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Degree in Linguistics and Didactics

Dialect Mixing and Borrowing among
Touati University Students

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Dedication

First, as I believe that a person's success is made by his hands and not by the others', I would like to dedicate this dissertation to myself, for I was strong enough to complete the task despite all my obstacles.

“Apples do not fall far from the tree” hence, this work would not have seen the light without the emotional support of my loved ones: My parents, sisters and my brother.

Furthermore, this work is dedicated to those who are marked in my heart through their good deeds. My primary school teacher: Mr. Hadj Brahim Mouhamed, My childhood friend Serir Houdheifa and Hicham and my best friend Miss Aliane Nour Elhouda.

Furthermore, special thanks go to my roommates: Nabti Khawla Iman and Benssaman Khadija for their continuous emotional support. Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to my students who deserved my whole time and effort, but I put the time and effort they deserved in writing this dissertation.

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List of Acronyms

AD: Adrar Dialect

TD : Touati Dialect

COP : Community of Practice

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Abstract

During the past few years, the Touati speech community has been witnessing a tremendous regional mobility from other Algerian cities. As a result of this regional mobility, the Touati speech community has become a multi-dialectal speech community.

In this multi-dialectal community, the researcher has noticed that during a conversation between an Adrarian youth and an individual who is originally from another city, dialect mixture occurs. The Adrarian youths tend to utilize lexemes from the Adrarian dialect as well as from the other dialects. They switch from the Adrarian dialect to the other dialect, or they only use certain loanwords from other dialects.

This dissertation sheds light on dialect mixture and inter-borrowing in Adrar as a multidialectal speech community; additionally investigates whether dialect mixture among the Adrarian youths will lead to the formation of a new dialect. Also it investigates the different linguistic patterns that emerge from dialect mixing.

This dissertation investigates the reliability of the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1:

There is no gender difference in terms of dialect mixing and inter-borrowing among Adrar university students.

Hypothesis2:

Dialect mixture occurs as a part of informal conversations to realize a prestigious style.

The researcher relied on the quantitative approach. The techniques used are: direct observation (participant observation), questionnaires, and individual interviews.

General Introduction

In daily communication, individuals use language differently. Noticeably, younger generations do not utilize language the same as the older ones. This is due to the contact between youths which results in variation. When two varieties come into contact, there must be an influence upon the speech community (Trudgill and Kerswill, 2001).

Since the last decade, the Adrarian society has been witnessing a large geographical mobility. Thus, contact between various dialects has occurred. The Adrarian dialect, therefore, has changed. The lexemes and morphology of the Touati dialect noticeably varied.

The researcher has noticed that Adrar's youth communicate differently than the older ones. They tend to code-mix and borrow lexemes from other dialects. Hence, the problem investigated in this research work is the change of the Adrarian dialect as a result of dialect mixing and borrowing.

Furthermore, the main questions raised in this dissertation are:

RQ1: Why do university students mix dialects?

RQ2: Do Adrarian youth inter-borrow lexemes from other dialects during a regular conversation between them?

RQ3: Are there any gender differences in dialect mixing?

The researcher has therefore put three hypotheses to answer the main questions. Thus, this research investigates the reliability of the following hypotheses:

H1: Dialect mixture occurs as a part of informal conversations to realize a prestigious style.

H2: Adrar youth speak their mother dialect in normal conversation between them

H3: There are no gender differences in terms of dialect mixing and inter-borrowing among Adrar university students.

This dissertation aims at shedding light on the phenomenon of dialect mixing and inter-borrowing among Adrar university students. Moreover, it aims at investigating whether dialect mixing and inter-borrowing among Adrar university students will lead to the emergence of a Koiné dialect.

In order to collect data, the researcher relied on the qualitative approach. The techniques used are: direct observation, questionnaire, and interviews.

The dissertation is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter is devoted to basic concepts and definition in the field of dialectology as well as the differences between dialect, language and accent. The second chapter sheds light on the main phenomena that emerge as a result of dialect contact. These phenomena are: code-switching, code-mixing, dialect leveling, borrowing and Kéoinization. The third chapter presents the practical side of this research, the informants, the data collection; furthermore, data is examined and analyzed with a reference to basic hypotheses.

Chapter One :Basic Concepts and definitions

1. Introduction
2. Dialectology
 - 2..Dialect Geography
 - 2.2.Urban Dialectology
 - 2.3.Dialectometry
- 3.Language, Dialect and accent.
- 4.Community of Speech vs. Community of Practice
5. Conclusion

1. Introduction:

The present chapter tends to explain the basic concepts and definitions used in this research work. The reader will encounter the field of dialectology and its branches, basically, traditional dialectology, urban dialectology and dialectometry. Also, the reader will be introduced to the definition of language, dialect and accent. Furthermore, it is important to draw a basic distinction between the concepts “community of speech” and “community of practice”.

2. Dialectology

A general definition of dialectology is that it is the scientific study of dialect. Dialectologists, then, aim at exploring and investigating problems of mutual intelligibility, divergence between dialects, changes that occur within a particular dialect, and dialect continua. In collecting data, dialectologists rely on both the direct method as well as the indirect method.

The roots of dialectology can be traced back to the nineteenth century, which was a remarkable era of linguistic researches. That era has witnessed the emergence of dialectology as a sub-field of sociolinguistics.

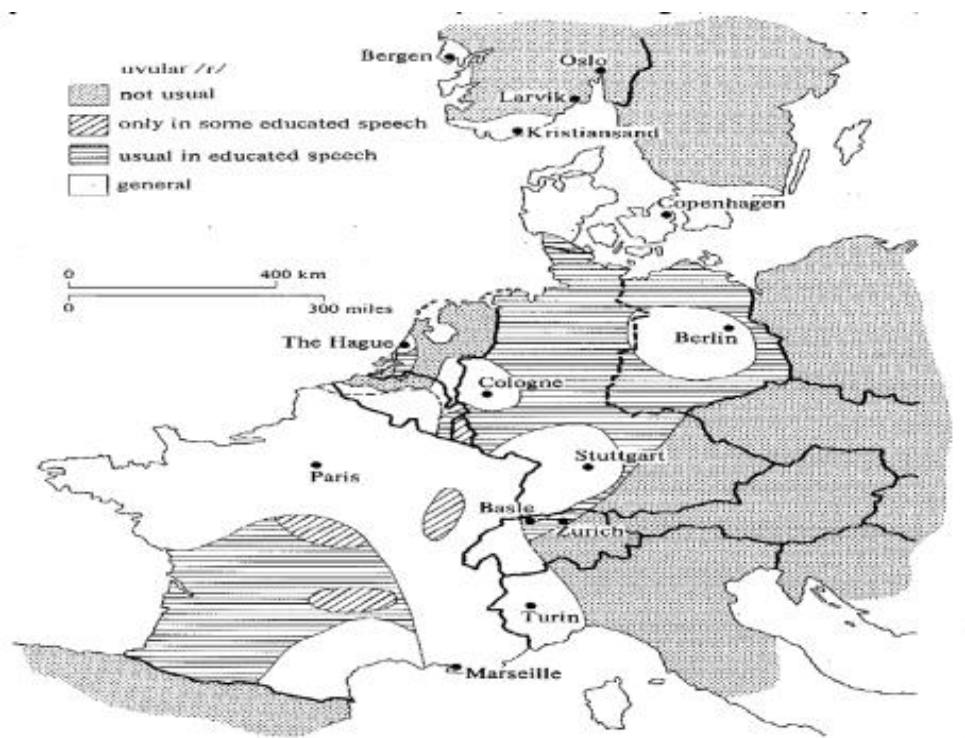
The term dialectology was first introduced as regional dialectology or geographical dialectology. At first, it was developed as surveys that were mapped to highlight particular variants which were used in particular areas.

Furthermore; the first work that paved the way to dialectology as a separate field of study was the Atlas Linguistique de la France (ALF), which was initiated by Jules Gilliéron and the data was collected by Edmond Edmont. It was collected in a form of dialect surveys, and then the results were plotted on a map to distinguish different variations in matter of

pronunciation. Following the work of Edmond Edmont , there were different works in regional dialectology carried out all across Europe , such as: Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Atlas projects, such as: Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (the ALPI), were the outcomes of those researches and surveys.

2.1 Dialect Geography

Dialect geography is the study of certain linguistic features of a dialect with regards to their geographical (regional) distribution. George Wenker's surveys are regarded as the first systematic attempt to explore dialect geography. These surveys were conducted starting from 1876; the population of the research work was schoolmasters, who were asked to write forty words in their local dialects. Additionally, Alexander Ellis's dialect surveys were another remarkable work in dialect geography. The survey was based on the translation of several English passages into dialectal speech.



Map 2.1: Distribution of uvular /r/ in Europe (Peter Trudgill, On Dialect, p58)

The distribution of uvular/r/ in Europe is a valuable example of regional dialectology. After collecting data using interviews and observation, Peter Trudgill illustrated data on the previous map to mark speech affinities in different areas.

2.2 Urban Dialectology(Social dialectology)

In the past, dialectologists focused on studying rural dialects, thinking that old speakers preserve pure dialect; however, dialectologists became aware that the old method has excluded the social factors of variation. Thus, they shifted from studying rural dialects to urban dialects, which is also called variationist sociolinguistic. The latter studies dialect use in urban areas; additionally, the interest of urban dialectology is to study the variation that occurs as a result of a speaker's socioeconomic status, gender, age and ethnicity.

One of the first researches done on urban dialectology was Martha's vineyard survey conducted by William Labov. He investigated phonological variation in matter of pronouncing the words of "price" and "mouse" . The result was that both words were pronounced differently according to the speaker's identity (fisherman, tourists, older and younger speakers). Therefore, Labov correlated the intra-speaker variations with the inter-speaker variations.

In 1966, Labov published his book *The Social Stratification of English in New York city*, where he explained his research on New York's speech community, investigating the pronunciation of /r/ in a relation to social class. 340 informants were selected randomly, and data collection was carried out through tape recording. The result was that the /r/ pronunciation was distinct according to the speaker's social stratification.

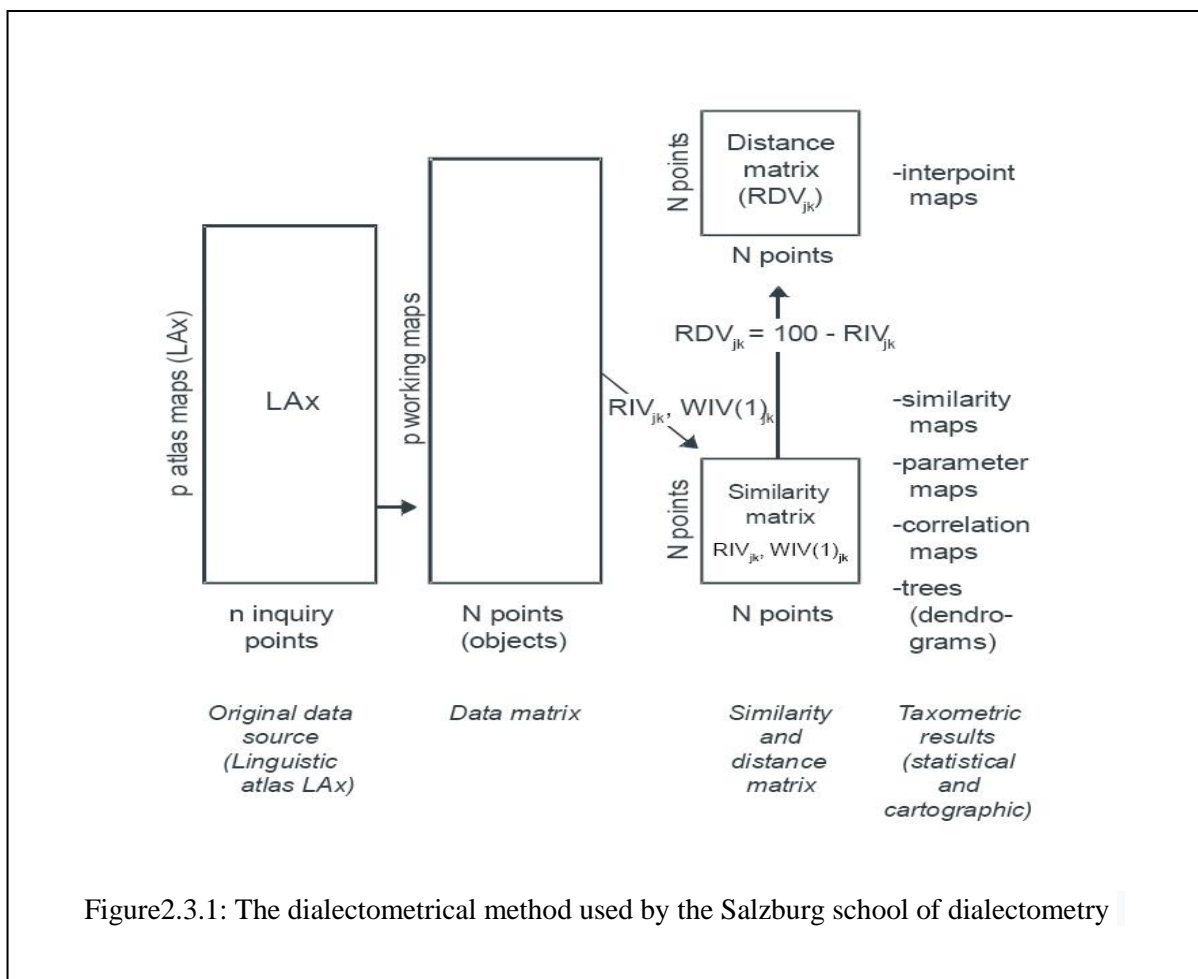
Urban dialectology focuses on speech variation as a matter of social variation. It includes: gender, economic class, age and social class. These social variations have a direct effect to speech variation.

2.3 Dialectometry

Dialectometry is a sub-field of dialectology. In dialectometry, variation is studied through statistic means. Although statistic means were often applied in dialect researches, the field of dialectometry had witnessed the light in 1971 by Jean Séguy. He conducted a quantitative analysis on *The Atlas Linguistique de la Gascogne*. Séguy's main interest was to measure the linguistic distance between different lexical forms. Other scholars who carried out remarkable works in dialectometry are Global (1984), Nerbonne (1996), Kretzscmar(1996), Heeringa (2004) and Szmrecsanyi (2011).

Traditional dialectometry focused on dialect geography; the development that happened in dialectology influenced the field of dialectometry. Thus, dialectometry shifted its attention to study urban communities.

Moreover, in dialectometry there are several methods used in collecting data, such as the dialectometrical method used by the Salzburg School of dialectometry, whereby data is collected, then translated using statistical means. Then the results are illustrated on maps. After that, the analysis takes place by determining the distance or the similarities of the features in several areas.



3. Language, Dialect and accent

Language, dialect and accent are terms used in the field of linguistics, yet they are quite distinct terms. The famous saying drawn by Max Weinreich: “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (Allan Key’s *Language and Society* 1997: 469) draws attention to the distinctiveness between a language and a dialect. Moreover, the quote refers to grammar as navy and an army of a certain language.

At first, language is defined by different linguists as a means of communication, such as Edward Sapir who defined it as: “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols.” (1921:8). Similarly, Bloch and Trager define language as: “a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates” (1942:5)

Currently, language has taken a broader definition that includes psychological and neurolinguistic sides. Among these definitions is the one proposed by Fred C.C. Peng: “Language is a behavior which utilizes body parts: the vocal apparatus and the auditory system for oral language; the brachial apparatus and the visual system for sign language. . . . Such body parts are controlled by none other than the brain for their functions.” (2005). Therefore, language is attributed to brain functions. Additionally, Wayne Weiten argues that language is a combination of different symbols that compose messages: “A language consists of symbols that convey meaning, plus rules for combining those symbols, that can be used to generate an infinite variety of messages.” (Wayne Weiten, 2010:318-319).

On the other hand, dialect has many definitions by different linguists. Each definition carries a particular aspect of dialect. Among these is Spolsky’s, who ascribes dialect to social and regional variations (1998:33). Likewise, Chae and Agustina attribute dialect to variations that occur as a result of individuals’ collaboration within a social group in a particular area (1995:83).

Furthermore, dialect has been regarded by Mattheier (1980:12) as : “ A historical phenomenon which changes its character in the course of time and is to be defined in a different way for each century”. Hence, a dialect is an unstable phenomenon that tends to take different definitions in different times and for different purposes.

Dialect is therefore defined as a variety of language that includes grammar (morphology and syntax), vocabulary and phonological features. To define dialect change from one area to another, there are dialect chains where those features change.

Starting from the preceding definitions of language and dialect, a necessary distinction must be drawn between the two concepts, which is summarized in Table 01.

| Language | Dialect |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prestigious • Taken as a standard • Codified; i.e. it has recognized grammar rules, dictionaries, and has a written form. • Categorized into spoken and written forms • Mutual intelligibility exists only between languages of the same family | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not prestigious • Non-slandered • Not codified • Mutual ineligibility occurs between dialects of the same language |

Table01: Differences between language and dialect

Furthermore, a dialect is often misunderstood as an accent; hence, it is important to point at the differences between an accent and a dialect. Both notions focus on particular aspects of language.

Starting with accent; an accent refers to pronunciation. The difference of the individual's speech does not occur at the level of syntax, grammar or vocabulary, but it is at the phonetic and phonological levels. The Yorkshires, for instance, pronounce the word cat as [Ka:t], which is different from the RP pronunciation [kæt] The same is for the word road; in the Yorkshire accent, it is pronounced as [ro:d] compared to the RP accent [rəʊd].

Some accents are associated with particular dialects. Within the same dialect there are several accents. Arabic, for instance, includes many dialects and each dialect has many accents.

4. Community of Speech vs. Community of Practice

In sociolinguistics, a community of practice is a concept used to describe individuals who share a similar profession. Conducting a study on a particular group of the community who are individuals handling the same profession necessitates the use of the concept community of practice rather than community of speech.

The concept was first used by Jean Lave, in his book *Situated learning* (1991), and Etienne Wenger, in his book *Communities of Practice* (1998). Since its first use, the concept of COP has developed and took many definitions. At first it was used to refer to a theory of learning; later it developed to take a broader definition that is associated with the field of knowledge management (Hildreth and Kimble, 2004).

In contrast, a community of speech is a concept ascribed to a group of individuals who share the same language or variety. It is defined by Lyons (1970) as: “ All people who use a given language or dialect”. Labov (1972) defines a community of speech as: “participation in a set of shared norms”.

5. Conclusion

The field of dialectology has witnessed remarkable changes over the past years as dialectologists tended to study dialect from all its aspects. Hence, in this chapter, we examined the field of dialectology, its branches and some concepts that are related to this study, which are language, dialect and accent, in addition to the differences between speech community and community of practice.

Chapter Two: Language Change and Variation

1.Introduction

2.Code-Switching

3.Code-Mixing

4.Code Switching or Code Mixing

5.Dialect Leveling

6.Borrowing

7.Style Shifting

8. Koineization and a Koiné dialect

9.Conclusion

1. Introduction

This chapter sheds light on basic theories that have a relation to the present research work. It investigates code-switching, code mixing, dialect leveling, borrowing, style shifting and the phenomenon of Koineisation.

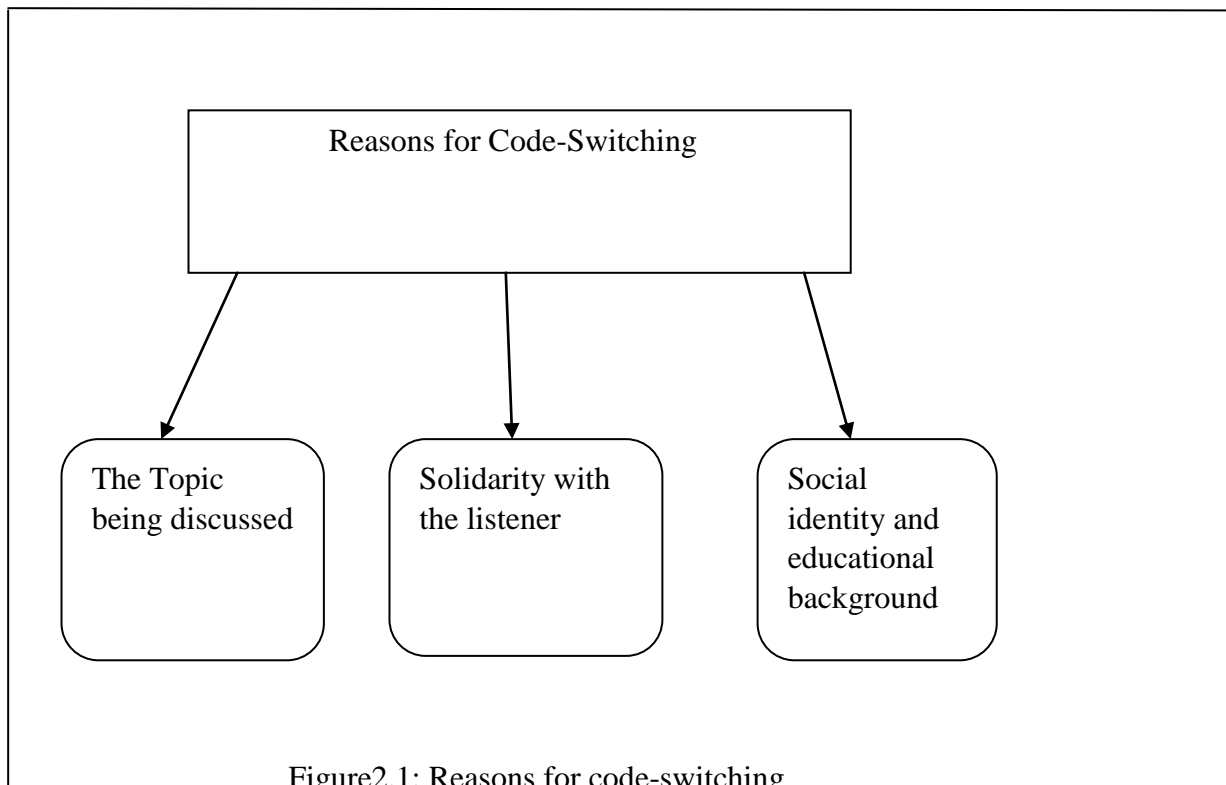
2. Code-Switching

Several scholars have attempted to define the notion of code-switching. One of the first was Hymes ,who defines code-switching as “ a common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language even speech styles ” (1974:103). Moreover, Bokamba (1989:3) defines code-switching as “the mixing of words and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event.” Another definition of code-switching is the one proposed by Romain (1995) as a phenomenon happening in a continuum where inter-sentential and intra-sentential code alternations occur. Fischer (1972) sees code-switching as a phenomenon that occurs when an individual uses two languages in the same utterance.

There are two kinds of code-switching, namely: situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. Situational code-switching occurs due to the change of the situation, whilst metaphorical code-switching occurs as a result of the change of the topic being discussed.

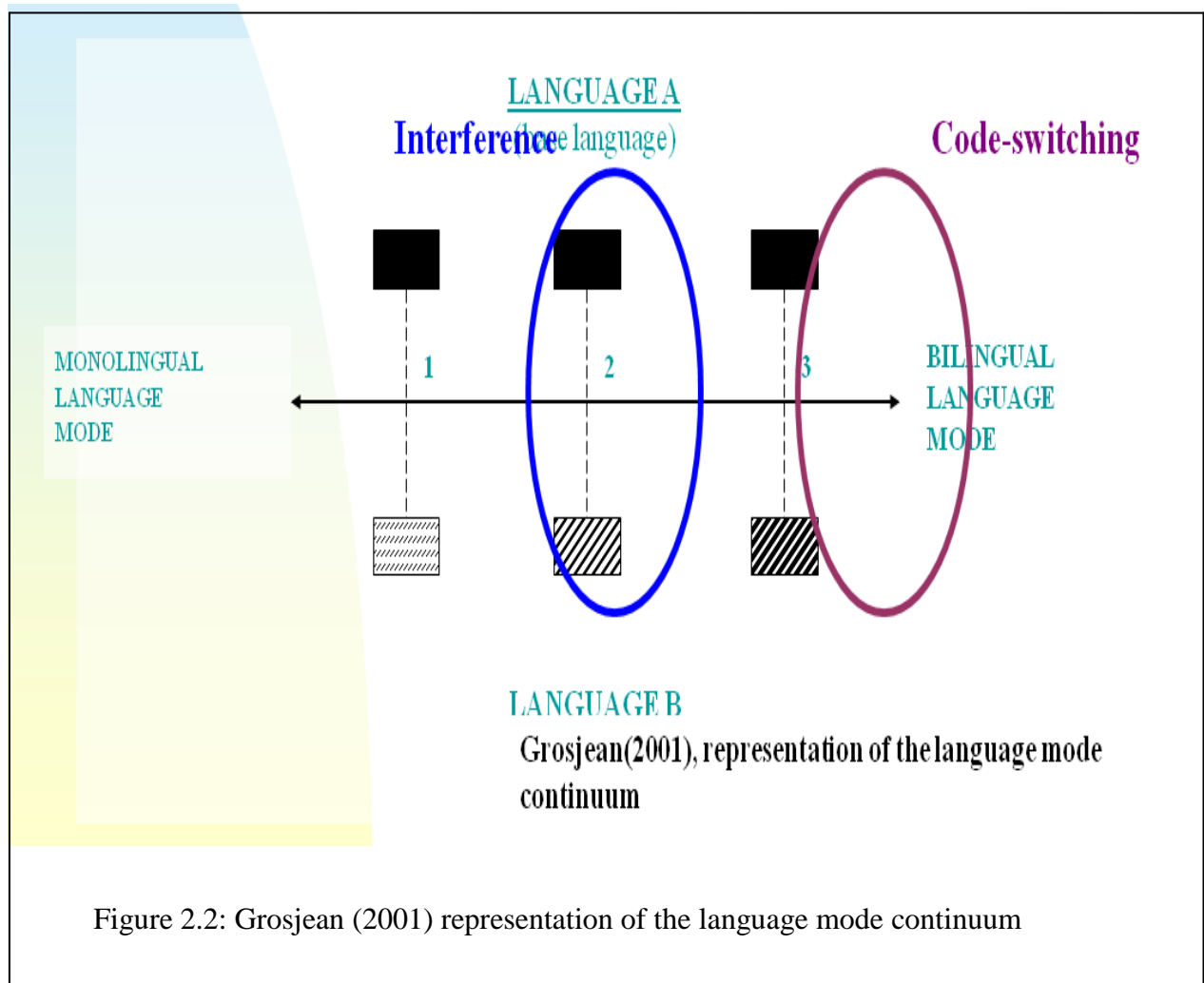
As summarized in Figure 01, code-switching has three main motivations which are: the change of the topic (Fisher, 1972), solidarity with the listener, and the social identity and educational background (Myers-Scotton 1992). The change of the topic, in some cases, necessitates the shift. For instance, the change from talking about someone’s personal relationships to talking about his work and professional life. Solidarity with the listener is

another reason for code-switching; in this case, the speaker tends to show intimacy with the listener. The third reason for code-switching is the social identity and educational background; i.e. to what social class the speaker belongs, and to what social class this listener belongs .



Recent researches on code-switching have shown that the switch from a low code to a high code is related to formal situation; whereas, the switch to a low code is related to informal contexts. A remarkable work was done by Warschauer, El Said and Zohry(2002), who investigated the use of Arabic and English in e-mails. The population was a group of young businessmen. The findings of the research were that those young businessmen used English only in formal e-mails, whereas, in informal e-mails they used Egyptian local dialects. Another similar work was conducted by Goldbarg (2009), who examined code-switching from Spanish to English in e-mails among young Spanish people. The result was

that English was used in formal contexts; whereas, Spanish was used in intimate and personal conversations.



As represented in Figure 02, Grosjean (2001) elucidated code-switching as a phenomenon that occurs within a bilingual language mode, where two distinct languages come into contact.

There are three main types of code-mixing, namely: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexilization. The First type is insertion, which was proposed by Mysken (2000) and termed by clyne (1991) as “transference”, and later by Myer-Scotton as “Emedding”., is defined as the enrollment of idioms and expressions of a particular language within another

language. Alternation is the second type, which occurs at the lexical and grammatical levels. The last type is Congruent lexicalization, which occurs when two structurally congruent languages come into contact. In Congruent Lexicalization both languages are lexically alike. The types of code-switching and their factors are illustrated below in the table 2.1

| Codeswitching type | Linguistic factors favoring this type | Extralinguistic factors favoring this type |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Insertion | Typological distance | Colonial settings; recent migrant communities; asymmetry in speaker's proficiency in two languages |
| Alternation | Typological distance | Stable bilingual communities; tradition of language separation |
| Congruent lexicalization | Typologically similar languages | Two languages have roughly equal prestige; no tradition of overt language separation |

Table2.1 Code-switching types, from Deuchar, Muysken & Wang (2007: 309)

3. Code-Mixing

“No normal human being talks the same way all the time” (Hymes,1984:44). When two varieties come into contact, individuals may adopt the new variety beside their dialect. Code-mixing refers to the shift from one code to another within the same setting without the change of the topic. Code-mixing is, therefore, a combination of the grammatical and lexical features of two varieties.

Several scholars have attempted to define code-mixing. Hudson (1990), for instance, defines code mixing as the shift from one code to another with a return to the first variety. Thus, shift depends on many factors which Hudson (1990) states as affinities .He, therefore, sees language shift as a result of the difference of individuals’ sex. The occurrence of more than one variety in a diglossic society has to results in the emergence of a new pattern, namely: prestigious or sex pattern.

Bell (1976) defines mixing as: “a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to first for a few more words and so on.”(p51). Additionally, Trudgill (1995) investigated the phenomenon of using a standard and a local form of a language within a diglossic society. The finding was that women used more standard forms than men; women were more conservative than men.

Another factor contributing to code mixing is the situation. Due to the change an individual uses specific sentences, clauses and words of a particular code (variety) meanwhile using the first variety .The change in situation could include informal vs. formal situations.

Moreover, Spolsky (1988) defines code mixing as a sort of code switching. He assures his position through giving the example of immigrants. Immigrants tend to use lexemes from their mother tongue while speaking a foreign language.

Akere (1989), Bokamba (1989), Hymes (1962), Kachru (1989) and Kamwangamalu (1989) correlate code-switching to status, integrity, self pride, comfortability, modernizations, westernization, efficiency, professionalism, social advancement and prestigious reasons. Some of the functions of code-switching are intragroup identity (Gumperz, 1982); poetic creativity (Kachru, 1989) and an expression of modernization (Kamwangamalu, 1989).

Furthermore, when two dialects come into contact within the same community of speech, there will be interference between both dialects. Kerswill and Trudgill argue that “mixing defines to the coexistence of features originated from different input dialects within a new community, usually because speakers have different dialects origins” (2005:197).

4. Code-Switching or Code-Mixing:

Although Code-switching and code-mixing are both a result of language contact in a bilingual or multilingual community, the terms are quite distinct. Wei (1998), for instance, differentiates between code-switching and code-mixing in the aspect of code alternation. If code alternation happens at or above clause level, then it is considered to be code-switching. If it occurs below clause level, then it is regarded as code-mixing.

As summarized in Table 4.1, code-mixing occurs spontaneously whilst code-switching is done deliberately. In some few cases the speaker switches codes unintentionally. Moreover, code-mixing occurs under the influence of one language, in contrast to code-switching which is dominated by more than one language.

| Code-Mixing | Code-Switching |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1-Spontaneously | 1-Done on purpose |
| 2-Influenced by one language | 2-Dominated by two or more languages |
| 3-Intrasentential | 3-Intersentential |

Table 4.1: Differences between Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

5. Dialect Leveling

This linguistic phenomenon happens as a result of regional and geographical mobility. Children growing up outside their hometowns are influenced by the speech of the new community. Similarly, local people are influenced by the speech of the newcomers.

Studies which have been conducted by many scholars, have drawn various definitions to the concept of dialect leveling. Starting with Watt and Milroy (1999:26) who argue that leveling is :“The eradication of socially or locally marked variants”. Hence, dialect leveling is characterized by the reduction of traditionally inherent variants along with the emergence of new features. Faulker and Docherty (2000), on the other hand, define dialect leveling as the shift or the spread of particular variants from one region to another. Thus leveling is also correlated with the emergence of new forms in a given region.

In addition to the previous definitions, Williams and Kerswill have defined dialect leveling as: “a process whereby... features which make varieties distinctive disappear and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area” (1999:149). According to Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 198), dialect leveling is defined as :“a selection of forms found in the previous dialect mix”. A more recent definition is the one proposed by Meyerhoff, who argues that: “Dialect leveling refers to the gradual erasure or loss of the

differences that have traditionally distinguished very local or highly regionalized varieties of a language.” (Meyerhoff, 2011:250)

Kerswill and Williams(2000) conducted a research on dialect leveling in Milton Keynes, England. The result was that children between 4 to 12 years old utilize variants which are similar to the one used in London , in contrast to the speech of old individuals in Milton Keynes. Children, for instance, pronounced the lexemes: price (ay), mouth (aw), thought (oh) and goat (ow), the same manner of the Londoners’ speech.

Another remarkable research was conducted by Gessinger (1999). He describes the speech of Brandenburg’s youths as a speech that is more associated with Berlin rather than the local Plattdeutsch. Similarly, Llas(2000) conducted a research in Middlesbrough, and noted that the youths in Middlesbrough spoke like the Newscasters.

Furthermore, Peter Trudgill (2003) has pointed that leveling leads to the emergence of new variants in a particular speech community; however, this emergence keeps the dialect boundary as it is. In other words, the speech is still distinct from the other dialects.

Britain (2005) argues that leveling in Britain does not imply the death of traditional dialects, but it implies a replacement of old variants with new one; Additionally, Trudgill (1986) argues that the principal elements of a dialect remain the same when confronting another dialect. However, Trudgill’s argument has been contradicted by Siégle (1993), who outlined that those principles elements are threatened with loss. Siégle’s arguments were that the varieties that Trudgill took as evidence to his claim were sub-dialects and not dialects. Additionally, Siégle (1993) acknowledges that a survived feature of a dialect depends more on the number of users rather than “the contributing dialects”, as mentioned by Trudgill (1986).

There are numerous cases of dialect leveling around the world, such as the case that occurred in New Zealand around 1860. The interaction between the local adults and the newcomers, in addition to the process of accommodation has led to dialect leveling; and later on to the emergence of a new dialect (Koiné dialect).

A contemporary research that was conducted by Miller (2004) has shown that leveling is a phenomenon that also occurs within the Arab World; Miller documented the case of Cairo and Damascus. As a result of historical changes, various lexemes were omitted from their lexicon.

Cairo and Damascus are very old urban centers. Their vernacular developed long ago in a sedentary environment and the historical leveling processes did not seem to have led to radical structural changes. Today there is still a kind of leveling process in the two cities: a number of lexical words, which are specific to the old urban vernacular before the 1950s have been dropped and replaced by more common pan-Arabic words but this can be considered as a natural development (p:255)

To conclude, leveling is a process that may occur between two dialects or even between a dialect and a language. It occurs as a result of direct contact between two dialects, and it results in a gradual change in one of these varieties. Due to that contact, a mixture of varieties occur, then leveling

6. Borrowing

Borrowing has been a topic of interest for linguists since the 20th century. Whitney(1875), DeSaussure(1915), Sapir (1921), Pedersen (1931), Haugen (1950), Hockett (1979) and Anttila (1989) have examined borrowing as a linguistic phenomenon; also , they have examined its causes and consequences.

Borrowing is a linguistic phenomenon that is defined as “importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another” (Hoffer, 2002:1). A more recent definition of borrowing is the one proposed by Tsvetkov, Ammar and Dyer, who identify borrowing as : “ The phenomenon of transferring linguistic constructions (lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic) from a donor language to a recipient language as a result of contact between communities speaking different languages”(2015:63). Hence, borrowing is documented as a shift in linguistic items from one language to another.

Furthermore, DeSaussure (1915) outlines that a loanword is always studied within the system of language (morphology, syntax and phonology) :“ a loan-word no longer counts as much whenever it is studied within a system ; it exists only through its relation with, and in opposition to words associated to it.”(1915, 22)

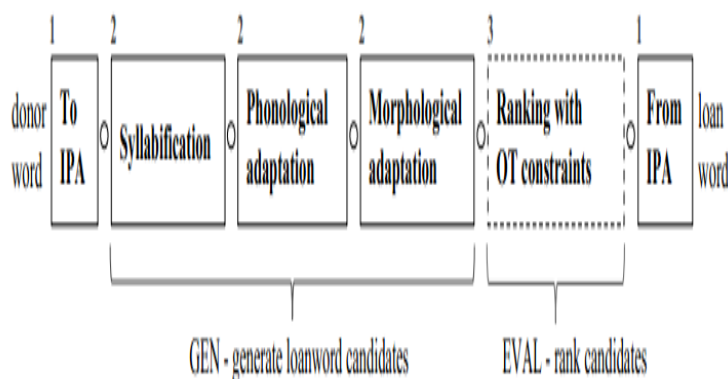


Figure6 .1:Model of the morpho-phonological borrowing process (proposed by Tsvetkov, Ammar and Dyer , 2015)

Tsvetkov, Ammar and Dyer (2015) propose a model of the morpho-phonological borrowing process, which is illustrated in Figure6 . This model is divided into three main parts: conversion, generation and the ranking.

As a valuable example of borrowing, Tsvetkov, Ammar and Dyer provide the Swahili language as an example. Due to the trade contact (800.A.D-1920), Arabic has largely contributed to the Swahili lexicon, which is estimated as 18% (Hurskainen,2004) and 40%(Johnson,1939). For instance, the lexeme Ktab in Arabic (كتاب) is borrowed in Swahili as Kitabu (a book). (Polomé, 1967; Schadeberg 2009; Mwita,2009). Moreover, it is documented that borrowed lexemes do not change, but it take affixes to have a morphological meaning. An example of this morphological change is the Arabic word Alwazir (الوزير) which is borrowed in Swahili as “ waziri”(minister), “mawziri” (ministers), “kiwwaziri”(ministerial), (Zawawi,1979; Schadeberg,2009)

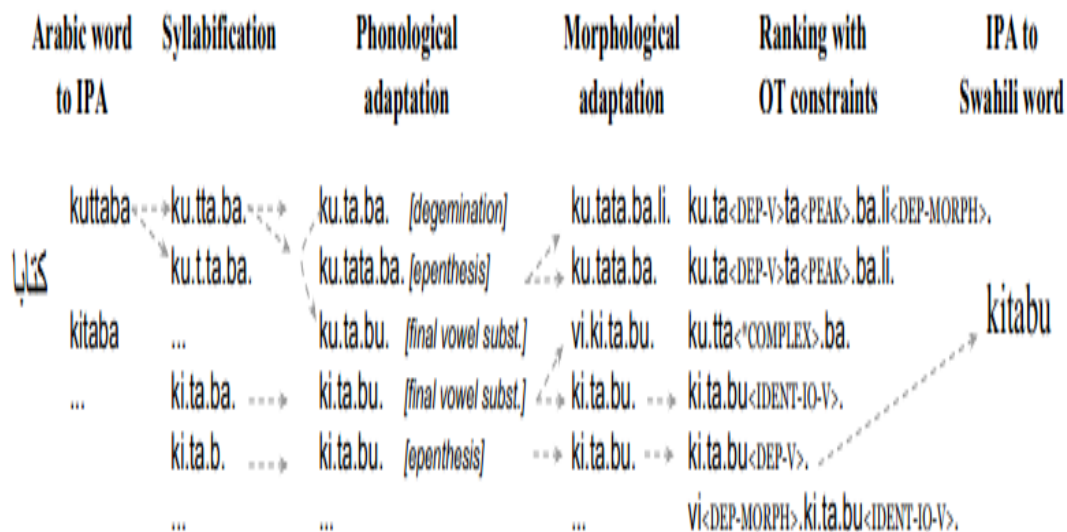


Figure6.2: Example of the lexeme Ktab transformed by the Morpho-phonological model (proposed by Tsvetkov, Ammar and Dyer ,2015)

Hockett (1958) has drawn a scale for the kinds of borrowing, which he organized into: loan words, loan shifts, loan translation and loan-blend. Hockett argues that a loanword is a lexeme adopted to function the same as in the source language (the same grammatical function). Furthermore, loan shift is defined as a lexeme adopted from a given language, but its meaning changes to suit the new language, such as the lexeme eastern.

Loan-translation or calque, on the other hand, occurs when individuals translate lexemes item-for-item. The last kind of borrowing is loan blend. It includes a loan word in collaboration with a native word, as in the word priesthood, in old English, which is a collaboration of the lexemes preast (priest) and had (hood).

Levels of adaptability are investigated using several approaches. Among which the phonological approach proposed by Hockett (1955, 1958). This approach concerns the idea that a language that has few consonants and vowels and which has a different intonational system, in addition to a difficult syllable structure, is not likely to borrow lexemes from other languages, unless they are similar.

Furthermore, there are two ways in which scholars study scales of receptivity of loanwords. The first scale regards the history of the borrowed lexemes as a product of time change. The second scale outlines borrowed lexemes as a product of official decisions (Hockett, 1955)

To conclude, borrowing is a linguistic phenomenon that occurs as a result of language contact. It occurs either randomly or systematically; and thus, a change in the recipient language occurs. As in the example of English and Swahili, borrowing has occurred as a result of language contact.

7. Style-Shifting

People may have conversations discussing politics, economy, daily activities, achievements and even neutral topics like the weather. Speakers of the same language say different things in different ways, and also say one thing in different ways. Peter Trudgill proposes the following definition of language: “Language is not simply a means of communicating information about the weather or any other subject. It is also a very important means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people” (2000:p1). Hence, language is used in maintaining and establishing relationships.

Style is a unique fragment in language; it has different definitions. Wolfram & Schilling-Estes define language style as: "variation in the speech of individual speakers" (1998:214). Moreover, style is attributed to the degree of formality. People utilize formal style to convey an overt prestige; informal style is used in relaxed situations.

Individuals make a shift in style while talking. In fact, individuals use language elusively, either consciously or unconsciously; it is not a matter of the speech itself rather it is a matter of the manner, the setting and the addressee. So the questions asked here are: What is language variation? What is style shifting? And why do people shift styles?

Trudgill argues that in addition to the social characteristics of speakers, the social context influences language variation (Trudgill, 2000, p82). Thus, factors of gender, social class and to which ethnic group a person belongs, along with the setting play a role in language variation.

Furthermore, in his book “*Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to society*”, Peter Trudgill states that the relation between style and dialect is not necessary. In addition, he states that “register and style are also in principle independent” (2000:84). Thus, there is no necessary

collaboration with style and dialect, neither with register. The register of sport, for instance, could occur with formal style as well as the informal style.

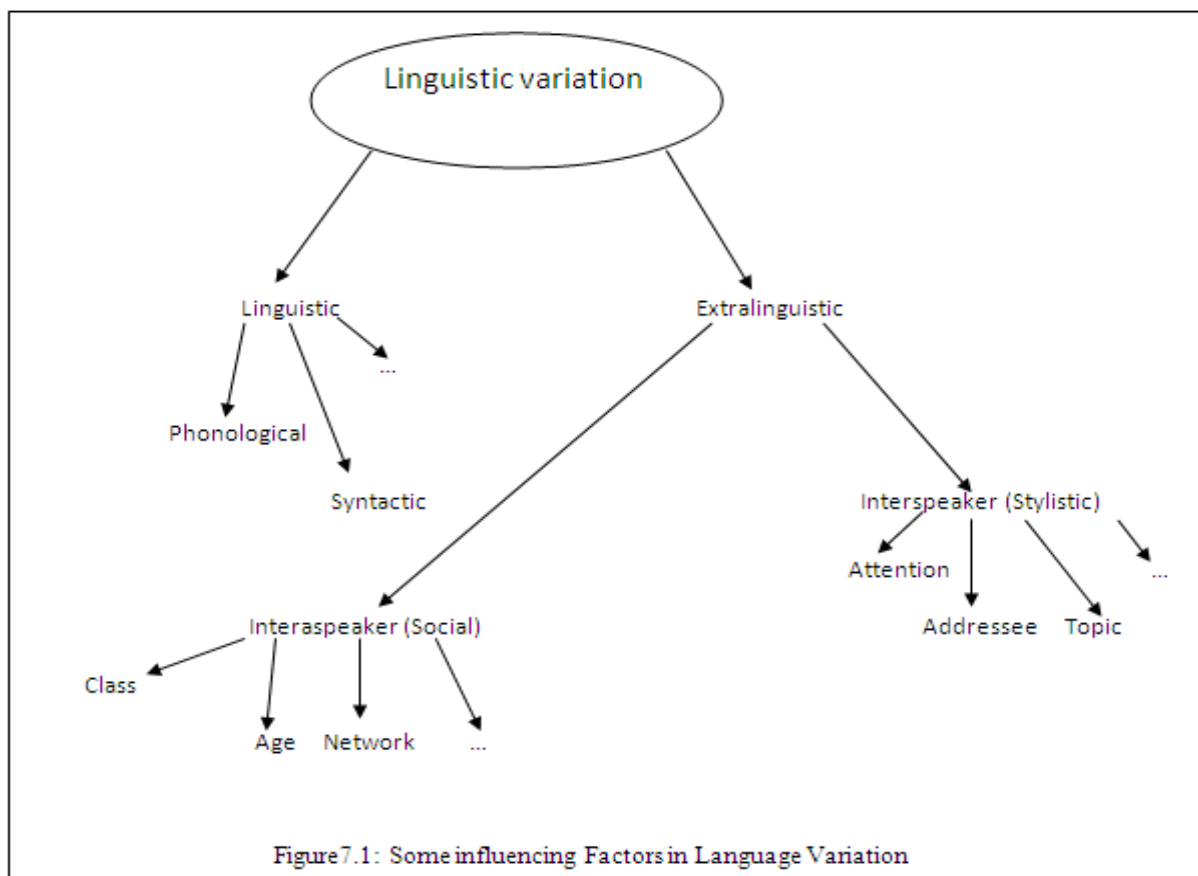
Peter Trudgill introduces the following example to identify style differences:

“I require your attendance to be punctual

I want you to come in time” (2000,p83)

Sentences in the previous example carry the same sense, yet it is told in different manners, using different vocabularies. The first sentence is more formal than the second one.

Allan Bell(1984) proposes the following diagram to elucidates language variation :



Style-shifting is divided into two types. In conducting sociolinguistics interviews, William Labov stated two kinds of style, casual speech which requires a less attention paid to speech, an formal style which requires an amount of conscious attention.

There are three main theories that explain the notion of style-shifting, the audience design theorized by Allan Bell, attention to speech lead by William Labov and speaker design approach.

The first theory to be explained is the audience design which was derived from the speech accommodation model. The latter is defined by Michael Pearce in *The Rutledge Dictionary of English Language Studies* as “The accommodation Model ascribes style shifts to the speaker’s evaluation of the addressee’s social identity”(2007)

According to the audience design theory, style is the response to the audience; ie: it is controlled by the audience. Allan Bell argues that: “Style is essentially speaker’s response to their audience” (1984:1) In other words, speakers shift style because they are paying attention to the audience. Furthermore, Vanecek and Dressler (1975) designed a survey to test the audience design theory ; they noticed that the informants paid more attention to their speech when they were told that their addressee is socially superior.

In the audience design, speakers accommodate to their addressee, the latter is divided into four kinds: Addressees who are known to the speaker, auditors who are addressed indirectly by the speaker, other hearers and eavesdroppers. This distinction is clarified in the following diagram; propose by Miriam Meyerhoff (2011:47)

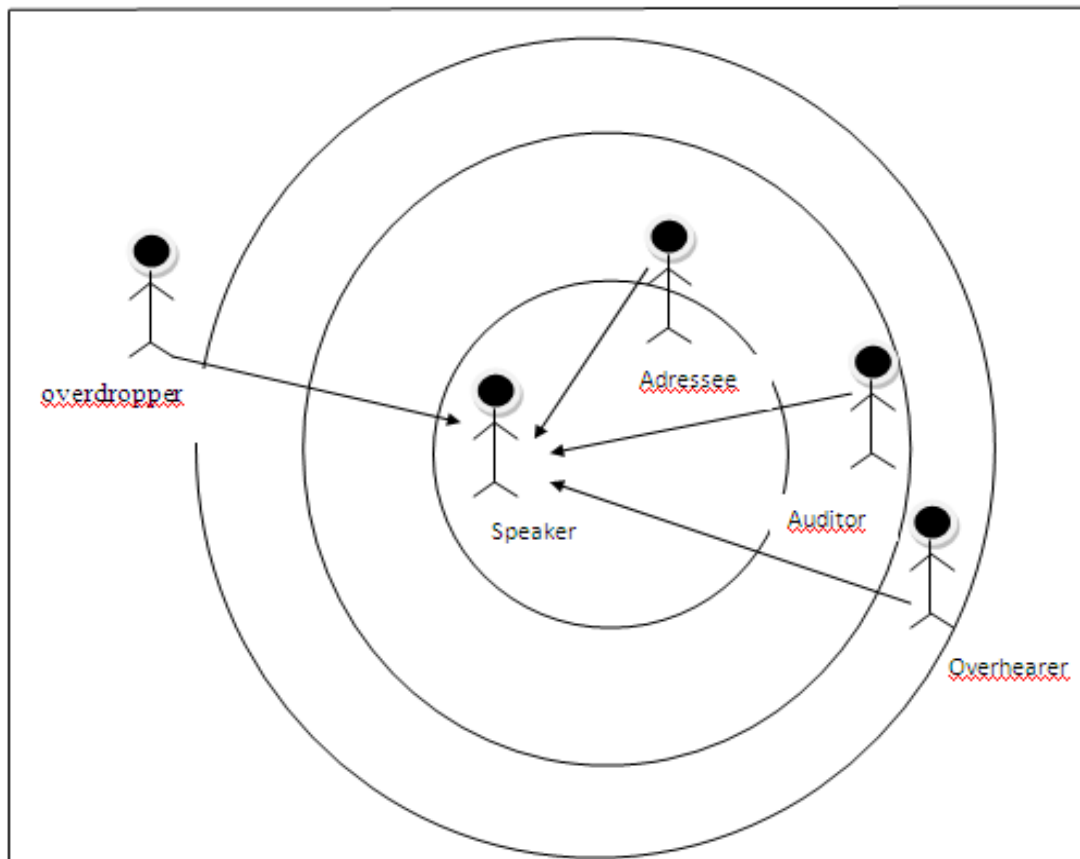


Figure 7.2: The strength of the effect of different interlocutors on a speaker's choice of the variants and different styles

The second view on style-shifting is attention to speech proposed by William Labov. After his survey's on dialect, especially the New York city social dialect survey, Labov has concluded that speakers paid more attention to their speech when the activities were designed as reading aloud, reading words list or minimal pairs. Therefore, when compared to interview, speakers paid more attention in those activities. Moreover, Labov argues that "Styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (1972,p208). Hence, a shift in the stylistics, choices of the speakers is likely to occur when the speakers pay attention to their speech .

According to the speaker design approach, style shifting occurs as a mean of projecting ones' identity. In other words, speakers manipulate their speech to attribute or misattribute themselves to a particular social group.I this model, social practice is more important than the speech structure. Furthermore, scholars like coupland (2001), Rampton

(1995) and Schilling-Estes(1998) have investigated this model use in real life. For instance, Schilling-Estes(1998) investigated the use of hyper dialect by interviewees.

To conclude, sociolinguistics competence of community members indicates that each member has his own style of speaking. By changing styles, people may associate or disassociate themselves to a particular social group, and to identify themselves within this group. Moreover, people shift styles when they are paying attention to their audience, or based on what reflection they want to make on themselves. Additionally, Style shifting may occur at all the levels of language; i.e, phonological, morph syntactic, lexical and pragmatic.

8. Koineisation and a Koiné Dialect:

Dialect contact necessarily leads to the emergence of various phenomena. Among these phenomena is Koineisation and the emergence of a Koiné dialect (Samaritan, 1971). The processes of mixing, leveling and simplification lead to the emergence of a new variety which is different from the input varieties.

Various scholars such as: Ferguson (1959), Blanc (1968), Nida & Fehderau (1970), Samaritan (1971), Hymes (1971), Mohan (1976), and Gambhir (1981), have attempted to draw a precise definition of the term a Koiné. Each of these definitions was labeled differently. Pie (1966:139) defines a Koiné as : "a compromise among several dialects".

Dillard (1972:302) defines a Koiné as a result of leveling process: "Koiné is the term for a 'common' dialect which lacks prominent features of the more conventional dialects of a language. It is the end result of dialect leveling.". Similarly, Ferguson argues that a Koiné is a result various process "The Koiné came into existence through a complex process of mutual borrowing and levelling among various dialects and not as a result of diffusion from a single source."(1959:619). The previous definition is akin to Hymes' definition of a Koiné

“Confluence of different linguistic traditions, often with simplification, and by definition through the contact of members of different speech communities” (1971:69).

Moreover, Nida and Fehdera argue that a Koiné is: “dialectal extensions of a regional language” (1970:147). Hence, according to Nida and Fehdera, a koiné is an extension of a regional language.

Throughout history, there have been various Koiné emergences, perhaps the remarkable emerged one is the Attic Dialect. Thomson (1960:34) describes the emergence of a Koiné dialect, the Attic dialect, within the speech community of the Macedonian Empire as:

“The Attic dialect spread rapidly as an official language throughout the Aegean, and it was spoken generally by educated Greeks, though they still used their local dialect among themselves. Among the common people, one of the main centers for the growth of a mixed vernacular was the Peiraieus, the seaport of Athens, inhabited by Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean. We hear complaints about the “impurity” of spoken Attic as early as the fifth century B.C. In this way the conditions were created for the formation of the Hellenistic Koine, which was mainly Attic but included many elements drawn from Ionic and some from other dialects.”

Thomson documents how the Attic dialect developed sooner to become the official language of the Macedonian Empire to the point that it replaced the native language in everyday’s contact (Nativized Koiné).

Paul Kerswill (2002:669) outlines two different types of a Koiné, which are: a regional Koiné and an immigrant Koiné. A regional Koiné is therefore defined as a dialect that emerges out of the contact between a regional dialect and dialects of individuals who

move within the region. An immigrant Koiné, on the other hand, is defined as a dialect that is formed in a community that is composed of immigrants with mutually intelligible dialects.

Furthermore, features of a Koiné have been documented by different scholars. Thomson (1960:35-36) documents two features of a Koiné which are reduction and simplification. Reduction is defined by Muhlhausler as "those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language"(1980:21) simplification, on the other hand is defined as either the increase or decrease of linguistic markers. Trudgill (1986), in his book *Dialects in contact*, outlines three main features of a Koiné, namely: leveling, simplification and reallocation:

In a dialect mixture situation, large numbers of variants will abound, and through the process of *accommodation* in face-to-face interaction, *interdialect* phenomena will begin to occur. As time passes and *focusing* begins to take place, particularly as the new town, colony, or whatever begins to acquire an independent identity, the variants present in the mixture begin to be subject to *reduction*. Again this presumably occurs via accommodation, especially of salient forms. This does not take place in a haphazard manner, however. In determining who accommodates to whom, and which forms are therefore lost, demographic factors involving proportions of different dialect speakers present will clearly be vital. More importantly, though, more purely linguistic forces are also at work. The reduction of variants that accompanies focusing, in the course of *new-dialect formation*, takes place during the process of koineization. This comprises the process of *leveling*, which involves the loss of marked and/or minority variants; and the process of *simplification*, by means of which even minority forms may be the ones to survive if they are linguistically simpler, in the technical sense, and through which even forms and distinctions present in all the contributory dialects may be lost. Even after koineization, however, some variants left over from the original mixture may survive. Where this happens, *reallocation* may occur, such that variants originally from different regional dialects may in the new dialect become *social-class* dialect variants, stylistic variants, areal variants, or, in the case of phonology, allophonic variants. (p.174)

To conclude, Koineization is the process where a new variety emerges as a result of the interaction between two dialects. Various scholars, such as: Muhlhausler(1980:32), have made a distinction between the term koineization and creolization and pidgination. Suffice is to say that the process of koineization occurs as a result of the contact of two dialects with the collaboration of different process.

Chapter Three:Data Analysis

1. Introduction
2. Methodology and Data Collection
3. Borrowed Lexemes and Dialect Mixing
4. Answering Yes or No questions
5. Conclusion

1. Introduction

The last chapter of this dissertation contains an analysis of the speech of young university students in Adrar. The reader discovers inter-borrowing and dialect mixing and its implications on youths' speech. Therefore, it is divided into three main segments. The first of which is concerned with the methodological and data collection; whilst, the second segment is dedicated to discuss inter-borrowing in matter of external lexemes utilized in youths' speech. The last segment is devoted to the analysis of answering Yes or No questions.

2. Methodology and Data Collection

The chosen population was Arabic literature students, which was studied through stratified random sampling; the population was divided into mutually exclusive sets. Hence, a random stratified sample of females and males, aged between 20 to 26 years old was chosen and employed to collect data. 60 students were the total number of our sample; 25 of them were males and 35 were females. To collect data, the researcher had to rely on recordings and direct observation.

3. Borrowed Lexemes and Dialect mixing

The phenomenon of dialect mixture and borrowing were most recognizable within the process of collecting data. The shift from one dialect to another was documented in two ways: the first is when the individual is confronted with another individual who speaks another dialect; the second, is within a group of participants speaking the same dialect.

A remarkable shift from one dialect to the other was most noticed when an individual talks to someone who has another dialect. As in the present case study, we succeeded only two times to set up a long conversation of that kind; that was due to the lack of confidence and fear of some participants that these recordings will be taken as an offence against their

dialect. Therefore, we assume that they paid more attention while speaking to keep their dialect pure.

The first case is the case of Nesrin, who is a 24 years old Touati female, talking to a female from Khenchla. The conversation started smoothly for both encountered each other very well. The topic was about the behavior of Nesrin's father that she did not like. The participant initiates talking in Adrar's dialect, then when the other female starts responding, the participant mixes dialects and shifts to utilize lexemes that are used in the other female's dialect.

For instance, the second female asks whether people come to see Nesrin's father without an appointment. Nesrin responds saying:

الغاشي رهم يجيووه فالوقت البايين → [ælyafɪ rahum jdziwəh flwaqt albaɟæɪn]

(People come at the appropriate time)

In the previous sentence, Nesrin shifts from her dialect to use another lexeme that is not a Touati. The lexemes carry a meaning of a sentence: [jdziwəh] يجيووه (They come to him). The equivalent lexeme used in the Touati dialect is [jdʒwəh] يجوه. Hence, the participant borrowed and utilized the lexeme as it is pronounced in her addressees' dialect.

Furthermore, the participant employs more lexemes from the donor dialect. Consider the following example :

→ مايشقي حتى واحد علاه الناس ما عندهم صلاح، يخي جا خوه، علاه ماقالش كي جا خويا نروح نخدم

[majʃqi hətæ wahəd ʃlæh 'æɲəs ma:ʃandhumʃ esˈlaħ jaxi dʒə xu:erf]

ʃlah ma:qa:lʃ ki dʒə xujə nru:h næxdim]

While speaking in her original dialect the participant shifts to her addressee's dialect using various lexemes. The first of which is: [majʃqi] pronounced with [q] rather than the

[g]; the same for the lexeme [majʃqi] which is pronounced with [q]. As for the word [jaxi], it is totally external to the Touati dialect; its equivalent word is [jæk].

Moreover, the participant deploys more diverged dialect forms when asked whether her father got help or no, she answers as follows:

ماڤي هو يقول لخواه قابلي وسمو يخى خوك علاه تلز الناس [mafɪ huwa: jqu:l lxu:h qɔbɜli: wɛsmu jaxi xu:k ʃlah tɛz 'ɛnɔs].

Both lexemes [wɛsmu] وسمو as well as [tɛz] تلز are external to the Touati dialect and not commonly used in this dialect. The equivalent lexemes would be [wsmu:] → [wɛʃ smeitu:] وش سميتو, and [tɛz] → [tdɛz] تدز

The second case where dialect mixture and borrowing occur in response to the addressee's dialect is the case of an anonymous female aged 22 years old. The interview was taken as open-ended questions, where the researcher, who is from Biskra, was the interviewer. The interview commenced by asking the interviewee about her studies, then it expanded to exchanging questions and answers between the interviewer and the interviewee about their personal lives. When asked about a TV program, the participant answered as follows:

نتفرج واه → [ntfardʒ wa:h] (yes, I watch)

In the previous example, [wa:h] is a borrowed word, that is commonly used in the North West region of Algeria. The same question was directed to the researcher by the participant, and the researcher responds by [aha:] → أها (No). Surprisingly, in the next question, the participant answers using the same lexeme [aha:] → أها (No)

A: Do you like staying in girls' campus?

B: No. I don' like staying here. [aha: mnħabʃ lqaʃda hna] أها مانحبش القعدة هنا

Trying to ensure this situation, the researcher then uses a tricky question to define whether the shift occurred consciously or unconsciously

A: عندك بهزا مارحتيش لداركم؟ [ʕandak behzə maruħtiʃ darkum] (Do you have a long period since you went home?)

The lexeme [behzə] بهزا (a lot) is only used in the East regions of Algeria; it is equivalent to [bezaf]. The participant then responds to the question using the same lexeme:

واه عندي بهزا مامشيتش الدار [wah ʕandi bahza mamshitsh əddar](Yes, I have not gone home for a long time.)

Moreover, we documented that within the same group of Touati dialect speakers most, if not all of the speakers, shifted to another dialect or used limited forms of that dialect. Considering the following conversation between two boys and a girl, aged 23 as well as 24 years old, the participants use words that do not belong to their dialect.

A: وش ماقريتوش الصباح [wash maqritoush sebah] (Didn't you study this morning ?)

B: علاه ما حضر تيش؟ [ʕlah mahdarti: ʃ] (weren't you present?)

A : ألا. ديتها رقاد [ala ditha rqad](No, I slept)

C: [dzəbli rabbi nti: tuxurdʒi: eksklu] (I think you will be excluded)

In the previous conversation, the participants employed lexemes that are not used in their dialect. [ala] ألا (No) ; [dzəbli rabbi] جابلي ربي (I think). The conversation has expanded to talk about a problem they have with their colleagues:

A: ياك ما حكيت معاها [ja:k maħkit mʕha](you did not talk to her)

B : تلاقيتها قبيلات [tlaqitha qbilat] (I met her before a while)

B :

قلت لها ..مافهمتيش ، أسناي نعاود نفهمك [qultəɫha ..mafɦmtiːʃ , sənaj neʃawəd nfahmæk] (I said to her..you didn't understand.. wait , I will retell you)

In responding to the female's question, the male shifts to use lexemes that are used in the northern regions of Algeria. [qultəɫha] (I said to her) is pronounced differently in the Touati dialect [gotli:ha] . It is pronounced with /g/ rather than /q/ and with a long /i:/

Furthermore, we documented various external lexemes that are not used within the Touati dialect, which are limited in use. Those lexemes are outlined in Table3.1.

| External concepts | Meaning |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| غنجاية [ɣundzaja] | a spoon |
| يشقي [jeʃqi] | To tire |
| يسخابلي [jəsxabli] | I think |
| مالزمتوش [malzəmtuʃ] | I did not oblige him |
| خزرت [xzart] | I looked |
| بهزا [behza] | a lot |
| ماتوليتش [matwalɦtʃ] | I didnot pay attention |
| عيبت [ʕjit] | I'm tired |
| يخي [jaxi] | |
| حساباتلي [ɦsabatli] | I thought |
| أسناي [əsnaɟ] | wait |

Table3.1: Frequent borrowed lexemes and concepts

To express negation, various external lexemes were used interchangeably within the same conversation and setting. Those lexemes are: [maʃi] مشي, [maʃ] ماش, [mə] ما ,and

On the other hand, in answering with no [walu], the interviewees used the following lexemes interchangeably: [la] لا, [əla] أَلَا, and [aha] أها. The latter lexeme [ʔaha] أها was used two times when interviewees were confronted with individuals from the east of Algeria, particularly, Setif as well as Khenchela. Examples of those lexemes used by the participants:

أها ما عنديش صحاباتي بزاف → [ʔaha maʕandif sahabati bəzaf] (I don't have a lot of friends)

والو مانظنتش تعود كاينة → [walu manzʕ onf tʕoud kajna] (No.I don't think it exists)

ألا قاتلي نروحها اليوم → [ʔəlla qatli nruħəlhə ljum] (No, she to told me to go to her today)

لا هاذيك كانت كاينة من قبل → [la haðik kanet kajna mən qbal] (No, it existed before)

ألا سخباتلي مكيش جاية → [ʔəlla sxabatli : makish dʒaja] (No, I thought you are not coming.)

Diagram.1.1 and Diagram 3.1.2 represent the frequency of using yes ([ʔijih] اييه , [wa:h] واه; [ʔih] اييه, and [hih] هيه. and no [la] لا, [əla] أَلَا, and [ʔaha] أها lexemes. As noticed in figure 3.1.1, 59% of the participants employed [wah]. 22% of the participants used the original lexeme used in the Touati Dialect [ʔijih]; 14% of the participants employed [ʔijh], and [hih] was used only four times 5%.

Moreover, diagram 3.1.2 represents the percentage of the use of “ No lexemes”. As noticed below, [əla] was employed by 72% of the participants, while [la] was deployed 25% of the times. [aha] was used by 3% of the participants.

Diagram 3.1.1: lexemes used as yes

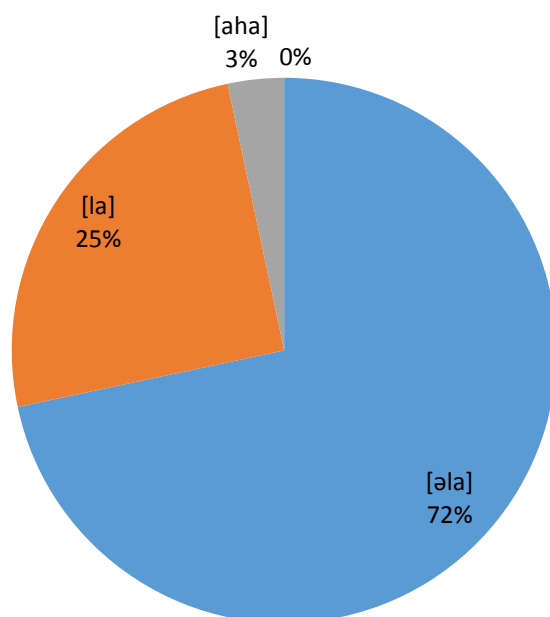
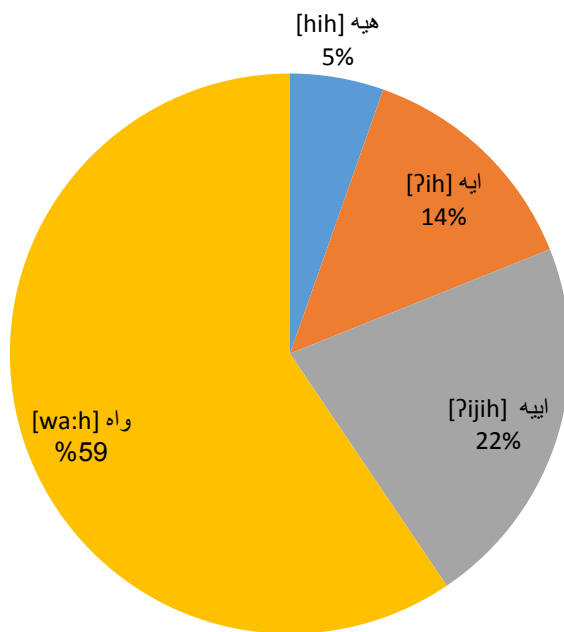


Diagram 3.1.2:lexemes used as No

5. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter investigated borrowing and dialect mixture as well as the reliability of the proposed hypotheses. The analyzed data propose a form of dialect mixing that is occurring as a result of dialect contact (Touati Dialect and the other dialects). Moreover, we have noticed that the youths are the responsible for the dialect change as they are shifting from Adrar's dialect to the other dialects. Also, females mixed dialect continuously while speaking; unlike males who used few borrowed lexemes, mainly yes or no lexemes. An explanation to this is may be that females find their dialect difficult to be understood by foreigners. In other words, they cannot express themselves effectively using their dialect. As a result, they tend to employ lexemes from their dialect as well as the other dialect. Thus, the findings confirm the existence of dialect mixture among youths.

General Conclusion

Following the objectives of the current research paper, the researcher has confined the attention to the dialectal features. We investigated whether university students mix- dialect and borrow lexemes. Also, we tried to find out whether there are any gender differences in dialect mixing or not.

The researcher hypothesized that dialect mixture occurs as a part of informal conversations to realize a prestigious style. Also, Adrar's youth speak their mother dialect in normal conversations between them. Additionally, we hypothesized that there are no gender differences in terms of dialect mixing and inter-borrowing among Adrar's university students.

It is important to remark that collecting and analyzing data was not easy as we faced difficulties concerning the participants, who paid attention to their speech when they were told about the subject of the current research; however, we managed to trick the participants in a very limited way. The researcher used the title: "communication among adults" as a cover. The participants were told that the researcher studies just the functions of their communication.

Although the participants have presented a limited data, the results of this research were enough to draw a comprehensive conclusion. Moreover, the analysis of the data has shown that all the participants utilized borrowed forms from other dialects variably, within the same conversation as well as setting.

Hence, as for the proposed hypotheses, the phenomenon of dialect mixture and inter-borrowing occurred in informal conversation with some gender differences in terms of mixing dialects. Females tend to borrow lexemes from the other dialect more than the males. The second hypothesis was quite irrelevant; even when speaking to each other, Touati Students tended to use borrowed lexemes from other dialects.

The current study and results could be handled differently and expanded more to study the other features of the Touati dialect. As we focused only on the lexical features of the Touati dialect, another study may be done on the phonological aspect, especially that we have noticed that some participants tended to be innovative through pronouncing some lexemes slightly different from how they are pronounced in the Touati dialect.

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