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**A Research Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for a Master's  
Degree in Linguistics and Didactics**

**Bilingualism in Local Adrar: a  
Case Study of Adrarian Shop  
keepers and Shop Signs.**

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**Academic Year: 2015 – 2016**

# Acknowledgements

This modest research work would not have been possible without the support of many people, from the formative stages of this project, to the final draft, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my supervisor Pr. Bachir Bouhania for his sage advice, insightful criticisms and patient encouragement that helped me in writing this dissertation in immeasurable ways.

Great appreciation is also extended to Mr Fouad Mami who was abundantly helpful and offered invaluable guidance during previous methodology courses.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank those who agreed to be interviewed for, without their time and cooperation, this project would not have been possible.

# Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation work to my family and many friends.

A special feeling of gratitude goes to my father who never stops pushing me to do my best; this is nothing compared to what you have done for me.

Finally, this work is dedicated to all those who love English, who love learning and never stop the process of acquisition.

# **Abstract**

The present study aimed at exploring the negative aspects of bilingualism among Touat Speakers, and how it impacts the daily use of any language in contact. To reach reliable data, three research instruments were used: interviews - words list test – pictures. They were addressed to a sample population of 40 participants since it is a case study; the findings come out with the conclusion that most speakers are not aware of French borrowings. They consider French as foreign rather than secondary yet; it is impartial from their dialect. Eventually, the obtained outcomes seem to support our hypothesis.

## **Keywords**

Bilingualism -code switching -code mixing- borrowing -Touat shop keepers- shop signs- attitudes.

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## Abbreviations

**MSA** = Modern Standard Arabic

**AA** = Algerian Arabic

**TA** = Touat Arabic

**CS** = Code Switching

**CM** = Code Mixing

**L** = Low

**H** = High

## General Introduction

The use and acquisition of a language other than the mother tongue is a universal matter. Linguists have always found the topic of bilingualism an interesting field. Noteworthy, literature has been built up in arrangement with bilingualism and perceptions about this subject are dissimilar depending on which side the matter is studied: psychologists raised questions about the use of two sets of languages by a single individual. Others have dealt with it from an educational perspective because bilingualism allows access to two different cultures. Language varies in a continuous average with the socio-cultural situation. In specific times and under definite circumstances, linguistic changes take place. Probably that occurs because of social and educational changes; whereas others are the product of all kinds of contact with other people and cultures.

Bilingualism in Algeria is unique; Algerians themselves would refer to it as “multilingualism” if all the linguistic varieties that exist are to be well-observed. The Algerian dictionary is very rich due to the multiplicity of invasions throughout its history, which left a considerable amount of linguistic heritage that still exists today. Among all the invasions, it is the French colonialism that had a major impact on Algeria generally, and on its language/dialects specifically. Both varieties are affected one way or another by French to a critical point. Mostly, Algerian speakers feel confused at certain times and unaware of the foreign inputs in their daily speech. Not to forget to mention the social variables that affect language as: gender, age, social class, educational background and the economic situation...etc.

In the current sociolinguistic research, our aim is to study bilingualism among shop-keepers in Adrar centre. The intricacy and the wealth of the sociolinguistic setting in Algeria in general has provoked us to enquire about bilingualism and chiefly to spotlight our interests in the practice of Bilingual speech among the shop-sellers/ shop-keepers and shop signs manufacturers.

What appealed us towards this topic is the fact that there are diverse attitudes about the French language among Adrarians and their level of French differs. for this reason, our stimulus in choosing bilingual Adrarians is their considerable lack of mastery of French. Even supposing they are considered as bilinguals, they still have loads of obscurities in their use of French, and some barriers make them to be idle towards it, due to dissimilar social factors and social motivations behind this lack. Nonetheless, relating to Adrarians attitudes and feelings

towards French is not trouble-free; it cannot be clarified single-handedly since there are cognitive, psychological and social factors.

Basically, this paper requested the answers for the following questions:

- What are the key reasons that affect shop-keepers to use French?
- What are the positive and negative attitudes they hold toward French?
- What is the reason they lack an adequate level in speaking French, though it has been taught for many years in basic, middle and secondary education?
- How often and why do they alternate in certain situations and not others?
- Which languages are appropriate for formal interactions according to them?
- What attitudes do they hold against modern standard Arabic?
- Are they comfortable with the linguistic situation in Algeria?
- What are the endeavours behind writing shop signs in informal inputs and what feelings do Adrarians have for such phenomena?

This dissertation contains three chapters. The first chapter is about unfolding the linguistic phenomena that distinguish bilingual societies, beginning with bilingualism, code-switching, mixing and borrowing. Plus, the definition of diglossia and certain basic explanations related to languages use are mentioned in the first chapter. The second chapter seeks to portray the Algerian sociolinguistic profile and its significance; to tell between the diverse types of bilingualism with some examples from Algerian bilinguals. We explain at first all the linguistic parameters, mainly attitudes and social variables. Then light is shed on the French status in Algeria, and how it coexists with Arabic and other varieties. We also show the existence of different languages and dialects in Algeria. At last, a brief description of Adrar's linguistic profile is included. The last chapter demonstrates and discusses the quantitative data we have collected to come up with results that may answer the questions raised above. Conclusions about participants' attitudes and feelings towards the French language are provided eventually.

# *Chapter One:*

*Manifestations of bilingualism in a*

*Speech Community.*

## 1.1 Introduction

The complexity of the coexistence of two different languages in a society shows the way to anthropologists and sociologists to set up a fine distinction, because attitudes and norms are linked with language, and have a direct impact on it as part of culture and society. Sociolinguists were not content only to define the term bilingualism; they went further and strived to analyze the outcome where two languages are in contact in real situations. Furthermore, bilingualism may originate from various situations and is by no means restricted to any one particular stage of a particular development in a given time of language history.

## 1.2 Bilingualism Defined

One can refer to bilingualism as the use of two languages by an individual or a group of people alternatively. The prefix “bi-” in bilingualism suggests only two languages, as well as in the case of multilingualism where there are more than two languages. Throughout the history of linguistics, bilingualism was regarded as the degree of equality. Weinreich (1953) defines it as “the practice of alternately using two languages». Seemingly, Mackey (1962) suggests that bilingualism is “the ability to use more than one language». However, Bloomfield (1933) explained it as the native-like control of two languages or utterances in the other languages. While trying to make a comparison between all these points of view, Bloomfield suggests that a perfect use of a foreign language aside with the mother tongue is linked with bilingualism; as well as, Mackey, Weinreich and Haugen hint on the lack of competence that needs another language aside. In addition, language competency is very important as it depends equally on social factors as much as on individual skills.

According to Weinreich (1968), there are three distinct types of bilingualism that relate to the demeanour by which bilinguals register language in their brains:

- I. **Coordinate:** this takes place when a person acquires each language in dissimilar contexts and vocabulary is stored separately for each language.
- II. **Compound:** this happens when a person is taught both languages in the same context.
- III. **Subordinate:** this goes on when a person learns the first language, then acquires the other one; by means of interpretation through the dominant language.

### 1.3 Diglossia

In Fergusson's article about diglossia in 1959, diglossia is well explained and this concept goes as the following: a state where two languages or two varieties of the same language in one community are utilized interchangeably in various conditions. It denotes the daily usage of vernacular "Low variety" and the particular use of "High variety", which is majorly codified and to be used in strict manners only i.e. formal settings and literature. However, it is not used in ordinary conversations. Ferguson's definition is:

"a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include 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 any section of the community for ordinary conversations." (1959: 435).

This phenomenon was basically noticed in various places such as Greece and the Arab world.

#### 1.3.1 Properties of Diglossia.

**a)** High variety, which we denote as "H". It is the variety that diglossic communities use in formal situations as in university lectures, political speeches, news media, mosque sermons, poetry and so forth [in literature generally]. What signifies "H" is that it is taught and used in academic institutions. It is seen as prestigious since it is a Semitic language and related to religion.

**b)** Low variety, which we refer to as "L". It is what everybody uses in daily conversations, as communicating with family members, friends and informal intimate dialogues. It is typically the mother tongue of any speech community that is acquired at home.

In such diglossic communities, speakers vary in their usage of both varieties according to the situation. In a sense that one variety is much appropriate or less in one setting and vice versa in another setting (Romaine, 1989). However, the two sets may intersect. For instance, a person would listen to a political speech in formal Arabic (H), while he uses vernacular (L) to discuss with the person sitting next to him. Seemingly, Ferguson signified that both the High and Low varieties should belong to one language, like standard and colloquial Arabic.

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Nevertheless, others such as Fishman<sup>1</sup> and Gumperz have stretched diglossia concept to “include any society in which two or more varieties are used under distinct circumstances”.

### 1.3.2 Variables of diglossia.

**Function:** function here means in what setting or circumstance is H used and not L. The same goes for which situations the L variety is much suitable.

**Prestige:** indeed L is less prestigious and shouldn't be used in academic lectures for instance political speeches; whereas the H one is much more suitable for such sectors.

**Literary heritage:** one can rarely find poetry or novels written in L variety.

**Acquisition:** since children are born, they would know only the mother tongue that is used by their parents, siblings and peers. When they begin primary schooling, they start to learn formal language which is a H variety.

**Standardization:** Native grammarians arrange grammar books and dictionaries for H in a process called “standardization”, unlike non-standardized L.

**Stability:** diglossia is a steady phenomenon that doesn't vary.

**Grammar:** high variety is harder to be acquired than low variety due to its complexity in terms of grammar.

**Lexicon:** in any diglossic community one finds certain terms that exist in one variety and not in the other one; and vice versa.

**Phonology:** both varieties phonological systems are highly connected and similar. they cannot be separated or described as independent.

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<sup>1</sup> Fishman (1967): introduced the notion that diglossia could be extended to situations found in many societies where forms of two *genetically unrelated* (or at least historically distant ) languages occupy the H and L niches.

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Situations	High	Low
Mosque preaching	X	
Administrative letters	X	
Parliamentary speech	X	
Academic lectures	X	
News, newspapers	X	
Poetry and novels	X	
Folk literature	X	
Instructions to servants or workers	X	X
Radio broadcast	X	X
Daily intimate and personal conversations.		X

**Table1:** *Illustration of a Diglossic Situation (Ferguson 1959)*

Trudgill (2000) explains how diglossia is a unique standardization of language where obvious varieties are near to one another in every speech part, in regard to their distinct social functions.

Language	High	Low
Swiss German	High German	Swiss German
Arabic	Classical	Colloquial
Tamil	Literary	Colloquial.

**Table2:** *Diglossic communities*

## 1.4 Code Switching and Code Mixing

### 1.4.1 Code

Unlike other creatures, humans use codes to communicate. Such concept entails a system which is used for communicative purposes with human beings. This system can be a language, a dialect, a register or a style.



### 1.4.2 Code Switching

Code switching is a linguistic phenomenon where bilingual speakers switch from one language to another according to appropriate changes in speech situation” (Naseh, 1997). It is very much fan-flung in bilingual speech and it unfolds sociological interpretation and discourse functions i.e. the socio-pragmatic aspect. To be interested in code switching (CS), entails investigating when and why a speaker chooses one linguistic variety rather than another at specific times; which could be explained by several metaphorical and stylistic motivations such as the social role, domains, interlocutor, topic, venue and medium that play a vital role. Ostensibly, alternation between languages function as a conversational cue, conveying attitudes in the direction of language or marking linguistic identity (cf.Tabouret-Keller 1995, Auer (1998) .To sum up, CS is the act of speaking in different languages interchangeably, in order to overcome language constraints. Also to deliver speech effectively in case the speaker is not familiar with all the vocabulary in one of his languages.

### 1.4.3 Code Mixing

Bokombe (1989) states that the act of embedding various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from another language is code mixing. Code-mixing is parallel to the usage or creation of [pidgins](#); except that the distinction that lies between them is that pidgins are created in situations where dissimilar groups have no language in common to use, whereas code-mixing takes place in [multilingual](#) settings where speakers share more than one language.

### 1.4.4 Types of Code Switching

#### Inter-sentential Switching:

This type occurs when the speaker switches language at sentence boundaries; it is often common between fluent bilinguals. This is an example from a French speaker’s speech:

- Si tu ne veux pas venir avec nous, !تقدر تريخ فالداد

In English: (If you don’t want to come with us, you can stay at home!)

#### Intra-sentential Code Switching:

In this type the shift occurs in the middle of the sentence with no interruptions, pauses or hesitations that show a shift. Mostly, the speaker is not aware of this shift. Various types of

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switching happen within the clause level. Some scholars call it as well code mixing. An example from Algerian speech would be like the following:

- Allo oui, فالتيلي دروك , apres راني نتفرج فالتيلي دروك .

In English: ( hello yes, I am watching the television now, later I will go to the university.)

### Extra-sentential Code Switching:

This is the case where an insertion of a tag from one language into an utterance which is from another language. For instance a lot of Algerians use some French boundaries like:

- Mais (but) / par ce que (because) , when they speak English.

### 1.4.5 Differences between Code Mixing and Code Switching

There are several scholars who view no difference between code-mixing and code-switching, but inevitably there are opponents to this belief. First, situations where combining lexical items and grammatical features occur in one sentence with two distinct languages, can be referred to as code-mixing. while code-switching is the occurrence of two languages in individual conversation.

Second, Pfaff (1979) employed the word “mixing” for both “code switching” and “borrowing”. However, the term code mixing denotes “intra-sentential switching” and “code switching”, that indicates diglossic situations where one code is used in a special context, according to Singh (1985).

### 1.4.6 Functions

Bilinguals shift in an individual conversation mainly because their knowledge in one of the languages lacks certain vocabulary; therefore they use morphemes, words or clauses from another language that they utterly master .To exemplify, , if a speaker is natively Arab and speaks English, then he might have certain lack in the foreign language. Anyway, this is referential function, it is a type of code switching where bilingual speakers are aware and do the shift intentionally. Moreover, “a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept” (R.Appel & P.Muysken, 1987). This specifically takes place in conversations about specific topics where the foreign language is considered more appropriate than to be expressed in the native language. Reasons for language shifting refer to the fact that they are not acquainted with the word in Arabic, or related to their feelings towards French as “more adequate” in certain situations especially in

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scientific, technical and intimate talks. very often, bilinguals switch codes to make an impression on the interlocutors during the discourse, through showing their linguistic skills. That would be called meta-linguistic function.

### 1.5 Borrowing Definition

It is the case where words are adopted from another language and incorporated into a recipient language with no translation. It is highly dissimilar to calque or loan translation where the meaning is translated.

#### 1.5.1 Language Borrowing Process

##### 1) **Loan word:**

Speakers take the idea/item exactly as it is with no change in its use within the recipient language i.e. its forms and functions are used just as its original language, with respect to the native morphemes of these loan words. Example: Pizza -

##### 2) *Loan shift:*

This is the case of adopting native words into the new meaning. for example in the early Christian era in England the term “easter” was used for a pagan dawn goddess festival.

##### 3) *Loan translation/ calque:*

This happens when a word or phrase borrowed from another language is literally translated word for word (root for root). Examples of terms which are calqued from French into English are :

- Adam's apple calques pomme d'Adam
- Forget me not calques ne m'oubliez pas.
- New wave calques nouvelle vague.
- Free verse calques verse libre.
- By heart calques par cœur.

### 4) *Loan-blend* :

It is a mixture of a loan word and a native element, like in the borrowed « preost » (priest), with an addition of the native –had (hood) in Old English to form “preosthad” (priesthood).

Borrowing occurs when adopting single lexical terms. Be it nouns, adjectives or verbs, they are referred to as “loan words”. What signifies borrowing from another phenomenon, is that speakers do not have any choice i.e. the intended meaning or idea is not available for speakers in their mother tongue; therefore, they are compelled to borrow its term in order to refer to that concept in a well-known language, or probably often-used language.

In certain cases the equivalents of such terms do not exist in one’s mother tongue; therefore borrowing becomes a necessity in order to keep the conversation more authentic, concise and up-to-date. Spolsky (1998:49) notes that the switching of words is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language. Hence, borrowing is another pattern of switching between languages. It is different from code switching/mixing in terms of language mixture at the level of language-systems, whereas the mixture of languages at the level of speech is merely code switching or code mixing. Evidentially, both bilinguals and monolinguals, whether educated or illiterate, do use borrowed terms frequently if not constantly in the Algerian society. Sometimes they are not even conscious of the language switching they are doing. Plus, these lexical terms are pronounced and treated as if they belong to the vernacular dialect. Sridhar (1996) marked out that borrowed words cannot be kept with their foreign linguistic associations for a long term

<b>Borrowing : Loan-Words</b>
Examples from other languages that borrow terms from English:
Japanese: suupaamaaketto, taipuraitaa
Hungarian : klub, sport, futbal
French : Le stress, le weekend
Arabic: تليفون- دش- ريسيفر - راديو- تليفزيون - سوبرماركت- موطور - موتر - التقنية انترنت
الاستراتيجية - البيروقراطية - جيولوجيا - فيزياء - الديمقراطية.

Table3: *Common Loan Words from English*

### **1.6 Language and Dialect**

Language and dialect are highly distinguishable. According to Haugen (1966), the division between language and dialect covers two detached ways acknowledged as ‘size’ and ‘prestige’. On one side, language is larger than a dialect given that the term ‘language’ is used to point a linguistic custom or a group of related norms, while the term ‘dialect’ is one of those norms. Subsequently, a dialect is a part of a language. In relation to that, Hudson (1996: 32) says: “a variety called language contains more items than one called a dialect”. On the other side, language is more prestigious than a dialect, as Hudson adds: “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” (33). Another measure in characterising language and dialect is mutual intelligibility. Sociolinguistically, 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”. As a result, 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.

#### **1.6.1 Standard Language**

Language is joined 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”. in Algeria ,Modern standard Arabic is the first formal 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.

### 1.6.2 Dialect

A dialect is a spoken variety of language. It is regarded by methodical differences in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary from other dialects of the same language. Respectively, Trudgill states “it 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. In other words, dialect is more or less identifiable as a regional or social variety of language So , a dialect refers to variety of language that is identified geographically or socially”.

### 1.7 Blends:

In linguistics this term means that certain words are formed as a result of combining two or more lexemes. Blends can be divided into three categories:

- i. Phonemic overlap: this is a syllable or a part of a syllable which is shared between two words.
- ii. Clipping: This is the case of shortening two words then compounding them.
- iii. Phonemic overlap and clipping: it occurs when two words are shortened to a mutual syllable then compound.

#### 1.7.1 Formation

Blending is similar to compounds, but in blending only parts of the words are combined.

They are shaped by one of these techniques:

- The beginning of one word is added to the end of the other. For instance “brunch” is a blend of { breakfast+lunch}. E.g.:
  - simultaneous + broadcast = simulcast.
  - smoke + fog = smog.
  - spoon + fork = spork.
- The beginnings of two words are combined. For example cyborg is a blend of cybernetic and organism.
- Blending two words throughout familiar sequences. An example would be the words “motel” and “motor” blend to motel.

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- Blending various sounds from two essential words, while keeping the sounds order. Like the word “slithy” in a blend of “lithe” and “slimy”.

### 1.7.2 Portmanteau Words

It is a linguistic blend of words, in which parts of multiple words or their phones (sounds) and their meanings are combined into a new word. This term means a suitcase that opens into two equal sections (Wikipedia, 2009). As an example of a blend which turned into a portmanteau, would be {Tanzania}. It was blended in 1964 in terms of language from “Zanzibar” and “Tanganyika” after gaining the independence. Also, the term “Eurasia” holds both “Europe” and “Asia». Plenty portmanteau words are frequently used in speech but do not appear in dictionaries.

### 1.7.3 Arabic Blends and Portmanteau Words

These phenomena are very common in modern colloquial Arabic in all its varieties, as well as in Modern Standard Arabic. Noticeably, prepositions are added to other word forms to bring new meaningful terms. Examples:

The word “not yet” is لسه (lessa) is a combined form of ( ل , li , for) and الساعة (assaâa, the hour).

- ❖ ايش (eich , what) is formed of ( اي , ay , which) and ( شئى , chay? , thing).
- ❖ ليش (leich , why) is formed of ( ل , li , for) , ( اي , ay , which) and ( شئى , chay? , thing).
- ❖ دالحين (d’elhin , now) is formed of ( دا , d’ , this ) and ( الحين , now) as a part of time.
- ❖ علشان / عشان ( âchan / âlachan, because) is formed of ( على , on ) and ( شأن , matter ).
- ❖ ركوب الامواج =ركمجة

## 1.8 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed a theoretical background to language variation and sociolinguistic outputs in relation to bilingualism. It put emphasis on labelling diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing in general. Plenty of people are not aware of the fact that they are using foreign terms in their speech. However, there is no escape from all these linguistic phenomena, especially if there are some historical effects that cannot be totally avoided.

# Chapter Two:

## The Algerian Case of Bilingualism



## 2.1 Introduction

The significant timeline of Algerian history resulted in a complex linguistic profile, related to all the Berber varieties, Arabic and French. The inheritance of the French colonialism gave rise to stern issues that merit a special consideration. Indeed, Algeria is a bilingual and diglossic nation. Nearly every Algerian could be considered bilingual and diglossic to a sure degree as they speak both Arabic and French, besides one of the Berber varieties in some areas. The linguistic assortment in this country including all the above-mentioned languages and varieties, form a bizarre collection which allowed in a way the dispersion of classical Arabic and a unified speech style.

## 2.2 The Sociolinguistic Aspects of Algeria

In the process of studying multilingual speech communities, some sociolinguists have attempted to invent a sociolinguistic typology of languages as Fergusson (1959) did; to offer a sociolinguistic profile formula for a certain political unit. What he did was classifying languages in relation to the political or social position given to what specifies them as being official, national, standard or vernacular. As for the Algerian sociolinguistic outline, Arabic is the national and official language. It unfolds two patterns: Classical and dialectal. The former that is the Quran's language, is relatively dead and replaced by Modern Standard Arabic because it has a simpler syntax and vocabulary. It is by consequence considered more suitable for educational objectives. Oppositely, dialectal Arabic is the one Algerians use in daily informal speech. Equivalently, French is used harmoniously with Arabic; it is used in education, administration, finance, army, media and social life. In other terms, French is used much often than it should be in an Arabic country. In fact, it is the second official language.

Other varieties such as the Berber dialects are not widely used. The co-existence of Arabic and French provoked multiple consequences on the sociolinguistic profile of Algerians. Seemingly, Arabic belongs to the Semitic family and French to the Indo-European family. It triggers a very distinct mixture that shies away from the label of bilingualism to another label of language interference.

The French occupation has influenced the Algerian population over a period of 130 years; therefore French is still playing a major role. That is why plenty of loan words appear in the Algerian dialects. In relation to that, bilingualism is not homogenous in Algeria since not all population speak Arabic and French. Indeed there are people across the country that are monolingual; in addition, Algerian bilingualism is characterized to be subtractive, ever since French is being progressively replaced by Arabic in various domains. It all began when the

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Algerian policy began to generalize “Arabization laws” due to religious and national motivations. Hence, the role of French started to change, not to forget to mention that people were categorized into two types:

- ✓ **Balanced bilinguals:** who could contact the French colonizers in the pre-independence period
- ✓ **Unbalanced bilinguals:** whose competence in one language is high or less than the second i.e. mother tongue or French. After the 1970's, generations have failed to be competent as much as the balanced category in French.

### 2.2.1 Bilingualism Today

The Algerian timeline events denote how many cultures and civilizations have been present for points in time throughout history. the languages accompanied with those civilizations have marked their presence. Hence, the Algerian linguistic profile has developed complex patterns with Arabic and its regional varieties in most of the country; Berber dialects in various areas and French as a functional secondary language, a heritage of the colonial period. This language state sheds light on major issues that justify a specific study. If one is to check out Algeria, it is considered as a bilingual and diglossic nation, since most Algerians are considered as bilinguals. Bilingualism designates certain linguistic aspects. It is practiced in various ways by most Algerians, intellectuals and even illiterate people. For that reason, they were categorized as the following:

#### A. Educated bilinguals:

They are those who speak both of the local dialect and standard French. One can find this in Meillet's definition (1934) : “ le bilinguisme des hommes cultivés”. Such sort of bilinguals uses these languages equally with a comparable importance to both of them. Typically Algerians use AA at home and in personal interactions, whereas the other one functions in other domains.

The noticeable aspect of educated bilinguals is their lifestyle which is described as “Gallicized”, membership in medical and educational professions and civil servants. Phonologically, they are very much likewise French natives to a higher degree.

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### **B. Uneducated bilinguals:**

The French colonialism has been guidance to a major number of illiterate Algerians, with a percentage of 80% who could neither read, nor write after the independence; still many of them are bilinguals because the French colonizer used its language and culture in communication with Algerians. For instance, rulers and Algerian citizens who worked as servants for the oppressive French colonizers used to communicate through French terms and expressions. It provoked Algerians to gain that foreign language and attitude unconsciously. Yet, this category views French as a foreign language dissimilar to the first category, which is obvious in their phonological output. Primarily, uneducated bilinguals do not master French as equally as Arabic but they are able to get into conversations with French speakers i.e. there is no necessity for proficiency in either Arabic or French as long as the message is understood through meaningful utterances. This is seen in the adaptability of certain words and phrases from French to Algerian dialect. French is understood by the uneducated even if they cannot speak it

### **C. Semi-bilinguals:**

This type covers the rest of Algerians who lack French fluency but they share the same social and educational background as the uneducated category. As anyone who goes outside and take notice for the variant elements Algerians use in their daily speech, or goes inside enclosed doors where families converse, will find the remarkable aspect of how multilingual Algerians are. Every conversation contains words from standard Arabic, French, Tamazight varieties and the Algerian vernacular Arabic. In certain cases, it reaches a point where one cannot understand or figure out such grouping! Accordingly, this unstable situation of language confusion in Algeria is on the way to vanish supposedly, since the process of Arabization<sup>1</sup> is taking place ever since Algeria got the independence. It is exercised by the mass media and the educational industry in addition to other sectors where Arabic is gaining a wider usage.

In addition, about 20% of Algerians speak Berber dialects, accompanied with a wide range of differences in the manner these speakers code-switch or code-mix between Arabic and Tamazight. According to what has been mentioned already, diglossia seems very much another fortune of the Algerian linguistic case aside bilingualism. The next table clarifies when MSA is used in comparison to colloquial varieties(Hassaine,11).

## The Algerian Case of Bilingualism

High form (H)	Low form (L)
Al-Fusha MSA	Algerian dialects
Official language of the country Political speech Religious activities Newspapers Education	Mother tongue Used constantly in all ordinary conversations Folk literature Daily street speech, market...etc

**Table4 :** *Functions of H and L varieties*

In this sense and in relation to the table's content, Algerians normally tend to change and adapt their language attitude in relation to situations. For instance one man's linguistic style varies a lot if he is at work or at home.

Notably, the high variety (MSA) would not be used in intimate conversations by a typical Algerian or in familial discussions; or else it makes its speaker feel donnish. Oppositely, if one uses the low variety (Algerian vernacular Arabic) in formal situation where MSA is requisite, a speaker would be not tolerated and perceived as ridiculous, stupid and ignorant.

"Al -Fusha" is the first standard official language vis-à-vis "Addaridja", which is inferior to the first one. The former is highly attached to the Quran, though modern Arabic is less complicated and very much different than the one used in Quran.

### 2.3 Languages' Background

Algeria is a multilingual society owed to the survival of different languages; Berber, Arabic, and French.

#### 2.3.1 History of the Arabic Language in Algeria:

The Algerian history is full of vicissitudes invasions of different ethnicities, and the origin of the Algerian population is highly intricate to be prearranged and grouped. Yet, the original inhabitants were the Berber or so-called Tamazight indigenous people. Anyway, several conquerors invaded the Arabic Maghreb but few of them had made it to be a permanent empire. They were mainly the Romans, the vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the Spanish and eventually the French. The Arab invasion around the seventh century traced major aspects in the Maghreb, generally in regards to culture, religion and language. The most prominent leader of the Islamic civilization back at that century was the one who introduced Islam. It was later on where extensive "Islamization" and "Arabization" was brought by Banu Hilal, just as Arabs came from Arabia to north Africa. Then, after the twelfth

## **The Algerian Case of Bilingualism**

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century Muslims left Andalusia due to religious intolerance in Spain “Reconquista”, and came to settle in the Maghreb; followed by the settlement of the Spanish as conquerors in the fifteenth century, but they were basically spread in the west and the coastal areas.

Surprisingly, the Turkish Barbarossa Brothers rescued Muslims from the Spanish invasion. Algeria back then became a part of the Ottoman Empire until the arrival of the French troops in 1830. France did its best to implement a new culture via its language, with regards to the vulnerability of the Algerian linguistic system at that time. Arabic was taught only at Quranic zawiyet and medariss.

### **2.3.2 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, and magazines.

### **2.3.3 Algerian Arabic**

AA or ‘Darija’, the low diglossic variety, is the mother tongue widely used by Algerians. 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.” It is mostly utilized in daily life communication and informal contexts; it does not have a written form. Darija’s vocabulary is mainly constituted of Arabic terms and syntax in addition to numerous borrowed words from Berber, French, Turkish, and Spanish (Boucherit 2002). It varies from one region to another where westerners sound nearer to Moroccan Arabic while the easterners articulate similarly to Tunisians.

### **2.3.4 Berber**

Berber or Tamazight is used in several African countries such as: Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria (Ibrahimi, 2000). Relatively, 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.” However, new reports

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show that 1/3 of Algerians speak one of the Tamazight varieties at least. Berber dialects are diverse and used in different areas: -Kabyle; spoken in kabylia: Tizi Ouzou, Bejaia. - Mozabite; another variety spoken in Beni Mzab. -Shawia; is used in Aures mountains.-zenate; spoken mainly in Timimoun and some other ksour nearby Adrar center -Tamashekt; the variety used in some parts of Sahara by Twareg people. Yet, it is only on January 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016 when the Algerian government announced Tamazight as a formal national language

All Berber dialects use some Arabic (borrowing). On the other hand words from Tamazight dialects are used in Algerian Arabic such as: 1 [fəkrun] that means a tortoise, 2 [fallūs] that means a chick. 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.

### 2.3.5 The Importance of Arabic for Algerians

It is historically known that Latin was propagated by Christianity aside with Greek and Syriac. Plus, Jewish dispersed Hebrew, whereas Islam and all divine messages prior to the existence of this religion are delivered in Arabic; the language of “Allah” or “Quran». In Algeria specifically, what gathered the martyrs basically was the urge to keep this language as a part of national identity, the colonizers tried to erase and substitute it with French. It is the sense of Arabo-Islamic unity that renders the idea of Arabization because after all Arabic is a simplified version of the prophet’s Mohammed language, peace be upon him.

### 2.4 Francophonie vs. Arabization:

There are two major reasons for this term to be used and why it is used in Algeria very often. Firstly, this country is a former French colony. Secondly, French is the second language used in formal and informal interactions in Algeria. This term indicates the pertinence of one country to an international, political and cultural community. Yet, Algeria has refused to join the company several times since it denotes nothing but an indirect domination act, Paul Balta declared: “[in Algeria today]... twenty times more children learn French than during the time of French Algeria. Paradox: even though the government refuses to recognize bilingualism and Francophonie, Algeria is the second most francophone nation in the world.”

Accordingly, the significance of Arabization has aroused in recent years, where the action of stressing the use of standard Arabic across the country in all fields: politics, academia and mass media. This was provoked by the intention of strengthening the national pride, honour and prestige; as well as reinforcing peaceful and useful conversations among Algerians, with the common language which belongs to Quran. Such factors empower

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national unity, solidarity and complete acculturation within Algeria. This is why Arabization was a major goal after the independence.

In addition to the afore-mentioned motivations, Arabic has been adopted in the constitution as the official language of the country. A lot has changed from that era where Arabic was declined and vegetated; today schooling is mainly practiced in Arabic, just like the other domains.

Yet, one cannot ignore the fact that during colonization Algerians were taught a French education, accompanied with their manners and approaches to education. Before Arabization, most Algerians considered French as the most prestigious and a symbol of manifestation over Arabic, due to the feeling they had about it: that it is a sign of high culture, superiority and intelligence. Nevertheless, nowadays the use of past oppression's language unnecessarily is felt as a national shame by the majority of Algerians. The previous president of Algeria Houari Boumediene who passed away in December of 1978, claimed the following, in a speech addressed to secondary school students:

« Ce que nous ne saurons trop vous conseiller, c'est de sauvegarder la personnalité Algérienne. Il est vrai que l'Algérie est située entre deux continents. Elle appartient en effet au continent Africain mais elle se trouve aux portes de l'Occident. Nous faisons donc partie d'un continent arriéré en voie de développement et nous avons en face un continent qui a ses qualités et ses personnalités. Autant nous sommes ouverts aux sciences et au progrès que nous ont apportés les nations qui nous ont devancés dans ce domaine, autant nous devons être soucieux de conserver notre personnalité et nos valeurs et autant nous devons faire pour préserver notre patrie et renforcer ses bases. » (Hassaine, 2011, p. 44)

The quote's essence delegates the value of preserving the national identity no matter effects may come along the road of development.

Nevertheless, the process of teaching foreign languages even if it is French is not barred and one must differentiate between nationalism and chauvinism or isolation. The goal is to preserve national identity including the language, while at the same time keeping up to date with foreign languages acquisition; being open to such opportunities helps to better understand other cultures and enlarges the circle of commerce, culture, education, science and modern technology.

Arabization in Algeria was needed after the independence, but at the same time it was unmanageable to be achieved. This was due to the "colonial cultural impact", Algerians were



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deprived from learning or using Arabic during 130 years of colonialism and many outsiders describe it as a miracle that Arabic and Berber dialects have survived the linguistic execution attempted by the French. For that reason, Arabization was a sensitive mission to be rushed right away back then. The policy of Arabization resulted in two distinct groups of intellectuals; they are referred to in French as: “Les Arabisants” and “les Francisants”. The former category holds tightly to the Islamic roots in relation to the religions’ language. They are somewhat indifferent towards the modern world due to the severe education they had in Quranic schools. They did adapt to French neither during the colonization, nor after it. The latter category is those who might have an Arabic native tongue, but they learnt French during colonialism. What is significant here is that they are perfect bilinguals because of their ability to read and write in both Arabic and French. For certain cases they may know French better than Arabic.

### 2.4.1 Obstructions to Arabization

**Illiteracy:** after the independence, more than 80% of Algerians were illiterate, and when the process began most teachers were not qualified for teaching.

**Hostility towards Arabic:** there was a group of people who could not let go of the French roots, be it culture or language, who had a passive aggression towards Arabic. They believed that it is meant only for vulgar and illiterate people.

**Gender:** it is marked that girls use French more than boys because they link it with modernism, equality, prestige and freedom; whereas they may face a shortage in Arabic use.

## 2.5 Borrowing

In Algerian conversations one can observe plenty of foreign terms or words, which are used to demonstrate, describe or convey a specific thought (mention objects probably). Along the history of the Arabic Maghreb, various populations emerged and have been a part of Algeria for a certain period of time. They are mainly the French, Italians and Spanish invaders in recent history. Nonetheless, there have been as well the ottoman dynasty, the Phoenician and roman empires in ancient eras, in addition to certain minorities such as the Jews.

All these varieties of ethnicities have left parts of their culture and language in the Algerian social print. Indeed, such evidence explains why there is a wide range of borrowed words and expressions in the Algerian vernacular dictionaries, as well as in the modern standard Arabic. For instance in the north western side of the country there is a major quantity of Spanish words inserted in the vernacular dialect. In most times, the speakers are not even aware of the words origins, and would assume it is French. That is because French is much



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dominating in the Algerian society. The Spanish borrowed words actually were a result of the invasion of the Spanish army to Oran and other nearby wilayas in the fifteenth century. Recently, young adolescents in Algiers and nearby wilayas to the eastern north are adopting new terms from English.

Furthermore, certain borrowed words' equivalents do exist in MSA but yet speakers tend to borrow from external foreign languages; hence, no wonder if one is to find a word like “*tiliviziun/tilivizu/تيليفيزيون/تيليفيزيو*” = television and is borrowed from French “la télévision”; yet it does not exist in vernacular Algerian. In MSA it is referred to as جهاز التلفاز .

Last but not least, loan blend is also very distinct in the Algerian “daridja”. It is a state of modifying foreign borrowings with native linguistic features in order to make it appear more Arabic-like and easily pronounced. An example would be: “portable” that refers to mobile phone instead of الهاتف النقال and pronounced as بورطابل . Due to historical reasons, a great number of borrowed words from different languages are introduced in Algerian dialect (Guella, 2011), for instance here is a list of borrowed words from various languages which have been adapted into vernacular Algerian:

Borrowed Words	Origins
[ <b>ʃla: yam</b> ] for “moustache”	Berber
<b>fellus</b> for “baby chicken” / chick.	Berber
<b>bukraj</b> for “kettle”	Turkish
<b>balak</b> for “maybe”.	Turkish
<b>beraniya</b> for “eggplant”.	Turkish
<b>Kutu</b> for “box”	Turkish
<b>baʃʔa ʔa</b> for “potato”.	Spanish
<b>Kma'ja</b> for “shirt”	Spanish
<b>chita</b> for “brush”	Spanish
<b>grillu</b> for “cockroach”.	Spanish
<b>Zrodiya</b> from “zanahoria” = carrots	Spanish
<b>Sbitar</b> from “hospital” = hospital	Spanish
<b>Semana</b> from “ semana” = week or “semaine”	Spanish

**Table5:** List of Common Borrowed Words in Algerian Dialects

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To mark limits between two kinds of borrowing: adapted, and non-adapted borrowing. The former refers to that type that is comprised of words which are phonologically and morphologically changed to fit within the base. Yet, French words are adapted into AA in relation to a range that demonstrates the scale of assimilation and they are adapted into the organism of Arabic so that they give the impression to have an Arabic origin. For instance; 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 means “machine, machines” correspondingly. as a consequence, the words have been completely assimilated into the Arabic system and are impossible to differentiate from the Arabic words. The latter includes a set of words which are introduced from French language and set aside intact both phonologically and morphologically. Such sort includes vocabularies 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 (MyerScotton1993a).

### 2.7 Local dialects of Adrar

Adrar has been described as the shelter of religious personalities, without forgetting their contributions in writings and research. However, this city is not as homogenous as one may notice in the rural areas, it is heterogeneous. Concerning population dialects and origins, Adrar is variant. Touat dialect is perceptibly the most prevalent one in the Adrarian community, characterized by a proximity to standard Arabic in multiple parts of speech. For instance similarities in structures, words, sounds and grammar; like in the pronunciation of demonstratives, a typical Touati speaker would pronounce it as /dæk / ذاك like in MSA ذاك. Also, there are certain compound terms like :

- « عمنول », that means « last year » is a combination of « year : عام » and « اول: first ».
- « فيسع », that means « quickly » is a combination of « في: in » and « الساعة: hour ».

On the level of replacing sounds and letters. Examples are :

- Replacement of الدال , /d/ (dâl) /ð/ , with (zâl) /z/ الدال as in :

- اللذين instead of اللذين = whom .

- استاذ instead of استاذ = teacher .

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- Replacement of السين (sm) with الصاد ('sâd) as in :

- pronouncing قارص (قارس:bitter) instead of قارص

- Replacement of القاف (qāf) with /g/ as in :

○ قال (gâl) =[ he] said

○ واقفين = [they,we] standing

**Note :** It is argued why this sound is pertinent in the Touat dialect, due to its existence in other places, such as, Egypt “ج » /g/, Yemen and Bedouin dialects across the Arabic countries.

It is evident that the examples already mentioned are few compared to the variance of the local dictionary. Nevertheless, there are other varieties of Berber which are spoken in Adrar by foreign inhabitants. Zenate is widely spread in Timimoun, as well as in Sherwin, Zaouiet Debbagh and other places in Aougrou. There are many Zenate speakers who code-switch and mix between their mother tongue and Touat dialect; however, newer generations do find it a bit difficult to do so and prefer the local dialect. Another variety is the Tamahaq, which is the Berber dialect used by Twareg minorities. Its written form is named Tamacheq. Plus, some Mzab sellers –shop owners- who settled in this city long time ago for business and trade, use their mother tongue only among themselves; Due to their preservation little is known about their socio-linguistic variations with Touat dialect in Adrar. Unlike the Twareg, who adapt and code-switch usually when dealing with locals, which resulted in teaching Adrarians a little bit of Tamahaq.

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### 2.7.1 Status of MSA in Adrar Centre

Needless to say, Adrar possesses a religious appeal for Islamic scholars, due to certain famous personalities like Cheikh Belkbir and Cheikh L'maghili. Meanwhile, it only shows the effect of religion's language on local residents. Mosques played a vital role in the past where people used to learn and acquire everything from the "taleb"<sup>1</sup>, who happens to be the tutor of Quranic verses and their meanings .i.e. Islamic education. Yet, it is a separate topic to describe how "Zaouiet" tutoring work and the "ranks" of talba. Anyway, one cannot neglect the obvious appearance of MSA in the speech of local Touat speakers, regardless of the social setting they are in. It is additionally observed in the older generation' speech who have not received a French education formerly. Terms like المشروب (el mâshrob) = drink ; الثلاجة (e'theladja) = the fridge ; المراض (el merha'd)= toilet are frequently used by local older men and women, unlike the newer generations who follow the rhythm of borrowed terms and code switching/code mixing. Adrarians generally tend to keep the Arabic roots to the vernacular in most social situations, be it in religious ceremonials, business, trade, formalities, media and so forth.

### 2.8 Conclusion

The linguistic variety in Algeria is not a perilous phenomenon; basically, it is due to the long of period French colonialism has spent in its territories that Algerians became baffled. In addition to Berber varieties that are not separate from the Algerian identity. code switching and mixing are immensely common in Algerian conversations, aside with borrowing, blending words and writing Arabic in French letters. To sum up, Algeria is considered as a diglossic context with two varieties that hold different contexts. Be it bilingual or even multilingual since there are three languages namely; Berber, Arabic, and French. Thus, Algerian speakers may switch or borrow words from these languages for different reasons.

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<sup>1</sup>Taleb: a religious tutor who teaches the Quran and its principles in mosques, either for adults or children.

# Chapter Three:

## Adrar Shop-keepers Case.

# Adrar Shop Keepers Case Study

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## 3.1 Introduction

The present chapter clarifies the methodology, analyzing and interpretation of the collected data. However, it will provide first a broad-spectrum overview about Adrar speech community, afterwards we will introduce the two research instruments used in collecting data; interviews, word lists and pictures. After, the sample is defined and finally gives an analysis and interpretation of the main results. The choice of bilingualism in Adrar as a target subject in this study, our aspiration is to elucidate this phenomenon in the Touat society and attempt to know, how shop-keepers in local Adrar use dialect and French in the context of their daily interactions and also their attitudes towards French and MSA. We will also try to clarify how shop signs in Adrar are written and used.

## 3.2. Adrar Speech Community

Adrar is situated in the South West of Algeria. Its name is derived from the berber *word* “*adhrar*” that signifies « mountain », It contains four geographical zones :

- Gourara, the region of Timimoun
- Touat, the region of Adrar
- Tidikelt, the region of Aoulef
- Tanezrouft, the region of Bordj Badji Mokhtar

Regardless of the resemblance of Adrar dialects with certain features with other Algerian dialects, it has its unambiguous qualities, known as urban /q/ and bedouin /g/ in Touat spoken dialect, but there is also a high intersection of diverse ethnicities(Bouhania: 2008,p167).its basic population consists of the Zenates ,the Tuaregs, the Arabs and descendants of old eras’ slaves ;still, other inhabitants that come from numerous northern wilayas (business or work ) have taken a major place within the social spectrum of Adrar society This contact caused obvious effects on the younger generation that seem to adapt certain northern-like features’ in their speech However, this research deals only with older generation Touat speakers.

## 3.3 Data collection

The choice of our research instruments is certainly related to particular factors, according to Beiske (2002), time and costs are vital in deciding how to come near an exacting research problem, the subject of the research should determine the instruments used. However, in our research, data are collected by means of interviews; word lists test and photo shots.

## **Adrar Shop Keepers Case Study**

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Both quantitative and qualitative techniques are used in this research work. But we highlight the qualitative one. Our aim was not to validate bilingualism by calculating how much shopkeepers use French in their daily life, but moderately to describe individual experiences, to obtain specific information about participants, to share their opinions and to see their behaviours in social context.

### **3.3.1 The Interviews**

Interviewing participants entails “the elicitation of data by one person from another through person-to-person encounters” Nunan (1992:231). we have based our data collection on having standard conversations in order to achieve certain purposes . Yet, They were semi-structured interviews since the questions are predetermined, we were free to ask for clarification and even add follow up questions. in this case due to the circumstances of the shop keepers: they do not have enough time to fill the questionnaires, and the possibility of them not paying enough attention when answering the questionnaires; the participants were asked what suits them better, and they were willing to talk rather than take a questionnaire. So, all that led us to go for one-on-one interviews.. In addition to that, words list were used in conjunction along with the questions they have been asked.

### **3.3.2. Words List**

To explain and strengthen the interpretations, we had to combine words lists with the basic instrument. 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 participants in question were 40 male shop keepers whose native tongue is Touat dialect .the age varies from 30 to 40 years old. All informants have the same origin and come from Adrar or its rural areas. The shops are diverse in terms of what is sold; meanwhile, the keepers have different backgrounds, and dissimilar social and educational statuses: some of them have made it until secondary school and others have never received a formal education.

### **3.5. Data Analysis and Interpretation**

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

## Adrar Shop Keepers Case Study

### 3.5.1. Interviews Analysis and Interpretation

This part gathers general information about the respondents; their age, and educational background.

Level of education	Number of participants
No education	10
Primary school	27
Middle school	04
Secondary school	08

**Table6:** *participants' educational level*

The participants were from different educational backgrounds as it is shown in the table6.

#### Question 1- What other languages or dialects do you know?

	French	English	Zenata
No education	04	/	04
Primary school	10	/	09
Middle school	04	01	/
Secondary school	08	04	02

**Table 7:** *languages/dialect(s) of participants .*

It appears that a few of participants have dropped school at an early age where English was not an option for them to attain. Those who studied in middle school have been exposed to the basics of English along with French. Most of participants know French; surprisingly, even the uneducated category has learnt a bit of French though they did not receive a formal education. as much as it is bizarre, they have learnt it through social contact and interactions with French speakers; of course, they know basic expressions and a bunch of words only.



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**Question2** - Name two languages, one which you think is easy in terms of learning and use, whereas the other one is difficult.

Language	Difficult	Easy
<i>French</i>	92.5%	37.5%
<i>English</i>	75%	22.5%
<i>Arabic</i>	47.5%	80%

**Table8:** *Perceptions about languages*

MSA seems to be the easiest language for 32 participants. However, those who dropped school early believe that French is a difficult language to learn and to produce; we noticed that these participants come from rural areas. Yet, those who received a formal education in French said they have not been well taught in it from the beginning, and that French language is very seldom used in the area where they live. for those who claimed French is easy justified that it is easier than MSA in all contexts. Indeed, French grammar, they explain is simpler than standard Arabic. Participants who reached secondary school said that they code-switch/ mix with French language when conversing with customers very often. Even those who dropped early primary school admit that they are not able to use French easily, but they are interested to master French in order to adapt with all kinds of clients. as for English, it considered the second most difficult language with a rate of 30 votes out of 40.

**Question3** - Which language would you associate with the quality “outdated”? why?

Language	French	Arabic
Answers /40	19	21

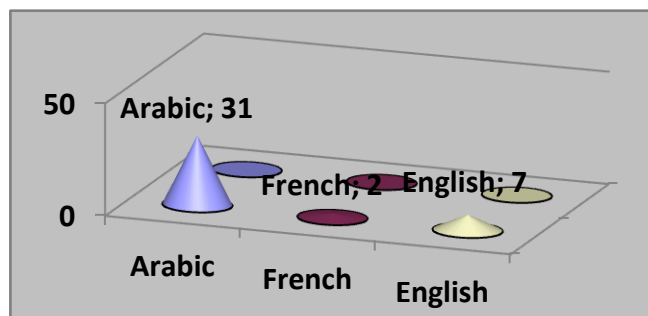
**Table 9:** *outdated language according to respondents*

The numbers show that both MSA and French are felt as outdated , with a slight difference that makes Arabic most outdated according to shopkeepers. Those who view French as old-fashioned justified that by assuming it is no longer the world’s lingua franca .the other group said: MSA is no longer used in the Arab World, so how should any one

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expect it to flourish in other countries!. This shows a conflict between the two groups since they equally have distinct attitudes towards Algeria's formal languages.

**Question4** - which language would you describe as beautiful?



**Figure1:** participant's perception of languages in terms of beauty

Not surprisingly Arabic is the most popular in terms of beauty. Nonetheless, we notice that French takes the least degree. Through this question we aimed at showing if the shopkeepers' attitude towards French language may be indirectly influenced when speaking about the beauty of the two languages and if may be incite them to reveal what they think about French, because we know that attitudes towards the mother tongue is always positive. Males have shown that they are very proud of their native language MSA, and they don't neglect the importance of French which they said is part of their speech and life in a way or another. Plus, English attracts the majority, as they explained that it is phonetically more alluring than French.

**Question 4-** Do you use foreign words or alternate codes in your daily speech? Why?

Answer	Yes	No	I do not know
number out of 40 p	34	02	04

**Table10:**Code switching/mixing among participants.

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Here, the results we obtained were informative. Out of 40 participants, 34 use French when speaking which indicates certainly its importance. During the interviews split was obvious between participants from rural and urban area in terms of utility; it is very restricted among people living in rural area, and shop keepers told us that the level of education in rural area where they live, is far from the average. By consequence, they face difficulties in French language use, because they were not so familiar with this it. Unlikely, those who come from urban areas tend to use French terms more frequently since they received a bilingual education; they said that they are aware of its impact on the customers as it feels much prestigious and attractive. Those who claimed to not use it at all explained so by their hatred for French. It was described as the language of enemy as well as a difficult task to interfere it with dialect. The rest 04 participants said that they have not been aware if borrowed terms are French or not. it signifies a degree of ignorance among them.

**Question 5-** When you alternate between codes, does it occur consciously or unconsciously?

Here, 33 of respondents answered that they would code switch or mix unconsciously; especially for those who are not even aware of French words in their speech..the rest 07 participants said that they alternate on purpose in order to clarify something if it is not clear for a customer, or to show up as educated and up to date.

**Question 6** - How do you perceive people who use a lot of French in informal/regular conversations?

Quality	Number of participants
Intelligent	03
Normal	09
Literate	08
Show-off	20

**Table11:** *Feelings towards French speakers/code-mixers*

Here, 7.5% of participants believe that Francophone speakers are intelligent, unlike 20% who perceive it as literacy. we have asked them to explain what it means and their answers were: it is literacy in terms of language knowledge; if one can speak Arabic or vernacular very well, why would he/she use French? This answer is similar to what 50% of participants

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told us. They view such speakers as show-off and arrogant; it gives them the impression that a person uses French only to sound better than others/ high cultured, which is a negative quality indeed. the rest say it is very normal state to use any language someone admires; at the end it is only another human-created code that signifies the same concepts.

**Question7** - If challenged to use MSA with your customers, can you do it? If not, why?

Answer	Percentage
yes	5%
no	95%

**Table12:** *Acceptance of MSA use*

This question was a point of humour and sarcasm for the majority of shop keepers. when asked, they believed it was a joke; indeed, 95% said it would be impossible to set such a challenge due to the connotations it holds. they restricted its use to formal settings only and in case they hear someone using it when dealing with customers, it would be a perfect joke to be laughed at. conversely, the other 5% claim it is an easy task .they supported that by saying if the prophet (PBUH) and his companions used a much difficult version of Arabic back then in everyday situations, there should not be any shame in employing it at workplace.

This revealed that the lion's share of participants regard Standard Arabic as something to be respected and employed only by certain people, in specific situations only.

**Question8** - what do you think about shop signs written in an “arabized French” ? .i.e. French terms written in Arabic letters.

The answers were summarized and categorized into three different point of views:

- a. **Indifferent:** it sets no difference as long as the shop continues to attract customers; it does not matter at all because since it will be left behind once a client steps inside the shop. It is nearly impossible to refuse to buy or command something just for the miswritten sign!
- b. **Negative vision:** I do not like it since it may give the customers the impression that the shop owner is ignorant of either one or both languages; it indicates to the clients

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that he could be unworthy of trust due to the lack of attention to such unforgivable mistakes towards both languages.

- c. **Positive vision:** I like it because they are very simple and easy to be read by everyone. There are many customers who do not know written French , are yet very accustomed to its terms phonologically; that way it is guaranteed that they read it and recognize it. Described as hitting two birds with one rock.

**Question 9-** Do you think the sociolinguistic situation in Adrar is perfect ? Why?

Answer	Yes	No
Number of p	60%	40%

**Table13:** *Degree of comfort towards Adrar's sociolinguistic setting*

On one hand, most participants have shown a great acceptance of the sociolinguistic variables played in Adrar in general. they say that the more languages or dialects emerge and inter-relate, the more advanced Adrar will get. They also claim that it shows how much newcomers from other wilayas are settling here throughout business and commerce; a clear sign of prosperity according to them. on the other hand, 16 out of 40 respondents feel irritated by the abnormal sociolinguistic patterns inserted in Touat dialect and Modern Standard Arabic. They described it as “ wireless” colonization which threatens the Arabic roots among Algerians in general and Adrarians specifically.they hope that people begin to focus more on learning Classical Arabic and neglect foreign distractions.

### 3.5.2. Word List Analysis and Interpretation

This 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: In this section, we have chosen a set of the most frequent used words, which are borrowed from other languages. Some of these terms are pronounced with similar Arabic phonemes, whereas others are slightly modified concerning syntax. Participants were asked to tell us the equivalent terms of the following list in Standard Arabic; they are also asked if they can discern their sources and why they are used widely.

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**REMARK:** languages in the table are referred to as:

N	Word as pronounced TD	Origins	Meaning in TD
1	فرشيطة ferchita	la fourchette F	Fork
2	تيليفزيون tilivizion	la télévision F	Television
3	بورطابل portable	le téléphone portable F	Mobile phone
4	ميكرو بورطابل micro-portable	micro-portable F	Laptop computer
5	البيطراف el bitraf	le betterave F	beetroot
6	زرودية zroudiya	Zanahorias S	Carrots
7	سبيطار sbitar	Hospital S	Hospital
8	كوتبي koutbi	coup de pied F	kick
9	قريللو grillu		A cockroach
10	ستيلو stillo	un stylo F	Pen
11	لاطونسيو latonsion	la tension artérielle F	Blood pressure
12	قوطي kouti	Kutu T	Small box
13	سباط sabbat	Zapatos S	Shoe
14	التيو/التويو tiyyou – twéyou	Tuyau d'arrosage F	Hose
15	كوروار / كولوار kouloir /kouroir	Le couloirs F	Corridor
16	كابا kaba	Une cabas F	Travel bag
17	كروسة kerrousa	El carro (plural:carros) S	Car
18	زالاميط zalamit	Les allumettes F	matches
19	كاسكروط kaskrout	Un casse-crotte F	A light meal in between breakfast and lunch
20	كاماراد kamarade	Un camarade F	Friend ( in Adrar it refers to builders who come from Mali, Niger...etc)

Abbreviations : **French** = F      **Spanish** = S      **Turkish** = T

**Table14:** *borrowed words in AA*

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Results as illustrated in the table below:

	Word	Successful Answers in Arabic	Determination of Origins
1	فرشيطة <i>ferchita</i>	34	02
2	تيليفيزيون <i>tilivizion</i>	40	40
3	بورطابل <i>portable</i>	37	40
4	ميكرو بورطابل <i>micro-portable</i>	30	39
5	البيطراف <i>el bitraf</i>	5	00
6	زرودية <i>zroudiya</i>	40	00
7	سبيطار <i>sbitar</i>	40	00
8	كوتبي <i>koutbi</i>	29	03
9	قريللو <i>grillu</i>	30	00
10	ستيلو <i>stillo</i>	40	40
11	لاطونسيو <i>latonsion</i>	11	38
12	قوطي <i>kouti</i>	32	00
13	سباط <i>sabbat</i>	38	00
14	التيو/التويو <i>tiyyou – twéyou</i>	02	04
15	كوروار / كولوار <i>kouloir /kouroir</i>	10	27
16	كابا <i>kaba</i>	30	30
17	كروسة <i>kerrousa</i>	40	00
18	زالاميت <i>zalamit</i>	29	00
19	كاسكروط <i>kaskrout</i>	0	00
20	كاماراد <i>kamarade</i>	09	33

Table: Table: results of borrowed words test

### Data interpretation

The results show that a great number of the informants had negative answers .i.e. they could not recognize neither the correct form, nor the origins. They knew only few words that are derived from French, such as [portable - stylo] for mobile phone and pen with a score of 100 % .The results demonstrate also that borrowed words are adapted into Arabic morphology, this correspond to Smeaton' s view : borrowed word undergoes modification of morphological structure to achieve harmony with the established predominant pattern and root system of the recipient language .like the example of “ hospital” in Spanish, that became ‘sbitar’.

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### 3.5.3 Shop Signs Analysis and Interpretation

The following pictures were taken from diverse places in Adrar centre. they show only certain miswritten signs, as there plenty of others that we were not allowed to photo shoot by their owners.

First example:



As it shows, only two words are written in Standard Arabic:

- To sell = بيع
- And = و

The other words are « arabized » French words. Original forms would be:

- Céramique – Faillance - Dal de sol – Douche- Cuisine- Couloire- Façade.



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The second example:



This signs are very common in Adrar. it signifies a public “shower-room” (unlike public bathroom that means something else in the Algerian culture). the word DOUCHE in French means: shower whereas «البهجة» el-bahja means joyfulness. However, it is noticed that the first word is Arabic and the second one is written in “arabized «French again.

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The third example:



This sign belongs to a sewing shop. Only one foreign word is inserted; LA ROSE signifies “THE FLOWER”.

The fourth example:



Here, بياس means « a piece ». like « desert piece ». Remarks about mistakes are to be mentioned in the next section.

Since we could not picture all the signs of this kind due to permission issues, we have written the rest of examples as follows:

- ❖ طولي = tolier = panel beater .
- ❖ ميكانيسيان = mechanicien = mechanic .
- ❖ بيتزيريا = pizzeria .

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- ❖ فليكسي ايسي = flexy ici = flexy here.
- ❖ ريسطو = restaurant = restaurant.
- ❖ تورنور = Tourneur = metal turner.
- ❖ كوافوز/كوافور = coiffeur (for males) / coiffeuse (for females) = barber /hairstylist.
- ❖ طاكسي فون = Taxi phone = public phone booth.
- ❖ لافاج = lavage = car-wash garage.

### Data Interpretation

The examples afore-sown contain multiple borrowed words, grammar mistakes and inappropriateness. First, the borrowed terms as “douche” do exist in MSA ; yet, whoever wrote the signs and the shop keepers – by accepting it- seem to diminish the power of Arabic in attracting customers. in an interview with an Adrarian signs painter, aged 31 years; he admitted that Arabic seems very old-fashioned and limited in terms of prestige. For such reasons almost all his clients demand on purpose the arabized French style. even when they never care about how the content is written, he chooses that form enthusiastically. Concerning the other examples of سيراتميك, فايونص, لادال دو صول...etc, the shop owner was asked why he chose that form and not French or Arabic. he justified by: the young generation has no clue neither about French, nor about Arabic; they are accustomed to hear these terms with no literal knowledge of how it is written. so, it is better to find a way in between and help everyone read and acknowledge what I sell. As for the “Sahara Pieces”, it is clear through the literal translation of Arabic that it is a French expression, yet it failed to be correct since the syntax is more English-like. this is a bad example of literal translation. to conclude, shop owners/keepers and shop signs painters generally appear to believe in the power of French in the Adrarian society; they know that customers will understand that form.

Anyway, the research about this topic is not the motivations of signs painters, but rather about acknowledging such phenomenon.

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### 3.6 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the practical part of the investigation. It mentioned the case under study which represents Adrar shop keepers' bilingualism, 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 and uneducated people are not very much aware of aware using borrowed words. such habits of alternating between codes and borrowings occur either for prestige or 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. Yet, attitudes towards it in Adrar seem to be negative and positive equally. some see it as the enemy's language while the others view it as a partial identity of society; it cannot be dropped like the examples of public shop signs.

### General Conclusion

The present investigation has explored Algerians' awareness about French and Arabic, and the extent of their awareness of borrowing words. the fact that French words are not distinguishable from AA words prompted us to question the reason behind that pattern. we found that that Algerian's awareness varies according to social variables including age, gender, and level of education. People borrow words to fill the lexical gaps or for the matter of prestige. Therefore, Adrarians borrow words from French language due to French colonization or the status given French in Algeria as it is taught at schools and used in many domains and socially among almost all the population.

To tackle effectively the interviews and word list along with pictures. 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 code switch and code mix 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 shop keepers consider French as a prestigious language as we have seen with certain participants. The outcomes also show that borrowed words are unconsciously inserted into Touat dialect. The collected data has confirmed our hypotheses it means that bilingualism does impact TA in a negative way to a valid extent, be it directly or indirectly.

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### Appendix

**Question1:** What is your age and educational level?

**Question2:** Which language (s) or dialect(s) do you know?

**Question3:** Name two languages, one which you find easy in terms of use and acquisition, whereas the other one is difficult. Why?

**Question4:** Which language would you associate with the quality « outdated »?

**Question5:** Which language would you describe as beautiful?

**Question6:** Do you use foreign words or alternate codes (French .Dialect) in your daily speech?

**Question7:** When you alternate between codes, does it occur consciously or unconsciously?

**Question8:** How do you perceive people who use a lot of French in informal/regular conversations?

**Question9:** If challenged to use MSA with your customers, can you do it? Why?

**Question10:** What do you think about shop signs written in « arabized-French »?

**Question11:** Do you think the sociolinguistic situation in Adrar is perfect? Why?