

# A Sociolinguistic Study of the Outcomes of Arabic-French Contact in the Algerian Dialect Tlemcen Speech Community as a Case Study

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**Abstract**—It is acknowledged that our style of speaking changes according to a wide range of variables such as gender, setting, the age of both the addresser and the addressee, the conversation topic, and the aim of the interaction. These differences in style are noticeable in monolingual and multilingual speech communities. Yet, they are more observable in speech communities where two or more codes coexist. The linguistic situation in Algeria reflects a state of bilingualism because of the coexistence of Arabic and French. Nevertheless, like all Arab countries, it is characterized by diglossia i.e. the concomitance of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Algerian Arabic (AA), the former standing for the ‘high variety’ and the latter for the ‘low variety’. The two varieties are derived from the same source but are used to fulfil distinct functions that is, MSA is used in the domains of religion, literature, education and formal settings. AA, on the other hand, is used in informal settings, in everyday speech. French has strongly affected the Algerian language and culture because of the historical background of Algeria, thus, what can easily be noticed in Algeria is that everyday speech is characterized by code-switching from dialectal Arabic and French or by the use of borrowings. Tamazight is also very present in many regions of Algeria and is the mother tongue of many Algerians. Yet, it is not used in the west of Algeria, where the study has been conducted. The present work, which was directed in the speech community of Tlemcen-Algeria, aims at depicting some of the outcomes of the contact of Arabic with French such as code-switching, borrowing and interference. The question that has been asked is whether Algerians are aware of their use of borrowings or not. Three steps are followed in this research; the first one is to depict the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and to describe the linguistic characteristics of the dialect of Tlemcen, which are specific to this city. The second one is concerned with data collection. Data have been collected from 57 informants who were given questionnaires and who have then been classified according to their age, gender and level of education. Information has also been collected through observation, and note taking. The third step is devoted to analysis. The results obtained reveal that most Algerians are aware of their use of borrowings. The present work clarifies how words are borrowed from French, and then adapted to Arabic. It also illustrates the way in which singular words inflect into plural. The results expose the main characteristics of borrowing as opposed to code-switching. The study also clarifies how interference occurs at the level of nouns, verbs and adjectives.

**Keywords**—Bilingualism, borrowing, code-switching, interference, language contact.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

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

Fasold [1, p. 9] points out that in order to understand societal multilingualism we have to understand the historical patterns that lead to it. He cites four of them and says that a given multilingual society is usually an example of more than one of these at the same time. According to him, the patterns are “migration, imperialism, federation and border area multilingualism”. He draws attention to the fact that “imperialism” is a loaded word but that he had not been able to find a neutral one. He adds that “in subtypes of imperialism are colonization, annexation and ‘economic imperialism’.” If one had to choose one these patterns to apply to Algeria, it would be colonialism as a subtype of imperialism. Thus, one should give a sketch of the historical background of Algeria.

## II. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF ALGERIA

As mentioned before, Algeria was subject to covetousness and was hence, conquered by numerous civilizations, as we are going to see.

### A. The Berbers

The first inhabitants of the Maghreb are the Berbers. They were called “the Numides” by the Greek and the Romans. Their language was the Berber and it has existed 5000 thousand years ago.

As far as language is concerned, the Berbers of the interior remained monolingual but “in urban zones, bilingualism and multilingualism –Berber-Punic, Berber-Punic- Roman, etc. - became the norm” [2, p.300], [3, p.77], quoted in Benrabah [4, p.38].

### B. The Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals and Byzantines

The Phoenicians were the first to install ports of call and business establishments along the Algerian coasts. Then, there were other conquests such as that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines then that of the Arabs.

### C. Latin and Berber

The inhabitants of cities abandoned the Latin and replaced it with Arabic, whereas the Bedouins kept on using Berber.

The process of arabisation took place during two periods. Gallagher [5, p.131] states that the first wave of Arabs spread Islam with a slight degree of Arabisation.

As opposed, the urban people who became bilingual because of the contact with the new conquerors, the rural population remained using its own language. The latter witnessed a decay during the 11<sup>th</sup> century when the nomadic tribes of the Banu Hilal, who had come from the Arabian Peninsula and who had settled in Egypt, arrived in North Africa.

#### *D. The Portuguese and the Spanish*

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

#### *E. The Turkish*

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

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

#### *F. Language Contact*

Some cities, such as Tlemcen, are Arabised to such an extent that the language of diplomatic relations became the local Arabic. As far as the European languages are concerned, there was a considerable presence of Spanish in the west of the country and of Italian in the east. The majority of city dwellers spoke local Arabic and the Jews spoke Judeo-Arabic. This contact of languages gave birth to a kind of lingua franca – a language for communication between the Arabs, the Europeans (mainly Spanish) and the Turkish- which became a language for commerce in all the Mediterranean ports. The lexis was essentially Spanish with Turkish elements, which appeared during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and syntactic forms inspired from Arabic. This lingua franca kept on being used even after the French Conquest in 1830.

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

#### *G. The French Colonisation*

France colonised Algeria from 1830 to 1962. The French colonisers imposed their socio-economic and linguistic policies, thus the use of Arabic was restricted to private and religious domains. During the colonial period, Arabic was besieged and was reduced to the rank of foreign whereas French spread all over the sectors of the public life. [Boucherit in [6, p.54]].

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

population uses French in everyday life and the borrowed words from French are very noticeable, especially in urban areas. However, the structure of Arabic has not been affected much; the French words, which have been integrated into Arabic, undergo the same linguistic treatment as the original Arabic words [Boucherit in [6, p.54-55]].

The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is a bit complicated. On the one hand, it is considered as a bilingual if not a multilingual country because of the coexistence of Arabic, French and Berber, but like all Arab countries it is characterised by diglossia i.e. the coexistence of MSA and AA, the former referring the 'high variety' and the latter to the 'low variety'. The two varieties originate from the same source but they are used to accomplish distinct functions that is, MSA is used in the domains of religion, literature, and education, i.e. formal settings. AA, on the other hand, is used in casual situations, in daily conversations. Dendane [7 p.69] says in this respect: "(...) the relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic has been described in terms of 'diglossia relationship' [8], [9], though a finer and more comprehensive analysis of today's actual uses of Arabic reveals the existence of a continuum that may be better examined perhaps in terms of 'multiglossia'."

We have spoken about MSA, AA and French, yet our concern in the present study is the last two; but one should not forget to mention Berber, which includes four major languages. The Touaregs of the Sahara (near the Niger border) use the 'Tamashek'. The Mozabites and Chaouias speak 'Mzab' and 'Shawia', respectively. Kabylis speak 'Kabyle' known locally as 'Takbaylit' [10, p.89], [11, p.92].

### III. THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE DIALECT OF TLEMCEEN

Our study is focused on the Tlemcen speech community. That is why it is worth giving an overview of its linguistic characteristics. However, before describing the linguistic feature, one should draw up the geographical boundaries of Tlemcen.

#### *A. Geographical Delimitation*

Tlemcen is located in Northwestern Algeria. Its population is 132,341 as of the 1998 census. It is 140 km away from Oran and 40 km from the Mediterranean Sea. Its altitudes vary from 769 m in Bab Zir to 817 m in Bab el Hadid [12, p.11].

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

#### *B. Phonetic Features*

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

The major phonetic difference that distinguishes the Bedouin dialects from the urban ones is the preservation of the

Classical Arabic (CA) interdental /θ/ and /ð/, and the pronunciation of the CA emphatic sounds /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ as [ðˤ] for the formers, on the other hand, the latter realize the interdentals cited before as [t] and [d], respectively. For instance the verb /naðama/ (to organise) is uttered /jnəðəm/ in the Bedouin dialects and /jnəðˤəm/ in the sedentary dialects. As far as the [t] is concerned, it is rather affricated and realised as [tˤ] in Tlemcen. For instance the word /θemmata/ (there) is pronounced /θemm/ in the Bedouin dialects, /təmm/ in the other sedentary dialects whereas it is pronounced /tˤemma/ in Tlemcen. The sedentary dialects, including that of Tlemcen are characterised by the realisation of the emphatic sounds /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ as /dˤ/.

The plosive /dʒ/ is kept in Tlemcen, whereas it is realized as a fricative /ʒ/ in the Bedouin dialects. For instance, speakers from the Tlemcen speech community pronounce, /dʒaməd/ (frozen), whereas Bedouin dialect speakers utter the same word as /ʒaməd/.

### C. Morphological and Syntactic Features

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

CA diphthongs /ai/ and /aw/ have become /e:/ and /o:/ respectively in the urban dialects, whereas they are kept in the Bedouin ones. For instance, the word /dawratun/ (rotation) is uttered /do:ra/ in Tlemcen and /dawra/ in the Bedouin dialects. The word /bai dʔatun/ (egg) is pronounced /bedˤa/ in Tlemcen, whereas the diphthong is kept in the sedentary dialects and the same word is uttered /baidˤa/.

The last morpho-syntactic feature which is specific to the dialect of Tlemcen is the way in which verbs are conjugated, i.e. whether addressing a male or a female, the suffix /-u/ or /-ina/ for the masculine and the feminine, respectively, is completely dropped in the dialect of Tlemcen. Whereas /-ina/ is reduced to /-i/. In addition to that, there is a difference in the use of the personal pronouns. The pronouns for the second person singular in the Bedouin dialects are /nta/ or /ntaja/ for the masculine and /nti/ or /ntja/ for the feminine. However, in Tlemcen, the same pronoun /tina/ or /ntina/ is used for both. In this sense, in the Bedouin dialects, one would say:

/nta tʊf/ vs. /ntja tʊfi/ (you see) when addressing a male and a female, respectively; or /rak tʊf/ vs. /raki tʊfi/ (you are seeing).

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

In Tlemcen, one would say:

/tina tʊf/ for both male and female.

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

The pronouns used for the second and third persons plural also show dissimilarity: /ntuma/ (you) and /huma/ (they) in the

Bedouin dialects vs. /ntumen/ and /humen/ in Tlemcen.

### D. The Lexical Level

If we had to compare the various dialects used in Algeria, we would find many differences at the level of lexis. For instance, the equivalent of the verb “to do” is /ra-məl/ in the dialect of Tlemcen, and /mlir/ in the Bedouin dialects. The verbs “to find” and “to sit” can be translated as jsɛb/ and /jəg-əd/, respectively in Tlemcen vs. /w]eər/ and /tj əmmT -/ in the Bedouin dialects.

As far as nouns are concerned, one can find many examples related to family members. For instance, /Ztən/ and /Zətˤna/ in Tlemcen, stand for the parents-in-law, whereas they have other equivalents in the Bedouin dialects: /ħ:Z/ and /-zX]/, respectively. The daughter-in-law is known as /la-rosˤa/ in Tlemcen, and as /lkənna/ in the Bedouin dialects. The sister-in-law and the wife of the brother-in-law are known as /ǣvd/ and /notˤa/, respectively, in the former and as /ṡp T w and /səlfə/ in the latter.

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

## IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### A. The Sample Population

Sociolinguists tried to achieve ‘representativeness’ through the use of sociological approaches, such as the building of a random sample of the group to be studied, i.e. through interviewing persons who are chosen randomly, because the researcher cannot interview his/her own group of friends. (Such a selection would not be demonstrative) [13, p.18-19].

According to [14, p.24], random sampling intends to elude the following difficulties:

- (a) selection influenced intentionally or unintentionally by human choice;
- (b) insufficient coverage of the population;
- (c) failure in finding a given segment of the population; and,
- (d) absence of collaboration by certain subsections.

Thus, random sampling necessitates that the researcher does not know the individuals with whom he/she is making his/her research.

Another type of sampling is stratified random sampling, also known as quasi-random or judgement sampling. This way of sampling requires: “not that the sample be a miniature version of the population, but only that we have the possibility of making inference about the population based on the sample” [15, p.900].

In our research, we chose the second kind i.e. the stratified random sampling.

We identified in advance the types of speakers to be studied and defined a section of speakers who were appropriate to the specified categories, according to our issues and our hypotheses.

As we assumed that gender, age, and level of education are factors that could affect code-switching or the use of borrowings, we divided our sample population into five sub-categories ranging from children to informants who are more than 60 years old. Thus, the total number of educated males is 14, the total number of educated females is 17, that of less educated males is 17 and that of less educated females is nine. Therefore, the total number of informants is 57, as summarised in Table I.

TABLE I  
THE SAMPLE POPULATION

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

\*Less educated refer to people who did not get their baccalaureate degree

## V. RESULTS

### A. Awareness about the Use of Borrowings

Through the use of the list of pictures, (shown in Table II), we were surprised to discover that all the respondents were conscious that the words they were using in the dialect were in fact derived from French, except for some words such as /læmbot/ (picture 31), / bərweɪ/ (picture 32) or /nibli/ (picture 37) which mean “funnel”, “wheelbarrow” and “small balls”, respectively. The words cited are so adapted that even people having a high level of education did not guess that they were, in fact, derived from the French words “l’embout” /læmbW/, “brouette” /b~Wet/ and “les billes” /lebij/, respectively.

Even children showed that they were conscious that they used words that originate from French. Some of them said that when they did not know a word in Arabic, (they meant dialectal Arabic), they just distorted the French word and got it in Arabic. In this sense, we may invalidate our hypothesis in which we assumed that less educated and young people were not aware that they were using borrowings and that the latter would rather use words from standard Arabic.

When showing the pictures corresponding to “broom” (picture 12), “bag” (picture 04), “cart” (picture 07), “stricker” (picture 11), “padlock” (picture 48), most respondents used the borrowed words /bale/, /vɔɪh/, /panje/, /frotwar/ and /kadna/ and they could have used the words /nəqɔɪ v/, /ʔkara/, /zəffa/, /kərrat/ and /zəf/ respectively which are the corresponding words in the dialect. Thus, even when having equivalents in their dialect, most informants used borrowed words.

We were really amazed to discover that the same French word and its adapted form could have different representations in the minds of the respondents, i.e. the same signifier

(significant in Saussure’s terms) and its adapted form could stand for different signified (signifiés in Saussure’s terms). For instance, when showing the picture representing the brooms, many respondents said that for them, the modern one was /bale/ and the traditional one was /mkWnsa/. For the photograph representing the painting (picture 09), most respondents used the word “peinture” with no adaptation and when asked about the word /bəntWra/, which is the adapted form, they replied that the latter stood for wall paintings.

### B. Characteristics of Code-Switching

We noticed that some of the characteristics of code-switching are interference and insertions.

#### 1. Interference

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

##### a. Verb Interference

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

The verb “faire” (to do) is frequently used instead of “porter” (to wear) or “mettre” (to put on) because in dialectal Arabic /jT~məl/ (to do) stands for both verbs; so when turning the verbs into French, people do not pick up the right one.

/ja~məl/ is also used in other contexts in dialectal Arabic to replace other verbs and is thus translated as “faire”, as in the example below which was used by a 45 year old educated woman.

- Je comprends pas kiU jəZolso six-cents mille et elles peuvent se permettre d’acheter des vêtements et faire de l’or.
- “faire” is used to mean “to buy” or “to acquire” because in dialectal Arabic she would have said /tɔ~məl dhəb/ (she buys golden jewels). Here, /ta~məl/ is not used to mean “to wear” but to acquire”.
- “faire” is also used to mean “to put” as in the example in which a 60 years old educated woman said speaking about a baby who had skin irritation.
- Tu lui fais du talc. /~məlW talk Hir bəttalk jzWɪl/
- (You put on some talcum. It will disappear just by putting on some talcum.)
- In the example above, the verb “faire” is once more used where it should not be, just because in dialectal Arabic, the verb /ja~məl/ is the verb which is suitable.

##### b. Gender Interference

We noticed that interference also occurred at the syntactic level, regarding gender. For instance, the words “arbre” (tree), “œuf” (egg), “œil” (eye) and “citron” (lemon) are masculine gender nouns in French, whereas their equivalents /ʔədʒra/,

/bed<sup>ə</sup>a/, /-ain/ and /lima/ are feminine in Arabic, as shown in the observed examples below.

- (1) /ʊb<sup>ə</sup>f rana f2av~il weʊʊdʒra elapa eko~ fH~l  
(You see, we are in April and the tree has not bloomed yet)
- (2) /lbed<sup>ə</sup>a t{ v<sup>ə</sup> lamaʒe komeʔ bel majonTz wella sa4  
(How do you want to eat the egg? With mayonnaise or without?)
- (3) /-ajni riha takWlni w2el mH fe mal/  
(I have an itch in the eye and it is aching)
- (4) fajən rah llim? t{ k~wa kT le ʒ{ tH z hadi  
(Where are the lemons? Do you think that this one is juicy?)

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

## 2. Insertions

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

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

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

*Plus ou moins*, which means ‘more or less’, is also very frequently used and most of the time speakers pronounce [pl{zemwi}].

*Normalement*, meaning ‘normally’, is used even by uneducated people. When uttering it, many speakers tend to omit the phonemes /r/ and /l/ pronouncing [nomamě] or even with a frontier and closer nasalised vowel i.e. /ö/ instead of /ě/: [nomamö].

## C. Characteristics of Borrowings

As stated before, it is sometimes hard to find clear-cut distinctions between code-switching and borrowings. However, if we observe Algerian speakers we may find some outstanding features which characterise borrowings; one of the main ones is the inflection of nouns. One can mention other characteristics such as the creation of verbs, redundancy in plural forms, assimilation of the definite article, omission of “en” in some expressions, construction of one word from a French composed noun, realization of /ʒ/ as [dʒ], and realisation of /~/ as /r/ and neologisms.

### 1. Inflection of Borrowed Nouns

Nouns inflect according to various ‘frames’ or ‘structures’, what we call ‘awzen’ in Standard Arabic.

Regular plurals inflect by adding /uñ/ to the masculine singular and /T t/ to the feminine, which is uttered as [T ts] in the dialect of Tlemcen. However, there are other forms that are irregular and what we call in Arabic “*g*” *dp ò wdnvñ*. Thus many borrowed words make up their plural according to ‘frames’ from Arabic.

### 2. Inflection of Compound Nouns into Plural

Some compound nouns make their plural as if they were single nouns, i.e. the two words are put together and inflect into plural. For instance, the word “petit pain” (roll or bread of small size) is composed of the adjective “petit” (small) and the noun “pain” (bread), but when making the plural form, some individuals tend to put the two words together and add the suffix /T t/. The word “beau gosse” (handsome), which is also composed of an adjective and a noun, to make it plural by putting the two words together but not by adding a suffix. The word follows another frame and the plural form is /bwagəs/ or /bagəs/ as in /bWZTl/ (jar) /bYT 2əl/ or /bwa2əl/ i.e. either with the insertion of [w] or with the labialisation of /b/. In this case, /b/ is labialised because of the influence of the rounded vowel /w/ as in the word /bYa/ (my father).

The composed words /ndvqñ/ (muffler) and /vT ʊwñw/ (headband) inflect into ^ndvqñw, ^vT ʊwñw, respectively. In the former, the suffix /ñw/ has been added because the word in singular ends with a vowel, whereas in the latter the suffix /T t/ has been added because the word ends with a consonant.

### 3. Inflection of Adjectives

Borrowed adjectives are formed by the addition of /m/ at the beginning of the stem, when it is a first group verb. The addition of /m/ may be explained by analogism with Arabic. For instance, in order to get the adjective form of the verb /sʰa<sup>TM</sup>a<sup>TM</sup>/ (to correct) in Arabic, one has to add the prefix /mu/ and get the adjective /pwv<sup>c</sup>d<sup>TM</sup>a<sup>TM</sup>/. However, when it is a second or third group verb, /m/ is either added to the stem with the elision of the final /r/ or by adding /m/ at the beginning and by adding /e/ to the end of the present participle with the omission of “ant” and the phoneme which comes before. For instance, the adjective /mfini/ is often used to speak about the finishing of something when speaking about perfection. However, some speakers use the form /mfinise/, the past participle is *finissant* “ant” is dropped; /m/ is added at the beginning and /e/ at the end.

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

### 4. Creation of Verbs from Nouns

There are nouns in French which do not have verbs of the same root. However, when being adapted into AA, verbs are created from these nouns. For instance, the verbs /mɔwʒ ʃuʔən/ (to do the hard job), /jmetʁ/ (to measure or in the figurative to

stare at) and /jətpɪtʰək/ (to become useless) do not have equivalents in French as they are derived from the nouns “garçon” (having the meaning of waiter), “mètre” (meter), and “patraque” (feeling off-colour).

#### 5. Creation of Verbs from Compound Words

Some verbs are formed from French compound words. As examples, one may mention the verb /jbəggəs/ or /nXɪɫ z / /nXɪɫz /, which come from “beau gosse” (handsome) and “coup franc” (free kick), respectively.

#### 6. Redundancy in Plural Forms

There are nouns in dialectal Arabic, which are derived from plural French nouns. Yet, when used in speech, they are considered as singular nouns and inflect into plural once more. For instance, the words /}Xɪɫ/ and /zigX/ are the adapted forms of “les ouvriers” (unskilled workers) and “les égouts” (sewers). In dialectal Arabic, the /z/ which is the ‘liaison’ of the /s/ of the plural with the following vowel kept as if it were part of the word itself and thus the word is considered as being singular. In this sense, the plural form of /}Xɪɫ/ is /zwafra/ or /}Xɪɫw/ and /}j wɪɫ w/, respectively.

### VI. CONCLUSION

























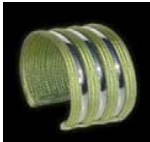





Sociolinguistic investigation in Algeria may be very interesting and enriching for it is an open field for dialect and language contact.

#### APPENDIX

TABLE II

LIST OF PICTURES USED FOR THE INTERVIEW

				
1	2	3	4	5
				
6	7	8	9	10
				
11	12	13	14	15
				
16	17	18	19	20

				
21	22	23	24	25
				
26	27	28	29	30
				
31	32	33	34	35
				
36	37	38	39	40
				
41	42	43	44	45
				
46	47	48	49	50

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