

地域における多言語ドキュメントの共生につ いての社会文化的考察 -- アラビア語チュニジア方言と フランス語借用語のケーススタディから

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チュニジアをケーススタディとして、地域における多言語ドキュメントの影響を社会文化的観点から議論する。チュニジアでは公用語であるアラビア語に加え、フランス語が日常的に話され、借用語も多い。新聞も多言語であることから、多言語ドキュメントという状況がどのような役割を社会や文化に果たしているのかを考察する。

Sociocultural influence of multi-language documents in a region -- Case study of French loan words in the Tunisian dialect

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In this paper, the sociocultural influence of multi-language documents in a multilingual society is discussed based on a case study of Tunisia, a North African country on the Mediterranean Sea. Many Tunisians speak French in addition to Arabic, the national language. In fact, the major newspaper in Tunisia is *La Presse*, a French-language newspaper. Many French words have been incorporated into the Tunisian dialect of Arabic. Although Arabic is their national language, the Tunisian people have profited from having French words in their mental lexicon. We discuss the sociocultural influence of this multi-language phenomenon on Tunisia and identify some roles of multi-language documents. We expect the Tunisian case study to provide new information on multilingual societies as well as multi-language documents around the globe.

1. Introduction

Of the many multilingual[a] societies around the globe, not a few used borrowed foreign-language words. In this paper, we present a case study of Tunisia, where Arabic is the national language and French is the second language. The Arabic spoken in Tunisia is one of many regional dialects of Arabic[b]. Many Tunisian people are bilingual in Arabic and French, and a large number of French loan words appear in the Tunisian dialect of Arabic. In fact, the most-read newspaper in Tunisia is *La Presse*[1], which is written in French[2]. We are researching the status of foreign loan words in order to consider the sociocultural effects of multi-language documents. Firstly, we describe multi-language documents in Tunisia, and then we explain the use of French loan words in the Tunisian dialect.

2. Multi-language documents

We categorize ‘multi-language documents’ as follows:

- Category A: A group of documents in which documents of different languages are mixed. Each document is written in a single language.
- Category B: A group of documents in which foreign loan words are used. Each document is written in a single language.
- Category C: A document in which more than two languages are used but are arranged in a logical physical layout.

In this paper, we discuss categories A and B. Tunisian multi-language newspapers are introduced as an example of category A, and French loan words in Tunisian documents are reported with regard to B. Several studies, especially in informatics, have been conducted in order to obtain more information about category C. Because many studies on C describe only display techniques, we assert that more research should be devoted to the logical representation and cultural impact of using more than one language in a document. We expect that some findings derived from the research on A and B can give us insight into not only the composition of C but also multilingual societies. We envisage enlarging our survey to include other multilingual societies in the future.

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a) We treat *bilingual* as *multilingual*.

b) There are two separate varieties of Arabic: Standard Arabic and regional dialects. The former is taught at school and used in formal documents. In Arabic-speaking counties, people often code switch between Standard Arabic and their dialect.

3. Sociocultural influences of different-language documents

Many societies have multi-language documents. In this chapter, we introduce two types of different-language documents in a bilingual society. For instance, newspapers are valuable indications of bilingual societies. In Tunisia, people code switch[c] between Arabic and French in various situations in daily life. We discussed this fact with one Tunisian adult who lives in Japan. The interview is transcribed below.

Q1. How many newspapers do you read regularly?
A1. About three newspapers. Two are Arabic, and the other is French. The French paper is *La Presse*.
Q2. Why do you read those newspapers?
A2. To learn about politics around the world as well as in Tunisia, and more, sports information.
Q3. Do you notice differences between the Arabic newspapers and the French one?
A3. Not really. I don't think there is any remarkable difference between the two.
Q4. What do you think about the bilingual situation in Tunisia?
A4. It is good for us to learn and master another language. I do not think it is bothersome to use French in daily conversation. French is very well integrated into Arabic. In fact, we mix the two languages very frequently with no problem.

Figure 1 Interview with one Tunisian adult (Jan. 17th 2011)

One significant remark in this interview is that this Tunisian man uses two languages comfortably without thinking about the difference. The status of the two languages is nearly equal, and bilingual usage can be said to strengthen his acquisition of information in daily life. Thus, the two languages make a sociocultural contribution to his life. No conclusions can be drawn from this short interview, but with sufficient data, promising results can be obtained with regard to the usage of multi-language documents.

c) In sociolinguistics, code switching is the concurrent use of more than one language or a language variety, such as a dialect, in conversation.

4. Previous work on French loan words in the Tunisian dialect

As described in Section 2, as part of our research on multilingual societies, we are focusing on loan words in multi-language documents. Analysis of loan words can help with the evaluation of multi-language documents because the loan words have a role in an evolving bilingual society. One of the most important reasons for the use of loan words is that it is difficult to replace each loan word with another word in the original language. When a society comes into contact with another culture, differences between the cultures give rise to many loan words because the words represent a concept that does not exist in the original language.

Saïd [3] discusses French loan words in the Tunisian dialect in terms of both phonology and semantics. From a semantic point of view, the focus is the opacity of the loan process. The expression opacity is used in this paper as a contrast to the other loan process in which the meaning of a loan word conforms to a word in the source language. According to Saïd, there are two variations in the loan process: total opacity and partial opacity. Saïd gives some examples of each kind of opacity to explain the loan process and then characterizes the opacity patterns of French loan words in the Tunisian dialect. In Saïd's paper [3], total opacity is divided into two patterns: stabilization with contingent inference and stabilization with iconic association. There are three patterns of total opacity: opacity with semantic restriction or extension, opacity with metaphoric extension, and opacity with metonymic extension. Because of space limitations, we have omitted a more detailed explanation of the various types of opacity.

5. Case Study: The Tunisian dialect – A phenomenon of borrowing from the French language

In the previous section, we explained an approach based on semantically modified French loan words. In fact, there are a certain number of loan words that have been modified semantically through a metaphoric process; however, a large number of French loan words are integrated into the Tunisian dialect without being changed semantically. Though the loan word is changed phonologically according to the sound system of the Tunisian dialect, the meaning is identical to that of the original French word. The purpose of this study is to verify such non-semantically modified loan words from the sociocultural perspective.

We evaluate the influence loan words have on Tunisian society and the difference they make in various Tunisian regions. As Tunisia transitioned into a bilingual society, the process of incorporating loan words into the national language likely served as a catalyst. In other words, loan words were 'upgraded' and incorporated into the original vocabulary. As a result, both French and Arabic coexist in the society. In Tunisia, French as well as Arabic is taught in

schools, which has contributed greatly to bilingualism. However, whether school education alone contributes to bilingualism is open to discussion. It can also be said that history is an important factor in the formation of a bilingual society.

We enumerated the French loan words in a tourist guidebook for Tunisia. In the guidebook[4], basic situational vocabulary and conversations are listed for tourists. In spite of the very limited vocabulary provided, approximately 100 French loan words were found among 385 words in the guidebook. We judged the target French loan words only phonologically. The words of the Tunisian dialect are normally written in Arabic[d]; however, in Table 1, phonetic notation is used to compare each word in three languages: Tunisian, Standard Arabic[5], and French.

Table 1 Examples of French loan words in a basic tourist guidebook

Japanese	Tunisian	Arabic	French
エンジニア	janyu-r	muhandis	ingénieur
旅行者	turi-st	sa:ʔih	tourist
警察官	buli-si-	ʃurti-	police
コック	sha-f kuji-ni	Tabba-kh	cuisinier
ホテルのフロント	risibsiu-nist	istiqa-l	receptionist
非常口	sur-ti- du suku-r	makhraj T-Tawa-riʔ	sortie de secours
伝言	missa-j	risa-la	message
クリーニング	brissi-ng	tanði-f	pressing
石鹸	Sabu-n	Sa-bu-n	savon
シャンプー	shanbuwa-n	ʃa-mbu-	shampoing
歯ブラシ	bru-s duntifri-s	furshat 'asna-n	brosse à dents
歯磨き粉	duntifri-s	maʃju-n ʔasna-n	dentifrice
郵便局	bu-Sta	maktab l-bari-d	poste
郵便為替	ma-nda	ħawwala bari:diyya	Mandate
郵便ポスト	bwa-t bu-sta-l	Sundu-q l-bari-d	boite de lettre
窓口	gi-shi-	attamwila:t	guichet

d) Some words are difficult to spell in Arabic. In this case, the words are used only in oral expression.

切手	tinbri-	ta-biʃ	timbre
小包	ki-lu-bu-Sta	tard	courrier
速達	'aiksabri-s	bari-d sari-ʃ	express
絵葉書	ka-rt bu-sta-l	ka-rt busTal	carte postale
携帯電話	talifu-n burta-bl	ha-tif jawwa-l	téléphone portable
電話	talifu-n	ha-tif	téléphone
しょうゆ	su-s su-ja yaba-niya	SalSat fu-l Su-Ya-	sauce soja
砂糖	sukkur	sukkar	sucre
ソース	su-s	SalSat	sauce
フォーク	furshi-ta	ʃawka	fourchette
米	ru-z	ʔaruzz	riz
ハム	janbu-n	jambu-n	jambon
ビール	bi-rra	jaʃʃa	bière
紅茶	ta-y	ʃa-y	thé
高速道路	'au-tu-ru-t	Tari-q sari-ʃ	autoroute
ガソリン	'aisu-ns	banzi-n	essence
ガソリンスタンド	kyu-sik	mahaTTat banzi-n	station service
満タン	bla-n	malʔa-	plein
トラック	kamyu-na	ʃa-hina	camion
バイク	mu-tu-r	darra-ja nariyya	moto
運転手	shu-fu-r	sa-ʔiq	chauffeur
一方通行	su-ns 'aini-k	ittija-h wahi-d	sens unique
駐車場	ba-rki-ng	mawqif sayya-ra-t	parking
工事中	trafu-	ʔaʃgha-l	travaux
スーツ	ku-sti-m	badla	costume
ブラウス	shi-mi-za-t	bulu-za	chemisier
ネクタイ	kra-fa-t	rabTatʃunq	cravat
救急車	anbilu-ns	sayya-rat l-ʔisʃa-f	ambulance

In Table 2, a number of French loan words are shown according to semantic category. It is remarkable that most of the French loan words in the guidebook are concentrated in certain categories. Some categories have no loan words, while others have many loan words. The categories in which the words are placed are based on the index of the guidebook[4], and the result is very limited because of the small vocabulary in the guidebook. Not every category in the book is presented in Table 2. The category names were determined by the authors of this paper.

Table 2 Ratio of French loan words by semantic category

Category	Number of French loan words / total number	Ratio
Family	1/23	0.043
Occupation	7/14	0.500
Travel	15/30	0.500
Fashion	7/12	0.583
Food	10/42	0.238
Post	15/16	0.938

The above table does not cover all of the categories considered, but there are some interesting findings. In Table 2, the ‘Fashion’ category has many French loan words. From a social perspective, Tunisia’s apparel industry attracts a great deal of business from Western countries. The semantics of loan words concerning fashion are not changed at all; the words that are incorporated into the Tunisian dialect retain their French meaning. As for a referential cultural fact, French, Italian, and other Western TV programs are shown in Tunisia, and occidental culture has a very strong influence on the Tunisian people. In addition, the ‘Post’ category is dominated by French loan words. We suppose that this phenomenon is derived from the 19th century, when Tunisia was a protected territory of France for 75 years. In this period, the first stamps used in Tunisia were those of the colonial power, France. Stamps specifically for Tunisia were issued from 1 July 1888, during the French occupation.

Our target guidebook has only very small quantity of Tunisian words. A more detailed survey is required in the future.

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have introduced our ongoing research on multi-language documents in multilingual societies. The relation between multi-language documents and loan words is not clear. A more sociocultural perspective should be used in evaluating the influence of loan words. The number of loan words in a language depends on practical usage and cultural factors. Loan words have a measurable potential impact on multi-language documents as well as the mind-set of a multilingual society. At the same time, greater sociocultural consideration of the layout of multi-language documents is needed. We would like to advance our research on multilingual societies from a sociocultural perspective.

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