

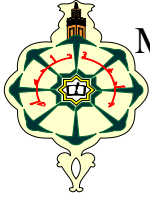
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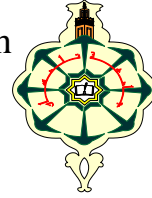


جامعة أبي بكر بلقايد

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Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research



University of Tlemcen

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of English

**Adaptation of Borrowed Words from French Language into
Algerian Dialects: Case Study of Tlemcen Speech
Community**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Candidacy of Master
Degree in Language Studies**

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DEDICATIONS

To my family

My beloved sisters

My wonderful brothers

To all my friends and relatives

without exception.

Halima

Dedications

First of all thanks to Allah the most Merciful.

Deepest gratitude to the most lovely persons, my dearest parents, who helped me during all my life and my studies. Thank you Dad Hossine, thank you mom Amaria.

To my sisters: Rabab, Nadjet, Rihab I wish all the best to them.

To my brother, Abdelwahab. A special gratitude goes to my close friend Halima.

To the person whom I have a great and profound love, who is shining my way by his support, care, and love, my beloved husband 'Mustapha'.

AMINA

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Abstract

The present study aimed at exploring French borrowing in Algeria. It investigated the factors that lead Algerians to use French word, and how these are adapted into their dialect, taking Tlemcen speech community as a case study. To reach a reliable data, two research instruments were used: a questionnaire and a word list, addressed to a sample of 90 participants. The findings come out with the conclusion that educated speakers are aware of French borrowing; they are mainly borrowing words from French language either for the long period of French colonization or as they considered French more prestigious than their dialect. In addition, the obtained outcomes seem to support the proposed hypotheses.

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List of Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

MLA: Modern Literary Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

List of Phonetic Symbols

Consonants

Symbol	Example	English Gloss	Symbol	Example	English Gloss
[b]	[ba:b]	door	[m]	[mʃa:]	He walked
[t]	[tɒfah]	apple	[n]	[naħla]	Bee
[d]	[dajman]	Always	[f]	[fa:s]	axe
[k]	[ka:tɪb]	Writer	[s]	[sɒkkar]	Sugar
[g]	[ga:l]	He said	[z]	[za:ʒ]	Glass
[t̪]	[t̪a:b]	To be cooked	[ʃ]	[ʃams]	Sun
[d̪]	[d̪hab]	gold	[ʒ]	[ʒmal]	Camel
[ʔ]	[ʔard]	earth	[χ]	[χɒbz]	Bread
[q]	[qdɪm]	old	[ʁ]	[ʁarb]	west
[r]	[rɪħla]	trip	[ħ]	[ħja:t]	Life

[l]	[lɜ:n]	tongue	[ʔ]	[ʔajn]	eye
[w]	[wɑʒh]	face	[h]	[hɪnd]	India
[j]	[jtɪ:m]	Orphan	[ʂ]	[ʂba:h]	morning
[θ]	[θalʒ]	snow	[ð]	[ðɪ:b]	Wolf

Vowels

Length	Symbol	example	Gloss
Short	[a]	[raʒal]	Man
	[e]	[berd]	cold
	[u]	[kursɪ]	Chair
	[ɒ]	[fʌɔr]	Lunch
	[ɪ]	[lɪ]	night
Long	[a:]	[na:r]	fire
	[u:]	[ku:l]	eat
	[i:]	[ni:f]	Nose

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General Introduction

One of the most observable outcomes of language contact is the importation of words and items from one language into another for the sake of explaining, expressing or describing a given idea or a certain object. Therefore, this process is known as ‘borrowing’. Unlike the borrowing of an object from another person, the borrowing of the linguistic items is not temporary.

Language borrowing may occur for different reasons; on one hand, it may be for the reason that these words do not have the equivalent words in the native language. Thus, words are borrowed to fill the lexical gaps in the recipient language or because of the status of the source language. On the other hand, the language donor may be considered as more prestigious than the language which provides the borrowing.

Borrowed words are usually adapted into the recipient language; they take the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the borrowing language. However, they are pronounced as if they are part of the speakers’ mother tongue. Thus, the present study aims at exploring linguistic borrowing from French language into Algerian dialects and how these borrowed words are adapted into the Algerian Arabic.

On the basis of this statement, the following research questions would be addressed:

- 1 Are Algerian speakers aware of the use of borrowed words in their dialects?
- 2 What are the main reasons that make people borrow words from other languages?
- 3 Why do Algerian people borrow words from French language and use it in their dialects?
- 4 What kind of adaptation do Algerian people do during the borrowing process?

In the light of these research questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

- 1 We hypothesize that educated people are aware of the use of borrowed words in their dialects.
- 2 People may borrow words from other languages to fulfill the lexical gaps and sometimes for the matter of prestige.
- 3 Algerian people may borrow words from French language and use them in their dialect because of the long period of colonization and the influence of French culture, also it maybe for the reason that French language is learned from primary school and it used in many domains of study.
- 4 Most borrowed words may be adapted into the phonology and morphology of recipient language.

To tackle these former research questions and test the validity of the hypotheses, data have been collected by means of questionnaire, and word list addressed to a sample of respondents who will be from Tlemcen speech community.

The present research work is divided into three chapters; initially the first chapter is devoted to the language variation and linguistic borrowing. Then, the second chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria, and finally, the third chapter is devoted to the methodology, data analysis and interpretation.

The first chapter starts with how language can be distinguished from dialect. Then different points of view will be stated, concerning the borrowing definition, types, borrowing process, characteristics, and the factors that lead to such process. Finally the last part will present distinction between borrowing and code switching.

In the second chapter, some light is shed on the historical background of Algeria, then it deals with the linguistic situation in the country, providing an overview of the

three languages; Berber, Arabic, and French. It also touches the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria in terms of diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, and borrowing.

The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used in gathering data and describing the sample population, followed by the analysis of the obtained results in Tlemcen speech community by means of a questionnaire and word list. Finally, it will give the interpretation of the data collected.

Chapter One

Language Variation and Linguistic Borrowing

CHAPTER ONE: Language Variation and Linguistic Borrowing

1.1. Introduction

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1.2.1. Standard Language

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1.7. Motivations for Borrowing

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1.9. Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

Borrowing is one of the language contact outcomes. It includes the use of certain items from one variety to another, either a dialect or a language. Thus, the current chapter sheds light on the differences between language and dialect, and then, it moves to linguistic borrowing, starting with how scholars have defined borrowing, then it identifies its types namely; cultural borrowing and core borrowing. After it attempts to see how borrowing occurs followed by some proposed characteristics of borrowing and why people borrow words. Finally, it gives scholars' views concerning difference between borrowing and code switching.

1.2. Language and Dialect

Language and dialect are two language varieties and distinguishing between these terms is one of the difficult issues in sociolinguistics. According to Haugen (1966), the distinction between language and dialect can take two separate ways known as 'size' and 'prestige'. On the one hand, language is bigger than a dialect since the term 'language' is used to refer to a linguistic norm or a group of related norms, while the term 'dialect' is one of those norms. In other words, a dialect is a subdivision of a language. In this sense, Hudson (1996: 32) says: "a variety called language contains more items than one called a dialect". On the other hand, language is more prestigious than a dialect, as Hudson (*ibid*) suggests: "whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has, and for most people this is a clear cut matter which depends on whether it is used in formal writing".

Another criterion is used in distinguishing between language and dialect is mutual intelligibility. From a sociolinguistic view, dialects are mutually intelligible,

while languages are not. Mair (1991: 17) writes: “Mutual intelligibility is normally accepted by linguists as the only plausible criterion for making the distinction between language and dialect”. Therefore, if one can understand the other, they must be speaking dialects of the same language. However, if they do not understand each other, they are speaking different languages. For example in Algeria, Algerian dialects are mutually intelligible; Tlemcenian speakers understand Oranian dialect, whereas speakers of Arabic cannot understand French language and vice versa.

1.2.1. Standard Language

Most languages have a standard form. Language is associated with standard variety. The standard variety is the language used in the formal setting; schools, literature, politics. It is prestigious and it has a written form. In this vein, Holmes (2001: 76) states: “the standard variety is generally written and has undergone a degree of regularization and codification. That is, the standard variety has a written form and is regarded as more correct and socially acceptable than the other varieties”. As far as Algeria is regarded, Modern standard Arabic (hereafter MSA) is the standard language, it is the variety used in education, formal context, and thus Algerian speakers consider MSA as more prestigious than the dialects used in their daily life.

1.2.2. Dialect

A dialect is a spoken variety of language. It is characterized by systematic differences in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary from other dialects of the same language. In this respect, Trudgill (1992: 23) states that: “a dialect is a variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically, and lexically from other

varieties.” Accordingly, each variety has its own characteristics either at the level of grammar, phonology, or vocabulary.

On the light of Chambers and Trudgill, a dialect is: “a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige”(2004: 3). However, such term refers to the nonstandard, and the less valued variety.

For Wardhaugh (2006), a dialect is considered as an inferior form of communication, being equivalent to non standard. Auer (2005: 1) states that: “dialects have relatively little overt prestige and are mainly used orally”. In other words, Chamber and Trudgill (*ibid*) declare that: “a dialect is also a term which is often applied to forms of language particularly those of spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form”. Therefore, a dialect is the variety used in everyday life; it is generally associated with low status. It is used in the spoken form.

It is argued that there are two types of dialects. It can be regionally or socially. In this regard, Crystal (1997: 114) says that: “a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language”. In other words, dialect is more or less identifiable as a regional or social variety of language (Trask 1999). Carter (1993: 20) claims: “a dialect refers to variety of language that is identified geographically or socially”.

1.2.2.1. Regional Dialects

A regional dialect is the variety spoken in a particular geographical area. It is concerned with the differences in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. According to Hudson (1996: 38), “The dialect geographer may then draw a line between the area where others were found, showing a boundary for each area called an isogloss. Regional dialects identify where the person is from”.

In this vein, Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 5) maintain that

If we travel from one village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes these differences will be larger, sometimes smaller, but they will be CUMULATIVE. The further we get from our starting point, the larger the differences will become.

Accordingly, regional dialects show less difference from their neighbours and more differences from distant varieties. For example in Algeria, Tlemcen dialect, Oran, Mascara, and Algiers Arabic are considered as examples of geographical dialects.

1.2.2.2. Social Dialects

Social dialects are defined in terms of social factors. According to David Crystal (2008), social dialects identify where a person is in terms of social scale. People of different social background speak differently in the same geographical area. Yule (1985: 240) says that: "... varieties of language used by groups defined according to class, education, age, sex, and number of other social parameters". Thus in social dialects, speech varies according to social variables.

1.3. Borrowing

To describe concepts or ideas which have no equivalent words in the mother tongue, people may use words from other languages; such phenomenon is known as borrowing. Hornby (2005: 69) defines borrowing as: "a word, a phrase, or an idea that sb [some body] has taken from another person's work or from another language and is used in their own". According to Gumperz (1982: 66),

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Borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single word or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety (i.e. language), into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated as if they are part of lexicon of that language and share the morphological and phonological system of the language.

Borrowing is defined as the process of the integration of new words into the phonetic and grammatical system of the recipient language.

For Rajend *et al.* (2009: 270) Borrowing is: “a technical term for the incorporation of an item from one language into another. These items could be words, grammatical elements or sounds”. Borrowing involves the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect (Appel and Muysken 1987). According to Haugen, borrowing is defined as a situation where people adopt new items to a language or dialect taking them from another language or dialect. In this sense, he (1989: 22) states that

If he [the speaker] reproduces the new linguistic pattern, NOT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH HE LEARNED THEM, but in the context of another, he may be said to have ‘borrowed’ them from one language to another. The heart of our definition is then THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER.¹

English, for example, began with Germanic Vocabulary, but the enormous numbers of words which are borrowed are attributed to historical factors (Hebert, 2001). Half of the English vocabulary is borrowed from Latin, Greek, and French. Words such as ‘*money*’, ‘*car*’, ‘*church*’, ‘*garage*’ are borrowed from these languages,

¹. Capitalization in the original text.

but many people are not aware that they are borrowed and are using them as English words.

According to Winford (2003), the borrowing language may be referred to as the ‘recipient’ language and the foreign language as the ‘source’ language. When the French word ‘*contribuer*’ is borrowed into English language, French is the ‘donor language’ and English is the ‘recipient language’.

1.4. Types of Borrowing

Borrowing is divided into two categories, namely; cultural borrowing and core borrowing.

1.4.1. Cultural Borrowing

According to Myer Scotton (2006), cultural borrowings refer to concepts or objects which are unfamiliar to the speakers of the receiving language. For her: “cultural borrowings are words that fill gaps in the recipient language’s store of words because they stand of objects or concepts new to the language’s culture” (2006: 212). She suggests that the most common cultural borrowings around the world are versions of the English word ‘*automobile*’ or ‘*car*’ because most cultures did not have such motorized vehicles until contact with western cultures.

Steven (2012: 239) defines cultural borrowings as: “words borrowed along with an item imported into the culture, and fill a need in the target language”. Accordingly, cultural borrowings are elements which have been borrowed to fill a lexical gap in the recipient language. According to Steven (*ibid*), when CD technology spreads around the world, a word was needed for these shiny round things. So, many languages borrow the word CD. Regarding Algerian context, many

vocabulary items are introduced as cultural borrowings such as: *computer, internet, website* and all the types of social networks, *Facebook, Email, LinkedIn, etc.*

1.4.2. Core borrowing

Borrowed elements which correspond to the elements already existing in the recipient language are called ‘core borrowings’. According to Myer Scotton (1993a: 5), core borrowings: “are taken into the language even though the recipient language already has lexemes of its own to encode the concepts or objects”. In the same vein, Haspelmath (2009: 48) suggests: “core borrowings are loanwords that duplicate or replace existing native words”. Accordingly, core borrowings are foreign words that duplicate already existing items in the native language. It seems that speakers adopt new words in order to be associated with the prestige of the source language. The words may replace an earlier word with the same meaning that falls out of use or it may also coexist with a native word with the same meaning.

According to Myer Scotton (2006), there are two main major motivations to borrow a word for which the borrowing language already has. On the one hand, as Mougeon and Beniak (1991) core borrowings occur in speech of bilinguals who regularly use both of their languages. In their work, those French speakers with roughly equal use of English and French use ‘so’ more than others, even more than speakers who use English more than French (cited in Myer Scotton 2006). On the other hand, the sheer magnetism of the dominant culture of the donor language seems to motivate speakers to borrow core elements.

However in Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA), despite the fact that there are equivalent elements in AA, Algerian people use core borrowings such as: [kuzɪna] for ‘cuisine’: ‘kitchen’ instead of /matbaħ/, [t̪abɣɪ] for ‘plate’ instead of /ɣaħn/, [balak]: ‘maybe’ instead of /rɔbbama/, [bugadɔ] for ‘lawyer’ instead of /mɔħamɪ /.

1.5. Borrowing Process

The borrowing process involves importing linguistic items from one language into another. It occurs when different languages and cultures are in contact. The borrowing process takes two ways 'importation' and 'substitution'. In this regard, Haugen (1950: 212) states:

If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker maybe said to have IMPORTED the model into his language, provided it as an innovation in that language, but insofar as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally SUBSTITUTED a similar pattern from his own language.²

Accordingly, in 'importation', the borrowed word can be produced in the form which is exactly like the source form. In other words, 'importation' is seen as a process in which the items are carried as whole to the lexicon of the borrowing language. However, in 'substitution' some changes may occur in the form and pronunciation.

According to Haugen (1972) cited in Evripidou (2011: 1), the process of borrowing is related to three important points:

- 1 It should be assumed as axiomatic, that every speaker attempts to reproduce previously learned linguistic patterns in an effort to cope with new linguistic situations.
- 2 Among the new patterns that one may learn are those of a language different from his/her own, and these, too, he/she may attempt to reproduce.
- 3 If that person manages to reproduce the new linguistic patterns not in the context of the language in which they were learned, but in the context of another, that person might be said to have borrowed them from one language to another language.

². Capitalization in the original text.

During the borrowing process, borrowed words take strategies to fit within the main structure of the recipient language. It may be at the level of phonology or morphology, as it is stated by Winford (2003: 46): “in cases of relatively light to moderate contact, lexical borrowing tends to be adapted in terms of the phonology and morphology of the recipient language, and become essentially indistinguishable from native forms.”

1.5.1. Phonological Adaptation

According to Haugen (1969), there are three stages in the phonological adaptation process. First, a bilingual introduces a new word in a phonetic form close to the model. Without direct access to the model produced by native speakers of the source language, monolinguals can only rely on the pronunciation of bilinguals whose degree of “bilingualism” may vary. Next, the individual monolingual speakers of the recipient language approximate the non-native sound patterns to the native ones. With its repeated use in the community, the word becomes an established loan used by monolinguals, but varying from one dialect to another due to geographical boundaries.

For instance, to adapt the borrowed words into the AA phonology, many processes occur such as:

Consonant substitution, it involves substituting the consonant of the source language with another in the borrowing language because of the absence of equivalents in the recipient language. As examples of this, we may take the /p/ and /v/, the former is a phoneme in many languages, but only an allophone of /b/ in AA. It is substituted with /b/ such as in the following words [bɒli:s] for “police”, in [basbɔ:r] for ‘passport’, [dɪblɔ:m] for “diploma”. The latter /v/ as it is an allophone of /f/ in AA, is found in borrowed words and is replaced by /f/ or by /b/ (since it is pronounced

in Spanish as /b/). For further explanation, the following examples are suggested “villa” in AA it is pronounced as [filla], “vitesse” produced as either [fɪtɜ:s], “cravate” often realized as [gravatɑ] or [grafatɑ]. Another example can be given is the word ‘couverture’ it maybe pronounced either as [kɒvɪrtɑ] or [kɒbɪrtɑ]. It is noticed that some pronounce the /p/ and /f/ either as replaced by its closest consonant in the AA or they are pronounced as they are in the source language, it depends on social factors as education and exposure to the source language.

Vowel substitution; vowels in loanwords are substituted due to their absence in the AA. Vowels that are not found in AA are substituted by others when they occur in borrowed words. An example of this is the French vowel /eu/ which is usually rendered as [i:] as in [kwafi:r] for “coiffeur”: “hairdresser” , or as [ɔ:] as in [ʃɪfɔ:r] for “chauffeur”: “driver”.

Syllabic omission; according to Smeaton (1973), some borrowed words undergo syllabic omission process in order to facilitate pronunciation such as the word “élastique”: “elastic” it is pronounced as [lastɪk] where the first syllable has been omitted.

1.5.2. Morphological Adaptation

According to Smeaton (*ibid*), a borrowed word undergoes modification of morphological structure to achieve harmony with the established predominant pattern and root system of the recipient language. For example Inflection; most loan nouns in AA are inflected for gender and number.

Gender; nouns, and adjectives are inflected for gender so that they are either feminine or masculine. From “coiffeur” AA has the loanwords [kwafi:r] for masculine

and [kwafi:ra] for feminine and from “profa”, the abbreviation of the French word “professor”, it has [prɔf] (masculine) and [prɔf] (feminine).

Number, in AA, there are two plural inflections; “sound plural” with the two realizations {-i:n} for the masculine and {-a:t} for the feminine and the “broken plural”. Loanwords also take the AA plural form some of them take broken-plural inflection, such as [fa:lɑm] for ‘movies’, [twa:bal] for ‘tables’ some take the sound-plural {-a:t} such as [tɪlɪfɔnɑ:t] for ‘phones’.

Verbs also are frequently morphologically adapted into the recipient language because of the requirement to mark tense (Pfaff, 1979). In the case of AA, borrowed verbs are conjugated in all tenses; past, present, and future. For instance, the verb “commenter”: “to comment” is used in past as [kɔmmɔntɪt]: “I commented”, in present as [nkɔmmɪntɪ]: “I comment” and in the future as [ʁand nkɔmmɔntɪ]: “I will comment”. Thus, that verb has been modeled to the AA norms.

1.6. Characteristics of Borrowing

For Aitchison (2004), borrowing is characterized by four features. Firstly, borrowed elements which are the most easily and commonly adopted are those words that are easily detached from the source language, without affecting the structure of the recipient language. According to Aitchison (*ibid*), it is nonetheless, rare to borrow what is regularly called “basic vocabulary”; words that are frequent and common such as numbers, pronouns ... etc. Secondly, adopted items tend to be changed to fit in with the structure of the recipient language. For instance, in the Algerian situation, borrowed words are adapted into the dialectal Arabic; verbs are conjugated into the past, present, and future like Arabic verbs. For example, the borrowed French word “afficher”: “to display” is conjugated as [ʔafɪʃɑ]: “he displayed”, [jʔafɪʃɪ]: “he

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displays”, [ʁɑdɪ y afɪfɪ]. “He will display”. The same thing occurs with nouns; a noun takes the feminine and the plural like Arabic nouns. Such as, the word ‘coiffeur’ meaning “a hairdresser”, is borrowed from French and in AA it is used as [kwafɪra]: “hairdresser” for feminine and [kwafɪra:t]: “hairdressers” for plural. The third characteristic is that language tends to choose and select those aspects of the donor language which superficially correspond closely to aspects existing already in its own. This is intimately related to syntax and to languages that are likely to borrow syntactic structures from other languages. The fourth and the final characteristic is called ‘the minimal adjustment tendency’. The borrowing language makes only very small adjustment to the structure of its system at any one time.

Poplack and Sankoff (1984) suggest the following criteria for characterization of borrowing:

- Frequency of use: the more frequently a specific source language item is used in the borrowing language discourse and by more people, the more reasonable it is to consider it as having become a bona-fide term of the recipient language.
- Morphophonemic and/or syntactic integration: if a borrowed term is adapted to the phonology and the morphology of the recipient language and functions in sentences as native words, then it can be considered as a borrowing word.
- Acceptability: if native speakers judge a donor language word to be appropriate designation whether or not they are aware of its origins. This indicates that it may take place in the recipient language. In AA, as an example, many borrowed words are used as native words such as: [ku:zɪna] for “cuisine”: “kitchen” [pɑrmɪ] for “permis”: “allowed”, [frɪʒɪdan] for “Frigidaire” : “fridge”, [tabla]for “table”

1.7. Motivations for Borrowing

The most common motivations for lexical borrowing have been identified as; need and prestige. On the one hand, borrowing because of need occur when new concepts or things is encountered which already has a name in the sources language but not in the borrowing language. Weinreich (1953) notes that the need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is a completing reason to borrow lexical items.

Social and cultural factors can also lead to language borrowing. In this respect Myer-Scotton (2002: 238) states: “a society with socioeconomic prestige is often the source of borrowing in today’s society”. According to Hicky (2013), borrowing because of need is a necessary borrowing since there are lexical gaps unlike borrowing for prestige.

On the other hand, borrowing because of ‘prestige’, Weinreich (1968) believes that the primary motivation for borrowing is ‘prestige’. If one of the languages in contact situations is of greater prestige than the other, speakers will use more borrowed words as a means of displaying social status (Romaine 1995). According to Hicky (*ibid*), borrowing because of prestige usually occurs when a speaker perceives that there is greater social cachet attached to a word from another language.

Kachru (1994) suggests two hypotheses about the motivation for lexical borrowing; ‘Deficit Hypothesis’ and ‘Dominance Hypothesis’. Accordingly, the former presupposes that borrowing entails linguistic gaps in a variety and the primary motivation for borrowing is to remedy the linguistic deficit. Whereas the latter presupposes when two cultures come into contact, many words are borrowed even though there are equivalent items in the borrowing language, because they seem to have prestige.

1.8. Borrowing vs. Code Switching

Another language contact outcome in which different languages may be used with each other is called ‘code switching’. According to Wardaugh (2006: 10), it is unusual for speakers to use only one code or variety of language, he states that

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 or within sometimes very short utterances and thereby create a new code in process known as code switching.

Accordingly, there are two types of code switching ‘intra-sentential’ code switching; it occurs within the same sentence. ‘Inter-sentential’ code switching occurs between sentences. In fact, in Algeria it is common to hear people or use or switch the two languages AA and French. For example in English department we may hear student says: [nrɔħl] departement [wnagʔɔɖfel] bibiotheque [nraʒaʔ] pour examin to mean: ‘am going to the department and I will stay in the library to revise for the exam.’

Borrowing is distinguished from code switching, in this respect, Gumperz (1982: 66) states:

Borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The borrowed items are fully integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated as if they are part of the lexicon of that language and share morphological and phonological systems of that language. Code switching by contrast relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must process as things formed

Chapter One: Language Variation and Linguistic Borrowing

according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems.

In the same vein, Poplack and her associates (1978) state that borrowed words are different from longer stretches of switches. They propose three types of integration of foreign words in the recipient language as criteria to distinguish between borrowing and code switching. These include whether or not single lexical item from a donor language in code switches utterances were phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into what she called 'the base language'.

According to Splosky (1998), borrowed words start as individual code switches which may become adopted forms. Then, through the use, it will become part of their own speech repertoire. In this sense, he writes: "The switching of words is beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language" (1998: 48).

Myers-Scotton (1993*b*) rejects the idea of distinguishing between borrowing and code switching. In this respect, she (1993: 182) states: "borrowed forms may be the result of words introduces into a host language through code switching after an indefinite period of time and frequency of use." She suggests that code switched forms may be less integrated into the host language than borrowed forms and this is a difference in degree (of integration) not in kind. Later on, Backus (1996) takes Myer-Scotton's idea and rejects morpho-syntactic integration as a criterion to distinguish between borrowing and code switching.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed a theoretical background to language variation and linguistic borrowing. It focused on defining the borrowing process, reporting its types, its characteristics and what motivates people to borrow words. In the next chapter, we will deal with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. On one hand, we will state languages used in Algeria. On the other hand, we will review language contact outcomes in Algeria.

General Conclusion

CHAPTER Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Historical Background of Algeria

2.3. Languages in Algeria

2.3.1. Berber

2.3.2. Arabic

2.3.2.1. Classical Arabic

2.3.2.2. Modern Standard Arabic

2.3.2.3. Algerian Arabic

2.3.3. French

2.4. Arabisation

2.5. Algeria's sociolinguistic profile

2.5.1. Diglossia

2.5.2. Bilingualism

2.5.3. Code Switching

2.5.4. Borrowing

2.6. Conclusion

2.1. Introduction

The current chapter shed some light on the history of Algeria and the languages used in the country; Berber, Arabic, French and the different statuses given to them. Then, it deals with the arabisation process and the sociolinguistics situation in Algeria and language phenomena such as: diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, and borrowing.

2.2. Historical Background of Algeria

According to Queffelec *et al* (2002), Algeria was invaded by different dynasties and it was influenced by their civilizations and culture (Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Turkish, Spanish, and French). The first invaders were the Phoenicians, and then it was invaded by the Romans in 146 BC. Six centuries later, vandals came to replace the Roman Empire in 499 AD.

Although the Byzantines put an end to the Vandals domination in 533 AD, they were unpopular, they were defeated by new conquerors the Arabs in 646, who came from the east to spread Islam in Algeria, along with the north African countries, as a consequence of that North African countries inhabitants, in general, and Algerians, in particular, adopted the Arabic language and embraced Islam (Camps 1987). It lasted almost three centuries before the country came under Ottoman supremacy in 1518. It was governed by the ottoman ‘dey’ and his subordinates ‘bey’. Although Algeria came under a direct Ottoman influence for three centuries, the Turkish linguistic impact was inexistent in the countryside.

In 1504, the Spanish entered Algeria and many towns and outposts were conquered and occupied; Mers ElKébir in 1505, Oran in 1509, Algiers and Bejaia in 1510. Algerians ask for the protection of the Ottoman Empire. Algeria continued to be an outpost of the Ottoman Empire until the invasion of French forces to Algeria in 1830.

The tracks of Spanish and Turkish languages that are found nowadays in AA contain some borrowed words.

The French took their places in Algeria. By 1848, Algeria was declared as a French territory. Later on, they passed a law declaring Arabic as a foreign language, and banishing it from the educational system. French became the official language, they further added that these laws prevented the Quranic schools and zaouias from studying the Quran (Hadj Ali 1963). French lasted one hundred and thirty two years until Algeria gained its independence.

2.3. Languages in Algeria

Algeria has been considered as a multilingual society due to the existence of different languages; Berber, Arabic, and French.

2.3.1. Berber

Berber or Tamazight is used in a great number of African countries such as: Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria (Brahimi, 2000).

In Algeria 20% of the Algerian people speak Berber as their mother tongue. In this respect, Oakes (2008: 18) states: “about 20% of the Algerian population speaks Berber as the first language and many of these do not use Arabic at all, preferring French as their second language.” There are different Berber dialects used in different areas:

- Kabyle; spoken in kabylia: Tizi Ouzou, Bejaia.
- Mozabite; another variety spoken in Beni Mzab.
- Shawia; is used in Aures mountains.
- Tamashekt; the variety used in some parts of Sahara.

All Berber dialects use some Arabic (borrowing). On the other hand words from Tamazight dialects are used in AA such as:

1 [fəkrun] to mean a tortoise,

2 [fallūs] to mean a chick

Beker and Prys Jones (1998: 355) say: “Berber has received some government support. Two newspapers in Berber exist and there is news in Berber on television twice a day. Also cultural societies and centers have been established to promote the teaching and popularization of Berber language and culture.” In other words, Berber was recognized as a national language in 2002. It is used in TV and radio programs; there is a national channel and radio station which daily broadcast in Berber.

2.3.2. Arabic

Arabic, the Semitic language entered Algeria with the arrival of Arab Muslims in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. There is a strong link between Arabic and Islam as Rouzjdia (1991): “the Arabic language and Islam are inseparable. Arabic has a privileged position as it is the language of the Koran and the prophet and the shared language of all Muslims in the world.” cited in Benrabah (2007: 67).

Ferguson has classified Arabic into two varieties namely; Classical Arabic, the high variety and dialectal Arabic, the low variety which represents Algerian Arabic in Algeria.

2.3.2.1. Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic (hereafter CA) also known as Quran language, is valued for Muslims due to the fact that is the language of Quran. It is used in reading and reciting the Islamic holy text. According to Holes (2004), muslims have some degree of

exposure to the language of the Islamic scriptures; the so called classical Arabic. A third variety was introduced as a modern version of CA known as Modern Standard Arabic.

2.3.2.2. Modern Standard Arabic

MSA or Modern Literary Arabic (hereafter MLA) has been set to simplify CA. MSA is defined on the light of Holes (2004: 5) as: “the modern descendent of classical Arabic, unchanged in the essentials of its syntax but very much changed and still changing in its vocabulary and phraseology.”

MSA is considered as a modern version of CA with the addition of foreign words that are equivalent to the scientific needs and technological advancement. In that sense Ennaji (1991: 9) suggests: “Modern Standard Arabic is standardized and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghreb and in the Arab world at large. It has the characteristics of a modern serving as the vehicle of a universal culture.” Thus, it is taught in schools and used in formal setting. It is also used in written form, newspapers, magazines.

2.3.2.3. Algerian Arabic

AA or ‘Darija’, the low variety, is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerian people. It is used in informal speech and in the daily life, in the same vein Taleb-Ibrahimi (1995: 33) states: “these Arabic dialects constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people (at least for those who are originally Arabic speakers), the language of the first socialization, of the basic community.”¹ AA is only used orally; it does not have a written form.

¹ The original text: « Ces dialectes arabes constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité du peuple Algérien (du moins pour les arabophone d’origine), la première socialisation de la communauté de base. »

According to Kaye (1970: 67), AA refers to the colloquial language known as *darija* or *lahja*: “The colloquial varieties number in the hundreds, being spoken and not written, they are distinguishable from classical Arabic as a result of a grammatical simplification in structure with fewer grammatical categories.”

Most of AA vocabulary has Arabic origin with many borrowed words mainly from Berber, French, Turkish, and Spanish (Boucherit 2002). AA changes from one area to another and westerners sound closer to Moroccan Arabic whereas the easterners speak in a way similar to that of Tunisia.

2.3.3. French

French was widely used during the colonialization period, and is still used in many domains including education. In fact, it is taught from the second year in the primary schools, and in higher education as many scientific fields are taught in that language. It is also used in administration, and economy. There are printed books, news papers such as *‘le quotidien’*, *‘El Watan’*, *‘Le Soir’* etc, and magazines in French. In that respect, Baker and Prys Jones (1998: 355) state that:

French still enjoys a high status in Algeria. It is a major foreign language and is still widely read and spoken by many educated Algerians. National radio has a French station. The only TV channel is in Arabic with some French material. The majority of newspapers and magazines are in French. French is widely used in higher education; scientific material in school and university text books is almost exclusively in French.

French language is considered as first the foreign language in Algeria. It has no official status, and it is no longer seen as the language of the enemy. It is the language of modernity, social promotion, and the language of opening on the world (Taleb-Ibrahimi 1995).

2.4. Arabisation

Arabisation or '*taarib*' is a term used to refer to the replacement of the French language by Arabic in all domains including education, administration, and media. Arabisation in Algeria is a process of language planning that attempted to create a non colonial identity. According to Benrabah (2007), Arabisation is a linguistic process whereby Arab replaced the colonial language French using Arabic. Accordingly, it has cultural dimension with the purpose of creating a national identity with strong religious links to Muslim countries.

According to Mostari (2004), Algeria was committed to the Arabisation policy after the independence. On the light of Willis (1997) cited in (Bassiouney 2009) Algeria's programme of Arabisation had actually begun as early as 1964 with Ben Bella's Arabisation of primary education and introduction of compulsory religious instruction. Algeria was faced big obstacles in the mid 1960s, then the Algerian president Houari Boumedienne pushed for a completed Arabisation (Djité 1992 cited in (Bassiouney *ibid*).

Nowadays, French has been given the status of a foreign language; schools teach all subjects in MSA and French is a foreign language taught at second grade. At the university level, medicine, engineering and all technical subjects are taught in French.

2.5. Algeria's Sociolinguistic Profile

The contact between many languages: Arabic and its three varieties CA, MSA, AA, Berber, and French create a particular sociolinguistic situation which gives birth to different phenomena such as: diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, and borrowing.

2.5.1. Diglossia

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that refers to a situation where two varieties exist in the speech community. It was first introduced by Marçois in 1930 to characterize the use of two varieties of Arabic in different settings, though he did not mention explicitly the specialized functions of each variety when he stated that the Arabic language is presented in two different aspects namely; a literary language and spoken dialects.

Later on, Ferguson (1959) dealt with four diglossic situations Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole. Accordingly, the superposed variety is called 'High' variety which represents CA in the case of Arabic, he contrasted its use with the 'Low' variety which the colloquial Arabic. Ferguson stated that each variety has specific uses in different social situations. Within this framework, Ferguson (1959: 336) states:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but it is not used by an sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

In order to characterize the diglossic phenomenon, Ferguson has stated nine criteria:

1- Function: H and L are used for different functions; H variety is used in formal situations and L variety is used in less or informal situations. In Algeria, for instance, Algerians do not use CA in everyday communication, it is mainly used in religion, official settings, TV news, and education, whereas the L which represents AA is used in daily conversation and in informal settings.

- 2 –Prestige:** In most diglossic situations, the H variety is regarded as highly valued and more prestigious. Thus in the Algerian situation, Algerians have positive attitudes towards CA.
- 3- Literary Heritage:** According to Ferguson, a large body of written literature is in the H variety; however, the L variety is used only orally. This can be seen in Algeria where CA is used in the written form unlike the Algerian dialects which have only a spoken form.
- 4- Acquisition:** In most diglossic languages, L variety is acquired first; it is the mother tongue, whereas the H variety is learned through schooling process. The same thing is in Algeria; children acquire AA at home and learn CA via formal education.
- 5- Standardization:** For Ferguson, the H variety is standardized, thus, it has books on grammar, and dictionaries, while the L variety is full of variations in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. In Algeria, for instance, CA is the standard one, whereas Algerian dialects have no settled orthography and there is wide variation in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.
- 6- Stability:** According to Ferguson, diglossia is a long life phenomenon; it may persist for several centuries.
- 7- Grammar:** The grammar of H variety is more complex than the grammar of L variety, H has grammatical categories not found in L and an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or totally absent in L.
- 8- Lexicon:** In the view of Ferguson, most of the vocabulary is shared by the H and L varieties with some variations in the form and with differences of use and meaning, we may find terms found in the H which have no equivalent terms in L and vice-versa. Like in Algeria the verb [raʔa:] “see” in English occurs in the H and is never found in an informal conversation and [ʃɑ:f] is not used in H variety, the same thing with the verb [ðɑħaba] “to go” is used in H variety whereas in L variety it is used [mʃa] to mean “he went”.

9-Phonology: According to Ferguson, the two kinds are discerned. One is where H and L share the same phonological elements, but H may have more complex morphophonemic or H is a special subset of the L-variety inventory. For example the sound /q/ in H variety has different realizations in L variety such as: [g], [k], [ʔ].

Ferguson's concept of diglossia has been developed by Fishman; he has chosen to extend the notion of diglossia to encompass even a situation where H and L are not varieties of the same language, but two different languages (Deneire, 2014). According to Backer (1998), Fishman (1980a) combines bilingualism and diglossia to portray four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist together or without each other. He summarizes the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism in the following table:

Diglossia	Bilingualism
1 Diglossia and bilingualism	3 Bilingualism without diglossia
2 Diglossia without bilingualism	4 Neither bilingualism nor diglossia

Table.1.1: The Relationship between Bilingualism and Diglossia (taken from Fishman, 1996: 30) cited in Demejia (2002: 39)

In Algeria for instance, the Algerian speaker may use either Arabic or French as a H variety for educational and more prestigious domains, however, he uses the AA as L variety for informal and everyday communication.

2.5.2. Bilingualism

Bilingualism is one among the possible outcomes of language contact. It refers to the ability of speaking two languages. In other words, it is the practice of the alternate use of two languages and the involved person is called “bilingual” (Weinreich, 1968).

Such phenomenon is defined differently by different scholars. On the one hand, some consider bilingualism as the perfect mastery of two languages. In this sense, Bloomfield (1933: 56) defines bilingualism as: “The native like control of two languages.” In the same vein, Haugen (1953: 07) considers bilingualism as the ability to produce: “complete meaningful utterances in the other language.”

Due to language contact, speaking more than one language becomes a natural phenomenon. In this framework, Milroy and Muysken (1995: 1) suggest that: “The phenomenon of language revival and the economically motivated migration of people, have led to wide spread of bilingualism in the modern world.”

If we apply this fact to Algeria, it is found that this latter is characterized by the co-existence of two unrelated languages; Arabic with its three varieties MSA, CA and AA and French. Moreover, the use of Berber in some areas makes it considered as multilingual society. The fact that the existence of three languages makes Algeria a multilingual society does not mean that all the Algerians master the three languages. In this sense, Wardhaugh (2006: 96) states: “People who are bilingual or multilingual do not necessary have exactly the same abilities in the languages (or varieties) in fact that kind of parity may be exceptional.”

Arabic French bilingualism in Algeria is the result of the long period of French colonization with the existence of Arabic; however, bilingualism became a logical result of that situation. According to Mouhadjer (2004), Algerian bilingualism is an outcome of historical then educational strategy and social specificity. It is co-ordinate bilingualism which emerges in the country due to the fact that it is taught at school along side with Arabic. However, the learner develops two systems of meaning of words; one

system for the words he knows in the first language and the other is for the words that are known in the second language.

2.5.3. Code Switching

The existence of two or more languages in a speech community makes speakers frequently switch from one language to another. In this framework, Sridhar (1996:56) states that: “When two or more languages exist in a community, speakers switch from one language to another. This phenomenon is known as code switching.”

The term code switching has been defined differently by different scholars. According to Gumperz, (1982: 59) code switching is: “The juxtaposition within the same speech exchanges of passages belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems.” Accordingly, code switching does not involve only languages but also dialects of the same language. In the same vein Trudgill (1996:16) defines code the term as being: “The process whereby bilingual or dialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation.”

In other words, code switching is the alternative use of two or more languages in the same conversation (Milroy and Muysken 1995). Myer-Scotton (1993*b*: 11) defines code switching as: “Alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation.”

To apply such situation in Algerian context, it is found that the existence of French in Algeria for a long period makes its people switch between AA and French or Berber and French. The conversation may sometimes start with the native language either AA or Berber and finishes with French or vice versa, such as:

[ranɪ rajaħ] la chambre [natfaraʒ] match,

which means:

“am going to the room to watch the match”

. In addition to Arabic-French code switching, students who pursue their studies in Arabic especially those who are specialized in Arabic literature tend to switch between AA and MSA. Such situation is different from diglossia where the use of

standard language and dialect depends of the functions according to the situation. The switching occurs unconsciously when dealing with topics related to the students' specialization (Haoues 2009).

Poplack (1980) has identified three types of code switching. Firstly, Tag code switching; it is related to the inclusion of a tag (you know, I mean, or right?) in one language into a sentence which is otherwise in the other language. Such a tag is easily included in an utterance and does not violate its syntactic structure. Such situation is found in Algeria, when the conversation is in AA and suddenly the speaker initiates a French tag such as:

[ranɪ nasanak, d'accord]

in English is:

“am waiting for you, okay”

Second type is Intersentential code switching which means the switching between language varieties at the sentence boundary, as a result one sentence can occur in one language and the following part is in another language. Such as:

[makdartʃ nɔ:d], *c'est dommage*.

In English :

‘I could not wake up, it is a pity.’

In this framework, Myer-Scotton (1993b: 3) writes: “Intersentential code switching involves switches from one language to the other between sentences: a whole sentence (or more than one sentence) is reduced in one language before there is a switch to the other language(s) in use in the conversation.”

The last type is Intrasentential code switching. According to Myer-Scotton (*ibid*), intrasentential switches occur within the same sentence or sentence fragment. In other words, this type of switching is found within the same clause or sentence which contains elements from both languages. For example;

[maʃ andakʃ] droit [tahdar mʃ aja bhad] la façon.

In English:

“You do not have the right to talk to me on this way.”

Another language phenomenon exists in Algeria known as borrowing.

2.5.4. Borrowing

As it has been defined in the first chapter, borrowing is a term used to cover the words that have been introduced to a certain language and have become an integral and permanent part of the recipient language. Sometimes, the donor language is seen as prestigious or more socially valued than the recipient language. However, in Algeria, if it is taken into consideration the widespread of French in the world and the number of its speakers, in addition to the literary and scientific works written in French within this definition of prestigious language AA is much less prestigious than French; it is not written.

It is assumed that borrowing is an outcome of language contact. Thus, in Algeria, due to historical reasons, a great number of borrowed words from different languages are introduced in Algerian dialect (Guella, 2011), for instance; AA has borrowed from Berber many words such as:

- 1 [tɪflɪlləs] for “swallow”.
- 2 [ʃla:ʁam] for “moustache”.
- 3 [ʦarɛzzɪ] for “wasp”.
- 4 [fallus] for “chick”.

The existence of the Turkish in Algeria for centuries has led to the borrowing and adaptation of several words into AA. For instance,

- 1 [bukra:ʒ] for “kettle”.
- 2 [balak] for “maybe”.
- 3 [branɪja] for “eggplant”.

Also, the colonization of Spanish to Algeria makes Algerians borrow many words from their language such as:

- 1 [baʦaʦa] for “potato”
- 2 [kmaʒa] for “shirt”
- 3 [ʃɪta] for “brush”
- 4 [grɪllu] for “cockroach”.

According to Haoues (2009), the long period of the French colonization has made French deeply rooted in the daily life of Algerians and a large number of French words are used as if they are part of Algerian dialect. However, AA often contains French words which are adapted phonologically and morphologically.

It is distinguished between two types of borrowing; adapted, and none adapted borrowing. The former refers to that type that consists of words which are phonologically and morphologically changed to fit within the base. However, French words are adapted into AA according to a continuum that shows the degree of assimilation and they are adapted into the system of Arabic so that they seem to have an Arabic origin. For instance; in the French words “poste” and “valise”, the phonemes /p/ and /v/ become /b/ and /f/ respectively; the suffix {-a} is added in the morphological assimilation of the feminine French word machine to give [maʃɪna] and the plural suffix [-a:t] is used to become [maʃɪna:t] which mean “machine, machines” respectively. Thus, the words have been completely assimilated into the Arabic system and are indistinguishable from the Arabic words. The latter contains a set of words that are imported from French language and kept intact both phonologically and morphologically. Such type includes terms that have no equivalent terms in AA, like: names of machines and imported equipments: *video, portable, ordinateur* (video, mobile phone, and computer) which have been called cultural borrowings (Myer-Scotton1993a).

2.6. Conclusion

To sum up, the history of Algeria has influenced a lot the linguistic situation of the country. However, Algeria can be characterized as a diglossic context by the use of two varieties in different contexts, bilingual or even multilingual due to the existence of three languages namely; Berber, Arabic, and French. Thus, Algerian speakers may switch or borrow words from these languages for different reasons.

Chapter Three

Methodology, Data Analysis and Interpretation

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology, Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Tlemcen Speech Community

3.3. Research Instruments

3.3.1. Questionnaire

3.3.2. Word List

3.4. Description of the Sample Population

3.5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.5.1. Questionnaire Analysis and Interpretation

3.5.2. Word List Analysis and Interpretation

3.6. Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

The current chapter deals with the methodology, analyzing and interpreting the collected data. However, it will give first a general overview about Tlemcen speech community, then it will introduce the two research instruments used in collecting data; questionnaire and words list. After, the sample is defined and finally gives an analysis and interpretation of the main results.

3.2. Tlemcen Speech Community

Tlemcen town is located in the north west of Algeria. In Arabic “*Tilimsan*” from the berber ‘*tilmas*’ (plural *tilmisan* and *tilmasin*) which means “the town of the springs”.

Tlemcen had several names; *Pomaria* and *Tagrart*. The city was founded by the Romans under the name of *Pomaria*. In the seventh century, it was conquered by the Arabs and in the late of the eighth and ninth centuries, the city became a kingdom of Banu Ifran. Later on, in the eleventh century, Almoravid leader Yusuf Ibn Tashfin founded the city of *Tagrart* and since then became known as Tlemcen (Houtsma 1993).

Despite the fact that Tlemcen dialect shares some features with other Algerian dialects, it has its specific characteristics, known as ‘glottal stop [ʔ]’ instead of the uvular [q] as in [ʔɑ:l] instead of [qɑ:l] to mean ‘he said’. Tlemcen inner speakers are known anywhere by the use of the glottal stop; in this sense, Dendane (2013: 2) states: “glottal stop variant can indeed be observed very easily in natural discourse and brief interviews, or just in rapid anonymous observation of native people’s speech.”

3.3. Research Instruments

The choice of the research instrument is certainly a matter of particular factors, according to Beiske (2002), time and costs play an important part in deciding how to approach a particular research problem, the subject of the research should determine the instruments used. However, in our research, data are collected by means of a questionnaire and word list.

3.3.1. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire, as a useful instrument of research, contains a set of written questions. Such tool can be defined as a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis. For Seliger and shohamy (1989: 172), the questionnaire is: “printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously.”

However, in the current research, a questionnaire is used for the sake of knowing people attitudes towards linguistic borrowing. It was administered to a sample of 90 participants. Since the respondents were of different ages and educational background, the questionnaire was given in English and translated into Arabic to the less educated.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections; the first aimed at gathering general information about the respondents; gender, age, and educational background. The second section contained questions related to the research project concerning the linguistic borrowing and the reasons that lead to such process, through the use of the two kinds of questions: open-ended questions and close-ended questions in order to answer the research questions.

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3.3.2. Words List

Another research instrument was used to collect data known as words list; it is a set of words given to the participants. However, in this research, words list was composed of two parts; in the first, the participants were given borrowed words and asked to write the source language, to test their awareness about borrowing. The second part contains of set of words, and the informants were asked to give the synonyms for them used in their dialects, after they were asked to provide plural form for nouns and conjugate the verbs with first singular pronoun “I”, in order to know how they are adapted in their system.

3.4. Description of the Sample Population

The term “population” represents a particular group in a particular research or study, and from that population the researcher chooses his / her sample through which he/she makes inferences about the population (Brown, 1988). Thus, in the current study, Tlemcenian speakers are the population of interest. However, the fact of the huge of Tlemcen population obliged us to choose a sample, which can be defined as: “a subgroup taken from a population to represent it.” (1988: 114). In this research, the sample has been chosen randomly; it consists of ninety respondents; forty five males and forty five females, aged between 18 and 42 they are of different educational backgrounds.

3.5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

In this part, we will analyze and interpret the obtained data.

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3.5.1. Questionnaire Analysis and Interpretation:

The questionnaire used in the current research was divided into two sections.

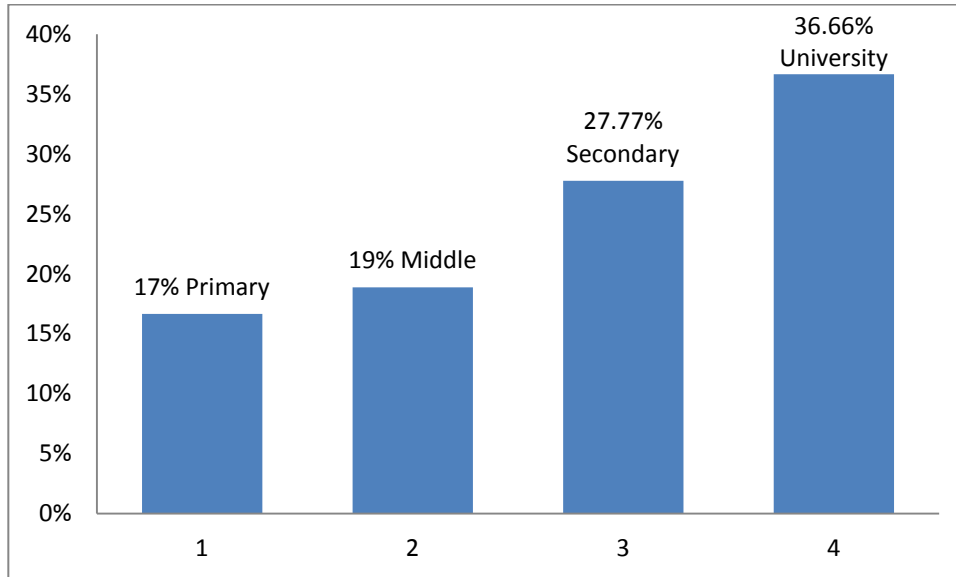
Section one: The first part aimed to gather general information about the respondents; their age, gender, and educational background.

Table 3.1. reveals the sample population undertaken by means of four age groups.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
18-22	04	14	18
23-27	24	10	34
28-32	12	13	25
33-37	03	00	03
38-42	02	08	10
Total	45	45	90

Table.3.1. Sampling and Stratification

The participants were from different educational backgrounds as it is shown in the graph 3.1.



Graph 3.1. Participants' Educational Background

According to the result obtained, the majority 36, 66% of the respondents hold a university degree with a rate of followed by a rate of 27,77% to represent the secondary level, then seventeen respondents with a rate of 18,88% have the middle level, and the rest have just the primary level (16,66).

Section Two:

The second part is composed of eight questions:

Question one: Which language do you use in your daily life?

The first question aimed at exploring the language used in participants' daily life.

The next table revealed the result obtained:

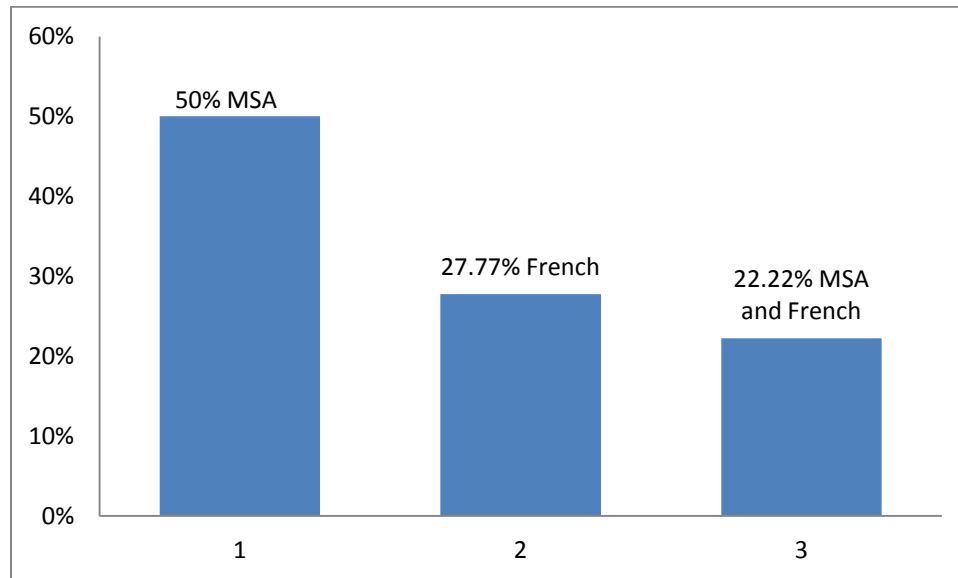
Languages	MSA	AA	Berber	French
Frequencies	00	100	00	00

Table.3.2. Respondents' Language Use

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From the table above, all the informants use AA in their everyday interaction. As it is Algerians' mother tongue, it is used in everyday interaction. To know which language is mastered by the respondents, the following question was asked: Which language do you master?

The results obtained were summarized in the following graph:



Graph 3.2. Participants' Mastered Language

The graph 3.2. shows that the two languages are mastered; MSA and French, the former has a high score of fifty percent (50%), it is considered as the language taught in schools and used in formal setting mentioned in section 2.3.2.2, followed by a rate of (27, 77%) to represent French, and others have shown that they master the two languages with a score of (22, 22%).

The existence of bilingualism makes one language more prestigious than the other(s). However, the participants were asked to specify which language they appreciate.

The results were summarized in table 3.3. as follows:

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languages	MSA	French
Percentage	47,77%	52,22%

Table.3.3. Participants' Prestigious Language

The results show that the majority of the informants consider French as prestigious with a high score of 52, 22% this confirms Baker and Prys Jones (1998:355) cited in 2.3.3 that French has a high status in Algeria, it is taught in schools, used in spoken and written form. It is also used in radio and TV channels and many newspapers and magazines are printed in French. Followed by a score of 47, 77% for MSA.

The next question aimed at gathering information about language preferences. However, informants were asked about the language used beside their mother tongue.

The results are presented in the following figure:

Concerning the fifth question, the respondents were asked to give their opinions about dialectal Arabic whether it is a mixture of different languages or not. In the case if they have a positive attitude, they were asked to state these languages. Table 3.4. indicates the obtained outcomes:

	yes	No
Frequency	80	10
Percentage	88,88 %	11,11%

Table. 3.4. Informants' Attitudes towards AA

The table shows that a high score of 88, 88% of participants have a positive view; they consider AA as a mixture of Arabic and other languages. However, the majority of them state that French is the language most used in AA in addition to the following languages; Spanish, Berber, and Turkish; this is may be because of their awareness of the long period of colonization or their exposure to French.

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The following question was designed to look for the reason that makes people borrow words from other languages. The Figure.3.4. shows the different views:

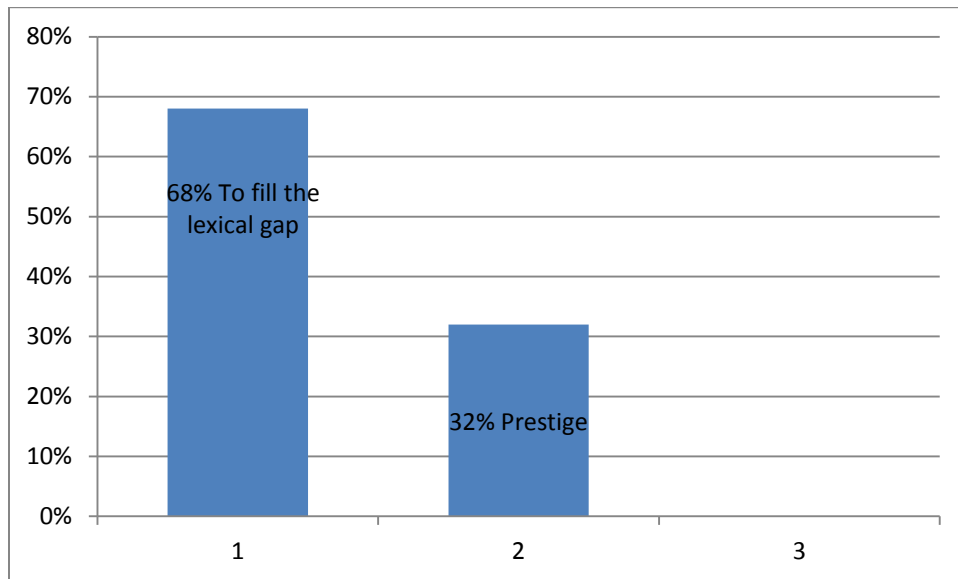


Figure.3.4. Motivation behind the Borrowing Process

Graph 3.4. shows that the majority of the participants think that prestige is the main reason for borrowing, this is argued with Myer-Scotton 2002 and Weinreich 1968 cited in 1.7. Weinreich (1953) claims that the need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is a completing reason to borrow lexical items, and Myer-Scotton (2002: 238) states: “a society with socioeconomic prestige is often the source of borrowing in today’s society”.

The preceded question was asked about the reasons that lead to borrowing in general. However, the next question was addressed directly about Algerian French borrowing. Therefore, the informants state different reasons, which are summarized in the following points:

-As a sequence of French colonization.

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- French is more prestigious than Arabic.
- Education; French is taught at schools.
- French is deeply rooted in Algerian speech.
- Historical reasons.

The results conform to Haoues' view (2009) who state that the long period of French colonization has made French deeply rooted in the daily life of Algerians and a great number of French words are used as if they are part of Algerian Dialect, therefore, AA contains French words which are adapted phonologically and morphologically.

The last question aimed at knowing the reasons behind Algerian's adaptation and changes of borrowed words. However, the main reasons given by the informants were summarized in the following:

- Many people do not know grammar rules.
- Not all Algerian speakers master French language.
- To be parts of their dialectal Arabic.
- To be easy to pronounce.
- To facilitate speech.

The last three points correlate with Winford view (2003:46) cited in section 1.5, borrowed words tend to be adapted phonologically and morphologically into the recipient language system, and become indistinguishable from native forms.

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3.5.2. Word List Analysis and Interpretation

The first part was set to explore participants' awareness of the use of borrowing; they were asked to write the source language in front of each word. Table 3.5. shows these results:

Borrowed Words	Words' Origin	English Words	Percentage of Positive Answer	Percentage of Negative Answer
tabsi	Turkish	Plate	2.22%	97.77%
table	French	Table	83.33%	16.66%
tiki	French	Ticket	84.44%	15.55%
tipana	French	Loaf of bread	55.55%	44.44%
Quahwaji	Turkish	Cafe boy	6.66%	93.33%
Bogado	Spanish	Lawyer	11.11%	88.88%
Spardina	Spanish	Snickers	3.33%	96.66%
Falta	Spanish	Mistake	22.22%	77.77%
Bashmak	Turkish	Sandal	6.66%	93.33%
Kuzina	French	Kitchen	88.88%	11.11%
Silun	French	Prison	72.22%	27.77%
Miziriya	Spanish	Misery	68.88%	31.11%
Gosto	Spanish	Desire	33.33%	66.66%
Zerda	Turkish	Feast	8.88%	91.11%
Mangoush	Turkish	Ear ring	2.22%	97.77%

Table 3.5. Participants' Awareness of the Origin of Borrowed Words

The results show that a great number of the informants had positive answers. They were aware of the words that are derived from French, such as [tabla] for 'table' with a

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score of 83.33% [Kuzina] for ‘Kitchen’ with 88.88%, [Silun] for ‘Prison’ 72.22, [Miziriya] for ‘Misery’ 68.88. Some respondents were lucky to find Spanish words origin unlike Berber and Turkish, for example [Bogado] for ‘Lawyer’, [Falta] for ‘Mistake’ [Gosto] for ‘Desire’.

The second part was set to see how much borrowed words are adapted into the Algerian dialects. However, the informants were given a list of words and they were asked to write the equivalent synonyms in their dialects, with providing the plural forms for nouns and conjugating verbs with the first singular pronoun ‘I’. The obtained results were put in table 3.6:

Words in English	Singular		Plural	
	Equivalent Synonym	Percentages	Plural Adaptations	Percentages
Lamp	[La:mba]	75.55%	[Lamba:t]	55.55%
	[Lomba]	20%	[Lomba:t]	20%
	[lampul]	4.44%	[Lwanab]	20%
			[lampulat]	4.44%
School Bag	[Karta:b]	100%	[Kartabaat]	46.66%
			[Krati:b]	31.11%
			Les cartables	22.22%
Table	[t a:bla]	94.44%	[t aabla:t]	64.44%
	[Majda]	5.55%	[majad]	5.55%
			[t wa:bal]	30%
Mobile Phone	[port a:b]	83.33%	[port aablat]	70%
	[Tilifoun]	16.66%	[Tilifounat]	13.33%
			les portables	16.66%

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Picture Frame	[kaɖar]	100%	[Kwadar]	68.88%
			Les cadres	31.11%
Place	[Blaʃa]	78.88%	[Blaʃaat]	78.88%
	[blaʃ]	21.11%	[blajaʃ]%	21.11%
Village	[vilaʒ]	55.55%	[vilaʒaat]%	55.55%
	[filaʒ]	44.44%	[filaʒaat]%	27.77%
			les vilages%	16.66%
Jacket	[Vista]	38.88%	[Vistaat]%	38.88%
	[veste]	46.66%	Les vestes%	46.66%
	[ʒakita]	14.44%	[ʒwakat]%	14.44%
Gravette	[grafata]	80%	[grafataat]%	80%
	[gravata]	20%	[gravataat]%	20%
List	[Lista]	76.66%	[Listat]%	76.66%
	La List	23.33%	Les lists%	23.33%
Restaurant	[Ristura]	35.55%	[Risturaat]	44.44%
	[Ristu]	22.22%	[Ristuyaat]	22.22%
	[Lakontine]	8.88%	Les restaurants	33.33%
	restaurant	33.33%		
School	[Likoul]	66.66%	[Likoulaat]	66.66%
	école	33.33%	Les écoles	33.33%

3.6. Borrowed Nouns Adaptation in AA

Table 3.6. shows that many words tend to be pronounced in a way similar to its pronunciation in the source language. For instance the words: [Karta:b] for ‘school bag’ with a rate of 100% [vilaʒ] ‘village’ with a rate of 55.55, [vista] ‘vest’ for ‘jacket’

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(38.88), [lalist] ‘list’ (76.66), [resturan] ‘restaurant’ with a score of (35.55), [ikol] ‘école’ for ‘school’ with percentage of 33.33%. This can be interpreted by the high degree of education or mastering the French language.

The absence of some French phonemes in the AA makes them substituted by their similar sounds in Arabic. Therefore, most of the informants (75.55%) pronounce the word ‘lamp’ as [lambda] with consonant substitution; /p/ is realized as [b], the same thing happens in [Bla:ʒa] (78.88%) and [Bla:ʒ] (21.11%), ‘place’, /p/ is pronounced as [b]. /v/ is another phoneme which has no equivalent in Arabic. However, speakers use its allophone [f] such as in the following example: ‘gravette’ is pronounced as [grafata]; /v/ is devoiced. This conform to Haugen’s view 1989 cited in section 1.5.1 which states that monolingual speakers of the recipient language approximate the non native sound patterns to the native ones.

The respondents were also asked to inflect the plural form for each noun. Thus, from their answers, it was noticed that the same word takes different forms (*awzzan* in Arabic); sound plural by adding the suffix {at} to form sound plural or takes the broken plural form. In other words, the same word has different representations in the participants’ minds, this may vary according to gender or social variables. For instance, the following words have the two plural forms: ‘lamp’ [lambbat] and [lwanab], ‘school bag’, [kartabaat] or [krati:b] ‘table’, [tablaat] or [twaabal], ‘place’ [Blaʒaat] or [Blajaʒ].

Some other words may take either sound or broken plural form, for instance the words: ‘mobile phone’, ‘village’, ‘jacket’, ‘list’, ‘school’, and ‘restaurant’ which have the plural forms: [porta:blat] [vilaza:t] [Vistaat], [lista:t], [likula:t], [ristura:t]. Only one word has just the broken plural form ‘picture frame’ [kwadar]. Some informants who were supposed to be either educated or bilinguals gave the French plural form by adding the {-s} such as: les cartables (22.22%), les portables (16.66%), les cadres

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(31.11%), les villages (16.66%), les vestes (46.66%), les listes (23.33%), les restaurants (33.33%), and les écoles (33.33%).

The participants were given also a list of borrowed verbs to see how they are conjugated in AA. Table 3.7. shows the results:

Verbs in English	Infinitive		Conjugated with 'I'	
	Verbs in AA	Percentages	Conjugated	Percentages
'to enroll'	[Markɪ]	50%	[Nmarkɪ]	50%
	[ʔanskrɪ]	33.33%	[nʔanskrɪ]	33.33%
	[saʒʒal]	16.66%	[nsaʒal]	16.66%
'To download'	[tɪlɪfɑrʒɪ]	43.33%	[ntɪlɪfɑrʒɪ]	43.33%
	[fɑrʒɪ]	41.11%	[nfɑrʒɪ]	41.11%
	[ʕammar]	15.55%	[nʕammar]	15.55%
'To have flu'	[Grɪpa]	65.55%	[Ntgrɪpa]	65.55%
	[ʕatɪhɪbard]	34.44%	/yaʕtɪnɪɪbard/	34.44%
'To connect'	[Konaktɪ]	53.33%	[nKonaktɪ]	53.33%
	[ttɑʒal]	35.55%	[nttɑʒal]	35.55%
'To block'	[Blokɪ]	100%	[nblokɪ]	100%

3.7. Borrowed Verbs' Adaptation in AA

The results obtained show that all the participants use [blokɪ] for 'to block' in their dialect. However, other verbs have different representations such as: 'to enroll', it

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may be realized as [marki] (50%), [ʔanskri] (33.33%), or [saʒʒal] (16.66%). Concerning the second verb ‘to download’ three representations were given [tiliʃarzi], [ʃarzi], [ʃammar] with rates of 43.33%, 41.11%, and 15.55% (respectively). Regarding the third verb ‘to have flu’ majority of the participants (65.55%) use [grɪpa], and others (34.44%) use [ʃatɪlbard]. The last verb ‘to connect’ has two representations according to the informants; on the one hand, some respondents use [konaktɪ] with a rate of (53.33%). On the other hand, [taʒal] with a percentage of (35.55%).

The results demonstrate that borrowed words are adapted into Arabic morphology, borrowed nouns take the Arabic plural form and verbs are conjugated in the same way as Arabic verbs, this correspond to Smeaton’ s view mentioned in section 1.5.2 who maintains that borrowed words undergo modification of morphological structure to fit with the system of recipient language.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the practical part of the investigation. It mentioned the case under study which represents Tlemcen speech community, then presenting the research tools used in collecting data. The last part dealt with analyzing and interpreting the obtained outcomes. However, the results demonstrated that educated people are aware of use borrowed words, which are borrowed for the matter of prestige and to fill the lexical gaps. With regard to Algeria speakers borrow words from French due to the long period of colonization, and its status in Algeria, it is taught in schools and used in many domains of study, and it is socially valued among almost the Algerians. Borrowed words are adapted phonologically and morphologically and adopted into Algerians’ speech.

Bibliography

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The present investigation has been conducted to explore and know Algerians' awareness about borrowing and the reasons that make them borrow words from French language. The fact that borrowed words are not distinguishable from AA words prompted the researchers to ask the following question: What kind of adaptation do Algerians do during the borrowing process? We hypothesized that Algerian's awareness varies according to social variables including age, gender, and level of education. People may borrow words to fill the lexical gaps or for the matter of prestige. Therefore, Algerians may borrow words from French language due to French colonization or the status given to French in Algeria as it is taught at schools and used in many domains and socially valued among almost all the population.

The present research was divided into three chapters. The first chapter was devoted to the theoretical part concerning language variation and linguistic borrowing. The second chapter dealt with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Then, the third was practical; it was concerned with the methodology, analyzing and interpreting data.

To tackle effectively the research problem, two research instruments were used: a questionnaire and word list. The outcomes were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. Therefore the results revealed that educated people are more aware of the French borrowing than less educated, the results also revealed that people in general borrow words from other languages for two reasons; prestige and to fill the lexical gaps. However, Algerians in particular borrow words from French language for different reasons such as French colonization, its use in education, and also many Algerians consider French as a prestigious language. The outcomes also show that speakers borrow nouns more than verbs, however, borrowed words are adapted phonologically and morphologically and adopted into the recipient language. The collected data confirmed our hypotheses.

General Conclusion

To conclude, there are some limitations to the present work, firstly, the researchers were going to use recording as a third instrument to record informants' spontaneous speech and see how much they use borrowed words in their speech and because of time limitation just two research instruments were used. It would be an interesting future research if the recording instrument will be used. Secondly, the fact that language is dynamic led the researchers to wonder if Algerians speakers will continue to borrow French words and what about the future of AA, however if this phenomenon will carry on dialectal Arabic and maybe disappear in the coming decades.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire

The questionnaire in front of you is a part of a research for a Master degree. We would be so grateful if you could answer the following questions for the sake of gathering information about the adaptation of borrowed words from French into Algerian dialects.

Section One:

Gender: Male Female

Age:

Educational Background:

Primary level Middle level Secondary level University level

Section Two:

1/ Which language do you use in your daily life?

Modern standard Arabic Algerian Arabic Berber French

2/ Which languages do you master?

Modern standard Arabic Berber French

3/ Which language is more prestigious?

Modern Standard Arabic Algerian Arabic Berber French

4/ Which languages do you prefer to use beside your mother tongue?

Modern Standard Arabic Berber French

5/ Do you think that Algerian Arabic is mixture of Arabic and other languages?

Yes

No

If yes, what are these languages?

.....

6/ Why do people borrow words from other languages?

For the matter of prestige

to fill the lexical gaps

other reasons

If others, state them.....

.....

7/ According to you, why do Algerians borrow words from French language?

.....

.....

.....

8/ In your opinion, why do Algerians make adaptations and changes during the borrowing process?

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your Collaboration.

Appendix B

Word List

Part One

The list that follows contains loanwords that are borrowed into Algerian dialects. Read the words, and then write the source language in the space provided.

- Tabsi [plate].....
- Table [table].....
- Tiki[ticket].....
- Tipana[loaf of bread].....
- Quahwagi[café boy].....
- Bogado[lawyer].....
- Spardina[snickers].....
- Falta[mistake].....
- Bashmak[sandal].....
- Kuzina[kitchen].....
- Silun[prison].....
- Miziriya[misery].....
- Gosto [desire].....
- Zerda[feast].....
- Mangoush[ear ring].....

Part Two

Read the following words and try to provide the equivalent synonyms in your dialects, and then write the plural form for the nouns and conjugate the verbs with the first singular pronoun 'I'

A lamp.....plural.....

School bag..... plural.....

Table.....plural.....

Mobile phone..... plural.....

Picture frame.....plural.....

Place.....plural.....

Village.....plural.....

Jacket..... plural.....

Tie.....plural.....

List.....plural.....

Restaurant.....plural.....

School.....plural.....

To enroll.....I.....

To download.....I.....

To have flu.....I.....

To connect.....I.....

To block.....I.....

الملخص

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى اكتشاف ظاهرة اقتراض الكلمات الفرنسية و ذلك من خلال محاولة معرفة

الاسباب التي تجعل الجزائريين يستعملون كلمات من اللغة الفرنسية و كيف تتكيف هذه الكلمات مع لغتهم العامية للوصول إلى المعلومات المطلوبة تم استخدام أداتين للبحث استبيان و قائمة كلمات مع اخذ المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني كحالة دراسة

كلمات المفتاحية اقتراض العامية العربية المجتمع اللغوي التلمساني التكيف

Resumé

Ce travail a pour objectif d'étudier l'emprunt fait à la langue française et ce pour connaître les motivations qui poussent les Algériens à utiliser des mots du français et comment ces emprunts arrivent à s'adapter à leur langue courante qui est l'arabe dialectal. Pour mener à bien cette étude, nous avons utilisé deux outils d'enquête, le questionnaire et un corpus qui contient des lexies recueillies auprès de la communauté linguistique Tlemcenienne que nous utilisons comme échantillon d'enquête.

Mots clefs: emprunt, arabe dialectal, communauté linguistique Tlemcenienne, adaptation.

Summary

The present study aims at exploring French borrowing in Algeria. It investigated the factors that lead Algerians to use French words and how these words are adapted into their dialects taking Tlemcen speech community. To obtain the necessary data two research instruments were used: a questionnaire and word list.

Key Words: borrowing, dialectal Arabic, Tlemcen speech community; adaptation.