

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Aboubekr Belkaid University – TLEMCCEN

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Foreign Languages

English Section

***Borrowing vs. Code-Switching in Language
Contact Situations: The Context of Algerian
Arabic in Tlemcen Speech Community***

Dissertation submitted in candidacy for the Degree of
MAGISTER in Sociolinguistics

Presented by

Mrs. Razzia RAHMOUN-MRABET

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Ilham SERIR

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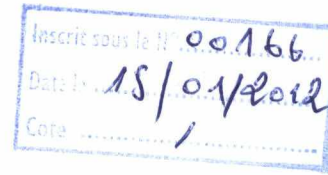
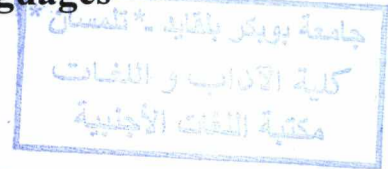
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To my parents, husband and parents-in-law

Razzia

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Abstract

The present research work aims at elucidating Algerians' awareness about their use of borrowed words from French. Tlemcen speech community is taken as a case in point. As borrowings and code-switching are part of the same continuum, we wondered about the factors behind the use of CS. The research work also attempts to shed light on the main characteristics of both borrowings and CS. To collect reliable data, we based our investigation on several research tools among which some are eliciting as questionnaires, interviews, photo-elicitation; and others are non-eliciting such as recordings and note-taking through participant observation. We divided the sample population according to age, gender, and level of education. The current study enabled us to conclude that speakers from Tlemcen speech community were aware of their use of borrowings and that the 16-25-year-old educated females were those who code-switch most. We also concluded that bilinguality and accommodation were almost general and that almost all informants had positive attitudes towards code-switching.

Symbols

Arabic Transcription

| | | | |
|---|------|-----------------|-----|
| ء | ʔ | ق | q |
| ب | b | ك | k |
| ت | t | ل | l |
| ث | θ | م | m |
| ج | ʒ/dʒ | ن | n |
| ح | ħ | ه | h |
| خ | χ | و | w |
| د | d | ي | j |
| ذ | ð | ا | a/æ |
| ر | r | ي | i |
| ز | z | و | u |
| س | ʃ | Weak vowels : ə | |
| س | s | | |
| ص | sʳ | | |
| ض | dʳ | | |
| ط | tʳ | | |
| ظ | θʳ | | |
| ع | ʕ | | |
| غ | ɣ | | |
| ف | f | | |

French Transcription:

French Alphabet

A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
T
U
V
W
X
Y
Z

French Transcription

a/ɑ
b
s
d
ɛ
f
g
i
ʒ
k
l
m
n
o
p
k
ʁ
s
t
y
v
w
ks
j
z

Nasalised French vowels: an = ā, on = õ, en = ē, in = ĩ, un = ũ.

Other French vowels: è = ɛ, ø = ə, ui = ɥi, ou = u .

List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

CS: Code-switching

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

PEI: Photo Elicitation Interview

SA: Standard Arabic

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General Introduction

General Introduction

It is admitted that our style of speaking is different up to a wide range of variables such as setting, conversation topic, interlocutor, age of both the addresser and the addressee, gender and the aim of the interaction. These differences in style are noticeable in monolingual and multilingual speech communities. Yet, they are more obvious in speech communities where two or more codes coexist.

Because of its location and its historical background, Algeria is considered as a multilingual country. Arabic, Berber and French coexist, besides many other foreign languages such as Spanish and English. Thus, many Algerians are bilingual, if not multilingual and various phenomena rise from this language contact. Interference, code-switching and borrowing are the most prominent outcomes that will be dealt with in the present research work.

What can easily be noticed in Algeria is that everyday speech is characterised by code-switching from dialectal Arabic as opposed to Modern Standard Arabic and French or by the use borrowings. The latter are sometimes so adapted that they sound Arabic, and it is really difficult to guess whether the word has Arabic origin or has been derived from French.

Some words are also borrowed from Spanish and Turkish but the present study will deal essentially with French borrowings; however, we will depict some examples

from Berber, Spanish, Turkish, and English, as it has been integrated into the Algerian dialect via French.

Many authors have dealt with the process of code-switching and borrowing but there are still great disagreements as to determine clear-cut distinctions of both borrowing and code-switching. The use of borrowings can be noticed even with individuals who have never learnt French. In this sense, the problem statement that may be raised is "Are Algerians aware of their use of borrowings?"

And, the other research questions that spring from it are as follows:

- What are the factors behind the use of borrowings and code-switching?
- How are borrowings adapted to Algerian Arabic?
- What are the characteristics of both code-switching and borrowings?

One can assume that awareness varies according to some factors such as age, level of education and intelligence. The last factor will not be taken into consideration since investigation cannot be done in that sense.

We may hypothesise that educated adults are aware of their use of borrowings, whereas children or less educated individuals are not, especially when the words are adapted to Algerian Arabic. We can suppose that young and educated people are more aware that words such as /bifi/, /gəl¹l¹et/ or /bont¹of/ are adapted from the French words "buffet" (cupboard), "galette" (biscuit) and "pantoufle" (slipper) respectively.

We may also suppose that children would rather use words from S.A. instead of borrowings except those whose preferred channels are francophone ones. This category of children would likely use French words or borrowings. We may also assume that children are not aware of their use of borrowings as they are too young to be conscious that the Algerian dialect is full of French words, especially when those words are adapted.

Among the factors that could be investigated, and that are thought to influence code-switching or the use of borrowings, we can cite attitudes towards French and Arabic i.e. valorisation of one language or another, accommodation, identity, the age during which French was learnt, level of education of the interviewees and the level of education of their parents, the topic of conversation, the kind of programmes watched on television i.e. programmes displayed in French or Arabic and immersion in an environment where French is much used.

We will try to describe ways in which words are phonologically, morphologically and syntactically adapted to Arabic.

Besides, an attempt is held to draw a distinction between code-switching and borrowings throughout the characteristics of each and with the help of actual data which will be collected in Tlemcen speech community.

To try to answer the questions of the problematics, we have divided our dissertation into four chapters. The first one will be devoted to the main key concepts related to our topic. The second one will deal with the sociolinguistic context of Tlemcen while in the third and

the fourth ones we will try to analyse the collected data and to interpret the results. These last two chapters will be devoted to quantitative data analysis and interpretation and to qualitative data analysis respectively.

The main key concepts which will be dealt with in the first chapter are the scope of sociolinguistics and some definitions of the linguistic variable will be given. As code-switching and borrowing are related to bilingualism, we will try to define the latter with its forms i.e. societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism. But since being bilingual requires a kind of communicative competence, we will give definitions of competence and communicative competence before that of bilingualism. As far as code-switching is concerned, various scholars' views such as Poplack's and Myers-Scotton's will be demonstrated and, then, defined in terms of inter-sentential/intra-sentential code-switching and tag-switching. In addition to other elements which influence the use of code switching and borrowings such as identity and accommodation in its two forms: convergence and divergence.

The second chapter will be devoted to Tlemcen speech community, its historical background will be dealt with in the second part; but since it is part of the same sociolinguistic context as that of Algeria, a historical overview of the latter will be given in the first part of the chapter. We will also speak about arabisation, bilingualism and diglossia in Algeria. Then we will elucidate research methodology in which we will give information about the speech community, the geographical

delimitation of the city and a historical overview of Tlemcen. Historical background will include all the periods from prehistory to independence. We will then, try to expose the main linguistic features of the dialect of Tlemcen at different levels (phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical).

In the third chapter, we will give details about the research tools which have been used i.e. the questionnaire, the interview and we will explain how proceeded to obtain reliable data through participant-observation and how we recorded speech.

We will, after that, give a quantitative analysis of the collected data and try to give the most suitable interpretation.

The last chapter will be devoted to description and to qualitative data analysis. In other words, we will try to describe how words are adapted into Arabic, we will analyse the Algerians' awareness about their use of borrowed words, accommodation. At last we will try to give the main characteristics of borrowings as opposed to code-switching.

Chapter One

Literature Review

Chapter One: Literature Review

This chapter is going to deal with the main key concepts related to our topic. Before giving some definitions, we are going to delimit the scope of sociolinguistics.

1. The Scope of Sociolinguistics

The focus of sociolinguistics is different from what is known as 'formal linguistics' or 'theoretical linguistics'. The concern of sociolinguistics is not to study what individuals know about their language but what they do with it, i.e. to communicate and to create social relationships.

Lepage (1998: 19) points out that "The Oxford English Dictionary Supplement (1986) records the term "sociolinguistic" as first used by Eugene Nida in the second edition of his standard work *Morphology* in 1949; as a discipline". He adds that 'sociolinguistics' was first referred to in 1939 - in T. C. Hodson's paper, "Sociolinguistics in India" (in *Man in India*, XIX, 94). He mentions that the term was used by Martinet in his preface to Weinreich's book *Languages in Contact* (1953) in which he said that there had been a time when linguistic research required the homogeneity of the speech community but that we should have to stress that a linguistic community is *never* homogeneous: "linguistic diversity begins next door, nay, at home, and within the same man". Martinet (1967: vii)

Coulmas (1998:1) explains that "The primary concern of sociolinguistic scholarship is to study correlations between language use and social structure."

He adds that:

Sociolinguistics is concerned with describing language use as a social phenomenon and, where possible, it attempts to establish causal links between language and society, pursuing the complementary questions of what language contributes to making community possible and how communities shape their languages by using them. (Idem)

Since sociolinguistics is where linguistics and social sciences meet, the focus may be either on the social aspects of language or on the linguistic aspects of society, i.e. questions about language can be investigated either within micro or macro- sociolinguistics. The first being the investigation of how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varies according to different social attributes such as class, age and gender; the second being concerned with the study of what societies do with their languages.

Wardough (2006:13) cites Hudson (1996:4) who describes the differences as follows:

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society" whereas the sociology of language is "the study of society in relation to language", in other words, it is a matter of focus. Sociolinguistics 'targets' language whereas sociology of language 'targets' society.

So both Wardaugh and Coulmas agree on the fact that there is no sharp dividing line between the two, but a large area has been proved to be of common concern.

1.2. The Linguistic Variable

Downes (1998:16) says that sociolinguistics is the branch of linguistics, which studies the properties of language in relation to social factors and that "one such property is **variation**". Thus, sociolinguistics studies the way language varies and changes in speech communities according to social factors (such as a speaker's gender, ethnicity, age, educational background, etc.) in relation to linguistic structures i.e. the variable may be at the syntactic, morphological or phonological levels.

Whereas formal linguistics tends to study language as a static entity, the concern of sociolinguistics is variation. In this respect, Downes (Ibid: 96) says that "the hypothesis is that variation is socially conditioned".

Tagliamonte (2006:10) quotes herself and explains that variation is far and wide, and is omnipresent. She says that:

Different ways of saying more or less the same thing may occur at every level of grammar in a language, in every variety of a language, in every style, dialect and register of a language, in every speaker, often even in the same sentence in the same discourse. In fact, variation is everywhere, all the time.

Since the most prominent characteristic of sociolinguistics is variation, one should define the linguistic variable. In this sense, Tagliamonte (2006: 70) quotes Labov:

The definition of a linguistic variable is the first and also the last step in the analysis of variation. It begins with the simple act of noticing a variation - that there are two alternative ways of saying the same thing. (Labov to appear)

Labov (1972c) and Sankoff (1980:55) say that the simplest definition of the linguistic variable is basically "two or more ways of saying the same thing".

As opposed to the linguistic variable, the sociolinguistic variable is sensitive to social or stylistic context.

At the level of phonology, variability may occur in the pronunciation of /ʋ/ among females when using borrowed words from French. /ʋ/ may be realised either as [ʋ] or as [r]. For example, the word /məpʋogʋamja/ meaning 'programmed' may be realised either as [məpʋogʋamja] or as [məprogramja], in the former example, the phoneme /ʋ/ is realized in the French way, whereas in the latter, the same phoneme is adapted to Arabic and therefore realised as [r].

At the morphosyntactic level, on the other hand, variability is concerned with inflections, for example the way plurals are formed. The latter are inflected according

to various 'frames', what we call 'awzen' in Standard Arabic.

Regular plurals inflect by adding /u:n/ to the masculine singular and /a:t/ or /æ:t/ to the feminine. However, there are other forms, which are irregular; what we call in Arabic "dʒamʿ taksir" or 'broken plural'. Thus, many borrowed words form their plural according to 'frames' from Arabic.

For example, the word /kartab/ i.e. 'school-bag' may inflect into /kratəb/ like in /tʒadʿəm/ 'purses' or into /kartʿaba:t/ as in /səddarijæt/ whose singular is /səddæri/ meaning 'seat' or 'bench'.

It is rare that people who speak two or more languages have the same abilities in these. Quoted in Wardaugh (2006: 96, Sridhar (1996:50) says in this respect that :

multilingualism involving balanced native-like command of all the languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. Typically multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires

Thus, before giving some definitions of bilingualism, a definition of competence is necessary.

1.3. Competence vs. Communicative Competence

Chomsky's (1965) 'competence' refers to the speaker's subconscious knowledge of the grammar of a language, whereas Hymes' (1972) 'communicative competence' refers to the ability of understanding and producing utterances which are appropriate to the context of the interaction, i.e. a combination of the grammatical knowledge with the actual appropriate use. In this respect, S. Romaine (2000: 25) says:

The term 'communicative competence' is used by sociolinguists to refer to a speaker's underlying knowledge of the rules of grammar understood in the widest sense to include phonology, grammar, lexicon, and semantics) and rules for their use in socially appropriate circumstances.

Therefore, an individual whose communicative competence in French is rather good, is more expected to code-switch than someone who has little or no knowledge of the French language.

As most Algerians code-switch and since French and Arabic coexist, one should give some definitions of bilingualism. The latter is going to be defined in terms of societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism.

1.4. Bilingualism

According to Appel and Muysken (1987: 1), "language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism". The latter is a linguistic phenomenon that has interested many scholars. Thus, various definitions have been suggested. Some of

them make the distinction between societal and individual bilingualism and others define it in terms of degrees.

Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6) draw a distinction between bilingualism and 'bilinguality'; the former referring to a whole speech community or society i.e. societal bilingualism, the latter to individual bilingualism. Hamers and Blanc (1981:6) define bilingualism as:

the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism).

They add that:

Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication. Idem

Before giving definitions of individual bilingualism, we are going to draw a distinction between three types of societal bilingualism which have been illustrated by Appel and Muysken (1987: 2).

1.4.1. Societal Bilingualism

Appel and Muysken (1987: 2) discern three types of societal bilingualism. In the first type, two languages are spoken by a distinct group, i.e. there are a few bilingual individuals, and therefore intergroup communication is rare or does not exist.

They explain that this kind of societal bilingualism often occurs in former colonial countries where the coloniser spoke one language and the native people a local one.

Although Algeria was colonised, one cannot apply this form to the Algerian context since there is not an Arabic-speaking group and a French-speaking group, which are distinct from one another.

When dealing with Arabic vs. French, this kind cannot be applied to the Algerian situation, but if we had to relate this type of societal bilingualism to settings where Arabic and Berber coexist, then, Type 1 would be suitable. In this sense, there are groups who speak only Berber and others who speak only Arabic apart from French. The latter can be used as a lingua franca; otherwise, intergroup communication would be impossible.

The second form of societal bilingualism concerns countries where all people are bilingual. Appel and Muysken explain that this form can be found in African countries and India where people more than two languages.

Finally, the third form describes countries where one group is monolingual and the other is bilingual. Appel and Muysken (idem) say that "in most cases, this last group will form a minority, perhaps not in the numerical or statistical, but in the sociological sense: it is a non-dominant or oppressed group".

They mean that the oppressed group have to learn the language of the dominant one so as to be able to

communicate. In this case, the dominant group remains monolingual.

1.4.2. Individual Bilingualism

Edwards (2003: 55) says that everyone is bilingual. He means that everyone knows at least a few words in another language than his mother tongue. Thus, the views concerning degree are divergent. For instance, according to Bloomfield (1933), "bilingualism results from the addition of a perfectly learned foreign language to one's own" (quoted in Edwards 2006: 56); but he admitted that the definition of perfection was relative. Weinreich (1953) defined bilingualism as the "alternate use of two languages." Haugen (1953) suggests that "bilingualism begins with the ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances in the second language."

According to Grosjean (1992:51), bilinguals are "people who need and use two (or more) languages in their everyday lives"

While other scholars have allowed much greater variation in competence, Edwards (ibid p 57) speaks about various kinds of bilinguals: 'ambilinguals', 'equilinguals' and 'balanced bilinguals'. He says that an author had described an 'ambilingual' as "a person who uses either languages in all contexts and who shows no trace of language A when using B and vice-versa". But according to him, such individuals are "rare if not non-existent species. Thus, he says that the terms 'balanced bilingual' or 'equilingual' area reserved for speakers whose mastery of both languages is more or less

equivalent. He also makes a distinction between 'receptive' (or passive) bilingualism and 'productive (or active) competence', the former being related to speakers who can understand another language (either in its written or spoken form) but who are not able to produce it and the latter refers to speakers who can do both. In the same book, he speaks about other notions in bilingualism: additive and subtractive bilingualism.

It is noteworthy to mention such notions because, in Algeria, some speakers expand their linguistic repertoire i.e. there is a repertoire of Arabic which is stored in their brains, and, in addition to that, they have another repertoire with the equivalents in French. In Saussure's terms, we would say that for the same 'signifié' (signified), they have two 'signifiants' (signifiers). This kind of bilingualism is known as 'additive'. Whereas the second kind is known as 'subtractive'. It characterises speakers who substitute words from their mother tongue by others from the foreign language, i.e. for the same concept they will have only one 'signifier'.

Another distinction is made between 'primary' and 'secondary' bilingualism. Primary bilingualism refers to the fact of acquiring competence naturally i.e. the foreign language imposes itself through the context in which the child is brought up. On the other hand, if language is learned through systematic and formal instruction, then, it is known as 'secondary bilingualism'.

It is worth making reference to these notions because, as mentioned in the introduction, there are factors which may influence code-switching or the use of borrowings, such as the age during which French has been acquired or learned in the Algerian community. In this sense, primary bilinguals would be more likely disposed to mixing, switching codes or using borrowings.

Thus, definitions of code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing will be given. However, a distinction can be drawn among code-switching itself, i.e. inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching.

1.5. Code-switching

According to Milroy & Muysken (1995:7), "perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research is code-switching". The latter has been investigated as an outcome of bilingualism, yet scholars do not define it with the same terminology. The term 'code' has been used as a neutral term for variety be it a language or a dialect i.e. code-switching may be the alternation of two distinct languages or that of two varieties of the same language. Yet, in the present work, we will deal with French / Algerian Arabic code-switching.

Therefore, distinctions between different kinds of code-switching will be drawn. But one may give first general definitions of code-switching.

Haugen (1956:40) says that Code-switching "occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated

word from another language into his speech." (Haugen 1956:40)

According to this definition, code-switching is used with the speaker's awareness since he is bilingual and because the word is not assimilated into the native language, otherwise the word would be considered as borrowing. A distinction between code-switching and borrowing will be clarified further.

Myers-Scotton defines code-switching as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993:3).

Grosjean, who has a psycho-linguistic approach to language mixing, considers CS as a complete shift from one language to the other, either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence (1998:137) cited in Cantone (2007:55)

In more recent works about code-switching, Bullock and Toribio (2009: 1) state that "Broadly defined, CS is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages". The word « effortlessly » implies that code-switching is spontaneous and done in such a natural way that it may sound as a unique language.

1.5.1 Inter-sentential / Intra-sentential Code-switching

In bilingual speech, as far as code-switching is concerned, individuals are likely to alternate two

languages in the same discourse. The switch can either occur within the sentence itself; it is then called intrasentential code-switching or between two distinct sentences, and this type of code-switching is called inter-sentential code-switching. In this respect, Myerscotton (1993:3-4) says that:

intersentential CS involves switches from one language to the other between sentences: a whole sentence (or more than one sentence) is produced entirely in one language before there is a switch to the other language(s) in use in the conversation.

She adds that "intrasentential switches occur within the same sentence or sentence fragment".

Yet, scholars have divergent views as far as intrasentential code-switching is concerned. Some of them see it as a sign of deficiency and that it should be avoided while others think that it requires a large competence in both languages. In this respect Weinreich (1955: 73) states that bilinguals who have complete mastery of both languages switch intersententially and not intrasententially:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. Weinreich (1953: 73)

He means that what he calls the ideal bilingual should not switch from one language to the other unless the setting

changes i.e. if the addressee is not the same or if the topic of the conversation changes, but if the speech situation is the same, the ideal bilingual has to keep on using the same language. He adds that the switch should definitely not occur within the same sentence. This view may show a negative attitude towards random code-switching and particularly towards intrasentential code-switching.

1.5.3. Tag-switching

The term *tag-switching* refers to a mix involving an utterance and an interjection (or tag)

I feel sad, capisci? (Italian)

(I feel sad, do you understand?) Cantone (2007:57)

In Algerian speech, what can be noticed is that tags can be uttered in either in Arabic or in French, that is the main sentence may be uttered in French and the tag would be in Arabic as in the example below.

- A: Tu viens demain. /wɛ:k/
(You will come tomorrow. Won't you?)

1.6. Code-switching and Borrowing

Wardhaugh (2006: 10) observes that in a conversation between two or more parties, the person chooses to use a particular dialect or language; the dialect or language chosen according to the occasion are codes. He indicates that it is unusual for a speaker to use only one code. He adds that:

command of only a single variety of language, whether it be a dialect, style, or register, would be an extremely rare phenomenon (...) People, then, are usually required to select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances and thereby create a new code in process known as code-switching. Wardaugh (Idem)

Code-switching is also called code-mixing and it can occur in conversations between speakers' turn or within a single speaker's turn. In the latter case, we can distinguish 'intra-sentential' code-switching (i.e. within the same sentence) from 'inter-sentential' code-switching (i.e. occurring between sentences).

Poplack (1978-1980) says that the combination of two languages in intra-sentential code-switching may cause problems of incompatibility, such as word order and mismatches in grammatical categories, morphology and idiomatic expressions. She says that at first, researchers considered intra-sentential code-switching as "random and deviant" but now they unanimously agree that it is grammatically constrained. She speaks about 'the equivalence constraint' saying that:

The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content. (Poplack 1978-1980)

She adds that the equivalence constraint has been verified in various language pairs but that most of the literature related to code-switching is based on data which represent lexical borrowing. According to her, code-switching and borrowing are based on different mechanisms, whereas others consider single-word (i.e. insertion) and multiple-word (i.e. alternation) occurrences as two forms of code-switching.

She has proposed three types of criteria to draw a distinction between code-switching and borrowing. These types include whether or not single lexical items from a donor language in code-switched utterances are phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into what she calls '*base language*'. If the integration is at the three levels, then, it is considered as a borrowing, on the other hand, if there is no adaptation at all, it is considered as code-switching, and if the integration is at one level only, it is also considered as code-switching.

She has identified four types as shown in the following table:

| Levels of Integration Into Base Language | | | | |
|--|--------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| Type | Phonological | Morphological | Syntactic | Code-switching |
| 1 | √ | √ | √ | No |
| 2 | X | X | √ | Yes |
| 3 | √ | X | X | Yes |
| 4 | x | x | X | Yes |

TABLE 1-1 Identification of Code Switching Based on the Type of Integration into the Base Language. Poplack (1980: 584)

'Nonce borrowings' are single lexical items or bound morphemes which are integrated into the base language at the syntactic and morphological levels; they may or may not be integrated at the phonological level. They are different from established borrowings in the sense that

they do not apply to the criteria of frequency of use or degree of acceptance. In this approach, lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum ranging from established loanwords to nonce borrowings as shown in Figure 1.

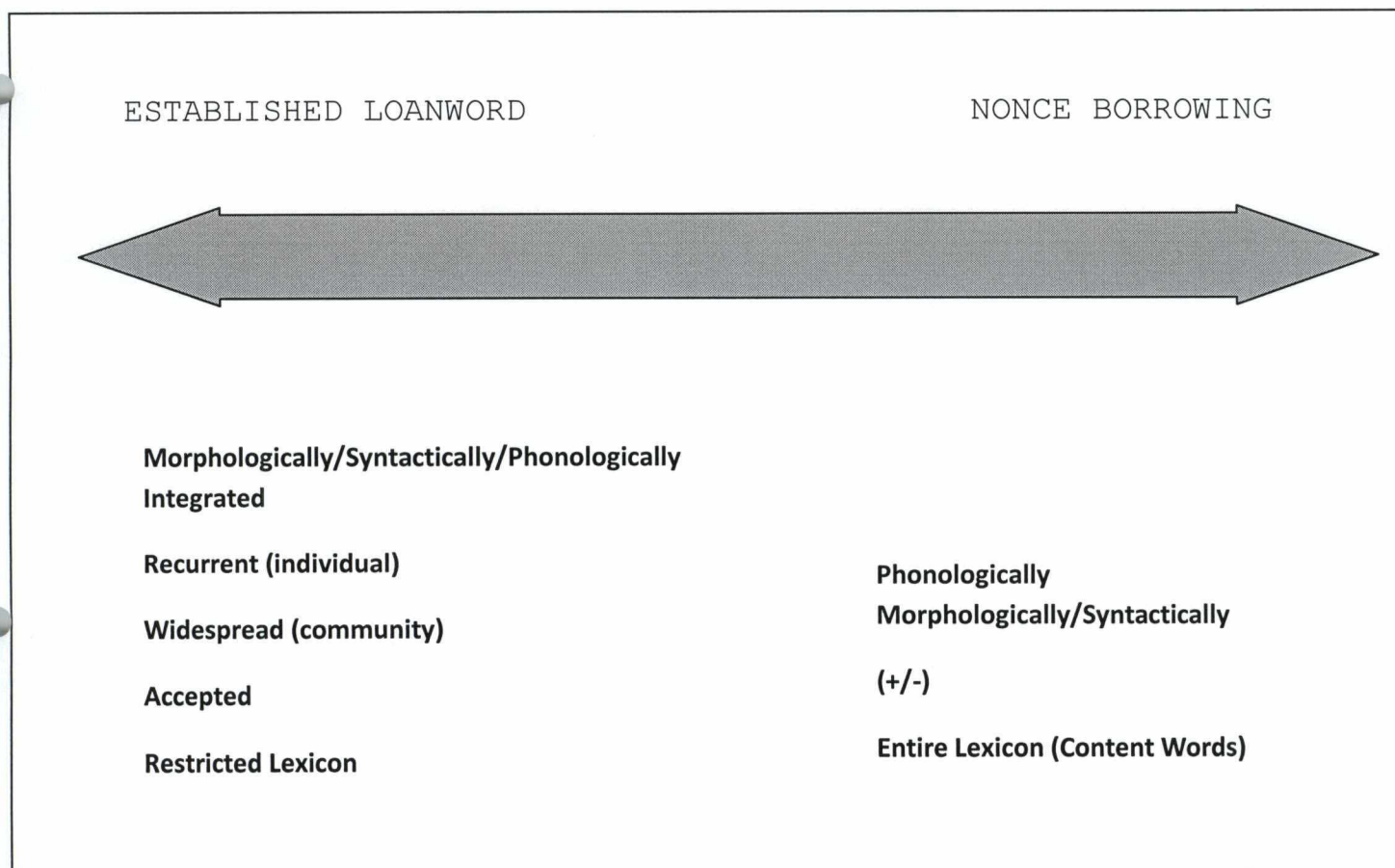


FIGURE 1-1 The Continuum for Levels of Borrowing in Code Switching Utterances. Source: (Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood, 1987)

Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993a) rejects morphosyntactic integration as a criterion of distinction between code-switching and borrowing; she rather sees them as a related process being part of a single continuum. Therefore, she argues that there is no categorical distinction between the two concepts. She also disagrees with those researchers (e.g., Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Sridhar &

Sridhar, 1980) who argue that one of the major characteristics of borrowed items is to fill lexical gaps in the recipient language. Instead, she argues that not all established borrowings are found because of the absence of equivalents in the recipient language; and draws a distinction between what she calls 'cultural borrowings' and 'core borrowings'. The former stand for lexical items whose notions are new in the recipient language culture; and the latter for lexical forms, which have equivalents in the recipient language, thus, they do not meet any lexical need.

Poplack and Myers-Scotton have different views as far as code-switching and borrowings are concerned.

Deuchar has used Jonathan Stammers' results in a preliminary version of talk for The International Conference on Models of Interaction in Bilinguals. The results are summarised in Table 1-2.

| | Poplack's approach | Myers-Scotton's approach |
|---|---|---|
| Definition of single-word switches vs. borrowings | Switches are not linguistically integrated, unlike borrowings | Switches are less frequently used than borrowings |
| Hypothesis about single word switches versus borrowings | Switches will be less frequent than borrowings | Switches will be less linguistically integrated than borrowings |

Table 1-2: Poplack's vs. Myers-Scotton's Approach to the Distinction between Code-switching and Borrowing.

In the preceding part, we have tried to draw a distinction between code-switching and borrowing. Each of them has its peculiarities, according to the type of integration or the frequency of use in Poplack's and Myers-Scotton's views respectively or according to other characteristics such as filling lexical gaps as assumed by others. Yet, the border line is still blurred.

The remaining three titles of this chapter will be devoted to some of the factors that may influence language choice, such as identity, accommodation and attitudes towards language respectively.

1.7. Identity

Spolsky (1998: 57) points out that "one of the most common ways of identifying a person is by his or her language" and he adds that "multilingual societies inevitably face conflict over language choice".

As Arabic, French and Berber coexist in many places in Algeria, the speaker's choice of either language will exhibit his/her identity. Language is chosen on purpose according to the addressee(s) or to the audience, even if some of the hearers are not taking part to the conversation. When a person wants to identify with a group, they will use the same language as that group. In this respect, Gumperz states that:

In the place of conscious, or semi-conscious, use of language in everyday life is an extreme awareness of language, a new way of holding conversations that involves the negotiation of language choice in every interaction. Gumperz (1997: 109)

Woodward (2004:6) shares Gumperz's opinion and says that "identity requires some awareness on our part". Then, he gives the example of people sharing the same language and who meet in a foreign place. He explains that the fact of sharing the same language provides [them] "with something and someone with whom [they] can identify". He adds that "identity is marked by similarity".

Whereas Gumperz and Woodward assume that identity is related to awareness, L. Milroy (2002:105) assumes that

language variation can be conscious or unconscious. She says that "The general assumption is that in some sense speakers use language variation, consciously or unconsciously, to signal various kinds of social identity and social aspirations."

Yet, a speaker may shift from one language to the other according to the group with which he wants to identify, looking for recognition, and wondering how he would be treated. That is to say, he worries about the addressees' opinions and judgements. In this context, Gumperz (1997: 118) says that "The negotiation of language has to do with judgements of personal treatment that is, how one expects to be treated in such a situation"

Changing one's code for the sake of identification or solidarity with someone or with a group is a kind of accommodation. That is why the latter is going to be defined in the following title.

1.8. Accommodation

The first who dealt with "Speech accommodation theory" was Giles (1973). He showed through his investigations the accent mutual convergence in interview situations and introduced the "accent mobility" model.

1.8.1 Convergence

Accommodation can be defined in terms of convergence and divergence; the former standing for the way in which conversational partners shift their speech

patterns and speech behaviours (linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours) to achieve the closest resemblance with their interlocutors and to show solidarity towards each other. In this respect, Giles, J. Coupland and N. Coupland (1991) define convergence as:

A strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic - prosodic - nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, ad so on. Giles, J. Coupland and N. Coupland (1991: 7)

1.8.2 Divergence / Disaccommodation

Convergence is defined as the way in which the speaker ends to show similarity with the listener, whereas divergence, on the contrary is the way in which the speaker emphasises dissimilarities with the addressee(s), he wants to show his distinctiveness.

The same authors describe divergence as:

The term used to refer to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others. (Ibid :8-9)

Myers-Scotton (1985) coined the term "disaccommodation" to refer to speech situations in which people shift to different registers in repeating something uttered by their interlocutor, not for the sake of checking comprehension but rather as a way to maintain distance, distinctiveness and identity.

We have spoken about the factors that may lead to language switch. Identity has been cited explaining that a speaker may change his speech so as to identify with a group. This kind of identification aiming at showing similarities is known as convergence. The latter is one of the two types of accommodation. The second type is divergence through which the speaker changes his way of speaking as to show dissimilarity with his interlocutor(s).

The last factor, which is going to be dealt with, is attitudes towards language.

When various languages coexist in the same area or the same country, the speakers show either positive attitudes or negative ones towards such or such language.

As Haugen (1956:95-96) states:

whenever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of *favor* or *disfavor* towards the languages involved. These can have profound effects on the psychology of the individuals and on their use of the languages. In the final analysis these attitudes are directed at the people who use the languages and are therefore inter-group judgments and stereotypes

In the case of Tlemcen speech community, individuals may show attitudes of "favour" or "disfavour" towards French and Arabic respectively or to code-switching. People may have attitudes towards the fact of mixing codes or towards the fact of using adapted words from French. This is what will be detailed in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

Tlemcen:

A Sociolinguistic Context in Algeria

Chapter Two: Tlemcen: A Sociolinguistic Context in Algeria

This chapter is going to be devoted to the historical background of Algeria and that of Tlemcen as our work is related to code-switching vs. borrowings in language contact situations in the Algerian context and as our case in point is the speech community of Tlemcen. We will also deal with arabisation, bilingualism and diglossia in Algeria and with the linguistic features of Tlemcen speech community.

2.1. Historical Background of Algeria

Fasold (2004:9) points out that in order to understand societal multilingualism we have to understand the historical patterns that lead to it. He cites four of them and says that a given multilingual society is usually an example of more than one of these at the same time. According to him, the patterns are "migration, imperialism, federation and border area multilingualism". He draws attention to the fact that "imperialism" is a loaded word but that he had not been able to find a neutral one. He adds that "in subtypes of imperialism are colonization, annexation and 'economic imperialism'".

If one had to choose one these patterns to apply to Algeria, it would be colonialism as a subtype of imperialism.

Thus, one should give a sketch of the historical background of Algeria.

As mentioned before, Algeria was subject to covetousness and was hence, conquered by numerous civilisations, the latter are going to be depicted hereafter.

The first inhabitants of the Maghreb were Berbers. They were called "the Numides" by the Greek and the Romans. Their language was Berber and it has existed for 5000 thousand years. Berbers were unsuccessful as rulers of their own lands so they were dominated by many foreign groups, yet they remained a people difficult to govern. As far as language is concerned, the Berbers of the interior remained monolingual but "in urban zones, bilingualism and multilingualism -berber-Punic, Berber-Punic- Roman, etc. - became the norm". (Elimam, 2004: 300-1; Morsly, 1996: 77) quoted in Benrabah (2007: 38). Instead of writing their own language, the Berber preferred using the languages of their conquerors.

The ancestor of the Berber varieties which are used nowadays (the Kabyle in Kabylia, the Chaoui in the Aures and the Tamachek used by Touaregs) is shown by the ancient writings (gravestones, dedications etc...) written in Lybic letters. The alphabet which is used to transcribe the Berber comes probably from Phoenicia.

The Phoenicians were the first to install ports of call and business establishments along the Algerian coasts. "They were the first invaders to allow the rise of a local civilization in North Africa. They spoke Punic a Semitic language." (Idem). There are little traces of the Punic in the modern Berber.

After the decay of their civilization, they founded "Carthage" in 860 B.C. They will spread into the Berber populations in the country.

Through the influence of Carthage, the Berbers are also impregnated with the Greek civilization in the artistic domains. For eight centuries, the Carthaginians were allies of the Berber leaders. "Bilingualism prevailed: Numidic kings and elites spoke and used Punic as the official language while peasants spoke Berber". (Idem)

The Carthaginian idiom was in use until the third century A.D. (Ageron, 1993: 766; Basset, 1921: 373; Camps, 1987: 113; Elimam, 2003: 25-34; Jaïdi, 2004: 24-33).

The Lybic-Berber is the ancestor of the Tifinagh (the Touaregs' writing)

2.1.1. Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines

After the destruction of Carthage, its inhabitants settled in other cities or in the countryside. In 40 A.D., the Romans invaded Algeria and transmitted on their turn their own culture and the Greek one. The numbers of Roman cities exceeded 500. (Lancel 2003).

At that time, schools were flourishing and some social strata romanised and adopted the Latin language. Thus, there was a romanised group, the "Romani" and a non-romanised group living in the mountains: the "Mauri" (the Moors). (Hamman 1979: 22). According to Benabou (1975: 488), the sociolinguistic situation of Roman North Africa

was characterised by multilingualism. Romani spoke Latin, used exclusively in towns. Punic kept on being used at the periphery, and the *Mauri* were monolingual Berber speakers. Benabou (1975: 60). However the Berber writers adopted Latin which continued to be used long after the Romans left Algeria. According to Marçais (1938: 8), there are written vestiges which give evidence of the use of Latin during the 11th and 12th centuries.

In 429 AD, the Vandals invaded North Africa. After their arrival, they persecuted the Roman aristocracy and the Catholics. They celebrated their religious rituals in the Gothic language but maintained Latin as the language for diplomacy and legislation.

In 533 AD, they disappear and are replaced by the Romanised Byzantines who conquered once again North Africa and who re-established the former social organization imposed by Rome in the past.

2.1.2. The Medieval Period

North Africa whose rebellion to any difference is a psychological characteristic couldn't separate language and religion. In this sense, Brunot (1950) says: "L'Afrique du nord, dont c'est une particularité psychologique d'être rebelle à toute différence ne pu séparer langue et religion »¹

¹ My translation: North Africa whose psychological peculiarity is to be rebel against any difference could not separate language and religion.

2.1.3. The Arabs

The Byzantines could not have the time of organising themselves and were defeated by new conquerors, the Arabs who came from the East to spread Islam. They attempted a first conquest of the Maghreb in 647 AD but it is in 670 that they sent their leader Okba Ibn Nafi with a 150 000 soldiers army. They founded the citadel of Kairouan. The Arabs faced the opposition between the Berbers and the Byzantines. Thus, North Africans progressively converted to Islam and by the 12th century became Sunni Muslims. Arabic spread little by little and more and more Berbers became arabophones. (Ageron, 1993: 766-7; Julien, 1994: 341-66).

2.1.4. Latin and Berber

The city dwellers were the first to adopt Islam. They did so in order to insure their protection against the attacks of the nomads and because they were attracted by that religion and its principles of equality and tolerance.

The inhabitants of cities abandoned the Latin and replaced it with Arabic, whereas the Bedouins kept on using Berber. However, it took long time for Arabic to replace Latin. Arabic, Latin and probably the Punic co-existed. Some writings showing that Latin had been used until the eleventh and the twelfth centuries were found in Kairouan and Gafsa in Tunisia.

The process of arabisation took place during two periods. Gallagher (1968: 131) states that the first wave of Arabs spread Islam with a slight degree of arabisation. The propagation of Islam and Arabic was done thanks to mosques and missionaries who knew the Koran. Islam and the language in which it was conveyed gave the Arabic its sacred characteristic. Arabic was strongly associated with Islam in North Africa. Gellner (1973).

Then, the Berbers considered Arabic as a divine language and accepted its superiority.

As opposed to the urban people who became bilingual because of the contact with the new conquerors, the rural population remained using its own language. The latter witnessed decay during the eleventh century when the nomadic tribes of the Banu Hilal who had come from the Arabian Peninsula and who had settled in Egypt arrived in North Africa. Ibn Khaldun, described these tribes as "a plague of locusts devastating everything on their way". Servier (1994: 60).

The urban population lived under the oppression of the Banu Hilal. The sedentary Berbers (cultivators and traders), in order to travel throughout the country, needed the protection of the Banu Hilal who forced them to give half of their harvest and profits.

2.1.5. The Berbers and Arabic

Like the Romans, the Berbers of the cities used Arabic as a tool for cultural, literary and artistic expression. Many Berber writers became well-known in the eastern countries. Some of them arabised their names but most of them kept their Berber names.

During the 14th century, Tlemcen witnessed the emergence of professors of high repute such as Abou Zaïd and Abou Moussa who built the first Medersa (from the Arabic word 'madrassa' meaning place where we study). Their disciple Cheref At Tlemçani (1310-1269) will demarcate in legal sciences and theology.

In 1391, many Jews fled the Iberic Peninsula and settled in Algerian cities such as Tlemcen, Algiers, Bone and Constantine. Most of the Spanish of Judaic confession were trilingual in Hebrew, Spanish and Arabic. Their everyday language was Judeo-Spanish (djudezuro), a variety of Spanish with 'jewishised' lexis.

One century later, after the collapse of Granada, in 1492, the Muslim Andalou came to Algeria and the Maghreb. They brought their commercial and financial techniques and their knowledge of the foreign languages.

2.1.6. The 15th Century Onwards

Harbi (1994) explains that each group had his own language but that Arabic was everyone's religious language. He adds that in the mountains, the berber was used as a medium for communication and that the Berbers

refused to be forced to use another language as their idiom was a symbol of their identity.

Sur le plan linguistique, chaque groupe constituait sans entrave une unité, l'arabe étant la langue religieuse de tous. Dans les zones montagneuses, les langues berbères de caractère oral se présentaient comme un élément clé d'une appartenance collective et d'un refus des empiètements du pouvoir central².

2.1.7. Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish

In 1415, the king Jean 1st invades the cities of Oran and Mers el Kebir on the west of Algeria. They remained Portuguese until 1437. Later, the Spanish invade Melilla in 1497, and at the beginning of the 16th century settle in Bejaia, Mers el Kebir and Oran. They stay in the ports which they transform into forts. They will not leave Oran until 1790 after an earthquake.

The Portuguese and the Spanish were able to distinguish the different ethnic groups of the Maghreb. The European administrative documents of that time speak about the sedentary inhabitants of the mountains of Berber origin (Los Moros, os Mouros) and the Arab tribes (Los Alarbes, os Allarves). The antagonism Berbers/Arabs remains during the 16th century.

² The following translation is suggested: At the linguistic level, each group constituted a unit without any obstacle, since Arabic was everyone's religious language. In mountain areas, the oral forms of Berber seemed to be a key element for collective membership and that of the refusal of the central power intrusion.

In 1534, the sudden death of the king of Tlemcen Moulay Abdallah triggered off a war of succession. The eldest of the three sons had rebelled before against his father when the latter was still alive. The mother of the first son was from the Berber tribe Beni Rached whereas the mother of the second is from the Arab tribe Beni Amer. Thus, a battle arose between the Berbers and the Arabs. It ends with the breakdown of the latter.

The Spanish invaded a small isle in front of Algiers (the Penon). This occupation led the inhabitants of Algiers to call for the help of the Ottoman Empire. Under the pressure of the Turkish who were occupying Djidjel, Miliana, Medea, Tenes, Tlemcen, Collo and Bone, the Spanish left Penon in 1529.

Under the Ottoman reign, Algeria was characterised by a rural aspect and by the lack of cohesion, which was due to the rebellion of the tribes against the authorities.

An Islam of Marabouts in most of Algerian rural areas fights the Turkish in the name of justice and equality. The sociolinguistic situation reflected complexity and variation in the vein of the population, multilingualism prevailed as approximately 15 languages co-existed.

Like the Vandals before them, the Turkish refused to assimilate to the Arabo-Berber populations.

During the whole occupation (1517-1917) in the Arabo-Muslim territories, the Ottomans did not like the people who spoke Arabic. Even though the Turkish men could marry Maghrebin women, their descendants who were called the 'Kouloughli' could not have posts of responsibility. Then

the Turkish remained a distinct community: foreigners living in North Africa until their leaving in 1830.

2.2. Language Contact

If the Turkish did not help for the development of arts and literature in their language, they enabled the internal regions to islamise and arabise more than they were.

Some cities such as Tlemcen arabised to such an extent, that the language of the diplomatic relations became the local Arabic. The proof is that the letter written in the Arabic vernacular of Tlemcen which Ibn Redhuan (Caïd of the Bni Amer, Mezuar of the kingdom of Tlemcen) addressed to the king Charles Quint in February 1535.

More than a language for diplomacy, Algerian Arabic acquired such vitality that during the 16th century onwards, popular poetry is written in that language: Ech-chi'r el malhoun (i.e. melodious poetry). Some documents show that this literature really existed and that Sidi Lakhdar Ben Khelouf from Mostaganem (living around 1550) was considered as the poet of that genre.

The coastal cities such as Oran, Mostaganem and Algiers witnessed a cosmopolitanism which helped in the enhancement of language contact.

The Osmanli Turkish was the official language of the government and was spoken by the Turkish and some Kouloughli.

Their refusal to assimilate obliged them either to learn Arabic or to call for interpreters in order to communicate with the Berbers and the Arabs who constituted the majority of the population.

As far as the European languages are concerned, there was a considerable presence of Spanish in the west of the country and of Italian in the east. The majority of city dwellers spoke local Arabic and the Jews spoke Judeo-Arabic.

This contact of languages gave birth to a kind of lingua franca - a language for communication between the Arabs, the Europeans (mainly Spanish) and the Turkish- which became a language for commerce in all the Mediterranean ports. The lexis was essentially Spanish with Turkish elements which appeared during the 16th century and syntactic forms inspired from Arabic.

A Spanish visitor who came to Algeria at that time asserted that the lingua franca acquired prestige as both old people and youngsters used it even at home.

It is through that language that many Greek and Latin words related to sailing, fishing and naval weaponry began to be used in the spoken Arabic of many Algerian cities. Sometimes the insertion of these words was done via Turkish.

This lingua franca kept on being used even after the French conquest in 1830.

This linguistic diversity influenced considerably Algerian Arabic. The latter came originally from the Middle East evolved through time and transformed to acquire its own specificity.

It would be worth pointing out that the Maghrebi Arabic in general and Algerian Arabic in particular are distinct from their cousins of the Near East in that during the Arab conquest, many languages were inserted into Arabic.

Whereas the vernaculars of the Maghreb are influenced by Berber, those of the Middle East have Aramean characteristics. Since Arabic and Tamazight have the same origins and both of them belong to the Afro-Asiatic group, they are likely to take features from one another. Thus, Tamazight influenced Arabic and vice versa. "Tamazight traces in Arabic can be found at the lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic levels" (Benali-Mohamed, 2003: 208; Chafik, 1999: 64, 78, 120, 142; Lacheraf, 1998: 151; Vermeren, 2004: 54-5).

The Maghrebi Arabic benefited from a real brewing of languages. This was due to the meeting of soldiers coming from many regions of the Middle East. Later, the geographical distance, time and the socio-cultural context had an effect on the specificity of Algerian Arabic.

2.3. The French Colonisation

France colonised Algeria from 1830 to 1962. The French colonisers imposed their socio-economic and

linguistic policies, thus the use of Arabic was restricted to private and religious domains. During the colonial period, Arabic was besieged and was reduced to the rank of foreign whereas French spread all over the sectors of the public life. Boucherit in Rouchdy (2002: 54)

2.3.1. Arabic and French during the French Colonisation

The French authorities did their best to implant French in all domains and especially in education. For them, it was the best way to impose their domination. A military general, the governor of that time from 1832 to 1833 explained that by saying:

Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays. Le Duc de Rovigo³ (Gouverneur d'Algérie, 1832-1833)

"The law promulgated on 23 March 1882, imposed Gallicised names". Benrabah (2007: 43). The "hybrid" Latinised names represented a break-away from the previous Algerian naming systems. Yermèche (204: 489-90, 497) potential development

Until independence, French was promoted the rank of the official language. Yet, it will not replace Arabic in all domains. The 130 years of contact between the two languages had their consequences. In this sense, most of the Algerian population uses French in everyday life and

³ Here is a potential translation: I see the propagation of instruction and that of our language as the most efficient means for expanding our domination in this country.

the borrowed words from French are very noticeable especially in urban areas. However, the structure of Arabic has not been affected much; the French words which have been integrated into Arabic undergo the same linguistic treatment as the original Arabic words. Boucherit in Rouchdy (2002: 54-55).

Benrabah (1999: 47) explains that during the colonial period many urban centres appeared and that those which already existed were expanded. The expropriations of lands led to the destruction or to the abandonment of the traditional villages. The cultural dispossession was emphasised by the introduction of the language and the educational system of the coloniser. In the military ranks, Algerians doubted about the French "civilising" mission. They were aware that the domination of Algeria passed by the propagation of the French language and the French education. The latter was not appreciated by the Algerian population. Algerians were satisfied with their own educational system: 40 to 50% of the population was literate. In 1934 a French general-in-command noted that almost all Algerians were able to read and write and that there were two schools in each village. Horne (1987: 29)

2.3.2. Education during the Colonial Period

Until 1830, education and religion are thoroughly connected and Algerians could not conceive their separation. However, the French policy tried to control the Koranic schools and to limit the teaching of Classical Arabic. Valensi, 1969: 18). During the 1930's, the French

administration enacted a law which considered Arabic as a foreign language.

Between 1830 and 1962, the study of Classical Arabic declined considerably as education was dispensed in French. When Classical Arabic was taught in the French schools, it was given the status of optional foreign language. This was a tactic to impose political and sociolinguistic control over the Algerian speech community.

The result of the removal of Classical Arabic from intellectual and technological developments during colonisation was that the language was not able to adapt to the bureaucratic, intellectual and financial affairs.

The educational system presented another characteristic: the government did not disburse for schools and places of education; instead, money was given by individuals or by organizations. In a report, the commander of Oran, the General Lamoricière explained that before the French invasion, there were 3 middle schools and 50 schools for 12 to 14,000 persons in the city of Tlemcen; in its provinces, there were 30 "zaouïa"⁴ and in each "douar"⁵ there was a school. Instruction was given to everyone, 2,000 pupils went to high schools and 600 carried on higher education. He added that instruction was disbursed by families and organizations.

Thus, the Algerians considered the proffer as dubious when the French proposed that the government would pay for

⁴ Zouïa: plural of « zaouïa » which is a religious cult center

⁵ Douar : a small village.

education. They thought that it was nothing but an attempt to evangelise children. Their suspicion was reinforced when the military authorities expropriated the "habous"⁶ whose earnings subsidised instruction among other things. These expropriations caused the closure of many schools and medersa.

Between 1830 and 1850, half of them disappeared. Only 2000 remained in 1863 and in the 1880's there were no more than 750. As far as the higher education is concerned, the number of students decreased a great deal: 14 students in 1876, 129 in 1877, 84 in 1879, 9 in 1884 and 57 in 1885.

Even though France promised to respect Islam and Muslim rights, it failed to. Since 1870, the French colonisers showed hostility towards traditional teaching; they named it "school of fanaticism". Algerians perceived the colonisers' behaviour as a denial of their children's rights to education, as impairment to their cultural integrity and as an offense to their religion. They refused to follow the colonial model which was seen as a threat to their morals. As a result, the parents prevented their children from going to the French school. In this respect, an Algerian historian says:

A l'encontre de ce qui s'est passé en Tunisie et en Egypte, les Algériens ne cherchent pas pendant plus d'un demi-siècle, à s'approprier les secrets du vainqueur. Les rares éléments qui prennent le chemin des écoles françaises sont considérés par la grande masse comme des renégats, tombés dans le « piège tendu à

⁶ Habous : lands whose owners were religious institutions.

leur ethnie et à leur religion »⁷. Harbi (1984: 79)

Harbi explains that the Algerians did not try to appropriate the conqueror's secrets. He adds that the few persons who went to the French schools were considered as "renegades" who fell in "the trap that was set to their race and to their religion" Djeghloul (1986: 39-40); Harbi (1984: 79)

The literates who kept on writing in Classical Arabic produced literary works, which were rather religious. These writings aimed at eradicating the French language and considered the poem as a "weapon" (silah) against the coloniser's idiom (loughat el moustamir)⁸ suggest

The French reviewed their linguistic and educational policy as very few Algerian children went to the colonial school on the one hand, and because they needed literate intermediaries between the military authorities and the population on the other hand.

For the necessary formations (imam for the mosques, qadi⁹ for the courts and teachers of Arabic), in 1850 many medersas were set up again on the pre-colonial model, yet with an innovation: the introduction of the French language. A medersa was established then in Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen.

⁷ Suggested translation: In opposition to what happened in Tunisia and Egypt, during more than half a century, Algerians did not try to find out the conqueror's secrets. the few persons who went to the French schools were considered as "renegades" who fell in "the trap that was set to their race and to their religion"

⁸ (silah) and (loughat el moustamir) are Berabah's words (1990 : 50), they stand for « arme » and « la langue du colonisateur » meaning weapon and the coloniser's idiom respectively. The second inverted commas have not been added, as opposed to the first ones.

⁹ Qadi : islamic judge

2.3.3. The Creation of Bilingual Schools

Aiming at "instruire pour conqu rir" i.e "instruct to conquer" Turin (1983: 17), the colonial authorities created bilingual educational establishments. "French administrators and academics created the 'Berber Kabylean myth' Benrabah (2007: 41). They argued that the Algerian people were composed of two distinct races, Berbers and Arabs. According to them the Berbers were the real indigenous populations and were superior to the Arabs because they were descendents of Europeans. In this sense, they thought that Berbers were likely to assimilate to the French culture ("Frenchification") whereas the Arabs were not. (Eickelman 1985: 219-20; Favret, 1973: 323 Sivan, 1979: 24).

In 1836, the first Arabic-French -school was created, some lectures were given in Arabic. Another one was created the following year. Between 1850 and 1870, the authorities built 36 other similar schools. In 1876 onwards, the medersa became under the charge of the civil authorities who were hostile to the education of the autochthons. They feared the fact that once educated and once believing in the French motto "Libert , Egalit , Fraternit " (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity) the Algerians would rebel and contest. The general governor of that time, Tirman, thought that "L'hostilit  de l'indig ne se mesure   son degr  d'instruction" i.e. (the native's hostility is relative to his level of education).

A coloniser stated that: "l'arabe, en 1830, savait lire et  crire. Apr s un demi si cle de colonisation, il croupit dans l'ignorance". (Cited in Lacheraf 1978: 314)

i.e. (The Arab, in 1830, could read and write and half a century of colonisation later he stagnates in ignorance)

In order to justify the supremacy of the French language, specialists were called on. One of them was William Marçais. He was known as a dialectologist who specialised in Maghrebin dialectology and as a colonial administrator during the years 1900. In 1931, he wrote:

Quand l'une des langues est celle des dirigeants, qu'elle ouvre l'accès d'une grande civilisation moderne, qu'elle est Claire, que l'expression écrite et l'expression parlée de la pensée s'y rapprochent au maximum; que l'autre est la langue des dirigés, qu'elle exprime dans ses meilleurs écrits un idéal médiéval, qu'elle est ambiguë, qu'elle revêt quand on l'écrit un autre aspect que quand on la parle, la partie est vraiment inégale : la première doit fatalement faire reculer la seconde.¹⁰

He compared French to Arabic saying that when a language is the one of the dominator and that it opens access to a great modern civilisation, when it is unambiguous, when the written expression and the idiom which expresses the thoughts are very closely related; and when the other language is the one of the oppressed, when it expresses in its best writings a medieval ideal, when it is ambiguous and when the written and the oral aspects are dissimilar, the game is unfair: the first one must inevitably make the second stand back.

¹⁰ My translation : When a language is the one of the dominator and that it opens access to a great modern civilisation, when it is unambiguous, when the written expression and the idiom which expresses the thoughts are very closely related; and when the other language is the one of the oppressed, when it expresses in its best writings a medieval ideal, when it is ambiguous and when the written and the oral aspects are dissimilar, the game is unfair: the first one must inevitably make the second stand back.

This passage shows Marçais' subjective view and the belief in the superiority of the French language; and the denigration of Arabic. He meant that since the former is the language of the conqueror, it is without equivocation superior and that it would have inevitably replaced the latter.

2.4. Algerians' Attitudes towards French Schools

The Algerian intelligentsia was composed of bicultural men who were favourable to the occidental ideas. According to Benrabah (1999:54), the most representative would certainly be M'Hamed Ben Rahal who was born in 1857 in Nedroma (west of Algeria). He was born in a wealthy milieu so he went to the Koranic School then to the Arabic-French one before joining the high school in Algiers. In 1897, he wanted the Algerians to cope with the occidental civilisation and said:

Tout le domaine des sciences exactes, une bonne partie de l'organisation intérieure et politique, le système des travaux publics et de l'enseignement, tout ce qui concerne le commerce, l'agriculture et l'industrie, nous pouvons l'adopter sans grandes modifications. Rien dans le dogme ne s'y oppose ; tout au contraire y incite ou le prescrit.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. ouvrage traduit et publié en français en 1858 par Gustave Dugat, sous le titre *Le livre d'Abdelkader* (réédition Bouslama, Tunis). Une nouvelle traduction a été faite par René Khawam, sous le titre *Lettres aux français*. Ed. Phébus, Paris 1977.

Here is a possible translation: We can adapt with no real modifications to the field of sciences, a big part of the internal organisation of the political system, to civil engineering and instruction, or what is related to commerce, agriculture and industry. Nothing in religion is against; on the contrary, it incites to it or prescribes it.

He meant that Algerians were able to adapt to sciences, politics, engineering, education, commerce, agriculture and industry. He explained that nothing in religion prevented that; on the contrary it advocates and recommends it.

Therefore, he asked the French authorities to give job opportunities to the Algerians who would make the effort to attend French schools; because that kind of education was not only regarded as a threat to the Algerians' cultural values but also as useless since it gave no carrier opportunities and hence no social advancement.

But he knew that Algerians had divergent views, he admitted that the Arab could tolerate education but did not request it, he considered education as a trap which aimed at seizing his nationality and his religion. In this respect, he says: « L'Arabe peut subir l'instruction mais ne la demande pas, car il voit une sorte de piège en vue de lui ravir sa nationalité et sa religion »¹²

He adds that the Muslim has no consideration for those who were educated in the French schools. All his admiration, respectfulness and confidence are for the "Taleb"¹³ who came from traditional universities.

Thus, the two divergent attitudes are the prelude to the conflict between the modernist "francisants"¹⁴ on the

¹² A potential translation: The Arab can tolerate instruction but does not ask for it, because he considers it as a kind of trap, which aims at depriving him from his nationality and religion.

¹³ Taleb: Student of a koranic school

¹⁴ Francisant : He who studies French

one hand, and the traditionalist "arabisants"¹⁵ on the other hand. Benrabah (1999:55)

Until the 1920's and 1930's, most of the Algerians are still against the French schools but because of their economic situation, they are obliged to register their children in those schools, however Ferhat Abbas claims the teaching of Arabic and wants it to be the official language; but the French could not tolerate the presence of a rival besides the dominant language. Classical Arabic endured such a persecution and hegemony that it is declared as being "a foreign language" by a decree of March 8th, 1938. Grandguillaume (1983: 96). The statute of 1947 will attempt, in theory, to repair this unfairness, its article stipulates that Arabic is one of the French Union languages, that it is considered as French regarding the media and the official or private publications, and that the teaching of Arabic will be organised in Algeria.

In 1961, the French authorities admitted that the decree of 1938 was an error. The decrees of 25 July 1961, signed by Charles de Gaulle, annulled the latter and implemented the compulsion of teaching Arabic in the primary school. Grandguillaume (1983: 96)

A report published in 1954 stated that about three quarters of the Algerian population were illiterate in Arabic and 90% in French; Horne (1987: 110). "13,7% of the total adult Muslim population could read and write: 55 % in French, 20 % in French and Arabic and a mere 25% in

¹⁵ Arabisant : Someone who studies Arabic

Arabic". Bennoune (2000: 70). Consequently, the liberation fight was led mainly in French. Gordon (1978: 149). A study showed that during the revolution, out of 69 leaders, 64 had a French educational background whereas only 5 were trained in Arabic. Mansouri (1991: 60)

Nevertheless, in some regions, some Koranic schools subsisted.

2.5. The Revival of Arabic

These institutions aimed at giving more importance to the teaching of Arabic and tried to revive Islamic cultural identity. They neglected the teaching of scientific disciplines but focused on the acquisition of the written and oral competence in Literary Arabic. Bennoune (2000: 169).

In 1947, Ben Badis Institution was opened in Constantine to prepare future teachers and students who wanted to continue their studies in the Islamic universities such as al-Zaituna and al-Azhar in Tunis and Cairo respectively. (Ibid: 168). However, in 1954 only 300,000 Algerians out of ten millions are able to read Classical Arabic.

The abolition by de Gaulle of the decree of 08 March 1938 increased the rate of schooling. Between 1954 and the beginning of 1960, school attendance for children more than doubled: 386,585 in 1954, 510,000 in 1958 and 840,000 in 1960. (Horne, 1987: 341; Mansouri, 1991: 56). However, despite de Gaulle's efforts, only 14% of the Algerian

children were in school, and only 557 Muslims, compared to 4548 Europeans who attended the University of Algiers by the time of independence. Gordon (1978: 152)

Between 1958 and 1962, this rate will go beyond the rate ever reached between 1830 and 1958. However, it is too late: the idea of independence has already been matured in the brains of the population.

Paradoxically, French contributed a lot to this awareness and "events linked to the war of Algeria were going to reinforce the status of French among Algerians". Benrabah (1999: 59; 2007: 45). One of the other paradoxes is that the war of independence increased the spread of francophonie in Algeria. (Idem). Vermeren (2004: 139) described such a process as "delayed Frenchifying process".

Thus, during the French colonisation, French was given the status of official language and Arabic that of foreign language. The latter was the language of academics used in the traditional and Koranic institutions. Education was directed towards French, as a result, the study of Classical Arabic decreased significantly.

After independence (1962), the political leaders tried to revive Classical Arabic and to establish it as the national language. The aim was to recover an Arab and Muslim identity through the adoption of the following motto:

"الإسلام ديننا، الجزائر وطننا و العربية لغتنا"

(Islam is our religion, Algeria is our motherland, Arabic is our language)

In this sense, Algeria needed a new language policy which would help it to get rid of a linguistic heritage of more than 130 years of colonialism. It could be reached through the policy of arabisation which is going to be dealt with in the following title.

2.6. Arabisation in Algeria

Both 'Arabicisation' and 'Arabisation' are used to stand for the Arabic term "ta'arib", although the difference between these terms is pertinent. (Benabdi, 1980; Elkhafaifi, 2002; Ennaji, 1999; Ibrahim, 1989; Suleiman, 1999). Benrabah (2007: 56) explains that:

"The first sense concerns mostly the Arab Middle East and to two countries of North Africa (Libya and Egypt) referring to both "status/acquisition and corpus planning activities - planners replace some other (usually colonial) language by Arabic as the medium of instruction in all cycles of the educational system, and they enrich the language by incorporating into it newly borrowed or derived/revived words".

In North African countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), which were former French colonies, *ta'rib* means the replacement of French by Arabic in all domains (education, administration, media, etc.) "as well as the

use of the latter language as an instrument for national unity and the affirmation of an identity that is exclusively Arab". Benrabah (2007: 56)

Hence, while 'Arabicisation' is a process which concerns language only, 'Arabisation', is concerned with both culture and language and "has a much wider application with profound implications for modern Arab society" (Cherrad-Benchefra & Derradji, 2004: 153; Grandguillaume, 1990: 155-6; Saadi-Mokrane, 2002: 49; Vermeren, 2004: 201; Yahiatene, 1997: 66).

After independence, on July 5th, 1962, arabisation could appear as the symbol of a country freed from the French colonialism.

Benrabah (1999) defines arabisation as "politic totalitarianism" ("totalitarisme politique") but Oukhchem and Varro¹⁶ say that on the contrary, for external observers, arabisation could be seen as a legitimate claim of a nation freed from colonial oppression. They add that a language which was used as a tool and as a symbol for national integrity (unit) is not a new idea for the French leader. They explain that for a reader whose knowledge about the situation in Algeria is limited would be astonished: is not arabisation a good thing? Is not Arabic the language of Arabs? Algerians are Arabs. Aren't they?

¹⁶ Kamel Boukchem et Gabrielle Varro, « Benrabah, Mohamed. – *Langue et pouvoir en Algérie. Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique*. Paris, Séguier, 1999, 350 p. (« Les Colonnes d'Hercule »). », *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 163-164 | 2001, [En ligne], mis en ligne le 25 mai 2005. URL: <http://etudesafriques.revues.org/index132.html>. accessed to on February 14th, 2010.

We know that not all the Algerians are Arabs and Arabophone but that there is a portion, which is Kabyle and berberophone. To this information, Benrabah (1999), as mentioned before, adds that in 1954, after 120 years of colonialism only 300,000 out of ten million Algerians read and understand Classical Arabic.

Kaplan and Baldauf (2007:7) explain that after independence, "the Algerian leadership (...) demonstrated ideological intransigence in recovering both language and identity". Djité has pointed out: "Nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central in the fight against colonialism [as in Algeria]" (1992: 16).

Gordon (1978: 151) says that Algeria has emerged as "the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity". This is what Fishman (1972) termed "nationalism".

However, the immediate and near total arabisation had serious consequences for the francophones and the berberophones.

W. Marçais in "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée" (1938) described the linguistic situation in Algeria saying that the Arabic language had two different aspects: a literary language called written Arabic in which literary or scientific works were written but that the written form had never been used for speech in any area in Algeria. He spoke about idioms which had never been written but which had made up the only language used for conversation in all milieus either educated or not:

La langue Arabe se présente à nous, sous deux aspects différents: une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore, sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, mais qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous, n'a peut être jamais été parlée nulle part en Algérie ... et des idiomes dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, mais qui, partout et peut-être depuis longtemps, constituent la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés.¹⁷

So, after independence, arabisation was imposed through politics. It aimed at regaining Algerians' culture and language.

The period from 1970 to 1977 corresponds to total arabisation. Benrabah (2007: 89) says that:

The Ministry of Education split into three ministries: the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Islamic Education. The year 1971 was declared the 'year of Arabisation' with the total Arabisation of the third and fourth grades at the primary level and the creation of 20 Islamic high schools by the new Ministry of Islamic Education.

"The year 1971 also saw the government adopting the 'punctual system', a method which involved the Arabisation of all subjects on a given level instead of a 'geographic' Arabisation plan (e.g. Arabising specific schools in rural

¹⁷ Arabic has two different aspects: a literary language called written Arabic which is the only language in which literary or scientific works are written nowadays but the written form has never been used for speech in any area of Algeria... and idioms which have never been used in the written form but which represent the only language used for conversation in all milieus either educated or not.

and desert areas), or 'vertical' Arabisation, one with the Arabising subject by subject" (Gordon, 1978: 153)

The aim was also to give Arabic the status and functions, which were given to French during the colonisation. Thus, Arabic was considered as the official language. It became the language of education, and now it has become the language used in administration. If we had to consider the situation a few years ago, we would certainly find some differences. For instance, although the process of arabisation had begun, French was still used.

Therefore, despite this process, bilingualism is maintained. French is still taught at the primary and secondary school, university lectures are still dispensed in French in technical and scientific fields.

Between 1999 and 2004, President Bouteflika started some reforms, but most of them could not be put into practice because of his lack of legitimacy. These reforms tended to ruin the official language policy which has been applied since independence.

Nonetheless, he succeeded in initiating a national debate over sensitive issues, which had, so far, always been considered shocking.

He spoke about such sensitive matters. For example, Algerians' experience with language-in-education planning corresponds to two major periods: the first one, from 1962 to the 1970s, characterised by bilingualism in French and

Standard Arabic; and the second one, from the 1970s to the present, characterised by monolingualism in Standard Arabic for the majority of the population and French-Arabic bilingualism for a small minority. Benrabah (2007: 27)

Soon after Abdelaziz Bouteflika's election in April 1999, no one expected him to raise the language issue, everyone was shocked when he dealt with it publicly. (Bensalem, 1999: 11).

In May 1999, he declared: 'It is absurd [...] to spend ten years studying in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English (*Le Matin*, 1999). The President thus seemed to acknowledge implicitly the failure of Arabisation at least in the area of science and technology teaching and to envisage a return to bilingualism in this field. For him, "There has never been language problem in Algeria, but simply competition and fights for French-trained executives' positions" (*El Watan*, 1999a) Cited in Benrabah (2007: 27).

While making these comments, the new President was also using French in his public speeches. He wanted to project the perfect example of the bilingual Algerian and admitted, then, the plurality of the Algerian culture. (Ibid: 28)

In a press conference that he gave in Switzerland in autumn 1999, he said: "We attended French school and we are thus heavily influenced by Descartes" (Benrabah, 2004a: 96). According to Vermeren (2004: 321-2), the new

government's language policies promoting bilingualism aim at, among other things, bringing back some Algerian Francophone intellectuals who went into exile. But it could also be the sign of a new language policy and the decline of Arabisation as a result of changes in the economic and political domains (Bouhadiba, 2004: 500; Cherrad-Benchefra & Derradji, 2004: 168; Morsly, 2004: 181; Queffélec *et al.*, 2002: 33)

The main reform concerns the return to bilingual education and the end of monolingualism. According to Baker (2002: 237), "Wherever bilingual education exists, politics is close by". Bilingual education is not simply an educational issue. Behind bilingual education there are always expressions of political ideology, and political plans.

Granguillaume (1983) says that French is not only a residue of colonialism but that it is an open window over a different world, the latter being the world of modernity, and science but also the world of emancipation and mental liberation related to the civilisation of consumption. This is why French imposes itself.

La langue française demeure non seulement comme un résidu de la domination coloniale mais, comme ouverture à un monde différent, qui est le monde de la modernité et de la technique, certes, mais aussi le monde de l'émancipation et de l'affranchissement moral, lié à la civilisation de la consommation: c'est pour ces deux canaux que la langue française impose sa loi. Grandguillaume (1983: 25)

Grandguillaume explains that the French language is not only a remnant of the colonial domination but that it is also an opened window over the world of modernity, technology, emancipation and of moral liberation linked to a civilization of consummation. The same author explains fourteen years later that Abdelaziz Bouteflika's recognition of French as part of Algeria's language profile aims at modernising Algerian institutions such as the educational system, often depicted as a 'real failure'. Grandguillaume (1997b: 3)

The foregoing two titles dealt with Algeria's historical background and arabisation respectively. They have shown that Algeria was characterised by cultural diversity and multilingualism. It was bilingual during the Phoenician period (Berber-Punic), trilingual during the Roman invasion, and multilingual since the Ottoman conquest. During the French settlement, the coloniser tried to remove the multilingualism that marked Algeria and tried to reproduce another France, which would have been homogeneous at the linguistic and cultural levels. After independence, the political leaders had in mind the recovery of the Arabic language and the Arab identity through arabisation. Later, this policy was acknowledged to be a failure, and the political leaders admitted that French could be the tool of progress for the Algerians especially with the nowadays policy of globalisation.

2.7. Bilingualism and Diglossia in Algeria

The linguistic situation in Algeria reflects a state of bilingualism because of the coexistence of Arabic and French but like all Arab countries, it is characterised by diglossia i.e. the coexistence of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Arabic (AA), the former standing for the 'high variety' and the latter for the 'Low variety'. The two varieties are derived from the same source but they are used to fulfil distinct functions that is, MSA is used in the domains of religion, literature, education and formal settings. AA, on the other hand, is used in informal settings, in everyday speech. Dendane (2007: 69) says in this respect:

(...) the relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic has been described in terms of 'diglossia relationship' (Ferguson, 1959a, 1970), though a finer and more comprehensive analysis of today's actual uses of Arabic reveals the existence of a continuum that may be better examined perhaps in terms of 'multiglossia'.

We have spoken about Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French, but one should not forget to mention Berber which includes for major languages. The Touaregs of the Sahara (near the Niger border) use the 'Tamashek'. The Mozabites and Chaouias speak 'Mzab' and 'Shawia' respectively. Kabylisians speak 'Kabyle' known locally as 'Takbaylit' (Dalby, 1998: 89; El Aissati, 1993: 92).

But there are other small isolated Berber-speaking communities dispersed around the country. 'Chenoua' is

spoken around the Chenoua mountain between the coastal towns of Cherchell and Tipaza, west of Algiers; 'Tarifit' in coastal towns such as Arzew and Beni Saf in the west of Algeria; 'Korandje' and 'Tachelhit' around Tabelbala oasis near the Moroccan border; 'Tagargrent' south of Constantine; 'Tamazight of Central Atlas' in the south of Oran; 'Taznatit' around Timimoun, near the Touat region; 'Tamacine Tamazight' in the vicinity of Touggourt; 'Tidikelt Tamazight' in Salah and Tit in southern Algeria. Berber diversity is not specific to regional entities sometimes representing the expression of tribal structures (Queffélec *et al.*, 2002: 33). Most languages of the Berber branch are mutually unintelligible (Hetzron, 1987: 648; Weber, 1987: 12).

Tamashek, the language spoken by the Touareg nomads in the Sahara Desert, is the only Berber variety to have maintained the old script called *Tifinagh* with its letters known as *Isekkil*. It is an unusual consonantal alphabet, which descends from the ancient Libyan script developed from a late form of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (Dalby, 1998: 89; Hetzron, 1987: 648; Weber, 1987: 12). Today, almost all Berber languages use Arabic or Latin scripts for everyday use. But with the rise of Berber nationalism in the 1970s, berberophone militants have adopted Tifinagh as a symbol of Berber authenticity. Since the late 1980s, three scripts have been in use for Berber: Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh (Tilmatine, 1992: 156).

In 1906, the total population speaking Berber languages in Algeria was estimated at 1,305,730 out of 4,447,149, i.e. 29%. Douffé & Gautier (1913.) The 1911

census, however, found 1,084,702 speakers out of 4,740,526, i.e. 23%. In 1980, Chaker estimated that "in Algeria, 3,650,000, or one out of five Algerians, speak a Berber language" (Chaker 1984: 8-9).

Here are estimations, which have been taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_languages

- o Kabyle: 6 million (2007), or 20% of the population - or "up to" 5 million (1998), which would be more like 20% and they live especially in Algiers, Bejaia, Tizi -Ouzou, Setif and Boumerdes.
- o Chaouia: 4 million (2007), thus 18% of the population and they live in Batna, Khenchela, Sétif, Souk Ahras, Oum-El-Bouaghi, Tebessa
- o Touareg Almost 1 million, spoken by those in the Sahara region.

The beginning of this chapter has been devoted to Algeria's historical background and to the language situation in Algeria. The following part is going to be allotted to the description of Tlemcen speech community, its geographical delimitation, its historical background and its linguistic features.

2.8. Tlemcen Speech Community

Our study is going to be focused on Tlemcen speech community. That is why it is worth giving an overview of its linguistic characteristics. But before describing the

linguistic features, one should draw up the geographical boundaries of Tlemcen.

2.8.1. Geographical Delimitation of Tlemcen

Tlemcen is located in Northwestern Algeria. Its population is 132,341 as of the 1998 census. It is 140 km far from Oran and 40 km from the Mediterranean Sea. Its altitudes vary from 769 m in Bab Zir to 817 m in Bab el Hadid. Khaldoun (1999: 11).

There are two assumptions as to the meaning of the word Tlemcen. The first one states that it comes from the Berber plural form *Tilimsan* whose singular is *tilmas* and which means "the spring"; and the second one claims that it comes from the Arabic *Tlam Insan*, meaning *it gathers the human beings*. The name is sometimes spelled *Tlemsen*, *Tlemsan*, or *Tilimsen*. Wikipedia, Bel (1932: 8)

"The springs" is a name, which suits very well to the city as it is full of sweet and fresh water sources.
(Idem)

2.8.2 Historical Background of Tlemcen

Human presence in the region can be traced back to prehistory as the abundance of the natural caverns, the lands, the climate and the profusion of water were suitable for the settlement. The troglodyte dwellings consisted of a hundred caves, which are named Tameradit.

They were located in the faubourg of al Kalaa under Lalla Setti Mountain. (Ghomari¹⁸, Bel 1932: 8).

Until the 11th century A.D., Tlemcen was located on the small plateau where the Agadir Mosque is sited today, Tlemcen was also known as Agadir (meaning citadel in Berber), and according to Ghomari (2007), its history would have begun before the Roman occupation contrarily to what Bel (1932) and Abadie (1994) state.

2.8.2.1. The Roman Period

The Romans who had a colony and a cavalry station in order to guard the road from Altava (former Lamoricière and current Ouled Mimoun) to Syrorum (Maghnia) gave the name of Pomaria (orchards) to the city. The reason behind this name was the abundance of gardens and fruit trees.

During the 6th and the 7th centuries, Pomaria did not belong to Rome anymore.

During the seventh century, Islam entered Agadir with Abu al Mouhadjir.

2.8.2.2. The Idrissid Period

In 765, the Beni Ifran (an important Zenata Berber tribe) recognized the Kharidjite (schismatic) Abou Qorra as their leader, in Agadir, however the royalty was ephemeral. The city was constructed on the ruins of Pomaria.

¹⁸ <http://www.webjournal.unior.it> - (I) 2007

By the end of the 8th century, Idris I (the founder's father of Fes) conquered Tlemcen and constructed the Mosque of Agadir whose present minaret shows its position. Thus, the real and definitive establishment of Islam dates back to the Idissid period during which the majority of the Berbers converted to this religion.

During the 10th century, after the collapse of the Idrissid reign, the Zenata became once again the leaders of Agadir and recognized the sovereignty of the Omeyyade of Cordoba. In 955, Abderrahmân Enâçir li Dîni Allah, the king of Cordoba expelled the Fatimides from Tlemcen and established strong relations between the latter and his kingdom.

2.8.2.3. The Almoravid Period

It was under their reign, during the ninth century, that Agadir opened up to the refined culture of Muslim Andalusia.

Once the conquest of Agadir completed in the eleventh century, the Almoravids founded Tagrart slightly to the west. The union of the two cities gave birth to Tlemcen. When, two centuries later, the great Almohad Empire collapsed, the Hafsids supplanted in Tunis, the Merinides in Merrakech. The Abd-el Wadids or Zianides settled in Tlemcen.

During the 11th century, the founder of Marrakech, the Almoravid sovereign Youcef Ibn Techfne, setteled his base camp slightly to the west of Tlemcen, i.e. Agadir, this

camp (Tagrart in Berber) became a new city and took the name of Tagrart.

During the beginning of the 11th century, the Almoavids (1060-1146) founded the "Djamaa El Kbir" (the Big Mosque), and alongside they built a castle which disappeared.

2.8.2.4. The Almohad Period

The Almoravids' successors, the Almohads (1143 - 1235), whose dynasty was founded by Mahdi Ibn Toûmert, surrounded Tlemcen by a rampart. One of its main vestiges is Bab-El-Qarmadine.

The Almohads contributed to the evolution of Tlemcen where their money was coined and where they constructed many "Foundouks" (caravansaries) and the port of Honain. The latter allowed the Mediterranean and trans-African commerce. Hassar (2000:6).

However, apart from the enlargement of the Big Mosque, the setting up of Sidi- Boumédiène Sanctuary and El Eubbad the end of the 12th century, no edifice that could be traced back with certainty to the Almohad period has remained; neither in the city itself nor in the surroundings.

2.8.2.5. The Zianid Period

By 1236, when the Almohad empire was weakening, a Berber leader, Yaghmoracen, from the Beni Abdelwad (or Beni Ziyen), a faction of the Zenata Berbers, imposed his authority in Tlemcen and proclaimed the independence of

the city and its province. This dynasty (1236-1555) grouped in the Central Maghreb, areas from the Moulouya beyond Oujda to the meridian of Bejaia. It had twenty-seven kings who, with unequal fortunes, were interested in public affairs. They protected the trade; they were sometimes great builders with knowledge of urban planning. They also carried a generous sponsorship by attracting in their capital, men of science and religion. The most outstanding were the king and founder Yaghmoracen (1236 -1283) and Abou Moussa Hammou II (1353-1389), who was a poet and the king who restored of the dynasty, which had been unseated for a while.

Although it often had trouble with its neighbours to the west, including the Merinides who placed it twice under a military blockade (1299-1307 and 1335-1337), Tlemcen kept on outstanding thanks to its famous universities, and many renowned men.

But the dynasty of the Zianides disappeared during the XVIth century. Tlemcen was then attached to the Regency of Algiers. It began its bad days, as shown by the popular poet Ibn Msaib during the XVIIIth century, in his dark elegies. Hopefulness reappeared when, in 1837, the treaty of Tafna recognised Tlemcen as one of the territories under the Emir Abd El Kader's sovereignty. Thanks to its glorious past, Tlemcen must now be the sanctuary of Muslim art in Algeria. Besides the fact that it has kept a refined population, characterised by exquisite traditions, its mosques would

probably be, according to experts, the most beautiful in the Muslim world.

The Zianid Period was divided into sub-periods:

- The Period of Yaghmoracen (1236 - 1282)
- The Period of Abou Saïd Othmâne (1282-1299)
- The Period of Abou Hamou Moûssa the 1st (1307-1318)
- The Period of Abou Tachfîn I (1318-1336)
- The Period of Abou Hamoû Moûssa II (1359-1389)
- The Period of Abou el Abbas Ahmed (1430-1462)

Beyond the prosperity of its commerce, Tlemcen was made famous by its universities where scholars and students came from all parts of the world. It comprised sixty mosques, five medersas, baths, foundouks (kind of hotels), triple ramparts and multiple reservoirs with large pool irrigating about 14,000 gardens one hundred mills etc. Tlemcen, at that time, was one of the most civilised cities of the world.

2.8.2.6. The Ottoman Period

During that period, Tlemcen reached its plenitude and shortly after, it witnessed its decline. The Turks married with the original inhabitants and gave birth to a next population known as the Kouloughlis (i.e. a Turkish father and an indigenous mother).

The new comers settled in the area which remained free, i.e. the South-East.

The conquest of Tlemcen by the Turks in 1555 meant the decline of the capital. In 1842, there were no more than

5000 people as opposed to 125,000 during the Zianid Period. Abadie (1994: 125)

2.9. Linguistic Features of the Dialect of Tlemcen

The dialect used in Tlemcen is an urban dialect. It shares some features with the other urban dialects used in Algeria but it has some specific characteristics, which makes it really different from the others, be it at the morpho-syntactic or at the lexical level. But the most striking feature lies at the phonological level which is going to be dealt with in the following title.

2.9.1. Phonological Features

The most outstanding feature which characterises the dialect used in Tlemcen, and which is very often stigmatised, is the use of the glottal stop /ʔ/ instead of the uvular /q/.

The major phonological difference that distinguishes the Bedouin dialects from the urban ones is the preservation of the Classical Arabic (CA) interdentalals /θ/ and /ðʕ/, and the pronunciation of the CA emphatic sounds /dʕ/ and /ðʕ/ as [ðʕ] for the formers, on the other hand, individuals from urban areas realise the interdentalals cited before as [t] and [d] respectively. For instance the verb /na ðʕðʕama/ (to organise) is uttered /jnəðʕəm/ in the bedouin dialects and /jnədʕəm/ in the sedentary dialects. As far as the [t] is concerned, it is rather affricated and realised as [tʰ] in Tlemcen. For instance

the word / θemmata/ (there) is pronounced [θemm] or even [femm] in the Bedouin dialects, [təmm] in the other sedentary dialects whereas it is pronounced [t^semma] in Tlemcen. The sedentary dialects, including that of Tlemcen are characterised by the realisation of the emphatic sounds / d^f/ and /θ^f/ as /d^f/.

The affricate /dʒ/ is kept in Tlemcen whereas it is realised as a fricative /ʒ/ in the Bedouin dialects. For instance, speakers from Tlemcen speech community would pronounce, [dʒaməd] (frozen) whereas Bedouin dialect speakers would pronounce [ʒaməd].

2.9.2. Morphological and Syntactic Features

In the third-person masculine enclitic pronoun showing possessiveness, when attached to a word ending in a consonant, /h/ is lost. Thus, /-hu/ is realised as [u] in Tlemcen and as [eh] in the Bedouin dialects. For instance, /kitabuhu/ (his book) is pronounced [kt^sabu] in Tlemcen and [ktabeh] in the Bedouin dialects.

The last morpho-syntactic feature which is specific to the dialect of Tlemcen is the way in which verbs are conjugated, i.e. whether addressing a male or a female, the suffix /-u/ or /-ina/ for the masculine and the feminine respectively is completely dropped in the dialect of Tlemcen. Whereas /-ina/ is reduced to /-i/ in rural dialects. In addition to that, there is a difference in the use of the personal pronouns. The pronouns for the second person singular in the Bedouin dialects are /nta/

or /ntaja/ for the masculine and /nti/ or /ntija/ for the feminine. However, the same pronoun /tina/ or /ntina/ is used for both in the Tlemcenian dialect. In this sense, in the Bedouin dialects, one would say:

/nta tʃuf/ vs. /ntija tʃufi/ (you see) when addressing a male and a female respectively; or /rak tʃuf/ vs. /raki tʃufi/ (you are seeing).

/rak/ and /raki/ are used to express a continuous action in the present.

In Tlemcen, one would say:

/tina tʃuf/ for both male and female.

/rak/ and /raki/ have only one equivalent which is /rik/ i.e. /rik tʃuf/ would be used either to address a male or a female.

The pronouns used for the second and third persons plural also show dissimilarity: /ntuma/ (you) and /huma/ (they) in the Bedouin dialects vs. /ntumen/ and /humen/ in Tlemcen.

2.9.3. The Lexical Level

If we had to compare the various dialects used in Algeria, we would find many differences at the level of lexis.

For instance, the equivalent of the verb "to do" is /jaɪməl/ in the dialect of Tlemcen, and /jdir/ in the Bedouin dialects. The verbs "to find" and "to sit" can be translated as /jse:b/ and /jəgɪʒd/ respectively in Tlemcen vs. /jəʒbər/ and /jzəmmæf/ in the Bedouin dialects.

As far as nouns are concerned, one can find many examples related to family members. For instance, /χt_sən/ and /χət_sna/ in Tlemcen, stand for the father-in-law and the mother-in-law respectively; whereas they have other equivalents in the Bedouin dialects: /ʃi:χ/ and /ʔzʊ:ʒ/ respectively. The daughter-in-law is known as /laɪros^ʔa/ in Tlemcen, and as /lkənnə/ in the Bedouin dialects. The sister-in-law and the wife of the brother-in-law are known as /lʊsa/ and /not^ʔa/ respectively in the former dialect and as /ħmæt/ and /səlfə/ in the latter.

After having described the linguistic features of the speech community, we are going to move to research methodology proper in the third chapter.

Chapter Three

Quantitative Data Analysis and Intepretations

Chapter Three: Quantitative Data Analysis and Interpretations

In the preceding chapter, we dealt with the sociolinguistic context of Tlemcen speech community, with its geographical delimitation, its historical background and with the main linguistic features of its dialect. In this chapter, we are going to explain how the data were collected and to give details about the research tools. Finally, we will analyse these data and interpret them.

3.1 Research Methodology

This section is going to be devoted to data collection, i.e. we are going to explain the methodology of research, to specify the research tools and to explain how the sample was stratified.

The investigation was conducted through observation and through elicitation. For the latter, we will give details about the tools, which helped us to get the desired data; i.e. the list of photographs, the questionnaire, the interview and the recordings. One should not forget to mention that each individual to whom the questionnaire was given had to answer the questions of the interview and to answer the questions related to the list of photographs because all the questions are inter-related.

The data of the present work were collected on the light of various approaches. As we aspire to focus on both qualitative and quantitative analysis, our approach is

multidisciplinary and it is going to be detailed hereafter.

3.1.1. Data Collection Approaches

The data collection approaches which have been used and which are going to be explained are the ethnographic approach, the social networks, the friend of a friend procedure and the stratified random sampling.

3.1.1.1. The Ethnographic Approach

This approach is based on participant observation. It is inspired from anthropological linguistic studies. It is when the researcher integrates himself/herself within the community to be investigated. In this sense, Poplack (1979: 60) says that an ethnographic approach

consists of the intensive involvement of the researcher in a given social setting in order to describe and identify, through the use of a variety of complementary research techniques, the cultural patterns and regularities that structure and perpetuate a society.

In other words, the ethnographic approach allows the sociolinguist to be in touch with the cultural aspects of the speech community under investigation. Knowing the cultural context gives valuable information about what is important to analyse.

3.1.1.2. Social Networks

It is another approach to data collection (Milroy 1980). The main characteristic of this approach to data collection is that "the unit of study is some pre-existing social group, not the individual as the representative of a more abstract social category" Tagliamonte (2006: 21).

Its advantage as with the participant observation approach is that the researcher can obtain huge amounts of spontaneous speech as he/she is integrated in that group.

3.1.1.3. 'The Friend of a Friend'

It is a component of the social network approach. The friend plays an intermediary role in the community. With this approach, the researcher becomes part of the community, a participant and an observer at the same time.

The data of the present work have been collected thanks to various instruments, and through a random selection of the sample population.

3.1.2 The Research Tools

In our investigation, we have used both elicited and non elicited data. The former were collected through the use of questionnaires, interviews, photographs and video-recordings. The latter have been collected through observation, through taking part into conversations and recording conversations in different settings, for example in a cyber space and in an office of telecommunication; a

doctor was also asked to record conversations with his patients, as the setting may influence the use of code-switching. In the following sub-titles, the research instruments are going to be detailed.

3.1.2.1 The Questionnaire

According to Milroy (1987: 18) and Milroy and Gordon (2003: 24), the first task is to design a sample that addresses "the relationship between research design and research objectives". In other words, the researcher should delimit the sample population who suits best his research objectives and who will enable him to collect the most appropriate data.

According to Sankoff, the need for good data imposes three different kinds of decisions about data collection on the researcher:

- a-Choosing what data to collect.
- b-Stratifying the sample.
- c-Deciding on how much data to collect from how many speakers.

He says in this respect:

Good data is defined as language materials of sufficient type and quantity, as well as materials which take into account the social context in which the language data is gathered. This is referred to as defining the sampling universe. (Sankoff 1974: 21-2)

Tagliamonte (2008: 18) asks the question about how the data "universe" can be defined and explains that it depends. She quotes Ferguson says that: "the hypothesis that motivates the project will influence how to go about collecting data". Ferguson (2002: 27)

In this sense, the choice of the questions of the questionnaire and the interview will depend on the hypotheses of the issue. In view of that, to our research question about the factors which motivate the use of borrowings and code-switching, we hypothesised that social factors such as age, gender and level of education could correlate with the degree of code-switching or to use borrowings. That is why the first question of the questionnaire encloses the three factors.

The second question concerns readings. The informants were asked about whether they preferred reading in Arabic, in French, or in another language.

Apart from reading, television is one of the most common hobbies, this is why in the third question, the respondents had to precise their favourite television programs. It is an implicit way of knowing which language is preferred when watching television.

We hypothesise that the fact of choosing the French language for reading and watching television can incite people to code-switch or to use borrowings.

The fourth question dealt with bilinguality (individual bilingualism), it checked whether the

respondents considered themselves as bilinguals or not. They had to answer, "yes", "no" or "without opinion". The respondents may not consider themselves as bilinguals; yet, they may code-switch or use borrowings. In such a case, we may deduce that they are not aware of their use of French.

One of the hypotheses is about the fact of having parents who speak French at home. We hypothesise that the fact of having parents who use French in their domestic life could influence code-switching and the use of borrowings. In this sense, the fifth question is about the parents' use of French at home. The question has been asked in the present tense for informants' parents who are still alive and in the past tense for those who are dead.

The questionnaire comprises five questions and the interview which is going to be detailed comprises six enquiries. It enabled us to check issues such as identity, bilinguality, accommodation, and attitudes towards code-switching.

3.1.2.2 The Interview

The questions of the questionnaire have been written in both Arabic and French, thus the respondents could answer in either language. The use of such or such language in the answers may reflect identity. In this sense, the interviewees had to justify their choice in the first question of the interview. In this vein, the second question deals with the language which is used when counting. Calvet (197: 101) cites Louis Deroy who

insisted in the relative stability of numbers. He says in this sense:

On admet généralement en linguistique que les noms de nombre sont parmi les plus stables du vocabulaire et qu'il faut être un parfait bilingue, pour ne pas continuer, en parlant une langue étrangère, à compter mentalement dans sa langue maternelle.

¹⁹Deroy (1956: 68)

He means that perfect bilinguals do not keep on using their mother tongue when counting mentally. -In this sense, in the second question of the interview, informants will be asked to imagine themselves counting sheep before sleeping. We chose this method because we suppose that the way of counting sheep is mental as opposed to the way we would count coins, persons etc...This question will enable us to check the fourth question of the questionnaire in which informants have to say whether they consider themselves as bilinguals or not. Thus, the answer of the interview will be a confirmation of the question asked in the questionnaire.

The third inquiry allowed us to know if the interviewees use the French language in their daily life. If they do so, they had to identify the settings in which they use French, i.e. at home, at work, in administrative offices, in a doctor's practice, with friends or in other situations, which they had to precise.

¹⁹ Here is a suggestion for a translation of the quotation: We generally assume in Linguistics, that numbers are the most stable components of lexis and that one needs to be a perfect bilingual, not to keep on counting in his mother tongue when he speaks a foreign language.

In the fifth question, they had to give their opinion about the reasons behind the use of French by Algerians. The question is "According to you, why do Algerians use French words when speaking?"

Attitudes towards code-switching were checked in the sixth question. The interviewees had to answer the question: "what do you think about mixing Arabic and French?"

Accommodation is thought to be a factor influencing code-switching or the use of borrowings. For instance, if a speaker is addressing a bilingual who code-switches a lot or who speaks more French than Arabic, he is likely to code-switch himself more than usually. It is a case of convergence. On the other hand, if he is addressing a monolingual, he is expected to speak only in Arabic, and instead of code-switching, he would use borrowings when not finding the words in Arabic.

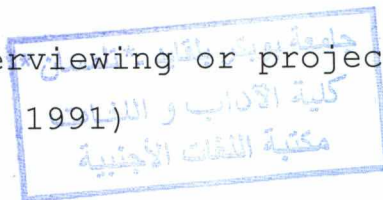
Accommodation will be also analysed through observation, i.e. while taking part into conversations.

3.1.2.3. Photo-elicitation

Photo-elicitation is embedded with ethnographic work. (Becker :1974); Prosser :1998)

Photo-elicitation interview or PEI has focused on photos taken by the researcher as an "ice breaker" activity used with children. (Collier :1987; Hazel: 1996)

It is also referred to as photo-interviewing or projective interviewing. (Taylor: 2002; Norman: 1991)



Yet, in our research, the photos were not taken but were downloaded from the internet; this technique was used with all the informants in order to test their awareness about their use of borrowings and to investigate how these borrowings are adapted to the mother tongue. The informants were asked to identify each of the 50 photos in the mother tongue, i.e. Algerian Arabic then, to give the plural form of each. This allowed us to compare the way in which adaptation was made according to age, gender, and level of education.

Thus, the list of photographs enabled us to test the informants' awareness of their use of borrowings as well as to describe the way in which nouns inflect from singular into plural form. There may be different ways for the same word according to gender or to other social factors. The analysis of the results will enable us to discover the factors under which such or such form is chosen.

3.2. The Sample Population

Sociolinguists tried to achieve 'representativeness' through the use of sociological methods such as the construction of a random sample of the targeted group, i.e. through interviewing people who are selected randomly, because the researcher cannot interview his/her own group of friends. (Such a selection would not be representative). Tagliamonte (2006: 18-19)

According to Milroy (1987: 24), random sampling aims at avoiding the following difficulties:

- (a) selection influenced consciously or unconsciously by human choice
- (b) inadequate coverage of the population
- (c) inability to find certain section of the population
- (d) lack of cooperation by certain subsections

Thus, random sampling requires that the researcher does not know the individuals he/she is talking with.

Another kind of sampling is stratified random sampling also known as quasi-random or judgement sampling. This method of sampling requires:

"not that the sample be a miniature version of the population, but only that we have the possibility of making inference about the population based on the sample" Sankoff (1988a: 900)

This means that in order to achieve representativeness, one does not need to have a reduced version of the whole population but a sample from which one can make deductions.

This can be accomplished by stratifying the sample according to other variables, which are thought to

influence language variation, such as age, gender, place of birth and so on.

In our research, we opted for the second kind i.e. the stratified random sampling. We identified in advance the types of speakers to be studied and delimited a proportion of speakers who fit the specified categories, according to our issues and our hypotheses.

As we hypothesised that age, gender, and level of education are factors that could influence code-switching or the use of borrowings, we divided our sample population into 5 sub-categories ranging from children to informants who exceed 60 years of age.

The first sub-category is composed of 4 individuals who are less than 15 years old, there are two males and two females; all of them are classified as less educated since none of them got the baccalaureate degree.

The second sub-group is composed of 13 informants whose age varies between 16 and 25 years, 9 of whom are educated and 4 are less educated. Among the 9 educated individuals, 3 are males and 6 are females. As the sample population was selected semi-randomly, we have no less-educated female.

13 informants make the third sub-category, their age varies between 26 and 40 years. 8 of them are educated, 4 of whom are males and the other 4 are females; and 5 are less educated males.

In the fourth sub-category, out of 13 informants who are between 41 and 60 years old, 7 are educated, 4 of whom are males and 3 are females; and 6 are less educated, 3 of whom are males and 4 are females.

The last sub-group is made of 14 informants who are more than 60 years old. 7 of them are educated and the other 7 are less educated. Out of the 7 educated informants, 3 are males and 4 are females; the 7 less educated individuals are divided into 3 males and 4 females.

Thus, the total number of educated males is 14, the total number of educated females is 17, that of less educated males is 17 and that of less educated females is 9. Therefore, the total number of informants is 57, as summarised in the following table.

| Age | Educated | | Less Educated* | |
|--------------|-----------|--------|----------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| -15 | / | / | 2 | 2 |
| 16-25 | 3 | 6 | 4 | / |
| 26-40 | 4 | 4 | 5 | / |
| 41-60 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| + 60 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Subtotal | 14 | 17 | 17 | 9 |
| Total | 57 | | | |

Table 3-1 The Sample Population

*Individuals who are considered as less educated are those who did not get the Baccalaureate degree.

3.3. Data Analysis

As explained previously, for the quantitative analysis, and in order to collect reliable data, we had recourse to the use of questionnaires and interviews, we also explained that the questions were inter-related and could not be analysed independently. Therefore, we are going to analyse the questions of the questionnaire and those of the interview.

3.3.1 Analysis of the Questionnaires/Interviews

For the analysis to be accurate, we are going to analyse each sub-category on its own.

The sample comprises a category of individuals who are less than 16 years old, but as the results were not substantial, we are not going to analyse them. However, this category will be taken into consideration when analysing awareness about the use of borrowings.

We should mention that the individuals of that category have been given the questionnaire and have been interviewed. But as they are too young, most of their answers were not congruent; especially when dealing with attitudes and accommodation or when asking about the settings where French is used.

As a result, we are going to move straightforwardly to the next age group, i.e. individuals who are between 16 and 25 years old.

3.3.1.1. 16-25-Year-Old Educated Males

This sub-group is composed of 3 individuals, 33,33% of them prefer reading in the French language, 66,66% read in Arabic and French and 33,33% read in Arabic, French and other languages.

66,66% of the informants of this sub-category prefer the T.V. programs which are displayed in French and 33,33% watch both the programs which are displayed in French and those which are displayed in Arabic.

100% consider themselves as bilingual and 100% have parents who speak French at home.

The informants had the choice to answer the questionnaire either in Arabic or in French as the questions were written in both languages. 2 of them i.e. 66,66% answered in French and one of them, i.e. 33,33% answered in Arabic. Those who answered in French were asked to give the reason behind their choice and the answers were:

- Je parle Français et Arabe, je ne trouve pas de difficultés. *'I speak both French and Arabic, I have no difficulties'*.
- Question d'habitude. *'It is a habit'*

When asking them about the language they use when counting, (we gave the example of counting sheep before sleeping just to put them in a natural situation) 66,66

answered that they count in French and one of them i.e. 33,33% count either in Arabic or in French.

The informants were asked about their use of French in their daily lives and about the settings in which they use it, they had the following suggestions:

- At home
- At work
- In offices
- At the doctor's
- With friends
- Other settings

100% of the informants of this sub-group use French in their daily lives; all of them use it at home, 33,33% use it at work, 100% in offices, 66,66% use it at doctors' and 66,66% with friends. One of them said that he used French in the street but that it depended on his friends, with some of them he uses French and with others he uses only Arabic.

Concerning the age during which French was learnt, 66,66% of the informants answered that it was when they were 10 years old, but one informant said that he learnt French during his early childhood, when he was about 3 years old.

100% of the interviewees think that the reason behind the Algerians' use of French is colonialism. For example one of them said:

- Je pense que tous les Algériens mélangent l'Arabe et le Français, ça fait partie de notre culture, parce qu'on été colonisés par la France. 'I think that all Algerians mix Arabic with French, it is part of our culture because France colonised us.'

Another one said:

- Ils ont gardé ça depuis la colonisation, donc c'est facile à utiliser. 'they (speaking about Algerians) kept this (i.e. using French words) since the colonisation, so it is easy for them to use French'.

In the fourth question of the interview, we wanted to test the informants' attitudes towards code-switching. We asked them about their opinion concerning the fact of mixing Arabic with French. According to their answers, 66,66% had negative attitudes, one of them did not answer at all, another one said that it was a bad habit and another one said that one day we will not master either language.

When testing accommodation, i.e. when asking the interviewees whether they changed their way of speaking according to their interlocutor, 100% said so. One of them said:

- Je commence à parler en français mais si je vois que la personne ne comprend pas, je rends en Arabe. **bəs's'ah** il y a des mots que j'utilise rarement, par exemple bonjour, bonsoir, je dis

²⁰ **bəs's'ah** : but

ssælæ:muʃaleikum· wəlla· sʻbahəlxɛ:r· . I start speaking in French but if I notice that the person does not understand me, I answer in Arabic. But there are words which I seldom use, for example good morning, good evening, I say ssælæ:muʃaleikum wəlla sʻbahəlxɛ:r

Another one said :

- Oui, c'est pas tout le monde qui parle Français ou le dialecte Tlemcenien. Not everyone speaks French or the dialect of Tlemcen.

The aim of our investigation throughout this question was to test the informants' accommodation to the interlocutor in terms of code-switching from French to Arabic or vice-versa but the latter interviewee answered in terms of accommodation in general even to the dialect, that is why he made reference to the dialect.

Since it was an interview, we changed our way of asking the questions according to the interviewee, for example, for the last question when noticing that the informant did not understand the question, we gave more precisions asking whether he/she would adapt his/her way of speaking in a way that his/her addressee would understand him/her. And the question was asked more or less that way: "if your interlocutor is monolingual and speaks Arabic only, do you change your way of speaking according to him?" i.e. "if the addressee is not bilingual and uses only Arabic, do

²¹ ssælæ:muʃaleikum: Literally : Peace on you but this expression is used for greeting at any moment of the day

²² wəlla : or

²³ sʻbahəlxɛ:r: good morning

you try not to use French words?" 100% of the interviewees answered yes, thus 100% of the informants accommodate in terms of convergence to the way their interlocutor speaks, i.e. whether he/she code-switches or not.

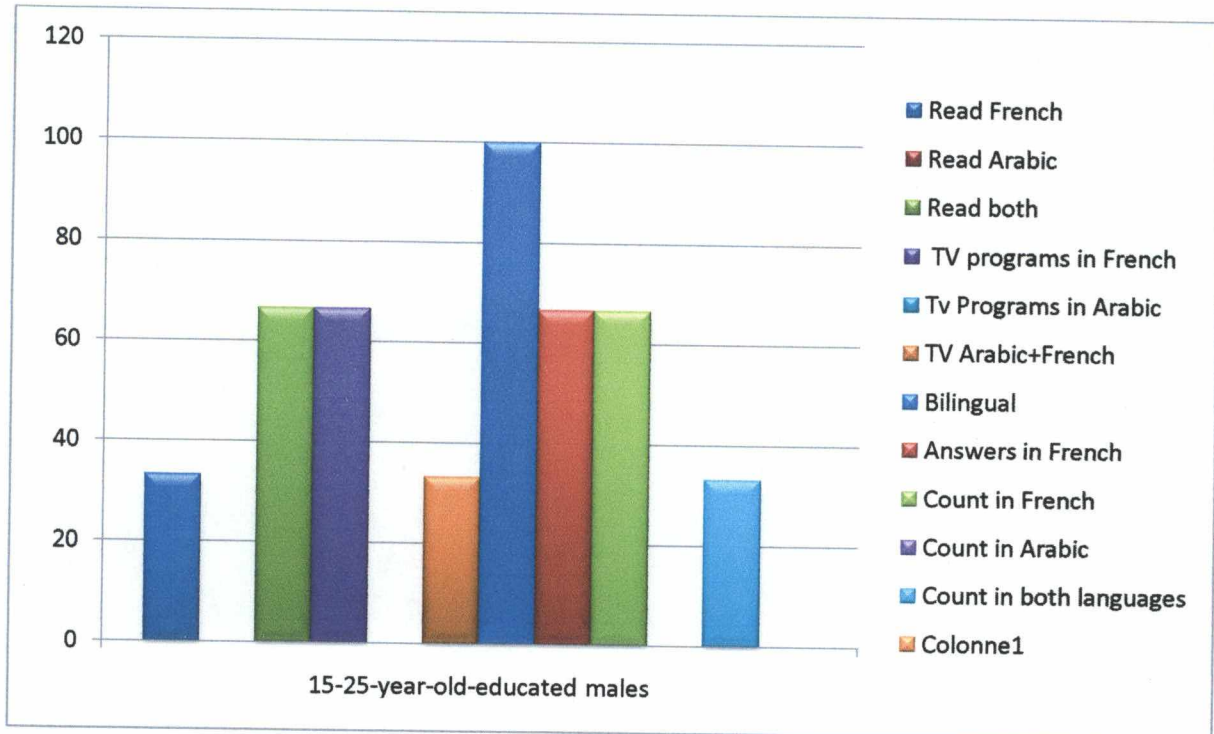


Figure 3-1 15-25-Year-Old Educated Males

3.3.1.2. 16-25-Year-Old less Educated Males

Four individuals make this sub-group, 50% of them prefer reading in the French language, 50% read in Arabic and French.

75% of the informants of this sub-category prefer the T.V. programs which are displayed in French and 25% watch both the programs which are displayed in French and those which are displayed in Arabic.

50% consider themselves as bilingual and 100% have parents who speak French at home.

One informant answered the questionnaire in Arabic and 3 i.e. 75% answered it in French, when asked about the reasons behind their choice of answering in French, all of them mentioned the matter of habit.

When asked to imagine themselves counting, 50% of the informants said that they used the French language to count and 50% said that they used to use Arabic.

100% use French in their daily lives, 75% at home, 100% at work, 25% at the doctor's, 25% with friends and no one uses it in offices. As far as the other settings are concerned, one informant mentioned the fact that he used French abroad or in other Algerian cities, on the phone, and when chatting on the web.

100% of the informants learnt French by the age of 10.

When asked about the reasons behind the Algerians' use of French, 75% answered that it was because of colonialism and 25% said that it was a matter of habit.

50% of the informants have a negative attitude towards code-switching, they said that it was a bad habit to mix the two languages and 50% have no fixed opinion about it, one of them said that it was "normal".

100% accommodate to their interlocutors in a way that the latter understand them.

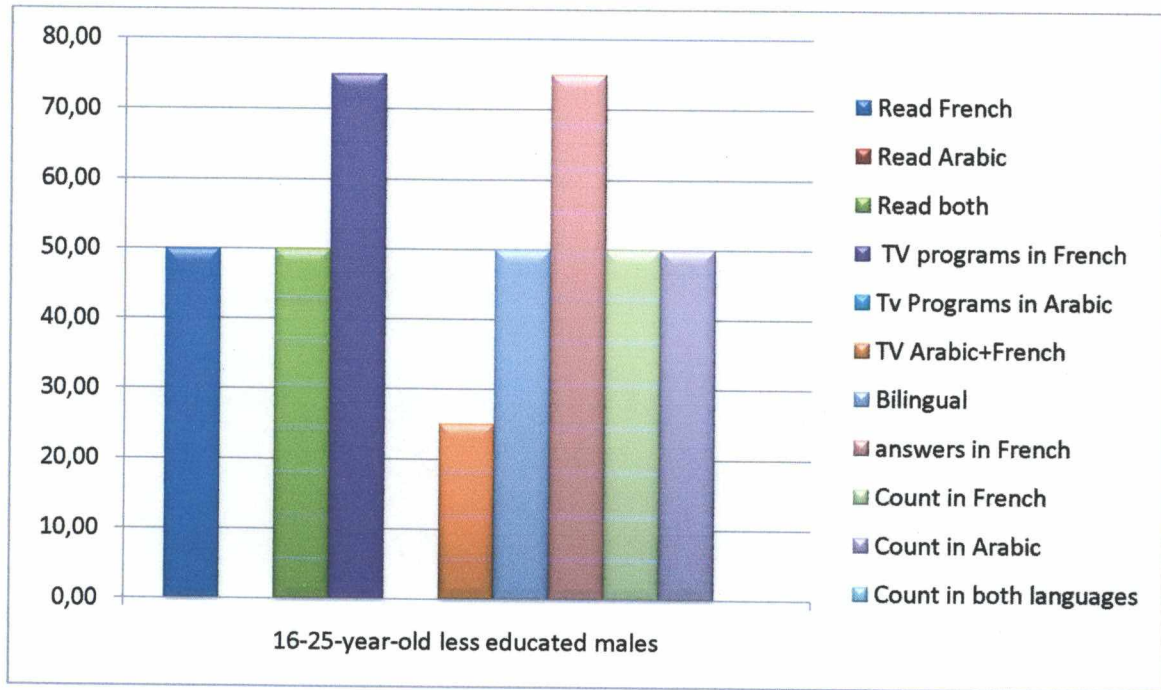


Figure 3-2 15-25-Year-Old Less Educated Males

3.3.1.3. 16-25 -Year-Old Educated Females

This sub-category is composed of 6 informants, 100% prefer reading in the French language, and none of them reads in Arabic.

100% prefer the TV programs which are displayed in French.

100% consider themselves as bilingual.

100% have parents who speak French at home.

All of them answered the questionnaire in French and said that it was because they had the habit to speak French, one of them said that it is because she speaks French fluently.

When asked about the language used for counting sheep before sleeping, 100% answered that they used French.

100% use French in their daily lives in all the settings which have been suggested, but 83% use French in offices and 100% of those who have a job use it at work.

83% of the informants learnt French when they were 9 years old, this age corresponds to the fourth year at the primary school and the first year during which French was being taught. One informant said that she learnt French when she was born; she probably meant that she learnt it when she began speaking.

When asked about the reasons behind the Algerians' use of French words in their speech, according to 100% of the informants, it is because of colonialism. One of the informants added other reasons such as television, cartoons and parents who speak French.

To the question "what do you think about the fact of mixing Arabic and French?" i.e. when asked about their attitudes towards code-switching, one of them said that it made the meaning more complete and that French was the language of the high class (prestigious language); the others gave the following answers:

- We should not mix French and Arabic.
- It is normal, and it is a good thing.
- It is normal, everyone does it.
- It is the way we speak, it facilitates communication.

- We do not have another choice, it is easier to convey meaning.

Thus, 83% have positive attitudes towards code-switching and 17% have negative attitudes.

To the last question of the interview, i.e. the question about accommodation, 100% of the informants answered that they changed their way of speaking according to their interlocutor, and all of them said that if the addressee is monolingual they would try to accommodate their speech in order to be understood. One of the informant said that she would even use signs.

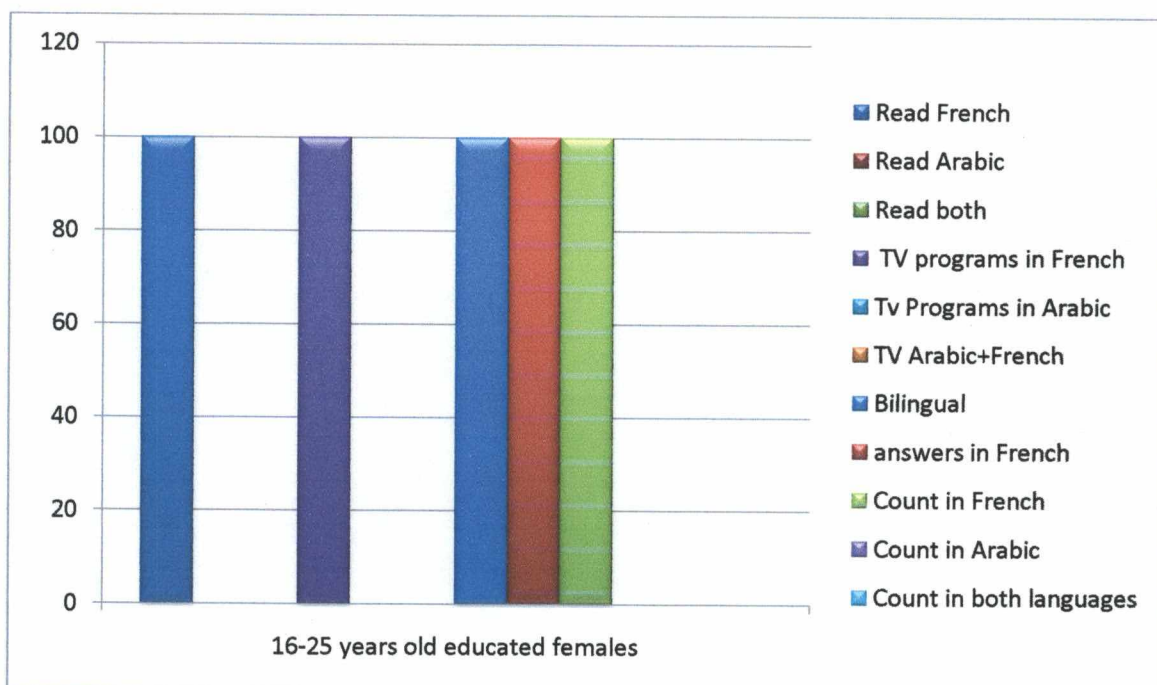


Figure 3-3 15-25-Year-Old Educated Females

When comparing the three sub-categories, one can notice that that of the educated female is the most outstanding. This stratum of the population is the one who identifies most with French as the language preferred for

reading is French; the favoured TV programs are those broadcasted in French; the same language is used for counting and for the answers of the questionnaire.

What can also be noticed is that the sub-category of the 16-25 Less Educated Males is the only one in which only 50% of the informant consider themselves as bilingual as opposed to the other sub-categories in which we found 100% of bilinguality.

3.3.1.4. 26-40-Year-Old Educated Males

Four informants make up this sub-category. 50% prefer reading in French, 25% read both in French and Arabic and 25% prefer reading in Arabic, 25% read also other languages. 100% watch TV shows which are exhibited in French, 50% of them watch also TV programs in Arabic.

100% of the informants regard themselves as bilingual, 75% of whom have parents who speak French.

75% answered the questionnaire in French and one informant answered in Arabic. 50% said that they had the tendency to speak French; one informant said that it was easier for him to communicate in the French language and that it was in related to his studies.

50% count only in French, 25% prefer counting in Arabic and 25% count in both languages.

100% use French in their everyday lives. 50% use it at home, 100% use it at home, 50% use it in offices, 75% at the doctor's, 50% with friends.

75% learnt French when they were 5-6 years old what correspond to the first year at school; and 25% learnt it at the age of 9-10 what corresponds to the fourth year at the primary school.

100% of the informants think that Algerians use French words in their everyday speech because of colonialism.

100% of the informants have positive attitudes towards code-switching. All of them think that it is a good thing to mix the two languages to enable communication.

100% accommodate their speech according to their interlocutor and if the latter is monolingual 100% try to adapt their speech so as to be understood, they even find it obvious. One informant answered that obviously he would adapt his speech in order to be understood otherwise he would keep silent.

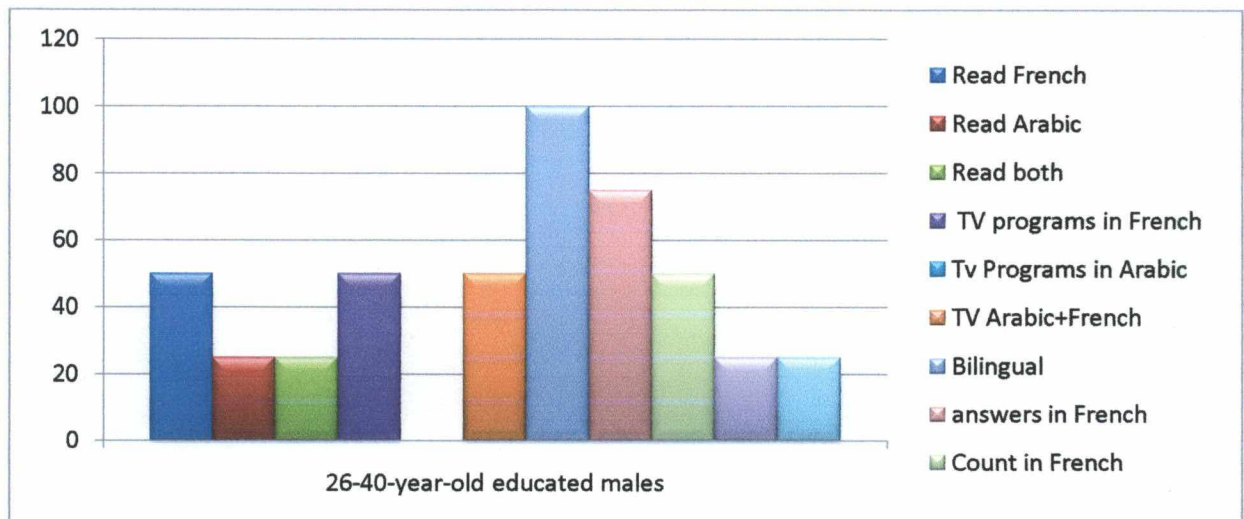


Figure 3-4 26-40-Year-Old Educated Males

3.3.1.5. 26-40-Year-Old less Educated Males

The group is composed of 4 individuals. 50% prefer reading in French, 25% prefer reading in Arabic and 25% read in both languages.

50% prefer TV programs, which are displayed in French, and 50% prefer those which are broadcasted in Arabic.

100% regard themselves as bilingual, 75% of them have parents who use French in their everyday speech.

50% of the informants answered the questionnaire in Arabic; the 50% who answered it in French said that it was because they speak that language fluently or because it is a habit.

75% count using French and 25% use Arabic.

75% use French in their everyday speech; 25% use it in all the settings that have been put forward. 25% use it in offices and at the doctor's and 50% use it at work.

50% learnt French at the age of 9 i.e. the fourth year at the primary school which corresponds to the first year during which pupils learn French. 50% learnt it at the age of 6 that is when they integrated school.

When asked about the reasons behind the Algerians' use of French in their everyday verbal communication, 100% answered that it was because of colonialism. 50% used the Arabic word [istiʕmar] which means colonialism.

To the fifth question of the interview about attitudes towards code-switching 25% have a negative attitude, for example one interviewee said [mæʃi hadʒa] i.e. it not a good thing. 75% have not a precise opinion, they either said that it was something normal, or that they had no opinion about it. One of them said: "Ça facilite la communication, bien pas bien, sans avis », i.e. it facilitates communication, a good thing or not, no idea.

To the question about accommodation, 75% said that they did not change their way of speaking in accordance with their interlocutor; and 25% converge to the way the addressee speaks. But if the interlocutor is monolingual, 75% try not to use French words so as to be understood.

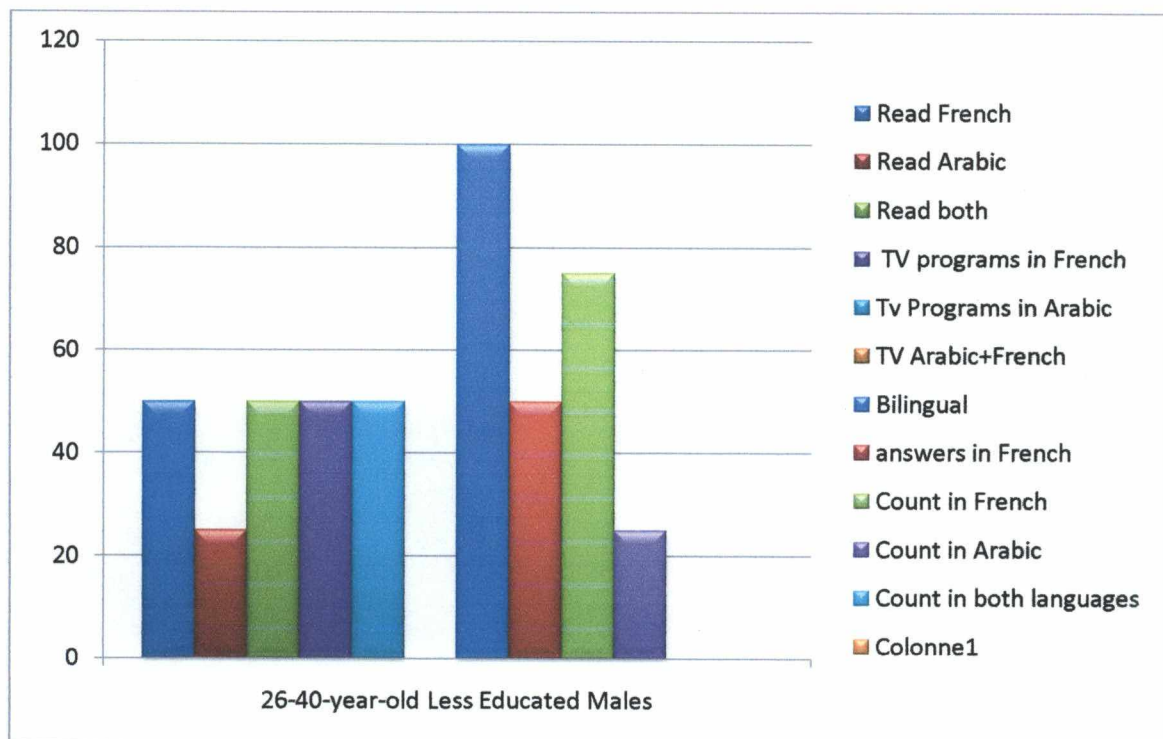


Figure 3-5 26-40 Years Old Less Educated Males

3.3.1.6. 26-40-Year-Old Educated Females

The group is composed of 4 individuals. 75% prefer reading in French, 25% read in French and Arabic and 50% read in other languages in addition to French.

75% prefer TV programs, which are displayed in French; 25% watch those which are broadcasted in Arabic and those which are shown in French.

100% regard themselves as bilingual, 100% have parents who use French in their everyday speech.

100% of the informants answered the questionnaire in French and said that it was because they speak that language fluently or because it is a habit, or because they were more at ease with French, one of them said that she did not think about it, that she answered spontaneously.

50% count using French and 50% use either Arabic or French.

100% use French in their everyday speech; 75% use it in all the settings that have been put forward. Some of them added that they used it when phoning or when chatting on the net.

50% learnt French at the age of 9 i.e. the fourth year at the primary school which corresponds to the first year during which pupils learn French. 50% learnt it at the age of 5-6 that is when they integrated school.

When asked about the reasons behind the Algerians' use of French in their everyday verbal communication, 100% answered that it was because of colonialism and added more explanations.

One of them, for example said:

- Ce sont les traces de la colonisation et parfois on ne trouve pas d'équivalents en arabe alors on est obligé d'avoir recours au français et parfois c'est parce qu'on a pris l'habitude dès l'enfance parce que les parents parlent français.

i.e. these are the traces of colonialism and sometimes we find no equivalents in Arabic so we are obliged to have recourse to French; and sometimes it is a habit from our childhood because our parents speak French.

To the fifth question of the interview about attitudes towards code-switching 100% think that it is practical but that it should change.

One interviewee, for example, said that it was practical but that it was a pity for our language.

Another one said: it is a pity that we do not master Arabic, our language, and that we are not able to keep up a whole conversation neither in Arabic nor in French, we pick words from here and there to communicate.

To the question about accommodation, 100% said that they converged to the way the addressee speaks; all of them stated that they changed their way of speaking

according to their interlocutor's use of French. One interviewee specified that she converged to the addressee in accordance with his/her use of French but not in accordance with the dialect he/she uses. Another one specified that she converged to the way of speaking of someone to whom she gives significance or with whom she has affinities in a way that she keeps closer to him/her.

If the interlocutor is monolingual, 100% try not to use French words to be understood; but one interviewee pointed out: "if the interlocutor is monolingual, I speak like him at the beginning but afterwards I go back to my natural way of speaking which is mixing French and Arabic.

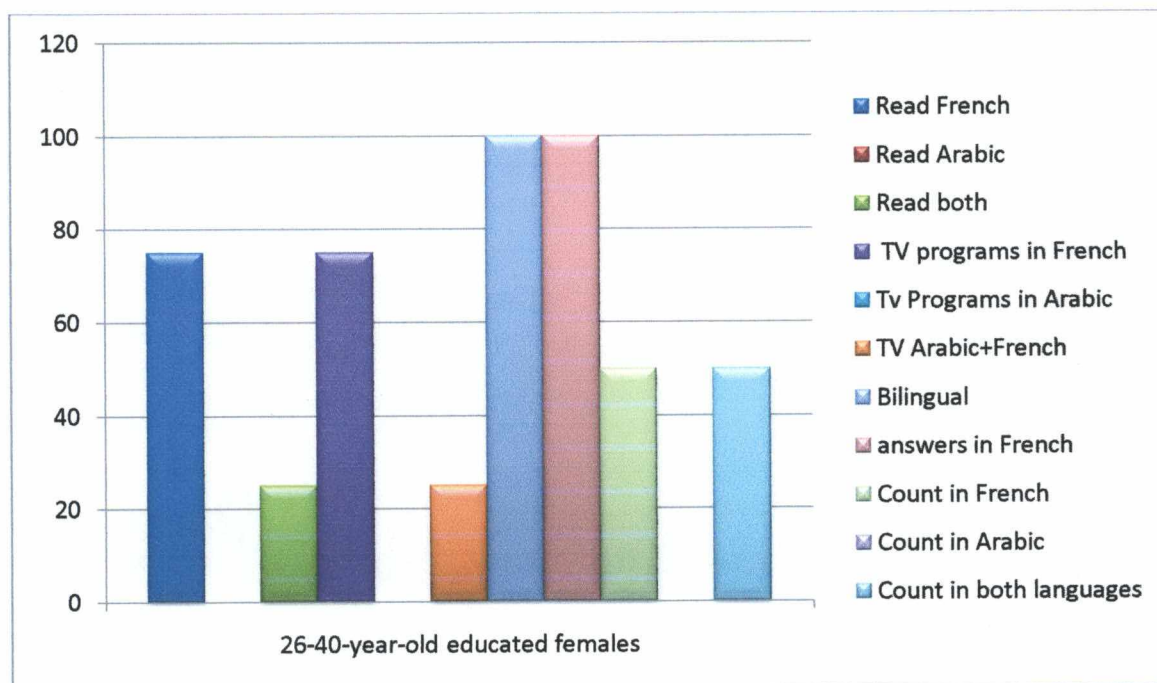


Figure 3-6 26-40-Year-Old Educated Females

When summing up the three sub-categories of the 26-40 years old, we can note that the group of the educated females is the only one of this section of age in which

100% of the informants answered the questionnaire in French and none of them uses Arabic for her readings.

3.3.1.7. 41-60-Year-Old Educated Males

Four informants make up this sub-category. 50% prefer reading in French and 50% read both in French and Arabic.

100% watch TV shows which are exhibited in French, 25% of them watch also TV programs in Arabic.

100% of the informants regard themselves as bilingual, 50% of them have parents who speak French.

100% answered the questionnaire in French. 50% said that they had the tendency to speak French; one informant said that he answered in the French spontaneously and another one said that he was more at ease with French.

100% count only in French.

100% use French in their everyday speech in all the settings which have been submitted. One informant specified that he used French at work but according to some situations, i.e. with the manager or with the persons who are at the top of the hierarchy, he added that with colleagues he used the dialect but not Arabic. He meant that he uses dialectal Arabic but not standard Arabic.

100% learnt French when they were 5-6 years old what corresponds to the first year at school.

75% of the informants think that Algerians use French words in their everyday speech because of colonialism. One informant said:

- Parce que y a pas de mots qui expriment les choses en arabe ; c'est psychologique je crois... par complexe d'infériorité. (Because there are no words which express things in Arabic; it is psychological I think... it is because of inferiority complex.)

Another one said:

- La plupart des algériens de notre génération parlent français à cause de la colonisation, et les traces restent jusqu'à présent. (Most of the Algerians of our generation speak French because of colonialism and the traces remain up to day.)

As far as attitudes towards code-switching are concerned, 50% have rather a positive attitude, they think that it facilitates communication, but at the same time they think that it is a pity for our language, i.e. Standard Arabic. For instance, one interviewee said:

- C'est une richesse pour notre dialecte pas pour notre langue, c'est une déformation de la langue académique.
- (It represents richness for our dialect but not for our language it is an alteration of the standard language.)

For 50% of the informants of this group, Algerians do not have the choice, because most of the time they do not

find equivalents in Arabic. In this sense, one informant said:

- On est obligé puisque la plupart du temps on ne trouve pas d'équivalent en Arabe. (We are obliged since most of the time we do not find equivalents in Arabic.)

100% accommodate their speech in terms of convergence according to their interlocutor and if the latter is monolingual 100% try to adapt their speech so as to be understood, they even find that it is obvious to adapt oneself.

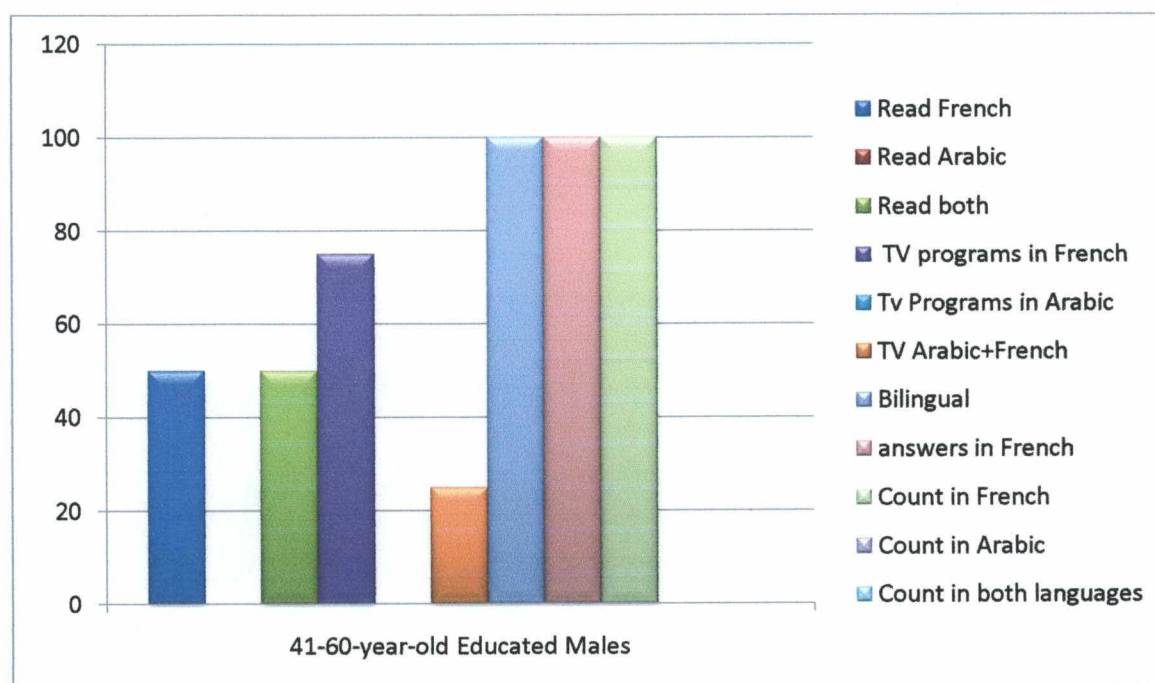


Figure 3-7 41-60-Year-Old Educated Males

3.3.1.8. 41-60-Year-Old less Educated Males

Three informants make up this sub-category. What we can notice is that there are no significant differences between the latter category and this one.

66,66% of the informants prefer reading in French and 33% read both in French and Arabic.

100% watch TV shows which are exhibited in French, 33% of them watch also TV programs in Arabic.

100% of the informants regard themselves as bilingual, 1000% of them have parents who do not speak French.

100% answered the questionnaire in French. 66,66% said that they had the tendency to speak French; 33,33% feel themselves more at ease with French.

100% count only in French.

100% use French in their everyday speech in all the settings which have been submitted.

100% learnt French when they were 5-6 years old what corresponds to the first year at school.

100% of the informants think that Algerians use French words in their everyday speech because of colonialism.

66% have rather positive attitudes towards code-switching, 33% are indifferent, they think that Algerians do not have another alternative.

100% accommodate their speech in terms of convergence according to their interlocutor and if the latter is monolingual 100% try to adapt their speech so as to be understood.

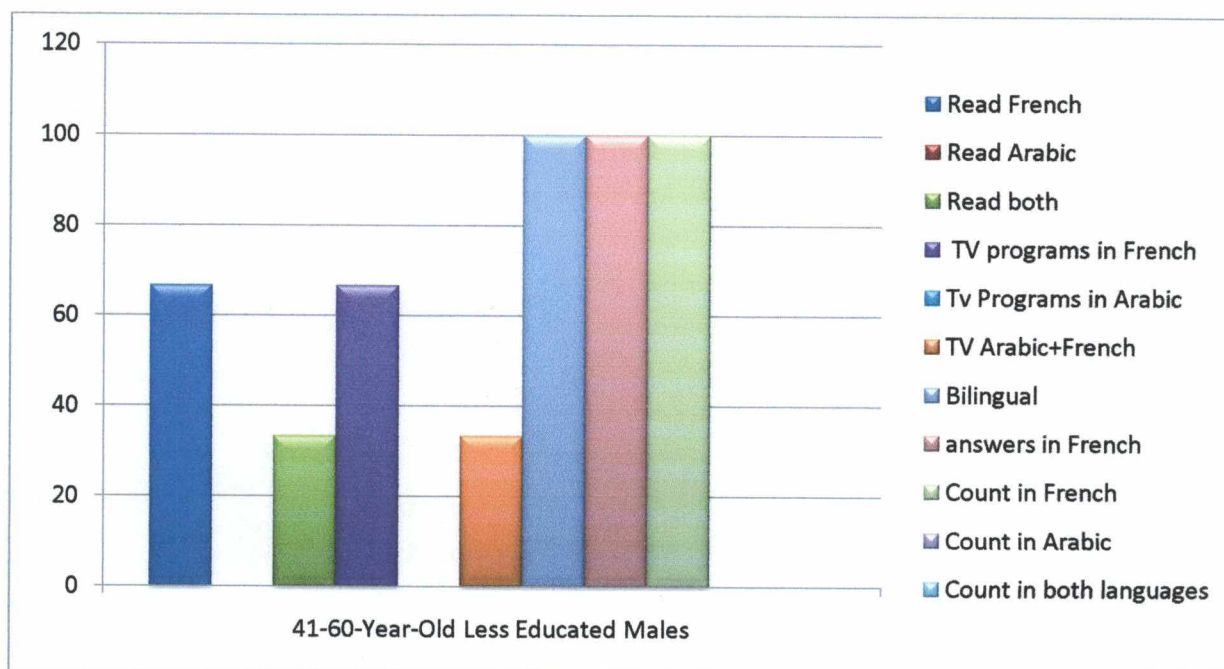


Figure 3-8 41-60-Year-Old Less Educated Males

3.3.1.9. 41-60-Year-Old Educated Females

Three informants represent this sub-category 100% read French; 33,33% prefer reading in French only and 66,66% read both in French and Arabic.

66,66% watch TV shows which are exhibited in French, 33.33% watch TV programs in Arabic and 33% have no preference, they watch both the programs which are televised in Arabic and those which are displayed in French.

100% of the informants regard themselves as bilingual, 66,66% of them have parents who speak French.

100% answered the questionnaire in French. 66.66% said that they had the habit to speak French; one

informant said that she answered in French because she studied in that language.

66,66% count only in French and 33,33% count in both languages.

100% use French in their everyday speech. 66,66% use it in all the settings which have been proposed. 66,66% use it at home, 33,33% use it at work, 66,66% use it in offices, 66,66% use it at the doctor's and 66,66% use it with friends.

100% learnt French when they were 5-6 years old what corresponds to the first year at school.

66,66% of the informants think that Algerians use French words in their everyday speech because of colonialism; 33,33% think that it is because it is easier to use French.

As far as attitudes towards code-switching are concerned, 66% have rather negative attitudes.

One informant said:

- On devrait choisir, soit on parle en Arabe, soit en français, mais ce mélange c'est une calamité. (We should make a choice, we either speak Arabic or French but this mixture is a disaster.)

Those who have positive attitudes towards code-switching think that it is easier to mix rather than making efforts to express oneself in one language only.

100% accommodate their speech in terms of convergence according to their interlocutor and if the latter is

monolingual 100% try to adapt their speech so as to be understood.

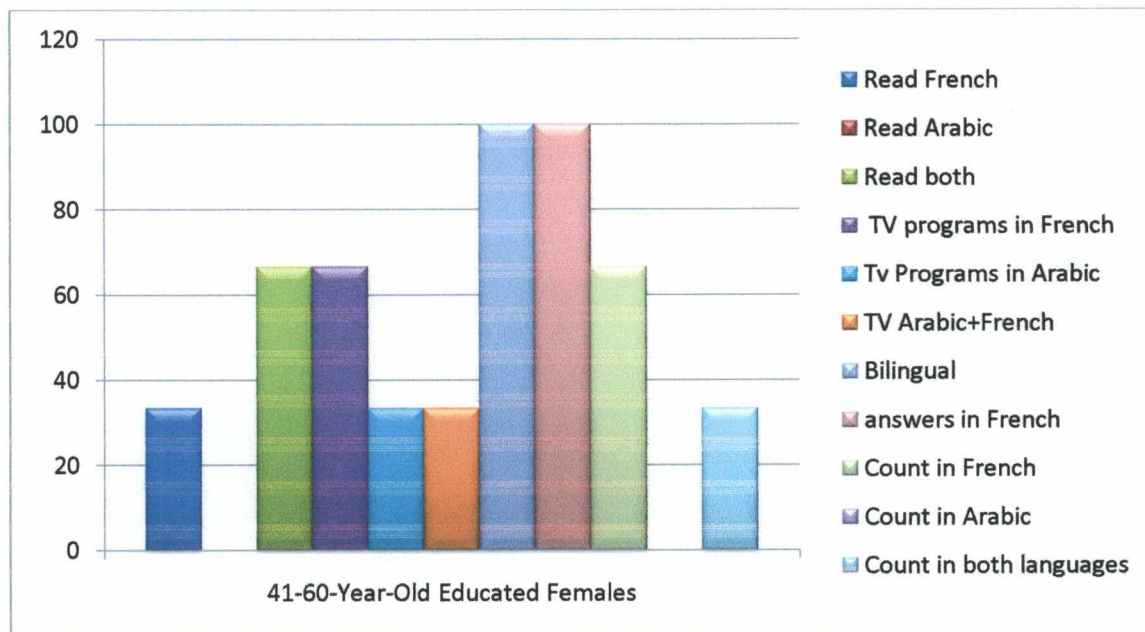


Figure 3-9 41-60 Years Old Educated Females

3.3.1.10. 41-60-Year-Old less Educated Females

This sub-group is composed of 3 individuals. 66,66% prefer reading in French and 33,33% read also in Arabic.

33,33% prefer TV shows which are exhibited in French, 33,33% watch TV programs in Arabic and 33,33% have no preference, they watch both the programs which are televised in Arabic and those which are displayed -in French.

100% of the informants regard themselves as bilingual, 100% of them have parents who do not speak French.

100% answered the questionnaire in French. 100% said that they were accustomed to speaking French.

100% count only in French.

100% use French in their everyday speech. 100% use it at home, 33,33% use it in offices, 66% at the doctor's and 33% with friends. No one uses it at work but it is because women of that generation who are less educated have not a job.

100% learnt French when they were 5-6 years old what corresponds to the first year at school.

100% of the informants think that Algerians use French words in their everyday speech because of colonialism.

Concerning attitudes towards code-switching, 33,33% have rather negative attitudes and 66,66% are neutral.

As far as accommodation is concerned, 100% of the interviewees of this sub-group converge to the way their interlocutor speaks and if the latter is monolingual, they adapt themselves to him/her trying not to use French words.

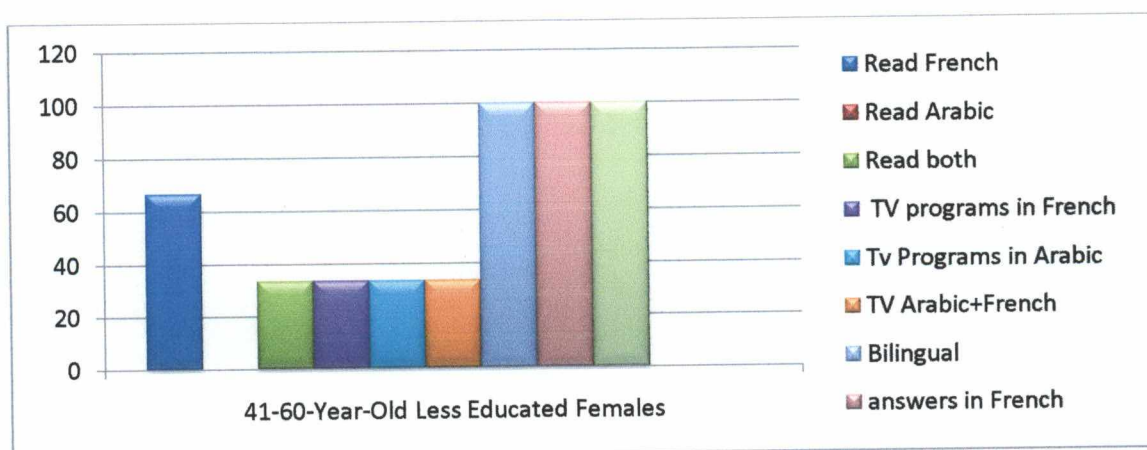


Figure 3-10 41-60-Year-Old Educated Females

When comparing the four figures of the 41-60 years old group, we observe no real difference except that the educated females are the only ones who count in Arabic and French for 33% of them whereas the all the males and the less educated females of this layer use only French for counting.

3.3.1.11. Beyond 60 Year-Old Educated vs. less Educated Males

Since there are no significant differences between the educated and the less educated males who are above 60 years old, we are going to analyse the two sub-groups together.

Each sub-group is constituted of 3 informants.

100% of each group read in French, 33,33% of the less educated males of that sub-category also read in Arabic.

66,66% of the educated males watch the programs which are televised in Arabic and in French and 33,33% prefer the channels which display programs in French; whereas for the less educated ones 66,66% prefer the programs which are displayed in French and 33,33% watch the one which are televised in Arabic and those in French.

100% of both groups regard themselves as bilingual and 100% have parents who do/did not speak French.

100% of both groups answered the questionnaire in French.

Most of them brought up the matter of habit. One educated male said that he did not speak Arabic; another one said that it was because it was the language that he used for his job. A less educated one said that it was because he was more at ease with French.

100% of both groups count on French only.

In each group, 100% use French in their daily speech in all the settings which have been suggested, all of them learned that language around the age of 6 what corresponds to the first year of school integration.

When asked about the reasons behind the Algerians' use of French in their verbal communication, 100% of the informants of the two groups said that it was because of colonialism. Some of them said: "It is what France left", others said: "Algeria was French", "Most of Algerians speak French because of colonialism, the traces still remain".

As far as attitudes towards code-switching are concerned, in both groups, 66,66% have rather positive attitudes, they think that it is quite normal to mix the two languages, that it is the Algerians' way of speaking and that they are obliged since they do not always find equivalents in Arabic, one informant said that the most important thing is to be understood. 33,33% of each group have negative attitudes, they think that we should not mix the two languages.

66,66% of the educated males accommodate in terms of convergence to their interlocutor, if the latter is monolingual they also do as to be understood. 33,33% of the educated males do not adapt to their interlocutor. Whereas 100% of the less educated males accommodate to their interlocutor in order to be understood.

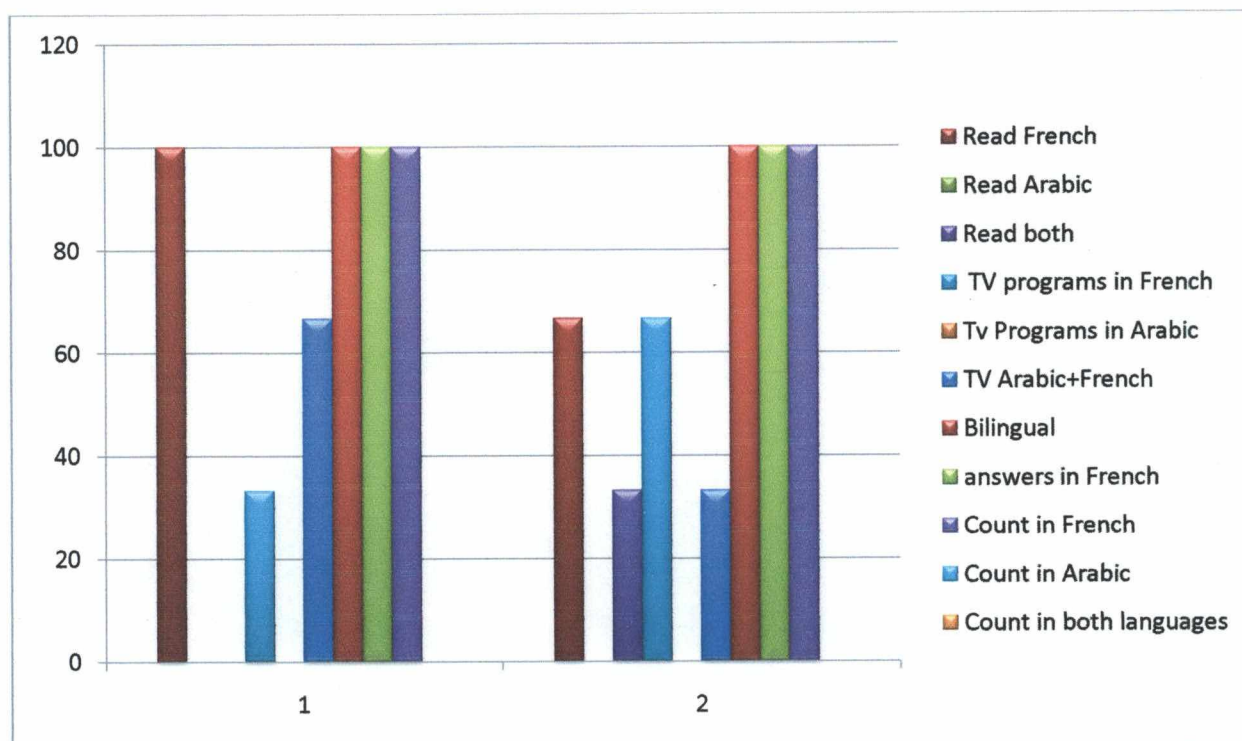


Figure 3-11 Beyond 60 Year-Old Educated vs. Less Educated Males

When comparing these two sub-categories, we notice no real difference except the fact that 100% of the educated males vs. 66,66% of the less educated males read in French and 33,33% of the latter read in both French and Arabic.

3.3.1.12. Beyond 60 Year-Old Educated vs. less Educated Females

Each sub-group is composed of four informants.

100% of the informants of both groups read French. 75% of the educated females prefer reading in French only whereas 25% read in Arabic and French.

100% of the educated females prefer reading in French only.

75% of the educated females and 75% of the less educated ones prefer the TV programs, which are broadcasted in French. 25% of the former sub-group watch programs which are televised in Arabic or in French with no preference whereas 25% of the latter prefer those which are displayed in Arabic.

100% of the informants of both groups regard themselves as bilingual. 50% of them have parents who speak/spoke French.

100% of the informants of both groups answered the questionnaire in French. When asked about the reasons behind that, 100% of the educated females gave the answers in French saying that it was easier for them to speak in French or that it was the language of their everyday speech. 50% of the less educated females used dialectal Arabic to answer the questions of the interview and said they would have been unable to answer the questionnaire in Arabic. 50% of the less educated females said that it was easier for them to answer in French and that they were more at ease with French.

100% of the educated females count in French only.

50% of the less educated females count in Arabic and 50% count in French.

100% of both groups use French in their everyday speech.

100% of the educated females and 75% of the less educated ones use it at home. 100% of both groups use it at the doctor's.

100% of the informants of the former group and 75% of the informants of the latter use it with friends.

50% of the educated females use it at work.

75% of the educated females and 75% of the less educated ones learned French when they were around 6 years old, i.e. when entering the primary school. 25% of both groups learned it even before, around the age of 4.

100% of the informants of both groups consider that colonialism is the reason behind the fact of using French in Algeria.

50% of the educated females and 50% of the less educated ones have neutral attitudes towards code-switching.

25% of both groups have positive attitudes and 25% have negative ones. The latter said, for instance, that when we choose a language we should maintain it or that it was a bad habit to mix languages. Those who have positive

attitudes think that it is a good thing that we understand each other this way and that it makes the dialect richer.

100% of the informants of both groups accommodate to their interlocutor and adapt to him/her even if the latter is monolingual. Most of the informants think that it is obvious to adapt to the addressee.

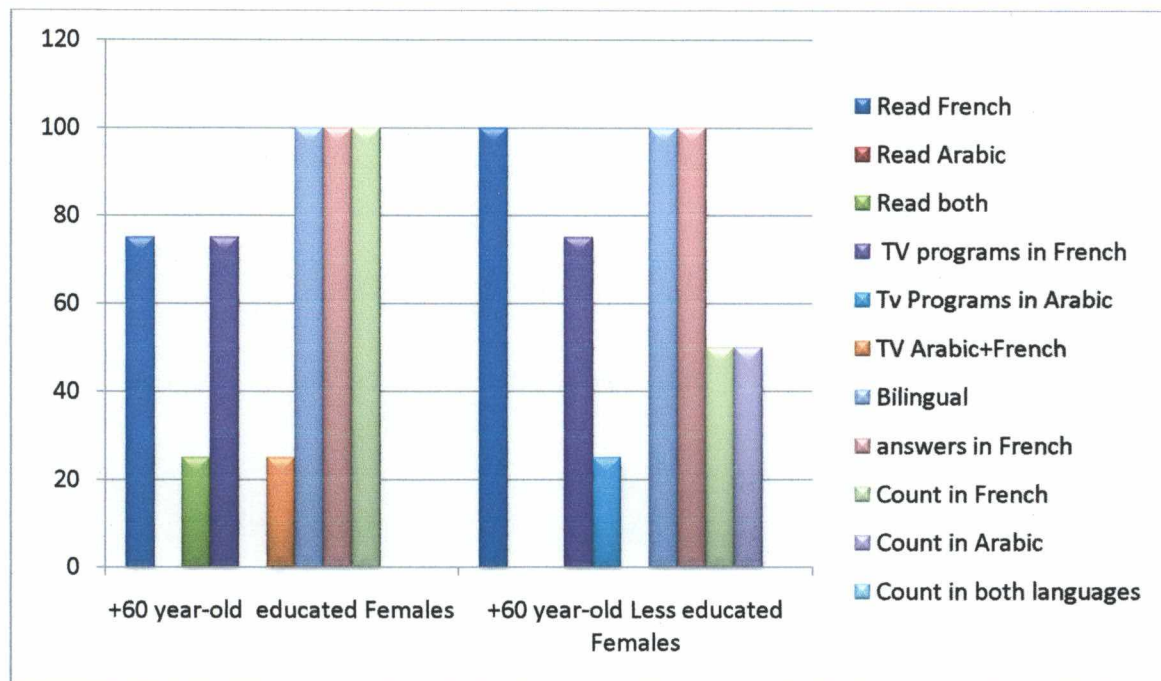


Figure 3-12 Beyond 60 Year-Old Educated vs. Less Educated Females

What is striking when comparing the two sub-groups is the fact that 100% of the less educated females vs. 75 % of the educated ones read in French, and 25% of the latter read in both languages.

We can also notice that 100% of the former group count in French only as opposed to the latter who is divided into two halves; one half count in French and the other half count in Arabic.

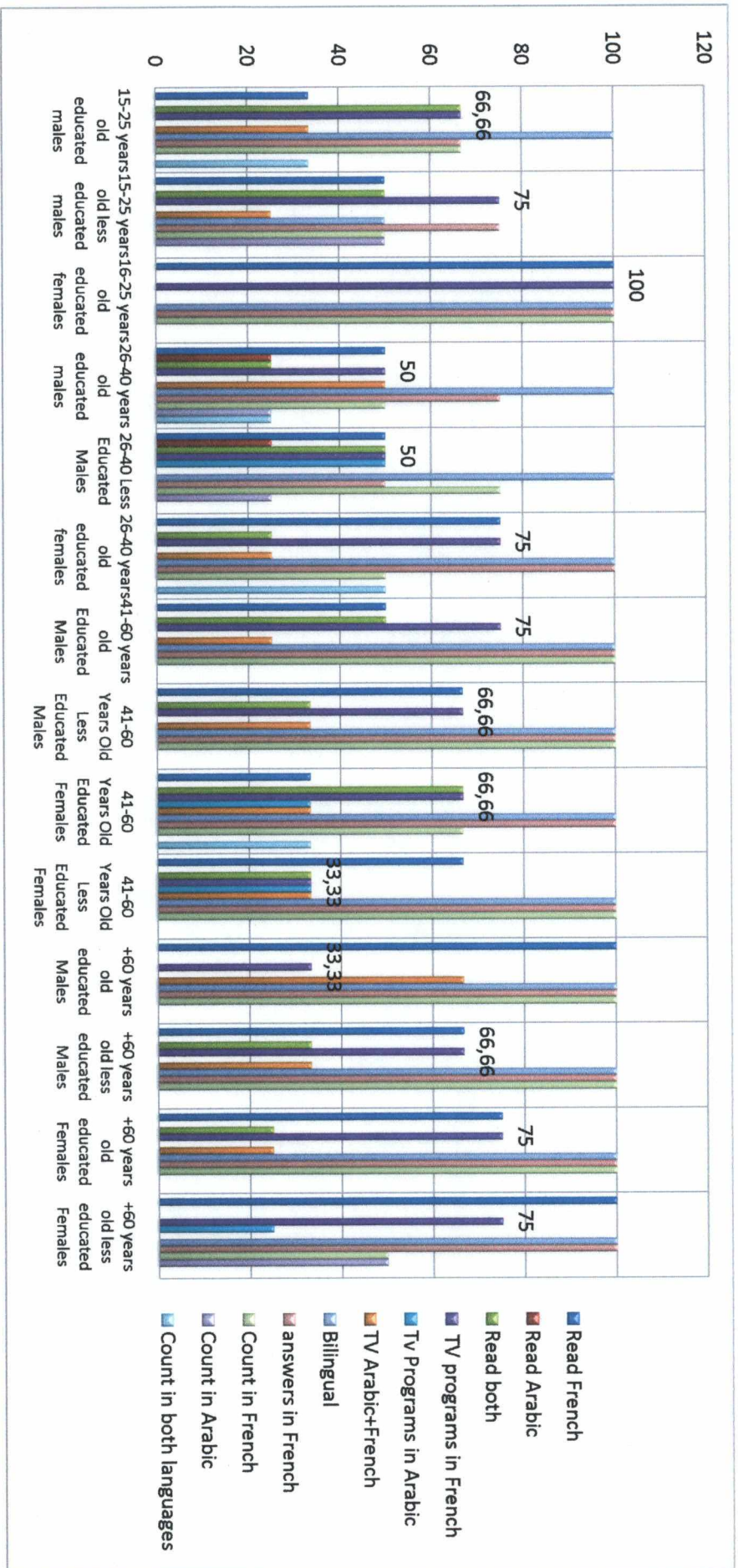


Figure 3-13 Recap of all the Sub-categories

3.4. Use of French according to the Setting

When interviewed, the informants were given suggestions about the settings where they used to use French. The results are going to be interpreted in graphs.

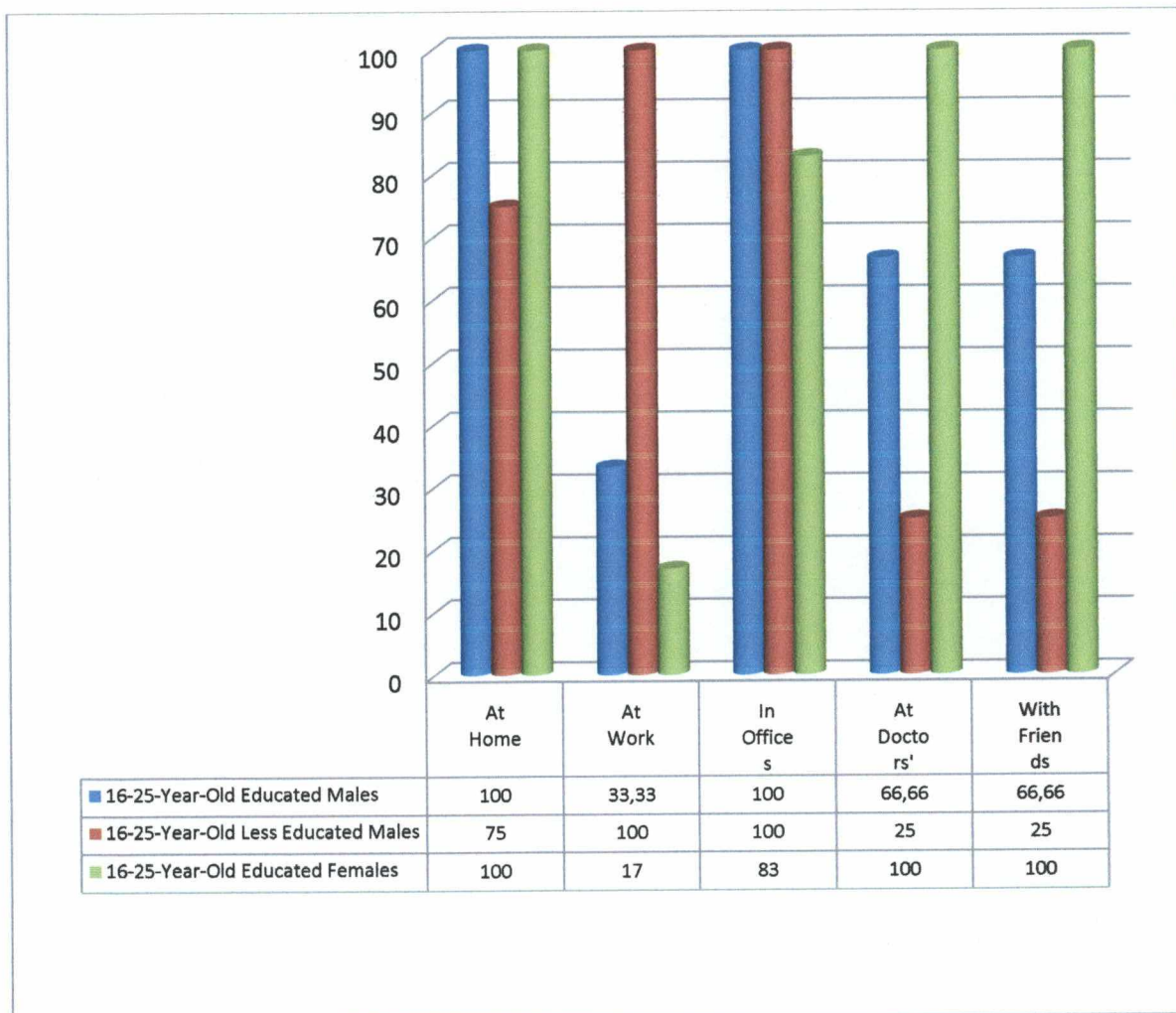


Figure 3-14 Use of French according to the Settings (16-25 Years Old)

We can notice that the setting where French is less used is at doctors' and with friends for the less educated males of this category of age.

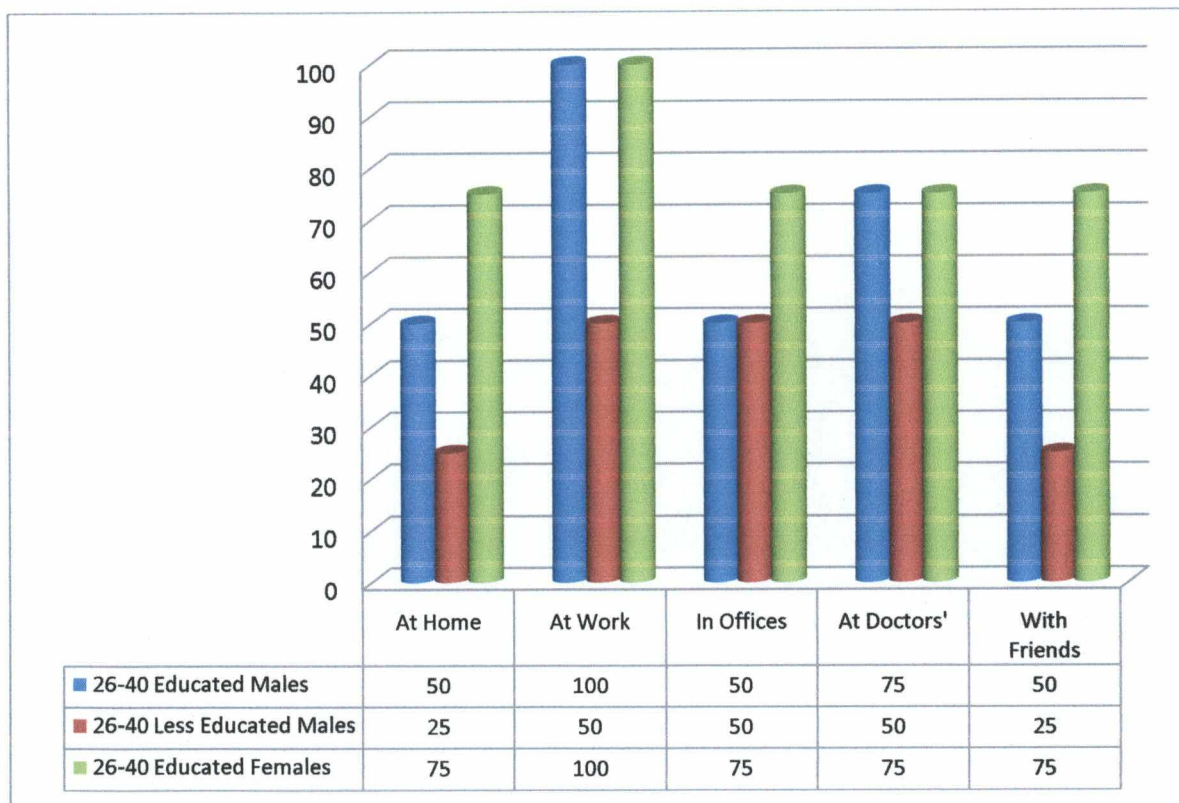


Figure 3-15 Use of French according to the Settings (26-40 Years Old)

The settings where French is less used are at home and with friends for the less educated males of this stratum.

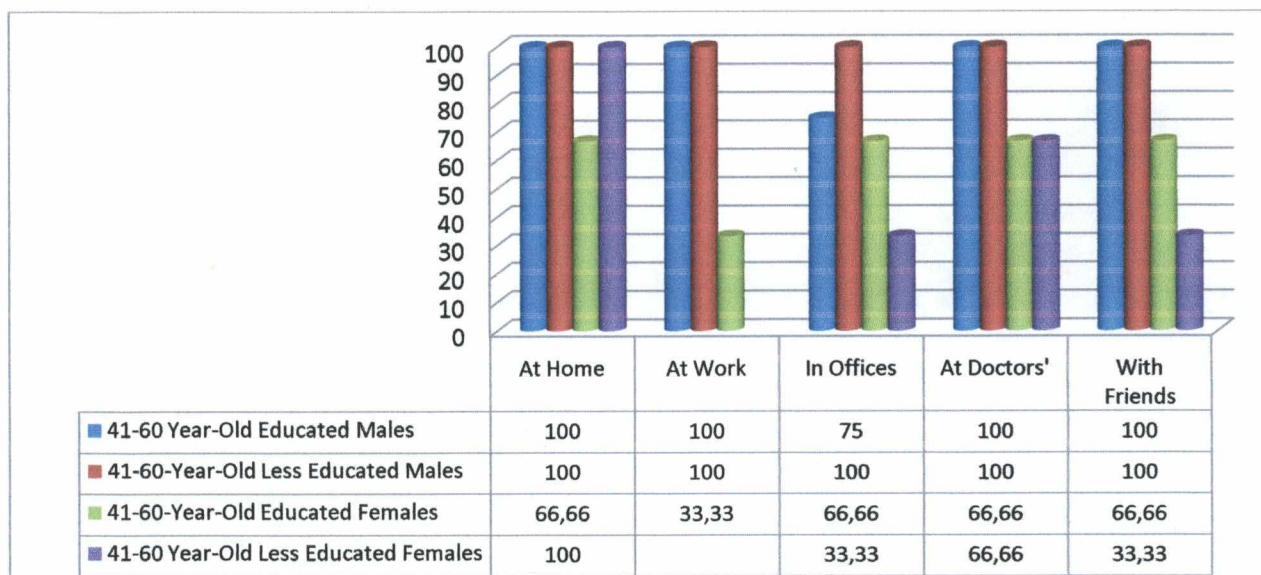


Figure 3-16 Use of French according to the settings (41-60 Years Old)

For this stratum, French is used in almost all the settings, except in offices and with friends for the less educated females, but this is perhaps because this category of females do not go to offices and do not meet friends.

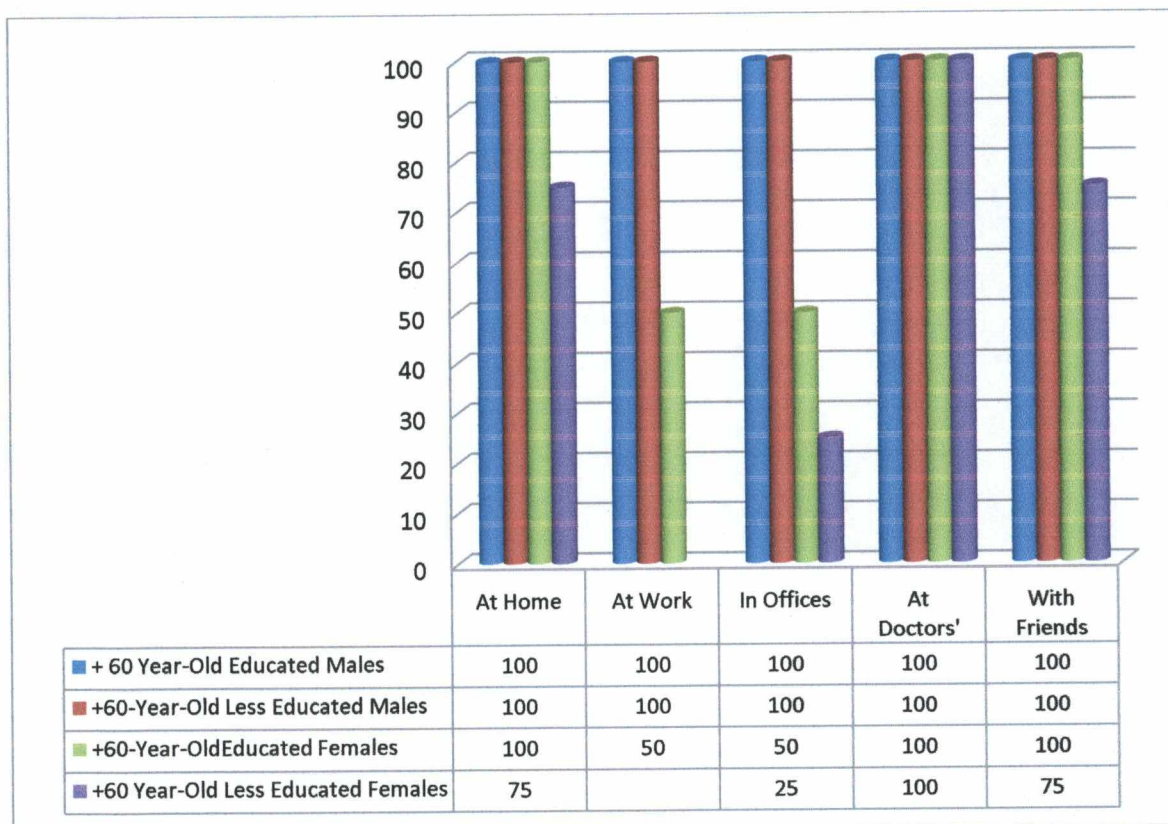


Figure 3-17 Use of French according to the Settings (+60 Years Old)

What can be observed is that the setting where French is less used is in offices for the less educated females, but one can assume that the reason may be that this category of females do not go to offices. But globally speaking, for this stratum, french is used in all the settings which were suggested.

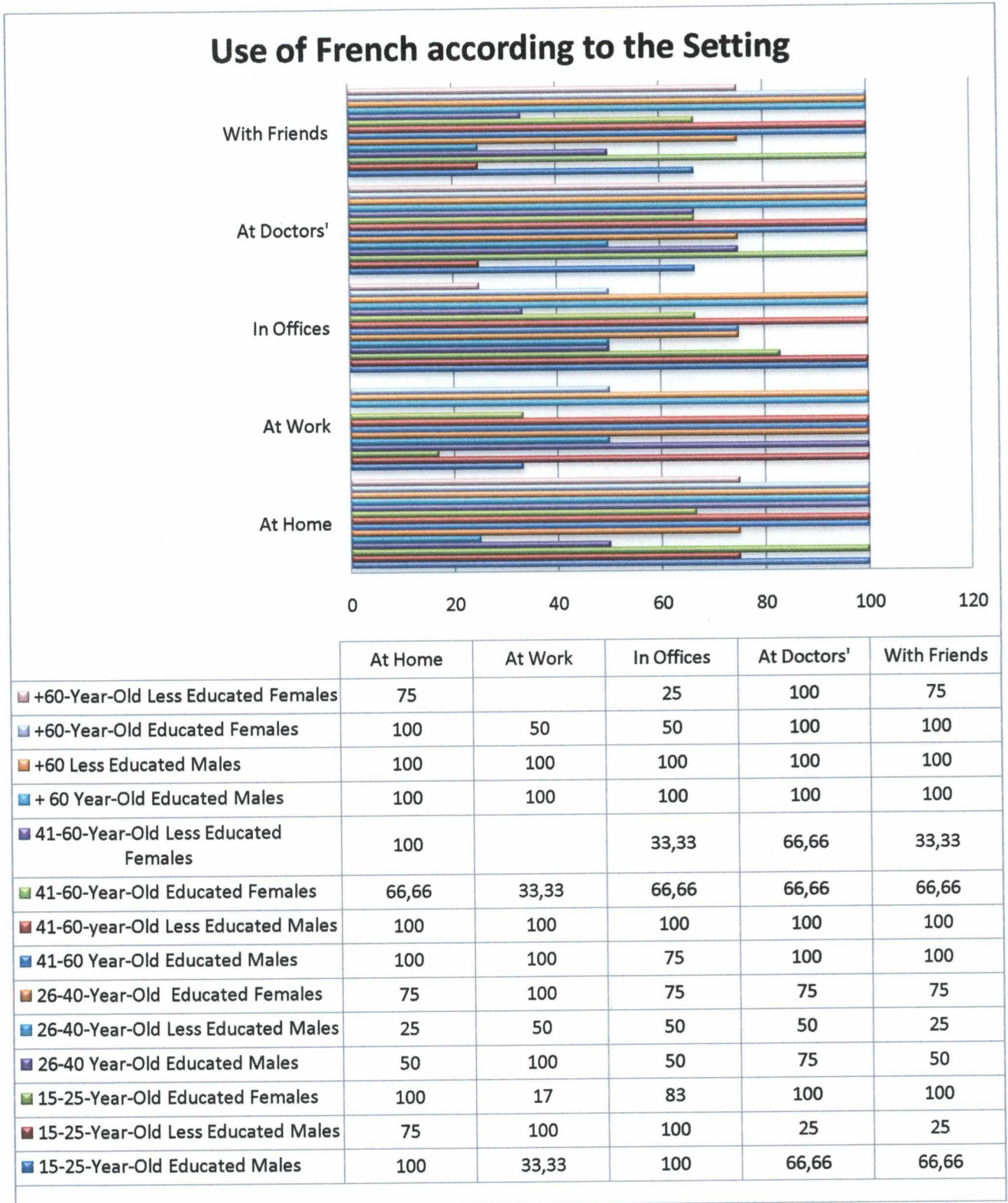


Figure 3-18 Recap of the Use of French according to the Settings (All sub-categories)

3.5. Attitudes towards Code-switching

In the interview, the informants were asked about their opinion concerning the fact of mixing Arabic and French. In other words, they were indirectly asked about their attitudes towards code-switching.

The results according to age, gender, and level of education are going to be detailed in pie-charts.

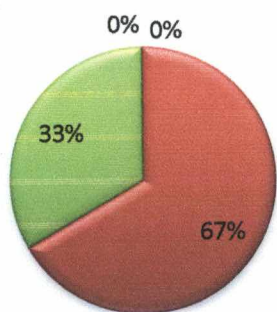


Figure 3-19 Attitudes towards Code-switching

15-25 Year-Old Educated Males

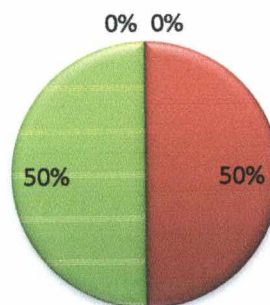


Figure 3-20 Attitudes towards Code-switching

15-25-Year-Old Less Educated Males

15-25-Year-Old Educated Females

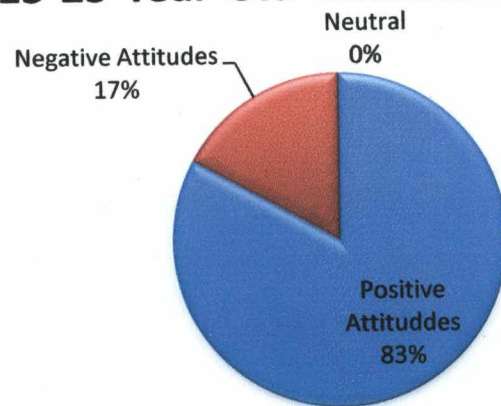


Figure 3-21 Attitudes towards French.

15-25-Year-Old Educated Females

100% of the 26-40-year-old educated males have positive attitudes.

26-40-Year-Old Less Educated Males

■ Positive Attitudes ■ Negative Attitudes
■ Neutral

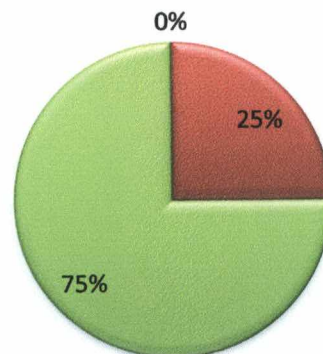


Figure 3-22 Attitudes towards Code-switching .

26-40-Year-Old Less Educated Males

100% of the 26-40-year-old educated females have positive attitudes towards the use of code-switching.

**41-60-Year-Old
Educated Males**

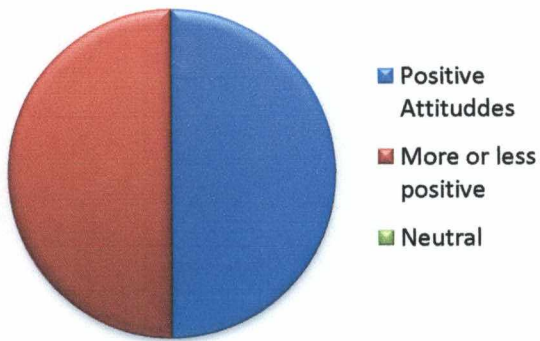


Figure 3-23 Attitudes towards Code-switching .

**41-60 -Year-Old Less
Educated Males**

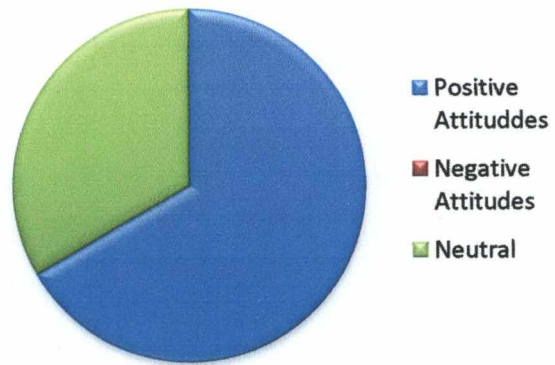


Figure 3-24 Attitudes towards Code-switching

41-60-Year-Old Less Educated Males

~~41-60-Year-Old Educated Males~~

Educated Females

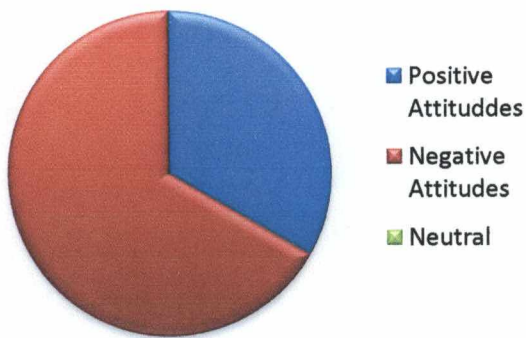


Figure 3-25 Attitudes towards Code-switching

41-60 -Year-Old Educated Females

Educated Females

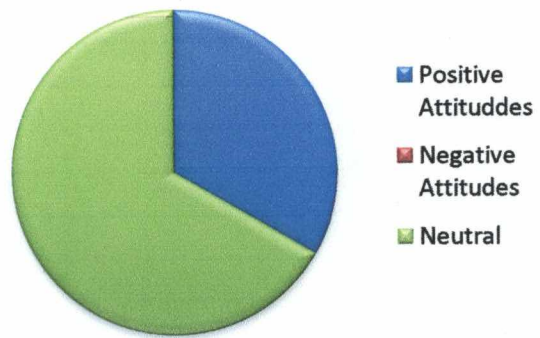


Figure 3-26 Attitudes towards Code-switching

41-60-Year-Old Less Educated Females

**+ 60 Year-Old
Educated Males**

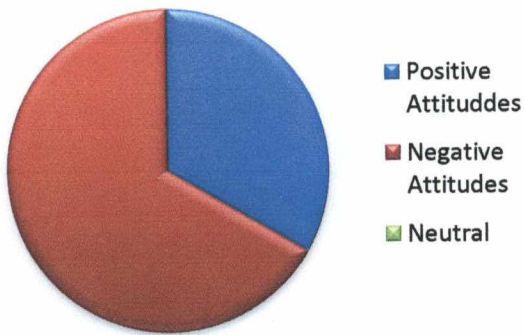


Figure 3-27 Attitudes towards Code-switching .

**+ 60 Year-Old Less
Educated Males**

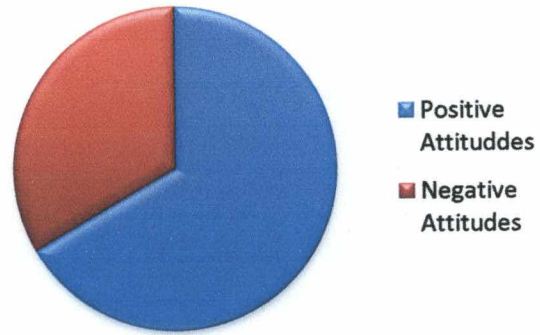


Figure 3-28 Attitudes towards Code-switching

+ 60 Year-Old Less Educated Males

**+ 60 Year-Old Educated Males
+ 60 Year-Old
Educated Females**

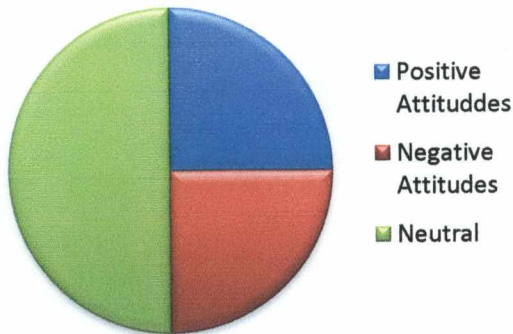


Figure 3-29 Attitudes towards Code-switching .

+ 60 Year-Old Educated Females

**+ 60 Year-Old Less
Educated Females**

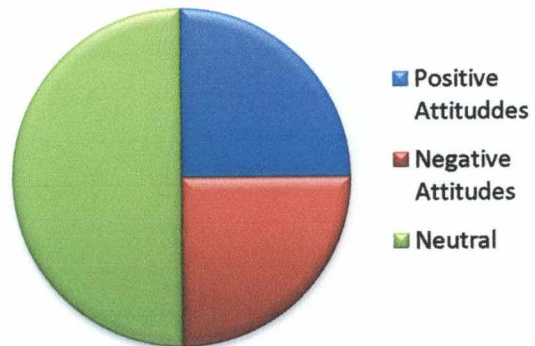


Figure 3-30 Attitudes towards Code-switching .

+ 60 Year-Old Less Educated Females

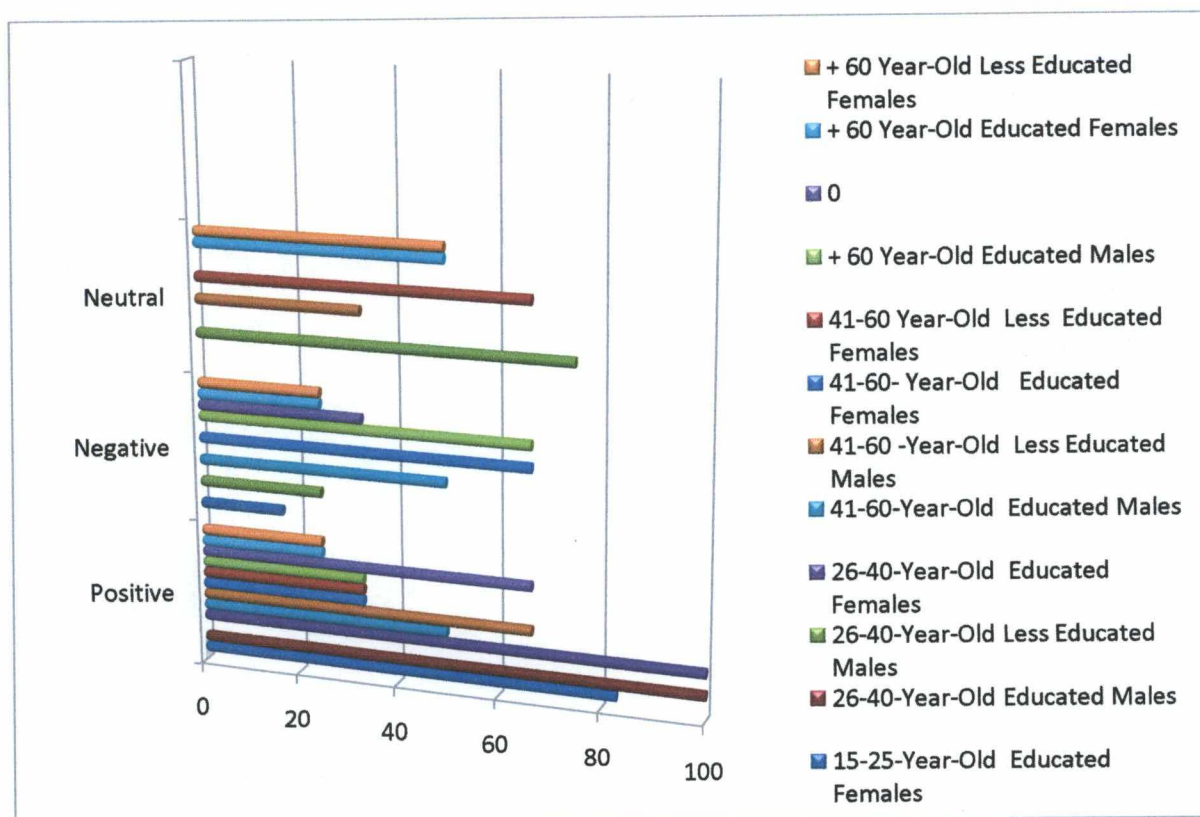


Figure 3-31 Recap of Attitudes towards Code-switching

We can notice that 100% of the 26-40 years old educated females and 100% of the 26-40 years old educated males have positive attitudes towards code-switching.

The two sub-groups who have the highest percentage of negative attitudes are the group of educated males who are more than 60 years of age and that of the 41-60 years old educated females.

To sum up, the majority of the informants have positive attitudes towards code-switching.

3.6. Accommodation according to the Interlocutor

According to the collected data through interviews, we noticed that 100% of all the sub-categories accommodate in terms of convergence to their interlocutors except for the group of the 26-40 years old less educated males and

that of more than 60 years of age. 75% of the former and 33% of the latter say that they do not converge to their addressee.

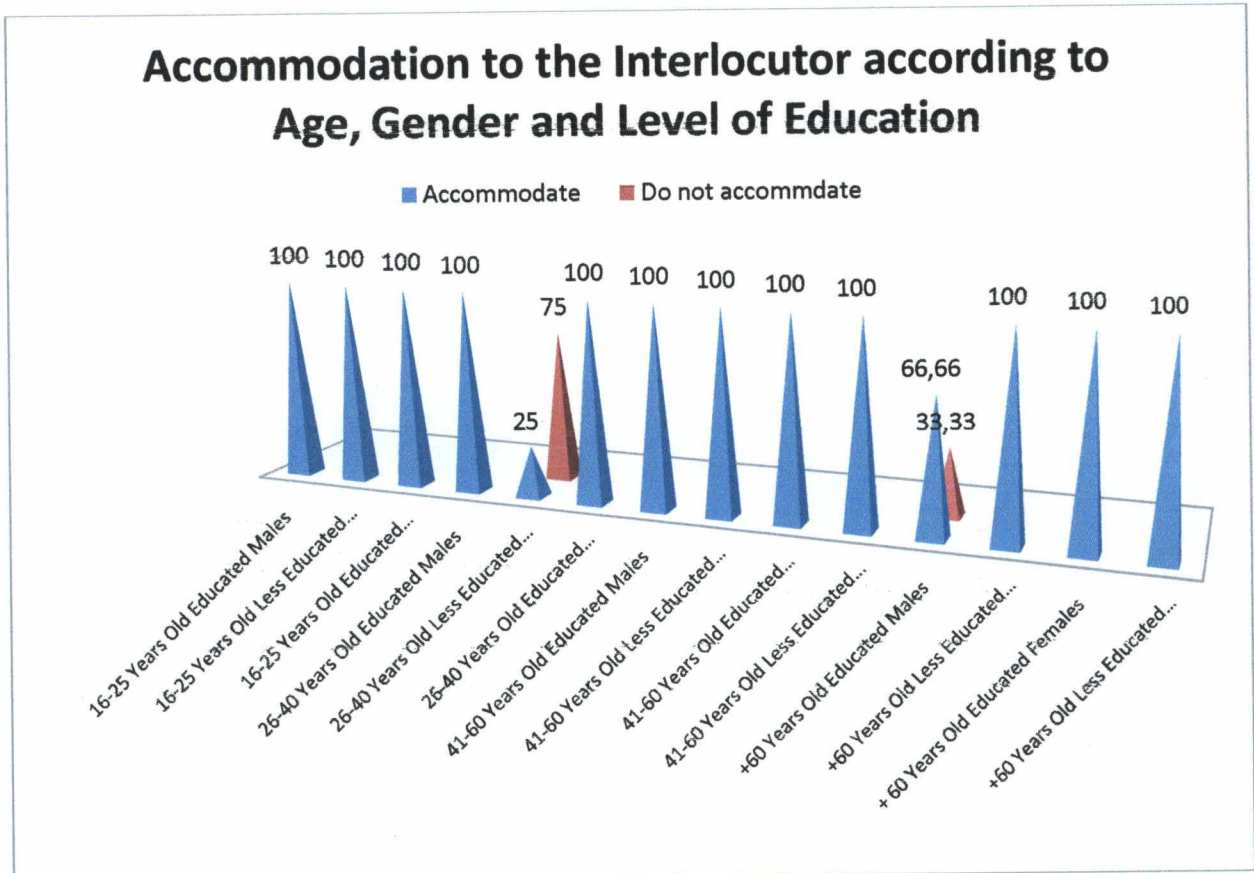


Figure 3-32 Accomodation to the Interlocutor according to Age, Gender and Level of Education

The figure above has a very striking effect. We can obviously notice that the great majority accommodate to the interlocutor. The only exception is for the subcategory of the 26-40 years old less educated males whose majority do not accommodate to the addressee. 33,33% of the group of educated males who are beyond 60 years old do not accommodate to their interlocutor.

After the quantitative analysis, we are going to move to the qualitative analysis in the fourth chapter.

Chapter Four

Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretations

Chapter Four: Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretations

The third chapter was devoted to quantitative analysis of the collected data and their interpretation, the present chapter is going to be allotted to qualitative analysis.

We will deal with the Algerians' awareness about their use of borrowings; we will then describe how nouns inflect from singular into plural. The examples which will be dealt with are the words from the list of photographs which were given to the informants. In this sense, we will be able to see the different ways in which these words inflect.

We will also give the main characteristics of borrowings and code-switching such as insertions, interference, assimilation of the definite article, etc.

We have mentioned that Algeria witnessed the presence of many conquerors throughout history. The vestiges are still noticeable either through monuments or through verbal traces. The former are not our concern, but we will give some examples of Spanish, Turkish and Berber words in the last part of the chapter.

Algeria was not colonised by Anglo-Saxon countries, however we can notice the presence of English words in dialectal Arabic. These words have been inserted via French, thus, we will give some examples of English words.

4.1. Awareness about the Use of Borrowings

The first question of the problematics was about awareness. We know that Algerian Arabic is full of borrowed words from French but we wondered if the informants were aware of their use of borrowings. We assumed that educated and old people were more aware than the youngest and the less educated ones.

Through the use of the list of photographs, we were surprised to discover that all the informants were conscious that the words they were using in the dialect were in fact derived from French, except for some words such as /lɑmbot^ʃ/, / bɑrwe:t^ʃ/ or /nibli/ which mean "funnel", "wheelbarrow" and "small balls" respectively. These words are so adapted that even educated people did not guess that they were , in fact, derived from the French words "l'embout" /lɑ̃bu/ (even though the right translation of /lɑmbot^ʃ/ is "entonnoir"), "brouette" /brʁet/ and "les billes" /lebij/ respectively.

Even children showed that they were conscious that they used words which originate from French. Some of them said that when they did not know a word in Arabic, (they meant dialectal Arabic), they just distorted the french word and got it in Arabic.

In this sense, we may invalidate our hypothesis in which we assumed that less educated and young people were not aware about their use of borrowings and that the latter would rather use words from standard Arabic

When showings the photographs corresponding to "broom", "bag", "cart", "stricker", "padlock", most informants used the borrowed words /bale/, /saje/, /panje/, /frotwar/ and /kadna/ and they could have used the words /kønnæs/, /ʃkara/, /ʔæffa/, /kærratʰ/ and /ʔfəl/ respectively. Thus, even when having equivalents in their dialect, most informants used borrowed words.

We were really amazed to discover that the same French word and its adapted form could have different representations in the minds of the informants, i.e. the same signifier (significant in Saussure's terms) and its adapted form could stand for different signified (signifiés in Saussure's terms). For instance, when showing the photograph representing the brooms, many informants said that for them, the modern one was /bale/ and the traditional one was /mkũnsa/. For the photograph representing the watercolor, most informants used the word "peinture" with no adaptation and when asked about the word /bæntũra/ which is the adapted form, they replied that the latter stood for wall paint.

4.2. Code-switching according to the Setting

We explained in the third chapter that speech was recorded in various settings as we hypothesised that these could influence code-switching.

Though we recorded many conversations, we are going to give only one of each. The first one was recorded in a telecommunication office; the second one in a doctor's

office. Those recorded in a cyber space will be referred to through examples.

4.2.1. Conversation in a Telecommunication Office

The conversation is taking place between an employee and a client who wants to register for web access. The client is a man and seems to be about 40 years old.

Arabic words or adapted ones will be transcribed phonetically but French words will be written without phonetic transcription.

Client: /æsəm ʁas's' comme papiers flɔ dossier bæʃ næʃmɛl
abonnement internet ?/

(Which papers are needed for the subscription to web access?)

Employee: demande w photocopie tæʃ la carte d'identité.

(an application and a photocopy of the identity card)

Client: /ija wmembæʃd?/

(and then?)

Employee: tæʃta:r bi:n « easy » w « fawri » ʃawəd nom
d'utilisateur w mot de passe ija wənaktivewlɛk əl compte.

(You will have to choose)

Client: weddebi kifæʃ les tarifs

(and what are the prices according to the output?)

Employee : iwa řandek m deux cent-cinquante-six ĥatta ləl un méga. řa varie entre mille-vingt-huit dinars et mille-sept-cents dinars

(You can choose from 256 to 1 mega. The prices vary from 1028.00 DA to 1729.00 DA)

Client: iwa saĥa. Je repasserai.

(OK. I will come back again)

In this conversation, the client used 46% of French words. "dossier", "abonnement", "internet", "débit" cannot be translated into Algerian Arabic, that is why the client uttered them in French. But words as "papiers", "tarifs" and the expression "je repasserai", could have been translated into /kwarət^ʃ/, /ləswæm/ and /nřawəd nřu:t_s/ respectively.

Thus, the client code-switched even when he had the choice to use Arabic words.

The employee used 60% of French words, most of them were used in their original form, except the verb "activer", which was used in its adapted form /nřaktivewlək/ (we will activate for you). The verb is used in the first person plural and is conjugated the way defective verbs do in Arabic, i.e. by adding /w/ to the stem. As in /nəřri/ (I buy) → /nəřriw/ (we buy). Words as "photocopie", "carte d'identité", "nom d'utilisateur", "mot de passe" cannot be

translated into dialectal Arabic, so they are used in French.

4.2.2. Conversation in a Doctor's Office

The conversation is taking place between a doctor and a patient. The former is a 32 years old male. The latter is a 60 years old woman.

- Doctor: Alors Madame X wjæk? (so, Madam X aren't you?)
- Patient: hmm
- Doctor: æfbik menfajnek? (What is wrong with your eye?)
- Patient: maniʃ nʃuf mleh wrah ʔe jzid jənʔəsʃ. (My vision is not very good and it is decreasing more and more)
- Doctor: marikʃ tʃuf mel bəʔid wella melqorb? (which one is bad, the vision from far or the close vision?)
- Patient: melʔbəl kunt melʔorb bezzeʃ wdərwaʔ mème la television... (before the close vision was bad but now even television...)
- Doctor: Mème la télévision matʃufhæʃ ʔaija? (even television you are not able to watch it clearly?)
- Patient: mæʃi... kətsba wella... kulʃI nʃufu flou (... writings or... everything is fuzzy)
- Doctor: très bien. maddawiʃ əssəkkər? (OK. Are you diabetic?)
- Patient: Non. Hypertendue. (No, I have high blood pressure)

- Doctor : Hypertendue. t_səʃrəb ASPEGIC? (High blood pressure. Do you take some ASPEGIC?)
- Patient : la? (No)
- Doctor : Très bien. Dawit, déjà ɣla ɣajnək menqəbəl wella c'est la première fois ? (OK. Have yo ever been cured for your eyes or is it the first time?)
- Patient : parsəkə kunt fəwət, ha ddz fois flopital wʔæluli rah bədikəlbiatʔ. (Because I consulted twice at the hospital and I was told that I had a first stage of cataract.)
- Doctor : eh d'accord. wɣændək des lunettes? (Ok. Do you wear glasses ?)
- Patient: ɣəmla des lunettes jeh. (I am wearing glasses , yes.)
- Doctor: ɣəmla? ʃhəl hadi liɣməlt_shum ? (how long have you been wearing them?)
- Patient: hadi hattuɣwazā. bessaħ liɣməlt_shum flopital mə... (About three years. But those I was prescribed at the hospital, they are not...)
- Doctor: məʃəftʃ bihum ɣaija. (you were not able to see in a good way)
- Patient: la, c'est pas ça. (no, but...)
- Doctor : Alors ʃo hətʔ rasək hna, nəhe dək ssak. hətʔ rasək temma, hətʔ leħəjtək. matrəmməʃʃ. ʃuf nəɣməllək hadi wʔolli ʃhəl, d'accord ? (so, look, put your head here, take your handbag away. Put your head there, put your chin. Do not blink. Look, I put this one and tell me what you see, OK?)
- Patient: kat (four)

- Doctor: quatre, whæda? (four, and this one ?)
- Patient: deux (two)
- Doctor: whæda? (and this one?)
- Patient: cinq (Five)
- Doctor: whæda? mæʃætt_sʊʃ. whæda? (This one ? you did not see it. And this one?)
- Patient : Non (no)
- Doctor : Non plus. maxe:r hæɡda wella hæɡda ? (Neither did you. What do you prefer this way or this way ?)
- hæɡda ? (This way?)
- Patient : deux (Two)
- Doctor: whæda? (And this one ?)
- Patient: Huit (eight)
- Doctor: whæda mæʃættʊʃ? walʊ? (And his one don't you see it? Nothing?)
- Patient: Non (No)
- Doctor: whæda? (And this one?)
- Patient: Quatre bæs^fs^fah un peu flou. (Four but it is a bit fuzzy)
- Doctor : whægda ble deux yeux ? (And this way with both eyes ?)
- Patient : dd3 rani nʃuffih bessah...(I see the « two » but ...)
- Doctor: hæɡda c'est mieux ? (Is it better this way ?)

- Patient : jeh (yes)
- Doctor : kunt t_sæfməl les lunettes tæfəlbɜɪd wtæfəlqorb wella ɣir tæfəlbɜɪd ? (Were you wearing glasses for vision from far or for close vision?)
- Patient : kunt næfməl ɣir tæfəlqorb. (I had only those of close vision)
- Doctor : ɣir tæfəlqorb hein ? ɣat^ʕər mēme məl bɜɪd rik fæjəna fwija. (Only those of close vision ? Because even the vision from far is quite weak.)
- Patient : dərwaʔ rani... bəkri kunt naʔra ttablo, dərwaʔ maraniʃ naʔrah. (Now I am... Before, I was able to read on the board, now I am not.)
- Doctor : dərwaʔ ɣass^ʕək wəhda tæfəlbɜɪd wwaḥda tæfəlqorb, thɜb tæfməlhəm fwaḥda t_sʔæd tæfməlhəm fwaḥda. (Now you need one for the vision from far and another one for close vision.)

In this conversation, the doctor used 26% of French words whereas the patient used 35%.

The fact that the doctor used a lesser percentage of French can be explained by the fact that he tries to accommodate to all his patients, educated or not. Accommodation can also be noticed in the use of the glottal stop. At the beginning of the conversation, he used [q] and by the end of the conversation, he shifted to the use of [ʔ] as the latter was being used by the patient.

As far as scientific words are concerned, when having an equivalent in Arabic, the doctor tried to use them. For instance, the word "diabète" (diabetics) is currently

translated in dialectal Arabic as /səkkor/, thus the doctor used the dialectal form in order to be sure to be understood. For the word "hypertendu", both the doctor and the patient used the word in French, as there is no equivalent in the dialect. Sometimes it is translated as /fija la tension/ (literally translated as "I have the pressure"). The word "tension" is in some cases pronounced [tasju] by uneducated people, since the nasalised vowels /ẽ/ and /õ/ do not exist in Arabic.

The patient could have used some words in Arabic but she tended to use them in French. For instance, numbers, the word "hôpital" (hospital), "lunettes" (glasses), she could have translated them into /sβetʰar/, /mædʰdʰariæt_s/ respectively. She might have done it unconsciously as she is accustomed to speaking French, or it may be due to the fact that she was at a doctor's office; since when interviewed many informants said that they used French at doctors' offices.

4.3. Accommodation

Although we tested accommodation in the interviews, we thought that it was worth examining it through taking part into conversation, or by just being an observer. We tried not to reveal that the informants were being observed in order to get the most authentic and reliable data.

The interviews showed that most informants were conscious that they accommodated to their interlocutors.

We noticed that even those who said that they did not, in fact, they converged to the addressee. For instance, an informant who said that he did not accommodate to his interlocutor, regarding code-switching neither concerning language nor dialect switch; when speaking on the phone or when a new comer took part into the conversation, we noticed that the informant was adapting to the addressee either by using more or less French words or by shifting to another dialect or by changing the accent.

We also noticed that males tended to code-switch more when addressing females. They also tend to use /B/ with females whereas they do not when speaking to males.

Females accommodate to other females and tend to code-switch more than usual. For instance, when being in presence of other females whom they think more educated, they tend to show off. We noticed in a doctor's waiting-room a mother who tried to speak in French to her little girl even if the latter seemed not to understand. The reason behind that might be the fact that the other woman used French when speaking and seemed to be of high status.

On the other hand, people may code-switch to diverge from the listeners or the addressees. However, according to what we have noticed, it is more usual to converge than to diverge.

4.4. Characteristics of Code-Switching

We noticed that some of the characteristics of code-switching are interference and insertions. They are going to be explained hereafter.

4.4.1. Mother Tongue Interference

Interference can occur at the lexical and semantic level i.e. when translating words or expressions, as we are going to see in the following examples, which have been collected, through observation or through taking part into conversations. We are not going to transcribe the whole conversations but to take only the examples, which enclose the interference.

4.4.1.1. Verb Interference

- Faire le foulard instead of Porter / mettre le foulard. (to put on the veil).

The verb « faire » (to do) is frequently used instead of « porter » (to wear) or « mettre » (to put on) because in dialectal Arabic /jaʕmæl/ (to do) stands for both verbs, so when translating, people do not pick up the right verb.

/jaʕmæl/ is also used in other contexts in dialectal Arabic to replace other verbs and is thus translated as "faire", as in the example below which was used by a 45 years old educated woman.

- Je comprends pas kif jəχolsɔ six-cents mille et elles peuvent se permettre d'acheter des vêtements et faire de l'or.

« faire » is used to mean « to buy » or « to acquire » because in dialectal Arabic she would have said /taʕməl dðhəb/ (she buys golden jewels). Here, /taʕməl/ is not used to mean « to wear » but to acquire ».

« faire » is also used to mean « to put » as in the example in which a 60 years old educated woman said speaking about a baby who had skin irritation.

- Tu lui fais du talc. /hada ʕi:r bəttalk jzɔ:l/

(You put some talcum. It will disappear just by putting some talcum.)

In the example above, the verb « faire » is once more used where it should not be, just because in dialectal Arabic, the verb /jaʕməl/ is the verb which is suitable.

- Gagner le bac instead of avoir le Bac. (to pass the Baccalaureate exam)

In dialectal Arabic, we say /jərbeħ lbak/, the verb /jərbeħ/ meaning « to win » i.e. « gagner » in French, this is why some people use the verb « gagner » instead of « avoir » (to have) or « réussir » (to succeed).

4.4.1.2. Gender Interference

We noticed that interference also occurred at the syntactic level, regarding gender. For instance, the words "arbre" (tree), "oeuf" (egg), "œil" (eye) and "citron" (lemon) are masculine gender nouns in French whereas their equivalents /ʃadʒra/, /bedʿa/, /ʕain/ and /lima/ are feminine in Arabic, as shown in the observed examples below.

(1) /ʃəft rana fʔavʔil weʃʃadʒra elapa *ēkoʔ flæi/*

(You see, we are in April and the tree it (feminine) has not bloomed yet)

(2) /lbedʿa ty væ lamāʒe komē ? bel majonæz wella sã/
(How do you want to eat the egg? With mayonnaise or without ?)

(3) /ʕajni riha takulni wʔæl mʒ fe mal/
(I have an itch in the eye and it is aching)

(4) fajən rah llim? ty kʔwa kæle ʒytæz hadi
(Where are the lemons? Do you think that this one is juicy?)

These are cases of intra-sentential code-switching. Since the matrix language is Arabic, its syntax is followed. Thus, even if the end of the sentence is in French, the personal pronoun used follows the word which comes before, i.e. /ʃadʒra/, /bedʿa/, /ʕajn/ and /lima/ which are feminine gender nouns are followed by the feminine pronouns /el/ or /la/ instead of /il/ or /lɜ/ which are their masculine equivalents.

4.4.2. Insertions

The following items are usually inserted in speech with little or no adaptation. (French words are in italics)

"*Malgré*", meaning "despite" is either used alone or sometimes followed by 'que' even if "*malgré que*" is grammatically wrong.

"*Au moins*" meaning "at least" is used as it is by people with a certain degree of competence in French. Whereas others, of lesser competence, pronounce it "en moins" [ẽmwĩ]

"*Plus ou moins*" which means 'more or less' is also very frequently used, and most of the time speakers pronounce [plyzẽmwĩ].

Even uneducated people use "*normalement*" meaning 'normally'. When uttering it, many speakers tend to omit the phonemes /ʁ/ and /l/ pronouncing [nomamẽ] or even with a frontier and closer nasalised vowel i.e. /õ/ instead of /ẽ/: [nomamõ]

4.5. Characteristics of Borrowings

As stated before, it is sometimes hard to find clear-cut distinctions between code-switching and borrowings. However, if we observe Algerian speakers, we may find some outstanding features, which characterise borrowings; one

of the main is the inflection of nouns. One can mention other characteristics such as the creation of verbs, redundancy in plural forms, assimilation of the definite article, omission of "en" in some expressions, construction of one word from a French composed noun, realization of /ʒ/ as [dʒ], realisation of /ʁ/ as /r/, diminution, and neologisms.

4.5.1. Inflection of Borrowed Words

The way Algerian speakers adapt French words to Arabic is very striking especially in the way of forming plurals, adjectives, and verbs.

4.5.1.1. Inflection of Borrowed Nouns

Nouns inflect according to various 'frames', what we call 'awzen' in Standard Arabic.

Regular plurals inflect by adding /un/ to the masculine singular and /æt/ to the feminine; it is realized as [æt_s] in the dialect of Tlemcen. However, there are other forms, which are irregular, what we call in Arabic "djamʕ taksir". Thus, many borrowed words form their plural according to 'frames' from Arabic.

It would be impossible to make the inventory of all the borrowed words, therefore, as pointed out before; we are going to use the words from the list of photographs, which was given to the informants.

The following table is given as an illustration, with examples of the original frame when the plural is irregular.

| Noun | Original item | Meaning | Plural | Example of the original frame |
|--|---------------|-----------|---|-------------------------------|
| 01- [futei] | Fauteuil | Arm-chair | [futejæt _s] | |
| 02- [pərsjæn] | persiennes | Blinds | [pərsjænæt _s] | |
| 03- [ridu] | Rideau | Curtain | [ridujæt _s] | |
| 04- [saʃe] | Sachet | Bag | [saʃijæt _s] | |
| 05- [forana] [fulara] | Foulard | Scarf | [foranæt _s] [fularæt _s] | |
| 06- [sak] | Sac | Hand bag | [sekan] | /nar/ /niræn/ (fire) |
| 07- [panje] | Panier | Cart | [panijæt _s] | |
| 08- [brosa] | Brosse | brush | [brosat _s] | |
| 09- [pɛso] | Pinceau | brush | [pɛsojæt _s] | |
| 10- [trotwar] [tretwar] [tetwar] | trottoir | sidewalk | [trotwarjæt _s] [tretwarjæt _s] [tetwarjæt _s] | |
| 11- [frotwar] [frɔtwar] | frottoir | Stricker | [frotwarjæt _s] [frɔtwarjæt _s] | |
| 12- [bale] | Balai | Broom | [balijæt _s] | |
| 13- [fælizə] [vælizə] | Valise | Suitcase | [fælizæt _s] [vælizæt _s] | |
| 14- [karne] | Carnet | Notebook | [karnijæt _s] | |
| 15- [buki] | Bouquet | Bouquet | [bukijæt _s] | |
| 16- [bontof] [puntuf] [pātufɫa] | pantoufle | Slipper | [bontofæt _s] [puntufæt _s] [pātufɫæt _s] | |
| 17- [legã] [legõ] | Gant | Glove | [legã] [legonæt _s] | |
| 18- [lebot] | Botte | Boot | [lebot] [lebotæt _s] | |
| 19- [sãdal] | Sandale | Sandal | [lesãdal] | |
| 20- [ʃofaʒ] [sofaʒ] | chauffage | Heating | [ʃofaʒæt _s] [leʃofaʒ] [sofaʒæt _s] | |
| 21- [kæʃni] [kaʃne] | Cache-nez | Muffler | [kæʃnijæt _s] [kaʃnejæt _s] | |
| 22- [kriʊn] [qalemrrasas] | Crayon | Pencil | [kriʊnæt _s] | |
| 23- [stilʊ] | Stylo | Pen | [stilujæt _s] | |

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------|---|---|
| 24- [lagəm] | Gomme | Rubber | [legom] [legomat _s] | |
| 25- [kʊstim] | Costume | | [kʊstimæt _s] | |
| 26- [bone] | bonnet | cap | [bonejæt _s] | |
| 27- [rəsər] [rosor] [resor] | ressort | Spring | [rəsoræt _s] [rosoræt _s] [resoræt _s] | |
| 28- [bidun] [bidu] | bidon | Bucket | [bidunæt _s] [bjædən] [bidujæt _s] | |
| 29- [ʒili] [ʒilija] | gilet | Vest | [ʒilijæt _s] | |
| 30- [kravaf'a] [gravaf'a] | cravate | Tie | [kravaf'at _s] [kravəf'] | |
| 31- [ləmbotʰ] | Entonnoir | Funnel | [ləmbotʰat _s] | |
| 32- [bərweɪtʰ] | Brouette | Wheelbarrow | [brawətʰ] | /ʃərweɪtʰ/ /ʃrawətʰ / (wiper) |
| 33- [ʒypa] | Jupe | Skirt | [ʒypæt _s] [lezyp] | |
| 34- [ʒərnən] | journal | Newspaper | [ʒranən] | /ʔaft'an/ /ʔtat'an/ (caftan) A traditional cloth |
| 35- [kʊvrɛli] [kovertʰa] [kurbita] | Couvre-lit couverture | Bedsread coverage | [kʊvrɛli] [kovertʰat _s] [kræbt] | |
| 36- [broʃ] | Broche | Pin | [lebroʃ] [leb ɲoʃ] | |
| 37- [niblija] [nibli] | Bille | Ball | [niblijæt _s] [liblijæt _s] [nibli] | |
| 38- [kupɔ̃gl] | Coupe- ongles | Nail clipper | [lekupɔ̃gl] | |
| 39- [briki] [brika] | Briquet | Lighter | [brikijæt _s] [brikæt _s] | |
| 40- [gʊrɛmɛt] [gomreɪtʰ] | gourm ette | Curb | [gʊrɛmɛtæt _s] [gramətʰ] | /bərnos/ /branəsʰ/ (cap) |
| 41- [luki] | loquet | Latch | [lukijæt _s] | |
| 42- [lamoto] | Moto | Motorcycles | [lamotoæt _s] [motojæt _s] | |

| | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 43- [kæmjʊ:n] [sɜmi] | Camion semi-remorque | Truck Semi-trailer | [kæmjʊ:næt _s] [kwæmən] [sɜmijæt _s] | /kæbus/ /kwæbəs/ (gun) |
| 44- [bisækli:t] [bisækli:tə] | Bicyclette | Bicycle | [bisækli:tæt _s] | |
| 45- [brasle] | Bracelet | Bracelet | [braslejæt _s] | |
| 46- [zigʊ] [egʊ] [rɜga:r]/[roga:r] | Égout Regard | Sewer | [zigʊjæt _s] [lezegʊ] [roga:rat _s] | |
| 47- [pnɜ] | Pneu | Tire | [pnæwæt _s] | |
| 48- [kadna] | Cadenas | Padlock | [kadnat _s] [lekadna] | |
| 49- [portabl] [tirifʊn] [tilifʊn] | Portable téléphone | Mobile Phone | [portablæt _s] [tirifʊnæt _s] [tilifʊnæt _s] | |
| 50- [sertæt] | Serre-tête | Headband | [sertætæt _s] [lese ɾæt] | |

Table 4-1: Inflections of singular nouns into plural

Because of time limits, we are not going to analyse all the examples of the table.

Example 5:

What we have noticed for this example is that less educated women tend to pronounce the word as [forana] with a metathesis and a dissimilation, i.e. with a reversal of /l/ and /ɾ/, which is realised as [r], but since the pronunciation of /forala/ would be difficult so /l/ is dissimilated and realised as [n]. /ʊ/ is realised as [o]

/fʊla ɾ/ → [forana]

/ʊ/ → [o]

/ɾ/ → [r]

/l/ → [n]

Example 10

Educated people tend to pronounce the word /tʁotwaʁ/ "trottoir" (side walk) in either the same way as in French i.e. keeping the uvular /ʁ/ or realising it as an alveolar [r]. However less educated individuals tend to pronounce it either as [t^het^hwar] or as [trɔtwar]; in the former, the first /ʁ/ is omitted, /o/ is realised as [ɔ], /t/ is pharyngealised and realised as [t^h], the second /ʁ/ is realised as [r]. In the latter, /ʁ/ is realised as [r] and /o/ is realised as [ɔ]; this may be a case of hypercorrection since /ɔ/ is a phoneme which characterises French and which is not found in Arabic.

/tʁotwaʁ/ → [t^het^hwar]

/ʁ/ → ∅

/o/ → [ɔ]

/t/ → [t^h]

/ʁ/ → [r]

/tʁotwaʁ/ → [trɔtwar]

/o/ → [ɔ]

/ʁ/ → [r]

Example 21:

The word "cache-nez" (muffler) is composed of two words, but the inflection into the plural form is done as if it were a single word. We observed that less educated people, or people who are around 45 years old and more tend to pronounce [kæʃni] and [kæʃnijæt_s]; whereas younger and educated people tend to pronounce the singular form as it is pronounced in French i.e. [kaʃne]. Yet, the plural form is inflected as single words do, adding /æt_s/ to the singular. But since the words end with a vowel, /æt_s/ is realised as [jæt_s].

Example 28:

The word « bidon » which normally stands for the word « tin » is used in Algerian Arabic instead of "sceau" to mean "bucket", in most cases it is adapted to the form [bidʊn] or less frequently to the form [bidu] since the phoneme /õ/ does not exist in Arabic. The most common plural form is [bjædɔn] but it may inflect into [bidunæt_s] or into [bidujæt_s].

/u/ → [õ]

Example 31:

The word /læmbot^f/ comes from the French word "embout" but in Algerian Arabic it is incorrectly used to mean "funnel"; the correct word being "entonnoir".

Through observation, we noticed that most individuals are not aware that the word /lɔ̃bɔt^ʕ/ is derived from French. The definite article "l'" is kept and is realised with more air in the mouth, as a result of regressive assimilation of /t/ which is velarised and which is realised as [t^ʕ]. /b/ is also realised with more air in the mouth. Since the nasalised vowel /ɛ̃/ does not exist in Arabic, it is realised as two phonemes [ɛm] instead of [ɛn] because of the influence of the labial /b/. It is a case of regressive assimilation.

/t/ → [t^ʕ]

/ɛ̃/ → [ɛm] - [labial]

/b/ → [b^ʕ] - [labial]

/l/ → [l̥] - [labial]

Example 32:

The word / bɔ̃rwe:t^ʕ/ is derived from the French word "brouette" (wheelbarrow). We have noticed that most people are not aware that the word is took its origin from French. The plural form of the word is /brawɔt^ʕ/ which has the same frame as the word /ʃɔ̃rwe:t^ʕ/ /ʃrawɔt^ʕ/ (wiper). In the word /bɔ̃rwe:t^ʕ/, the phoneme /t/ is velarised and realised as [t^ʕ] and its influences the realisation of /r/ and /b/

through regressive assimilation. The latter phonemes are realised with more air in the mouth.

Example 35:

The word /kʊvɚɜli/ does not really belong to the repertoire of men, thus most males have not given this word; they either gave the word /kovertʰa/ (coverage) or /kʊrbita/. The former may be derived from the French word "couverture" and the second from Spanish "cubierta.

In the word /kovertʰa/, the phoneme /t/ is pharyngealised and realised as [tʰ], /u/ is realised as [o] and /ɛ/ as [e].

Example 37:

The word /nibli/ comes from the French word "les billes" (balls) which is already in its plural form. Some informants used the word /niblija/ for the singular and /niblijæts/ for the plural. Some individuals realise the word as [libli] and [liblijæts] and most of them are unaware that the word is obtained from the French word. In the word /nibli/, the definite article "les" has become /ni/ and /bij/ has become /bli/.

Example 40:

The word "gourmette" (curb) is generally known by women but is not part of men's repertoire. For men it is /brasle/. Women pronounce the word either as it is i.e. keeping the phoneme /ɾ/ or realizing it as /r/. But even

those who realize it as [gʊɾmɛt] in the singular pronounce the word in plural with the realisation of /ɾ/ as /r/ i.e. [gʊrmtɛt_s].

We have noticed that old women tended to realise the word as [gomre:tʰ] with a metathesis i.e. the switch of /ɾ/ and /m/, the former being realised as /r/. /u/ is also realised as [o] and /ɛ/ as [e:]. The plural form is [gramətʰ] with a frame taken from /branəsʰ/ (caps).

ɾ+m → m+r

/u/ → [o]

/ɛ/ → [e:]

/t/ → [tʰ]

4.5.1.2. Inflection of Composed Nouns into Plural

Some composed nouns make their plural as if they were single nouns, i.e. the two words are put together and inflect into plural. For instance the word "petit pain" (roll or bread of small size) is composed of the adjective "petit" (small) and the noun "pain" (bread) but when making the plural form, some individuals tend to put the two words together and add the suffix /æt/. The word "beau gosse" (handsome), which is also composed of an adjective and a noun, makes its plural by putting the two

words together but not by adding a suffix. The word follows another frame and the plural form is /bwagəs^f/ or /b^wagəs^f/ as in /bu[?]æ^l/ (jar) → /b^wæ[?]æ^l/ or /bwæ[?]æ^l/ /i.e. either with the insertion of [w] or with the labialisation of /b/. /b/ is labialised because of the influence of the rounded vowel /u/ as in the word /b^wa/ (my father).

As shown in Table 4.1., the composed words /kaʃne/ (muffler) and /sæ^rtæt/ (head band) inflect into [kæʃnijæt] and [sæ^rtetæt_s] respectively. In the former, the suffix /jæt/ has been added because the word in singular ends with a vowel whereas in the latter the suffix /æt/ has been added because the word ends with a consonant.

4.5.1.3. Inflection of Adjectives

Borrowed adjectives are formed by the addition of /m/ at the beginning of the stem, when it is a first group verb. The addition of /m/ may be explained by analogism with Arabic. For instance, in order to get the adjective form the verb /s^ʔahhaha/ (to correct) in Arabic, one has to add the prefix /m^u/ and get the adjective /mus^ʔahhah/. But, when it is a second or third group verb, /m/ is either added to the stem with the elision of the final /r/ or by adding /m/ at the beginning and by adding /e/ to the end of the present participle with the omission of "ant" and the phoneme which comes before.

For instance, the adjective /mfini/ is often used to speak about finishing of something when speaking about perfection. However, some speakers use the form /mfinise/. The past participle is *finissant* "ant" is dropped; /m/ is added at the beginning and /e/ at the end.

Such an adaptation requires a given knowledge of French, in other words the speaker needs to have grammatical competence to adapt words this way.

4.5.2. Creation of Verbs from Nouns

There are nouns in French which do not have verbs of the same root. However, when being adapted into Algerian Arabic, verbs are created from these nouns. For instance, the verbs /jætɣərsʻən/ (to do the hard job), /jmetʻər/ (to measure or in the figurative to stare at) and /jætpərtʻək/ (to become useless) do not have equivalents in French as they are derived from the nouns "garçon" (having the meaning of waiter), "mètre" (meter), "patraque" (feeling off-colour).

4.5.3. Creation of Verbs from Composed Words

Some verbs are formed from French composed words. As examples, one may mention the verb /jbəggəsʻ/ or /kufɾəw/ /jkufrew/ which come from the "beau gosse" (handsome) and "coup franc" (free kick) respectively.

4.6. Redundancy in Plural Forms

There are nouns in dialectal Arabic which are derived from plural French nouns. Yet, when used in speech, they are considered as singular nouns and inflect into plural once more. For instance, the words /zʊfri/ and /zigʊ/ are the adapted forms of "les ouvriers" (unskilled workers) and "les égouts" (sewers). In dialectal Arabic, the /z/ which is the 'liaison' of the /s/ of the plural with the following vowel is kept as if it were part of the word itself and thus the word is considered as being in singular. In this sense, the plural form of /zʊfri/ is /zwafra/ or /zʊfrija/ and /zigʊjæt_s/ respectively.

4.7. Assimilation of the Definite Article

When a word is borrowed and adapted to Arabic, it is very often used with the definite article from Arabic, i.e. /el/ but in the spoken form /e/ is dropped and the phoneme /l/ is kept either to express the feminine or the masculine.

For instance, a speaker may say /lbale/ for "the broom". One may think that it is the French article "le", which is realised as /l/ but evidence can be given that the article is, in fact, the Arabic one.

If we had to adapt a word beginning with a 'shamsiya'²⁵ phoneme, then we would have to assimilate the phoneme /l/

²⁵ In Arabic, consonants are classified into 'shamsiya' and 'qamariya'. The former stands for consonants which have the characteristics of the phoneme /ʃ/ i.e. which influence the definite article /el/ through regressive assimilation causing the drop of the phoneme /l/ and the germination of the consonant which comes after as in the word /eʃʃamsu/ (the sun). 'qamariya' consonants as in /elqamaru/ (the moon) do not cause any change to the article.

and we would get the same assimilation that exists in Arabic.

For instance, a speaker from Tlemcen would say:

/lχobz rah foʔə t^st^sabla/

In the example above, there is no assimilation with /χ/ whereas in /t^st^sabla/ the article /l/ is assimilated to /t^s/

/l/ → [t^s] - [shamsiya]

Thus, the fact of saying /foʔət^st^sabla/ is a borrowing whereas the fact of saying /foʔ la table/ is code-switching.

4.8. Omission of "en" and "de"

There are French expressions enclosing the particle "en" or "de" but they tend to lose it when used in dialectal Arabic. For instance, the expressions "Il est en voyage" (He is travelling), "Il est en congé" (He is on holidays), "être en stage" (To be on training period) and "être de garde" (To be on duty) are uttered /rah vwajaʒ/, /rah kōʒe/, /rah staʒ/ and /rah gard/ respectively. In the expression "être en congé de maladie" (to be on sick leave), the whole expression "être en congé" is dropped and only the word "maladie" (sickness) is kept. One would say, for instance, /rani maladi/ to mean "I am off work, I

am on sick leave". If we had to translate the expression literally, we would get "I am sickness" which is grammatically wrong.

4.9. Realisation of /ʒ/ as [dʒ]

We noticed through observation that women especially the old and the less educated ones and sometimes children tended to affricate the fricative /ʒ/ and to realise it as [dʒ] because in the dialect of Tlemcen the same fricative is realised as an affricate. Thus when adapting words such as "garage" (garage), "congé" (vacation), "baggage" (luggage), "fromage" (cheese), "gendarme" (gendarme), this category of individuals utter these words as [garadʒ], [kʊndʒi], [bæɡædʒ], [fərmadʒ] and [dʒadarme].

In the word [kʊndʒi], since the nasalised vowel /õ/ and the vowel /e/ do not exist in Arabic, they are realised as the fronter and closer vowels [ʊ] and /i/ respectively.

In the word [fərmadʒ], there is a metathesis i.e. the inversion of /ʁ/ and /o/ the former being realised as [r] and the latter being weakened to [ə].

In the word [dʒadarme], apart from the affrication of /ʒ/, we notice the realisation of /ẽ/ as [a] since nasalised vowels do not exist in Arabic, the realisation of /ʁ/ as [r] and the addition of /e/ at the end of the word.

4.10. The Substitution of /ʁ/ for [r] among Women

Most men in Algeria tend to realise /ʁ/ as [r]. The former being stigmatised among males. But, women realise the phoneme as it is pronounced by native speakers of French. However, when dealing with borrowings, even females tend to realise /ʁ/ as [r].

A woman would say, for instance /rik məbronzja/ in the case of a borrowing. Whereas, she would say /rik biʁẽ bʁõze/ in the case of code-switching.

4.11. Diminution

Diminution in French is obtained through affixation, with the addition of suffixes, whereas in Arabic it is done according to frames as for plural forms. The most common frame is "fuʔejjil", for instance the diminutive of /kit_sæb/ (book) is /kutejjib/. thus, the same rule is applied for borrowings. We heard, for example, a girl saying:

/ʃhæl ʃbæb hædəsʰsʰwijjæk/ (What a nice little handbag!)

Or a woman saying: /hətʰtʰəlplato fəʔətʰtʰwebla/ (Put the tray on the small table.)

The words / sʰwijjæk/ and / tʰwebla/ are the diminutive form of "sac" (handbag) and "table" (table) respectively. Even if the former has no diminutive form in French, it is used

in dialectal Arabic. We noticed that it was a feminine characteristic. Females tend to use these forms more than males.

4.12. Neologisms

When observing individuals speaking, we noticed that the youngest ones were likely to create new words through derivation. They tend to add French prefixes and suffixes to Arabic stems. For instance the words "ingoulable" / $\tilde{\epsilon}g\text{ulabl}$ / meaning "something which cannot be said" or "inchoufable" / $\tilde{\epsilon}\text{ʃufabl}$ / denoting "something ugly which cannot be looked at" are formed starting from the Arabic stems / $g\text{ul}$ / (to say) and / ʃuf / (to see or to look at) and adding the French prefix / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / which expresses the contrary and the suffix / abl / which is used to form adjectives.

/ $\tilde{\epsilon}g\text{ulabl}$ / is uttered with the phoneme / g / even if in the dialect of Tlemcen / g / should be realised as [ʔ] as explained in the second chapter. Since / g / is already a realisation of the uvular / q /.

As someone who has no job is always standing against walls, the word / $\text{hit}^{\text{f}}\text{ist}^{\text{f}}$ / stands for a jobless person. It is also a neologism made up through the addition of the suffix / ist / to the word / hit^{f} / (wall) as in the French word "journaliste" (journalist). In the dialect of Tlemcen, the word / hit^{f} / is normally realised as [hait^{f}]

Thus one can assume that words as /t_saħramijət_s/ pronounced also /t_saħarmajət_s/ in Tlemcen, /t_sesət_st_sut_sijət_s/, /tsejħudijət_s/ all of them meaning "malice" with some nuance have a Berber origin.

We may also add the word /tæməzdemət_s/ (a kind of lizard)

4.13.2. Examples from Spanish

There are many traces from Spanish in Algerian Arabic especially in the west of Algeria. In Tlemcen, we can notice the presence of many words related to card games. For instance, /dados/, /dos/, /tris/, /sinko/, /sot^ʿa/ /missa/, /ronda/, /d^ʿamma/ meaning « dice », « two », « three », « five », « a card game », « table », « a card game », « checkers" respectively.

There are other words, for instance /bogado/ (lawyer) coming from the Spanish word "abogado", /mærxu/ (cupboard) coming from the Spanish word "armario" and /risimbu/ (receipt) from "recimbo".

4.13.3. Examples from Turkish

According to Akar (1995: 36), there are about 600 words from Turkish origin in the Algerian dialect. He adds that there are names of familiar tools or utensils, which are from Persian or Greek origin but which have transited through the Ottoman territory, such as "tabsi" or tabsil" from Turkish "tepsi", a term from greek origin

representing a plate made of metal or porcelaine. (Idem: 42).

Al Tamgruti (2002) explains that /ʒi/ at the end of words is the equivalent of "nisba" in Arabic (suffix used to show that someone belongs to a region or a profession)

Thus, words as /qahwaʒi/ (someone who sells coffee), /sʰabunʒi/ (someone who prepares and sells soap), /qamarʒi/ (a gambler) have Turkish origin. The words /qahwa/, /sʰabon/ and /qma:r/ mean "coffee", "soap" and "gambling" in dialectal Arabic.

We may also add the following list of words: /bəqræʒ/ (kettle) pronounced [bəʔrædʒ] in Temcen, /tʰərbus/ (a kind of Turkish hat), /kæmændʒa/ (violin).

4.13.4. Examples from English

Since Algerian Arabic is full of borrowed words from French, and since the latter borrowed from English, there are many words, which have been integrated into dialectal Arabic via French especially in the field of marketing and that of computing.

Even if some words have their equivalents in French, they are rather used in English. This might be a matter of fashion. For instance "packaging", "merchandising", "deadline", and "weekly".

In the field of computing, there are also many words, which have been borrowed to English despite the fact that most of them have equivalents. When observing people speaking in cyber spaces, we noticed for instance the use of words like "download", "driver", "webcam", "laptop", "firmware", "web", "surf", "crack", "update", "serial number", "key", "set up", "back up", "net", "add on", "Bluetooth". Although these words have their equivalents : "télécharger", "pilote", "camera", "ordinateur portable", "logiciel usine", "toile", "naviguer", "dévérerouiller", "mise à jour", "numéro de série", "clé", "inslaller", "restauration", "réseau", "fichier additionnel", respectively, people tend to use the English form.

In addition to these, there are others, which have no real equivalents in English. For instance, "Bluetooth", "router", "hub", "switch", and "crack".

We may add acronyms or diminutive forms as "DVD" (Digital Versatile Disc), "CD" (Compact Disc), "VCD" (Video Compact Disc), "HI-FI" (High Fidelity), and by analogy, "WI-FI" (Wireless Fidelity).

**General
Conclusion**

General Conclusion

Sociolinguistic investigation in Algeria may be very interesting and enriching for it is an open field for dialect and language contact.

Whenever there is contact between dialects or languages, various linguistic phenomena are brought about. These linguistic phenomena such as code-switching, interference and borrowings are appealing for research. Indeed, such phenomena are the most salient in all Algerian speech communities especially the urban areas where French is very present.

The fact that Algeria is a bilingual country leads individuals to switch from one variety to another. Shifting from one linguistic code to another implies a certain degree of competence in the languages involved and therefore, requires a previous stage of bilingualism.

In contrast, borrowing does not require complete individual bilingual competence but is a consequence of close contact. Therefore, borrowing occurs when monolingual speakers start using forms from a foreign language without being aware that those forms are not part of their native lexical inventory.

In this sense, the current study enabled us to check whether people in Algeria especially speakers from Tlemcen speech community were aware of their use of borrowings. We assumed that awareness varied according to some social factors such as age, gender, and level of education. We

hypothesised that children and less educated people were not aware of their use of borrowings, but our investigation allowed us to invalidate this hypothesis. The questionnaires and interviews enabled us to conclude that speakers from Tlemcen speech community were aware of their use of borrowings.

We also wondered about the factors behind the use of borrowings and code-switching. Our study enabled us to conclude that the age during which French was learnt influenced code-switching. We noticed that the earlier individuals were in contact with French, the most they used it. Contact with French could be done either thanks to the parents' domestic use or through television programs. We noticed that individuals and especially children whose preferred TV channels were the ones displayed in French were inclined to code-switching.

We divided the sample population into sub-categories, according to age, gender, and level of education. The questionnaires and the interviews revealed that the group who code-switched most was the 16-25 years old educated females.

Our investigation led us to the conclusion that bilinguality was general. When being asked, 100% of all the sub-categories regarded themselves as bilingual except 50% of the 15-25 years old less educated males who do not consider themselves as bilingual.

The present research work revealed that the language of studies played a role in the use of code-switching.

Individuals who studied in French were more inclined to code-switch than those whose studies were in Arabic.

We also came up with the conclusion that the setting played a crucial role in code-switching. Some settings such as doctors' offices impose the use of code-switching; we also concluded that most people had positive attitudes towards code-switching.

When testing people's accommodation, we noticed that most of them tended to converge towards their interlocutor's way of speaking. Even those who declared not to accommodate to the addresses, when being observed in the context of spontaneous and natural speech, revealed that, in fact, they did converge to the individuals they were addressing. Observation also gave evidence that males tended to converge to females way of speaking, i.e. when males address females, they are likely to code-switch more than usual. Convergence is also at the level of the use of /ʁ/ even if the latter is stigmatised among males.

We finally attempted to depict a distinction between borrowings and code-switching and we came up with the conclusion that the main characteristics of code-switching are lexical and syntactic interference and insertions. Those of borrowings are more numerous, they comprise inflections of single and composed nouns into plural, inflection of adjectives, creation of verbs starting from nouns, redundancy in plural forms, assimilation of the definite article, omission of some particles such as "en" and "de", realisation of /ʒ/ as [dʒ], substitution of /ʁ/ for [r] among females, diminution, and neologisms.

As language is dynamic and as research never reaches an ultimate point, our research questions should be further explored and checked. As we do not know how language will evolve, if Algerians will carry on using French or will diverge towards a more frequent use of Arabic, one has to plan for further research. One may wonder about Algerians' future behavior. Will they identify more with Arabic? Will they consider the use of borrowings as an enrichment of their dialects or as an impoverishment of their language?

As French is somehow "distorted" through the use of borrowings, are we going towards a revival of French or in Miliani's term, towards its 'sabirisation'? Are we going towards semilingualism i.e. are we going to lose both languages? Further inquiries and investigations will enable us to answer these questions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Dans le cadre d'une étude, veuillez remplir le questionnaire suivant :

في إطار دراسة ميدانية، الرجاء الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية:

1.

Sexe الجنس
Age السن
Niveau d'études المستوى الدراسي

2. Vous préférez lire en :

Français / فرنسية Arabe / عربية Autre / أخرى

3. Quelles sont vos émissions télévisées préférées ?

3. ما هي برامجكم التلفزيونية المفضلة ؟

.....
.....
.....

4. Pensez-vous être bilingue ?

4. هل أنتم مزدوجو اللغة ؟

Oui / نعم Non / لا Sans avis / بدون رأي

5. Vos parents parlent-ils (parlaient-ils) Français à la maison ?

6. هل والدوكم يتكلمون الفرنسية في المنزل ؟

Oui / نعم Non / لا

Appendix 2: Interview

- 1- Pourquoi avez-vous répondu en Français ?
- 2- Imaginez que vous allez vous coucher, commencez à compter les moutons mentalement. Avez-vous compté en Arabe/Français ?

- 3- Utilisez-vous la langue française dans la vie quotidienne ?

oui non

Si « oui », dans quelles situations l'utilisez-vous le plus ?

- maison médecin au travail
 administration avec des amis autre

A quel âge l'avez-vous apprise ?

- 4- A votre avis, pourquoi les Algériens utilisent-ils des mots de la langue française ?







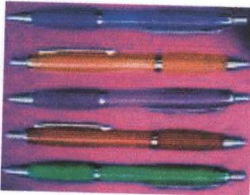
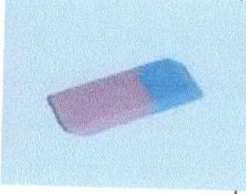

- 5- Que pensez-vous du fait de mélanger l'Arabe et le Français ?

- 6- Changez-vous votre façon de parler selon votre interlocuteur, et pourquoi ?






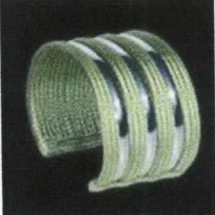






Si votre interlocuteur est monolingue, essayez-vous d'adapter votre façon de parler de manière à ce qu'il vous comprenne ?

Appendix 3: List of Photographs

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|  |  |  |  | |
| 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 |
|  |   |  |   |   |
| 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 |

ملخص

يستند البحث على التحليل الكمي والنوعي. وهو يتناول مسألة وعي الجزائريين باستعمال كلمات مقترضة من اللغة الفرنسية. أخذنا المجتمع اللغوي لمدينة تلمسان كمثال. بما أن الإقتراض و التناوب اللغوي جزئين من سلسلة متصلة ، فسوف نبين العوامل التي تحفز ذلك التناوب اللغوي من جهة و خصائص كلاهما من جهة أخرى.

كلمات البحث : التناوب اللغوي - الإقتراض - الوعي - الدرجة الجزائرية - الجماعة اللغوية التلمسانية

Résumé

Ce travail de recherche est basé sur une analyse quantitative et qualitative. Il traite la question de conscience des algériens de leur utilisation des emprunts du français. La communauté linguistique de Tlemcen est prise comme exemple. Le fait que les emprunts et l'alternance codique fassent partie d'un même continuum, nous rechercherons les facteurs qui motivent cette dernière. Ce travail nous permettra, par ailleurs, d'élucider les caractéristiques des emprunts ainsi que celles de l'alternance codique.

Mots clés : Alternance codique, emprunts, conscience, Arabe Algérien, Communauté linguistique de Tlemcen.

Abstract

The present research work is based on quantitative and qualitative analyses. It aims at elucidating Algerians' awareness about their use of borrowed words from French. Tlemcen speech community is taken as a case in point. As borrowings and code-switching are part of the same continuum, we will wonder about the factors behind the use of CS. The research work also attempts to shed light on the main characteristics of both borrowings and CS.

Key Words: Code-switching, borrowings, awareness, Algerian Arabic, Tlemcen Speech Community.