An Investigation into Arabic-French Code Mixing and Arabic Diglossia: The Case of the Chad Radio and Television (ONRTV)

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Abstract

This article examines the type of Arabic language used on the Chadian media, that is, radio and television. In this perspective, when you listen to the Chadian Radio or watch the news on Chadian television in Arabic, you’ll notice the sociolinguistic phenomenon of code-mixing/code switching which results from the combination of the varieties of spoken Arabic in Chad with French, and the lexical influence of local languages as well. This raises for the researcher, doubt about French-Arabic bilingualism in Chad. According to Adoum Khamis (1998), being a bilingual means, « being able to switch from one language to another without problem » (p.11). The study shows the limit of the French-speaking Chadians as well as the Arabophones when speaking literary Arabic or Chadian Arabic. Our findings show that, the majority of Chadians in towns use much of Arabic-French code mixing or the Chadian Arabic instead of the literary one. Therefore, what is Arabic-French code mixing and what are its lexical elements? In the following lines, we are going to answer these questions.

Key words: Code mixing, bilingualism, language variety, diglossia, language.

Résumé


Mots clés : Alternance codique, bilinguisme, variété linguistique, diglossie, langue.
Introduction

The two official languages of Chad, French and Arabic\(^1\), were not easily welcome by Chadians long before and after the independence of the country, in such a way that their planning in the educational system was very difficult. The case of Arabic language is worse compared with French. In fact, given that the Arabic language was introduced in Chad long before the coming of French which was brought in the country through French colonization which began in 1900, and since the Republic of Chad is listed among the Arabic as well as the French speaking countries, the Chadian people would be by now, very knowledgeable in literary Arabic.

The government-operated Télé Tchad and Radio Tchad are the services of the Office National de Radio et Television du Tchad (ONRTV) which is the biggest Chadian cable, broadcasting in French, Arabic, and seven local languages. It is the most viewed of all the channels in Chad. The radio and the television cover governmental, political, economical, and national activities through network of correspondents across Chad. Since its creation in 1987, Télé Tchad has taken a new dimension as the broadcast comes by satellite. This means that the viewers of ONRTV are not only Chadians. In other words, apart from Chadians, could the Saudi, Syrian or Iranian viewers, for instance, understand all that is said in Arabic from the Chadian television or the radio? In 2009, the Chadian radio station has also been equipped with new devices to reach not only the whole country but also other African countries and even beyond the borders.

- History of Arabic Language in Chad

The original homeland of speakers of Arabic is the central and northern regions of the Arabian Peninsula (Watson 2002). Over the centuries, Islam which was born in Saudi Arabia brought Arabic into Africa.

In this respect, Elikia M’boko (1995: 98) stated that the contacts of the Arabs with the Sahara «go back to half of the VII\(^e\) century, and their relations with the black parts of Sudan at the early VIII\(^e\) century». These contacts were often limited within the scope of religious and commercial activities. Therefore, the three big kingdoms in Sahel known as Kanem-Bornou, Ouaddaï, and Baguirmi were in contact with North Africa, and then, the Arabic language spread quickly in these kingdoms. That is why «in Cairo, a medersa was reserved for the students of the Kanem» Cornevin (1998: 261).

Precisely, the introduction of standard Arabic in Chad goes back to 14\(^{th}\) century (Zeltner 1976), and “it had been first used by the kingdoms of Baguirmi, Kanem-Bornu and Ouaddaï for internal and external diplomatic relations between these kingdoms and the Arab world” (Alio, activities.uofk.edu/multisites/chadian1arabic.pdf).

These kingdoms were also the first to embrace Islam in Chad. It should be noted that Arab migrants also arrived and settled in the course of the history of Chad. The Arabic language could not spread quickly in Chad because it was rather used for Islamic studies, not for administration. The main objective of the sovereigns was to “conquer more space, more spoils, and more slaves. What they needed were therefore warriors but not brains. The idea of imposing the Arabic language was not part of their preoccupation” (Alio, activities.uofk.edu/multisites/chadian1arabic.pdf).

The standard Arabic language has faced oppositions from Francophones and politicians before it was positioned as an official language under the regime of the former President of the Republic of Chad, Hissène Habré in 1986, during the National Conference held on 15 January 1993, in the Constitution of the Republic of Chad which was approved on 31 March 1996, at the National Assembly, in schools, in the translations of local

\(^1\) Literary Arabic
newspapers, in decrees and other official documents. In this multidimensional context, it is important to make it clear that, literary Arabic is the one which is used as a second official language of Chad, but the Arabic language used for interpretation at the National Conference was another variety of Arabic, that is to say, the Chadian dialectal Arabic. The reasons of the slow progress of the standard Arabic in Chad are:

- Muslims believe that the Qur’ān in Arabic is the purest form of the revelation, since, they say, it was the language used by God in speaking through Gabriel. Therefore, Alio (1997) observed that the first Arabic teachers could only give a religious teaching, because they hardly conceived that the Arabic language could be useful to any other thing than the Islamic religion.

- The French colonization was also regarded as an obstacle to the spread of the standard Arabic and Islamic culture in Chad when the French authorities began to control the Islamic kingdoms of Ouaddaï, Kanem and Borno by imposing western education. Mustapha (1996) said that, one of the incidents that signify the colonizer’s oppression, brutality, savagery and willingness to obliterate all symptoms of Arab Islamic culture and physically liquidate scholars, was that famous incident known as the Slaughter of the “kubkub”, i.e. machete, which forced many scholars of Ouaddaï to immigrate to Sudan.

- During colonialism, the first French government school to teach Arabic language opened in Abéché in 1956 (Mustapha 1996). After the independence, the introduction of the 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 Arabic language shall be taught in schools as an optional subject. 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. The order of the languages in the Constitution is very important, that is, French and Arabic, not Arabic and French. This denotes the priority of the government to the French language over Arabic. Again, the Constitution did not specify whether Arabic language refers to the standard Arabic or the Chadian dialectal Arabic.

- The lasting conflict between the Islamic north and the Christian south witnessed the slow spread of the Arabic language in the south. Ngarsou (2013) observed 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. Most of parents prefer English to standard Arabic.

But how did Chadian Arabic, code-mixing, and diglossia arise?

- The Chadian Arabic

Chadian Arabic arose as a result of contact between the standard Arabic, the Sudanese Arabic, the Libyan Arabic, and the indigenous languages of Chad to such an extent that some of them became endangered languages. In fact, seven countries share borders with Chad, but its Arab neighbors are Libya to the north and Sudan to the east. The populations of these countries established religious, social, and commercial relations before the arrival of French. Muslims and traders in eastern Chad used to travel to Sudan for agricultural activities, Islamic studies, and many other lucrative jobs. There had also been ethnic ties between Chad and Libya for centuries. I particularly make reference to Toubou tribe. When the Chadian workers returned home, they brought with them “not only new objects but also the Arabic language and concepts designating these objects not existing locally”.

With the passing of time, the Chadian Arabic stretched into the south of Chad as a result of an influx of northerners looking for better
place to live and to run business. Some others are government workers posted over there.

It should be stated that the Chadian Arabic is very rich. Many eminent scholars wrote about Chadian Arabic: Carbou (1913), Hagège (1972), Kaye (1976), Roth Laly (1976), and Patrice (1997; 1999). Didactic materials are also written in Chadian Arabic with Latin and Arabic alphabets. Only in September 2013, the Chadian Arabic Project carried out by Association SIL of N’Djamena produced 35 books: 10 books about African stories, 6 books about indigenous literature, 4 books about easy reading, 2 books about reading in Latin alphabets, 5 books about reading in Arabic alphabets, 2 Arabic-French dictionaries, and 3 books about alphabet primer.

**The French Language in Chad**

The French language was introduced in Chad towards the end of 19th century (Alio 1997). The objective of the French colonizers was to uproot Chadian cultures and put obstacles to the development of local languages by imposing “new educational and cultural institutions modeled, in philosophy and perception, derived from French thought, and designed to provide the new administration with clerks and officials” (Mustapha 1996).

The study of language in relation to society (Hudson 1996) implies the interpretation of languages in relation to culture. Therefore, Chadian cultures have influence on the French language to such an extent that there is specific French spoken in Chad. Djarangar wrote a book it, *Petit lexique des particularités du français parlé au Tchad* (online version). Ngarsou (2013:64-65) also wrote about the particular syntax and spelling, and the particular pronunciation of French in Chad. For instance, it is a common thing to hear Chadians saying “*je l’ai dit de venir me voir ce soir*”.

*Dire* is a transitive verb which takes a direct object or an indirect object. So, *lui* or *leur* would have been used before the verb in the perfect indicative instead of *l’* because the verb takes an indirect object. Again, words in French containing the phonemes */l/, */v/, */m/*, and */y/* pose problems of pronunciation for some ethnic groups in Chad as shown in the following examples: “*ma pame est allée au champ à belo*”, “*zé porte une semise*”, “*les chaussures coûtent cher cette année*” are used instead of “*ma femme est allée au champ à vélo*”, “*je porte une chemise*”, “*les chaussures coûtent cher cette année*”.

**Code-Mixing**

The *Longman Active Study Dictionary* defines the verb “to mix” as “to combine two or more different activities, ideas, styles, etc. Therefore, code mixing involves a situation where a speaker often switch at regular intervals from one language or dialect to another in terms of lexical elements and phrases. Talking about code-mixing, Hudson (1996:53) explains that “the speaker balance the two languages against each other as a kind of linguistic cocktail—a few words of one language, than a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on”. This view is the same in Chad where code-mixing is the consequence of language contact, that is, the inability to switch from one language to another. For instance, an Arabophone, not being able to speak Arabic fluently, that is when he will try to learn French, riding hell bent for leather. As he makes use of French words, he will not succeed in expressing his ideas accurately; neither will he succeed in creating mechanisms which will allow him to use Arabic language appropriately. This does not mean that the French-Arabic code mixing is peculiar to Arabophones only. Francophones are also unable to speak literary Arabic fluently without introducing French words in their expressions.

Most importantly, code-mixing has taken a new dimension in urban areas like N’Djamena, and it is regarded as the expression of the new
generation’s civilization and well connected people.

Muysken (2000) describes three types of code mixing: insertion, alternation, and congruent. The one that suits our study is alternation which occurs when the sentence starts with French language then Arabic language. But, in the present study, we noticed some forms of code mixing that we would call dominant code mixing, that is, one of the languages carries more words or the structure of the sentence is longer in one language than the other. Sometimes, varieties of the same language are used in the same speech by a single speaker. This is called diglossia.

- Arabic Diglossia of Chad

Historically, diglossia in Arabic began to emerge at the latest in the sixth century CE when oral poets recited their poetry in a proto-classical Arabic based on archaic dialects which differed from their own (Lipinski, 1977 cited by Watson, 2002:8)

According to Ferguson (1959), diglossia is the distinction between two forms of the same language, separating the High form and the low form. In Chad, let’s take for example, the Arabic language. The High form should be the standard Arabic), and the Low form corresponds to the varieties of Chadian Arabic. The High form is a prestige language used for education and administration, and the Low form is a non-prestige language used at home between friends and relatives. Diglossia leads to code-switching as the speaker switches between two varieties of the same language. It interacts with bilingualism in four models (Fishman 1967)
1. Both diglossia and bilingualism
2. Diglossia without bilingualism
3. No diglossia, no bilingualism
4. Bilingualism without diglossia

The interpretations of these four (4) models in Chad can be manifested in the following situations: both diglossia and bilingualism concerns the Chadian Arabic-French bilingualism; diglossia without bilingualism is about the standard Arabic and the colloquial Arabic; no diglossia, no bilingualism happens within monolingual speakers of Chad; bilingualism without diglossia occurs within bilingual speakers of the standard Arabic and French.

Due to the linguistic diversity of Chad, it would be proper to prefer the term multilingualism to bilingualism. So, bilingualism in Chad is not just about standard Arabic and standard French, and this can be shown in seven forms as classified by Djarangar (http://boutik-and-co.org/L-arabe-et-le-francais-au-Tchad):
1. Mother tongue – standard Arabic
2. National language – standard Arabic
3. Mother tongue – standard French
4. National language – standard French
5. Mother tongue – national language
7. Standard Arabic – standard French

What should be kept in mind is that, “no one in the Arab world is brought up speaking Standard Arabic as their mother tongue” (Watson, 2002:8). It is rather learnt at school. This view is the same in Chad where in a diglossic context, only French and the Standard Arabic are said to be the High languages.

It is important to differentiate between dialect and language. According to Matthews (2007), 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).

Mutual intelligibility is one of the simplest criteria used to distinguish dialects from languages. For example, speakers of Arabic cannot understand French unless they have learned it, and vice versa; therefore, Arabic and French are not the same. But a speaker of the Arabic
spoken in Bongor can understand the Arabic spoken in N’Djamena: therefore, they speak different dialects of the same language. In addition, Hudson (2003) identifies two ways of distinguishing language from dialect as he says that a language is larger than a dialect, and it has prestige which a dialect lacks.

1. Methodology

- Research Design

This study investigates the way Chadian Arabic is used through radio and television. It is about linguistic choices of Chadians making use of French and Arabic for communicative purposes within the brand of Chadian Arabic and sociolinguistic context.

- Objective of the Study

The objective of the study is to identify the French-Arabic code mixing usages and diglossia by Chadians; analyze and interpret the content of such usages; and adopt a transcription system with Latin alphabet that accords with the Chadian National Alphabet to make Arabic code more accessible to the French-speaking readers who do not know how to read in Arabic.

- Delimitations and Limitations

I set the bounds of the topic in terms of its scope. This means Arabic-French code mixing and diglossia. This might be a future project.

- Alphabet used for the transcription of Chadian Arabic

The National Alphabet of Chad from the Ministry of Education comprises 51 Latin letters which are read from left to right, and 60 Semitic letters (Arabic) read from right to left. The Latin version of the alphabet has been validated in 2000 in Darda, and the Arabic version in 2009 at the SIL in N’Djamena. The National Alphabet helps to transcribe Chadian languages.

According to Abu-Absi (http://historyofislam.com/the-arabic-language), three of these letters representing the consonants /r, w, y/ are also used for representing the long vowel sounds /aa, uu, ii/, respectively. The short vowel sounds /a, u, i/, which may be represented with diacritic marks above or below a letter, are normally omitted except in situations where semantic ambiguity or serious errors in pronunciation cannot be tolerated. The Chadian Arabic is written with the same Arabic Alphabet. It should be noted that there is no uppercase in Arabic.

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<tr>
<th>Written before</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>kh (or x)</td>
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<td>tch (or tc)</td>
<td>C</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The following is the National Alphabet of Chad from the Ministry of Education

A) LETTRES MINUSCULES LATINES
a b c ch d dr d e e f g
gb h f i i j k kh kp l m mb
mv n n n nd ndr ng nj n o o c p r r
s sl t tr u v vb w y y z zl

B) LETTRES MAJUSCULES LATINES
A B C CH D DR D E E E F G
GB H H I I J K KH KP L M MB
MV N N ND NDR NG NJ N O O C P R R
S SL T TR U V VB W Y Y Z ZL

C) LETTRES SEMITIQUES (ARABES)
اب ب ت ث ج ح خ
ج ج ذ ت ز ي
ش ص ض ط ع غ
ف ف ق ق ت ت ك ك
ل ل
م م ن ن م م
و و
ي ي

أ ب ب ت
- **Data Collection**

The audio-lingual method is used to collect data. This means that the researcher recorded data used by journalists, and most importantly by people from radio and television at different times between 2010 and 2012. The problematic aspect of the methodology remains the frequency of the use of the French lexical elements in these mixed productions. The relevant data were then carefully extracted and grouped into their different forms as determined from their structures. The words marked in bold are either French or modifications from French and dialectical Arabic.

**Examples of Code Mixing and Diglossia**

When individuals switch from one language to another, they are said to be bilingual, but in the case of Chad, French-Arabic bilingualism is just constitutional. The majority of Chadians are not bilingual. Therefore, the examples in this paper are only grouped in terms of *code mixing and diglossia*. So, the French-Arabic code mixing I am talking about includes lexical elements of French, standard Arabic, Chadian Arabic, and local languages.

*a. Chadian Arabic vs literary Arabic*

The Chadian Arabic is spoken in the southern Chad, namely in the capital N’Djamena, Abéché, Am Timan, and Mao by Arabic and non-Arabic Chadians.

Even though the Chadian Arabic has generated dialects because of the multiple local languages of the country, it cannot be said to be a foreign language. It is said to be the language of wider communication in Chad. It also unites Chadians, and is used for children and adult education, for the interpretation of Bible in churches, commerce, but not at higher institutions. Some studies have revealed that the Chadian Arabic is the mother tongue of more than 12% of the population of Chad. In short, it is the lingua franca. The followings are samples of Chadian Arabic:

1. *yaatu kullu gaa’id yuruuku be derib hanaahu* (recorded on 13/12/2010)
   
   الكل يمشي بطرقه kulun yamchi bi tariquatihi (standard Arabic)
   
   French translation: *chacun suit son chemin*

2. *aniina naas hana Fort-Lamy* (recorded on 13/12/2010)
   
  نحن الفورت لاميون nahnu al-for lamiyon (standard Arabic)
   
   French translation: *les habitants de Fort-Lamy*

3. *Al-kilo hana laham indah urbumiya riyaal* (recorded on 29/11/2010)
   
   كيلو من الحم باربعانة ريال kilo minal laham bi urbumiyyati riyaal (standard Arabic)
   
   French translation: *un kilo de viande coûte 2000 francs*

*b. Variety of Arabic spoken in Bongor*

The Arabic used in Bongor is the Arabic dialect which is widely spoken in Mayo Kebbi region of Chad. It could be described as the pidgin Arabic with simple grammatical structure. It should be noted that in the following examples, there are no cases of code switching or code mixing, but the sentences are constructed on the structure of French as in sentence (1), compared to its literary version.

1. *Ana sallumuku way way* (recorded on 12/12/2010)
   
   أسهى عهكى واحذا حهى اَخر usallimu aleekum waahidan tilu al-aakhar (standard Arabic)
   
   French translation: *je vous salue tous*
2. Inti naadum inda ilim ma dusu chadar tit mafi da inti ma nadum (recorded on 21/12/2010)
الإِساٌ انعاقم ٌغرس شجرة
al-insaan al-aagil yagris chajara (standard Arabic)
French translation: celui qui n’a pas planté un arbre n’est pas un homme

**c. Chadian Arabic- Ngambay code mixing**
In the following example (1), lapiya means **peace** in Ngambay. It is therefore the mispronunciation of the standard Arabic bil aafiya. In this perspective, as shown before, the French phonemes /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /v/, /f/ and /y/ pose problems of pronunciation for some ethnic groups in rural areas, and this pronunciation difficulty is common to non educated Ngambaye, Sara and Mongo people in the southern Chad.

1. Chokol kullu da kalu nu so fi lapiya bas (recorded on 01/07/2011)
نُعًم كم شًء بانعافٍت
li na’ama kullu cheyy bi l-aafiya (standard Arabic)
French translation: tout travail doit se faire dans la paix

**d. Constructing new words from existing French lexis**
The construction of the so-called new words here should be understood as the adaptation of some French words by the speakers of Arabic. Therefore, **Rond-point** and **voie** in example (1) are French words, while **dabla** is either the alteration or mispronunciation of the French word **double**. Similar observation is made on example (1): **loptaane** comes from the French l’hôpital. However, in sentence (3), **doctor** originates from “docteur” in French.

1. Fi-l-rond-pwin al-dabla vwa (recorded on 03/12/2010)
في مستير الاردن fi mustadir aliraddain (standard Arabic)
French translation: au rond-point double voie

2. Al-loptaane hana Bokoro… (recorded on 27/04/2012)
مستشفى بوكورو mustachfa Bokoro (standard Arabic)
French translation: l’hôpital de Bokoro

3. Al-doctor Djimet Adoum gaal […] (recorded on 04/05/2012)
قال الدكتور جمه آدم gaala al-diktor Djime Adoum (standard Arabic)
French translation: le docteur Djimet Adoum a dit que

**e. Arabic-French Code Mixing**
The use of the French phrase, **en tant qu’artiste tchadien** in sentence (1) entails the speaker’s inability to get the appropriate corresponding expression in Chadian Arabic. Again, in this example, the French lexical items are more in number than the Arabic ones.

1. Ana ja da en tant que artiste tchadien (recorded on 02/01/2011)
أَا أحٍج بصفًُ فُاٌ حشادي
ana atitu bisifati fannaan tachaadi (standard Arabic)
French translation: je suis venu en tant que artiste tchadien

**f. French-Arabic Code Mixing**
The use of more lexical items in French, **comité, organisation** and **cinquantenaire** in (sentence 1), and **comment code de la famille** and **adopté** in (sentence 2) in the following examples still shows that the speaker is not knowledgeable in Arabic which is supposed to be used throughout these speech productions. We would call this type of code mixing, a dominant code mixing in which lexical items of one language are more than the other. Therefore, apart from **hana** in sentence (1), and **da ma** in sentence (2), all the rest are French lexical items.

This is due to the limited knowledge of the Arabic language of the speaker.
1. Comité hana organisation hana cinquantenaire (recorded on 13/12/2010)
la-jna al-munazzima li l-khamisiniya (standard Arabic)
French translation: le comité d’organisation du cinquantenaire

2. Comment code de la famille da ma adopté da chunu ma kaan? (recorded on 18/05/2012)
لماذا لم تعتدي مدونة الأسرة؟ ماذا حصل؟
(standard Arabic)
French translation: pourquoi le code de la famille n’a-t-il pas été adopté ?

3. Teji fi kachim avion (recorded on 05/12/2010)
تأتي إلى بوابة الطائرة
(standard Arabic)
French translation: tu viens à l’aéroport

4. Gay nu so kidim ma administration da (recorded on 08/06/2011)
نحن نعمل مع الإدارة
(standard Arabic)
French translation: nous travaillons dans l’administration

5. Nu solo merci katiir (recorded on 08/06/2011)
شكرًا كثيرا
(standard Arabic)
French translation: nous le remercions beaucoup

6. Naas al-mardaaniin min al-SIDA (recorded on 27/04/2012)
مرضى فقدان المناعة المكتسبة
(standard Arabic)
French translation: les malades du SIDA

In the 20th century particularly, a wide scientific, technical and medical vocabulary was borrowed from French and English (Encarta Microsoft 2009). In several cities of Chad today, the French-Arabic code mixing occupies a very important position in oral communication in such a way that you cannot do without it. In such a situation, it is difficult to work out bilingualism (French-Arabic) in the broad sense. In fact, arabophones and francophones in Chad speak by mixing two codes (Arabic and French), pretending that they speak Arabic language.

In this paper, we have seen that French has great influence over Arabic. Many languages in Chad are endangered due to the influence of the Chadian Arabic and French. For instance, it is a common thing in the south of Chad to hear a Ngambaye saying: usa tout, meaning mange tout in French, and eat all in English. Another example is: I re kalas?, that
is, es-tu déjà arrivé? Which means, are you already back? in English. Thus, Tout is French word while kalas is in Arabic.

A massa in Mayo Boneye region of Chad may also say: lawna se partout meaning in French, il pleut partout, or it rains everywhere in English. The second example is: an vum dangay hadir, meaning je l’emprisonne tout de suite in French, or I will put him to jail right now. The examples are not exhaustive. Partout is in French, but dangay hadir is in Arabic.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

French-Arabic code mixing is necessary for communication when the official French-Arabic bilingualism has not taken full form in Chad where the mastery of these languages or dialects is not equal. Therefore, it should be noted that the French-Arabic code mixing has been a particular threat to bilingualism in Chad. This practice is not peculiar to Chad only. It is also found in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Lebanon. One may ask, why the very few speakers of English as a second language in Chad do not use French-English code mixing while English is only taught as a subject in secondary schools and degree course at universities, and why francophones do not use French-Arabic code mixing when speaking French? The answer lies on the fact that French and English have the same Latin alphabets while French and Arabic do not.

The examples of code mixing I have analysed showed the influence of French over Arabic, the high level of illiteracy in Chad, the fact that standard Arabic is only mastered by a minority of Chadians. It is important to mention that the majority of Chadian learners of standard Arabic are not knowledgeable in that language before going to primary school.

Chadians prefer communicating in Chadian Arabic because it is easy to understand and to make oneself understood. The problem in the corpus is not about the Arab language, but the code-mixing and diglossia. In fact, when literary Arab words do not come quickly to mind of the arabophone or the francophone speakers, they will prefer using French words to fill the linguistic gap in order to express their ideas. Most of the time, the speakers are not aware that they are using Arabic-French code mixing, but they are aware that they speak Arabic. They often mistake Arabic-French code mixing for Arabic language.

The Chadian government has invested a huge amount of money for the promotion of French-Arabic bilingualism, but this investment is a waste of money, time and energy. The language that poses problem for the proper bilingualism is the standard Arabic spoken by a minority of Chadians. The situation is as if the Chadian people in general and the Chadian government in particular were not paying proper attention to Chadian Arabic. In other words, there is no respect for Chadian Arabic which is spoken by the majority of population from childhood. Most importantly, in the academic year 2012-2013, SIL International has experimented the teaching of Chadian Arabic using Arabic alphabets and Latin alphabets for children in two primary schools in N’Djamena, and the experimentation has proved effective.

Given that UNESCO has been promoting the teaching of mother tongue in basic education since 1951, and the Chadian Arabic has been described by many author and used to write Chadian literature and many other didactic materials, I strongly recommend the change of Chadian Arabic to an official language and the promotion of the teaching of Chadian Arabic in all primary schools in the country. In addition, Chadian Arabic is considered as a Chadian language because it behaves like an African language.

It is spoken right from childhood in many communities, and it could be said to be the first
language for many Chadians regardless of their ethnic background.

The standard Arabic and Chadian Arabic share the same alphabet. The transcription of Chadian Arabic in Latin alphabet is good for Arabophones as it could lead to the learning of French, but the Chadian Arabic Alphabet could lead directly to the learning of standard Arabic. So the Chadian Arabic would be considered as a key for the learning of standard Arabic in secondary school as it helps reading and requires less effort compared with the standard Arabic. Vocabulary development in standard Arabic will then be a gradual process. If this recommendation is taken, at university, the Chadian students both francophones and arabo would be able to study any discipline in any of the official languages of Chad, and proper French-Arabic bilingualism will not be a mere dream in the future.

It has also been observed that code-mixing also occurs between Chadian Arabic or French and other Chadian languages which are endangered.

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