Ahmed Draia University – Adrar

Faculty of Arts and Languages

Department of English Language and Arts

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Language shift and Language Maintenance within the Beri Community:
Youth as a Case Study

<u>**Presented by:**</u>   <u>**Supervised by:**</u>

Hassan Hachim Yusuf   **Pr. BouhaniaBachir**

<u>**Board of Examiners:**</u>

Pr. Bouhania Bachir   **Supervisor**

Mr. Omari Mohamed   **Chair Person**

Mr. Keddouci Othman   **Examiner**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my beloved mother who made me who I'm today, and to my dear brothers and sisters.

I would also like to dedicate this piece of work to my friends **Daoud Abdelkerim Hamad, Hassan Ahmat Djamaladine, and Bokhit Bichara Nassour.**

Abstract

The present research paper aims to work out the progressive language shift that is taking place within the Beri youth. Most young Beria speakers' discussions take place in local Arabic. Many issues were explored in this piece of work. The main concerned issues are: The reason behind code-switching, language maintenance, and language attitude. The last issue tackled is to find out if Beria is fading away. In order to reach the goal, a questionnaire was formulated as an instrument to collect data. 100 informants participated in this research paper. They were selected from two different geographical areas: Algeria and Chad. The data analysis and discussions of the results confirmed that the majority of the participants questioned have a deficiency in Beria hence the use of local Arabic between Beria speakers. The analysis has also shown that girls compared to boys have a negative attitude towards Beria. Also, the analysis showed that the majority of the participants said Beria is fading away.

Keywords: Beria, Local Arabic, Beri, and Language attitude and maintenance

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General Introduction

General Introduction

There might probably be more than one language in almost any society. People move from one place to another for social, economic or political reasons. That is why in every country there might be more than one language. More than 134 languages are listed in Chad. All of them are in mutual interaction.

The population of Chad is connected by local Arabic, which is also called Chadian Arabic. Due to its tremendous role within the Chadian society, it is having an impact on other Chadian languages among which we have Beria.

The contact between languages has always brought something new. It can either, within speech communities, give birth to bilinguals, trilinguals, or to a great extent cause language shift. The speech community of Beria is in full contact with Arabs either in Sudan or Chad. Whenever a minority group comes into contact with a majority group, there is likely to be a change on one side as far as their language use is concerned. In the speech community Zaghawa, the linguistic behaviour of the youth is harmful to their dialect. A progressive language shift within the community of Zaghawa (Beri) is noticed. However, there are some notwithstanding the impact of local Arabic who try to maintain Beria.

The aim of this research is to work out the progressive language shift that is taking place among the youths of Zaghawa. To do so, we should pose a series of questions:

- How often do the Beri youth code-switch?

- What are the reasons behind code-switching between Beria speakers?

- Is Beria fading away?

To explore these questions, a questionnaire as a research tool to collect data will be formulated. This questionnaire will then be handed to participants and some will receive online

questionnaire owing to the distance. The total number of the participants is 100. These participants will be selected from two different areas (Algeria and Chad).

In this piece of work three chapters are going to be tackled: the first chapter will be about the sociolinguistic situation of Chad for one cannot study a language without having scant knowledge of the concerned community; the second chapter is about sociolinguistic phenomena such as: code-switching, borrowing, code-mixing, bilingualism, language attitude, language shift and maintenance for they are the starting point for language loss. It seems truly worthwhile to go through all these phenomena to better understand a topic of this kind. In addition to that, these sociolinguistic phenomena are the starting point for language shift; finally, the last chapter concerns the analysis and the discussion of the collected data.

Chapter I: Sociolinguistic Situation of Chad

Introduction

Describing an area of a research is very important in any linguistic or sociolinguistic dissertation. Not only does the dissertation give the reader the general idea about the topic under discussion but also about the people and the various speech communities tackled in that topic. Without further ado, let's see how this chapter is going to be anatomized. To begin with, we are going to localize the geographical situation of Chad and its neighbours for sometimes the contact between people of different countries may have a huge impact on their languages. As we move on, we will focus, at length, on the two Chadian's official languages and see how Chadian Arabic-the product of contact between local languages- differs from classical Arabic. Finally, a great attention will be given to the speech community of Zaghawa.

1.1-   The geographical location of Chad

Chad is a vast ethnically diverse African country. In other words, it is located in the heart of Africa. The capital of Chad is known as N'djamena. It has a surface area of 1284 000 square km. Chad's neighbour includes Libya to the north, Niger and Nigeria to the west, the Central African Republic to the south, and Cameroon to the southwest. As other African countries, Chad experienced the invasion of two culturally and religiously different countries hence the cultural and religious diversity. A country can't exist without its inhabitants. So, let's see how diverse the ethnics groups in Chad are.

1.2-The ethnic groups in Chad

Chad is a linguistically and ethnically diverse country on the African continent. The people of Chad are divided into many ethnic groups. It is important to bear in mind that language is different from ethnicity though they are related. Many ethnic groups may have the same mother tongue. For instance, a few countries in the world have English as their mother tongue yet they do not consider themselves as English because they speak the English language. Ethnicity is a difficult concept that entails self-identity and shared experience in a specific

community at various levels. However, language is a primary characteristic and an always present characteristic of ethnicity.

The people of Chad are classified according to their geographical regions. According to (Leclerc 2002), there are many ethnic groups in Chad. To keep the list short, we deem it better to cite the two largest ethnic groups which are: Sara 27, 7% and Arabs 12, 3%. The rest of the percentages (60%) are shared by the following ethnic groups. The Sara group forms a significant element of the population in the Chari and Logone River basins. The Sara group is the largest population. Like the Gula and Jumak of the Gundi area, the Laka and Mbum peoples living to the west of the Sara group are culturally distinct from their Sara neighbours. The Tangala are found along the River of the Chari and Longone Rivers. The Barma of Baguirmi- the founder of the kingdom- are found among the inhabitants of the semi-arid tropical zone: Kanuri, Fulani, Hausa; and the Arab people circle the Barma of Baguirmi. Alongside the lower part of the Logone and the Chari River are the Kotoko- the descendant of Sao population that primarily lived in the region. In the region of Kanem and Lake Chad, there are kanemmbou associated with the Tunjur and the Buduma also known as Yedian. These groups live in concert with Daza, Kreda and the Arab nomads. In the Guera massif and Aboutelfan are found the Hadjarai and refugee populations. In their surroundings, there are Bulala, Kuka, and the Mitogo. In the eastern region of Ouaddai, one of the biggest empires back then, live the Maba among which we find the kado, the Tama. The Daju and the Tama are perceived in the north of the region of Ouaddai. All through the Ouaddai are detected the nomadic Arabs. These people are also encountered in the south central of Chad. The Arabs of Chad stand for a single ethnic group of which there are many tribes.

 Lastly, in the northern Chad regions of Tibesti, Borkou, and Ennedi are found the Gourane and Zaghawa. They are nomads in a great majority for Benjamin, S, E. (2016).

1.3- The status of French and Arabic in Chad

There may be more than one language of colonizers, invaders, and foreigners so to speak, in almost every African country. There are two alien languages in Chad. Both of them enjoy a high status. The two official languages of Chad-French and Arabic (standard) - were not easily welcomed by Chadians long before and after the independence of the country. So, the way to the planning in the education system was a bit resistant consequently.

1.3.1- The French language

The French language plays a vital role in Chad. It connects people from different walks of life. It is the language that opens doors of opportunities to Chadians.

The colonial language was introduced in Chad towards the end of the 19th century. The aim of the French was to take away Chadian cultures and replace by French's by imposing new educational and cultural institutions. They also wanted to put obstacles to the development of local languages. As enshrined in the constitution, the French language is a language for administration and education

1.3.2- The Arabic language

The original homeland of Arabic speakers is the central and northern region of the Arabian Peninsula (Watson 2002) cited in (Ngarsou 2012 p: 2). Over the centuries, Islam, which was born in Saudi-Arabia, brought Arabic into Africa. In this respect, Mboko (1995:98) cited in (Ngarsou 2012 p: 2) stated that ''the contacts of Arabs with the Sahara go back to half of the vii century, and their relations with the black parts of Sudan at the early viii century''.

The contacts between them would turn around religious and commercial activities. Therefore, the three big kingdoms in the Sahel known as Kanem-Bornou, Ouaddai, and Baguirmi were in contact with North Africa, and the spread of Arabic was quick in these

kingdoms that is why **'' in Cairo a madrasa was reserved for students of Kanem''** Lornevin (1998:261) cited in (Ngarsou 2012). According to Zeltner (1976) cited in Ngarsou (2012 p: 2), the introduction of Arabic in Chad dates back to the 14th century. It was brought in Chad for political and religious reasons. The kingdom of Kanem-Bornou, Ouaddai, and the Baguirmi were the first to use Arabic for international and diplomatic relations between them and Arabs world. It should be considered that Arabic could not spread quickly in Chad because it was rather used for Islamic studies not for administration.

Standard Arabic had faced a fierce opposition from politicians and Francophones before it got official from the former president of the Republic of Chad Hissein Habré in 1986. Arabic- the standard- is known and used at the level of various domains and institutions: in schools, decrees, at the National Assembly, in the constitution, in the translation of local newspapers, and other official documents. However, Arabic used for interpretation at the national conference is another variety of Arabic. Standard Arabic had had difficulties to gain ground in Chad. After paraphrasing Mustapha (1996) cited in (Ngarsou 2012 p: 3), we found that the French were an impediment to standard Arabic and Islamic culture progress. They started controlling the three above mentioned kingdoms by imposing the western education. One of the incidents that shows blatantly the French oppression, brutality, savagery, and willingness to obliterate all symbols of Islamic culture was the famous physical liquidation of scholars known as the *slaughter of kubkub* : i.e.: machete. As a result, many scholars of Ouaddai were obliged to immigrate to Sudan.

As the time went by, standard Arabic started putting down its root. During colonialism, the first Arabic teaching school was allowed by the French government in 1956 for the first time in Abeché. After the independence, the introduction of standard Arabic in schools at the hands of the Chadian government was very slow and difficult. In fact, the first constitution of the Republic of Chad of 1962 stated that the Arabic language should be taught

in schools as an optional subject. Yet again, the value given to Arabic was low. This limits too much the choice of Chadians to learn Arabic. Later, the constitution of 1996 also stated that the official languages of Chad were French and Arabic.

''***Article 9: les langues officielles sont le français et l'arabe''*** (constitution du 31 mars 1996)

(The official languages are French and Arabic) translation is mine.

The position of Arabic given in this sentence is worth interpreting. The last position given to a thing or somebody can be understood according to the value of the position. That order denotes the priority of the government to French over Arabic. Again, the constitution did not specify whether Arabic refers to the standard or Chadian Arabic. Ngarsou (2012 p: 3) observed that the lasting conflict between the Islamic north and the Christians south slowed down the spread of Arabic. He also stated that some parents in Chad have great influence on the linguistic choice of their children. In other words, they decide whether their children should learn Arabic or not.

1.4-Chadian Arabic

It is a by-product of the contact between standard Arabic: Sudanese, Libyan, and the indigenous languages of Chad. The two Chad's Arab neighbours are Libya to the north and Sudan to the east. The populations of these countries were and are in constant interaction. They established religious, social, and commercial relations before the arrival of the French. Muslims and traders' move between Chad and Sudan for agricultural activities and Islamic studies contributed to the Arabic thriving. There had also been ethnic group ties between Chad and Libya like the Toubou and the Zaghawa. These people, through their journey, brought with them not only new objects but also Arabic. The new objects brought in did not have names in their local languages. So, they had to use Arabic to designate them. With the

passing of time, Chadian Arabic reached the south through interaction with the northerners. Some northerners were persuaded by the favourable environment of the south and others were government workers. Many eminent scholars, according to Ngarsou (2012 p: 4), wrote about Chadian Arabic. Caribou (1913), Kaye (1972), Roth Laly (1976) and the list goes on.

Chadian Arabic has a dramatic impact on local languages and dialects. Today most Chadians use Chadian Arabic as their mother tongue: Bulala and Hadjarai, many other dialects are under constant threat. Before showing how Zaghawa dialect is being threatened, let's bring this speech community out of the shadow.

1.5- The Zaghawa community

1.5.1- The origin of Zaghawa

The origin of Zaghawa has arisen much debate among scholars. Before we delve into the hypotheses put forward by scholars, we will first see the root of the term Zaghawa itself. The term Zaghawa was first used by Ahmat Yaqubi cited in Terio (2014 p: 9). He commented that Zaghawa were the people who would govern Kanem, a region located in the north of Chad. According to Yacouth Alhamaoui, the name Zaghawa is the name of a town in south Tunisia and Morocco and it is also the name of an ethnic group living in the south-west of Sudan (Yacouth 1977. P: 142) cited in Terio (2014 p: 10). For Marie José Tubiana, however, the term Zaghawa is derived from the diminutive Zagha or Zaghai which means black people who would live by Habash and Sudan (Tubiana 1985, P: 18) see Terio (2014 p: 12). Kitir,Z, K(2010), whereas, came up with new information. He strongly argues that Zaghawa means red in Touareg.

The Beri people are known as *Anou* by their neighbours and Zaghawa by other people and at the level of administration. So, to pinpoint the very origin of Zaghawa we should go back to the history of Noah whom mankind was born of. Noah had three sons: Sam, Ham, and

Japhet. The sons of Kouch ben Ham of whom the Ethiopians are descendant divided themselves into two groups. The first group was composed of Nouba, the Bedja, Habesha, and the black people, and the second group encompassed Zaghawa, Hass, Khakho, Marioun, Marianda, Kaokao, and Gana. Cited in Terio (2014 p:16).

Raymond Mauny observes that Qaran, Habash, Qibt, Zaghawa, Soudan, and Berber are the descendant of Canaan and Kouch. If we take a close look at the sources mentioned above, we can assume that Zaghawa are the descendant of Ham- the ancestor of black people.

To bring the lineage shorter, many scholars take the view that Zaghawa had their root in Berber, but the name used in the documents of these scholars vary from one to another. Presumably, it is because of their different languages and accents. For instance, Berber in French can be written with *'é'* before the second '*B*' and *'e'* at the end. It is not fortuitous Zaghawa call themselves Beri which is derived from Berber. Zaghawa is just a mispronunciation and misspelling of the term Zegoua, a Berber ethnic group known by Ibni Khaldoum. Zegoua, Zaghawa or Zeggoua designates a Berber ethnic group known by historians twelve centuries ago.

Uvoy maintains that '' entre 1000 A.D et 1100 A.D cinq peuples ou confédérations se partageaient le bassin du Tchad. Il s'agit des Kouars, Zagaoua, des Kanembous.''(Uvoy 1993, P :34) Terio (2014 p : 17).

(Between 1000 and 1100 there were five groups of people or confederation who would share Lake Chad. They were Kouar, Zagaoua, and Kanembou) translation mine.

The substitution of the letters is due to the mispronunciation of the authors. The hypothesis that Zaghawa are Berber was approved by the researchers of the University of Dakar in Senegal and said:

''Les Berbères se voilent avec le litham pour se distinguer des autres communautés. Ils sont nombreux et forment plusieurs tribus telles que :   les Lamouna, les Mousta, les Uzla, les Targa, les Zaghawa et les Lamta. Ils sont tous frères de Sanhaja. '' Section d'histoire N° 4, 1962, P: 221, université de Dakar. See Terio (2014 p: 20).

(To distinguish themselves from other communities, the Berber cover the face. They are numerous and they form many tribes such as: Lamouna, Mousta, Uzla, Targa, Zaghawa, and Lamta. They are all brothers of Sanhaja. (Translated version; translation mine).

Last but not least, Ousman emphatically agrees with those researchers as far as the Berber -related root of Zaghawa is concerned and states that:

'' les Zaghawa sont des Berbéres voilés ou des Touaregs, mais plus precisement des Berbéres Sanhadja. Selon Ibni Khaldoum, ils sont de la descendance de Canaan Ibni Ham Ibni Noh et leur pére est Mazigh.'' As cited in Terio (2014 p: 21).

Zaghawa are veiled Berber or Touareg but precisely Sanhadja Berber. According to Ibni Khaldoum, they are the descendant of Canaan Ibni Ham Ibni Noh and their father is Mazigh. (Translated version; translation mine).

In short, the Berber origin of Zaghawa cannot be denied. All the authors mentioned based their research on elements like culture, a way of life, and things like that to confirm their hypothesis.

Knowing already the origin of Zaghawa and who they are, it is important to see what their language is and to which linguistic branch it belongs.

1.5.2-   Language name and language classification

The languages spoken in Chad belong to the three great linguistic branches which are: Nilo-Saharan languages, Niger-Congo Languages, and Afro-Asiatic languages.

According to B. Grimes (1996:237), Beria is a dialect that belongs to the Nilo-Saharan and Eastern group cited in Anonby, E, J. and .Johnson, E (2001 p: 8). The eastern group includes Berti dialect, an extinct dialect close related to the Zaghawa. Dazaga,Kanuri-Manga, Kanuri-Yeriwa and Kanembou belong to the Saharan -Languages too Grimes and Grimes (1996:93).

1.5.3-   Distribution of the speech community

The Zaghawa are scattered almost everywhere. They are found between northeastern Chad and northwestern Sudan. Many researchers carried out investigations into the Zaghawa population. First, the Ethnologue B. Grimes (1996:237), cited in Anonby, E, J. and .Johnson, E (2001 P: 8), affirms that there are 20,500 Beria speakers in Chad. Moreover, 102,000 speakers are reported to live in north Darfur in Sudan.

For Tubiana (1964:11), however, there are about 60,000 Beria speakers in both countries Sudan and Chad. Whereas, Lieris (in Tubiana and Tubiana1995:14) check Anonby, E, J. and .Johnson, E (2001 p: 8), states that there are 70,000 Beria speakers in Chad and in between 200,000 and 500, 000 in Sudan.

According to the last census of 1993, there are 77,384 speakers of Beria, all four groups included: Tuba, Wegui, Dirong, and Kubé. In the prefecture of Biltine, eastern Chad, they are the largest population of Zaghawa (40,492); in Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti there are 7449; and finally, in N'djamena they are 7662. These are the areas where the concentration of Zaghawa is so deep; cited in Anonby, E, J. and .Johnson, E (2001 p: 8).

Below is the map of the Zaghawa homeland.
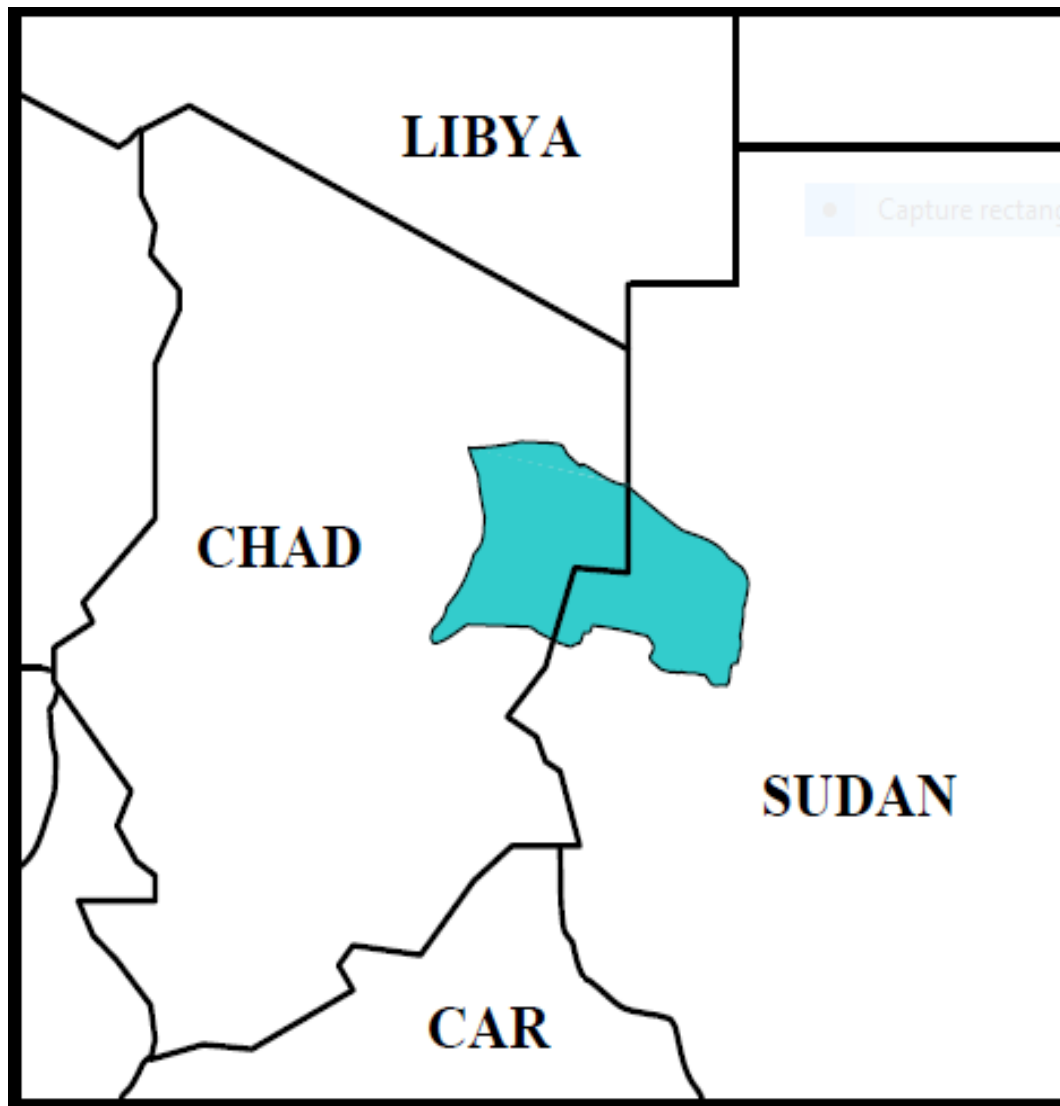
Map 1.1 A Sociolinguistic Survey of Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan (2001).

1.6-   Is Beria a dialect or language?

The distinction between language and dialect is a controversial subject. These two have always been complicated when it comes to distinction. Many scholars had their say on the issue. For many people, there can be no confusion at all about what language they speak. In these cases, many people see language and ethnic or nationality as almost the same.

Haugen (1966) has pointed out that language and dialect are ambiguous terms.

Ordinary people use these terms freely in their speech; for them, a dialect is just a language that is spoken by a minority in urban areas. In contrast, scholars experience considerable difficulty in deciding what a language is and what a dialect is.

According to Matthews (2007), a dialect is defined as "any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographical area" (p.103).

Language and Dialect are both means of communication. A dialect is a term used to refer to a subordinate variety of a language. For example, Arabic, English, and Berber have many dialects that are different from one another. Dialect is also a term used to refer to forms of a language spoken in remote areas. It does not have a written form either but some do.

For Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 3) "a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects.' This definition fits as a glove Beria for there are four linguistic varieties under the umbrella of Beria and they are all mutually intelligible. We have Kube, Tuba, Wegi, and Dirong; but in order for a dialect to be called a language, it has to fulfill some requirement:

Codification, standardization, implementation, and recognition/acceptation.

Yet there are some dialects that fulfilled all these conditions and are not recognized as languages. Zaghawa language does not respond to any of these conditions. As a result, it is a dialect.

Conclusion

Languages are genetically related. Beria dialect pertains to Nilo-Saharan language family. Despite its linguistic diversity, the Chadian government adopted official languages to keep the people as close as one family. These two official languages have a deleterious impact on some local dialects among which we have Beria. It is a dialect spoken by a tiny minority in Chad and a bit larger community in Sudan.

Zaghawa are veiled Berber or Touareg but precisely Sanhadja Berber. According to Ibni Khaldoum, they are the descendant of Canaan Ibni Ham Ibni Noh and their father is Mazigh.

In short, the Berber origin of Zaghawa cannot be denied. All the authors mentioned based their research on elements like culture, a way of life, and things like that to confirm their hypothesis.

Chapter II:
Literature Review

Introduction

The contact between languages has always appealed sociolinguists. The contact, most of the time, has triggered some sociolinguistic phenomenon. In any society, we may find more than one language. In that kind of society, some people must end up being bilinguals and some stay loyal to their one and only language. The way they speak differs from one to another. As to bilinguals, they tend to use languages back and forth. In other words, they code switch and mix. As we move on, in this chapter we will tackle the negative impact of the majority language on the minority language, and the effort put by the minority to maintain its language depending on the attitude of the minority towards their language. Be it positive or negative. Language attitude, a contributing factor to language shift, will be discussed in great detail.

All in all, this chapter is all about the contact between languages and the future of a minority language in a multilingual society.

2.1- Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a phenomenon that occurs when two languages come into contact. There is much controversy in the field of sociolinguistics as to its use, that is to say, who is bilingual? Is a two languages speaker bilingual? Is a dialect speaker bilingual?

The first research in bilingualism dates back to the 1920's. Bilingualism has been defined in various ways: psychologically, linguistically, and sociologically. Linguists defined bilingualism as an ability to speak or write fluently in two languages. Yet the concise meaning of the term bilingualism is a matter of controversy within the realm of linguistics. Breaking the word bilingualism into pieces we get *bi, lingual*, and *ism*. *Bi* is from the Latin word which means ''two'', whereas *lingual* means articulated with the tongue, and *ism* is the suffix that describes an action or a habit Medjedoub (2016). So, from the deduction we made we got the use of two languages or speaking two languages. Psychologists view bilingualism as a

psychological state whereby an individual has access to more than one linguistic code; they have investigated the effects of bilingualism on mental process. A speaker of one language who can speak in another language is called a bilingual.

The term bilingualism was defined by many scholars. Bloomfield (1933) considered bilingualism as the ability to speak languages perfectly ''the native-like control of two languages.'' Bloomfield's definition excludes those who are not perfect in any of two languages. To be dubbed as a bilingual, for Bloomfield, you should master both languages perfectly. Moreover, the sociolinguist's definitions are various. Bilingualism means two languages.

To be fair, let's take the definition given by Haugen, which we believe to be all-inclusive. **Haugen (1953:7) stated that: ''bilingualism begins at the point where a speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language.''**

This definition says clearly that anyone who can utter clear and meaningful words can be designated as a bilingual.

Considering the various definitions given above, we can say that there are some degrees of bilingualism. We may find a child brought up by a family both speaking different languages. This child will acquire both languages at the same time but yet he may not master fully the two involved languages.

The degree of bilingualism can be assessed in the individual's command of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing.) the degree of proficiency varies from one speaker to another. There are those who can speak and write and there are those who have just the competence of understanding but not production.

The study of bilingualism has occasioned dichotomies. Consequently, we have different types of bilingualism.

According to Bell (1983:120) there is:

- Coordinate bilingualism: the linguistic elements in the speaker's mind are related to their own concept. This type of bilingual speaker usually belongs to different cultural communities. The speaker of this akin is known to its variety of use of pronunciation and intonation.

- Compound bilingualism: as the term suggests, the two concerned languages are fused. The bilinguals of this type are believed to have less difference in their pronunciation. They are mostly found in minority language communities.

- Subordinate bilingualism: the linguistic elements of one of the speaker's languages are only available through elements of the speaker's other language. Very often the speaker has to resort to the first language in case he is stuck in the second language.

Coordinate and compound bilinguals are reported to have a higher cognitive proficiency. They are found to be excellent second language learners at a later age than monolinguals.

Other types of bilingualism were proposed by Pohl (1965):

- Horizontal bilingualism: when in a country different official languages at the cultural and familial level are used and enjoy the sale status, we end up having horizontal bilinguals.

- Vertical bilingualism: if a language and a dialect genetically related are used by speakers within a community, they will be deemed as vertical

bilinguals. This type of bilingualism is also known as diglossia by Pohl since the two varieties are used by the same speaker.

- Diagonal bilingualism: where a standard language together with a genetically unrelated non-standard language. like French and English in Louisiana.

In addition to what has been said about the types of bilingualism, we believe it is worth taking into account Haugen's perspective as far as balanced bilingualism is concerned.

A balanced bilingual is an individual who has a native-like competence over in both languages. This term usually refers to an individual who has an equal ability in both languages. It means that if a person, say, a Beria speaker who masters perfectly Chadian Arabic and Beria could be referred as a balanced bilingual. Nevertheless, most bilinguals are dominant in one language or the other. Often, there are domains of language use in which people use only one of their two languages. For example, a Beria Arabic bilingual uses only Arabic or French at school and workplace, and back home he uses Beria. As a result, that person will have more developed vocabulary for school and work-related activities in Arabic or French and a more developed vocabulary for domestic activities in Beria.

Due to the contact with Arabic speakers, most Zaghawa are bilingual. Arabic is closer to Zaghawa than to French for the Zaghawa are all Muslims. In Zaghawa community, Qur'anic school is mandatory from the basic age that is why almost all young people are bilinguals (local Arabic and Beria).

There are also Beria-French bilinguals but this does not capture our attention for the simple reason that French is not that worthy in the Zaghawa community.
This incident may lead the speaker to adopt certain behaviour when speaking. The more the person is exposed to a second language the more they code switch.

Code-switching and code mixing are recurrent sociolinguistic phenomena that exist within the Zaghawa community.

2.2-   Code switching and Code mixing

2.2.1- Definition of code

We cannot talk about code, code-switching, and code-Mixing without knowing how they are conceived by linguists. Hence, it is important to shed light on these three concepts. The terms code, code-switching, and code-mixing have been coined by many scholars in a number of ways. For example, Wardhaugh (as cited in El-Saghir2010) and cited in (Dembélé, 2015, p.3), explains it as a particular variety, dialect or language through which any speaker can express their ideas and feelings. It is the system of communication elaborated between two or more interlocutors who speak and understand this linguistic rubric (Khalil El-Saghir, 2010:4) see (Dembélé 20015, p.3).

 In addition to that, Wardhaugh (ibid.) underlines that **"Most speakers command several varieties of any language they speak, and bilingualism, even multilingualism, is the norm for many people throughout the world rather than unilingualism". (See Dembelé, 2015, p.3)**

So since a speaker can possess, at least, two linguistic repertoires, he has a range of possibility to use his linguistic luggage as he wishes. Is there any possibility for the speaker to move from one language, variety or code into another?

2.2.2-Code-switching

One needs to express his emotions, his ideas, and thoughts through language. This ability of language use is of great importance to sociolinguistics. Language has always been an outside layer to any user. It does reflect our identity; it tells what community one belongs to. This

social aspect has beguiled many sociolinguists- they who study the relationship between language and society.

In a bilingual society to ease and make the interaction effective, speakers have to adopt certain linguistic phenomena. One of the phenomena is called code-switching. It refers to the use of two languages within a sentence or discourse. It mostly occurs between two speakers who share two or more languages in common.

Many authors defined the term code-switching. As the list is so large, we reserved ourselves to just give few definitions. One of the definitions that appealed to us is the one given by Romain (1994:10).

He defined code-switching as**: "the use of more than one language variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations. This switch occurs everywhere when two speakers from different languages have some languages in common".**

Code-switching occurs in bilingual communities. Between two speakers of a language who already know another language and they both master the two languages. They code switch back and forth to fill the gap in their inability to find appropriate words in one of the languages. A monolingual cannot code switch. It is a privilege for those who speak more than two languages.

Linguists put it that switching between languages is not a linguistic competence given to anyone. Nevertheless, it affects everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent.

It has been found out that code-switching is one of the main roads that lead to language shift. This phenomenon is widespread within the Zaghawa community mostly among youth. Following is an extract of conversation between two Beria speakers.

Example 1

A: kəu dai gho? kef nass bet (how are you? how is the family?) (How are you? how is the family?).

The first sentence is in Beria, whereas the second one is in local Arabic. Two codes are used within the two sentences.

B: kəu sinɒgɔ. illel affʒ. There are two short sentences here. The first one is one is in Beria which means ''there is no news''; the second one is in local Arabic which means '' everything is fine''.

Exemple 2

A: mahamat aʊdja tinɒ dɑ:

 (Beria). Massarif kəməl wa (Arabic)? (Mahamat how are you ? are you running out of money?).

B: lissah ma kəməl. Barougoui kɔguinei də ainəʊwa (Beria). (Nope, I still have some money. You have sent it recently).

The speaker A starts the conversation in Beria and ends in Chadian Arabic likewise the speaker B. This little extract is enough to talk about the pervasiveness of code switching among youth.

There are reasons behind code-switching. To our knowledge, there are a plethora of reasons behind this circumstance.

First of all, as mentioned before, this occurs mostly between two speakers, while speaking their mother tongue or another language he may know they may find it hard to express themselves fully so they have to switch to one of their languages to make up for their linguistic deficiency. This usually happens when the speaker is not at ease. He may be upset, tired or distracted.

Secondly, code-switching might occur as a mark of solidarity within a social group. That is to say when a person talks to someone else from the same ethnic group and switches to another language the latter answers him back in the same language as the former did. In other situations, the code is switched to exclude outsiders in order to bring some comfort in.

Another reason for code-switching is a deficiency in vocabulary. When speaking a mother tongue, people often use terms from their second language because they do not find appropriate words in the mother tongue. Furthermore, code-switching occurs just to redefine the discussion as appropriate to a different social area. It serves sometimes for neutrality to fit in a group in a given domain.

Code-switching does not always crop up in the same position within sentences. To clarify this point, it will be a great help to dissect the different types of code-switching. We have inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential code- switching:

In intra-sentential code-switching, the shift is done within the sentence without any interruptions, hesitations or pauses showing a shift. Many sociolinguists disavow the term code- switching when it comes to such shifting within sentences. They would rather prefer to term it code mixing. Code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes, words, phrases, and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand. We shall see

later on to further it more and draw the line of demarcation between Code-switching and code mixing.

As far as the extra-sentential is concerned, there is a use of a tag or a word taken from one language into an utterance that is totally different language. For example, Beria speakers say: *michil* which is a Chadian Arabic word used in Zaghawa, meaning: like, as etc.…

2.2.3-Beria- Arabic code-switching

This phenomenon occurs mostly among young people due to exposure to the language. At school, you study either in Arabic or in French. Though the French language is taught at school, it doesn't have that effect on the Zaghawa community.

The choice of code depends on domain, setting, addressee, and topic. A young Beria speaker codes switch more often with his peers than with his parents when it comes to football, friendly discussions etc. They favour Beria dialect at home when it comes to domestic affairs. Code-switching is a societal phenomenon. It exists in bilingual societies. People select different codes from their repertoire to express themselves.

2.3- Code-mixing

Code-mixing is another type of a linguistic phenomenon that bears resemblance to code-switching and yet it differs. Code mixing takes place within a single sentence, in other words, intra- sentential switching. As a matter of fact, Weinreinch (1953), (as cited in Dembélé, 2015, p.5), asserts that this linguistic phenomenon occurs within sentences during conversations. It is a single unit merged with the other structures of the base language. According to Weinreich, that repeated use of language by the speaker is caused by weakness or failure to use the two involved languages on the same scale. Being able to come up with

some units, lexical items, to fill the gap left by that weakness shows the speaker's ability to use both languages.

Myers-Scotton would rather use '' the unmarked code "(Mysken, 2002) (cited in Dembélé, 2015, p.5). The switch of this kind happens in a blink of eyes from one language to another without being able to notice. Myers-Scotton considers this linguistic product as easy as a pie for the speaker to get across his or her message in case he or she wishes to. In the same line, Poplack (1980) and Nortier (1990), (cited in Dembélé, 2015, p.5), consider such behaviour adopted by the speaker when using two opposite languages as an inclination towards easiness (Mysken .ibid.).

We should bear in mind that the speaker takes pleasure in such a situation just by being able to cope with the two systems, and yet again finds it smooth despite the fact that the two systems are diametrically opposed. They can easily convey their messages.

Does code mixing differ from code-switching or are they the same or just the designation that differs?

2.4- The difference between code-mixing and code-switching

Yet there are theories and approaches that don't see eye to eye on the fact that code-switching and code-mixing share no border, they are the same; there are many others linguists who admit that there is a sharp difference that exists between these two concepts. For that reason, it is worth shedding light on those discrepancies between code-switching and code-mixing. For instance, Kachru (1983), cited in (Dembélé, 2015, p.6), strongly argues that the difference between code switching and code-mixing is obvious; he connects code-switching with the capacity of the speaker to switch from one code to another (Walwad kar, 2013:43) see (Dembélé, 2015, p.6). In this theory, the exchange between the codes does not happen haphazardly; instead, it is up to the function, the situation, and the participant.

When referring to Poplack (1978), (cited in Dembélé, 2015, p.6), the hypothesis of equivalence constraint which predicts that a switch is only possible between languages if there is a balance between those concerned elements of both languages, we can deduce that it is a purely linguistic and systematic process (Rev El, 2009:5, vol.7) see (Dembélé, 2015, p.6). For this theory, bilingual speakers are recommended to go through this process in order to achieve their purpose successfully.

Code-switching seems to be more than a linguistic fact that bilingual speakers achieve in their daily lives. Being in a good accord with Kachru, Bokamba (1989), (cited in Dembélé, 2015, p.7), thinks that the difference between code-switching and code-mixing must be clearly made. He states that code-switching is more concerned with the speech event; however, code-mixing has to do with grammatical aspects of the two different languages involved in the discourse. So, in order for the speaker to be able to code mix easily, he should have the competence of the involved languages and therefore, code-switching and code-mixing cannot be considered as two variant phenomena. The speaker cannot be successful and comfortable unless he has a broad background in both languages to mix sentences. We believe that that is the reason why Bokamba called the base language as ''host'' and the other as ''guest''

On the other hand, scholars like Eastman and Scotton take a dim view of the vantage point given above by the scholars; they see the above-mentioned authors' perspective otherwise. For them, there is no possibility to make a difference between code-switching and code-mixing for the contact between languages in urbans manifest in the same way. In their daily lives, people, in order to keep conversation fluid, they have to mix and borrow words from one language to another.

To find a possible agreement upon whether code-switching and code-mixing are the same or not, other prefer to use both code-switching and code-mixing as a cover-term to avoid

debates. Likewise, there are scholars like Mysken (ibid 2013:44), take a look at (Dembélé, 2015, p.7), who use code-switching for both terms: code-switching and code-mixing.

All in all, we can realise that code-switching and code-mixing sound different since the speaker opts for code-switching to show his capacity of using more than one language. However, the case of code-mixing makes the speaker use a single unit or item from another language just because the speaker fails to find the exact element in one language. The distinction is that code- switching appears to engage the speaker in a dialogue situation in terms of code alternation; whereas, code-mixing may be perceived in the dimension of borrowing since the speaker does insert lexical items from a different language in the host language to fit the situation.

Despite what we said earlier as to sociolinguistic phenomena, borrowing is another sociolinguistic phenomenon that occurs within the Beria speakers.

2.5- Borrowing

Borrowing is the process by which bilingual or multilingual speakers introduce words from one language into another language and these words ultimately become accepted as an integral part of the speaker's language.

Languages develop like any other living. It is not unheard of that a language borrows a word from another language and inserts it in its vocabulary as its own. This process takes place in two ways:

> **Through oral speech**: The contact between two peoples can trigger the process of borrowing**.**

> **Through written speech- indirect contact:** This process gained importance in recent times. Words borrowed keep their spelling, some

peculiarities of their sound-form, and their assimilation is long and complicated, unlike the direct contact which is through oral speech.

In order for a speaker to be able to borrow words from a given language, he needs to have a degree of bilingualism. The language that borrows items is called **the recipient;** and **the generous**, the language from which words are borrowed.

There are various reasons why certain languages borrow linguistic items. Most of the reasons turn around need and prestige. The speaker of a language can acquire some new words from another language and internalize them in order to satisfy their needs. Some foreign terms might have more prestige than others. That is why some speakers fall under the influence of another language that they think is more attractive.

The term borrowing is divided into two categories: cultural borrowing and core borrowing.

• **Cultural borrowings:**   are words that fill gaps in the recipient language's lexis because they represent objects or concepts new to the recipient language's culture. For example, in **Beria** the contact with Arabs gave birth to certain terms like *slate* also known as *loho*- a long thin rectangular piece of slate used in Koranic schools- it did not exist in Beria. Most cultural borrowings from English for most cultures did not have some concept before the contact with the English culture. Example: *Autombile, car*.

• **Core borrowings**: however, are words that double or replace items that the recipient language has already in its lexis. In Beria, for example the word *awdja /əʊdja/*which means *news* in local Arabic, and *gu* meaning *Asida (*from local Arabic) fell almost into disuse. There are reasons behind this passion of borrowing words that a speech community already has in its lexis. There two reasons: bilinguals who use languages regularly, and the magnetism and the

[29]

allure of the dominant culture of the donor language. By that, we mean the language from which words are borrowed.

2.6- Language attitude

Language is the primary means of communication of human being. It is a powerful social force that conveys more than meaning. It also reflects both personal and social characteristics of the speaker. Before we dig deeper into detail, it is important to define the term attitude.

An attitude is an opinion about something or someone. People may have feelings that their language is worthless. They sometimes find other languages void of sense. Ordinary people, who have not studied linguistics, illiterates, so to speak, believe that the real and perfect language is the one that is codified, has a written form, and predicts a glorious future.

Much work has been done about attitude from different fields: psychology, sociology, linguistics and the list goes on… they based their research on two approaches: the mentalist approach and the behaviourist approach. William (1974: 21), cited in Pauwels (2016:58), views an attitude as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response. This statement was strongly condemned by the behaviourists and they put forward their viewpoint. According to the behaviourists, attitude is the way people see their language.

That is why crystal (1997:215) defines attitude as '' **the feelings people have about their own language and the language of others.''**

This phenomenon is one of the major causes of language shift within a given speech community. Speakers tend to give credit to other languages and less value to theirs for various reasons. They can be political, economic or social. A speech community may look up to a language that spoken by a minority (politically and economically fruitful).

It is in this order of ideas that Whaley and Grenoble wrote: ''**the subjective attitude of a speech community towards its language is paramount for predicting language shift''** **(1998:24).**

The attitude of a speech community is valuable to shift or maintain its language. Briefly, the study of language attitudes is important for sociolinguistics for it helps foreshadow a given linguistic behaviour. Through it we might find out either a language is doomed to disappearance or its speakers are willing to bring down the sky just to maintain their identity.

2.7- Language shift and language maintenance

The study of language shift and language maintenance constitutes a central focus of contemporary linguistics, anthropology and sociolinguistics. Language shift is a process by which a social group switches one language to another. Often, when two languages come into contact, one will have supremacy over the other hence the loss of one and the survival of the other. Language shift concerns the aspect of language dynamics. It is the change of one or more languages in a community's repertoire. Over a period of time, the language of a wider society displaces the minority language as is the case in many African countries where most of the time minority languages are under the threat of majority languages. Language maintenance is the opposite of langue shift. In this sense, language shift represents an option to language maintenance and usually takes place among speech communities, like Zaghawa community that is in contact with a majority speech community.

Following the definition given by Weinreich, language shift signifies the phenomenon which can be in unstable bi- or multilingual situations in which one community gradually changes from the habitual use of one language to that of others (Weinreich 1953:68).

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Hoffmann (1991.186) put it that'' when a community does not maintain its language but gradually adopts another one, we talk about language shift while language maintenance refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep the languages they have always used.''

According to Hoffman (1991), when a language is progressively or more suddenly replaced by another language, it is undergoing a shift. Language maintenance, however, is when a community makes effort to protect its language. From the vantage point of Thomson (2001) and Fishman (1989) the acquaintance between languages occasions three alternatives:

First, the languages may be maintained;

Second, there may be a change in some forms of the language such as lexicon, phonetics, phonology, and morphology;

Third, one of these languages may dominate the other and become prominent at the expense of the dominated one which leads to the decline in the use of the dominated language by its speech community. Fishman (1999) calls such situation as language shift which refers to changes in language use. Language shift does not necessarily mean the complete loss of language. It means the decreased use of a language in the overall domains of the speech community such as: schools, home, family meeting. This definition suits the topic in hand down to the ground. Within youth, the shift is in progress as Fishman stated above.

Language shift occurs when linguistic minorities find themselves in contact with a language which offers greater practical and economic rewards or carries higher prestige. Language shift is triggered by many factors among which political, economic, demographic, and social. It is important to detect the real causes behind language choice and the

maintenance of the majority group on the minority language maintenance. Why does such community adopt a majority language? Why does x speech community maintain its language despite the pressure of majority language community? Thus Pendakur states that '' then there are the social and demographic attributes in a society or group which cause a language to be maintained or dropped in favour of another''.

Family is the first main factor that contributes to either language shift or maintenance. It is strongly believed that family is the primary environment for acquiring the mother tongue and passing on to generations (Rohani, Choi, Amdjad Burnet, Colahan, 2005). According to them, home is often considered as a key element in language maintenance, and then it is uneasy to maintain elsewhere. Since the language spoken within the family plays a huge role in the survival of the child language, to acquire it and keep it locked inside so that not to be lost. The language spoken within the family is tied to their cultural identity. It is often the parents who decide if their child should be taught their mother tongue (Fishman 1991). Children are more exposed to the majority language as they grow and go to school, the new environment. Consequently, they may become merged into a majority language and society (Rohani et al 2005). Furthermore, children feeling towards their mother tongue may fade away and its use becomes infrequent.

As Rohani et al (2005, p.2) note '' attitude toward language maintenance varies from one language group to another, and from one family to the next ''. Some family want their children to acquire their mother tongue, while others prefer their children to assimilate into majority language.

As to the economic factors, it depends on whether the community members find rewarding to learn the minority language, getting a job is, most of the time, the reason why the minority language groups learn a majority language. For example, in countries where English or French is an official language people would rather learn English or French than a minority language which may not be promising.

The social and economic goals of people in the community are also very important if one has to find out the speed at which language shift or maintenance is occurring (Holmes ,2001). A quick shift occurs when people are willing to merge into a society where knowledge of the majority is crucial for economic success. Among community members, young people are likely to shift fast.

The status of language is one of the major factors that contribute to either language shift or maintenance. There is also a number of demographic factors such as: size, age, gender, spatial concentration etc. that affects the degree and the rate of shift that a particular language community group experiences. According to Holmes (2001), demographic factors are also important to figure out how fast a community is shifting its language. The rate of shift differs from one age group to another. Grenier (1984), for instance, argues that few shifts occur during childhood, and after the age of thirty- five. Older age group is more exposed to the majority language than children. Marriages among multilingual communities, this is to say inter-linguistic marriages, are considered as a considerable factor to language shift.

These factors are significant contributors to language shift. The progressive shift that has been taking place within the Beri community more precisely within youth is more related to the exposure to local Arabic and the attitude of some vis-à-vis Beria.

In addition to the factors cited above, some scholars like Kloss (1966), Conklin and Lourie (1983) and Fishman (1991) set forth various models to account for language shift and language maintenance. Some of the models are so specific but some seem too general to apply on every speech community that is going through language shift or trying to preserve its language. On the basis of this, two models have been selected so to apply to the speech community under discussion which is the Beri community.

For Kloss's model (1966) the following elements promote minority language maintenance and language shift:

- The language utilized in places like home, school, family meeting;

- The education level of the minority group;

- The linguistic and cultural distance from the dominant group;

- The attitude of the majority towards the language of the minority or to the minority group in its entirety as put clearly early at the beginning of this chapter.

As to Fishman, he offers a model that helps hamper language shift. In this model, Fishman considers the importance of community language literacy in home and the use of minority language in media. He also puts clear that the availability of the written mode increases the chances for a language to survive. However, a language that works only speaking not writing is doomed to death. Moreover, the elements like domains, entertainment, and code-switching are considered too by Fishman to be the promotors of language shift.

Conclusion

In sociolinguistics, the contact between languages is an important area to be studied. Whenever two languages come into contact, there is always a positive or negative impact on one language or another. In the community of this kind, people may be bilinguals- being able to speak both minority and majority language. These bilinguals may not have the same luggage in terms of vocabulary. Therefore, when they engage a conversation, regardless of domain, they switch from one code to another. In some community language group, however, the members have to learn the majority language. At times, they leave their language in majority favour to get access to some privilege that the majority language speakers benefit. As a result, this may threaten the minority language and therefore it will disappear sooner or later depending on the attitude of the speakers.

Chapter III:
Data Analysis

Introduction

Language shift is the substitution of one language by another to serve as a means of communication and socialization within a community. Language shift is the result of language contact, that is to say, most of the time when a majority language and minority language come into contact. Language shift is an important phenomenon that leads to language disappearance. Among the youth of Beri the process of language shift and language maintenance seems to be taking place. Beria, a minority dialect, is threatened by Chadian Arabic- a majority language.

In the previous chapter, we have given the factors that lead to language shift and maintenance. In this chapter, we are going to identify the research questions and the hypotheses in order to test them. To give the reader a clear understanding of the participants a room is given to the latter. The methods employed in this research paper are detailed clearly; finally, the analysis of the collected data will either approve or refuse the hypotheses.

3.1- Aim of the Research

The aim of our research paper is to figure out whether or not a real language shift is taking place within the Beri youth. Beri, in general, and the Beri youth in particular, owing to their restricted number and their assimilation within the society, are so connected to Chadian Arabic that they rarely use their mother tongue which is Beria. It is observed that such linguistic behavior can lead to language attrition that is why it is important to bring to the public consciousness the fate of the Beria dialect.

3.2- Hypotheses

The language shift that seems to be taking place among the youth is due to language deficiency. Most Beria speakers' negative attitude towards Beria can be a trigger for language shift.

3.3- The Participants

The participants' age vary from 19 years old to 30. They are selected from two different geographical areas. 60 Beria speakers were chosen in Algeria from different regions: Oran, Tlemcen, Tiaret, Tizi-Ouzou and Algiers, and 40 Beria speakers from Chad. In our research the participants are selected according to their educational background for the instrument we used to collect our data does not give access to those who have never been to school. We had to give a discriminator focus owing to circumstances beyond our control: lack of time and the distance.

3.4 - The Research Instrument

A questionnaire has been used in our research to gather the needed data. The questionnaire is proved to be a useful instrument to find out language variation. The study done by Rohani et al, 2005 argues that the questionnaire is an easy and a fast instrument in the studies of a minority language. The questionnaire has long been an important tool to collect data on linguistic variation.

In this research, a qualitative method was used. 100 participants were selected. They were asked to fill out a questionnaire. The questionnaire comprises various types of questions known as: close format questions, open format questions, and contingency questions. This variety of questions was required to address the objective of the study and to receive the needed data for research analysis more accurately. The questions were first written in English and then translated into French in order to ease the understanding for the participants. The aim

of the questionnaire is to find out the reasons behind code-switching, participants' attitudes towards their mother tongue, and if they are willing to maintain their dialect. 60 copies were printed out and distributed, and an online questionnaire was designed for those who are beyond reach.

3.5- Data Analysis

The questionnaire in this paper contains 10 questions. The first section was about the informants' personnal information. They are asked to provide their age, sex, and status. The first question was to find out the reasons behind code-switching. The second question concerned Beri- those who speak Chadian Arabic and their interlocutors. The question number 3 was to figure out the language used outside home. The fourth question focused on the frequency Beria is used by its speakers. The question 5 was to find out in which language Beria speakers are competent. The sixth question asked the subject if they consciously or unconsciously switch between local Arabic and Beria. The seventh question asked the informants if they feel comfortable to speak their mother tongue in front of foreigners. The question 8 inquired if the respondents are willing to pass on their mother tongue to their children if they have. The question number 9 was to pinpoint the category of age the most exposed to Chadian Arabic. The question number 10 was about the linguistic competence of the informants. The last question asked the respondents if Beria is fading away.

SECTION: 1

1.1 Personal information

1.2- Sex of the participants

Sex	Number of participants	Percentage
Male	70	70%
Female	30	30%
Total	100	100%

Table 3.1 Sex of the participants

The goal of this question is to figure out whether males or females are the victim of this linguistic phenomenon. As we said earlier, the questionnaire was distributed to 100 informants. According to the result we found, 70% of the subjects were males and 30% were females. We met just 3 females in Oran.

1.3- Age

Age	Male	Female	Percentage
19-20	2	4	6%
21-30	68	26	94%
Total	70	30	100%

Table 3.2 participants' age

This table 3.2 shows that the participants questioned belong to different age groups. The age of the participants helps understand where exactly within the youth Beria is threatened. The question was answered by 100 participants. 4 females out of 30 were in the age group of 19-20 and 26 were in the age group of 21-30. As far as the males are concerned, 2 were in the age group of 19-20 and 68 in the age group of 21-30.

1.4-   Status of the particiants

Status	Male	Female	Percentage
Student	64	29	93%
civil servant	6	1	7%
Total	70	30	100%

Table.3.3 Status of the participants

93% of our sample were university students: The females represent 29% and the males represent 64%. As far as occupation is concerned, we have found out that 7 % of the participants were civil servants, that is to say, 6 of the civil servants were males and 1 was female.

Question 1

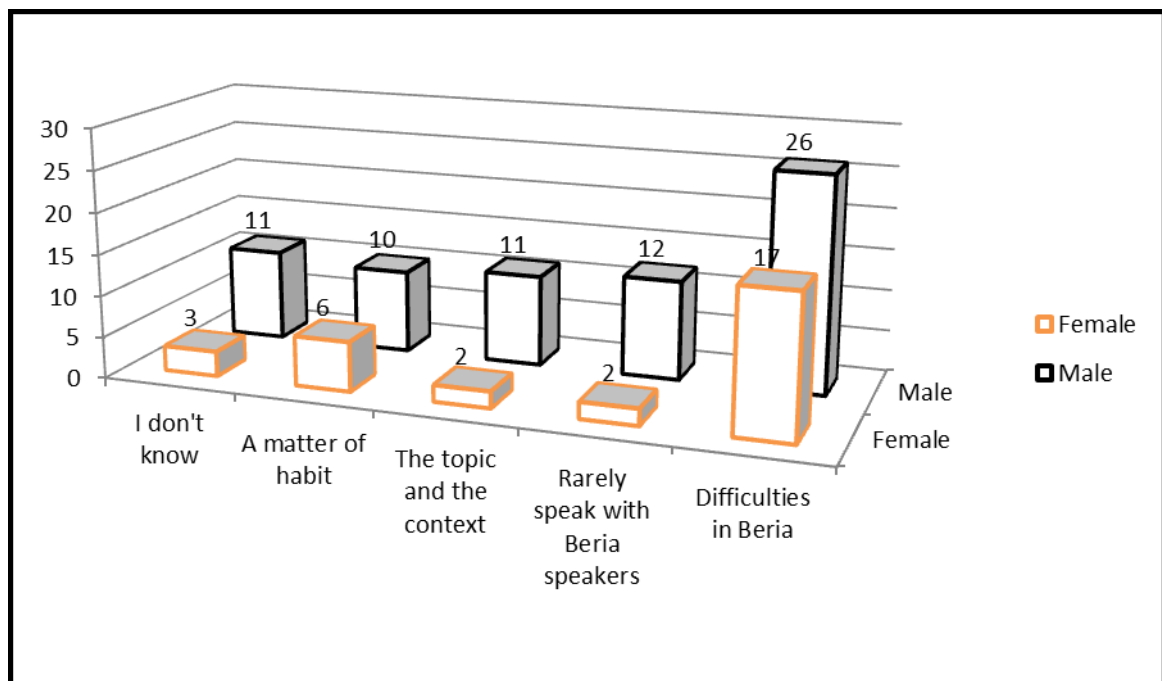**1.1-   The reasons behind speaking Arabic with Beria speakers.**

ure 3.1 the causes of code switching

Figure 3.1 shows the reasons behind using Arabic with those who already speak Beria. It indicates that 14 % of the respondents said that they did not know why they speak Arabic to those who already knew Beria. 16 % of the informants put forward arguments that it is a matter of habit to speak in Arabic with the members of their speech community. 13 % of the respondents said that they used Arabic according to the topic and the context. The 14% of the informants we asked said they would rarely speak Arabic with Beria speakers. However, 43 % of them had difficulties in speaking Beria that is the reason why they would speak Arabic with their brothers.

Considering each group apart, we find that 26% of the males we questioned had difficulties in Beria. That represents just a minority of the males as a whole; however, the females who had difficulties in Beria represent the majority 17% in their group.

Question 2: Do you speak Arabic with: friends, family or others?
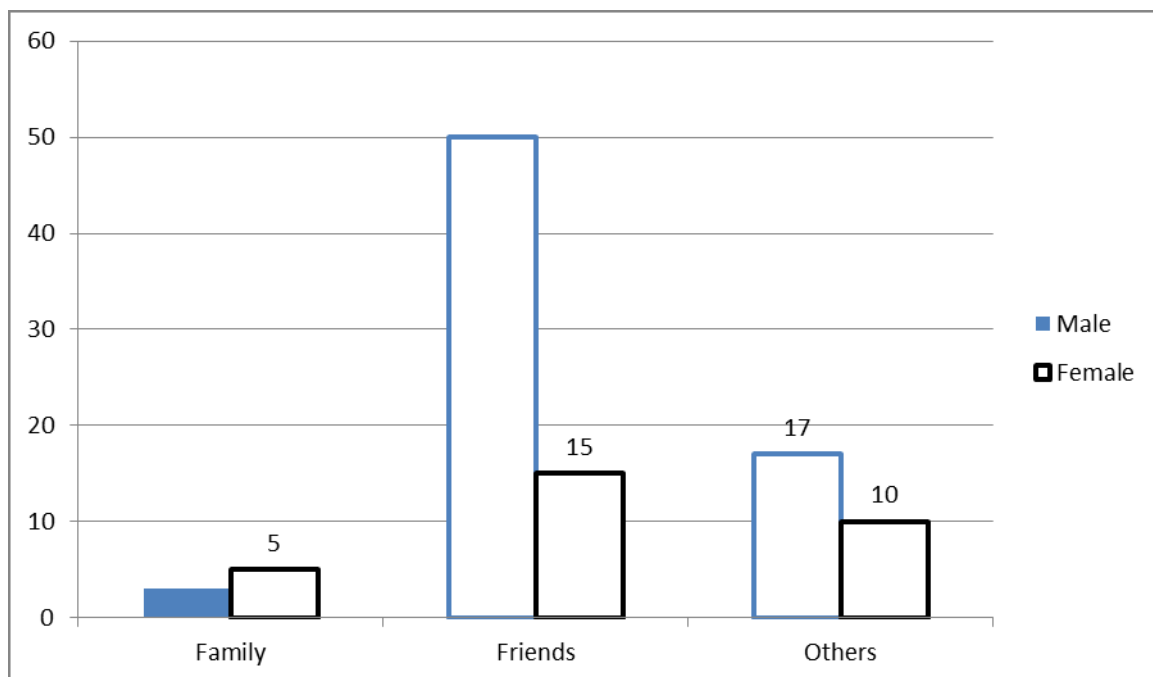

Figure 3.2 participants' interlocutors

Figure 3.2 shows that 8% of the informants speak Arabic with their family members; whereas, we found that 27% of them speak Arabic with others. However, a large number of them (65%), interact with their friends when they use Arabic.

The majority of the males (50) use local Arabic only with their friends; half of the females speak local Arabic with their friends. We can conclude that Beria is still fully used within family members, back home.

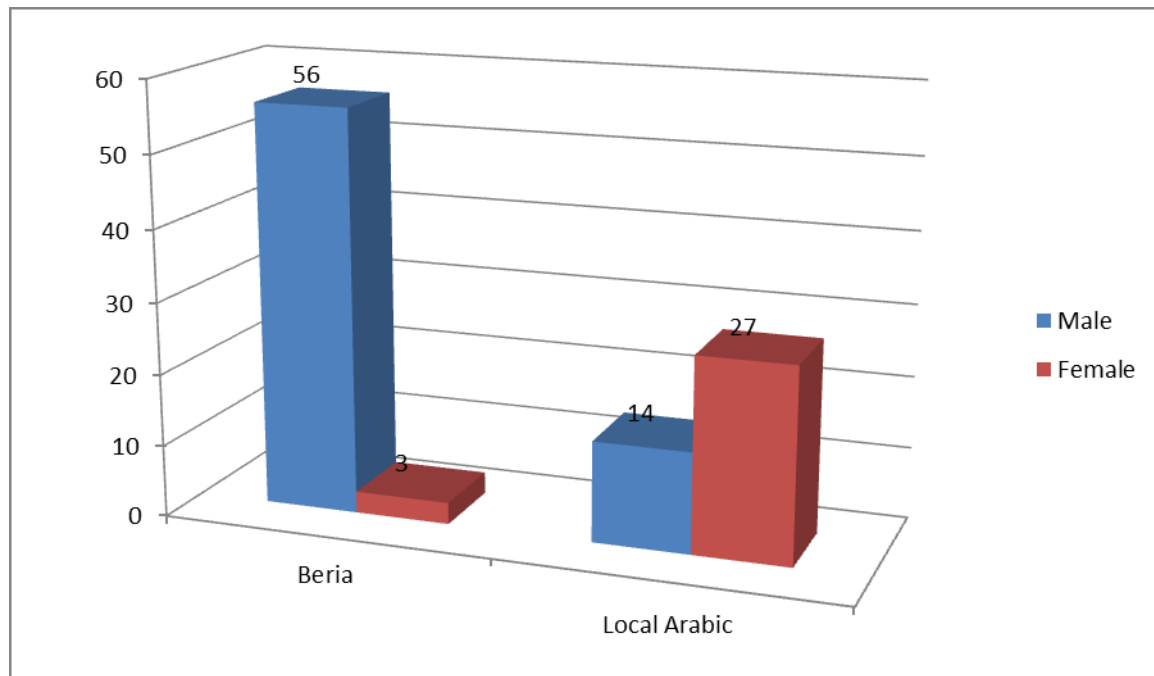**Question 3: What language do you use outside home?**

Figure 3.3 language used outside home

From this question, respondents are asked to tell the language they use once they are outside home. The result showed that outside home the majority of the informants (59%) use Beria, whereas 41% of the participants speak local Arabic once they go outside the home. The majority of the males (56) we questioned used Beria between them even when they are with other speech communities; whereas, the majority (27) of the females use local Arabic once they are out.

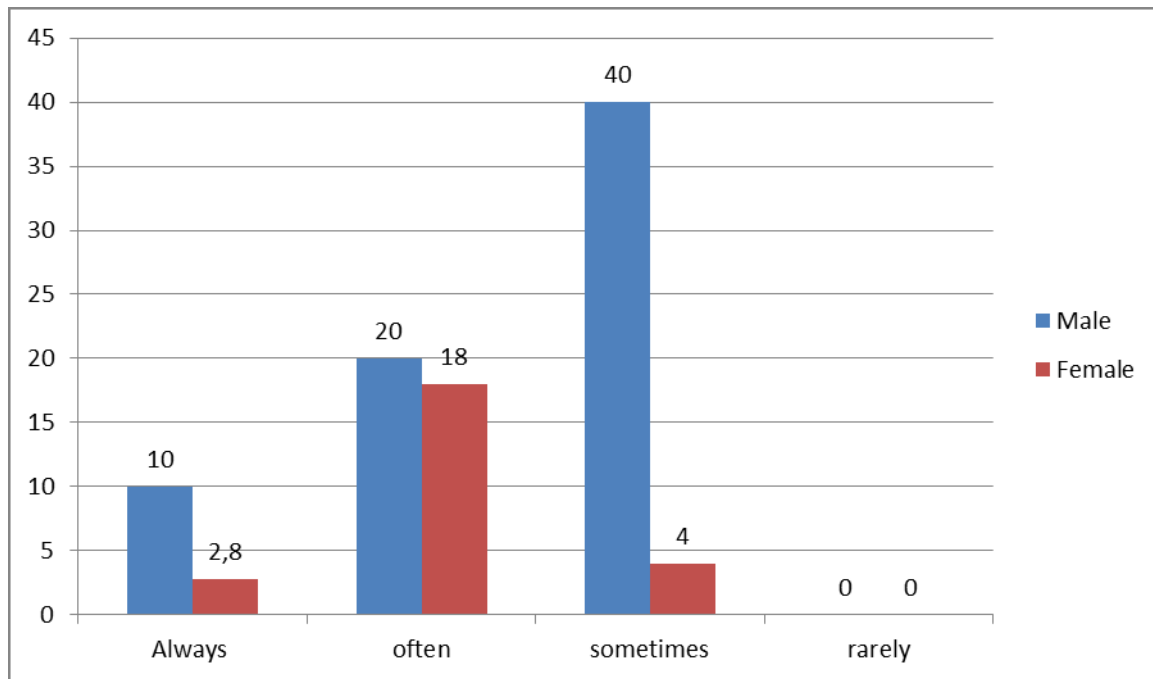**Question 4: How often do you code switch between Arabic and Beria?**

Figure 3.4 the frequency of code switching among the informants

The aim of this question is to work out how often the Beri youth code switch. Possible answers include: *sometimes, rarely, often, and always*. All the informants answered the question. We found that the majority (44%) of them switch sometimes between Arabic and Beria. However, a few (38%) of the subjects we asked put clearly that they would code-switch often. 18 % of the participants we met always would code switch.

Males (40) compared to females were not keen on code switching. The majority of the females we questioned would often switch between local Arabic and Beria; the reason behind this lies in difficulties as shown in figure 3 (see question 1).

Question 5: in which language do you feel competent?
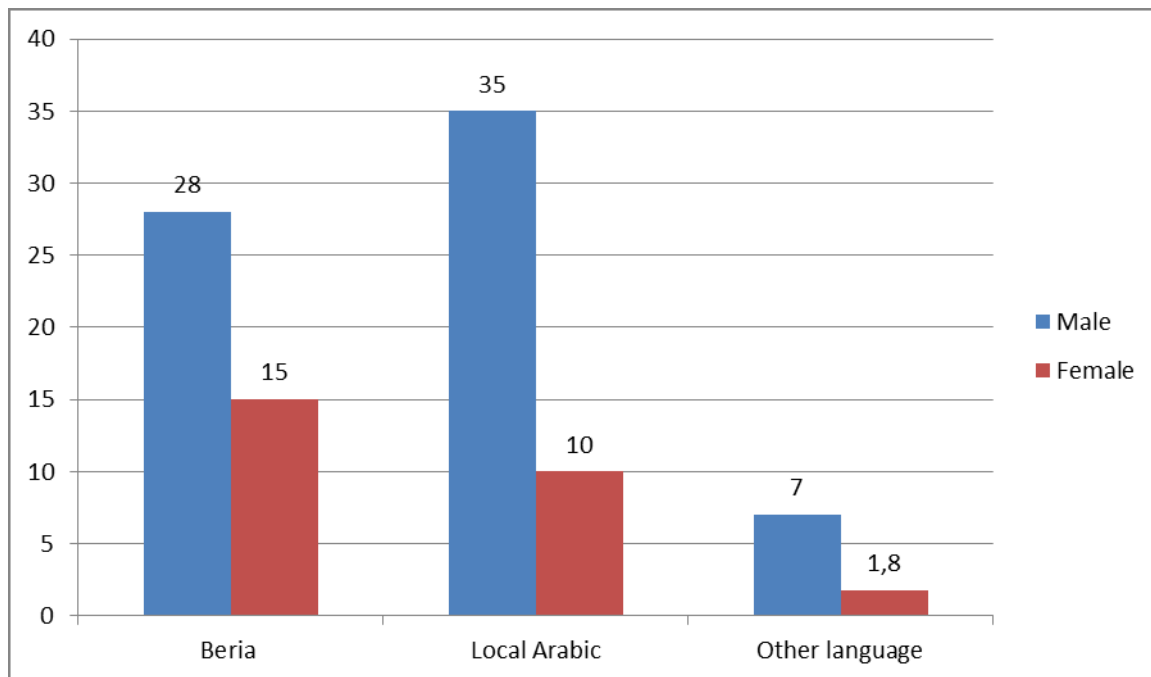
Figure 3.5 language competency

This question inquires about the linguistic competence of our participants. 43% of the participants are competent in Beria, whereas we found that 45% of them are competent in local Arabic.12 % of the participants put clearly that they were competent in another language. That majority can be explained by the frequent use of Chadian Arabic due to its vital role in Chad.

Question 6: Do you switch consciously or unconsciously?
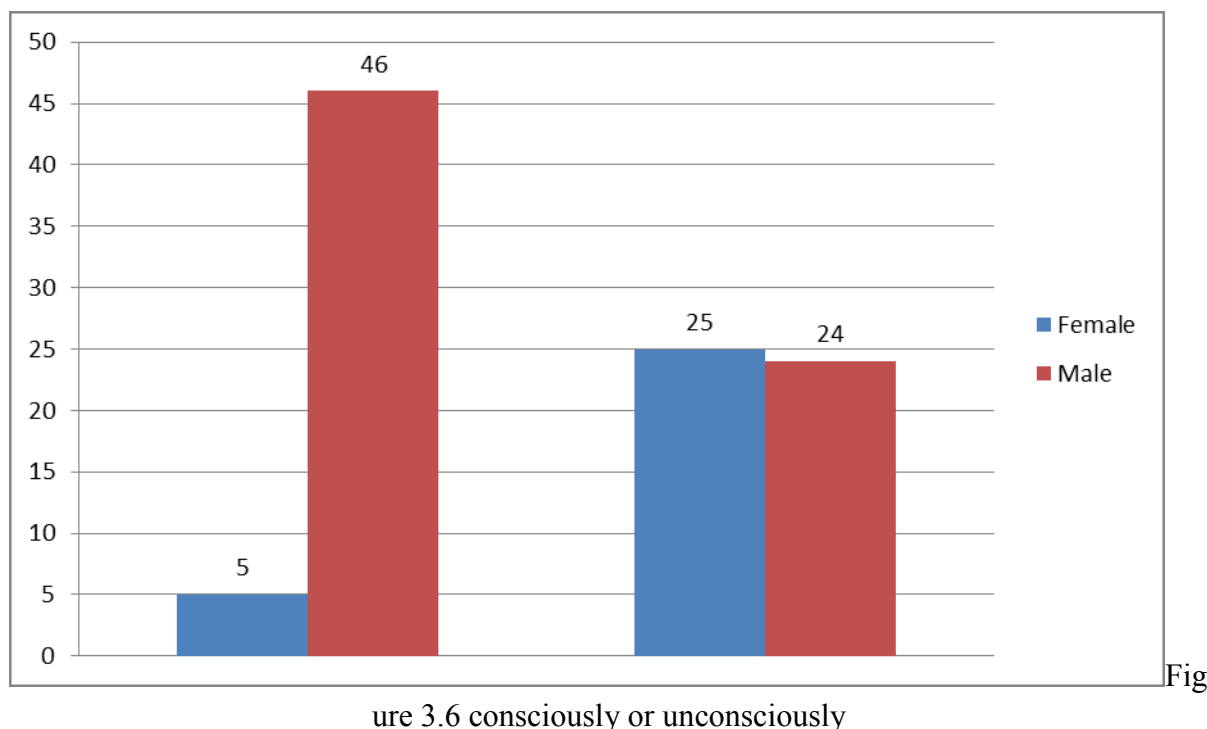
ure 3.6 consciously or unconsciously

Figure 3.6 indicates if the participants code-switch consciously or unconsciously between local Arabic and Beria. All the informants participated in the question. 51 % of the participants said they consciously switched between local Arabic and Beria. However, 49 % of the subjects switched unconsciously.

Figure 3.6 shows that majority of the males 46 % switch consciously. This can be due to less interest in local Arabic; however, 25 % of the females switch unconsciously. They had difficulties in Arabic and they were so assimilated in local Arabic.

Question 7: Do you feel comfortable to speak in Beria in front of foreigners?
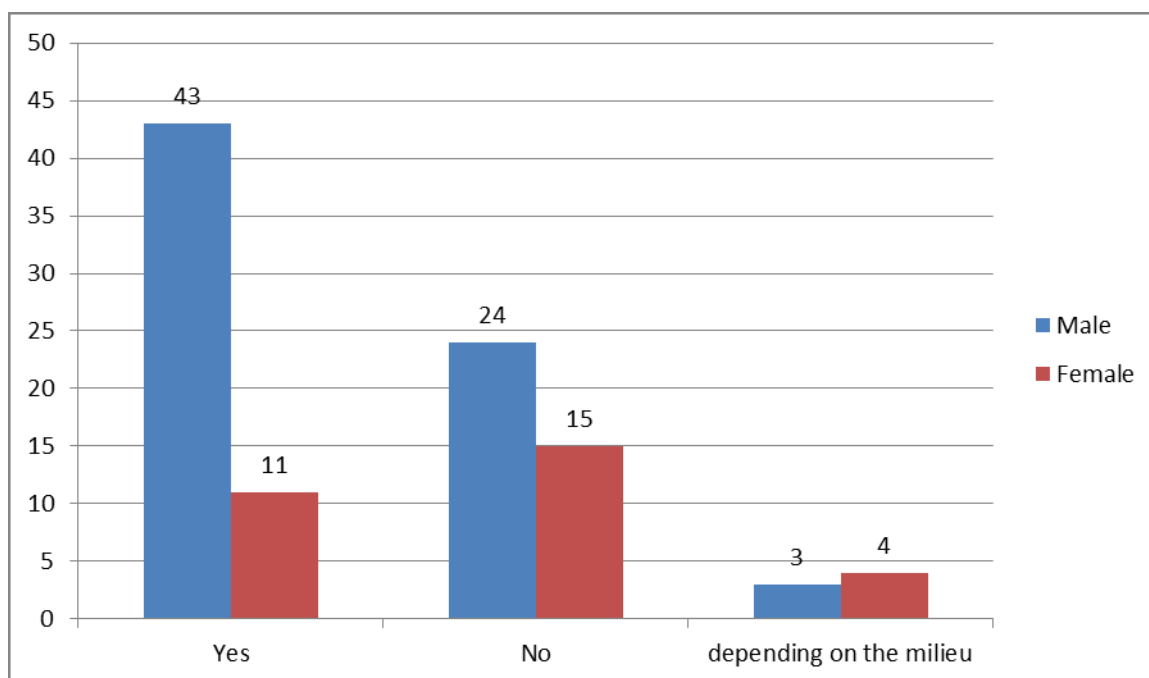
Figure 3.7 language attitude

Figure 3.7 indicates the attitude of Beria speakers towards their mother tongue in front of foreigners. It determines how Beria is viewed by its speakers. In this figure, 54% of the participants answered yes to the question asked and 39 % of them answered no to the question. However, 7 % of the informants answered neither yes nor no. Their comfort depends on the milieu in which they are.

Question 8: If you have children would you like them to be able to master Beria, Arabic or French?
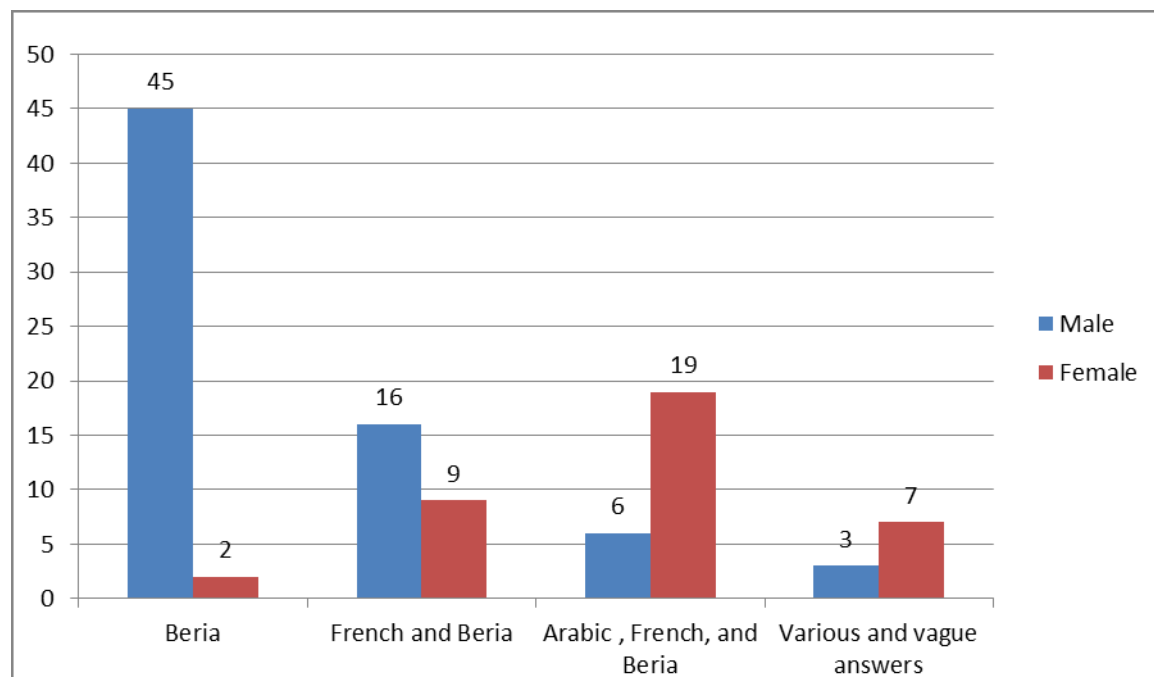
Figure 3.8 language maintenance

This question asked informants if they would like their children to master either French, Arabic, or Beria. Most of the informants showed clearly their willingness to preserve Beria. 47 % of the subjects said they wanted their children to fully master Beria. However, 25% of them found no interest in learning or acquiring Beria. They wanted their children to learn French and Arabic only. Those who wanted their children to learn Beria, French and Arabic are 25 %. A tiny percentage of 3 gave various views. Some answered No and others answers yes to the question. They may not have understood the question. Furthermore, 45 % of the males questioned demonstrated a preference for Beria over local Arabic. They were keen to promote their mother tongue. The females, however, indicated the opposite.

Question 9: What is the category of age group the most exposed to Chadian Arabic?
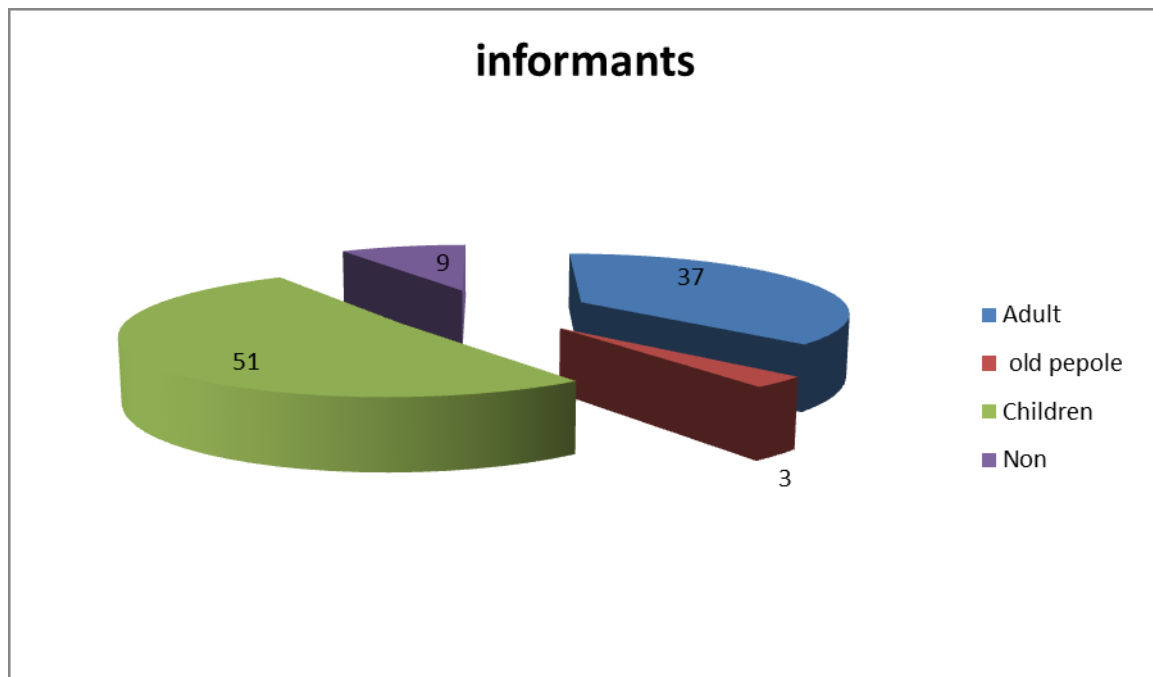
Figure3.9 the category of age exposed to Chadian Arabic.

Figure 3.9, the participants are asked their views as far as the language exposure is concerned. 9 participants out of 100 did not answer the question. 51 % of the participants said that children were the most exposed category of age group to Chadian Arabic. However, a small number of the participants said that old people were the less exposed category to Chadian Arabic.

Question 10: Do you think Beria is fading away?
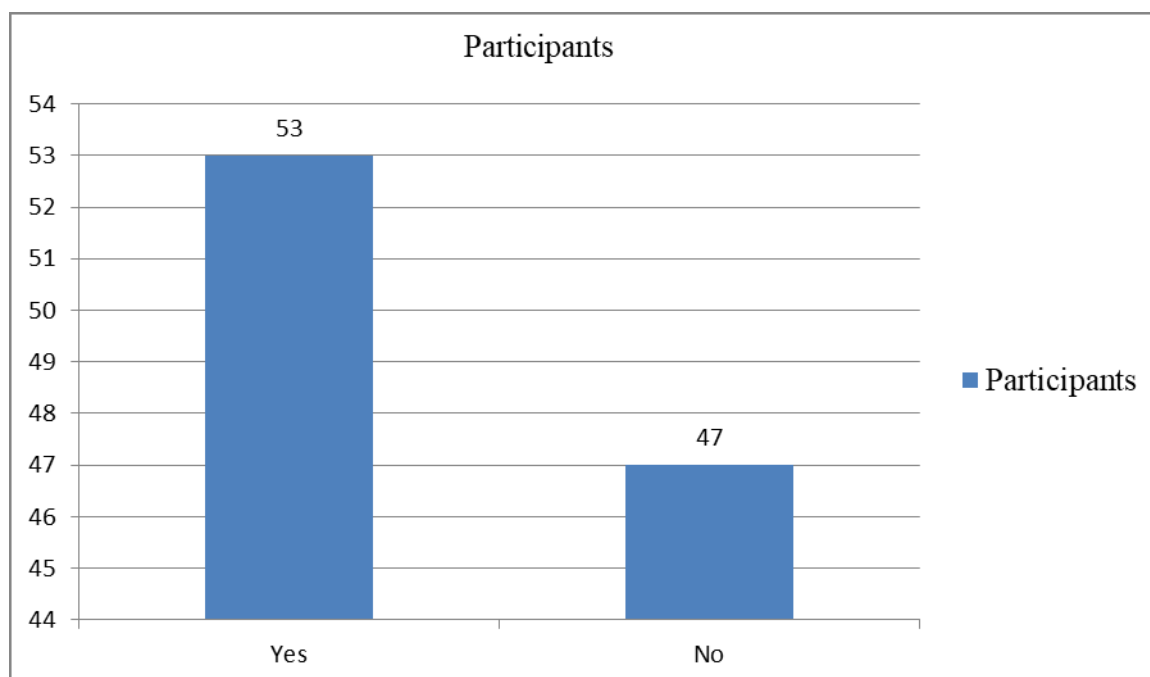
Figure 3.10 participants' standpoint vis-à-vis the future of Beria

Figure 3.10 indicates Beria speakers' reaction to the question asked. All the participants gave their point of view. 53 % of the informants said that Beria was threatened, whereas 47 % of them took a dim view of the question and answered no.

Now that the analysis is done it is important to discuss the results and see whether they confirm or reject the hypotheses.

3.6- Discussion of the results

The informants' age varies from 19 to 30. The majority of the subjects said they are students. The females represent a minority. This personal information can help us find out at what level Beria is less valued and less used.

The use of Beria seems less frequent outside the home. Most of the participants we questioned use Chadian Arabic with their friends. The majority is composed of females. However, the majority of the males speak in Beria once outside home.

Considering the result given above, it can be seen that almost half (45) of the participants are competent in Chadian Arabic. This can be explained by the tremendous role Chadian Arabic plays in Chadians' daily life. It is spoken by the majority of Chadians as shown in the first chapter. That is why participants feel more confident in speaking Chadian Arabic than Beria mostly those who have difficulties in expressing themselves clearly. So, it is important to mention that such phenomenon has a deleterious effect on Beria. Taking into account the frequency at which females code switch, Beria is losing its true value.

The analysis shows also the recurring code-switching that takes place within the youth boils down to linguistic deficiency. 43% of the informants code-switch between Chadian Arabic and Beria. This result confirms the first hypothesis formulated which is about linguistic deficiency. Such linguistic behaviour can put Beria in danger sooner or later.

As far as the attitude is concerned, the participants have shown a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. As Baker (1992) stated, (cited in Kudyma, K 2012 p: 63), attitudes are an important part of language life. Therefore, a closer look at language attitudes might help to reveal characteristic patterns of minority language retention. It also determines the future of any language. A great deal of the participants we questioned proved to be positive

and ready to pass Beria on to the future generation despite the fact that the young people and children are the language users the most exposed to Arabic. However, the majority of the females have shown a negative attitude towards Beria. They prefer local Arabic to Beria. They see no interest in their children acquiring Beria. They want a language that assures a prosperous future.

Limitations and Further Research

Throughout this research, we faced a ton of problems. First of all, as shown in the data analysis in the third chapter, we travelled kilometres to meet some of the participants. To reach those who are beyond the borders was tough and time-consuming due to the internet ban for political reasons. Secondly, the time allotted was not sufficient enough to base the research work on a monumental scale; the time constraint and the distance led us to put aside some important instruments to collect data; finally, the small size of the sample poses a problem for any claim which could be all-inclusive. So, we have to take into account every member of the Zaghawa community to give a bird view.

This research tried to work out the progressive language shift and maintenance that is taking place among the youth. Based on the presented research study, a series of further direction for research development can be outlined. For example, further studies could focus on the whole community in Chad and Sudan; they could also make a comparison between those who live in distant regions and in urban as far as language retention rate is concerned

Conclusion

    The questionnaire administered was to find out whether Beria is fading away or not and also to work out if the participants are willing to maintain Beria. The results have shown that the majority of the participants code-switch between local Arabic and Beria. This phenomenon, according to the informants, is caused by linguistic deficiency. Moreover, a great deal of the informants showed a positive attitude towards their mother tongue; however, most of the females we questioned have a negative attitude towards Beria and they are reluctant to maintain it.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The present research inquires whether or not a possible language shift is taking place within the Beri youth. Sociolinguists encourage researchers to use different methods and instruments to reach their aim that is why a questionnaire has been formulated. Our research questions are numerous. The main research questions are: The reasons for code-switching and the rate at which Beria is used by its speakers; second is to find out, through the paradigm of the participants, if Beria is fading way. Therefore, we formulated two hypotheses for the answers to confirm or disapprove.

As an instrument of research, a questionnaire has been formulated. This questionnaire helped us to reach our participants. The participants were selected randomly: 40 from Chad and 60 from different regions in Algeria. 100 participants took part to the research. The obtained data have been analysed. They showed that the majority of the participants are competent in local Arabic. They proved to be weak in their mother tongue. Among the participants we questioned females have a serious problem with Beria: they have a negative attitude, they do not want to maintain it; however, males showed a positive attitude and are willing to maintain Beria. Thus, this linguistic high-risk behaviour can shorten the life of Beria

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

The questionnaire is part of a research for Master Degree. The purpose of my questionnaire is to identify if a possible language is taking place or in progress for the Beri youth tend to use Chadian Arabic dialect most of the time. The answers will remain confidential. It will be

very kind of you to answer. Put a stick in the right column.

Section: personal information

Gender:

Male ☐   female ☐

Age: ☐

Status:...............

1) Why do you speak Arabic with those who can speak Beria?

   A) It is a matter of habit ☐

   B) It depends on the topic of discussion ☐

   C) I have difficulties in Beria ☐

D) I don't know ☐

2) Do you speak Arabic with?

Family ☐   friends ☐   others ☐

3) What language do you use outside home?

Arabic   Beria   other

4) How often do you code-switch?

Frequently   sometimes   rarely

5) In which language are competent?

Arabic   Beria

6) Do you switch :

Consciously   or unconsciously

7) Do you feel comfortable to speak Beria in front foreigners?

Yes   No

8) Would you like your children to learn:

Beria   Arabic   French, Arabic, and Beria

....

....

....

....

9) What is the category of age the most exposed to local Arabic?

Children   young   old

10) Do you think Beria is fading away?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 2

Questionnaire in French

Le questionnaire ci-dessus a pour but d'identifier le changement codique dans le milieu des jeunes Beri. L'influence de l'arabe tchadien sur la langue Beria semble avoir des effets négatifs à long terme. Cela nous permettra de pointer du doigt les causes majeures de ce phénomène linguistique et proposer des pistes de solutions.

Nous vous serons très reconnaissants pour le temps que vous avez accordé à la demande de l'intéressé.

Genre :   Masculin

                                               Féminin

Age :

Profession : ………………………………………………

1) Pourquoi parleriez-vous en arabe à ceux qui parlent déjà Beria ?

    a) Une question d'habitude

    b) Vous avez des lacunes en Beria

    c) Cela dépend de contexte

    d) Vous n'avez aucune idée

2) Vous parlez l'arabe avec :

a) Ami(es)

b) Familles

c) Autres

3) Quelle langue utilisez-vous une fois dehors :

a) Arabe

b) Beria

4) Vous arrive-t-il d'alterner, changer entre l'arabe et Beria quand vous discutez ?

a) Oui   b) Non

Si oui à quelle fréquence ?

Toujours   souvent   parfois

5) Dans quelle langue vous vous sentez compètent ?

Beria   B) Arabe   C) autre

6) Alternez-vous consciemment ou inconsciemment entre l'arabe et Beria ?

a)   b)

7) Vous Sentez-vous à l'aise de vous exprimer avec des amis en Beria devant des

étrangers

Yes   Non

8) Aimerez-vous que vos enfants apprennent :

9) Beria   Arabic   French, Arabic, and Beria

10) Pensez-vous que la langue Beria est en voie disparition parmi les jeunes ?