7. (wishah)
   ( )
8. (0.3)
After answering the question and explaining her idea about her stay during the period of terrorism, the IEE closes her utterance by using the religious expression *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’. As it has been previously demonstrated, this expression is used to thank God for a favor or grace that one him/herself gets. The IEE employs this expression in line 11 to express her gratitude and full satisfaction to God as she stayed in her country, which now passed that hard period of violence. On the other hand, *Alhamdulillah* ‘thank God’ occurs at the end of the IEE’s utterance to signify that she reaches a transition relevance place (TRP), where a speakership change is possible. In short, The IEE uses it as a closing word to convey a message to the IR that she has finished what she wants to say, and she wants to relinquish the floor.

While taking over the floor, the IR deploys in line 13 the religious expression *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ in an independent turn as a response to the IEE’s utterance. *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ appears to be used as a signal to shift the topic at hand as she moves to start a new question in line 16 that may open a new sequence in the interview.

Let us now move on to the following section to consider more cases of topic shifting in Algerian television interviews.

4.4.2 Topic shift

As television interviews are organized according to the question–answer mechanism, “the shift to a new topic is done by means of a new question that opens a new sequence” (Clift and Helani 2010: 372). In the following example, the religious expression *Inshallah* ‘God willing’
occurs in an independent turn to signify a possible closure of the topic at hand whereby a new topic is initiated by means of a new question.

Extract (17) starts with the IR’s utterance where she told the IEE that they will leave the musical piece to the end of the interview. Instead, she asks him to speak about his future projects and his preparation to produce a new album.

(17) The first album (07:54 – 08:00)

1. IR > .hh ON va laisser plutôt pour la fin va terminer avec < (.)
   We will leave it to the end, we will terminate with
   One will let instead for the end, one will terminate with
   
2. hah? ok ?

3. IEE ➔ inshallah
   God willing

4. (.)

5. IR .h E: ↑ SI L’ON CONTINUE UN PEU À PARLER ↓DE: DE(.) =
   if the one continue a bit to speak of of
   if you continue speak briefly about

6. = d’autre vous préparez >donc premier ALBUM <
   more you prepare so first album
   what you are preparing more, so the first album

The IEE produces the religious expression Inshallah ‘God willing’ in line 3. It occurs as a response to the IR’s utterance in lines 1 and 2. Besides the religious meaning that this expression carries, the IEE uses it to express his agreement to the IR’s suggestion to leave the musical piece to the end of interview. At the same time, it appears to be a signal for topic shifting as its occurrence in this position signifies a possible closure of the topic at hand and a move to start a new one.

Inshallah ‘God willing’ appears as a pivotal point between the two topics. In the first topic the participants discuss a musical piece that will be postponed to the end of the interview. The second topic starts with the IR’s new question in lines 5 and 6 about the IEE preparations to produce a new album. Inshallah ‘God willing’ appears as an invocation upon its production a move to the new topic initiated by the IR as she controls and manages the interview.

The next extract (18) starts with the IEE’s answer to a question about his preparation to produce a new album. He states that his new album will be in the market within three
months. Then the IR asks him another question about the music type that will be used in the new album and he answers that it will be a pop and RnB.

(18) RNB (02:57 – 03:09)

1. IEE ↓ preparation inshallah dans trois mois (hakdak) (.).
   preparation God willing in three months (approximately)
in preparation God willing in three months approximately
2. e: “inshallah sera dans le marché”
   God willing will be in the market
   God willing it will be in the market
3. IR → INshallAH< (.)
   God willing
4. IR .hh ON ON VA ON VA LE QUALIFIER DE ALBUM ?
   Will you qualify an album?
   One will one will the qualify of album
5. (0.2)
6. RNB:: (.) Pub aussi
   RnB and Pub also
7. IEE pub rnb ↓
   Pop and RnB

The expression Inshallah ‘God willing’ occurs three times: two in the IEE’s turn and one in the IR’s turn. There is undoubtedly a difference in the function of the expression in the two utterances. The expression Inshallah ‘God willing’ in lines 1 and 2 expresses the IEE’s invocation to God and his hope for a desired outcome. He hopes that preparation will go on to achieve the project and produce his new album within the planned time.

The IR produces the expression Inshallah ‘God willing’ in line 3 as a response to underwrite the IEE’s invocations in lines 1 and 2, and to express her solidarity and accommodation to the IEE. At the same time, Inshallah ‘God willing’ can be seen as a closing word to the topic at hand as the IR moves to pose a new question and then starts a new sequence in the interview.

The analysis of extracts (14-18) shows that religious expressions can be used as cues for closing turns or shifting topics whereby a speakership changes or a move to a new topic is possible. In the same way, we have seen that closing a speaking turn can be achieved by either party, but a topic shift is always controlled by the IR since, by virtue of the role of questioner, s/he is afforded the control over the management and organization of topics in the news interviews (Harris 1991: 78)
The analysis also displays that code alternation takes two forms in this section: first, a code-switching form in the extracts (14,16) since participants, in many occasions, adopt Arabic as the language of interaction instead of French, whereas it is transfer in the extracts (15,17,18) as it occurs only in some single words and fixed expressions.

5. Summary, discussion and conclusions

This thesis presents Arabic religious expressions as a code alternation practice in Algerian television interviews. The detailed analysis of eighteen extracts has demonstrated that *Insha’Allah* ‘God willing’ and its cognates are not only expressions of invocation and praise to God. Rather, they can also be conceived as effective tools to achieve certain conversational purposes. Simply, they are used: as bridges to switch to Arabic to keep going on in interaction; in adjacency pairs as a result of a reciprocal invocation between participants; as devices to hold the floor and continue turns in interaction; and as signals for closing turns and shifting topics where a speakership change or a move to a new topic is possible.

The analysis has also revealed that code alternation by deploying religious expressions, in Algerian media talk, occurs in two forms: (i) code-switching, as analysed in sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 (10,13) and 4.4 (14,16), since participants in many occasions adopt Arabic as the language of interaction instead of French; and (ii) transfer, as analysed in sections 4.3 (9,11,12) and 4.4 (17,15,18), since it is a momentary functional departure from the language of interaction where switching is only confined to the applied religious expressions.

Media talk in Algeria is characterized by the occurrence of code alternation. It contains many more cases of code-switching and transfer where participants always go back and forth between French and Arabic in the same way as they do in ordinary conversations. The common use of religious expressions in Algerian television interviews is a salient feature to achieve certain interactional purposes. They are used as small techniques and specific practices to provide participants with a number of resources to deal with each other and to organize their talk-in-interaction.

Another significant point, the frequent use of religious expressions in different positions of speakers’ turns provides them with the possibility to serve various functions. In other words, they appear as multifunction devices used to build, hold or close turns. There are maybe three main factors that control meanings and functions of religious expressions in
interaction: producer, context and position. This means that it is important to know (i) whether the speaker or the recipient produces the expression; (ii) what is the conversation topic and the surrounding utterances; and (iii) whether a religious expression occurs within or in an independent turn, at the beginning or at the end of a TCU, preceded by a discourse marker and/or hesitation pause or as a single clause. These factors can provide an answer whether an expression is used as a transition word to build up an extended turn, or a floor holding device deployed to keep going on in interaction, or even a signal to express a desire to close a turn and hand over the floor to a co-participant.

To continue speaking Arabic after applying a religious expression provides an evidence that participants in Algerians television interviews use these expressions as bridges or appropriate keys to have a smooth access to the other side of their linguistic repertoire to accomplish a conversational activity. Since French is seen as impoverished and incapable of expressing the totality of an Algerian speaker’s experience, switching to Arabic seems to result from the need to structure an activity in which participants are engaged. Hence, the use of both French and Arabic within the same conversation is viewed as a significant social practice whereby Algerians develop ways of making sense of it in their interaction.

An equally significant aspect to be considered here, the occurrence of religious expressions in adjacency pairs provides an evidence that utterances are not single events, rather they are connected in a network of actions which can be noted by identifying the patterns, practices or devices employed by participants to produce meanings and actions. It also shows the indexicality and reflexivity between actions where each action in social interaction can be understood as a responsive to a previous action and a frame to a subsequent one. This means that choosing Arabic over French for the organization of a turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, is used to tie with the previous turn and to provide an appropriate action. In addition, this occurrence is seen as an indicative of goodwill and accommodation that interlocutors feel towards each other.

Moreover, the manifestation of religious expressions as independent clauses of the sentential structure makes them appear as important features to organize talk in Algerian television interviews. On the one hand, occurring in combination with discourse markers and hesitation pauses, religious expressions are used as useful mechanisms that speakers employ to hold the floor and to express a desire to continue speaking. On the other hand, despite the fact that there are many other means by which participants close turns and shift topics,
religious expressions are employed as effective tools to signify a possible closure of turn or shift of topic in conversations.

With all this in view, it might be concluded that religious expressions are not only a combination of words grouped together, rather they have strategic functions in Algerian television interviews. Besides defining the cultural concepts of Algerian society and emphasizing the system of ideological beliefs and values which constitute its cultural identity, religious expressions are used as quintessential speech formulas and standard recipes for achieving certain interactional purposes.
References


Code Alternation on the Air: The use of Arabic religious expressions in Algerian television interviews


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Code Alternation on the Air: The use of Arabic religious expressions in Algerian television interviews

Appendix 1: list of Abbreviation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>Conversation Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>the interviewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEE</td>
<td>the interviewee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCU</td>
<td>turn constructional unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRP</td>
<td>transition relevance place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Transcription Notation

The transcription conventions used in the transcriptions are as follows:

\[ \text{word} \]
- the brackets on the left indicate the starting point of overlap

\[ \text{word} \]
- the right-side brackets indicate the termination of overlapping

\[ \text{word} \]
- equal signs indicate latching between utterances

\[ (1.0) \]
- numbers in parenthesis indicate the interval in tenths of seconds

\[ (.) \]
- a full stop in parenthesis indicates a micro-pause, usually shorter than two tenths of a second

\[ ^{\text{word}} \]
- the degree signs indicate that the word or phrase are pronounced quieter than the surrounding speech

\[ > \text{word} < \]
- the utterance or its part is pronounced in quicker pace than the surrounding speech

\[ < \text{word} > : \]
- the utterance or its part is pronounced in slower pace than the surrounding speech

\[ \text{WORD} \]
- word in the upper case indicates that word was pronounced exclusively louder than normal utterance

\[ (( )) \]
- Observer note

\[ \text{word}/\text{word}: \]
- colon after a vowel or a consonant indicates the prolongation of utterance

\[ \text{word} \]
- underlined word or syllable indicates that it is accentuated by the speaker

\[ \cdot \text{hh} \]
- an inbreath

\[ (\text{word}) \]
- words or phrases in parenthesis are dubious

\[ \text{Word} \]
- translation in English

\[ \text{Word} \]
- word in bold indicates the occurrence of code alternation

\[ (x) \]
- inaccessible word by the observer, the number of “x” signs corresponds to the number of syllables

\[ \uparrow \]
- rising pitch

\[ \downarrow \]
- falling pitch

\[ \text{IR} \]
- the interviewer

\[ \text{IEE} \]
- the interviewee

\[ ** \]
- stars delimitate the gaze direction to the interviewer
Appendix 3: Transcriptions

**Album (01:39 – 01:47)**

1. **IEE**
   
   c’est pas quand (xx) que qu’il va sortir ↓(.)
   
   This is not when (xx) that it will release
   
   *It is not when it will be produced*

2. **IEE**
   
   c'est c'est COMMENT il va sortir
   
   this is this is how it will release
   
   *rather it is how it will be produced*

3. **IEE**
   
   (0.7)

4. **IEE**
   
   donc inSHALLAh
   
   *therefore God Willing*

5. **IEE**
   
   (0.2)

6. **IEE**
   
   il faut (0.2) > bien preparer< (.)
   
   it must well prepare
   
   *it should be well prepared*

**Clan 23 (07:34 – 07:47)**

1. **IEE**
   
   e::t une (xxx) avec (.) Nariman aussi (.)
   
   a (xxx) with Nariman also
   
   *a ( ) with Nariman aussi*

2. **IEE**
   
   .hhh (.) e:t WA::: inshallah nakamelo ↓e::::::
   
   and God willing we achieve it
   
   *and God willing we will achieve it*

3. **IEE**
   
   (6.0)

4. **IEE**
   
   ”euh”

5. **IEE**
   
   walalbum inshallah au début ↑de (xx) ↓ inshallah ↑
   
   and the album God willing at the beginning of (x) God willing
   
   *and the album God willing at the beginning of*

6. **IEE**
   
   > L(xx) tous le (marque) ↓ je vous souhaites <
   
   all the ( xx ) I you wish
   
   *I wish you all the ( xx )*
Concert in Marseille (04:03 – 04:11)

1. IEE le trente eu::::::avril(.) γ
   the thirty   april
   *The thirtieth of April*
2. IR   >L(DANS DEUX-J JOURS)<
   in two days
   *within two days*
3. IEE au d au do:::me de:: γ
   at   at dome
4. IR   L-AU DOME DE MARSEILLE J
   at dome of Marseille
   *At the dome of Marseille*
5. IEE de Marseille insallah c’est va etre::::::::::
   of marseille God willing this is will be
   *of Marseille God willing will be*
6. (0.3)
7. Un bon un grand concert in [shallah]
   a good a big concert God willing
   *a big concert God willing*
8. IR   LUN G J RAND CONCERT
   A big concert
   *(0.2)*

Match in Miko (01:32 – 01:42)

1. IEE (x) beaucoup de (x) goutiDIEn(.) pour pouvoir::: e::↓
   (x) a lot of   daily   to be able
   *A lot of (x) daily to be able*
2. h↑ GARDER LA FORME mai::s
   keep the form but
   *to keep fit, but*
3. (0.2)
4. hh (. ) inSHAllah etre (. ) pret (. ) pour:::↓
   God willing be ready for
God willing, to be ready for

5. "pour le match e::") (.)
for the match

6. >surtout de le premier match à miko<
especially for the first match in Miko
especially for the first one in Miko

Montreal (00:10 – 00:22)

1. IR > (Aziz) bonjour< (.).
(Aziz) good morning

2. IEE "bonjour: r::r° γ
good morning

3. IR > l-mer<l ci de venir me↑ VOIR <(.)
thanks to come me see

4. IEE je vous remercie r:beaucoup γ
thank you so much

5. IR MAHABA↓ beek fil jazayer
welcome you in the Algeria
you are welcome in Algeria

6. (0.2)

7. IEE allah eh YASSALMIK i r:bal γ adi (.)
God protects you my country
God protects you, it is my country

8. IR (h’a) ↓

9. IR hehehe IBLA r:DEK ihehehe γ
country your
country your

10. IEE che baladi aljaz ↓ ayer oui
country my Algeria yes

yes, Algeria is my country

11. (0.2)
12. IR  > oui < (.)
yes

13. IR  ALORS EN CE MOMENT depuis quelques années
then in this moment since few years
then at this time, since few years

Music (03:20 – 03:26)

1. IEE  ↑binat  γ(xxxx XX)  c’est c’est c’est bien c’est bienγ (.)
(xxxxXX) this is this is this is good this is god
(six syllable program name) It is god

2. IR  ↓IHAHeheheheheheheheheheheheheh .hhhh ↓
((laugh))

3. IR  → EN TOUT CAS MARHABA BEEK DO γNC E:::...  γ (xx) POUR .hh
in all case welcome you then (xx) to
Anyway, you are welcome (two syllable name) to

4. IEE  →  ↓allah yassalmek↓
God protects you
God protects you

5.  (0.2)

6. IR  POUR C’EST ÉMISSION ET RA
V (.) DE T'ACCUEILLIR
to this is emission and happy you welcome
To this program and happy to welcome you

My country (08:55 – 19:10)

1. IEE  “je ne pouvais pas quitter mon pays”
I no could not leave my country
I could not leave my country

2.  (0.4)

3. Je pouvais PAS quitter mes racines
I could not leave my roots
I could not leave my roots

4.  hhh >(xxx) fil (sandouq)<
In the box
5. 

.hhh e:::”qoulhom hana yamout qaussi”

said I them here dies the harsh

*I said them, her the harsh will die*

6. 

(0.2)

7. (wishah)

(  )

8. (0.3)

9. voi:::la wa quaçat↑

so stayed I

10. (0.2)

11. → ahmad ‹ullah< γ

thank God

12. IR ▼ iheeehe ↓

13. IR → “inshallah”

God willing

14. YA::: u:::m

15. (0.4)

16. IR vous avez écrit dans quelconque textes

you have written in any texts

*Have you written some texts*

---

**One month (10.30 – 10:44)**

1. IEE ✰ J’ETAI S seul pendant un mois, la famille n’était pas encore venue ↓

I was alone during a month the family no was not yet came

*I was alone for one month, the family had not yet come*

2. (0.6)

3. e::: r:;;;;: γ

4. IR ▼ COM ▼ ^ bien d’ temps > jilest lewahdek? ↓ <

How long sat alone you

*how long have you stayed alone?*

5. IEE un mois (.)

a month

*one month*
6. IR UN mois
   a month
   *one month*

7. (0.2)

8. IEE et la VEILLE DU MOIS DE RAMADAN ils sont venus↓
   and the eve of month of Ramadan they are came
   *and they came on the eve of Ramadan*

9. IR “aya alhamdulillah”
   so thank God
   *so, thank God*

10. IEE “handulillah yarabi”
    Thank God o my God
    *o my God, thank God*

11. IR ↑wa HOMA WALFOO?
    and they adapted
    *and they being adapted?*

12. (0.2)

13. IEE e::: une semaine seulement
    a week only
    *Only one week*

RNB (02:57 – 03:09)

1. IEE ↑preparation inshallah da::ns trois mois (hakdak) (.)
   preparation God willing in three months (approximately)
   *in preparation God willing in three months approximately*

2. e: “inshallah sera dans le ↓ marché”
   God willing will be in the market
   *God willing it will be in the market*

3. IR →→ INSHALLAH< (.)
   God willing

4. IR .hh O:::N ONVA ON VA LE QUALIFIER DE::: ALBUM ?
   One one will the qualify of album
   *you will produce an album*

5. (0.2)
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6. RNB:: (. ) Pub ↓ aussi
   *RnB and Pub also*

7. IEE  pub rnb ↓
   *Pub and RnB*

The Children (12:36 – 12:47)

1. IR  LES ENFANTS il- y en TROIS
   *the children, you have three*

2. (0.2)

3. IEE  "trois"
   *three*

4. (0.4)

5. IR  noor (. ) S  rala

6. IEE  LNOOR

7. (0.2)

8. IEE  → kameel il a  sept ans et > naseem < il a deux ans ↓ (. )
   *Kameel is seven years old and Naseem is two years old*

9. > IL AURA  deux ans au mois ↓ d’octobre <
   *He will be two years old in October*

10. (0.3)

11. IR  → "allah yabarek"
    *God bless*

12. IEE  → "allah yabarek f rēek"
    *God bless you*

13. IR  L hh E:::t (. ) > COMMENT  ILS SONT (. ) LA-BAS =
    *and how they are there*

14. = Ils a e:::y …
    *They have*
The first album (07:54 – 08:00)

1. IR > .hh ON va laisser plutôt pour la fin va termi

   nier avec < (.)

   One will let instead for the end, one will terminate with

   *We will leave it to the end, we will terminate with*

2. hah?

   *ok ?*

3. IEE ➔ inshallah

   *God willing*

4. (.)

5. IR .h E: ↑ SI L’ON CONTINUE EN PEU À PARLER ↓ DE: DE(.) =

   *if the one continue a bit to speak of of*

   *if we continue speak briefly about*

6. = d’autre vous préparez > donc premier ALBUM <

   *more you prepare so first album*

   *what you are preparing more, so the first album*

The match (05:32 – 05:55)

1. IR ↑(xx) hata anta andak ISSAbeh matela’absh amam elmuntakhab elirlandi::

   *(xx) even you have you an injury not play you against team Irish*

   *(two syllables’ name) even you have an injury: you won’t play against the Irish team*

2. .h ↑ (. ) TAM’ana hata anta

   *reassure us, even you!*

   *reassure us*

3. (0.4)

4. IEE ➔ .hhh (. ) NOOn VOILA quand tu vois le cas de (xx) e::: > alhamdolilah ana↑

   *no, ok when you see the case of (xxx), thank God I*

   *no, ok when you see the case of (three syllables name) thank God I don’t*

5. = je ne pas prendre de risque (. ) mais elhamdolilah ça va:::

6. I no not take of risk but thank god it will

   *I don’t take any risk. but thank God it is ok*

7. (0.3)

8. .hhh dorka rani mleeh↑

   *so still I well*

   *So I’m still all right*
The work (02:44 – 02:59)

1. IEE  on sait s’adapter facilement surtout qu’on est une famille (.)
       one know adapt easily especially since one is a family
       we can adapt easily especially since we are a family

2. .hhhhh surtout qu’on FAIT un métier qu’on aim
       especially since one make a work that one like
       especially since I do the job that I like

3. .hhh e::::: > surtout quand’on est “à l’aise” ↑<
      especially when one is at ease
      especially since I’m pleased

4. ➔ moi je suis tres à l’aise > hamdulillah ↑YARABI< (.)
      me I’m very at ease thank God O my God
      I’m very pleased thank God O my God

5. IR ➔ “alhamdulillah” (.)
      thank God

6. (0.2)

7. IEE e:::: je ↑fait un métier (.) que j’aime’ beaucoup*
      I do the work that I like very much
      I’m doing the job that I like a lot

8. (0.3)

9. J’ai tres RESPECTE par par par par les collègues par >tout le MONDe<
      I have very respected by by by by the colleagues by all the word
      I’m very respected by the colleagues and by everyone

Viva L’algérie (00:40 – 01:15)

1. IR keifsh tqayem ehhh li:(elstivema) doma eli jahazohum min eh min el stage?
      how evaluate you those that prepared they from from the course
      How do you evaluate those that they have been prepared for training?

2. (0.7)

3. IEE .hh u::::m

4. (0.7)

5. ça fait:: smaina rana hana↑
      it make week still here
it’s still one week here

6. (0.4)

7. → **elhamdulilah** ↓
   and thank God
   **and thank god**

8. (0.6)

9. "on a complexe" MANIFIQUE (.)

10. on a "staff eu:::" (0.4) **extraordinaire**
    one has staff extraordinary
    **we have an extraordinary staff**

11. (0.2)

12. .hh (.":::t l’ambiance est manifique" (0.3) > **weish thab** <
    and the ambience is wonderful and what like you
    **and the ambience is wonderful and what do you like**

13. (0.9)

14. ↑ **KOLOSH E::: (. >**KOLOSH MLEEH< (.)
    very very good.
    **very, very good.**

15. → .hh > **WINSHALLAH< e::: (. .hh dorka **rana:: une semaine =
    and God willing so still a week
    **and God willing It still one week**

16. = on a pris l’altitude UN PEU (X) ON ON A –
    one has taken the altitude a little one one has
    *to be accustomed with the altitude a little bit, we will*

17. (0.6)

18. on a pris l’habitude de de > de manque d’oxygène <
    one has taken the habit of of lack of oxygen
    **we have to be accustomed to the lack of oxygen**

19. (0.2)

20. → **winshallah** e:::
    and God willing

21. (0.2)

22. .hh (0.3) en(. core une semaine à fond "on sera prêt” ↓
    again a week a hundred percent one will be ready
    **yet one week at a hundred percent and we will be ready.**
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Viva L’algérie 4 (00:22 – 00:30)

1. IR … > baqaitsht khalif el group ↑ ? <
   stay you behind the group?
   how long you will stay behind the group?

2. (0.5)

3. IEE −→ hh (0.3) peut-être::: > smaina inshalla<
   maybe a week god willing
   one week maybe, god willing
   *gaze towards the IR----

4. (0.5)

5. "smaina wa min ba’ada" (.)
   a week and from after it
   one week and then
   -----------------------------*

6. −→ je commence a m’entrainer (avec) le groupe *inshalla* (.)
   I start to train with the group God willing
   I will start training with the group God willing
   *gaze towards the IR*

World cup (37:34 – 37:44)

1. IR ↑ > JUSTeMENT <
   precisely

2. IEE "oui"*
   yes

3. IR "c’est" pour ÇA je tu parlais d’ambition mais (xxx) γ ↓
   This is for that I you speak of ambition but (xxx)
   therefore I would speak to you about the ambition

4. IEE (xxxxxx)
   dans onze ans
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in eleven years

in eleven years

5. IR → hh c’est DANs onze a ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ insha’ALLAh la ahyana rabi’ ↓
   this is in eleven years willing God if give life us God my
   it is in eleven years God willing, if we remain alive

6. IEE " oui " ↓
   Yes

7. (0.5)

8. IR .hh DANS ONZe ans (.)
   in eleven years
   in eleven years
Appendix 4: Primary Sources

Clan23 Canal Algerie Agenda Cultural Part 01. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JAntpU0ltiY (2012.05.10)