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THE LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF '*BENI-SNOUS'* DIALECTS: ASPECTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN THE COMMUNITY OF '*KHEMIS'*

A thesis submitted to the Department of English in candidacy for the degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics

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Date: 08/03/2018

DEDICATION

I first dedicate this work to my dad who has never ceased encouraging me and whose prayers kept my spirit up, May he rest in peace.

Second, it is dedicated to my tender mum, my cherished sisters and brothers, and my sweet nieces Imane, Meriem and my nephew Mohammed Wassim.

A special dedication is presented to my beloved husband for his patience, understanding, care, endless support and help.

A last, but not the least an exceptional dedication is offered to my angellike son Arslane.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis revolves around investigating the linguistic development of '*Beni Snous*' dialects from their ancient Berber variety to today's Arabic dialects, through fundamentally studying some particularities of sociolinguistic variation in the variety spoken by the members of '*Khemis*' speech community in '*Beni Snous*'. It also tries to shed light on some aspects of language maintenance and language shift in this area, with a particular focus on the 'Endangered Berber Variety' in the village of '*Beni Zidaz*', as the sole region where its Berber variety could persist. This research is basically founded on a corpus that is gathered by many research instruments and procedures such as: directed assisted surveys, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, note-taking and tape-recordings. Based on qualitative and quantitative approaches, the data obtained have been analyzed, and then interpreted following both ethnographic perspectives and sociolinguistic models of language maintenance and shift. This study has proved that '*Beni Zidaz*' Berber is an Endangered *Zenati* Variety that is only used by few members of the grandparental generation and up in restricted settings among themselves. In '*Khemis*,' language use correlates with age and its individuals' educational level more than gender as social variables. Old informants, particularly women, show a trait of conservatism and solidarity towards the use of their linguistic characteristics. Some youngsters, however, are somehow inclined to shift to other varieties in constrained settings, mainly outside '*Beni Snous*', but are more conservative when interacting with individuals speaking the other varieties surrounding '*Khemis*' Arabic.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND NOTATIONAL SYMBOLS

AA: Algerian Arabic

Adj.: Adjective

Ar: refers to the 'Arabic' language only.

Ber: refers to the 'Berber' language only.

'BS': *Beni Snous'*

BV: Berber Variety

BVBZ: '*Beni Zidaz'* Berber Variety

BZEBV: '*Beni Zidaz'* Endangered Berber Variety

'BZ': '*Beni Zidaz'*

CA: Classical Arabic

CM: Code Mixing

CS: Code Switching

EBV: Endangered Berber Variety

EL: Endangered Language

ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic

Fem.: Females

Fig.: Figure

Fr: refers to the 'French' language only.

H: High Variety

Kh.A: '*Khemis'* Arabic

L: Low Variety

LP: Language Planning

LPo: Language Policy

Ml.: Males

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

( ): the brackets are used to represent linguistic variables.

/ /: the slashes are used to represent CA phonemes or dialectal articulation

[ ]: '*Khemis'* or '*BZ*' dialectal articulation in a narrow phonetic transcription

{ }: Suffix boundary / morphemes

 #: Weak word boundary

#: Strong word boundary

(pl.): Plural form

(sing.fem.): Singular feminine

(sing.masc.): Singular masculine

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

These phonetic symbols in the table below draw on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

- **Consonants**

	Symbol	Kh.A	English Gloss		Symbol	Kh.A	English Gloss
plosives	[b]	[ba:b]	Door	**Nasals**	[m]	[məlħ]	Salt
	[t]	[tu:t]	Wild-berry		[n]	[nʕas]	He slept.
	[d]	[dajman]	Always	**Fricatives**	[f]	[foʈa]	Towel
	[k]	[kta:b]	Book		[s]	[si:f]	Sword
	[g]	[gomra]	Moon		[z]	[zɪtu:n]	Olives
	[ʈ]	[ʈɑja :ra]	Plane		[ʃ]	[ʃtɑħ]	He danced.
	[ɖ]	[ɖ lɑ:m]	Darkness		[ʒ]	[ʒəbs]	Plaster
	[ʔ]	[ʔaʒi]	Come!		[χ]	[χru:f]	Sheep
	[q]	[qa:l]	He said.		[ɣ]	[ɣurba:l]	Sieve
Flap	[r]	[rukba]	Knee		[ħ]	[ħu:t]	Fish
Lateral	[l]	['lli:m]	Lemon		[ʕ]	[ʕə'bba]	He took ...
Approximants	[w]	[wa:d]	River		[h]	[hrɑb]	He fleed.
					[ş]	[şɑ:ʈ]	He blew.

	[j]	[jədd]	Hand		[ʐ]	[rɑz̦ɑ zʐɪ]	Hornet

- **Classical Arabic Consonants**

	Symbol	CA	English Gloss
CA Consonants	[θ]	[θaʊr]	Bull
	[ð]	[ðɪʕb]	Wolf
	[ɖ] (ض)	[maʊɖeʕ]	Place
	[ɗ] (ظ)	[ɗɑhr]	Back

- **Vowels**

	Length	Symbol	Kh.A	English Gloss
Vowels of Plain Consonants	Short	[ɪ]	[χudmɪ]	Knife
		[u]	[kursɪ]	Chair
		[a]	[ʃra]	He bought (something).
	Long	[i:]	[si:f]	Sword
		[u:]	[fu:l]	Broad beans
		[a:]	[ba:b]	Door
Vowels of Emphatic	Short	[e]	[ʂejjɑħ]	He cried.
		[o]	[foʈɑ]	Towel

		[ɑ]	[ʃʈɑ ħ]	He danced.
	Long	[e:]	[ʈomaʈe:ʃ]	Tomatoes
		[o:]	[ṣo:r]	Wall
		[ɑ:]	[ʈɑ:l]	It lasted.

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General Introduction

General Introduction

As the title of the present thesis implies, the main target of this research work is to investigate at a macro scope the linguistic development of '*Beni Snous*' (hereafter 'BS') Arabic dialects from the old Berber speech to present-day Arabic varieties. The study of '*Khemis*' speech community is fundamentally undertaken to shed light on some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in its speakers' daily speech. In fact, it is built upon a preliminary tentative study which was conducted in 2009 (Magister dissertation); a work that still needs further data and more profound insight about this community speakers' linguistic behaviour.

Basically, this research work is intended to describe, in the light of ancient anthropo-linguistic and sociological works as well as recent studies in sociolinguistics, the intricacies of sociolinguistic variation among 'BS' speakers in general, focusing first and primarily on studying ethnographically the linguistic development of 'BS' Endangered Berber Varieties, mainly in the area of '*Beni-Zidaz*' (henceforth 'BZ') and '*Khemis*', as two communities where their ancestral Berber medium has left its traces embodied in the language spoken among speakers in 'BZ' or in '*Khemis*'. Hence, the study is an endeavour to show the aspects of language maintenance or change in their Endangered Berber Variety (hereafter EBV). Second, this research work, on the basis of an empirical inquiry, sheds light on the complexities of sociolinguistic variation in '*Khemis*' seeking the systematic correlation between many of its linguistic variables and some extra-linguistic or social variables, at three main levels of analysis: phonological, morphological and lexical. Therefore, this exploration is planned to hopefully provide both ethnographic and sociolinguistic explanations about the linguistic development of 'BS'

dialects from their ancestral Berber Variety (BV) to today's Arabic dialects stretching on the whole area along all its villages.

The researcher, then, has embarked on the task of determining the factors behind losing the vitality of this threatened variety under the pressure of its daily co-existence with the country's majority language, i.e., Modern Standard Arabic (from now on MSA), and it may be also attributable to other determinants that will be gradually unveiled in the practical parts of this thesis. Subsequently, she is essentially required to exhibit some aspects of language maintenance and shift in the persisting Berberophone area under inquiry at one hand - 'BZ', and show to what extent '*Khemis'* Arabic (Kh.A) individuals maintain their native dialect characteristics in its socio-cultural setting, which is located in the heart of 'BS', and bordered by areas whose varieties involve distinct phonological, morphological and lexical features on the other hand.

To sum it up, the entire sociolinguistic work will be conducted through two approaches: an ethnographic-historical approach and a sociolinguistic-synchronic one. It is divided into two basic parts. The first one seeks to trace the historical development of language use and change in the area of 'BS' as a macro-speech community with a particular emphasis on linguistic change shedding light on the surviving EBV through examining the historical and linguistic development of 'BZ' Berber Variety (hereafter BZBV), as an instance, and the determinants of its maintenance or shift, yet through collecting data during a limited period in time and not diachronically, i.e., without reviewing its past trajectory point by point through time. In the second part, which is rather synchronic in scope or, in other terms, studying the progress in language change on apparent-time (Labov, W. 1963), the researcher seeks to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in Kh.A with reference to

age, gender, level of education and some other factors which will be known when this exploration takes place.

In terms of form, this thesis is structured into six chapters. Chapter one and two are informative and devoted to the theoretical background in which the definitions of the most basic key-concepts relevant to the study are offered. Chapter three depicts the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria with a special interest in the intricacies of the interplay between languages. Chapter four, as a first practical chapter in this thesis, entails the description of the methodology by which BZBV has been investigated, then analyzes and interprets the collected data in correspondence with Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance (1966) and Fasold's (1984) view about language shift. Chapter five is practical in form too, but it is devoted to the analysis of the data gathered about Kh.A. It is also divided into a methodological section, which introduces all the basic data gathering instruments, and describes the sampling and methodology opted for to realize such a study. Its analytical section, through qualitative descriptions and quantitative interpretations of the data, rather attempts to determine the features of Kh.A and highlights variation. The last chapter reviews some quantitative findings about Kh.A speakers' competences in the existing languages and their preferences and attitudes toward each of them. The aforementioned models of language maintenance and shift will be employed with Kh.A as well to check their applicability on this society's everyday Arabic.

Accordingly, many problematic questions need particular considerations in this thesis. Chapter four intends to answer the following raised questions:

① How have 'BS' varieties, in general and Kh.A in particular, been formed? Or in other words, how did they evolve through time to become the current Arabic varieties?

As a hypothesis, 'BS' varieties historically proved to be of a Berber origin; Zenati tribes, belonging to 'Banu Koumia' and 'Banu Soleym' (Ibn Khaldoun; Canal, J. (1890); Destaing, E. (1907)) evolved through time and underwent many changes: political, economic and social, which led to the arabization of their speech medium. In fact, they were arabized by the coming of Islam first, then by the Algerian Arabicization policy which reinforced the introduction of MSA as the majority language in all sectors of life after independence, in addition to the factor of literacy in schools and *katatib hifdh el Qura'an* ("schools for learning Quran") which underpinned the learning of Classical Arabic (CA). These facts gradually reduced the functions of local Berber; that is, the process of shifting to the majority language commenced.

② Why did 'BS' Berber tribes, in general, and '*Khemis*' speakers in particular, accept the Arabic language brought by the Arab invasions or expeditions of the 7th and 11th centuries and then, the Arabicization policy launched right after independence?

Regarding this second question, the researcher hypothesizes that the two Arabizations have been forcibly imposed on the Berberophones of the whole region; in fact, they willingly accepted to learn Arabic for they embraced Islam. Bentahila, A (1983) Right after independence, the Arabicization policy touched all the Algerian sectors without any exception as MSA was promoted by the government.

③ What are the linguistic consequences of Arabi(ci)zation in the area under investigation? Ethnographically speaking, to what extent are the native Berber features maintained in 'BS'? and by whom and where?

It is important to state that relying on the preliminary information drawn from the pilot study which has been conducted at the beginning of this research work in 2011, the researcher suggested that those aforementioned historical, cultural and political changes resulted in a dramatic language shift to the extent that most Berberophones of the area under exploration have been arabized and only few old speakers, males and females, know or speak their native BV in private settings among themselves, and ceased to pass it on to the next generation. That is, the young generation neither understands nor speaks this BV. Thus, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, it is regarded as an 'endangered or moribund language'. (Moseley 2010)

Furthermore and as already stated, chapter five seeks to examine the complexities of the sociolinguistic variation in Kh.A. For doing so, the following questions are also made:

❶ What are the linguistic characteristics of Kh.A dialect?

In her attempt to answer this question, the researcher has formulated a hypothesis which proposes that like any Algerian Arabic (henceforth AA) dialect, Kh.A involves prominent, specific (urban) dialect characteristics (phonological, morphological and lexical) which make of it a distinct variety that differs, at all linguistic levels, from those which surround it, mainly those of a rural type. (Cantineau 1938)

❷ Do men and women in '*Khemis'* speak the same way or differently?

Acknowledging with sociolinguists (mainly Labov (1966, 1983, 1990); Wolfram & Fasold (1974); Cheshire (1998); Key, M.R. (1975); Trudgill (1983b); Cameron (1985); Cameron and Coates (1986, 1988); Coates (1993, 1998)) the fact that gender and age, as

two important extra-linguistic factors, play a crucial role in language use, one may hypothesize that even the dialect spoken in '*Khemis*' varies according to the age of speakers and in correspondence with gender too.

❸ To what extent do '*Khemis*' speakers maintain their native dialect characteristics especially in constrained settings where non-Khemis rural dialects are spoken?

Bearing in mind the urban dialect idiosyncrasies of Kh.A speakers, one may expect that they may not accommodate their speech to the others' rural type, but they rather show some trait of solidarity, conservatism and maintenance of their native variety, especially women who have proved to be more conservative than men in many instances stated in dialectological and variationist studies. (Otto Jespersen (1922); Wartburg (1925); Pop (1950); Labov (1998, 2001),…etc)

❹ What are the other expected social factors that correlate with '*Khemis*' linguistic features? Differently expressed, what are the other possible reasons behind such sociolinguistic variation in such a small geographical area surrounded by villages speaking rural Arabic varieties?

This study seeks to describe the systematic correlation between language use and social structure; it sheds some light on some of the linguistic variables characterizing Kh.A in correspondence with some other extra-linguistic factors that are hypothesized to be of a historical, geographical and social type due to the historical facts, geographical unrest, and the rural-urban migration that the area has witnessed in the last few decades, especially during the decade of terrorism (the 1990's) when people of the surrounding villages were forced to leave

their homes and stabilize in '*Khemis*' which provided them with shelter, security and stability.

❺   In addition, in the light of the first results obtained from the previous tentative investigation (Magister dissertation 2009), will '*Khemis*' individuals keep on exhibiting the same trait of conservatism they displayed few years ago, and preserve the native linguistic items of their linguistic medium?

As an answer to the fifth question raised about Kh.A, the following hypothesis has been set:

As an outcome of this globalized world and the constant advances in technological, cultural and socio-economic fields of life, one may expect that this community's repertoire may witness change as languages continually diffuse. Concerning the maintenance of Kh.A, the surrounding rural Arabic varieties and the widely used languages available in this community's repertoire (namely, MSA as the first national and official language and French as the first official foreign language in Algeria) may probably impose some of their linguistic features on Kh.A dialect, as all speech varieties appear to do in communicative settings.

All these questions and other sub questions will receive their answers either within this research's informative and interpretative sections, or through its qualitative descriptions and/or quantitative interpretations of the analyzed data.

Chapter One

THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:

FUNDAMENTAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONCEPTS

Chapter 1: The Theoretical Background: *Fundamental Sociolinguistic Concepts*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As the title of this chapter indicates, the major aim is to review some fundamental key-concepts that are tightly related to this sociolinguistic research work, and which are conceived to be helpful in setting a conceptual or theoretical framework to this thesis, and consequently, contributes to a better understanding of the core of the present piece of research at one hand. On the other hand, this first chapter, mainly theoretical in form, is not only devoted to offer a set of brief definitions of some basic sociolinguistic concepts which are relevant to this study, but also attempts to show the importance of investigating language in its social context, in opposition with the formal approaches / paradigms which theoretically studied language in abstraction from its socio-cultural milieu of use.

By doing so, social explanations are to be added to the structure of language supplying a better comprehension of the intricate relationship between linguistic structure and social structure in general, and of the intersection of social attributes with language use both in time and space in the area under investigation in particular. Accordingly, within the content of this thesis, a general historical background will be sketched out at first, and second, a linguistic trajectory of the development of 'BS' dialects will be traced showing some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of '*Khemis'*.

1.2 LINGUISTIC THEORY AND LANGUAGE VARIATION

Inquiries about the intersection of language and society and its consequent linguistic variation have gained too much interest among linguists for many years; but, its organized formal study of language can be dated back to the 1960s. However, the interest in the study of language in its socio-cultural context has been neglected by formal

linguists – be they Structuralists from the traditional structural school such as Ferdinand de Saussure (1915) and Leonard Bloomfield (1933) or Transformationalists; followers of the Chomskyian Transformational-generative grammar school, who simply assumed that linguistic scholarship would be by approaching language at some remove from its real-life contexts where it is used.

Until the inception of modern sociolinguistics in the early 1960s, all major linguistic theories adopted the *axiom of categoricity*, i.e., the study of language in "abstraction from the society in which it operates*"* as Lyons, J. (1981:221) states. In other words, linguists should not investigate language in use, and the domain of linguistics should deliberately separate itself from any concern with the use, and the users of language as Wardhaugh, R. (2006:5) claims. For Chomsky, "a theory of language will tell us what any human being 'knows', in an abstract sense, in order to acquire a language" as cited by Downes, W. (1998:121), and the task of a linguist is to describe what Chomsky has, on many occasions, referred to as *language universals* – matters that have to do with the learnability of all languages, what characteristics or properties languages share, what rules and principles language users follow when constructing and interpreting messages– which make possible the acquisition of any language. Wardhaugh, R. (ibid:2) In fact, one may admit with linguists that these matters and this abstract knowledge allow speakers to utter intelligible utterances and explain the fact of accepting correct utterances that have been said or heard, and rejecting the *ungrammatical* ones, in the sense of being impossible in the language.

In the same line of thought, and following the Saussurean tradition, the domain of linguistic inquiry was taken to be, in Saussure's dichotomy, the study of *langue*; i.e., the grammatical system, rather than *parole*; the social uses of language. (1916:9-15) in Chambers (2003:28) That is to say, the ultimate goal of linguists was to differentiate between

the abstract mental system of rules and principles which are shared by speakers of language (Saussure's langue) and the concrete utterances produced by individuals on particular occasions (Saussure's parole). Chambers (2003:28).

Furthermore, in defining Saussure's dichotomy, William Downes further explains the distinction made between langue; the communal abstract system of grammar rules and principles of language as abstracted from the variation in the idiosyncratic realizations of langue in everyday actual speech (individual utterances or dialects) as he (1998:121) says: "langue was viewed as a system of relations between categories, abstracted from the variation implicit in individual utterances, historical evolution of the system, or dialects". Thus, langue has been considered as a collective abstract system that is different from speakers' everyday paroles.

To sum up his elucidation, langue is homogeneous, Saussure (1974) claims, whereas parole is heterogeneous. Boyer, H. (2001:10) The same notion of homogeneity is clearly comprehended in Chomsky's paradigm in which he labels langue an '*Internalized language*', in short the *I-language*. This latter denotes the communal knowledge of language that every speaker has about his / her native mother tongue, i.e., 'to know a language' means that he/she has attained a certain state of mind during the first years of infancy that is a universal, genetic and pre-programmed endowment that makes the acquisition of language possible. Downes (ibid:10) The heterogeneity of parole, as a set of the possible uttered sentences (Chomsky's *E-language* or *Externalized language* (1986)) lies in the obvious and observable variation that is constantly exhibited in speakers' actual speech in day-to-day conversations. Clearly noted, daily use of language to communicate linguistic messages requires variation, innovation and creativity, a fact that led De Saussure, Chomsky and his followers to consider parole as a heterogeneous facet.

Chomsky's language (1965:3), in his most explicit and best-known statement of the axiom of categoricity, is highly idealized[1] for he emphasizes that:

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

Quoted in Wardhaugh (2006:3)

Added to this, when speaking, one may produce long utterances, short ones or some others in between; he makes slips of the tongue, he forgets things when he is saying many things together; he may misunderstand or mishear something when listening to someone. All these disturbances mostly result from   non-linguistic causes which linguists have realized that "they should not be treated on the same footing as the linguistic behaviour itself". Trask, R.L. (1999:151) Consequently, knowing or acknowledging these non-linguistic limitations and disturbances in language use make the crucial distinction between the idealized capacity and knowledge to use language and the actual utterances of everyday conversations.

By the 1960s, Chomsky has drawn the same distinction that De Saussure has done between langue and parole, but he distinguished between what he termed *linguistic competence* and *linguistic performance*; a dichotomy which restates Saussure's langue and parole respectively. Clearly, linguistic competence describes the intuitive

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1 Downes, W. (ibid:11).

knowledge of grammar rules that native speakers are endowed with and which enables them to produce an infinite number of grammatically correct sentences, and also to judge whether a sentence is correct or not, while linguistic performance denotes the application of one's competence in real situations and daily speech. Chomsky (ibid:10-15) Though both Saussure's and Chomsky's dichotomies are analogous, it should be noted that "Saussure's langue is the property of a whole community of speakers, while Chomsky's competence is the property of a single speaker" as Trask, R.L. (ibid: 109) writes.

Hence, it is fair to say that linguists with a theoretical orientation are more interested in the study of linguistic competence disregarding memory limitation, shifts of attention and interest, distractions, speech errors, or any kind of disturbances in speech. But, the other linguists, who are deeply interested in language processing in general and treating speech errors in particular, are studying performance.

In spite of the widespread of those influential theoretical conceptions in linguistic theorizing and since the social aspects of language have been disregarded by most theoretical linguists, many sociolinguists found that the use of language is of paramount importance and recognized variation and language use in linguistic scholarship. For instance, Wardhaugh, R. (ibid: 5), in this respect, states: "A recognition of variation implies that we must recognize that a language is not just some kind of abstract object of study. It is also something that people use", and he (idem) adds:

> Many sociolinguists have disagreed, arguing that an *asocial* linguistics is scarcely worthwhile and that meaningful insights into language can be gained only if such matters as use and variation are included as part of the data which must be explained in a comprehensive theory of language.

Then, he strongly asserts: "such a theory of language must have something to say about the uses of language". (idem) That is, recognizing variation in language and language use are both primordial as studying language aside of its context is not sufficient in explaining linguistic matters in a theory of language.

By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, this recognition of the social nature of language as very necessary and attempts to show that the necessity of social attributes in theorizing gained the interest of many linguists and sociolinguists. In this respect, Whitney (1901:404) [2] wrote: "Speech is not a personal possession, but a social; it belongs, not to the individual, but to the member of society". Meillet (1921:16-17)[3], in his turn, observed that linguistics is a social science and linguistic variations and change have tight correlations with social changes when he said:

> From the fact that language is a social institution, it
> follows that linguistics is a social science, and the only
> variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic
> change is social change, of which linguistic variations
> are only consequences.

Similarly, Wardhaugh, R. (ibid: 2) states that "Language is a communal possession, although admittedly an abstract one. Individuals have access to it and constantly show that they do so by using it properly". In Wardhaugh's terms, language is conceived as a social and communal possession that its users utilize properly. The notion of 'proper use' implies that language is not just abstract, but it is governed

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[2] Cited in Labov, W. (1972a :261)
[3] Cited in Labov, W. (ibid :263)

by rules and norms. So, it is a social institution. In sum, Whitney, Meillet, Wardhaugh and many other linguists have considered language as a social institution and a social possession that all members of a community share, and claimed that social change leads to linguistic variation in use and its consequent linguistic change.

It may appear from earlier linguistic descriptions of language carried out by theoretical linguists that their analysis has stopped at sentence structures. A sociolinguistic description, however, as Bell, R.T. (1976:23) says:

> …would wish to extend beyond this to larger structures of which sentences would be components and attention would need to be focused not merely on individual sentences produced by individual speakers (…) but on speaker-hearer interaction and on the structure of larger texts: conversations, speeches, oaths, questions and answer routines, etc.

Thus, linguists must shift their interest from the analysis of actual performed utterances into the analysis of the structure of full conversations, dialogues, or speeches involved in the daily linguistic interaction of any addresser and addressee. Furthermore, the sociolinguist, in his turn, in his interest in variation, should see himself as a linguist, with the avowed aim of trying to uncover the regular correspondences between linguistic and social structure and, moreover, should see his role as calling into question some of the assumptions of linguistic theorizing for the sake of reaching a fuller, convincing and satisfactory description of language. Bell, R.T. (ibid:23)

1.3   THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

A sociolinguist as a field linguist, whose ultimate goal is to investigate language variation in its socio-cultural setting, can be seen as "the heir to the dialectologist" (Bell, ibid: 25). Then, in his interest in extending the range of linguistic description beyond the sentence towards the grammars of 'speaker-hearer' interaction is regarded as a "reviver of the very ancient rhetoric" (idem). Therefore, it may be useful to clarify what differentiates sociolinguistics from the work of both the dialectologist and the rhetorician. (See 1.3.1 and 1.3.2) However, before outlining these differences, two questions have to be raised: how did dialectology study dialects? and which dialects have been investigated? Through the following section, answers for these questions will be provided.

1.3.1   From Dialect Geography to Urban Dialectology

Prior to the emergence of sociolinguistics, a discipline that is interested in "the study of language in relation to society" (Hudson, R.A. 1996:4) "to show the systematic covariance of linguistic and social structure – and perhaps even to show a causal relationship in one direction or the other" (Bright, 1966:11), in the 1960s and early 1970s, the study of dialect has been centered on the speech habits of social groups who differed from the rest of the community in employing a dialectal system which is obviously distinguishable from the 'standard' variety of a certain locale under investigation. Bell (ibid:24) Generally, the aim of dialectological research works focused fundamentally on producing a geographical account of dialectal differences. For doing so, dialect geographers or regional dialectologists were mainly interested in gathering data, using questionnaires, surveys, and also interviewing people and recording faithfully speech, in remote rural areas in order to

describe the so-called 'regional dialects' spoken by Nonmobile Older Rural Males, termed NORMS[4] by Chambers and Trudgill (2004:29), who claim: "No matter how diverse the culture, how discrepant the socioeconomic climate, and how varied the topography, the majority of informants has in all cases consisted of *nonmobile, older, rural males*".[5] Then, dialect geographers opted to map the geographical distribution of its linguistic characteristics which were usually lexical or phonological. These features were drawn in maps and represented in the form of *isoglosses*- imaginary lines "drawn on a map defining areas characterized by the occurrence of certain linguistic features" (Wakelin, 1972:7) clearly showing the boundaries between linguistic variants. By far the more common maps were *display maps,* which are used in Gilliérion's *Atlas linguistique de la France,* Kurath's *Linguistic Atlas of New England,* Kolb's *Phonological Atlas of Northern Region*, and many others. Chambers & Trudgill (ibid: 25)

Later, a new generation of dialectologists started working on the same path of rural dialectologists with a shift from investigating linguistic matters in regional areas to carrying out case studies about distinct social dialects in urban contexts (big towns and cities). Indeed, dialect geographers have largely concentrated on the ways the NORMs speak and the working class; a fact that led to a total ignorance about the dialects spoken by the other social groups and to the exclusion of the social dimension in dialectological works. In this respect, Chambers & Trudgill (ibid:45) write: "Some dialectologists began to recognise that the spatial dimension of linguistic variation had been concentrated on to the exclusion of the social dimension". They (idem) also emphasize that

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[4] NORMS is an acronym introduced by Chambers, J.K. and Trudgill, P. to describe the sort of informants that they have believed they were the most likely to speak the local traditional dialect in a 'pure' form, uninfluenced by the standard form or by the other dialects.

[5] The italicized form is the author's emphasis.

both social variation and regional variation in language are very important, as they point out:

> All dialects are both regional and social. All speakers
> have a social background as well as a regional location,
> and in their speech they often identify themselves not
> only as natives or inhabitants of a particular place but
> also as members of a particular social class, age group,
> ethnic background, or other social characteristic.

In fact, dialect geography (or regional dialectology) can be seen to contrast with sociolinguistics or modern dialectology as it is sometimes named. Its approach has been mainly diachronic seeking what features of older forms of the standard have been maintained in a given dialect, i.e., it has a tendency "…to focus on the forms themselves and their cognates rather than on the verbal habits of the speakers that use them" as Gumperz, J. claims (1974:127)[6]. Sociolinguistics, however, has adopted a synchronic approach; taking samples of language at some point in time and trying to correlate the choices made by language users with social attributes. More recently too, correlations have been attempted between linguistic forms and social functions in inter-group interaction on the macro level and between intra-group linguistic transactions at the micro level as well. (See section 1.6) However, not all dialectological works have been diachronic. The Linguistic Atlas of the U.S.A. and Canada (1929), for instance, mixed the two approaches: diachronic and synchronic. (Kurath, 1939)

In sum, unlike traditional dialectologists who aimed at mapping linguistic variants on a regional basis focusing on the spatial dimension of linguistic variation and disregarding its social dimension (Chambers &

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[6] Quoted in Bell, R.T. (ibid: 24)

Trudgill (1980:54)), sociolinguists focused their attention on the investigation of social dialects in towns, city centers and urban contexts in general devoting too much importance and attention to the development, maintenance, change and spread of novel phonological, morphological and lexical variants.

1.3.2 Rhetoric and Sociolinguistics

As with the branch of dialectology, sharp distinctions can be noticed between rhetoric – "The art of the persuasive use of language" – (Bell 1976: 24) and sociolinguistics. Yet, both disciplines share a common interest in investigating the reasons for linguistic choices and the effects of those choices on both hearers and readers. (Bell, ibid: 25) Simply stated,

> While rhetoric has traditionally had as its goal the specification and indeed prescription of the 'best' methods of persuasion and only secondarily the description of these methods, sociolinguistics seeks a descriptive and objective listing of language skills, in the broadest sense of the term and of the appropriate choices of these skills in communication situations.
>
> Bell (ibid: 25)

It should be stated that the traditional definition of rhetoric was first proposed by Aristotle as the art of observing the "available means of persuasion".[7] In the quotation above, the author explains that Rhetoric's main goal is not describing those means/methods; its aim lies in the prescription of the best methods of persuasion unlike sociolinguistics which focuses on the objective description of language skills and their appropriate choices in communication settings. Indeed, sociolinguistics

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[7] For more details, see Aristotle's book *Rhetoric*, translated by W. Rhys Roberts.

seeks the description of language as 'a social fact' that occurs in its concrete, variable social context.

1.4 LANGUAGE AS A SOCIAL FACT

While formal or structural linguistics constructs a simplified language whose behaviour can be predictable, sociolinguistics attempts to cope with the messiness of language as a social fact as De Saussure described it.[8] That is, rather than looking at language as a self-contained fixed and "frozen" structure from a structural angle, dialectology and sociolinguistics altogether, as two disciplines examining language in its context of use, put language change and variation at the center of their deliberations for the sake of improving the understanding of the nature of linguistic change. "Within a speech community, there is a considerable language variation", Aitchison, J. (1992:104) claims, and "The speech of its members varies according to many factors, including geographical location, age, occupation, socio-linguistic status, ethnic group and sex". (idem) In other words, sociolinguists seek to uncover the complicated nature of relationships between social and linguistic variables. In any speech community, the speech of individuals varies socially and regionally; that is, it varies from one person to another; from one social class to another; and differs as we move across regions along its geographical territory, and according to the socio-economic status, age, gender, occupation and the ethnic belonging of its speakers.

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[8] An idea in Coulmas, F. in Aronoff, M. and Rees-Miller, J. (2003:563).

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTICS: *AT THE INTERSECTION OF SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES*

The complexity of language does not lay only in the linguistic system itself as characterized by Noam Chomsky, but results also from the fact that language is employed in various forms to convey information and thoughts, to express feelings and to communicate meanings as well. It also nurtures the social bond between speakers and helps to inform about their social and geographical background and even about their ethnic identity and belongings. As a matter of fact, sociolinguistics is the field that studies the relationship between language and society; between language use and social structure. And in the light of this tight correlation between social structure and linguistic structure, the main concern is to review, at this stage, how linguistic variables correlate with social attributes or extra-linguistic factors. In addition, a clear-cut distinction is to be drawn between the two subfields of sociolinguistics: micro- and macro-sociolinguistics.

Several differences between speakers have been widely investigated by sociolinguists, including socio-economic status, age, gender, race / ethnicity and referring to the region of origin, place of present residence. In the light of the theory of acts of identity (Le page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), these extra-linguistic attributes do strongly affect individuals' speech leading them to constitute social groups (gangs, castes, classes…) with which they can identify themselves.

1.5.1 Socio-economic Paradigm and Language Use

Labov's empirical work (1966) in New York City is usually regarded as setting the pattern for quantitative studies of linguistic variation, aiming primarily at testing the hypothesis of social status by

comparing the three New York department stores with each other. In this small-scale investigation of the (r)[9] variable, Labov believed that r-pronunciation after vowels which was being reintroduced into New York speech from above, was a feature of the speech of younger people rather than of older people. It was more likely to occur as the formality level in speech increased, and would be more likely at the ends of words (*floor*) than before consonants (*fourth*). To test these hypotheses, Labov walked around three New York City department stores (Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy's, and S. Klein) which were distinguished by the social-class groups to which they catered (high, middle, and low status respectively), and asking the location of departments he knew to be located on the (*fourth floor*). When the shop assistant answered, Labov would seek a careful repetition of (*fourth floor*) by pretending not to hear the first response. (Wardhaugh, 2006:164)

In his investigation, he found that r-pronunciation was favoured in Saks to a greater extent (62 percent) than in Macy's (51 percent), but much less in S. Klein (21 percent). This ranking has been made focusing on many criteria: comparing the prices of those stores' goods, the newspapers in which they advertise, and shop assistants could be distinguished according to their jobs (between sales-staff, floorwalkers, and stockboys). Distinctions have also been made between the distinct floors available within each store because higher-status goods are usually stocked on the higher floors. Hudson (ibid: 156-66). Careful repetition of the chosen utterance nearly always increased r-pronunciation, and rhoticity was found more often in *floor* than *fourth* in all circumstances. These results led Labov to conclude that members of the highest and lowest social groups tend not to change their pronunciation after it

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[9] ( ) are used following Labov's symbol of linguistic variables in his study of New York City speech.

becomes fixed in adolescence, but members of middle social groups occasionally do, probably because of their social aspirations. Downes (ibid: 163-67)

Many other findings are worthy to be referred to in this respect, such as the Detroit study carried out by Shuy et al. (1968), in which a very close relationship is witnessed between the use of multiple negation and social class. Upper middle class, on the other hand, used multiple negation on about 2 % of possible occasions. Whereas the other three classes exhibited the following percentages: lower middle class, 11%; upper working class, 38%; and lower working class, 70%. Commenting about the analyses of the distinct variables that were studied in Detroit, Wardhaugh (ibid: 173) writes:

> although individuals exhibit a certain amount of inconsistency in their linguistic behavior, there is nevertheless a pattern to that behavior (…) as the situation becomes more formal, an individual's linguistic usage comes closer to standard usage, and the higher the social class of the speaker, the more standard too is the speaker's behavior.

Another investigation has been conducted in Detroit by Wolfram (1969) in which he sought to identify some speech varieties that might be associated with particular social groups in Detroit city; for example, upper middle class whites or lower working class blacks. In his study, a tight correlation (with the social status) has been shown between four phonological variables: word final consonant cluster simplification; medial and final *th* (as in *thing* and *path*); syllable final *d*; and the occurrence of *r* after vowels and such factors as social class, gender, age and racial origin.   Other four grammatical variables in Detroit black speech were also under study: the zero copula, as in *He tired*; invariant

be, as in *He be tired*; the –s suffixes, as in *girls, boy's*, and *goes;* and multiple negation. Generally, wolfram's findings have all shown that Detroit black linguistic differences almost correlated with the social status as a single significant variable, with a clear distinction between the lower middle and the lower working classes. Also, in each class, women used more standard linguistic forms than men, and older informants showed a tendency towards utilizing fewer stigmatized forms than younger ones. Wardhaugh (ibid: 173-175).

Following the same Labovian approach, Peter Trudgill (1974) investigated sixteen different phonological variables in his sociolinguistic study in Norwich, England where he tried to demonstrate how the use of some linguistic variants is tightly correlating with two main extra-linguistic attributes: social class and formality. His investigation strikingly uncovered the fact that the variants [n], [ʔ] and [ø] of the variables (ng), (t) and (h) respectively, as in the words *singing*, *butter* and *hammer*, are more frequent with the higher social class. However, among the individuals of the lower working class, *singin'* is invariably heard, but *'ammer* is not almost said. Moreover, the data collected also show that the use of the variable (ng) is not only related to social class but also to gender as women display greater tendency to use the [ŋ] variant than men do within the same social class. As formality is concerned, Trudgill (1995:93-4)[10] using data from four contextual styles of speech within five social classes[11], demonstrated two crucial points, as Wardhaugh (ibid: 170) summarizes

> first, when style is kept constant, the lower the
> social class the greater the incidence of the

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[10]   Mentioned by Wardhaugh (ibid:170)
[11]   For more details about the sampling and findings of Trudgill's study in Norwich, see table 1 in appendix 1.

nonstandard variant; second, when class is kept constant, the less formal the style the greater the incidence of the nonstandard variant.

Generally speaking, when linguists focused their interest on the correlation of language with the 'social class' of speakers, they did aim at commenting on the status or position of those individuals in the class-stratified community to which they belong. Their class stratification has been the offspring of unequal access to power and advantage. Milroy, L. (ibid: 29). Yet, Milroy, L. (1987:29-30) acknowledges with many other linguists (Trudgill (1983); Gumperz (1971); Bright (1964)) that,

> despite the pervasiveness of class stratification, the social groups which emerge in a class-stratified society cannot readily be identified in the same way as, for example, social groups based on *caste,* as in India, where stratification is formally institutionalized.

Added to this line of thought, Thompson, E.P. (1963) also suggests that the term 'social class' is extremely more complex and important than a caste, and comments on its great role in the western society:

> Class is not this or that part of the machine, but the way the machine works once it is set in motion – not this or that interest but the friction of interests - the movement itself, the heat, the thundering noise… When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions, and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening.

Thompson (1963:939)

So, on the light of this statement, one can acknowledge with Thompson and all linguists working on the variable of social class that people as grouped in this sort of loosely defined bodies are, in fact, occupying positions in a stratified system. Those positions have been captured quantitatively by many linguists by means of a class index[12] score; i.e., by selecting one or some indicators of a speaker's in the class stratified society he/she belongs to. (e.g. the use of *occupation alone* in Glasgow (Macaulay 1976, 1977)[13]; *education alone* in Tehran (Tahangiri and Hudson 1982); three indicators: *education*, *occupation* and *income* in New York City (Labov 1966); or a more intricate index: *occupation*, *income*, *education*, *type of housing*, *locality* and *father's occupation* in Norwich (Trudgill 1974a). Milroy, L. (ibid: 30). Accordingly, speakers can be ordered in their class-stratified communities by those quantifiable characteristics.

While the patterns of stratification by class and socio-economic statuses are prominent in most early sociolinguistic works, there are other influencing factors as well. It was soon apparent that other non-linguistic variables, such as age, gender and ethnic group were also involved in structured linguistic variation.

1.5.2 Age Difference and Language Behaviour

Speaking about the prestige norms in New York City, rhoticity is one feature of Upper Middle Class in casual speech. (Labov 1972) Figure 1.1 represents the average (r) scores in casual speech by age and class:

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[12]   The index is usually "a composite of two or more indicators". Milroy, L. (ibid:30).
[13]   Mentioned in Kevin McCafferty (2001:27)

Age	Lower	Working	Lower Middle	Upper Middle
8 – 19	00	01	00	48
20 – 29	00	00	00	35
30 – 39	00	00	00	32
40 – 49	00	06	00	18
50 +	00	08	01	05

Figure 1.1: The Average (r) Scores in Casual Speech by Age and Class

Adopted from Downes, W. (ibid: 167)

Since 00 means a complete absence of rhoticity, this score tells us that New York City is an r-less community. Labov hypothesized that rhoticity is being introduced into the speech community of New York City by the highest social group, i.e., Upper Middle Class, more or less consciously, as a new prestige form. Indeed, a look at figure 1.1 clearly reveals how, in the Upper Middle Class, there is a steady decrease in r-scores as the informants got *older*. This fact has led Labov to deduce that speech variation in a stratified society, like New York City, correlates with *age* as a social or external factor. Speakers over forty have much lower percentages of rhotic forms than their younger counterparts. Then, speakers over fifty have almost none. Also, one may also notice that there is no age-grading in the other classes. Downes (ibid : 167)

It is usually acknowledged that, in any speech community, old speakers in comparison with young ones are more conservative. In '*Khemis'* speech, for instance, old people are more inclined to keep most of their own dialect's linguistic features as it is hypothesized in this research work. At last, it is worthy to note that the discussion of linguistic variation issues seems to be incomplete without relating language use with the gender of the speaker (and addressee) which proved to be of a great importance in the study of language in its context of use.

1.5.3 Gender and Speech Variation

A major issue of the study of language in relation with society is the relationships between language and gender. Before the mid-1970s, linguists primarily concentrated on the use of some phonological, morphological, and lexical forms, of few languages, that are merely used or predominantly by speakers of only one gender; either females or males. In recent times and precisely in the study of sociolinguistic variation, focus was made on the tight relationship correlating gender with linguistic variables as one independent attribute beside the others (socio-economic status, age, ethnicity…). *The sociolinguistic gender pattern* is commonly reported in researches that entail the quantitative analysis of gender differences. This intriguing pattern, in fact, has been used to refer to the tendency of male speakers' use of socially disfavoured variants (forms that are generally regarded as "correct") of sociolinguistic variables while females display a bias towards avoiding these (just in formal styles) and using more socially favoured ones. In an investigation of Swahili in Mombasa, Kenya, Russel Joan (1982:140) stated that "it certainly looks as though it is women, rather than men, who are preserving the more obvious markers of this speech community". By 'more obvious markers of this speech community', Russel means vernacular features instead of standard ones.

Most explanations of this gender patterns have been directed at elucidating the female linguistic behaviour. In her chapter on 'Status and standard/nonstandard language', Key, M.R. (1975:103) claims that female speakers unconsciously use favoured linguistic forms as a way to achieve their social status: "it would appear, then, that women have not universally accepted the position in the lower ranks, and that out-of-awareness, and in a socially acceptable and non-punishable way, women are rebelling". Additionally, Trudgill (1983b:167-8), in his explanation of the linguistic gender differentiation, provides a set of explanations, from which the following ones have been selected:

1.   Women are closely involved with child-rearing and the transmission of culture, and are therefore more aware of the importance, for their children, of the acquisition of (prestige) norms.

2.   The social position of women in our society has traditionally been less secure than that of men. It may be, therefore, that it has been more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal.

3.   Working-class speech appears in our society to have connotations of masculinity.

Moreover, gender differences in language usage have been developed a great deal in the last few decades (Cameron 1985; Cameron and Coates 1986; 1988; Coates 1993; 1998), and it was demonstrated that in many speech communities female speakers tend to use a higher proportion of prestige forms than male speakers. The social significance of these differences clearly calls for explanation, and sociolinguists have much to offer to the study of gender-based restrictions in society to gain a sound understanding of linguistic variation in correlation with gender. In this sense, Downes, W. (ibid: 204) writes: "There is a typical pattern whereby women's scores approximate more closely to the standard prestige variant than do men's". Figure 1.2 clearly reveals this patterning for two widely separated examples: (r) absence in Detroit Negro speech and (ing) variable in Norwich. What is clearly noticed is that women produce more r in Detroit and more of the prestige form (ing) in Norwich than men, for all classes.
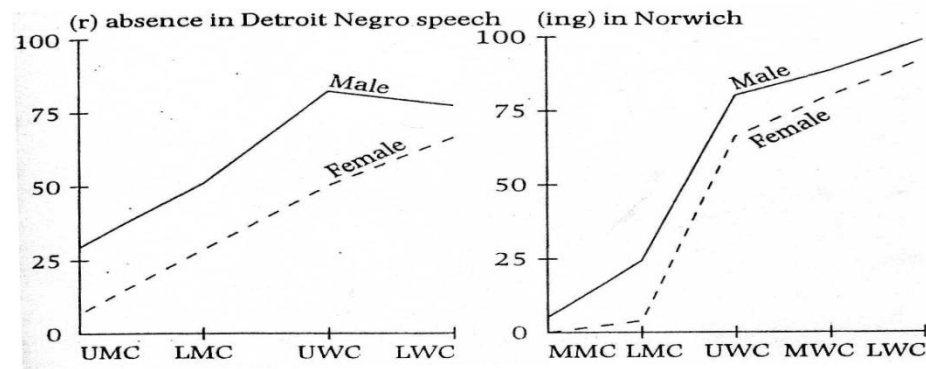
Figure 1.2: (r) Absence in Detroit Negro Speech and (ing) in Norwich [14]

In New York City, Labov stated that it was the females among the lower-middle class who were the most linguistically insecure[15] and style-shifted towards the prestigious forms.

Gender and age differentiation are by no means the only social factors that affect language use in speech communities in general and in '*Khemis*' in particular. The impact of ethnicity, as another influential factor in language maintenance or language shift, plays a great role in exhibiting some traits in the variability of language in speech communities which are constituted of different races and cultures or involve ethnic minorities, whose members, who commonly speak their native tongue side by side with the official language(s) of the multilingual community they reside in, still maintain its use with its distinctive and salient linguistic features; their linguistic behaviour, therefore, is a mirror that reflects their ethnic belonging, identity, solidarity and attitudes towards one language or another.

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14 Figure 1.2 is adapted from Downes (ibid: 205) in Peter Trudgill's Norwich survey (Trudgill 1974a), and shows the relative scores for the variable (ing), as found at the ends of words like *hopping*, *skipping*. Trudgill's informants are divided into five social class groups: the Middle Middle Class (MMC), the Lower Middle Class (LMC), the Upper Working Class (UWC), the Middle Working Class (MWC) and the Lower Working Class (LWC). The abbreviation (UMC) in the graph entitled: (r) Absence in Detroit Negro Speech refers to the Upper Middle Class.

15 *Linguistic insecurity* is defined by Trudgill, P. (1992:49) as "A set of attitudes in which speakers have negative feelings about their native variety, or certain aspects of it, and feel insecure about its value or 'correction'".

1.5.4 Ethnicity and Cultural Representation

Ethnicity, like social class, exhibits difficulties in definition. Yet, most sociolinguists working on linguistic variation among members belonging to various ethnic groups or minorities have shown that in such specific communities, language acts as an important defining characteristic of its speakers' ethnic group belonging, displays distinctive characteristics and; hence, those communities are heavily marked with *linguistic distinctiveness.* In this regard, Milroy, L. (1987:103) simply defines ethnicity as:

> an individual's sense of belonging to a distinctive group whose members share a common history and culture. Although ethnicity is not coterminous with regional or racial origin, both may contribute to a more general sense of distinctiveness with which a sense of *linguistic* distinctiveness is often associated.

Accordingly, one might reasonably take, as a starting point, the observation that in the Algerian linguistic case, Berber / Tamazight acts as an important defining characteristic of ethnic group membership among the Berber individuals whose varieties, with all types stretching along the national territory, persisted in spite of the widespread arabicization that has been launched right after independence and which underwent various sectors: political, educational and administrative.

Indeed, ethnicity is habitually maintained by physical, political or religious conditions and; subsequently, both cultural and linguistic distinctiveness persist for many generations. For example, ethnic minorities of Commonwealth origin are obviously marked out of the native British population as being low in status by their skin colour as a physical condition first, and second, due to the relationship of Britain with Commonwealth groups (the British colonies). Assimilation is,

therefore, quite impossible since they are treated with a significant hostility. As far as the political condition is concerned, ethnic distinctiveness is highly marked in a number of cultural codified ways in Northern Ireland. (Larson 1982: 135) In fact, though Irish Protestants and Catholics groups live together, they conceive themselves as different from each other in history, and also distinct in maintaining different cultural traditions and customs.   Yet, those political conditions and cultural representations do not engender linguistic distinctions,[16] just some which "are probably best characterized as *regional* differences",[17] as Milroy, L. (ibid: 104) declares, because, for example, she (idem) adds:

> East and West Belfast Protestants each perceive the accents of the other group as distinctive. (Milroy, L. (1980). However, in areas with a high level of Protestant / Catholic residential segregation, a clear distinction between regional and ethnic differences in language use is in practice difficult to maintain.

So, ethnicity remains a factor that maintains language minorities, and which is, in turn, sustained by physical, political or religious conditions.

After reviewing briefly such intersecting factors correlating with sociolinguistic variables, it is safe to say that variation is only fully systematic when viewed in relation to social context and these aforementioned external variables have proved fruitful in explaining the mechanisms of linguistic variation and of language change in all sorts of speech communities. In addition, one of the defining characteristics of

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[16] Those examples about the physical and political conditions have been mentioned in Milroy, L (ibid: 103).

[17] Details about the regional differences that have been noticed between the Protestants and Catholics of working-class East Belfast whose language has been analyzed during a pilot study conducted to study the possible effects of ethnicity. (See section 6.2.2 in Milroy, L. (ibid: 115-16).

sociolinguistics is its focus on investigating the use of language by social groups at a macro level and individuals at a micro level.

1.6 MICRO- AND MACRO-SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Investigators in sociolinguistic fieldworks found it very appropriate to introduce a clear-cut distinction between two broad subfields within the whole field of studying language in its social context: sociolinguistics or micro-sociolinguistics and the sociology of language or the so-called macro-sociolinguistics. Micro-sociolinguistics refers to the analysis in which the emphasis is put on the individual in small informal intra-group interactions. In this respect, Coulmas, F. (1997:2) points out: "micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and age". Linguistically speaking, it focuses on the individual's linguistic features and how the choices of pronunciation, lexical items and grammatical structures, that he or she makes, correlate with the aforementioned social attributes or variables. In precise linguistic terms, for the micro-sociolinguist, the most suitable explanation of the term 'individuality' highlights those idiolectal or idiosyncratic differences between individuals which distinguish each one from the others in contrast to the macrosociolinguist who "seeks to account for the distribution of language differences through a society" Bell (ibid: 27) in terms of "… the age, sex, education, occupation and ethnic membership of the speakers studied" Labov (1966b: 25) in an attempt to uncover indications of the speaker's group affiliation and not of his/her individuality. Bell (ibid: 27) Emphasis on those idiosyncrasies "…would lead to the description of collections of autonomous and unrelated idiolects which would defy grouping into dialects and defeat the stated object of sociolinguistic description: the correlation of linguistic with

social structure" as Bell (ibid: 26) points out. Yet, in practice, he (idem) claims that this issue is resolved by shifting the emphasis of inquiry onto *linguistic interaction* and on investigating *the speech act* (Searle 1965), as it happens with the Primary Groups of the sociologist [18] and is modified by some variables such as: status, intimacy, kinship, attitude, and goal between the speakers in the context of speech. Bell (ibid: 26) Furthermore, one of the key challenges for future researches in sociolinguistics is seeking interrelationships between language and some other extra-linguistic variables which take part in *extra-linguistic communication* channels where individuals make use of gestures, eye contact, spatial proximity, …etc which all "form a highly structured system analogous to that of phonology"[19], Bell (ibid: 27) writes.

Macro-sociolinguistics or the sociology of language as it is generally termed, on the other hand, is more sociological in focus and has clear connections with the field of sociology itself. In Fishmanian terms (1969), the sociology of language is regarded as an enterprise that "(…) examines the interaction between two aspects of human behavior: the use of language and the social organization of behavior". [20]   In defining this subfield in sociolinguistics, Fishman, J. A. (idem) writes:

> (…) the sociology of language focuses on the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behavior, including not only language usage per se, but also language attitudes, overt behavior toward language and toward language users.

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[18]   For more details about *types of groups*, see Bell (ibid: 102-04)

[19]   An idea cited in Bell (ibid:27) who further sees that an adequate description might require linguists to list and show the interrelationships between sets of 'gesturemes' and their 'allogestures' just as the interrelationships found between 'phonemes' and 'allophones' in structuralist phonology.

[20]   Quoted in Giglioli (1972:45)

In his terms, the sociology of language is, then, "one of several recent approaches to the study of the patterned co-variation of language and society" Fishman, J.A. (1968:5), i.e., that studies the use of speech forms in society and examines and uncovers the attitudes, both towards language and its users, and the attachments that account for the functional distribution of these speech forms in society; bilingualism, multilingualism and its resulting phenomena, language shift, maintenance, and the delimitation and interaction of speech communities. But, one may bear in mind that in spite of the breaking up of sociolinguistics into these two opposed approaches, "micro- and macro-sociolinguistics are both conceptually and methodologically complementary" as Fishman, J.A. (1971:598) opines, and useful in the investigation of linguistic variation.

The terms sociolinguistics and sociology of language both constitute a bi-disciplinary approach that seeks to see how language and society are related. A blending of sociologists and linguists works together and continues their scholarly paths investigating the intricacies of the interplay of social status and speech, rejecting the ideology of focusing on studying the competence of an idealized monolingual that has been pioneered by Chomskyian linguistics. Spolsky, B. (2009:5)

1.7 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND REPERTOIRES

As it is apparently exhibited in the title of this research work, the researcher's main concern is to trace, at first, a historical trajectory about the development of '*BS'* dialects in general emphasizing on the diachronic shift that its dialects have witnessed; shifting from speaking Berber to the prevailing use of Arabic, and second, to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the community of '*Khemis'* by adopting a micro-sociolinguistic perspective looking at various linguistic variables and their correlation with some extra-linguistic

factors bearing in mind the co-existence of both types of rural and urban dialects in *'BS'*, each with its own peculiarities. Thus, in the light of this view, the entire community of *'BS'* can be considered as a macro-speech community consisting of smaller speech communities, each with specific linguistic features that have tight relationships with regional, social, ethnic and cultural factors. Indeed, those factors, in one way or another, contribute in the maintenance of some linguistic varieties and/or ceasing the use of others leading to language loss by virtue of the fact that its speakers may claim these varieties as their own, and consequently, show positive attitudes towards their dialect distinguishing themselves from the other speakers of the neighbouring communities by using their own linguistic varieties on one hand. On the other hand, other varieties, such as the Berber one which is spoken by a minority group, might be reduced in its function and its speakers shift to the use of the majority language, in their case the region's local Arabic dialect spoken by the current generation and among the speakers of their neighbourhood. In addition, a very important question should be raised at this stage: how do groups of individuals living in *'Khemis'*, a place that attracts the attention of the adjacent villages for daily life socio-economic and cultural practices, behave linguistically toward non-Khemis Arabic dialects? Do they feel they belong to the same macro-speech community or do they distinguish themselves from the others as members in their own small speech community, i.e., *'Khemis'*?

For examining some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the area under investigation, the researcher may apply, in addition to the concept of *'speech community'* (see section 1.8), another way of viewing how an individual relates to other individuals in this community, and to ask what *'networks'* he or she participates in. Therefore, the following section entails brief definitions of this concept and attempts to review the main characteristics any social network may have.

1.7.1   Social Networks

The concept of '*network*' has been used by Labov *et al.* (1968) [21] under the name 'peer group'.[22] However, the *network* concept has been principally stressed by James Milroy and Lesley Milroy (1978) and Milroy, L. (1980, 1987a) for their study of certain aspects in working-class speech in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The Milroys base their investigation of the vernacular on the speech of individuals within this working-class.[23]

Within the network approach, class stratification is not important. This method rather examines patterns of speech of an individual's daily life interactions with people of different socio-economic levels. That is, and as Holmes (2001:183) points out, "Social networks move the focus from social features of the speaker alone, such as status, gender, age and ethnicity, to characteristics of the interaction between people". Social networks reveal, therefore, valuable aspects of the speaker's speech interaction on a smaller scale; the network he or she is involved in. Indeed, Labov's quantitative paradigm which focuses entirely on social class stratification and style-shifting has proved fruitful in the study of sociolinguistic variation and mechanisms of language change in western speech communities in general. Yet, exceptionally, it does not fit the Algerian society in general for it does not comprise social classes. For this reason, the Milroys' network methodology is suggested for a better understanding of the relationship between linguistic variation and the individual's interpersonal connections in his / her daily life practices without paying attention to his / her socio-economic status as being rich or poor, for instance.

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21 Mentioned in Downes (ibid: 116)
22 A 'peer group' is "a sociological term referring to a group of people that a person associates with and identifies with". Trudgill, P. (1992:58).
23 Mentioned in Downes, W. (ibid: 17).

In defining the network approach, Downes, W. (ibid: 118) writes: "A social network is a way of representing the individual's pattern of social transactions within a community". Networks are characterized by "density" and "plexity". A strong network is, therefore, described as being dense and multiplex. If members of an individual's network are in a regular contact with each other, this network has a high density, and it is multiplex when there are more transactions and individuals are more related to one another in a multiplicity of ways. A uniplex network, however, is said to be loose. That is to say, it is loose when a person has just one linkage with others (kinship, employment or neighbourhood). However, what is worthwhile mentioning, in this respect, is that the stronger the network is, the greater the use of certain linguistic features of the vernacular. This pattern which has been the result of Milroy's study of working-class communities in Belfast has led her to state that "the closeknit network may be seen as the important social mechanism of vernacular maintenance". Milroy (1980:43) Moreover, members of a given social network both influence and are influenced linguistically. Individuals who are well integrated into a particular social group and are in a constant and regular contact may have linguistic particularities rather different from those who are more peripheral in the group.

In the present area of investigation, observing the way '*Khemis*' individuals interact with members of their social networks may help us find answers to the questions put about the frequency of speech variation in this speech community. The study of different social networks is thought to be very productive in revealing the maintenance or the substitution of certain linguistic characteristics in Kh.A. A question to be raised here: are '*Khemis*' speakers who are integrated into given social networks (work, schools, neighbourhood…) influenced by non-Khemis interlocutors' linguistic forms? In other words, sharing with non-Khemis speakers the same social norms of linguistic behaviour, the same cultural

values, and also living in the same geographical area, but having distinct dialects, each with a set of linguistic features peculiar to a specific area, do '*Khemis'* speakers accommodate their way of speaking to the others' way or they rather show some kind of solidarity and loyalty to their native speech?

1.7.2 Speech Repertoires

What is acknowledged among linguists is the fact that language is both an individual possession and a social possession. One may expect, thus, that language users would behave linguistically, within any monolingual or multilingual speech community, employing the same language, the same dialect or the same variety, i.e., making use of the same code or a whole set of different linguistic varieties to perform social roles. The study of speech communities with such features - that is, the study of sociolinguistic variation in language-contact contexts - has prompted variationist sociolinguists to the coining of the term '*speech repertoire'* referring to "the range of linguistic varieties which the speaker has at his disposal and which he may appropriately use as a member of his speech community". Platt and Platt (1975: 35)

The term '*repertoire'* can be used to describe the communicative competence of individual speakers. Finding both a community's speech repertoire and an individual's speech repertoire worthy of sociolinguistic concern, the Platts (ibid: 36) suggest a distinction that can be read in what follows:

> …the term repertoire for the repertoire of linguistic varieties utilized by a speech community which its speakers, as members of the community, may appropriately use, and the term *verbal repertoire* for the linguistic varieties which are at a particular speaker's disposal.

In the light of this quotation, each individual has his or her own distinctive verbal repertoire and each speech community, in which that person participates and interacts with its other members, has its distinctive linguistic repertoire. The concept of repertoire, therefore, can be applied to both individuals and groups. Gumperz (1968) defines it as: "The totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community". [24] In other words, the term "verbal repertoire" involves all languages, dialects, registers and styles typical of a monolingual community of individuals where the choice of one variety over another can have the same social significance as code selection in a multilingual speech community.

Following both Gumperz' and Platts' points of view, an individual is described as drawing upon a repertoire of linguistic codes from which he or she selects the code that best fits his or her social purpose - interaction. In this respect, Bell, R.T. (ibid: 105) describes the individual speaker as "possessing a set of codes - each appropriate to a set of role relationships within the context of a set of domains – which constitute his repertoire". That is, a bilingual like an Algerian individual, for instance, is controlling two or more linguistic varieties, in an encounter with others, needs to modify and accommodate his speech according to the participants with whom he or she is communicating, and according to the domains where transactional or interpersonal interactions take place.

In addition to viewing the verbal repertoire as the total number of codes and varieties used within the community, Gumperz (1968) further sees this concept as "an analytical concept" that "(…) allows us to establish direct relationships between its constituents and the socioeconomic complexity of the community." Cited in Giglioli, P.P. (idem) That is, the constituents of the verbal repertoire, which are the

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[24] Quoted in Giglioli, P.P. (1972:230)

linguistic varieties that it includes, are tightly related with the socio-economic situation of the community, and direct relationships are, therefore, established. Those relationships can be measured taking into account two important concepts: the *linguistic range* and *the degree of compartmentalization* as Gumperz (1968) proposes. In an attempt to explain the way how to measure them, he (ibid) [25] first defines the *linguistic range* as "the internal language distance between constituent varieties, that is, the total amount of purely linguistic differentiation that exists in a community". This means that due to the linguistic range that a community is characterized with; one may distinguish between multilingual, multidialectal, and homogeneous speech communities. Second, in his terms, *the degree of compartmentalization* refers to "the sharpness with which varieties are set off from each other, either along the superposed or the dialectal dimension"[26]. Accordingly, Gumperz (1968) further distinguishes between *compartmentalized repertoires* and *fluid repertoires.* When several languages are spoken without mixing or when dialects are separated from each other by sharp isogloss bundles, this repertoire is *compartmentalized*. A *fluid* repertoire, however, denotes that "transitions between adjoining vernaculars are gradual or when one speech style merges into another in such a way that it is difficult to draw clear borderlines". [27] That is, within a fluid repertoire, linguistic differences are hard to be noticed and clear borderlines between these adjacent vernaculars are difficult to be drawn because they are constantly merging into each other, or due to the gradual transitions they witness.

At a macro-sociolinguistic level, it should be stressed that linguistic features may also correlate with extra-linguistic attributes. Agreeing with variationist sociolinguists' viewpoints in general and with

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[25] Quoted in Giglioli , P.P. (ibid: 230)
[26] Quoted in Giglioli, P.P. (idem)
[27] Both definitions of 'compartmentalized' and 'fluid repertoires' are quoted or paraphrased in Giglioli, P.P. (ibid: 230).

April's view in particular, the researcher's hypothesis is that the variants of Kh.A are not random, but they rather correlate with some extra-linguistic or independent variables in '*Khemis*', a community that appears to be socially diverse, unstable, extremely variable and eventually exposed to linguistic changes due to some factors that will be uncovered during this sociolinguistic investigation. The term 'community', as employed in this thesis, refers to the whole population of speakers living in the area under investigation, but it is of paramount importance to review how the term *speech community* has been defined by various linguists and sociolinguists and to see to what extent such definitions may apply to the context of '*Khemis*'.

1.8 SPEECH COMMUNITY AND LANGUAGE VARIABILITY

As Gumperz, J. (1968) claims that "Although not all communication is linguistic, language is by far the most powerful and versatile medium of communication"[28]; that is to say, most social groups which are bounded by face-to-face contact and interact by means of a set of grammatical rules (language) and share socially recognized norms of linguistic behaviour exhibit peculiar and varied features that call for study. Accordingly, linguistic variation among individuals living in different speech communities gained much interest in the few decades. But, first, what is meant by a speech community? and what is characterized with?

1.8.1 Speech Community: *a Debatable Concept*

As it has been already stated, all known human groups who possess language and use it in day-to-day interaction, in fact, share all its

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[28] Cited in Giglioli, P.P. (ibid: 219).

linguistic aspects (be they phonological, grammatical or lexical) and norms of language behaviour, and these groups, for most general linguists, are referred to as 'speech communities'. People do not only interact verbally using distinct linguistic varieties to communicate, but to establish and maintain ethnic, religious and socio-cultural relationships as well with the members of the community they live with. Verbal interaction is, then, a social process in which utterances are selected in accordance with socially recognized norms; rules for use and expectations. Gumperz (1968) [29]

From what precedes, it is clearly noticeable that both formal linguists and sociolinguists are interested in determining what a *'speech community'* is. Thus, it may be helpful at this point to regard some definitions of this concept. In this respect, seven views are considered as the following survey shows.

1.8.1.1 In Lyons' Terms: *in Relation to the Use of One Language or Dialect*

The simplest definition that has been put forward for the concept *'speech community'* is that of John Lyons. For this linguist (1970:326), a speech community includes "(…) all the people who use a given language (or dialect)". Yet, according to this definition, one may inquire about the posture of bilingual individuals who speak two or more languages and that of persons who have been in contact with many dialects or varieties of the same language. Then, in such a situation, one wonders whether such individuals belong to a single speech community, or should be estranged from a particular aggregate simply because they master more than one language or dialect.

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[29] As mentioned in Duranti, A. (2009: 66)

1.8.1.2 In Bloomfield's and Spolsky's Terms: *as Related to Social Interaction*

Unlike John Lyons, Leonard Bloomfield (1933:42) does not define the concept of speech community in relation to the use of a given language or dialect. He rather defines it as "…a group of people who interact by means of speech". In other words, this concept is linked with communication and the condition of social interaction. Furthermore, the current definition focuses on speech eliminating writing. This view is also clearly read in Spolsky's (1998:24-25) quotation in which he claimed that sociolinguists find it very fruitful "to focus on the language practices of a group of people who do in fact have the opportunity to interact and who, it often turns out, share not just a single language but a repertoire of languages or varieties". So, for both linguists, social interaction is a crucial criterion in defining the concept of speech community.

1.8.1.3 In Gumperz' Terms: *a Community Set off from those Outside it*

A later definition by Gumperz, J.J. (1968) introduces the requirement that there should be some possible linguistic differences between the members of the speech community and those outside it. In this sense, he conceives the speech community as: "(…) any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use".[30]

Unlike the former views, Gumperz recognizes the case of multilingual speech communities. That is, members of the same speech community may interact by means of one, two or more languages or

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[30] Quoted in Giglioli, P.P. (1990: 219)

varieties of the same language in everyday interaction, and may be distinguished from groups by lack of social unity. For example, early in the year 2000, London was judged to be the most 'international' of all the cities in the world based on the number of different languages spoken (300 spoken languages).[31] It is such considerations which led Gumperz (1962) to elucidate his use of the term '*linguistic community*' rather than '*speech community*'. He goes on defining that term as "a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication".[32] In this line of thought, a speech community, hence, may itself include smaller communities each possessing its own linguistic variety with specific characteristics, but though these social groups are 'set off' by some barriers, which are mainly geographical, they are held together by 'frequency of social interaction' and through regular and daily social practices.

In the speech community of '*Khemis*', one may clearly notice the same linguistic situation. The area of '*Khemis*' consists of two contrasting speech communities; each using its own Arabic variety as we shall see in chapter three which is partly devoted to throw some light on the contrast between the two Arabic varieties (Urban vs. Rural speech in section 3.3.1.1.3). In fact, the area of '*Khemis*' occupies a strategic position in '*BS*' as it is located in its hub where all social and administrative institutions are found, both groups (speaking the Urban and Rural varieties) are held together for they meet regularly for religious and socio-cultural practices, and mainly for commercial reasons in the weekly organized market.

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31 Mentioned in Michelle von Ahn *et al.* (2010:3)
32 Quoted in Hudson, R.A. (1996: 25)

1.8.1.4 In Labov's Terms: *as Having a Set of Shared Norms of Evaluation*

William Labov, who is considered as the founder of variationist sociolinguistics, put forward a different definition of the concept in his famous book: *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972b). A speech community in Labov's terms puts emphasis on shared norms of evaluation. For this American linguist (1972b:120-1), a speech community

> (…) is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.[33]

This definition shifts the emphasis away from an exclusive use of linguistic criteria to a search for the various characteristics which make individuals feel that they are members of the same community. What most characterizes this definition in comparison with the previous ones is the emphasis on shared norms and abstract patterns of variation rather than on shared linguistic behaviour. Hudson, R.A. (ibid: 25-26) makes an important comment about such a view when saying:

> (…) this kind of definition puts emphasis on the speech community as a group of people who *feel* themselves to be a community in some sense, rather than a group which only the linguist and outsider could know about.

That is, the individuals of a speech community do share the feeling of being members in their community. Hymes (1972) and

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[33] Quoted in Ball, M.J. (2005:5)

Halliday (1972) too have defined the speech community as Labov did in terms of shared norms and abstract patterns of variation. Hudson (ibid: 25)

1.8.1.5 In Romaine's Terms: *as Sharing a Set of Norms and Rules for Language Use*

To lay emphasis, in a similar way, on the idea that this concept is not necessarily coextensive with a language community, Romaine, S. (2000:23) states: "A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language". Such linguistic situation characterizes the majority, if not all, multilingual speech communities in so many parts of the world as in Belgium, Switzerland and Canada where two or more languages are used and frequently mixed in day-to-day interaction according to the context of use. This results from these multilinguals' acquisition of the norms and rules of language use within their communities. In other words, as Romaine (idem) adds:

> the very existence of languages critically depends on
> the availability of a social group who claims a variety
> as their own and maintains its distinctiveness from the
> varieties spoken by its neighbours. Such a group can be
> called a 'speech community'.

This definition may well apply to the speech community of '*Khemis*' as its speakers still maintain its distinctiveness from the other adjacent dialects though these varieties are constantly held together by regular contact. Interesting data will be analyzed and interpreted in the fifth chapter of this thesis and by doing so; the results obtained will only provide the researcher with specific criteria by which the speech community of '*Khemis*' will be clearly defined.

1.8.1.6 In Fishman's Terms: *as Sharing a Single Speech Variety and Appropriate Norms of Use*

Fishman, J.A. (1972:22) also joins Labov's conception of the term 'speech community' as he defines it as follows: "A speech community is one, all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use". Concerning the size or the limits of speech communities, Fishman asserts that speech communities may be small as single closed interaction networks, isolated bands, nomadic clans, small societies and total societies. Fishman (1972:22-23)

1.8.1.7 In Le Page's Terms: *as 'Groups in Society'*

Unlike all linguists, Le Page, in his approach, avoids the term 'speech community' and uses his 'groups in society' which refer to some linguistic features in relation with some social characteristics. In this approach, it is the individual who perceives the groups which he or she may wish to be identified with. Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985)[34] state that:

> Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that
>
> a. he can identify the groups,
>
> b. he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyse their behavioural systems,
>
> c. his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adopt his behaviour.

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34 Quoted in Hudson (ibid: 26)

So, in Le Page's view, each individual builds, unconsciously, his or her verbal repertoire from a multi-dimensional social space, i.e., from the social group that he or she is located in. Sharing with Le Page his view that each individual is unique in acquiring his or her speech, Hudson, R.A. (1980:12), in his turn, admits that, "no two speakers have the same language, because no two speakers have the same experience of language". In sum, Le Page's view locates language in the mind of individuals.

This account of the different definitions put forward by these linguists about the concept of 'speech community' has raised a fundamental question: "Where is language?" Is it in the "community"? or in the "individual"? The previous definition put forward by Le Page (1985) considers the position of language to be "in the individual". This view is widely held by linguists, and the following quotation of Guy (1980) is fairly typical: "(…) language, while existing to serve a social function (communication) is nevertheless seated in the minds of individuals". [35] Yet, this position appears to be controversial. Unfortunately, it is in opposition with the view of the most influential sociolinguist William Labov who takes a very clear position on this issue and argues that linguistic variation cannot be explained by looking only to the individual. He (1989:52) rather regards that "individual behaviour can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community". [36] This collective grammar, he proposes, can only be accessed and explored by looking at the community as a whole, rather than looking in turn at each of its highly heterogeneous components parts - the speech of individuals -, because, in his terms, "language is not a property of the individual, but of the community. Any description of a

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[35] Quoted in Hudson, R.A. (1996: 30)
[36] Quoted in Hudson, R.A. (idem).

language must take the speech community as its object if it is to do justice to the elegance and regularity of linguistic structure". (idem) This was Labov's conviction in the community as the locale of grammar that led him to explore the patterns of language variation and change as they are embedded within class, ethnicity, gender and age groups rather than tracing the effects of change among 'dislocated' individual speakers.

Refuting his first point of view, John Lyons (1981:24) admits that if the term language-community is interpreted as referring to any group of people who would normally be said to speak the same language, e.g. English, French or Russian, "it then becomes a matter of empirical discovery whether all the members of a particular language-community speak alike in all respects or not". However, it is quite apparent, as Wardhaugh, R. (2006:130-31) contends that "(…) no two individuals are exactly alike in their linguistic capabilities, just as no two social situations are exactly alike" because he (idem) adds:

> People are separated from one another by fine gradations of social class, regional origin, and occupation; by factors such as religion, gender, nationality, and ethnicity; by psychological differences such as particular kinds of linguistic skills, e.g., verbality or literacy; and by personality characteristics. These are but some of the more obvious differences that affect individual variation in speech.

Accordingly, one can easily see how necessary to relate both linguistic and social criteria to determine the meaning of 'speech community'. This, in turn, goes in conformity with Wardhaugh's view (ibid:121) which stresses the fact that "our search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria if we are to gain a useful understanding of 'speech community'".

In the last resort, it should be admitted that everyone has his own individual dialect; that is, he has his own idiolect. In fact, every idiolect differs from every other, certainly in vocabulary and pronunciation and perhaps, to a smaller degree in grammar. Lyons, J. (ibid: 27) Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that:

> two languages systems are the same (…) if and only if they are isomorphic. It is because phonologically identical language-systems can be realized differently in the phonic medium, that it makes sense to talk of the same dialect of a language being pronounced with one accent rather than another.
>
> Lyons, J. (1981:270)

For example, there is a quite noticeable degree of nasality in the pronunciation of vowels, in certain positions, in many American accents, and this is one of the several clues (including other differences of vowel-quality, not to mention prosodic differences) which serve to distinguish most Americans from non-Americans by their accent. So, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, as Lyons, J. (ibid: 274) reaffirms:

> It is much more useful to think of an individual as having in his linguistic competence the mastery of a set of partly isomorphic dialects, each of which he shares with fellow – members of one social group or another, than it is to think of what are normally called dialects as being sets of overlapping idiolects. Language-variation in the individual and language-variation in the community are two sides of the same coin.

In other terms, everyone has his own idiolect, and due to the frequent interaction with fellow-members of other social groups or

communities, he may acquire a linguistic competence in a set of phonologically identical language-systems.

1.8.2 Language, Dialect and Idiolect

When listening to the way(s) people speak in different social contexts, you clearly notice that they make use of various speech forms. Each speaker has his or her own *idiolect*; the variety of speech of an individual which is characterized by idiosyncratic linguistic features specific to him or her (the concept *'idiolect'* will be deeply defined at the end of section 1.8.2). However, within groups in society, that individual is subjected to a set of social and linguistic norms which govern his or her way of speaking. Such linguistic diversity, therefore, prompted linguists to tackle the variability of language in speech communities in an attempt to find explanations relating these social factors with the individuals' linguistic varieties.

The taxonomy of linguistic description - that is, the identification and enumeration of languages - is greatly held back by the ambiguities and obscurities that are attached to the terms *language* and *dialect*. In fact, both terms are usually perceived as non-technical notions by scholars, but in popular usage, laymen assume that these terms refer to actual entities that are clearly distinguishable and, therefore, enumerable. In trying to make a clear-cut distinction between "language" and "dialect", Hudson, R.A. (1996:31) argues that "it is part of our culture to make a distinction between 'languages' and 'dialects'". That is to say, our views of these terms are culturally inherited and, thus, their popular usages reflect no objective reality. On the other hand, "there is a difference of *size",* he says (ibid: 32), "because a language is larger than a dialect". That is, a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect. In this sense, English speakers, for example, think of today's Standard English as more prestigious and larger in size than

some other regional or social dialects (Yorkshire English, Leeds English,…) though it is no more than the standard variety [37] of the language developed out of the English dialects used in and around London by speakers at the Court, by scholars from the universities and many other writers.

Although it has undergone many changes as it was codified and used in administration and government as a written medium for literary and written communication, Standard English has always retained its character as the form of the English language with the highest esteem. Linguistically speaking, any dialect may rise to the level of an autonomous[38] 'standard' language if it gains a prestigious position in society and by virtue of the fact of being standardized. For this edifice, Hudson, R.A. (ibid: 32) adds: "Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has and for most people this is a clear-cut matter, which depends on whether it is used in formal writing". In sum, any variety that is regarded as prestigious and used in formal writing is called a language.

Accordingly, British people habitually refer to languages which are not written as 'dialects', whereas the standard variety is usually regarded as a 'language' which has higher prestige than these unwritten varieties of language. Einar Haugen (1964:417) also emphasizes that a standard language must have an established written form when he says: "it is a significant and probably crucial requirement for a standard language that it be written". The standard language is, thus, that variety

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[37] Jean Dubois (2000:440) defines a 'standard variety' as follows: « le standard, d'une manière générale, est une langue écrite elle est diffusée par l'école, par la radio, et utilisée dans les relations officielles ».
[38] Often due to political and social developments, formerly heteronymous varieties can achieve autonomy.

which has gained supremacy over the other unwritten ones by its written form.

Similarly, Algerian individuals regard CA and MSA as the most prestigious language appropriate for religious and literary matters, and for administrative and educational purposes. AA dialects, however, are usually seen as 'non-prestigious' and 'common' varieties used in daily life interactions. Thus, *"because of its wider functions"*, a standard language "is likely to be embraced with a reverence, a language loyalty, that the dialects do not enjoy." Haugen, E. (1966a:415). Added to this, Hudson (ibid:36) opines that "we must conclude with (Matthews 1979:47) [39] that *there is no real distinction to be drawn between 'language' and 'dialect'* except with reference to prestige, where it would be better to use the term 'standard (language)', rather than just 'language'".

But, from a linguistic viewpoint, a standard language cannot legitimately be regarded as better or as more correct than the other linguistic varieties. Any attitudes towards non-standard dialects are attitudes which reflect the societal features of society. In this sense, Trudgill, P. (2000:8) asserts that:

> The scientific study of language has convinced scholars
> that *all* languages, and corresponding *all* dialects, are
> equally 'good' as linguistic systems. All varieties of a
> language are structured, complex, and rule-governed
> systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of
> their speakers.

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[39]   Quoted in Hudson (ibid: 36)

Furthermore, Trudgill (ibid: 9) sees that "value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties are social rather than linguistic". That is to say, there is not anything intrinsic in a dialect which gives it a feature of being inferior to a standard language. The attached inferiority is only attributed to its association with that under-privileged and low-status social group that uses it. In addition, individuals' "attitudes towards nonstandard dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society" as Trudgill (idem) states. In this respect, and as an example, he (idem) has referred to the fact that heavily urbanized British people show some positive attitudes for rural accents as being charming and pleasant (in Devonshire, Northumberland or the Scottish Highlands). Yet, urban accents, such as the ones spoken in Birmingham, Newcastle or London, are socially stigmatized as being ugly or unpleasant. This attitude towards rural speech, in effect, reflects the social structure of the British society.

As an opposition to the subjective dichotomy "language vs. dialect" and for avoiding any bias in sociolinguistic investigations, sociolinguists have stated the use of the neutral term "variety" for "…it does not carry the usual implications associated with words like "language" and "dialect" and cover the most diverse situations…" as Duranti (1997:71) says. When dealing with some multilingual speaker or community, most sociolinguists and scholars opt for the term *variety* to refer to any kind of language which includes a set of linguistic items and displays similar social distribution - they are used by the same speaker or community. In his part, Hudson, R.A. (ibid: 23) views a variety as possibly being "much larger than a lay language" including a number of distinct languages available in any speech community's linguistic repertoire. Thus, in the light of this view, distinct linguistic forms, such as different accents, different styles, different dialects and even different languages are used in the same community as a single variety. In this respect, Hudson (ibid: 23-4) states:

> There are no restrictions on the relations among
> varieties - they may overlap and one variety may
> include another. The defining characteristic of each
> variety is the relevant relation to society – in other
> words, by whom, and when, the items concerned are
> used.

From a pure sociolinguistic point of view, it is preferable to view the term 'language' as a heterogeneous dynamic system, and the term 'variety' as linguistically neutral covering all the different realizations of the abstract concept 'language' in various social contexts.

Peter Trudgill (2000) considers language as a complex system that is used in various ways by its speakers as its use differs from one situation to another. In this respect, he (2000:29) writes "The speech of single speakers (their idiolects) may differ considerably from those of others like them". Accordingly, he (ibid: 26) has defined the term *idiolect* as "-the speech of one person at one time in one style - which was thought (…) to be more regular than the speech of the community as a whole". That is, each person may express himself differently than another, so each of their styles displays some unique linguistic features that are peculiar to him or her. This stylistic variation appears to be free as most linguists thought, but in Labov's work in New York City, he shows that this variation was not random but determined by various extra-linguistic factors in a quite predictable way.

1.8.3 The Notion of Vernacular

In addition to the aforementioned key-concepts, variationist sociolinguistics[40] also rests its method and analysis on the '*vernacular*';

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[40] In Sali's (2006: 5) view, variationist sociolinguistics is most appropriately described as "the branch of linguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other –linguistic structure and social structure: grammatical meaning and social meaning - those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systemic) factors in explanation".

another basic sociolinguistic term first defined by Labov (1972b:208) in his well-known article "The Study of Language in its Social Context" as "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech"· We are then left with the *Observer's Paradox*. (Pride and Holmes 1972:181) As the ideal target of investigation of variation analysis is "real language in use" Milroy (1992:66), data can only be obtained by systematic observation. That is, finding out "how people talk when they are not being systematically observed". Labov (1970:32)

Nevertheless, access to the vernacular style is critical because it is thought to be the first variety acquired by a child and "a form of speech transmitted from parent to child as a primary medium of communication" as Petyt (1980:28) defines it. As Labov (1972b:208) originally argued, the vernacular provides "the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution". Taking into account the fact that the term "vernacular" reveals the characteristics *of* "spontaneous speech reserved for intimate or casual situations" Poplack (1993:252), it is safe to refer to any kind of non-standard or colloquial variety used by individuals at home, for instance, or in all informal contexts under no social constraint or any extra-linguistic factor as a '*vernacular*'. This latter, thus, will be used in this research work to refer to the variety of Arabic spoken spontaneously by '*Khemis*' individuals in day-to-day interaction, at home, with friends, and in all informal contexts in general.

Those key-concepts mentioned in this section will be widely dealt with in the third chapter which is concerned with the analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and in the fifth chapter when reviewing some aspects of the sociolinguistic variation in '*Khemis*'.

1.9   CONCLUSION

The aim of this theoretical chapter has been to shed light on some basic sociolinguistic key-concepts in the field of the study of language in its social structure. Many views and definitions are reviewed in this chapter in an attempt to explain the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria in general, and in '*Khemis*' speech community focusing on the different linguistic features as realized by the speakers of this area in daily life interactions especially in mixed and constrained settings. This survey of sociolinguistic key-concepts will be helpful in drawing the glances of this Algerian sociolinguistic context within the whole Algerian speech community.

Chapter Two

MINORITIES AND ENDANGERED LANGUAGES:

Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Chapter 2: Minorities and Endangered Languages:
Language Maintenance and Language Shift

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter, as its title displays, aims at reviewing a literature background about the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift as two broad sociolinguistic terms in general, and which are thought to be helpful to highlight the linguistic situation in the micro-speech community of 'BZ' as an Algerian Berberophone province in particular. At first, it attempts to provide brief definitions about the concepts of 'Minority Language' and 'Endangered Languages', with reference to 'the degrees or levels of endangerment' which a given threatened language may go through. In this chapter, a clear-cut distinction is also drawn between these two concepts as used in a bi-/multi-lingual environment in a language contact setting. Second, the rest of this chapter is devoted to illuminate the issues relevant to the phenomena of language contact, such as 'language maintenance', 'language shift', 'language loss' and 'language revival', as they require a comprehensive clarification for they are of paramount importance in the present research work to better analyse and interpret the collected data about the persisting Berber varieties in 'BS'.

2.2 MINORITY LANGUAGE AND ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

As previously mentioned, in the current section, brief definitions for both concepts of Minority Language (hereafter ML) and Endangered Language (henceforth EL) will be reviewed.

2.2.1 MINORITY LANGUAGE

First of all, the concept "minority" should be defined to better understand the minority-majority relationship in multilingual

societies. Put forward a working definition that makes a clear-cut distinction between majority and minority groups. Kristin Henrard (n.d) in Hogan-Brun, G. and Wolff, S. (2003:39) defines it as:

> A population group with ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics which differs from the rest of the population is non-dominant, is numerically smaller than the rest of the population and has the wish to hold on to its separate identity.

Henrard puts much focus on the idea that any minority group is not dominant, smaller in size than the rest of the population, i.e., the majority, and has its own ethnic, religious and linguistic particularities, and thus, wishes to maintain its specific identity.

Minority groups have the right to retain the use of their native variety in spite of the primacy given for the majority language in their societies. The prime factor which determines the degree to which the ML is retained appears to be the degree to which the child sees a good reason or a need to maintain and use his/her ML (Grosjean, 1982:175).[41] As an instance, Malmakjar, K. (2006:80), shedding light on the factors that contribute to the use or disappearance of the ML, refers to (Leopold, 1970 and Burling, 1978) viewpoints, stating that:

> If, for example, the minority-speaking parent, or grandparents and other family members with whom the child is frequently in contact do not speak the majority language, the child may see this as good reason for retaining the minority language.

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[41] In Malmakjar, K. (2006:80)

This implies that if the minority language is frequently used as a home language, children, through their constant exposure to it, will find a good reason for maintaining that language. However, the author (idem) more highlights that a child belonging to such a well-established, cohesive minority-language group is more exposed to many occasions where the ML is used, or "if the child is able to spend lengthy periods on a regular basis in the country of the minority language"(idem), he or she subsequently interacts with a number of speakers via such language**.** So, these are some of the reasons which well contribute to the maintenance and use of minority languages in bilingual families. Leopold (1970), in his study, however, argues that if the child perceives good reason to use his/her ML, that forgotten language can be regained very quickly. Malmakjar, K. (idem) Reviewing Leopold's idea, Malmakjar, K. (idem) writes: "If good reason to use one of a bilingual's languages disappears, the language will fall out of use and appear to be forgotten". This is, then, one fact which leads to language endangerment and afterwards disappearance.

2.2.2 ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

Estimating the number of safe and threatened languages, Crystal, D. (2000:14) states that only 600 languages in the world are 'safe' and more than 200 languages have become 'extinct' over the last three generations. (See http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/)[42] According to Hornsby, M. (2014:82), there are three main criteria or indicators for considering a language "endangered":

1. The **number** of speakers currently living.
2. The mean **age** of native and/or fluent speakers.
3. The percentage of the **youngest** generation acquiring fluency with the language in question.

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[42] In Hornsby, M. (2014 :82)

Consequently, a language is said to be endangered when the children or youngsters in a community are being addressed to in another language (a majority language, for instance) rather than in their parents' native tongue/language. So, through time, this young generation may become passive bilinguals, i.e., they may understand the parents' language, but will be incapable of speaking it fluently. Years later, one may expect that "this can lead to the situation where grandparents and grandchildren speak totally different languages and sometimes cannot effectively communicate with each other" as Hornsby, M. (idem) asserts. In the following section, other definitions as put forward by linguists will be offered.

2.2.2.1 Endangered Language Defined

Defining an EL, Hornsby, M. (idem) refers to the general definition offered by the UNESCO's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages who claims:

> … when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children.

A language may, then, become endangered if there is no transmission to the next generation and hence, no new young speaker/child.

But, what do linguists mean when they say a language is under the threat of being extinct or endangered? As an answer, further characteristics of endangered languages are reviewed as the researcher

is going to show what degrees an EL may go through at a pace that surpasses the speed of extinction of plants and animal species.

2.2.2.2 Degrees of Language Endangerment

In this section, the main aim is to uncover the degrees that an EL passes through to reach its final stage of disappearance or decline. In fact, the level of endangerment of the threatened languages is measured in different ways throughout the world. The scale of endangerment which has been referred to in section (2.2.2) is not sophisticated. There are many other determinants which should be taken into account in the endangerment of languages, not just the three "rules" mentioned above. The following scale, which is proposed by Lewis (2006), entails seven parameters of endangerment:

Parameter 1: **Age**	
AGE-SF1	number of users by age group
AGE-SF2	age of the youngest known user

Comment: *In other words, if the number of speakers is evenly spread throughout the speaker population, and the youngest children acquire the language as one of their first languages, then the language is not endangered. However, if most speakers are elderly, and children are not using/speaking the language from an early age, the language can be considered endangered.*

Parameter 2: **Demographics**	
DEM-SF1	number of L1 users
DEM-SF2	number of L2 users
DEM-SF3	number of bilingual L1 users
DEM-SF4	number of language users who report their ethnicity as associated with L1
DEM-SF5	regional population norm of L1 speakers

Comment: *The higher the number of native speakers, and the higher number of speakers who consider their language as an essential part of their identity, the 'safer' the language is.*

Parameter 3:   Language Use

USE-SF1   predominant language use in the home

USE-SF2   predominant use of the language in public encounters

USE-SF3   predominant language use in recreation

USE-SF4   predominant language use in the public market

USE-SF5   predominant language use at work

USE-SF6   predominant language use in religious gatherings

USE-SF7   predominant language use in commerce

USE-SF8   predominant language use in mass media

USE-SF9   predominant language use in formal education

USE-SF10   predominant language use in formal public functions

Example: *Whilst Breton (a Celtic language spoken in North-West France) fulfills many of the criteria for parameter 4 below, it fulfills few of the criteria for parameter 3 and thus can be considered endangered at this level, and indeed at many other levels.*

Parameter 4:   Language Cultivation, Development, Literacy and Education

DEV-SF1   ongoing transmission of oral literature

DEV-SF2   existence of a practical orthography

DEV-SF3   existence of standardization materials (e.g. dictionaries)

DEV-SF4   existence of literacy instruction materials

DEV-SF5   existence of a significant body of print literature

DEV-SF6   existence of mass media materials

DEV-SF7   existence of elementary education materials

DEV-SF8   existence of secondary education materials

DEV-SF9   existence of tertiary education materials

Example: *The lack of literacy among the remaining 34 speakers of Mavea on the Island of Mavea (Oceania) and that most of the island's 210 residents are literate in either English, French or Bislama means that Mavea can be considered endangered according to this parameter (Guérin 2008: 47).*

Parameter 6:   Language Attitudes

ATT-SF1   number of community members who positively value their own language

ATT-SF2   number of members of the most significant outside group who positively value the language in question

Comment: It may seem obvious, but when speakers have a positive attitude to their own language, the more likely they are to use it. The American linguist Nancy Dorian showed how the last speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic did not want to be 'conspicuous', and how this led to Gaelic dying out on the east coast of Scotland.

Parameter 7:   Amount and Quality of Documentation

DOC-SF1   existence of a word list

DOC-SF2   existence of audio or video recordings

DOC-SF3   existence of phonological descriptions

DOC-SF4   existence of grammatical descriptions

DOC-SF5   existence of bilingual dictionaries

DOC-SF6   existence of text collections

Note: *Whereas documenting a language may not actually help speakers of an endangered language (they might be unaware of the existence of such documents), documentation can help linguists and revitalisers who wish to maintain or revive the language in question.*

Lewis' Scale (2006) as adapted from Hornsby (ibid: 82-84)

Therefore, relying on how many of the seven cited parameters are encountered by linguists or revitalisers, a language in question can be described as 'safe' or 'threatened'.

UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger classifies 2500 languages in five levels of endangerment:

- Vulnerable,
- Definitely endangered,
- Severely endangered,

- critically endangered,
- extinct

   Moseley (2010) adopted from Hornsby (ibid: 85)

Some other classifications differentiate between languages as 'safe' and 'not so safe' as in the following five-level system: [43]

Viable languages which have sufficiently large and thriving population bases, i.e., no threat;

Viable but small languages: They are spoken in communities that are isolated or with a well-built internal organization. In terms of number, they have more than 1,000 speakers, but are conscious about the fact that their language is a marker of identity;

Endangered languages: They have enough people to make survival a possibility, yet only in favourable conditions and with an increase in its community support;

Nearly extinct languages: They are nearly extinct because they are spoken by just a few elderly speakers, i.e., beyond the possibility of survival;

Extinct languages whose last fluent speaker has died, and there is no sign of revival.

But, it is worth to note that some speakers of an extinct language may remember words / phrases and even people speaking it when they were young. For example, Hornsby (ibid: 85) provides the instance of the Wichita, an extinct language spoken in the U.S.A. by about 10 individuals, which has speakers who still remember words and phrases of the language, but unfortunately, they are unable to speak it fluently.

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[43] Kincade, M. Dale. (1991:160-163), adapted from Crystal, D. (2000: 20-21)

Based on intergenerational transfer, UNESCO further draws four levels of endangerment in languages. The following table clearly exposes them:

Degree of Endangerment	Speaker Population
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g. the home). Example: Ingush (spoken in the North Caucasus)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as the mother tongue at home. Example: Pech (spoken in Honduras).
Severely endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves. Example: Kaska (spoken in British Columbia, Canada)
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently. Example: Achumawi (spoken in California, USA)

Table 2.1 Levels of Endangerment

The preceding table, which is adopted from Christopher Moseley (2010) [44], reviews the degree of endangerment and the speaker population focusing on the age/generation, and its domain of use. Moreover, during the phases of editing his *Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages*, Christopher Moseley (2007: xi) claimed that his editors, in an attempt to assess the level of

[44] Hornsby (idem)

endangerment that a language may face, followed a five-grade scale as described by the late Stephen Wurm (1991):

- *potentially endangered*, which usually implies lack of prestige in the home country, economic deprivation, pressure from larger languages in the public sphere and social fragmentation in the private, to the extent that the language is not being systematically passed on in the education system;
- *endangered*, where the youngest fluent speakers tend to be young adults, and there is a disjunction in passing on the language to children, especially in the school but even in the home environment;
- *seriously/severely endangered*, with the youngest fluent speakers being among the older generation aged fifty and over, implying a loss of prestige and social value over a generation ago;
- *moribund*, with only a tiny proportion of the ethnic group speaking the language, mostly the very aged;
- *extinct*, where no speakers remain.

Quoted in Moseley (idem)

A quick glance at this scale reveals that the endangerment of a minority/ethnic languages starts by a lack in prestige in the home country, suffering pressure from larger languages, losing its fluent speakers due to no transmission to youngsters, arriving at a tiny proportion speaking it and becomes extinct with the death of the last speaker.

In addition, Fishman (1991) introduces his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), a way to measure the level of endangerment that any language may experience. He divided it into eight levels as follows:

Level 1: It specifies the optimal setting in which the EL occupies educational, professional, governmental, and media spheres, though without political independence. (Fishman, 1991:107)

Level 2: In this level, the language is only used in the lower

domains of government and media.

Level 3: The language is only employed by individuals of the lower work domain.

Level 4: The language is confined in basic education in schools.

Level 5: Language is just attained within the community; mainly at home.

Level 6: The language is acquired orally from the old generation.

Level 7: The minority community is completely integrated into the society speaking the majority language, i.e., the EL is still spoken in the community, but with no direct intergenerational transmission to children.

Level 8: At this level, the language is spoken by a limited number of old speakers who cannot even recall much vocabulary or syntactic structures and therefore, described as passive speakers (Fishman 1991: 88).

David Crystal (ibid:21) points out that "Endangered languages come to be used progressively less and less throughout the community, with some of the functions they originally performed either dying out or gradually being supplanted by other languages". To illustrate his view, he takes an African case as an example where an indigenous language has come to be less employed in educational, political, and even public settings as its roles have been taken over by English and Swahili. (idem) Endangerment is a continuum; in fact, some languages suffer a lack of speakers as its users shift to the dominant language. Some others suffer discourse attrition that they end up surviving in just one domain (idem). Many languages or dialects are severely endangered with no intergenerational transmission moving gradually to become dead languages/dialects with the death of the last speaker.

2.2.2.3 Factors Leading to Language Endangerment and Loss

There are many factors which might lead a language to be threatened. One important psychological factor that exercises a huge impact on the persistence and co-existence of minority languages is the attitudes of the speakers of the majority language on a particular site. Both languages co-habit, but the dominant one – the majority language – is the vehicle of politics, administration, economy, and education. As Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (2011: 1) assume,

> ...economic, political, social and cultural power tends to be held by speakers of the majority languages, while the many thousands of minority languages are marginalized and their speakers are under pressure to shift to the majority language.

Thus, this may give job preference to those seekers who have a good command of the dominant language. The disadvantaged ML group, under those pressures, may find themselves in front of two choices, assimilation through shifting to the use of the majority language or resisting and sacrifying their social ambition as it is the case with the minority French speakers in Quebec, Canada. Schiffman (1998) asserts that language shift to the most prestigious language is inescapable when the ML represents an obstacle to the improvement of its speakers' socio-economy and social mobility. Hornsby, M. (ibid :85)

Another factor that might lead to language endangerment is what views parents exhibit towards their language. As a matter of fact, within the requirements of this current globalized world, parents seem to encourage their children to learn the world's languages of wider communication rather than their native languages believing in the fact

that the chances of success when learning them will increase their opportunities in obtaining better jobs. Hornsby, M. (ibid: 86)

In his turn, Harrison (2007: 5) views that:

> languages do not literally "die" or go "extinct", since they are not living organisms. Rather, they are crowded out by bigger languages. Small tongues get abandoned by their speakers, who stop using them in favour of a more dominant, more prestigious, or more widely known tongue.

In this quotation, Harrison seems to share the same idea of Austin and Sallabank (2011:1) that the dominant language, with its status, prestige and its demographic and geo-distribution, exercises a pressure on small tongues - minority languages or endangered ones.

Within the same line of thought, Crystal (ibid:77) goes further to point out that this crowding out is facilitated by the factor of urbanisation. That is, the city represents an attractive socio-economic refuge for rural populations who move into for better conditions of life; more chances of education and work are offered in the city. Hence, the shift to the dominant language is more likely to occur as it is the case of the Irish people who abandoned their native tongue to adopt English in the 19th century, which was highly regarded as one of the most powerful empires in the world while "Irish was associated with a rural, isolated and impoverished way of life in the west of Ireland". Horsnby, M. (idem)

In the past, several authorities have attempted to engineer language endangerment in many countries for political ends. For instance, in 1924, the USSR, through the establishment of its Committee of the North, promoted the teaching of peoples' indigenous languages in the North, yet, after the World War II, the Russian unity (the Russification process) has been forcibly fostered by

settling those Northern groups into mixed regions. Children of 2 years and up were banned from speaking their indigenous varieties and were taught in compulsory boarding schools. By 1970, no indigenous language was used as the language of instruction in schools. United Nations Economic and Social Council (2010:11) in Hornsby. M. (ibid: 88).

Globally, national education policies in many countries have caused language shift, but not a universal shift, from minority languages since pupils are taught in the national language. Grimes, B.F. (2001)[45] This is the result of marginalizing ethnic / minority languages by the governors, as it is the case of Berber in Algeria. Tamazight is constitutionally recognized as a second national and official language, but nothing has been done to promote and teach it throughout the majority, if not the whole number of Algerian schools.

2.2.2.4 Reviving Endangered Languages

Scholars and linguists of endangered languages have studied language loss. Certain strategies that have been used have proved effective in restraining languages on way of extinction. In Tomasz Wicherkiewicz's (n.d.) terms[46],

> (…)strategies and actions that focus on the restoration of (at least some) functions and areas of usage to endangered languages are known as language REVITALIZATION, REVIVAL and RECLAMATION. These strategies and actions usually occur after a certain period of limited or completely abandoned use of such languages.

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[45] Hornsby, M. (ibid:85)
[46] Hornsby (2014:96)

"*Language revival*", therefore, can be defined as a linguistic strategy that attempts to survive a ML or an EL which lost all its native speakers and has to be gradually reconstructed after the death of its last speaker. But, not all the factors which promote a ML/EL survival are linguistic in nature, Christopher Moseley (2008: xiv) admits. This latter (idem) refers to Crystal's causes of survival in his book *Language Death* (2000):

> - increased prestige within the dominant community (witness the revival of Basque and Welsh in recent years);
> - increased wealth relative to the dominant community (witness the strong Catalan economy, and hence language, in Spain);
> - increased legitimate power, or stronger rights, within the dominant community (but this may be the result of legislation by supranational bodies, such as the European Union);
> - a strong presence in the educational system – at least regionally, but ideally at a national level;
> - literacy – which implies a codified written language.

The last two causes are the main ones which could promote Tamazight in Algeria since decision-makers are working hard to grant this language a strong presence at a national level. As a matter of fact, Tamazight is taught in schools and universities, and mainly in other scattered regions along the Algerian territory; for example, it is taught in '*BS*' and '*Beni Boussaid'*, both villages situating on the South-west of Tlemcen.

As preconditions for the revival or revitalization process, Fishman introduced his famous quantifying measure -the GIDS, through his book entitled *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), and later

in his edition *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?* (Fishman, (ed.) 2001) Both works are dedicated to the topic of reversing language shift, as a strategy to restrain an EL. Fishman divides the process of revitalization into two major phases which are: the attainment of diglossia, and the stages beyond diglossia. First, within the first phase of the attainment of diglossia, there are four main phases that are summarized in Moseley's words (2008: xiv) as:

1- There is progression through reconstruction of the language and adult acquisition of it;
2- Cultural interaction in the language, primarily involving the older generation;
3- Mother-tongue transmission in the home, family and community;
4- Schools for literacy acquisition.

Second, the stages beyond diglossia also involve four phases[47]:

1-It is the responsibility of the minority to impose the staff and the curriculum on schools and provide education in the ML in question;

2-The ML makes a way into local and regional work spheres;

3- It reaches the mass media and public offices;

4-At last, it becomes a part and parcel of the educational system, workplaces, mass media and government institutions.

Language revitalization aims at strengthening a language that has suffered loss in the number of its native speakers. For instance, Basque was once spoken eastward across the Iberian Peninsula. But,

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[47] Adapted from Moseley (idem)

this language has been diminishing over the centuries. [48] Wicherkiewicz (n.d.) Nevertheless, the number of Basque speakers is really growing more and more; according to some official statistics, in 1991, there were 528,500 speakers of Basque, 665,800 speakers in 2006 and 714,136 speakers in 2011 (Gobierno Vasco, 2012).[49] This is basically thanks to revitalization efforts in the schools. To conclude, it is safe to say that all these proposed strategies and stages on revitalization will serve for nothing if there is no inter-generational transfer - ML must be passed on to children at home.

2.3 LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Ethnicity, like any other social factor, has proved to play a great role in defining the characterizing features of any ethnic/minority group's speakers whose ethnic/minority language is marked by linguistic distinctiveness and specificity. (Milroy, L. 1987) Indeed, it is worth to repeat that ethnicity is usually retained by physical, political or religious conditions and; eventually, the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of minority/ethnic groups endure for a long span of time. (See 1.5.4) The Berberophone speakers in Algeria, perhaps with all their varieties, are still kept distinct both at the linguistic and cultural sides, but their ethnic distinctiveness is highly marked regionally; in a set of distinct varieties displaying various dialect features, and culturally; as each is maintaining its specific traditions, customs and habits.

Defending the right of using the language of choice, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Stefan Wolff (2003:3) point out:

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[48] Hornsby (idem)
[49] Hornsby (idem)

> The use of the language of choice is an important human right as it is through language – a primary marker of identity – that we are able to identify ourselves, others, and to be identified by others, that we think, communicate and generally relate to the world around us.

So, ethno-linguistically speaking, it is worth noting that language also acts as an important defining characteristic of ethnic group membership. Yet, what is striking in the community under investigation is that '*Khemis*' speakers if they are asked about their identities or the culture they belong to, they will undoubtedly define themselves as Muslim Algerians whose language is Arabic though they are aware of the Berber origin of their region.[50] '*Khemis*' cultural values are embodied in customs, traditions, and in the way speakers of this speech community got used to live. Apparently, the socio-cultural milieu contributes in keeping up linguistic elements related to '*Khemis*' history, native traditions and customs. A number of living Berber features have, therefore, resisted change in this community; and are mainly embodied in Kh.A as toponyms, anthroponyms and in everyday vocabulary. Some of them are referred to in section 5.5.2.1.3. (b) To sum up, it is safe to state that the minority family constitutes the basic building stone of the minority community. Both the ML and its culture persist in correlation with the dominant culture and its culture. Language shift or maintenance starts at home within the spheres of ethnic family life as (Fishman, 1966 in 1972:22) states.

Furthermore, any language around the globe involves its speakers' history. Crystal (2000: 34-35) claims that the vocabulary of any language "provides us with clues about the earlier states of mind of its speakers, and about the kinds of cultural contacts they had". Thus, a language is a mirror that reflects culture and helps in its

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[50] This fact is observed in the answers of question 3 in Kh.A Survey.

transmission. When a language dies, the culture of its users will cross its path towards extinction. Hence, language loss expectedly causes an ever-increasing cultural uniformity; no cultural diversity would very possibly render in the world stagnant, and we would all have similar ideas and values (Trudgill, 1991: 67-68).

Issues relevant to the phenomena of language contact, and its subsequent results as "*language maintenance*", "*language shift*" and even "*language loss*" are as important as the theoretical models adopted in the current research and require some clarity for they are very important in the analysis and interpretation of the collected data in variationist sociolinguistics.

2.4 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

"*Language Maintenance*" and "*Language Shift*" are opposites of each other, but each phenomenon cannot be defined or understood without referring to the other. The urgent requirement for language maintenance, or sometimes revival, is appealing whenever researchers/sociolinguists observe the linguistic phenomenon called "language shift" taking place in a given community.

2.4.1 DEFINITION OF "*LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE*"

Language use and maintenance as an intricate area in language contact and sociolinguistic explorations was first advanced by Fishman in the 1960s. Fishman (1989:233). This term has gained must interests among scholars and linguists (Fasold, 1984; Aitchson, 1991; Denison, 1977; Dorian 1978; Gal, 1979) who investigated issues related to language maintenance and shift. Each of them has defined it in relationship with his/her field of interest. The term

"language maintenance" implies the continuing use of a language in spite of its competition from a more powerful language both regionally and socially in society. In other words, "Language maintenance occurs when a community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages that has traditionally used". Alfred J. I. Matiki (1996-7:3)

Other different terms are also found in the literature of language contact as Fase *et al*. (1992:3) point out:

> ...a host of other terms is in use which refers to the same or related themes. Language shift, language attrition, language death, language obsolescence are used to describe the phenomena which are also sometimes referred to in terms of maintenance and loss.

Each of the terms mentioned in this quotation is used to describe linguistic phenomena of language maintenance and language loss in communities where two languages or more are in constant contact and competition.

Language use and maintenance as two concepts constitute the terminological framework to investigate the BV under investigation. Fishman (1966) conducted some of the pioneering studies on language maintenance and use within the USA context. Various factors may push speakers to retain their languages, as many others may lead individuals to shift to another language. However, one may find out what reasons determine language shift in a community, but speculations remain about how this phenomenon takes place among individuals having an EL / ML within their verbal repertoire though, in many studies, language shift proves to take place at varying degrees which will be uncovered in the following sections.

2.4.1.1 Subcategories of Topics in Language Use and Maintenance

Fishman (1968:76-134) further suggests that the field of language use and maintenance study encompasses three main subcategories of topics that may interest linguists:

2.4.1.1.1 Habitual Language Use on Time Continuum

As a matter of fact, language use and maintenance usually takes place within a bi/multilingual milieu in language contact backgrounds. Habitual language use on time continuum can be defined as any change and any degree of shift in language habitual use of a community on a time continuum. Language use and maintenance can be both tackled at a micro and macro levels. Many linguists, who are interested in studying language use and maintenance at a micro level, put much of their focus on the analysis of phonetic, grammatical, and lexical changes resulting in language contact settings; many others, like language planners and educators, investigate language use and maintenance on a macro level. At this level, they are more concerned with the phenomenon of bilingualism in terms of total performance contrasts. Summarizing the linguists' concerns at both levels, Fishman (1968:77 in 1972) states that:

> The measures that they have proposed from their disciplinary point of departure distinguish between phonetic, lexical and grammatical proficiency and intactness. At the other extreme stand educators who are concerned with bilingualism in terms of total performance contrasts...

In other words, phonetic, grammatical, and lexical changes are analyzed by linguists while language educators and planners are interested in total performance contrasts.

Depending on the circumstances of the speech community and the attitudinal behaviours of its speakers, it is worth noting that language shift takes place at varying degrees that clearly appear at the different constituents of its members' linguistic competence. Fishman (1968:80 in 1972) In those speech communities, written languages first lost the writing ability, then its individuals lose the ability to interact or speak in that language and at last, and as an eventual result, they even lose their language, i.e., language loss takes place on a continuum.

2.4.1.1.2 Psychological, Social and Cultural Processes Linked to Stability or Change in Habitual Language Use

Considering language use and maintenance without taking into account the psychological, social and cultural influences seems to be impossible. However, the list of those psychological, social and cultural factors cannot be easily determined or limited as a list (Fishman, 1968 in 1972). This defect in constructing a broadly applicable, theoretical framework can be considered as a sign which argues that linguists are unable to develop a comprehensive applicable or dynamic theory. In this vein, Fishman (1968) in (1972:94) intervenes on this viewpoint as follows:

> The result of such reliance on disjointed categories has been that no broadly applicable or dynamic theories, concepts or findings have been derived from most earlier studies. Indeed, the study of language maintenance and language shift currently lacks either a close relationship to theories of socio-cultural change more generally or to theories of intergroup relations more specifically.

Though it is a fact, it should not ban researchers/linguists from the investigation of the impact of such psychological, social and cultural processes which are related to stability or change in habitual language use.

2.4.1.1.3 Behaviour toward Language

This is the third topic of language maintenance and language shift as identified by Fishman (1964, 1968) including attitudinal behaviour, cognitive behaviour or overt behaviour. Our attitudes, emotions and thoughts about language do have an influence on language use and maintenance. Thanks to progress in sociolinguistic research that the impact of attitudinal behaviours as variants on language has been understood especially in matters that concern ethnic and minority languages..

2.4.2 FISHMAN'S MODEL AND TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

In his discussions about ethnolinguistic issues, Fishman made a tight association between ethnicity and language maintenance, in the sense that ethnicity exercises a strong will to retain the ethnic group's language since it embodies an essential component of its identity (1966, in 1972, 1989). From an ethnolinguistic standpoint, the link he made should be conceived as the main stimulating factor which justifies the rebellion of many minorities to struggle to guard language use and maintenance in order to preserve their ethnic identities. It also helps linguists and researchers better understand and get comprehensive insights into their socio-psychological states that are usually exhibited in their languages, actions or attitudes.

Fishman identifies a model composed of seven characteristics of language maintenance within some Eastern and Southern European

immigrant groups living in the USA. He proves (1966 in 1972:52-53) that:

1/ In everyday life, language is seldom met as an ethnicity marker as a spontaneous linguistic manifestation.

2/ The impact of urban culture on that of the minority group is very powerful. Hence, it is impossible to maintain a functional bilingualism beyond the first generation. It seems much more difficult to keep on speaking a language in an urban context than in a rural setting.

3/ Any community much relies on their religious establishments and ethnic schools to maintain its ethnic language and culture.

4/ Reliance on the host society's organisations for culture and language maintenance is rarely successful as their support is not accurately focusing on the exact needs of the ethnic community.

5/ This would result in a remarkable shift among the members of the first generation. This latter though promotes maintenance, to a second generation which neglects the issue of language maintenance and preserving their culture.

6/ Within the second generation, members usually maintain some ethnic bond with their cultural and religious ancestry through religious establishments and ethnic schools which promote positive social and psychological states towards the ethnic language and culture though they make little impact on language maintenance per se amongst this generation.

7/The third and following generations become much more nostalgic towards their ethnic language and its culture. They more often experience the feeling of missing their ethnic language.

Even though Fishman wrapped up his model from his investigations about Eastern and Southern European immigrant groups living in the USA, his model seems to be applicable to all kinds of

immigrant groups sharing the same features and life circumstances. In the current research, its applicability will be checked with a group of native speakers living in 'BS' and started abandoning their BV, and moving gradually towards their society's majority language.

In another work, Fishman (1989:202-232) put forward *a typology of resolutions* for language use and maintenance. His suggestion implies that language maintenance appears under three typological resolutions:

Resolution 1: The minority immigrant language loses to the dominant indigenous one.

Resolution 2: The dominant language loses to the immigrant minority variety.

Resolution 3: The coexistence of the dominant and indigenous languages gives birth to a bilingual situation.

To conclude, Fishman's three resolutions are really the three possible linguistic situations which any minority group may undergo.

In the following section, the researcher attempts to review the main factors leading speakers to maintain their native language.

2.4.3 Factors Determining Language Maintenance

Giles *et al.* (1977) differentiate between various statuses that determine the major kinds of determinants/ factors which exercise a considerable impact on language use. Such determinants are discussed in what follows:

2.4.3.1 Socio-economic Determinant

Appel and Muysken (1987:33) assert that economic status is a "prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift". That is, and as many researches revealed the higher the socio-economic status of individuals is, the more their language is maintained. So, speakers of lower socio-economic statuses may shift

towards a language to improve their economic status and to escape poverty. An example can be given about anyone who is uneducated or illiterate in the Arab countries, and who cannot speak Standard Arabic and French / English, just his / her indigenous variety, so the lack of competence in these languages hampers his/her success in today's modern societies. In the case of Algeria, the economic development of individuals is highly determined by modernisation. This latter represents an important variant in language maintenance. The economy in Algeria is heavily relying on its citizens' mastery of both MSA and French. This latter, for instance, is currently privileged and became a necessity or a must for attaining a high economic status and; consequently, rising their social statuses. This fact is clearly reflected in the French-Arabic Code switching of Algerian speakers in general with varying degrees (See section 3.3.3.2.).

2.4.3.2 Linguistic Factors

An ethnolinguistic variety may enjoy a prominent status among its group's members, but not necessarily inside the whole majority group. Though 40 percent[51] of '*Khemis*' speakers have a nostalgic feeling towards Tamazight by virtue of the fact of knowing that it is the language of their ancestral culture, they consider CA as very prestigious and high since it is regarded by all Muslims as the language of their Holy book – the Quran. In the other Berberophone provinces in Algeria, such as Great Kabylia or *Shawiya*, their BV has a prestigious status among its native speakers, yet when Tamazight has been integrated in the educational system throughout the Algerian territory, the majority of pupils' parents did accept that their children should study Tamazight as it has been attested in the area of '*Khemis*'

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[51] This percentage has been quantified from the last question in '*Khemis* 'survey.

right after the introduction of Berber in the educational curriculum in the primary school 'Mekkaoui Mekki'.

2.4.3.3 Demographic Factors

A great deal of studies about minority languages have shown that the more the demographic and geolinguistic distribution of an ethnolinguistic group is smaller than that of its majority language in a given community, the more the majority language exercises a heavy pressure on that ethnolinguistic group. In other terms, if the number of speakers of any ethnolinguistic variety decreases, this would encourage language shift to the majority language, a fact that is observable among 'BZ' Berberophones who kept decreasing in number to the extent that the current new generation neither speaks nor understands its ancestral BV as the pilot study has shown (see 4.2.1). Indeed, the largest a group is the greatest is able to maintain its language; otherwise, a higher degree of shift towards the majority language is observed.

Another factor which leads to the shift to another language is inter-ethnolinguistic marriages where an ethnolinguistic variety loses the chance to persist as a home language, especially if it is in competition with a more prestigious language. In fact, members who were married outside their ethnic minorities, their children grew-up acquiring the language of that new community for they failed to transmit culturally their ethnolinguistic variety to the new generation. In this respect, Pulte, W. (1979) found that some Cherokee speakers who got married inside an English community, i.e., outside their minority group, their ML had not been transmitted to their children, and they instead grew-up as monolinguals speaking only English. This sociological factor leading to language shift will not be taken into consideration in the data interpretation about the Berberphone area of 'BS' because of time limit and it needs other anthropological and

matrimonial techniques to collect necessary information about the families' marriages.

It is worth repeating, at this level, that the geo-linguistic distribution and the degree of existence of an ethnolinguistic group in a particular geographical area have an influence on language maintenance within any community. In the Canadian case, as an example, French persisted in Canada due to the high concentration of its speakers in Quebec. Speakers of French, who are not living in Quebec, yet with a low concentration, show, however, a remarkable tendency to shift towards English. In Algeria, as another instance, Berber, with all varieties, is mostly concentrated in the mountains of Great Kabylia (*Kabyle*), the Aures range (*Shawiya*), in some scattered desert regions (*Mzab* and *Touaregs*) and in the mountainous areas of South-West Tlemcen ('BS'- the present research field work). Algerian Arabic is, for historical and political reasons, predominant in the other regions; the Berber varieties have always been a medium of day-to-day intra-communication among the Berber population. But, there has been always a shift from Berber varieties to AA – the language of the majority in Algeria, or to French as it occupies a privileged status among Algerians. This has led to features of Arabized Berber and Berberized Arabic as an outcome of the contact between the Berber and Arabic varieties in many territories. Therefore, some Berber tribes, for all the aforementioned demographic factors and other reasons of other types, have become through time arabized.

In many researches, it has been revealed that isolated rural areas are more inclined to resist change than urban centres. This is mainly attributed to the isolation and its eventual outcomes (the lack of transport, mass media...) which all characterize the rural areas in general. Thus, the degree of maintenance of Berber in a remote rural area is higher than in an urban one. However, one may wonder if the speakers of the BV spoken in a remote rural area located nearly on the

Moroccan frontiers such as the province of 'BS', co-existing with MSA as the majority language, and French as a language that is the offspring of colonialism and which entered the educational system of Algeria and all the civil sectors of life, succeed to maintain their ethnolinguistic variety or not.

2.4.3.4 Governmental Support

It is universally noticed in some governments that its decision-makers favour the support and promotion of minority languages and this fact is displayed in various ways. Such a support usually appears under the form of political recognition of a given ethnic or ML. The political recognition of those languages offers its users the opportunity to use them in different sectors: politics, administration, teaching, media...etc. For example, Belgium is a multilingual polity where different languages such as, English, French, Flemish, German and Dutch which have partitioned the country into French-, Dutch-, and German-speaking areas whose speakers have no linguistic rights to interact in other languages, just exceptionally in Brussels which is multilingual in nature. For doing so, the government promotes their maintenance through enacting constitutional laws which recognize their statuses politically, and in all the domains, through providing financial and cultural supports, inserting those languages in the educational curricula and generalizing its teaching on the whole national territory, or partially in those areas speaking it. These languages are also used in broadcasting radio and TV channels. The Algerian government starting from 2002 strives to promote Tamazight and many positive policies are designed to maintain the Berber language in many domains as education and mass media. (See section b in 3.2.4.1.3)

In sum, language reinforcement and language planning have too much impact over the way how language maintenance and shift do

take place in any community. (See section 2.5) Moreover, another factor which proved to be one of the determinants of use and maintenance of standard languages in communities is education.

2.4.3.5 Education

It is commonly acknowledged that education plays a crucial role in the maintenance of a language. It certainly keeps a standard language in use, but a dialect is just kept in daily verbal, colloquial use. In the Algerian case, MSA and French are taught in all Algerian schools while most native Tamazight varieties are not. It is just recently that the Constitution (2016) has recognized the status of Tamazight as "a second national, official language" that should be taught in schools. In personal view, though MSA and French gained an important place in the whole sectors of life (education, administration, business...) in general, and in the verbal transactions of Algerian individuals, they, however, failed to better reflect the social and cultural realities/identities of this people. The Algerian language policies, mainly Arabicization, have more or less tried to generalize Arabic and French at the expense of the Berber varieties leading to the processes of integration, assimilation and eventually, language shift to the majority language(s), especially in remote areas where communication, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic, is on the way of vanishing, as already mentioned, in the Berber areas in the western mountainous provinces of Algeria. Indeed, in all cases of bilingual settings where one of a bilingual child's languages is a ML is menaced. In this respect, Malmkjar, K. (2006:79-80) says:

> ...that language is threatened when the child's contact
> with the majority language increases through schooling
> and other forms of social interaction, especially if the
> majority group treats the minority language as inferior.

The more functions the majority language has in these bilingual settings, the more the ML use is reduced among those bilinguals.

Due to the accelerating advances in technology and thanks to the various satellite broadcasting channels and internet, access to mass media is nowadays much considerable; a factor which contributes to the maintenance of languages and promotes its use.

2.4.3.6 Mass Media

For most communities, media became inescapable, and for minorities, it is advantageous and helpful in maintaining a ML. "Media can meld people into a sense of a larger community" as Cormack, M. (2007:54). He also argues through Anderson's (1991) idea that members of minority groups imagine themselves as one communion or living in their minds the image of one community. "…the media within such a language can maintain and develop a sense of the language community's, strengthening its ability to stand up to stronger, neighbouring language communities". (idem) Furthermore, as media content is language-based, presenting media in a ML exposes larger amounts of language use into the whole community's public domain, in printed media, radio and TV. This is thought to be helpful for a ML to be maintained in public domains. So, "it seems natural to say that use of such media must help a minority language to stabilise its situation". Cormack, M. (ibid: 55) For example, since the early nineties, Tamazight has also made its way into the Algerian national TV channel and special satellite channels are broadcasting all their programs in Tamazight. This contributed to exposing large amounts of this language to both arabophones and berberophones in Algeria.

In general, in the whole Arab-speaking world, MSA enjoys the high status though it is the mother tongue of nobody. However, it

is constantly used in all Arab media, communication, and in administrative institutions for it has a prestigious and privileged position in the minds of the majority of Arabs, if not all, for its association with the revelation of Quran and Islam in general. Indeed, the use of MSA by the Arab mass media contributes a lot in granting it this supreme position as a higher variety leading to the overwhelming diglossic situations in the Arab-speaking countries in general. However, one may conceive the factor of mass media as a twofold weapon as it is the cause of language shift too. (See section 2.5.4.2) In addition, some other psychological factors play a great role in retaining any ML.

2.4.3.7 Psychological Factors

Fishman (1968:104 in 1972) views that few knowledge is attained about language attitudes, emotions, beliefs, and how they impact on language use and maintenance. Though many insights about language attitudes in the social psychology of language have been added and integrated within many Arab sociolinguistic researches (Abdulaziz Abbasi, 1977; Gravel, 1979; Bentahila, 1982 as examples)[52], attitudes about languages still do change from one community to another, and this fact eventually necessitates the continued revisiting of the types of attitudes towards language whenever tackling any investigation related to language use and maintenance.

While language maintenance takes place when a community with all its members decides to continue speaking its language, language shift happens when a community gives up their language in favour another one in everyday interactions.

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[52] These are researches made about the Moroccans' attitudes toward French as referred to by Moha Ennaji (2005:193)

2.4.4 LANGUAGE SHIFT

What usually happens in language shift situations is that a younger generation acquires the parents' mother tongue, but soon later it is exposed to another prestigious language either at school or in the society. In defining this concept,

2.4.4.1 Definition of "*Language Shift*"

"*Language shift*" as an important concept in linguistic studies has been simply defined by W. Li (2000:497) as "a process in which a speech community gives up a language in favour of another". Winford (2003:15) also writes: "language shift refers to the partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favor of another". Generally, most members of a community in which more languages are in contact abandon their native vernacular and make their choice on a particular code. In this view, Thompson (2001:9) opines: "Intense pressure from a dominant group most often leads to bilingualism among subordinate groups who speak other languages, and this asymmetrical bilingualism very often results, sooner or later, in language shift". The decision to abandon their local, less prestigious language is in favour of a language that is conceived as modern, useful as giving access to greater social mobility and offering better socio-economic opportunities (McMahon 1994; Mufwene 2001; Brenzinger 2006). So, language shift is the offspring of various socio-economic and political determinants.

This term has been the core of many studies and researches in many disciplines with various perspectives. Most importantly stated, the study of endangered languages and dialects on way of extinction is important to the field of linguistics because when they disappear, this will lead to the loss of linguistic diversity, which is crucial to confirm or infirm up to date linguistic theory. To sum it up, language shift is a process which contributes to language endangerment. It does happen on a continuum. Therefore, it is primordial to reveal the level of language

endangerment among BZ speakers through the details of chapter four. The following section attempts to explain the major drivers of language shift.

2.4.4.2. Factors Leading to Language Shift

The time span for language shift to take place usually is three generations leading at last to language loss (Fase *et al*. 1992:6). That is to say, the minority group in competition with the majority language of the macro-speech community is closed in on itself, and thus, does not receive new language users as its grandparental and parental generation cease to pass their ethno-linguistic medium to the young generation.

In any minority group context, *communication* with its both facets, inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic, exercises a great impact on language maintenance and shift. (Paraphrased in Fase *et al*. 1992:6) In minority-majority communities, one may suppose that both communities would attempt to communicate with each other to reach an interethnic communication. Nevertheless, in almost all communities, communication is, unfortunately, established in the majority language. Equally significant, intra-ethnic communication is then primordial in preserving the language minority. Yet, it is determined by many factors such as: the geo-distribution of its users, the demographic effectives of the minority group and their degree of isolation, the political support of the minority language ...etc. In this sense, (Dorian, 1980) asserts that:

> Language death only occurs when intraethnic communication disappears, and (...) this can normally only happen when the group itself dissolves owing to demographic causes. (Dorian, 1980, as quoted in Fase *et al*. 1992:6)

As a matter of fact, and as referred to earlier, when the members of an ethnic language, in coexistence with the majority language, tend to minimize the use of their ethno-linguistic medium into restricted settings, they gradually invoke language loss. Moreover, the definitive integration of the minority members within the majority community invokes a bilingual community in most contexts; so it may lead to a gradual language shift towards the language of the majority.

If no decisive action is initiated by the majority community to support the minority language, *assimilation* will be, for sure, the inevitable result. In addition, '*forced assimilation*' is sometimes promoted by the majority through legislating or enacting laws which work to menace the vitality of the minority language and its cultural components. It is the case of many countries such as *Samis* in Norway who were sent to boarding schools in which indigenous kids were put and taught that they were Norwegians. They were banned from speaking their language and consequently, forgot about both their culture and language. It is also embodied in the procedures of many colonial policies during the twentieth century. In Algeria, for instance, the French authorities made all their efforts to eradicate the Arabic language but, they all doomed to failure resulting in the current intricate bi- or rather multilingual situation that is attested nowadays, and which is somehow clarified in the third chapter of this thesis.

In fact, it is the extent of using their ML which reinforces its maintenance; i.e., the *strength* of the minority community and its constant and incessant efforts to preserve its ethnic language decisively determine its vitality. As further explained, it is, thus, worth assuming that any witnessed decrease in ML use is tightly related with

the shrink of the effectives of its community and the degree of their isolation, especially in rural areas.

Mass media does exercise more or less a considerable impact on the shift from one language to another. In Algeria, for example, with the widespread of technology, Algerian individuals do feel free to watch channels, listen to various radio stations, and to surf through different websites and interact through social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Linkedin...)in many languages; MSA, French, English ....etc. Therefore, this too much exposure to too many languages has led to some extent to a degree of shift from Berber / AA to MSA and French resulting in the current intricate linguistic situation attested today in Algeria. (See section 3. 3.2)

These factors will be dealt with in the fourth chapter to best diagnose to what extent these determinants contribute to the constant decrease in use which leads to the threatening, accelerating rate of language shift in the Berberphone speech community under study – 'BZ'. At last and as already stated in the introduction of the current chapter, language loss, as the final point in the developmental trajectory of languages, is taking place and menacing the existence of minority/ethnic languages if no decisions or actions are taken to maintain those endangered languages and solve the issue of endangerment.

2.5   LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT AND LANGUAGE LOSS

Approximately 5000 to 6000 languages are spoken in the world, but it is predicted that a century from now, the number will almost diminish to thousands or just hundreds. Minority communities,

that are under intense pressure to assimilate or integrate with powerful neighbourhood, imperial dominants or regional forces, are highly threatened by the loss of their ethnic language and identity. Linguists found that language endangerment is a tremendously serious problem engendering both big humanistic and scientific outcomes on communities. The process of endangerment is an intricate one and the loss itself can be voluntary or involuntary. In either situation, it is commonly seen as a loss of social and cultural identities for those losing the language, then later by the next generation. Anthropo-linguists have demonstrated that in many cases, language loss is an outcome of intolerance for diversity, particularly when exercised by the powerful against the weak. Anthony C. Woodbury in Betty Birner (n.d :2) In this respect, Benrabah, M. (2013: 4) highlights that imperialism has contributed to this phenomenon of language destruction, or what linguists call 'linguicide' or 'language death' as

> (...) conquerors in empires and colonies have imposed their own language on subjugated populations to eliminate a diversity of indigenous cultures and tongues. (....) The result is language substitution: a tongue ceases to be spoken when it is no longer transmitted from one generation to another, and this creates a disruption in intergenerational transmission.

He (idem) also attributed language death to two main reasons when he wrote:

> Language death happens either because the speakers of the language die out naturally or are made to disappear, or because its speakers gradually adopt another distinct language, leaving no speakers of the original tongue. One way or the other, languages die from loss of speakers.

In other words, languages may lose their native speakers mainly because of migration, natural disasters and wars. Furthermore, Anthony C. Woodbury (idem) further adds:

> since nearly half of the world's languages are already moribund, (…) linguists have taken two main approaches to the problem of language endangerment. One has been to work together with communities around the world wishing to preserve their languages, offering technical and other assistance in programs of language teaching, language maintenance, and even language revival. (…) The other approach - less optimistic but more directly related to linguists' primary work - has been to document contemporary languages as fully as possible.

In other words, linguists should either provide communities whose languages are threatened by technical support, teaching and revitalization programs in addition to language documentation.

Listing the features that distinguish a dead language from an alive one, Crystal, D. (2000:2) writes:

> If you are the last speaker of a language, your language – viewed as a tool of communication – is already dead. For a language is really alive only as long as there is someone to speak it to. When you are the only one left, your knowledge of your language is like a repository, or archive, of your people's spoken linguistic past. If the language has never been written down, or recorded on tape - and there are still many which have not - it is all there is.

This means language dies with the death of its last speaker. Thus, archiving the knowledge about the language of that last individual speaking it serves to preserve it. Language documentation is,

therefore, of a paramount importance, but an effective documentation, as Woodbury (idem) should include

> ...extensive videotape, audiotape, and written records of actual language use, both formal and informal. In addition, to be useful it must include translation of materials into a language of wider communication and analyses of the vocabulary and the grammar, taking the form, respectively, of a reference dictionary and reference grammar.

The documentation of endangered languages is, then, a primordial, urgent task to at least maintain some data about what these languages have or they will be lost forever. For this purpose, documentary linguists are mainly concerned with recording speakers' speech, transcribing its data, and saving any amount of available data.

All these discussed phenomena, which have been clarified in this chapter, are either the offspring of a given environment where political decisions such as: language policy, language planning and governmental support, altogether interwoven contribute to determine the future of a specific minority language; i.e., its maintenance, or the product of socio-cultural and sociolinguistic spheres which pave the way to language shift and the establishment of a bilingual community. Moreover, they lead, in some particular linguistic contexts, to "linguicide" / "language death".

In the following section, light will be shed on how the political environment and decision-making contribute to the maintenance or shift of minority and threatened languages.

2.6 LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language planning (for short LP) and language policy (hereafter LPo) are defined as the process of conscious intervention to change the future and use of language in any speech community (Mesthrie *et al.* 2000:384; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xvi).[53] This change is officially made by governmental institutions or authorities aiming at selecting which language varieties should be used and for what functions in a given community. In the following sub-titles brief definitions of both concepts are to be offered.

2.6.1 The Concept of *"Language Policy"*

The notion of "LPo" is commonly used to refer to governmental legislative actions, court decisions, or simply a policy to designate how languages should be employed, or to establish the rights for speakers or ethnic groups to preserve and use their minority or languages under threat. It has received many definitions but in the following one, Bugarski (1992:18) simply defined as: "the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting [a] community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential". [54] These positions take different forms: formal, overt decisions taken by the government and enacted as laws, or covert, that is, without any regulatory law and rather reflect public attitudes.

In the past, LPo was designed to encourage or discourage the use of a specific language or many. Throughout the history of many governments, language policies were often adopted to promote one

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[53]   Benrabah (2007:55)
[54]   Schiffman (1996:3)

official language at the expense of others at a national scale. Nowadays, however, states design policies to retain and support regional, minority and ethnic languages on the way of extinction, in an attempt to provide those minorities with their language right to be used in societies as a means of communication or even of instruction. So, LPo is tightly related to revitalization.

2.6.2 The Significance of "*Language Planning*"

The term "LP" was coined in the late 1950's when decolonized countries sought to correct their language 'problems'. Benrabah (2007:10) LP is a very large field that gained the interests of many scholars, linguists and even decision-makers in authorities. It is a governmental or institutional effort that is made to establish which language to be used in a certain community. Karam (1974:105) defines it as "an activity which attempts to solve a language problem usually on a national scale, and which focuses on either language form or language use or both".[55] So, it is a government authorized effort that aims at setting or altering the functions of language, both written and spoken, for communication problem-solving.

Generally, the main goals of LP involve attaining the countries' national unity, promoting education and language maintenance. Clarifying these points, Nahir (1984) offers a summarized classification of LP goals in eleven points as it is shown below:

- Language purification (to remove foreign elements, or "errors").
- Language revival (to restore "a language with few or no surviving native speakers" as "a normal means of communication").

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[55] Cooper, L.R. (2006:30)

- Language reform (to improve effectiveness).
- Language standardization (to turn "a language or dialect spoken in a region" into one "accepted as the major language").
- Language spread (to expand the domains and speakers of a language).
- Lexical modernization (to create terminology).
- Terminology unification (to standardize existing terminology).
- Stylistic simplification (to make technical or legal language comprehensible,   and reduce bureaucratese).
- Interlingual communication   (through planned   languages, translation and interpretation, etc.).
- Language maintenance (to preserve the domains in which a language is used).
- Auxiliary code standardization (to create norms for language-related activities, e.g. transliteration and transcription).

As quoted in Ball, M.J. (2005:122-123)

Broadly, the stated goals all contribute in way or another to codify and standardize official languages or to restore minority or endangered ones.

Up to now, three dimensions or types of LP have been identified: Status planning, Corpus planning, and Acquisition planning.

2.6.2. 1 Status Planning

Status planning, as a political decision-making process taken by policy makers, is concerned with the allocation or reallocation of a language to functional domains within a community, that is, any institutional, official attempt to decide which language(s) to be used in official administrative institutions, courts, mass media, and education

with determined functions. In Hoffmann's words (1991:207), status planning "…concerns decision-making processes regarding the status and function of particular languages or varieties, as well as the allocation of state resources". Referring to language status, it means the position of a language vis-à-vis others. Kloss (1968) dealt marginally with the concept of "language status" and identified four categories that relate to it:

1. The origin of language used officially with respect to the speech community;
 2. The developmental status of a language;
3. The juridical status with respect to the speech community;
4. The ratio of users of a language to a total population.

Cited in Cobarrubias, J. (1983:43)

2.6.2.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning, as a linguistic activity, refers to the intervention in the forms or structures of a language. Its activities usually arise as the offspring of beliefs about the adequacy of the form of a language to serve desired functions. Status planning decisions are essentially taken by politicians, whereas those of corpus planning are almost performed by individuals with more linguistic expertise. Corpus planning is essential in any process of LP before the implementation. It involves three main stages: graphization, standardization and modernization.

2.6.2. 3 Acquisition Planning

This is the third activity of LP. It is rather concentrating on how a language learnt. Molinero (2001:131) It is also known with the

concept of "*Language-in-Education Policy*" because most theorists associate this type of planning with education. Spolsky (2004) asserts that education or school is the most important domain of LP when he says: "of all the domains for LP, one of the most important is the school".[56] In simpler words, children in schools are taught another language instead of their native tongue, a fact which enhances status planning. Also, corpus planning, through teaching the form of that language, will be reinforced. Furthermore, acquisition planning is achieved due to teaching programmes.

2.6.3 LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN ALGERIA

The most severe issue, which Algeria has faced after independence, was linguistic. That issue is unique within all African countries which were under colonialism, as Djité (1992:16) claimed: "Nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central in the fight against colonialism [as in Algeria]" as quoted by Benrabah (2007:7). Hence, Algeria represents a fascinating and interesting topic or case study for studying (LPo) and (LP). After regaining its independence, the Algerian government was "the leadership who demonstrated ideological intransigence in recovering both language and identity" (Benrabah, idem) under the presidency of Abd el Aziz Bouteflika whose "constant use of French created an uproar among those of the elite who were in favour of total arabisation and of total eradication of French".(ibid:10) Indeed, Bouteflika's polity favoured the move forward the opening up to other international languages to modernize the Algerians' identity.[57] So, Bouteflika's attitude best

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[56] Retrieved from:
http://assets.cambridge.org/97805210/11754/sample/9780521011754ws.pdf
[57] From Bouteflika's declaration on live television in August, 1999. (See more details in (El Watan, 1999b:3) as mentioned in Benrabah (ibid: 10).

illustrates how an individual can impact on language choice in a particular polity, Benrabah (idem) synthesizes.

Summarizing Algeria's interest in LP and LPo, Ephrain Tabory and Mala Tabory (1987:64)[58] point out:

> The Algerian situation is complex, as it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the various Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies.

On the light of Ephrain and Mala Tabory's quotation, Algeria is described as a multilingual country that is characterized by the complex interplay between its languages (See its details in chapter three), but in spite of the intricacy of its linguistic situation, many lessons can be applied to similar countries in planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies. Benrabah (2006: 227) described language-in-education policies in Algeria as being in crisis. Since independence, Algeria struggled with the issue of languages in its educational system about whether schools should continue to favour monolingualism in Arabic or they should adopt Arabic–French bilingualism. The authorities and a large part of the population alike have felt the need for educational reforms, which should include, among other things, the reintroduction of French at an early stage. Before his assassination in June 1992, President Mohamed Boudiaf depicted the educational system as ''doomed and unworthy of the Algerian people'' (Messaoudi & Schemla, 1995: 186) in Benrabah (ibid: 228). This fact made many parents believe that Algerian public

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[58] Benrabah (idem).

schools ''produce generations of illiterate people who master neither Arabic nor French''. (Beaugé, 2004: 17)

Right after independence, Ahmed Ben Bella, as Algeria's first president, made the first move towards the policy of Arabicisation in primary schools. In October, 1962, he declared that Literary Arabic was to be introduced to the educational system of Algeria (Grandguillaume, 2004:27). (For more details about the Arabicization policy, see section 3.2.4) Opposition to Algeria's language policy first started from the Kabylians (see section 3.2.4.1.3). Opponents began with an armed fight against the central authorities in 1963–1964 under the Socialist Forces Front (FFS in French).

As Benrabah (ibid: 247) stated, in Algeria, it is very difficult to "move decisively from the "one language–one nation'' ideology of language policy and national identity to a multilingual language policy which promotes ethnic and linguistic pluralism (algerianisation) as resources for nation-building". Summarizing the reasons behind the efforts made by Algeria's promoters of linguistic convergence, he (idem) asserted that they failed in their endeavours for at least four reasons which are as follows:

> 1. Planners overlooked both the full complexity of the country's socio-linguistic profile as well as the population's feelings about the different languages in competition within the country.
> 2. Arising out of this is the presence of a sort of minority nationalism among the Berber-speaking population, which prevents nation-building as a viable strategy. The language issue has been divisive ever since Algeria obtained its independence.

3. Planners systematically opposed Literary Arabic to French (or French to English) thus creating a context of rivalry between them even though the two languages are complementary.

4.Arabisation as an exclusionary (monolingual) educational policy does not promote social justice because the majority of Algeria's youth are excluded from the socio-economic activities of the country. The denial of French-medium instruction contributes to perpetuating the linguistic gulf that separates the bilingual elite from the vast majority who are literate or semi-literate in Literary Arabic only.

Since LPo in Algeria will be detailed in chapter three which deals with the Algerian linguistic situation, the researcher confines herself to only few events and interpretations in the present section. To sum up, one may conclude that the policy of arabicisation was applied by an authoritarian regime that refuses to engage in much needed economic and political reforms. (Lewis, 2004) The Algerian authorities need to implement reforms that support linguistic pluralism and abandon the policy of one language as it tries to do currently with the introduction of Tamazight in its educational system and opening on the world's languages.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The aim of the second chapter has been to introduce a theoretical review about some key-concepts related to the study of language minorities and endangered languages, in relation with the contact phenomena of language maintenance, language shift and language loss. LPo and LP in Algeria, which represent the government concern, touched mainly the educational system where MSA and French and some other foreign languages have been imposed as the languages of instruction, and AA is used for daily life interaction among AA speakers at one hand. The Berberophone individuals, on the other hand, find themselves in front of a choice between keeping their native tongue and learning the majority language and others. Such a linguistic fact and its features will be portrayed more clearly in the following chapters when analyzing the characteristics of the Algerians' linguistic behaviour in the next chapter in general, and those of 'BS' individuals in particular in chapter four, five and six.

Chapter Three

ALGERIA: *A BACKGROUND ACCOUNT AND LANGUAGE USE*

Chapter 3: Algeria: A Background Account and Language Use

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This third chapter contains two main parts. The first one sketches out the Algerian speech community; it offers a geographical, socio-historical and demographic background of the country by tracing its historical trajectory before the Arab conquest, then, describing the status of the French language during the French colonial period, and at last, shedding light on language policy during the post-independence era, portraying mainly the position of Berber in relation to the arabicisation policy that was launched in the Algerian administrative institutions and in the educational system right after independence. The second part highlights today's linguistic situation which is taken as an introduction to shed light on the linguistic realities in the context under study. That is, a review about language repertoires, the conflicting interplay between these languages and the subsequent linguistic phenomena that result from their contact is held for this purpose.

3.2 PART ONE: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA

Algeria is a multilingual speech community and this situation is attributed to its history. Without detailing the particularities of the successive historical events that have resulted in such an intricate linguistic situation that can be attested nowadays in Algeria, we shall mention succinctly the most significant ones especially those that are firmly related to the researcher's sociolinguistic context. First, one may state that Algeria knew a series of many invasions and civilizations before the arrival of the French colonizer in 1830 as it will be outlined throughout the following section.

3.2.1 THE HISTORY OF ALGERIA UP TO 1830

Diachronically speaking, from Antiquity, people in North Africa in general and Algeria in particular were monolingual Berbers. Due to the failure of their unsuccessful rulers, North African countries were invaded by many civilizations: Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Romanized Byzantines, Islamo-Arabs, Ottomans, French and Spaniards, each of which has left its remarkable fingerprints that are embodied in culture and in language as well.

3.2.1.1 Algeria before the Arab Conquest

As it is historically known, the first inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers. Yet, little is known about their origin. [59] Anthropologically speaking, the Berbers are Caucasians. Their language, Berber, belongs to the Hamito-Semitic group of languages.

Tracing and summarizing the succession of the historical events that Algeria went through, Benrabah (2014:43) writes:

> Several invaders more or less shaped the sociocultural history of Algeria, as well as its sociolinguistic profile. Berbers came under the yoke of the Phoenicians who imposed their Carthaginian rule for about seven centuries, subsequently Romans for about six centuries, the Vandals and the Romanized Byzantines for about a century each. The Islamo-Arabo-Berbers dominated the region for about four centuries, the Turks for about three centuries, and the French, who

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[59] Reviewing the controversies about the origins of Berbers, Ruedy, J. (2005:9) writes: "The literature on the origins of the Berbers is full of problems and ambiguities. The balance of opinion at present holds that the Berbers of history were the descendants of Paleolithic stock to whom had been added a variety of other racial inputs - minor ones from Western Europe and from Sub-Saharan Africa, and two major ones from the northeast and the southeast. The language which covers the centuries splintered onto scores of dialects distributed among three main families may be Hamitic in origin. If so it is a relative of Golla, Somalia, and Pharaonic Egyptian, a cousin rather than a sister to Arabic and the other Semitic languages".

brought Turkish domination to an end, for more than a century and a quarter. Spaniards occupied enclaves along the Mediterranean coast intermittently between 1505 and 1792.

As stated in Benrabah's quotation, Berbers came under the yoke of the Phoenicians - Semitic people - who imposed their Carthaginian domination for about seven centuries.

3.2.1.1.1 Algeria under the Phoenician Rule

During the seven centuries which Phoenicians spent in the Mediterranean basin, their representatives established towns and trading poles from Cyprus to Morocco. In fact, the Phoenicians were good at trading and were strong militarily. Berbers of Algeria in particular and North African countries in general, were, at that epoch, less advanced in many domains. Therefore, they were enormously exploited economically for they possess raw materials, and for occupying such a strategic location in the Mediterranean basin which facilitated the expansion of the Phoenician power on the surrounding places. Chebchoub, Z. (1985:2)

As far as their language is concerned, "the Phoenicians had their own writing system, but although the Berbers came across it, their civilisation or rather language remained oral". Chebchoub, Z. (idem) points out. So, in this era, the Berber language was mainly spoken in Algeria.

3.2.1.1.2 Romans, Vandals and Byzantines in Algeria

After the decline of Carthage after the successive defeats against the Romans in the Punic wars, the Romans took control over Numedia (present-day Algeria) which soon became a Christian country. Latin was being accepted; it was adopted by all men of education who acquired the Roman citizenship right after the Roman

conquest in 100 B.C. The Berber Language was, then, spoken by the nomads and peasants. Chebchoub, Z. (ibid:3)

Six centuries later, the Vandals coming from Spain, conquered Algeria and settled there. Consequently, three languages got into contact in Algeria: Berber, Punic and Latin.

After ruling the country for a century, the Vandals were defeated by the Byzantines who ruled Algeria for another century under the domination of Constantinople, which was the hub of the Empire. Years later, the Arab invasion put an end to the Byzantine dynasty. (For more details, see Julien, Ch. A. (1931))

Linguistically speaking, one should acknowledge with both historians and linguists that the Arab conquerors were the most influential conquering groups who exerted a deep impact on North African varieties in general and on the Algerian linguistic profile in specific since Arabic came to be strongly associated with Islam in North Africa, Gellner, E. (1973:19). And as it spread gradually, more and more Berbers have been arabized.

3.2.1.2 The Arab Conquest: Arabizing North African Berber Tribes

In the 7th century, the Byzantines were defeated by the Arab *Fatihins* who came to spread Islam. Consequently, North Africans accepted little by little the new religion 'Islam' and by the 12th century, they had become "Orthodox" Sunni Moslems. Benrabah, M. (ibid: 43) As far as their tongue is concerned, the Berbers willingly agreed to learn and speak Arabic.[60] In this respect, Bentahila, A. (1983:2) asserts:

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[60] See note 1 in Appendix 1.

> [t]he Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, probably because of this link between Arabic and religion, and may be also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess.

Therefore, the progressive widespread of Arabic, the language of Quran, forced the Berbers to abandon their native tongue and, in turn, accepted to become Arabophones. Ageron, C.A. (1993:766–767); Julien, Ch. A. (1994:341–366)

With the coming of the Arab conquerors to North Africa, the interplay between the languages of the conquering and the conquered populations gave birth to the phenomenon of "diglossia", as Benrabah, M. (ibid:44) states, in which

> The high form known as Classical or Literary Arabic remained the common liturgical language for all Muslims. The low form developed into different North African varieties. Arabic and Berber belong to the same language family, the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, and they have a predisposition to take in features from the other.

In his view, Arabic took two main forms: the high CA represents the common language of all Muslims, and the low in the form of colloquial varieties; both Arabic and Berber which take in features from each other.

Regarding those effects that these languages exert on each other, he (idem) adds:

> (...) As a *substratum* language faced with unequal contacts between conquering and conquered populations, Berber had little lexical effect on Arabic (the *superstratum*). Nevertheless, it exerted far-reaching structural influence on the latter's phonology, morphology, and syntax. Hence, the North African Arabic varieties in general and the

> Algerian ones in particular can be described as "Berberized" Arabic (Benali-Mohamed 2003, 208; Chafik 1999, 64, 78, 120, 142; Chtatou 1997, 104).

In this quotation, Benrabah has agreed with Benali Mohamed (2003), Chafik (1999) and Chtatou (1997) upon the idea that Berber has influenced the Arabic varieties existing in North Africa in general mostly on the phonological and the morphological levels. This influence is still embodied in the structure of the Arabic varieties spoken along the Algerian territory in particular. The two phenomena that these linguists have referred to in the quotation above, i.e., "Arabized Berber" and "Berberized Arabic", will be clearly explained in the fifth chapter through providing some examples from the dialects under study. (See sub-section (h) in section 5.5.2.1.2.)

In addition, concerning language maintenance following the conquest of Arab *Fatihins*, Benrabah, M. (ibid: 44) claims, in this vein, that

> (...)despite the high prestige associated with Arabic, this language did not displace Berber completely. Thirteen centuries after the Arab invasion, and on the eve of French occupation in 1830, about 50% of Algerians were still monolingual in Berber.

To sum up, one should admit that in spite of the widespread arabicization that accompanied the Muslim settlements, Berber persisted in many regions throughout the whole country.

In the 16th century, some Moors/Spaniards who, "...occupied enclaves along the Mediterranean coast intermittently between 1505 and 1792" Benrabah (ibid: 43), wanted to spread over the whole territory. Therefore, in 1516, Algeria sought the assistance of two Ottoman pirates, the brothers *Arrudj* and *Khayr ed-din*, who came to

save Islam and as a result, it became under the power of the Ottoman protectorate.

3.2.1.3 Algeria under the Ottoman Rule (1516-1830)

The Ottomans have lasted for more than three centuries in Algeria. During the Ottoman Empire, the Algerian institutions, be they political or economic, realized some advances and the social sector knew many transformations. Under the Ottoman rule, many efforts have been devoted to support the cultural institutions and activities, notably Mosques and *Zaouïas*; they also developed cultural clubs and sport associations.[61] But, at the linguistic aspect, one may notice that various Turkish words and expressions[62] had been adopted in the AA. However, "very few grammatical morphemes of Turkish have made their way into Arabic because of the preponderance of the latter in the matter of religion", Chebchoub, Z. (1985:5) opines. The Turkish rule ended with the arrival of the French colonizer in 1830.

3.2.2   ALGERIA   DURING   THE   FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD (1830-1962)

The French colonizer arrived in 1830. During all the years of colonialism, and unlike Tunisia and Morocco which were French protectorates, "The French considered Algeria as a territorial extension of France itself", Benrabah, M. (2013:xii) states, and "they implemented a deliberate policy of European settlement, cultural assimilation and attendant linguistic Frenchification". (idem) That is, France strived to apply a policy, through executing *'la mission civilisatrice'*; the 'civilizing mission', in which the French civilization was considered as superior to Algerian culture. The French belief in

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[61] Gherfi, A. (2009:18)
[62] For further details about the persisting Turkish anthroponyms (names of persons), toponyms (names of places), dishes, colours, see table 2 in appendix 1.

this mission "led to a desire to create an elite who would think and act like them, whilst keeping the mass of the population illiterate", Aitsiselmi, F. and Marley, D. (n. d.:193) claim. Indeed, it succeeded in doing so; the vast majority of the population of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco who were under the French rule remained illiterate.[63](idem) So, this mission entailed the dominance of the French language and culture, and finally the eradication of local, indigenous traditions.

In the three Maghrebi countries (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco), the economic and the political systems were weak, and this is what justifies the intervention of the French in both Tunisia and Morocco (idem). But, "in Algeria, they simply took over from the previous colonizers and again imposed their own system and language" (idem). Following their policy of assimilation, the French destroyed the Algerian educational system through imposing theirs, in which their language was the only medium of instruction. As a reaction, Algerian parents refused to send their children to French schools for fear that they would not only adopt the colonial language and culture but, worse than this, would embrace Christianity as well. (Benrabah, 1999:19)

Over a century and a quarter, the French existence heavily influenced the Algerian speech community both at the cultural and the linguistic sides. During the colonial era, the extension of the French educational system led to the spread of Standard French among the European descent and a minority of Arabo-Berber Algerians under a dialect continuum (Queffélec *et al.*, 2002:25-6)[64]; that is composed of two main French varieties. At one end of the continuum, there was *the basilect* which was most served as a vernacular in the coastal towns of Algiers, Oran, Skikda, Annaba and Mostaganem. "It was spoken by

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[63] In Algeria, the literacy rate was estimated at 40-50 percent (Wardhaugh 1987:186), as quoted in (Aitsiselmi and Marley (ibid: 193).
[64] Benrabah (2007:51)

French and European Algerians from the low social classes as well as a minority of urban Arabo-Berbers who interacted with the former". (Duclos, 1995:121; Quéffelec *et al.*, 2002:25) cited in (Benrabah (idem) At its other end, the *acrolect*, as a written variety, greatly influenced by the French norm, was used by teachers, writers, journalists, etc. (idem) However, under the effect of the 1990's French schooling system and standardization, the *basilect* variety vanished, and another intermediate form; *the mesolect*, appeared sharing the same features of the basilectal variety which are up to now found in the French vocabulary bulk of Algerian bilingual speakers. [65]

In fact, Benrabah (idem) affirms that "the spectrum of French varieties" during colonialism as previously depicted, "is still valid at present though the vast majority of Algerians of European descent left the country in 1962".(idem) The first social group who speaks the basilect is the Algerians who have been educated before the Arabicization process, in French, and "the second group includes arabized monolinguals trained after the implementation of arabization who did not have access to French for one reason or another…" Quéffelec *et al.*, 2002:119-20 in Berrabah (idem). The acrolectal variety is daily used by the francophone elite in work. Yet, the mesolectal form is used by those soclal groups in social interactions instead. Berrabah (idem) It is widely used among Algerian Arabic-French or Berber-French bilinguals who were in a stable contact with French and had a long school-training**.** Defining the mesolect, Benrabah (idem) quoting the statement of (Quéffelec *et al.*, 2002:119-21) writes:

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[65] For more details, see Benrabah's examples (idem).

The term *mesolect* covers a wide range of varieties intermediate in form between basilect and acrolect. Such variety, which is undergoing a process of standardization (phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical), is currently being indigenized under the influence of the three local languages: Algerian Arabic, Classical/Literary Arabic and Tamazight.

In other words, the mesolect variety, under the impact of the process of standardization, and the influence of AA, CA and Berber, knew and still undergo many phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical transformations. (See Benrabah (ibid: 52)

3.2.3   THE STATUS OF FRENCH AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The 132 years of occupation have heavily influenced linguistically the Algerian population. After the Second World War, the fear of learning French started to disappear and many Algerians displayed positive attitudes this language. In this regard, Aitsiselmi, F. and Marley, D. (ibid: 194) state that

(...) many Algerians began to recognize the value of knowing the language of the colonizer and to demand better education in French, by the end of the colonial era, scarcely 15% of the population knew French.

As already mentioned, the rate of literacy during colonialism was very low. Yet, in the course of two decades after independence, its rate increased to 70% in comparison with that estimated right after the departure of the French from Algeria. After the independence, the

number of francophones was less than one million Algerian in a population of 10 million inhabitants.[66]

Commenting on the increase of the rate of literacy after independence, M. Zemmouri, the Director of the Elementary School in the Ministry of National Education declared that "We can say that French is more taught today in Algeria than it was at the time of the French".[67] (Interview in *le* quotidien français, *Le Monde* of 6/12/1985, p. 12).

At last, in this section, it has been attempted to show that French, such a latecomer, has had a far-reaching impact on the Algerian population, and how it became the language of prestige in many important domains after the colonial period.

Currently, and according to the results of a recent survey, it has been demonstrated that Algerians have a positive attitude towards French and they do not favour such monolingualism that has been imposed through the Arabicization policy since "literary Arabic alone does not ensure social mobility, which is considered possible mainly through the mastery of Arabic-French bilingualism" (Benrabah 2007a: 243). Nowadays, French truly has become the language of social mobility, and a medium of access to many modern fields of interest; in domains of education, administration and the mass media. However, the same survey illustrated that the respondents favoured French when they were offered English as an alternative to French as they "seem to reject policies that seek to displace French in favor of English" (Benrabah, ibid:245). Indeed, French still retains its privileged status in the Algerian sociolinguistic landscape in spite of the efforts

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[66] Cited in Benmesbah, A. (2003:19)

[67] The following French quotation has been roughly translated into English by the researcher: "On peut dire que le français est plus enseigné aujourd'hui en Algérie qu'il l'était du temps des Français".

promoting its replacement by Arabic through the adoption of language policies in Algeria.

3.2.4 Language Policy in Algeria

Since independence, Algeria has adopted a policy of eliminating the use of French in favour of Arabic - the Arabicization policy. Decision-holders of the newly-independent Algeria felt the necessity of making an urgent change and enacted this policy which destined gradually to eliminate the language imposed by the colonizer's regime at the linguistic side, and remove all colonial influences in all other domains.

3.2.4.1 Characteristics of Arabicization after Independence

When Algeria got its independence in 1962, its linguistic repertoire involved four main languages:

a. **Classical Arabic**: It was not much used, just relegated to religious contexts and "it was suppressed by the colonial regime. It was considered principally as the language of Islam, a safe refuge during colonial times" as Grandguillaume, G. (2004:2) states.

b. **French**: It was the main language imposed by the French policies, taught in schools and it was the language of business too.

c. **Dialectical Arabic**: As it is the mother tongue of the majority of the population, it was the language of everyday speech, but without any written form.

d. **Berber**: With all its different varieties, the Berber language, the native tongue of an important minority of independent Algeria, was spoken mainly in *Small* and *Great Kabylia*, *Aures*, *Mzab* and other scattered regions throughout the Algerian territory.

Actually, in Algeria, French has always been connected with social change, development and modernity, a fact that Algerian decision-makers hated and wanted to return back to their official language – Arabic, and recover all other components of their Arab-Islamic culture, and consequently, they emphasized Arabic in schools and administrations.

Reviewing some of the reasons that prompted Algeria to adopt such a policy, Benrabah, M. (2013: xiii) writes:

> To regain or assert a sense of cultural individuality, Algeria's elites adopted the policy of Arabization in order to reduce divisions linked to language, and to contribute to the overall development of the country.

That was the cultural purpose that prompted Algeria to replace French in all its uses. Moreover, the target behind this policy was to recover the Algerian identity (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997:184), by means of restoring the Arabic language. A second reason of Arabicization in Kateb's view (2005:54) was "the renewal of the Algerian personality deeply affected by the French colonization and the valorization of the national language which was prohibited and relegated and its history as well as its culture which were denied and impaired". [68] Grandguillaume (ibid: 9), in his regard, described Arabicization in Algeria as a monolingualism, which opposes multilingualism, as a striking feature characterizing Algerian language policy. In the same vein, Boukhchem, K. and Varro, G. (2001:12) asserted that the policy of arabicizing Algeria implicitly implies the rejection of multilingualism. That is to say, it reinforced the usage of MSA at the expense of the native, local mother tongues (AA dialects and Berber

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[68] This is Kateb's view as expressed in Ouahmiche's style (2013:163).

varieties) which have been completely ignored. Nevertheless, the French language gained its position in the Algerian educational system as a foreign language. By so doing, Arabicization has been seen as a negation of all Algerian varieties, be they Arabic or Berber.

Commenting on the negative effects of this policy on the Algerian society, Benrabah (idem) declares what follows:

> (…) instead of reducing linguistic antagonisms within society, the politics of language has become itself a source of serious problems in post-independent Algeria.

In fact, since 1962, the Arabicization policy was the mainstream trend, but it led the country to lose its political stability many decades before regaining peace in 1999 when President Abd El-Aziz Bouteflika came into power. The Berber-speaking individuals, whose language is menaced, also have become extrovert opponents of Arabicization. Evidence about the disaccord of berberophones has been displayed through organizing many strikes and demonstrations that took place in their towns right after the announcement of Arabic as the sole official language without recognizing Tamazight, their native mother tongue.

3.2.4.1.1 Arabicization in Administrative Institutions

During the French occupation, the French rulers have purposefully ruined the Algerian public administration with their management which meant to elbow out the Algerians' identity, by suppressing primarily its language and culture. This aim of "frenchifying" the Algerian administrative institutions was apparently declared in 1849 through the following French decree:

> *Our language is the ruling language, our civil and penal justices issue their judgments on Arabs in this language, and in this language all contracts must be written…*[69]

According to this decree, French was the only language that was permitted in administration. The Algerians occupied only lower level positions in the administrative sector while the higher ones were held by the French. Dekhir, F. (2015:22)

After independence, the Algerian public administration knew radical or rather remedial changes by means of a series of circulars, decrees, and ordinances / laws that obliged all the administrative staff to learn Arabic. To achieve this purpose, many training courses and remedial sessions had been scheduled particularly in the era of the President Houari Boumediènne. In 1971, the Arabic language had been restored in all courtrooms proceedings, and all written judicial documents were translated into Arabic. (Benrabah, 2007) By the end of 1977, all civil documents, such as records of births, marriage and death certificates...etc, have undergone Arabicization. Algerian newly born babies were only named in Arabic. Even, citizens who had got French family names were ordered to re-name themselves using Arabic ones. Dekhir, F. (idem)

Without going to the details of the enacted articles of Arabicization[70], what follows summarizes the main procedures that this policy has gone through. At the beginning and as it has been mentioned earlier, the government embarked on this policy through a system of translating documents with an aim of excluding French from Algerian administrative institutions. Therefore, by 1991, administration used exclusively Standard Arabic in written documents. Then, according to many other acts and ordinances, it was

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[69] Zeribi, N. (1999:83)
[70] For more details about the articles of arabicization, see Articles of Arabicization in appendix I.

obligatory to use Arabic in administrative exchanges, tests of recruitments in administrations and enterprises as well. The government also compelled all the agents in public administration to use the Arabic language in their management activities. Consequently, any official document that is not presented in Arabic is considered illegal. Chebchoub (ibid:35)The Arabicization programme has also touched the educational system; the government has approximately replaced French by Arabic in all levels of education with varying degrees.

3.2.4.1.2 Arabicization in the Educational System

After independence, the universalization of education generated a remarkable rise in the level of literacy. The number of enrolments of pupils in primary and secondary schools increased from 3.9 million in 1979 to 7.8 million in 2003, then, rose to 8.2 million in 2011, and this eventually led to an increase in literacy rate which rose from around 10% in 1962 to 52% in 1990, and went up till 70% afterwards. Currently, the majority of the population is most probably literate in Literary Arabic (Bennoune 2000: 225; CIA 2013; Gordon 1966, 196).[71]

Although French dominated all Algerian institutions during the colonial period, its use has decreased after the implementation of the Arabicization policy due to the de-Frenchification of the educational system and the shift to Arabic as the imposed, national language of instruction. Literary Arabic has been taught in all schools (primary, middle and secondary) and human sciences faculties in Algerian universities.

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[71] As cited in Benrabah (2014:46)

During the 1990's, the Algerian government launched its project against illiteracy. As a result, schools opened their doors for old illiterate people, both men and women, to learn Standard Arabic. Nowadays, and in the light of the current globalized world, foreign languages are also taught in Algeria to cope with the advances of science and technologies in all sectors of life. (See 3.3.1.4)

3.2.4.1.3 Arabicization and Attitudes of Berbers in Algeria

The universalization of MSA in Algeria, as the sole and national language, at the expense of Tamazight, caused a set of disappointment among Berbers. The berberophones were not content with the enacted laws and their discontent has been expressed in different ways. For instance, in their attempts to promote Tamazight, some activists and teachers organized some commissions and academies such as, *the High Commission for Amazighité* (*HCA* for short) and the *Académie Berbère…* etc.

a. *The High Commission for Amazighité (HCA)*

The HCA occupies the status of a State Council, *madjlis ed-dawla,* in Arabic. This commission has only been created as a response to the lengthy boycott in schools mainly happening in *Kabylia* in which the main demand was *"Tamazight di lakoul", Tamazight in school*. It aims fundamentally at promoting the Amazigh culture and the teaching of Tamazight through organizing its educational programs in schools, and developing pedagogical programs for this purpose. Its founders' major aim is to standardize Tamazight grammar, and to unite and spread the culture(s) and knowledge of all Berbers in Algeria. Mouhelb, N. (2005:63) However,

all efforts of the HCA are mostly taken care of by activists rather than political leaders. Mouhelb (ibid: 65)

Concerning its activities, the *HCA* takes in charge the publication of stories in Tamazight about Berber culture; it also published a translation of the Holy Book Quran in a Tamazight version. As already referred to, its main aim is to raise the awareness of all Algerians about Tamazight culture on a national level, and it focuses on setting suitable pedagogical programs for the education of Berber in Algerian schools. In reality, at the beginning, there has not been any official place for the Tamazight language in the state educational system. Tamazight classes were only organized by the HCA teachers; they were optional and sometimes given to students or anyone who is interested privately at a time where those lectures were banned by the state regime. Hamek, B. (2012:83-84)

In their attempt to introduce Tamazight in the state education system, the HCA activists have organized workshops for those who were interested in becoming teachers in Tamazight, and for this sake, they have developed manuals of pedagogies to better guide teachers who most have little pedagogical experience. Mouhelb (ibid: 66) However, the lack of a standardized Tamazight, as a linguistic material, represents a big challenge for the success of teaching this language. In addition, the quality of teaching has been affected by many factors. First, which script to be used for writing (Tifinagh, Latin or Arabic) was the main obstacle. Second, classes involve various social backgrounds and linguistic competence; a fact that requires teaching in correspondence with varying variables and on distinct levels. Third, there is also a lack of qualified, competent teachers who themselves awaited a lot of obstacles which hinder the process of teaching Tamazight. Mouhelb (ibid: 67-68)

Nonetheless, all *HCA* efforts will remain fruitless unless the Ministry of Education officially supports its activists' works. In this regard, Mouhelb (ibid: 64) claims that:

> The HCA are strongly opposed to an ideological framework for the standardization of Thamazight, but favour a non-political process, based on a scientific approach. They would like a national institute to fill this role, instead of having the work shared between the two existing institutes for Amazigh studies at the universities in Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou.

Accordingly, all their works remain at a regional focus, she explains (idem), and prevalence is only reserved to *Takbaylit* and to the Kabyle region instead of a study with a national focus.

b. Efforts Promoting Berber in Algeria

The call for the acknowledgment of the Berber identity and linguistic rights has been gaining popularity in independent Algeria. *L'académie Berbère*, founded in Paris in 1967 by some Amazigh activists was the first non-governmental institution which sought to promote the Berber culture and language, and to carry out researches on its culture and civilization. El Aissati, A. (2005:66)

In March, 1980, the Berber Spring (*Tafsut n Imazighen*); another primordial event of the Berber movement has been organized and Mouloud Mammeri was invited to give a talk on Kabyle poetry. However, his lecture has been cancelled by the government authorities, a fact which ended in violent protests. Hence, this event became "a symbol of the fight for a Berber identity", and is still celebrated by Algerians, and even Moroccans, and other Berber immigrants. (idem)

Additionally, in 1990 and 1991, two departments of Berber language and literature have been established in the universities of

Tizi Ouzou and BejaЇa for students who were interested in Amazighity. (El Aissati, ibid: 67) Previously, Algeria has limited teaching Berber just in the Berber regions which have a high number of berberophones, yet this year, the ministry of education also sent teachers of Berber to selected primary schools in scattered areas with Berber minorities such as, 'Khemis', the speech community under study, and its bordering municipality of 'Beni Boussaid' in Tlemcen.[72] Berber is not a compulsory subject in Algerian schools; it remains optional. So, can teaching Tamazight be the first step towards Berber revival in Algeria?

3.3 PART TWO: FEATURES OF PRESENT-DAY SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

Due to the above mentioned successive historical events that Algeria has gone through, such as the Arab conquest, the different invasions and civilizations in addition to the French occupation, the Algerian society has been deeply influenced by their cultures and languages. But, today only three main linguistic varieties coexist, constitute its linguistic profile, and exercise a heavy impact on the whole society: Berber with its distinct scattered varieties along the national territory, AA with its standard and colloquial forms, and French as the offspring of the long period of colonization.

3.3.1 TODAY'S ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

Like the other Maghrebi countries, in Algeria, the co-existence of more than one variety has given birth to a very

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[72] The researcher has been informed during the data collection (March, 2016) that pupils in those areas are studЎing Tamazight.

complicated linguistic situation. The Algerian linguistic repertoire involves different languages: Arabic, French, and Berber. Throughout this analysis, we shall shed light on today's Algerian linguistic repertoire aiming at showing the dynamic conflicting interplay between the aforementioned linguistic varieties. However, before depicting such dynamic interplay of languages in contact, the status of each language is given. Along the Algerian territory, Arabic is represented as follows:

3.3.1.1 Arabic in Algeria

The whole range of Arab countries speaks Arabic varieties stretching from eastern varieties to western ones. The majority of the Algerian population uses a spoken variety of Arabic. This latter is the major, national, and official language of the state,[73] and it has two main forms: CA and AA. CA, *El-Arabiyya El-Fuṣħa*, is said to have stemmed from the Arabic variety spoken by the *Quraish* tribe in Mecca, the language of the Qur'an, the Holy Book which was revealed to Prophet Muhammed (PBUH). It has acquired its prestige due to the fact of being used in social, commercial and cultural events by the different Arab tribes of the Arab peninsula, who used to meet in Mecca on regular occasions before the coming of Islam, such as the pilgrimage period and '*Souk Okadh*'[74] where well-known Arab writers and poets used to gather to read publicly their long poetic verses '*el muâallakāt*'/ *"المعلقات"*. Adder, F-Z. (2009:50)

As it has previously been explained, the introduction of the Arabic language during the 7th century has been crucially fundamental

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[73] All three Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989) proclaim that "Islam is the religion of the state" and that "Arabic is the national and official language of the state". Bouamrane, A. (1990:52)

[74] http://www.sooqokaz.com/content/history/history.html, *"Tarikhu Souk Okadh"*, accessed to on January 28th, 2009.

for the future profile of North African populations as they have undergone considerable transformations from the religious, linguistic and socio-cultural viewpoints. CA succeeded in absorbing many indigenous Berber varieties except in a few remote mountainous and Sahara areas. (See details in 3.3.1.3) Consequently, it soon emerged as a symbol of the Arab-Islamic identity.

Unlike the Arabic or Berber dialects which are spoken among the Arab countries, CA is not used spontaneously in everyday interactions. It is rather learned and used in formal settings. In this respect, that is, speaking about the spontaneous use of CA, Khaoula Taleb Ibrahimi (1997:27) says that:

> …no more spontaneous use of this variety has been attested since the 4th century of the Hegira, and that it is learned and used exclusively in particular formal contexts.[75]

So, CA is the mother tongue of nobody; that is why it is not used spontaneously in everyday verbal interactions.

Centuries later, MSA which we may roughly define it as the modern form of CA has become the language of education, administration, news-reporting, media, and written communication within the Arabic-speaking world. But, one wonders what distinguishes CA from MSA?

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[75] The original quotation is in French: « …cette variété n'a plus connu, depuis fort longtemps (4ème siècle hégirien), d'usage spontané dans l'aire arabophone et qu'elle set exclusivement apprise et utilisée dans des contextes formels particuliers».

3.3.1.1.1 Classical Arabic vs. Modern Standard Arabic

It is worth noting that though some linguists and scholars employ the terms CA and MSA interchangeably, others emphasize the discrepancies between the two labels. As already stated, MSA plays two major roles: First, it is exclusively used in formal settings. Second, it is used for communication in informal contexts to reach a higher degree of mutual intelligibility between distant regional Arabic dialects especially those whose speakers are of different Arab-speaking countries, as in the case of Jordan Arabic and AA for instance. To better elucidate, in the Algerian context, MSA is generally the language of official domains, government and administrative institutions and it is also used for religious and literary purposes. MSA, as the modern version of CA, has been standardized and codified to better suit the modern era keeping pace with its current scientific and technological advances. In fact, it was developed as an offspring of the 'Cultural Revival'; what is labelled in Arabic '*En-nahda*' in the Middle East during the 19th century (Benrabah, 2007). In this regard, Ennaji, M. (1991:9) claims that:

> Modern Standard Arabic is standardized and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghribi and in the Arab World at large. It has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture.

Thus, thanks to the addition of a rich bulk of vocabulary from foreign languages and new technologies that MSA is currently characterized by features of an understandable modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture.

Another appellation of a 'middle variety' comes to existence in the Algerian sociolinguistic profile as an outcome of the

phenomenon of diglossia - Educated Spoken Arabic (hereafter ESA); in Ibrahimi's terms: "le dialecte des cultivés" or "l'arabe parlé par les personnes scolarisées" (2004: 207). ESA, as a simplified version of Standard Arabic, is then used in semi-formal settings between educated people in media, politics, business and serves for both oral and written communication. Yet, though this new variety gained an important position in the Algerian linguistic repertoire, CA still enjoys its prestigious place; it takes part in our prayers, mosque oratories, all religious matters and debates of daily life, despite the viewpoints of some persons who consider it as a dead language.

3.3.1.1.2 Algerian Arabic Dialects vs. Modern Standard Arabic

AA, with its distinct dialects, is the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian population and represents the vehicle of a rich, varied culture. [76] Taleb Ibrahimi (2004:208) These dialects, though regionally characterized by different accents, they are mutually understandable among all Algerian speakers. For example, speaker 'A' living in '*Annaba'* in the eastern part of Algeria can understand easily speaker 'B' from '*Oran'*, west of Algeria. AA, also called Dialectal Arabic, *El-Ammia*, or *Ed-daridja*, is the spoken variety that is spontaneously used by Algerian individuals in day-to-day interactions. From a linguistic standpoint, "AA shares many of the language features of MSA, but differs from it in the degree to which it is mixed and reduced in its structures". Benmoussat, S. (2003:111). So, the differences between the spoken form (vernacular) and the

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[76] The original quotation is: «Ces dialectes constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité des Algériens et sont le véhicule d'une culture populaire riche et variée».

written language are manifested in morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and the intricate system of case endings in MSA. Moreover, it is safe to state, at this stage of analysis, that AA and MSA are said to be in a diglossic relationship. This latter in addition to other discrepancies between both forms of Arabic will be more illustrated and exemplified when scrutinizing their co-existence resulting in the phenomenon called diglossia (Ferguson 1959α) in section 3.3.2.1.

3.3.1.1.3 Types of Algerian Arabic Dialects

It is worthwhile repeating that AA is acquired as the mother tongue of a vast population in Algeria; it is the medium of day-to-day speech. But, what characterizes AA is the fact that it entails a set of significant local variants (in pronunciation, grammar, lexicon etc.) that are easily observable from region to region despite the short distance that sometimes separates them from each other.

Those regional variants of AA dialects, according to Taleb Ibrahimi (2004:207-208), can be divided into four main varieties, each involving both urban and rural types. In her view, one can distinguish the eastern ones around Constantine, the Oranie regions in the west, Algiers and its surroundings, and in the south, stretching from the Saharian Atlas to the frontiers of Hoggar.[77]

As referred to previously, the most influential historical fact that characterizes the Algerian society as well as those of the other North African countries and those locating in the Middle East is the prevalent Arabization that accompanied the Muslim invasions which took place mostly during two periods. The first invasion commenced with the *Arab Fatihins* in the 7th and 8th centuries. It was the urban dialects that were rooted by these Islamic expansions in opposition

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[77] See note 2 in appendix 1

with the rural or bedouin dialects which were brought with the second wave of Arab settlers called '*Banu Hilal*' in the 11th century. These two types of AA dialects are distinguished with a number of linguistic characteristics that will be reviewed in section 3.3.1.1.3. It is, then, worthwhile stating that it will be very helpful, in the light of the classification of AA dialects provided by Millon, C. (1937), Cantineau, J. (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960, 1977), and Cadora, F.J. (1992), to classify the Arabic variety spoken in the area of '*Khemis*'.

Unlike the Algerian Berber varieties, and though AA regional dialects exhibit various phonetic, morphological and lexical peculiarities, they are mutually comprehensible.

The following section attempts to draw a clear-cut distinction between AA urban and rural varieties.

a. Urban Dialects

Basically, the sedentary Arabs brought the "*urban*" dialects and the "*village*" or the so-called "*mountain*" dialects along North Africa. As explained earlier, studies about AA dialects are scarce and the only available are those conducted by colonial anthropologists and scholars such as Cantineau, Marçais, Ph. and Millon in the early 1940's and 1950's. Their preliminary surveys review the distribution of these two inter-linked types of urban Arabic varieties. The village dialects are found in '*Msirda*' and '*Trara*', the descendants of the *Trara* tribe stretching from *Oued Kiss* to *Oued Tafna* in the Oranie region, in addition to some regions in the department of Constantine, exactly *eastern Kabylia*, including *Mila, Djidjeli*, and *Collo*. The urban ones are widely used in the long established towns of *Nedroma, Tlemcen, Cherchell, Algiers, Skikda, Meliana, Medea and Dellys.* Cantineau (1940:220-231)

Rural Dialects

Banu Hilal, however, introduced the rural dialects, the language of the Nomads, which represent "a composite and heterogeneous mass" as Marçais, Ph. (1960:377) declares. Their *bedouin* dialects that were brought to Algeria are the source of most, if not all, the rural Arabic dialects existing in North Africa nowadays. Concerning their geo-distribution, they are found everywhere along the Algerian territory, except in the regions where the urban dialects are spoken and in the scattered areas of Berberophones.

The distinction between both types of AA dialects is made upon a set of phonological, morphological and lexical particularities. The most decisive feature that distinguishes the rural dialects from the urban ones lies in the realization of the plosive (q) as voiceless in the urban centres [q], [ʔ] or [k] (e.g. *Algiers, Tlemcen,*[78] *Ghazaouet*), and voiced in the rural ones [g]. In this regard, Cantineau (1938:82) writes: «Seule une prononciation sourde du *qaf* a un sens décisif: tous les parlers de sédentaires, et seuls les parlers de sédentaires ont cette prononciation». [79] Accordingly, on the basis of the AA dialect classification (Cantineau 1938, 1940) and applying it to the variety of *'Khemis'*, one may assert that the Arabic dialect under study is an urban dialect carrying some Berber features.[80] Additionally, the data collection also shows that *'Khemis'* dwellers maintain the uvular

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[78] However, in his research about the speech community of Tlemcen, Dendane (2007) has demonstrated that male speakers of Tlemcen Arabic tend to avoid the stigmatized feature of [ʔ] especially when interacting with non-tlemcen speakers in constrained settings. The main reason, according to the results obtained, is that Tlemcen speech, as a whole or the use of the glottal stop in particular, is considered as an 'effeminate' feature. Yet, female speakers stick to this characteristic or others whatever the situation is.

[79] This is the researcher's translation: "Only a mute pronunciation of (qaf) has a decisive meaning: all sedentary dialects and only sedentary dialects have this pronunciation."

[80] Some Berber features are referred to in section 5.5.2.1.2. (g. and h) and section 5.5.2.1.3.(b).

plosive (q) in many words as in CA.[81] The other features will be lengthily reviewed in chapter five (See 5.5.2.1) when opposing the urban Kh.A dialect with the surrounding rural Arabic varieties existing in 'BS'.

However, Bouhadiba, F. (1988) sees that the Urban/Rural dichotomy provided by Cantineau, Ph. Marçais, Millon and Cohen is not adequate for classifying the Arabic varieties that prevail nowadays in Algeria. In this sense, he states:

> Dichotomies such as Urban/Rural varieties are quite difficult to set up in the linguistic situation that prevails in Algeria today. Previous inter-dialectal studies of the early 40's and 50's on Algerian dialects by Marçais, Cantineau or Cohen did recognize similarities and differences at various linguistic levels of analysis among dialects. However, contemporary Algeria is characterized by a number of social and linguistic upheavals resulting in a continual 'brassage' of different dialects and cross-dialect contacts that lead to mutual borrowing and adaptation.

> Bouhadiba (1988:18)

Indeed, one may also acknowledge Bouhadiba's view (1988) and say that these dichotomies cannot fit the Algerian linguistic situation by virtue of the fact that those varieties' particularities might not persist and, hence, vanish through time in contemporary Algeria which is constantly changing regionally and socially. AA dialects do get in contact with each other, with MSA, French and Berber as well resulting in such a very complicated situation where many linguistic practices are characterized by bi/multi-lingual features, such as Borrowing, Code Switching, Code Mixing and so forth.

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[81] Adder, F-Z (2009:89)

3.3.1.2 French in Algeria

The introduction of French in the Algerian linguistic profile is attributed to the existence of the French colonizer in the country for more than a century. As a matter of fact, during the occupation and afterwards, the French language, considered by the French government, as "the only language of civilization and advancement" (Bourhis, 1982:44) was forcibly imposed as the official language in Algeria. Hence, the Algerian population was deeply influenced linguistically to the extent that today more than 50 years after the independence (1962), French continues to play a primordial role in spoken as well as written domains. Consequently, with such a deeply-rooted language in Algeria, it has long become a linguistic variety that most, if not all, Algerian individuals use in most sectors of administration and education. So, it is not only a colonial heritage; it is the language of the Algerian elites that most intellectuals especially teachers, students, business men, journalists and politicians favour, both spoken and written. French newspapers, such as *'Le Quotidien d'Oran'*, *'La Liberté'* and others have a pretty good number of readers. French channels like TF1, TV5 and France 2 are also faithfully viewed by the elites. And to varying degrees, in daily life interaction, especially among young educated people, French is a medium for debates in scientific, medical, and technical subjects. Furthermore, it affects dialectal forms of AA and Berber dialects too. In reality, loads of French loanwords and expressions had long come into existence in day-to-day Algerian discourse. (For details about French loanwords see Borrowing in 3.3.3.1) It is also apparent that today's younger generations show positive attitudes towards this language for its association with progress, prestige, modernism and its consideration as a means of communication with the external world. Also, its spread in the whole Maghreb is, in fact, attributed to an economic factor. Nowadays, "the volume of trade and business

between France and the countries of the Maghreb all contribute to the continued impact of the French language and culture on the Maghreb", as Aitsiselmi and Marley (no date[82]:187) opine. Finally, it is safe to say that in spite of the reinforcement of the Arabicization policy that was planned to replace the colonizer's language in the Maghrebi countries in general and in Algeria in particular, French still represents a primordial, influential constituent of the present-day Algerian sociolinguistic profile.

However, from a pure linguistic standpoint, Algeria cannot be considered as a bilingual country. In fact, one may go further to assert that it is rather a multilingual country on the basis of the existence of its ancient indigenous variety – Berber that persists despite the efforts made to implement Arabicization.

3.3.1.3 Berber / Tamazight in Algeria

In North Africa, Algeria is the second country where Berber / Tamazight is spoken after Morocco. The BV is the mother tongue of an important community (17% to 25% of native Berberophones) in the whole Algerian speech community. The major Berber groups are the 'Kabylia' Mountains south of Algiers speaking *Takbaylit*, the 'Shawiyya' of the 'Aures' range south of Constantine and their variety is *Shawiyya*, and other scattered groups in the South including the 'Mzabs' and 'Touaregs' using the *Mozabite* and *Tameshek varieties* respectively. These Berber varieties are essentially oral; it is just recently that the language has been standardized and given a script. In the 1980s, Salem Chaker and Mouloud Mammeri attempted to elaborate and codify a standardized Berber grammar.

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[82] The original article includes no date.

Besides, Berber has been institutionalized in 2002 as a second, national Algerian language which makes Algeria qualified as a multilingual country. Nowadays, Tamazight has become a language of instruction; it is taught among Berbers in schools and universities in *Small* and *Great Kabylia*. It is also used in broadcasting several Algerian TV channels and radio programs. These two measures have been opted for to maintain the national stability and to escape internal divisions. As far as its vocabulary is concerned, Tamazight includes a considerable set of French words, mainly those that have no equivalents in Berber. For instance, in *Kabyle*, French borrowed nouns are sometimes Berberized by adding the Berber prefix {W-} or {tW-} as in *ajenyur* (un ingénieur), *apulis* (un policier), *apaki* (un paquet), *tabrikt* (une brique crue) corresponding to "an engineer", "a policeman", "a packet" and "a brick" respectively.[83] Furthermore, when investigating the occurrences of loanwords in Algerian Berber, Brahimi (2000:373) found that 22.7 percent of the words are of Arabic origin. Salem Chaker (1991:58) has also undertaken a study on the Berber-Arabic contact in which approximately 35 percent of Berber items are derived from Arabic. Moreover, their frequent contact has engendered a tendency to add Arabic plural marks, such as {-at} and {-wat}, to French loanwords in *Kabyle*. Kabylians, for example, utter French nouns which are not Berberized, but rather arabized and adapted morphologically (Hamek (idem)):

lbumba (sing.): "la bombe" in French is pronounced in plural form as *lbumbat* meaning "bombs".

lpumpa (sing.): "la pompe" in French is heard in plural form as *lpumpat which means "*pumps*".

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[83] Hamek, B. (2012:72)

lbiru (sing.): "le bureau" in French becomes *lbiruwat* in plural, meaning "offices" in English.

In the current sphere of this globalized world, in addition to the existing languages in Algeria, English and other foreign languages (Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Russian …) are also used in many fields for their association with new technologies and trade.

3.3.1.4 English and the Other Languages of Multilingual Algeria

The most important foreign languages taught in Algeria are French and English. In fact, the French language, considered as the heritage of the colonizer, has acquired high prestige and is regarded today as a language of modernity and advancement by most Algerians. Therefore, people having positive attitudes towards French show a strong motivation and willingness to learn and use it in daily-life interaction. English, on the other hand, has successfully attained the status of a *lingua franca*; a concept defined by Harmer, J. (2001:1) as

> a language widely adopted for communication between two speakers whose native languages are different from each other's and where one or both speakers are using as a 'second language'.

Indeed, this quotation reflects the widespread of English as a global language. Many reasons have been responsible for its global popularity. Because technological progress (telecommunications, electronics, computing…) requires an understanding of English, Algeria, like many other countries in the world, tends to adjust its policies and governmental system to keep abreast with the world's

broad change and rapid political, economic, and technological developments. Given the importance of a world language, English is included at nearly all levels of the Algerian educational system. In Algeria, the teaching of English as a second foreign language starts with first year Middle School pupils and continues to be taught till the end of the Secondary School. In all Algerian universities, it is either taught as a "main subject" in the English departments, or as an "additional module" in various peripheral institutes such as: Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Economics, and faculties of Letters, Human and Social Sciences.

Other languages left their traces in some AA dialects, such as Spanish. This latter did not enjoy the status of a prestigious language like French, but it had a great impact on many varieties especially those of port towns such as *Oran, Ghazaouet, Beni Saf…*, yet just on the vocabulary bulk which is generally related to utensils used in trade and maritime life. At present, Spanish is taught as a foreign language at university. In addition, many intellectual Algerians are currently fascinated to learn other languages; German, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and even Turkish, which are nowadays widely learned for commercial reasons (trade, travel) or for research and educational purposes to keep pace with the constant technological changes of this globalized world.

3.3.2 THE INTERPLAY AND CONFLICT BETWEEN LANGUAGES

Contact between cultures, languages and individuals is growing. In multilingual speech communities, linguists working on language contact usually deal with linguistic diversity, and they tried to set up a sociolinguistic typology of languages to establish a sociolinguistic profile which classifies languages according to type

and function in a given political unit (e.g., Stewart's typology (1962). [84] Languages are, therefore, classified as being official, national, standard or vernacular depending on the political and the social status they hold. As the researcher's main aim is to draw a clear picture about the linguistic situation in Algeria, she confines herself to a description of its sociolinguistic repertoire to find comprehensive answers to the questions put about the complexity of the linguistic interplay of languages that are used today in Algeria.

As a matter of fact, the intricacy of the Algerian linguistic situation is attributed to the already explained events (historical, political, and socio-cultural) which the country has witnessed, and as a result, the Algerian speech community has acquired distinctive characteristics of linguistic variation. Variation, both intra- and inter-lingual, can be apparently attested in the Algerians' daily linguistic behaviours. On one hand, intra-lingual features are resulting from a diglossic situation where the two varieties of Arabic (MSA and AA) are used in a functional distribution as described by (Ferguson 1959α).

On the other hand, consequent linguistic phenomena of an inter-lingual situation are attested when different languages come into contact, i.e. the use of bilingualism and its inescapable outcomes: Code-switching, Code Mixing and borrowing. [85] Throughout the following section, details about the aforementioned outcomes of language contact will be reviewed in an attempt to better describe the Algerian linguistic situation.

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[84] Bell (1976:147-48).
[85] Adder (2009:54-55)

3.3.2.1 Diglossia

The term "*Diglossia*" came to existence in Karl Krumbacher's book in German: *Da s Problem der Modernen Griechischen Shcriftsprache* (1902), in which the linguist tackled linguistic situations related to the Greek and Arabic languages. However, the French linguist William Marçais was the first to coin the concept of "diglossie" in his article written in 1931 in which he defined the Arab world situation as: "la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois exclusivement parlée".[86] (1931:401) In fact, throughout the Arab speaking world in general, the relationship between MSA and Arabic dialects has been described in terms of "diglossia" of Charles Ferguson; the American linguist who first introduced this term into the English literature of Sociolinguistics in 1959.

In this chapter, the researcher's concern is only limited to describe such phenomenon characterizing the Algerian linguistic sphere, as occurring in daily life communication settings among language users in Algeria, as one country belonging to the Arab-speaking world as a whole. It is worth noting that later, Ferguson's concept took the term: "*Classical D*iglossia", because Fishman, J.A. extended the concept of "*diglossia*" to describe linguistic situations where two different languages – not necessarily two varieties of the same language – are used in complementary distribution in 1967. (See 3.3.2.1.2)

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[86] This is the researcher's translation in English: "the competition between a learned written language and a vernacular exclusively spoken sometimes".

3.3.2.1.1 Classical Diglossia: Modern Standard Arabic – Algerian Arabic

This concept has been traditionally put forward by Ferguson (1959α) to refer to:

> (…) a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

> Quoted in Giglioli (1990:245)

In such a definition, Ferguson clarifies that the High (H) and the Low (L) varieties are two different varieties of the same language which are utilized in distinct domains to perform different functions. H is the superposed or formal variety and the informal one is labelled L. The 'superposed' variety is learned in schools and in more formal settings than L. In the entire Arab-countries, the H variety – MSA, taking its rules from CA, is commonly used in mosques, mass media (radio stations and TV channels), conferences, and in administrative and educational institutions at one hand. In all casual, informal settings, L, on the other hand, is heard, i.e., in daily life conversations at home, among colleagues at work, and among friends …etc. Moreover, both H and L are, on many occasions, mixed with one another. For example, a mixture of MSA words with L forms on Algerian television programmes is clearly observable particularly at the lexical level mainly when Algerian speakers may not find equivalents of vocabulary elements in AA. The mixture of L forms

with MSA structures is also witnessed possibly for the main reason. This speakers' tendency to mix both H and L with one another is, thus, attributed to the fact that the two varieties differ in terms of vocabulary.[87] Indeed, the H form encompasses technical terms and items which do not have equivalents in L, or vice versa. But, since the researcher is more interested in the resulting linguistic phenomena of an inter-lingual situation that can be observed when different languages getting into contact, the other discrepancies between H and L that Romaine (1994:46)[88] has stated in her quotation, are not referred to. The impact of languages on each other is instead of a paramount importance to the researcher to describe the linguistic contact between the majority language BZBV and on Kh.A as well, if they are used as L in everyday speech.

Fergusonian Diglossia persists with its feature of specialization of function of H and L (Giglioli, 1972:235) as a typical stable phenomenon, but with the continued and complex interplay of languages/dialects in multilingual and multidialectal settings, another kind of diglossia came into existence, as it has been already stated, with Fishman who labelled it: "*Extended Diglossia*".

3.3.2.1.2 Fishmanian "*Extended Diglossia*": Algerian Arabic - French

Unlike Charles Ferguson, Fishman, J.A. (1967) asserted a "broad" definition of diglossia to depict linguistic settings where two distinct languages are employed to "occupy different functional domains and have different levels of prestige". (*John E. Joseph* in

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[87] Referring to differences of vocabulary, Romaine (1994: 46) writes: "The high and low varieties differ not only in grammar, phonology, and vocabulary, but also with respect to a number of social characteristics namely: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability".
[88] See the preceding footnote (44).

Alan Davies and Catherine Elder, 2004:358) Fishman claims that "diglossia has been extended to cover situations where forms of two genetically unrelated or at least historically distant languages occupy the H and L varieties". Using his own terms to define *"extended diglossia"*, it is applied to cover

> not only multilingual societies which officially recognize several languages and not only societies that use vernacular and classical varieties but also societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.

> Fishman, J.A. (1972:92)

A look at his quotation demonstrates that he extended diglossia to societies which make use of distinct dialects, registers or any differentiated varieties that are utilized in a functional distribution. As an example, Fishman worked on Paraguay where Spanish and Guarani are employed in a functional distribution. Spanish, which is the H variety, is used in education and governmental institutions whereas Guarani, a total different Indian language, is used as a vernacular in informal settings.

In Algeria, for instance, the use of AA and French, as two genetically unrelated, separate languages in higher education and university scientific conferences, is overwhelming. In such settings, individuals who are teaching in technical and scientific majors (medicine, pharmacy, engineering…) or participating in conference speeches may use AA and French in an extended-diglossic manner. That is, French is the language of instruction (formal usage) having a H function, and AA is used as the medium of everyday communication (informal usage) among students outside their classes.

Speech communities worldwide may involve more than two languages. Therefore, other terminologies are coined accordingly;

some linguists such as Abdul-Aziz Mkhilifi (1972) [89] opted for the term *"Triglossia"* covering the Tanzanian speech community where three languages are found: English that is higher than Swahili. This latter is as less H, in addition to another variety as L. Another example of triglossia is attested in Luxembourg, where Luxembourgish has been institutionalized as a national language in 1984. French, German and Luxembourgish are all recognized as administrative and judicial languages. (Ball, M.J., 2010:266) In fact, French is the prestige language whereas Luxembourgish is a ML, a fact which attracted the attention of some linguists such as Horner and Weber (2008) who critically diagnosed some of the assumptions on which language-planners and education policies are based. Ball (idem)

In the Algerian multilingual / *"polyglossic"*[90] context (Bell, 1976), any speaker finds him/herself in front of a diversity of languages: two H varieties, namely: CA/MSA and French, and two L varieties which are AA and Berber. Other instances of diglossia are found, but they do not fit the nature of the inquiries of the present thesis. Thus, they will not be mentioned.

3.3.2.1.3 Algerian Arabic / Berber-French Diglossia

French, as the first official foreign language in Algeria, is not only used to fulfill formal functions, but it is profoundly rooted in the speech of Algerians, be they literate or illiterate, speaking Arabic or Berber, under varying degrees of understanding and daily use. It is commonly observed in the huge dosage of borrowings and in the morphological adaptations in informal contexts as well. The mixing of

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[89] Casmir M. Rubagumya (1990:13).

[90] The concept of *"Polyglossia"*, according to (Bell, 1976), is used to refer to the use of more than two varieties.

French structures with AA/Berber [91] has become an intrinsic characteristic in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers, both Arabophones and Berberophones to the extent that one may often observe their use in a diglossic way. That is, French is used as high and AA/Berber as low varieties in formal contexts of use.

3.3.2.2 Bilingualism

Defining the concept of "*bilingualism*" has attracted the attention of various linguists and sociolinguists who are concerned with the study of the daily oral use of more than one linguistic variety. As a matter of fact, a lot of linguists have established various definitions about this widespread phenomenon taking place in all speech communities worldwide. "A bilingual (or multilingual) person is one whose linguistic ability in two (or more) languages is similar to that of a native speaker. It is estimated that half the population of the world is bilingual". (Grosjean, 1982: vii) as quoted in Malmakjar, K. (2006:76).

Similarly, when setting up a definition for "*bilinguals*", Romaine, S. (1994:310) declares that: "if individuals possess two languages and can function reasonably effectively in producing and perceiving both, they are considered bilinguals". Thus, in her view, anyone who knows two languages and masters them both in terms of production and perception is considered as a bilingual. In his turn, Spolsky, B. (1998:45) also defines a bilingual as "a person who has some functional ability in a second language". Yet, unlike Romaine, Spolsky emphasized that the bilingual's functional ability can range from a limited ability in the second language to a good command in it by stating, in this respect, that this ability "… may vary from a limited

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[91] French-Berber mixing is attested in the areas whose mother tongue is Berber.

ability in one or more domains, to a very strong command of both languages", he adds (idem).

In the same vein, Weinreich (1953:72) delimits the settings where bilingualism can take place depending on the bilingual speaker's switching facility. Determining the situations of such a switch, he writes: "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to the appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc)". So, the situation often determines which language to be used.

Bell (1976:165) states that: "Bilingualism refers both to the use by an individual and the use by a group or nation of more than one language". That is, in this quotation, he distinguishes the notion of "*individual bilingualism*" at the personal level from that of "*societal bilingualism*" at the societal one. In other terms, individual bilingualism or following what Hamers, J.F. & Blanc, M.H.A. (2000:6) called "*bilinguality*" has defined as "the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication". Its counterpart, i.e., "*bilingualism*" is reserved to refer to "the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual". (idem) this is the case of almost all countries around the world where bilinguals habitually two codes in daily life interactions.

At the societal level, bilingualism is divided into either "*compound*" or "*co-ordinate*". Spolsky (1998:48), in his terms, differentiates through the following statement between:

> (…) compound bilinguals whose languages assumed to be closely connected, because one language has been learned after (and so through) the other, and co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned each language in separate contexts and so kept them distinct.

So, a *"compound"* bilingual is someone whose languages seem to be closely related, since one language has been learned after the first one. Yet, a co-ordinate type of bilingualism is the result of an educational strategy; that is, when children learn both languages in primary school as teaching, for instance, MSA and French in separate contexts in the Algerian primary schools.[92] Indeed, despite the fact that the individual bilingual learns the two languages in different settings, words of the two languages are kept separate. In this respect, Malmakjar, K. (ibid:82) inquires about the compound bilingual's ability to switch back and forth to his native language, and writes:

> The ability of bilinguals to keep their languages apart or to mix them at will, as in code mixing and code switching, (...) is of special interest in psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism. It is an ability which seems to be lost in aphasic patients (....) How is it, then, that a healthy bilingual is able to speak either language, to switch from one to the other at will, and to prevent themselves from producing a haphazard mixture?

Penfield (1959) answered this question by attributing this fact to the existence of "...an automatic switching system which ensures that when one language is being used — is switched on — any other language is kept switched off". Quoted in Malmakjar, K. (idem)

Later, Paradis (1981) also suggested that, "... while both languages may be stored identically in one single extended system, the elements of each language form separate subsystems within the extended system". Quoted in Malmakjar, K. (ibid: 83) Indeed, in Spolsky's aforementioned quotation, this idea of "co-existent systems" or possessing two language systems in one brain has been referred to. As an example, in the Algerian compound case, bilinguals

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[92]   Mouhadjer (2002:991).

store the French word "cartable" and the Arabic one [mɪħfaɗɑ]: "school bag", and represent them independently in the brain.

At the individual level, bilinguals' degrees of bilingualism may vary. "If a bilingual's ability in both languages is roughly equal, s/he is known as a balanced bilingual or equilingual; but such individuals are very rare." Malmakjar, K. (ibid: 76) states. Pre-independence Algerians who were in constant, direct contact with French speakers are called 'balanced bilinguals'; whereas the individuals of post-independent Algeria (in the 1970's) are 'unbalanced'; they are less competent in French and their competence is much higher in their mother tongue.[93]

Another type of individual bilingualism is "*receptive*" vs. "*productive*" bilinguals. Malmakjar, K. (ibid:76) put forward the following definition: "a so-called receptive (as opposed to productive) bilingual, a person who can understand one of her or his languages without being able to speak or write it well." In the Algerian case, Mouhadjer (ibid: 990-91) referred to pre-independence uneducated individuals as active (i.e., productive) bilinguals since they could speak and understand French, while Algerian immigrants in France are receptive (passive) bilinguals, he asserts, because they can speak French, but cannot speak their native language – AA, although they can understand it.

In sum, bilingualism can be defined as the ability to use two or more languages. The notion of 'use' implies that the linguistic competence of a bilingual person may range from the knowledge of few linguistic elements (words, fragments, phrases…) to an excellent

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[93] Examples mentioned in Mouhadjer (ibid:990).

native-like mastery of the two languages (proficiency).[94] '*Khemis'* informants of the present study, during the data collection, displayed various degrees of linguistic proficiency; ranging from the ability of using only few borrowed French words to speaking both Arabic and French well-formed structures proficiently according to many determinants. (See section 6.3.2.) Generally in this sense, one may safely assert that any Algerian cannot be described as a "*monolingual*" speaker by virtue of the fact that he/she at least knows some French loanwords which have become unconsciously part and parcel of AA / Berber dialects, along the entire territory. In fact, these loanwords have been adapted phonologically and morphologically to their native Arabic/Berber dialects.

Another important feature characterizing the verbal repertoire of Algerians is the restricted use of MSA in colloquial / informal settings. In reality, it is not used, and might perhaps never be utilized in a natural way for its diglossic relationship with the colloquial AA varieties and with the competing French language in everyday linguistic transactions; this language which continues to enjoy a specific, prestigious status in the Algerian society, maintaining both types of bilingualism: *societal* bilingualism at the macro level and *bilinguality* at the micro-one. These two types of bilingualism are clearly attested today in the Algerians' daily speeches varying between Arabic-French / (Ar–Fr) for short, Berber-French (Ber–Fr) or Berber-Arabic (Ber–Ar) bilingualism as it is elucidated in the following section.

3.3.2.2.1 Arabic - French Bilingualism

In present-day Algeria, the Arabic-speaking community represents approximately 70-75% of the whole population. (Benrabah,

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[94]   Adder (ibid:62-3).

2014:45) Those Ar-Fr bilinguals use French as an additional language and live mainly in towns. Yet, various degrees of Ar-Fr bilinguals, as already explained, are attested among the Arabophone-speaking community. Ber-Fr bilingualism is mainly remarked among Algerians who speak Berber.

3.3.2.2.2 Berber -French Bilingualism

The Algerian Berberophone population represents 25-30% scattered along many areas throughout the Algerian territory (Benrabah, idem). As all Algerian individuals, Francophones in the Berber regions often use French as an additional language besides their Berber varieties. The usual outcomes of language contact are also prevailing in the speech of Berbers too. Degrees of bilinguality between those individuals depend on their proficiency in French.

3.3.2.2.3 Berber -Arabic Bilingualism

Referring to the daily contact between Arabic and Berber, Maarten Kossmann (2017) in the abstract of his article entitled: Berber-Arabic Language Contact [95] writes:

> Since the start of the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb in the 7th century CE, Berber and Arabic have been in continual contact. This has led to large-scale mutual influence. The sociolinguistic setting of this influence is not the same, though; Arabic influence on Berber is found in a situation of language maintenance with widespread bilingualism, while Berber influence on Arabic is no doubt to a large degree due to language shift by Berber speakers to Arabic. Morphological influence seems to be mediated exclusively by lexical borrowing. (…) In the lexicon, it is

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[95] Retrieved from:
http://linguistics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-232?result=2&rskey=NJTKIl#acrefore-9780199384655-e-232-div1-6

> especially Berber that takes over scores of loanwords from Arabic, amounting in one case to over one-third of the basic lexicon as defined by 100-word lists.

Due to the dominant use of Arabic as the majority language in Algeria, the Berber speaking community finds itself obliged to alternate between Arabic as the superposed, national language and their native tongue. Shapes of morphological and lexical adaptations are attested among Ar-Ber bilinguals with many aspects of language shift or maintenance as Maarten Kossmann explained.

This multilingual or polyglossic situation, with its particular rivalry between its repertoire's languages, generates a set of consequent language contact phenomena.

3.3.3 LANGUAGE CONTACT IN ALGERIA: *Consequent Linguistic Phenomena*

Sociolinguists have frequently investigated speech communities where more than one language is found. Such alternate use of two or more languages in contact situations, as (Weinreich, 1954:1) argues, may result in the following phenomena: Bi/multi-lingualism, Diglossia, Borrowing, Code-switching and mixing, which they all appear under the form of interference. In Algeria, all these phenomena are witnessed as the outcomes of the practice of the alternate use of more than two languages and even dialects as it will be described in the following section.

3.3.3.1 Borrowings

This concept of borrowing has gained much interest among linguists who studied it within different perspectives. Defining this consequent phenomenon in language-contact speech communities,

Grosjean (1982) points out that "borrowing of specific words may occur because only one language has the desired word, or because an individual is not equally familiar with the words of both languages and chooses the most available word". Quoted in Field, F.W. (2002:5) Throughout the whole Algerian territory, types of borrowing among Fr-Ar or Fr-Ber bilinguals are prevailing as a phenomenon attributed to language contact and cultural impact.

As a matter of fact, in all AA dialects in general and in Kh.A in particular, French loanwords are usually adapted phonologically and morphologically into the Arabic dialect system. They are frequently apparent, as Weinreich (1974:1) claims, in "…the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary…". Language interference between Arabic and French, as in any AA variety, generally results in Kh.A under the form of French borrowings (phonetic sounds and vocabulary alternates). (See some instances in 5.5.2.1.1 in sub-sections A.1 and A.8).

3.3.3.2 Code-switching

Among the language-contact phenomena which have been previously referred to, code-switching, (henceforth and for short CS), has attracted the attention of a lot of linguists as an inevitable outcome of bi-/multilingualism. CS has been investigated from different angles: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and other linguistic and applied-linguistic perspectives and each has defined it as a discourse phenomenon that takes place within the bilinguals' conversations. Therefore, one may find different definitions of CS. Many linguists agree upon the idea that CS is "the use of alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation" as (Milroy & Muysken (1995:7) in Boztepe, 2008:4) put it, or as "the process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth

between one language or dialect and another within the same conservation", Trudgill (1992:16) relates it both bi-/multilingual and unilingual speech communities. Hence, CS can take place in the bilinguals' as well the bi-dialectals' stretches of speech.

Indeed, most linguists state that CS occurs when bilinguals alternate between two languages interacting with other bilingual conversants. Myers-Scotton (1993:1), for instance, refers to CS as "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversations". As a matter of fact, people usually select one code when they want to speak, and they also tend to switch from one code to another, as Wardhaugh (2006:101) observes. "Codeswitching is a speech style unique to bilinguals, in which fluent speakers switch languages between or within sentences", as Fromkin, V., Rodman, R. and Hyams, N. (2013: 310) define it. So, it can occur between sentences, and this type is called "*inter-sentential* CS" or within the structure of a single sentence; "*intra-sentential* CS". Wardhaugh further adds: "Code-switching can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits".(idem) Accordingly, CS must be differentiated from diglossia. Unlike diglossic settings, which are socially governed, i.e., two different languages or two varieties of the same language are employed for different functions (formal vs. personal, prestigious vs. less prestigious...), CS is a matter of choice.[96] In Algeria, for instance, bilingual speakers in general are free to switch to whatever language they want. A third type is "*Tag-switching*" in which phrases in one language are embedded into an utterance in another language. To illustrate it, the following example is given:

A Panjabi-English bilingual may say:

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[96] Wardhaugh (ibid:104)

It's a nice day, hana?

It's a nice day, isn't it? (MacArthur, 1998:1)

Similar switches do occur in sentences uttered by Algerian bilinguals too.

Other two kinds of CS are *situational* and *metaphorical*. *"Situational* CS" occurs when the speakers find themselves in a situation where they should speak two languages, but each language is used in a different situation. Very important to note, situational CS differs from diglossia; in diglossic speech communities, the situation and the relationship between the participants determine the choice of the variety to be used. In diglossic situations, speakers are aware about their switches from H to L or vice versa. But, people when switching between codes are not aware.[97] On the other hand, *"metaphorical CS"*, Wardhaugh (idem) says, occurs "when a change of topic requires a change in the language used". He (idem) also affirms that this type of CS "has an effective dimension to it: you change the code as you redefine the situation – formal to informal, official to personal, serious to humorous, and politeness to solidarity." As an example, he refers to Gumperz' interesting report about the use of languages in Gail Valley of Austria. Gumperz elucidates (1982a, p. 47)[98] :

> three speech varieties: a formal style of standard Austrian German, the regional German dialect, and the village variety of Slovenian. To interact in accordance with the village communicative conventions, a speaker must control all three of these.

Its two languages (Slovenian and German) are used by Slovenian bilingual speakers for distinct purposes. Slovenian is

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[97] Wardhaugh (idem)
[98] Wardhaugh (ibid:105)

mainly used in informal in-group contexts; among family members and friends, but in recent years, it started to decrease and youngsters tend to code switch to German. However, it is seen "as impolite or even crude to use Slovenian in the presence of German-speaking outsiders, be they foreigners or monolingual Germans from the region." [99] German is rather used, and also by their elders who exclusively employ it among themselves. Hence, the change in the functions of languages in Gail Valley highly influences CS since specific values are tightly related to its two languages. (idem)

Unlike the old misconception that CS is utilized as "a coping strategy for incomplete mastery of both languages by bilinguals",[100] current studies of its social and linguistic properties show that "it is a marker of bilingual identity, and has its own internal grammatical structure".(idem)

Generally, people may regularly switch for many reasons: for *emphasis* whenever they think that "le *mot juste"* is only available in one of their languages, or the choice of the appropriate language which fits or goes hand in hand with the linguistic skills of their interlocutors, and the degrees of intimacy between them...etc. (John Edwards) [101]

In fact, CS is distinct from borrowing. In CS, both languages that are alternated keep their own phonological and grammatical characteristics (see sentence (a)). But, in borrowing, words, fragments and even short expressions from one language are embedded among

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[99]   Wardhaugh (ibid:106)
[100] Fromkin, V., Rodman, R. and Hyams, N. (ibid: 311)
[101]   Ball, M.J. (2005:41)

the others' of a second language, and adapted phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically (see sentence (b)):

a. /huwa jħəb *les salés* /: "He likes 'salty dishes'". (CS)

b. /hɪja tħəb əl + gɑto /: "She likes cookies". (Borrowing)

In sentence (a), the word (*les salés)* is kept in its French pronunciation and plural -*s* morphology, whereas in sentence (b), it is adapted to the morphology of Arabic, without its native French pronunciation (*le gateau*). In this thesis, the researcher is not going to refer to the other differences since it is not her topic of interest.

In sum, whatever types or definitions of CS, it is clearly observable that speakers around the world who usually make use of two language systems or dialects code switch and mix them in daily life interaction according to topics of communication, participants, and settings.

3.3.3.3 Code Mixing

When two bilingual speakers are communicating with one another and speak both languages, their speech is usually characterized by Code Mixing (for short CM). Much research has been conducted about CM in Algeria and in all over the whole world. Hence, distinct definitions of this term have been put forward. Hudson (1996:53) defines CM as: "a kind of linguistic cocktail - a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on". For the Algerian linguistic case, a similar situation is witnessed; individuals are habitually mixing the languages, at varying degrees, when they speak creating what Hudson labelled "*a kind of linguistic cocktail*". For example, *je crois* rani ≠

ʃajfatək ≠ mə ≠ qbal ≠ *mais je me rappelle pas* ≠ fajən / : « I think, I have seen you before, but I do not remember where?"

Undoubtedly, it seems difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction between CS and CM. In reality, the boundaries between both are fuzzy, so it is no surprise that controversies between sociolinguists about the differences between both phenomena have been numerous. Bokamba, E.G. (1988:24), states that CS and CM should be differentiated from each other for CS encompasses switches from one language to another between sentences (inter-sentential CS), whereas CM occurs within sentences (intra-sentential switches). In his terms, CS is defined as:

> The embedding or mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two codes within the same speech event across sentence boundaries, while code-mixing is the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units i.e., affixes, words, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the sentence and the same speech situation.

In simpler terms, CS is inserted between sentences whereas CM occurs within the sentence structure. He (idem) further asserts that both of them fulfill distinct linguistic and psychological functions.

There are other linguists who do not make any distinction between CS and CM such as, Hill and Hill (1980) who use the terms interchangeably. In this respect, they (1980:122) declare that "There is no satisfactory way to draw a neat boundary between the two phenomena (code-switching and code-changing)." To sum up, one may conclude that both CS and CM worldwide take place in everyday conversations at varying levels.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Worldwide, language remarkably shows variability in geographical and social spaces. Along the Algerian territory, the co-existence of the already mentioned languages and all Algerian dialects (both Arabic and Berber) gave birth to such a complicated situation which has heavily influenced the paroles of Algerian speakers. Indeed, most, if not all, Arabophones in Algeria, even illiterate ones, switch codes and borrow French words in their daily speech sentences. Berber varieties are also characterized by a vocabulary bulk of words which are of French and other languages. To sum up, it is safe to say that types of bilingualism and diglossia are prevailing in the whole Algerian speech community making of it a very complicated multilingual community whose landscapes cannot be definitely determined.

Chapter Four:

'Beni Zidaz' Berber Variety:

Research Design & Data Analysis

CHAPTER 4: *'Beni Zidaz'* Berber Variety: Research Design & Data Analysis

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter both methodological and analytical in nature aims at drawing the methodology design followed in this ethno-sociolinguistic investigation. It is structured into three main parts. Part one describes the research field tools that are used for collecting representative and reliable data about the EBV under study - BZBV. The second part introduces a description of this research sampling; it describes BZBV respondents in terms of age, gender, parents' language, occupation, type of their linguistic contact and their educational level. The third part of the present chapter, which is conceived as the essential methodological framework on which this study is structured and built, provides a comprehensive explanation of the adopted models in studying the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift in language contact situations in general. Methodologically, it is worth noting that a particular reference is made to Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance (1966) and Ralph Fasold's (1984) view about language shift to check their applicability to the current speech community.

4.2 RESEARCH FIELD TOOLS FOR '*BENI ZIDAZ'* BERBER VARIETY

In data gathering field, the focus on an EL, such as that of the community under study, in fact, necessitates looking for all remaining informants who are still speaking this BV, that is, the old generation as the pilot study has already unveiled.[102] However, the fact that the current sociolinguistic investigation seeks to determine the degree to which this local variety is used obliges the researcher to draw a

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[102] Details about the pilot study are shown in section 4.2.1.

sampling that is not only composed of the old speakers, but of youngsters too. Therefore, several tools and research methods of eliciting data are utilized.

To get valid and reliable information, these data eliciting means have been purposefully chosen: a pilot study in the form of an interview in the researcher's Arabic dialect, a direct assisted survey and some recordings.

4.2.1 PILOT STUDY

As it is accustomed in any sociolinguistic exploratory study, the researcher opted for a pilot study.[103] This latter is a methodological instrument with the essential objective of identifying and anticipating difficulties, problems and pitfalls at a smaller scale in any society under study. Wray *et al*. (1998) The target of a pilot study is, then, to get data which are thought to be very helpful to clarify all points of ambiguous issues in the general project of investigation, and to get answers about questions that one may raise at start about the field of inquiry before embarking on the final decision about the subject of study.

At an earlier stage in this ethnographic study, the researcher's pilot study intended to confirm the existence of the BV in 'BZ' as it has been asserted by many '*Khemis*' informants in Kh.A direct assisted survey, and it helped a lot in formulating the hypotheses that concern this matter. Moreover, it was a fruitful opportunity to detect the pulse of 'BZ' community with respect to the various determinants which influence language use or shift among its speakers in 'BS'.

Concerning its form, the pilot study has been structured within 7 questions which have been raised in the form of an interview

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[103] See its content in appendix 4.

with 5 informants who are originally from 'BZ' and who still live in this area. (See 'BZ' Pilot Study in appendix 4)

- In the first question, the interviewees are asked whether 'BZ' inhabitants still speak Tamazight or not. In fact, this question has been raised on purpose to check the correctness of '*Khemis*' informants' statements about the availability of a village which is still Berberophone in 'BS'. (See question 10 in Kh.A Survey in appendix 2)
- The second question tries to unveil the kind of their Berber dialect and the name given for it.
- The third question seeks to unveil who still speaks this BV.
- The fourth question inquires whether both men and women use it or not. To check if this BV is passed on to the young generation, the fifth question attempts to uncover if children speak it too.
- To reveal the contexts where and when BZBV is mostly used, questions 5 and 6 have been formulated.
- The last question tries to look for the settings where this BV is frequently used.

4.2.1.1 Results of the Pilot Study

The results shown in this section are those obtained from the answers taken from the 5 interviewees participating in the pilot study.

Question 1: Is it right that BZ speakers speak Tamazight?

All the participants aged 76, 73, 70, 56, and an adolescent aged 17 years answered yes; as it is summarized in table 4.1:

	Yes	No
Number of informants	5	0
Percentage	100٪	0٪

Table 4.1 The Availability of a BV in 'BZ'

This result confirms the existence of a BV in 'BZ'; the researcher got rid of her doubts.

Question 2: How do you name this Berber dialect?

Three aged interviewees claimed that BZBV is '*Shelha*' whereas the other two informants said that in 'BZ, they speak '*Zenatiya*', i.e., a "*Zenati*" dialect.

Question 3: Who speaks it?

All participants declared that only old people use this BV.

Question 4: Do both men and women speak it?

4 informants said that generally old men speak this '*Shelha*' when they are together in intimate conversations. The 5th informant claims, however, that women lost this variety, and currently speak Arabic.

Question 5: Do children speak it too?

Those participants asserted that children in 'BZ' ignore this BV and only few aged people still know it.

Question 6: Do they usually speak it?

The 5 participants claimed that they rarely meet those few aged men and they ignore whether they usually use it or not.

Question 7: Where do they frequently speak it?

The answer for this question was also negative as the pilot study's interviewees do not know how frequent this BV is spoken. In '*Khemis*', an old man from 'BZ' uses it just to joke with youngsters or non-BZ speakers in general when naming some objects in the weekly-market organized in '*Khemis*' each Wednesday and Thursday, as a

shop-keeper (aged 32 years old) informed the researcher that that man usually tells him: / awda # aɣɪ / meaning : "Give me milk".

4.2.1.2 Obstacles of Reaching Data

At the beginning of data collection, the researcher encountered many obstacles to get in touch with the members of this speech community because of many facts. First, the fact that the researcher lives in '*Khemis',* and 'BZ' is farther than her place of residence hinders her from getting easily into the respondents' homes. Thus, she sought the help of a friend of her friend's brother who resides in the village of 'BZ'. He acted as an emissary and kindly participated in conducting the surveys with males, right after showing him the way how to symbolize the information given by the respondents on the accompanying geographical map. Alas, out of 40 surveys that were distributed, only 22 were handed back. As a solution to overcome this defect, and for the purpose of observing her respondents' behaviour both verbally and non-verbally, the researcher, accompanied by her assistant person, preferred to raise the questions herself to the respondents, be they literate or illiterate, youngsters or adults, and to report their verbal answers on the survey copy and the accompanying map where she marked the adjacent villages which speak BZBV. This way of carrying out the survey was intentionally chosen to get the answers on the spot, and to avoid being embarrassed when entering each house twice to distribute, then, to take the surveys after being filled in. Frankly speaking, a very limited access to respondents is declared for some of the residents refused to collaborate with the researcher because of various personality profiles and socio-cultural constructs.

4.2.1.3 Remarks and Conclusions

The pilot study was helpful in unveiling the reality of which village still speaks a BV. It also helped a lot in formulating the hypotheses about the determinants behind language shift in 'BZ' to local Arabic. It revealed that just few informants speak this BV. This led the researcher to limit the population sampling to few informants (40 informants) checking their opinions and attitudes about their and others' use of dialect, and hence, qualitative research strategies are rather preferred in the analysis of the data gathered.

4.2.2 DIRECT ASSISTED SURVEY

This research method has been carried out to provide the researcher with particular sorts of material about the dialect under study such as, checking informants' opinions, impressions and attitudes towards their and others' use of dialect as inspired from the Labovian tradition of urban dialectology[104] for instance, or the French dialect survey of Gilliéron and Edmont (from 1897) employing the direct method, i.e., on-the–spot investigation by the field worker.[105] In addition, integrating quantitative-qualitative methods to achieve satisfying findings is indeed the aim of any field worker, yet the researcher has chosen such kind of surveys due to the nature of the issue studied in 'BZ'. Sommer, G. (1997:65) argues in favour of the adoption of qualitative research strategies to investigate ethnographies of language shift in the following quotation:

> …ethnographies of language shift also rely on qualitative research rather than aiming on mere quantification of linguistic and sociolinguistic data (Appel and Muysken 1987, Romaine 1989). This preference seems to be determined by characteristics of the setting (usually situated in a rural

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[104] An idea read in Malmkjar, K. (2006:359).
[105] A statement read in Malmkjar (ibid: 360).

community with close-knit social networks) and the fact that language shift is never triggered off by objectively measurable socio-economic facts and factors alone. On the contrary, it is the subjective, personal evaluation of individual bilingual speakers that has to be taken into account. This in turn is best achieved with the help of qualitative research strategies.

In fact, as the BV studied is situated in a small rural community whose individuals are few making up close-knit social networks, the researcher sought to evaluate their opinions, attitudes and impressions towards the use of their EBV and the other existing dialects/languages.

The survey on BZBV was conducted with 22 members of the original families that still reside in the area of 'BZ' in two different varieties: in a Standard Arabic with the literate category of informants (8 youngsters aged between 15-31 years old) and in a colloquial form for the illiterate one (14 old respondents between 50-78), and its answers have been taken immediately. (See appendix 5) It aims fundamentally at uncovering the reasons behind those speakers' linguistic shift to the majority language (in their case local 'BZ' Arabic rural dialect) at one hand. On the other hand, other considerations concerning their awareness about the specificity of the characteristics of their native BV, and roughly evaluating their linguistic competences have appropriately determined this research instrument to be used in this field of study.

As far as its structure is concerned, the BZBV survey comprises two main sections; the first section provides bio-data about the respondents, and the second one strives to draw a clear picture about the use of the EBV as spoken among the residents of this area and its bordering regions. The survey contains both open- and close-ended questions.

- In the first question, the researcher seeks to know whether the respondents speak Berber or not.

- In the second question, the speakers are asked whether they recall that their parents and grandparents were speaking this BV fluently or not.

- Question three tries to map the existence and use of this 'Shelha' among the bordering villages.

- In question four, the researcher seeks to unveil some characteristics about the Berberophone people in those villages, in terms of age and gender.

- To check the awareness and certainty of 'BZ' speakers about whether their contiguous villages' residents use another dialect/other dialects besides their BV or not, question five is raised to essentially draw or determine the linguistic boundaries of BZBV.

- Question six, on the other hand, verifies the similarity, dissimilarity and the mutual intelligibility between BZBV and those villages' BV.

- In the seventh and eighth questions, the field worker strives to collect the linguistic characteristics (phonetic and lexical) that distinguish BZBV from the others' dialect.

- To know if this 'Shelha' is passed on to the young generation, question nine has been structured seeking the degree of comprehension among children.

- The tenth question attempts to reveal where the *Shluh* interlocutors best speak this 'Shelha', with whom and the reasons behind its use in such contexts or with those persons.

- To somehow evaluate the level of their understanding of Tamazight and to know if the two Berber varieties (i.e., BZBV and Tamazight) are similar or dissimilar, the informants have been asked whether they understand the Tamazight channels on Radio or TV in question eleven.

- Question twelve endeavours to uncover which Algerian BV do BZBV speakers find very difficult to be understood.
- Question thirteen, however, determines which variety is easily understood.
- To check the attitudes of 'BZ' individuals towards their BV and local Arabic variety, question fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen have been formulated.

Conducting this survey with 'BZ' young dwellers aims, through raising many close- and open-ended questions, at portraying the level of proficiency in '*Shelha*' among the young generation, detecting their consciousness about the specificity of their ancestral BV, and revealing their personal linguistic attitudes. The researcher tries to evaluate their levels of understanding and speaking in '*Shluh*' to know to what extent they are active bilinguals and master this variety, and to see whether the old generation (i.e., their parents/grandparents) is still passing it to the younger one or not.

4.2.3 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND NOTE-TAKING

In fact, the first attempt to collect data about the BV in this community was by means of a tape-recording procedure, but after the end of the first recording session, the researcher found a difficulty to transcribe her data because she does not master this variety. As a solution, the other sessions have been conducted as semi-structured interviews, while notes have been taken. That is, respondents have been asked for equivalents in dialectal Arabic and their Berber items have been transcribed immediately so that the whole collected data were written down. (See 'BZ' Interviews' questions in appendix 7)

4.3 THE CONTEXT OF STUDY

As it is displayed in the title of this thesis, this latter is interested in sketching out the linguistic development of the dialects spoken in 'BS' society. Hence, in the current chapter, brief but accurate information are to be presented about the history of this region, then shedding light on the macro-speech community of 'BS' in general, and the micro-speech community of 'BZ' in particular. To do so, the researcher tries to trace the geographical location of both communities with a special reference to some ancient statistics of Berbers in 'BS' as found in Destaing (1907).[106]

4.3.1 'BENI-SNOUS': *Geo-historical Background*

First and foremost, one may raise at the beginning of this geo-historical account the following questions: were the first inhabitants residing in '*BS'* Arabs, Berbers or of other races? The following section offers a detailed geographical background about the macro-speech community of 'BS'.

4.3.1.1 Geographical Location of 'Beni-Snous'

Before the 1890's administrative division, 'BS', according to the geographical description of the colonial anthropologist Canal, J. (1891), represents a confederation that involved three main parts: 'El-Kaf', 'El-Azails', and 'Khemis'.

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[106] See table 3 in Appendix 1

➤ *'El-Kaf'* included the village of *'El-Kaf'* itself and eight "*douars*".[107] The majority of its settlers were Arabs living in tents.

➤ *'El-Azails'* comprised four villages: *'Zahra', 'Tafessera', 'Thletha'*, and *'Beni Bahdel'*.

➤ *'Khemis'* contains fourteen villages such as: *'Ouled Hammou', 'Khemis', 'Beni Zidaz', 'Dar Ayyad', 'Ouled Bouchamma', 'Beni Achir', 'Ouled Zfizef', 'Ouled Moussa', 'Ouled Arbi', 'Ziahira', 'Aghraouane', 'Ouled Chayeb', 'Ouled Ali'* and douar *'Edwebra'*, in addition to *'Mazzer'* that is isolated from *'Khemis'*, and forms itself a village comprising two douars: "*Zawiat*"[108] *'Sidi Ahmed'* and *Zawiat 'Ouled Ben Ammar'*.[109]

However, according to the 1890's administrative division, 'BS' is situated 45 kilometres in the South-West of *Tlemcen*, and 35 kilometres in the North-West of *'Sebdou'*. It occupies a large piece of the mountains of "Tafna Valley" (*Oued Tafna*) in addition to the valley of 'Khemis' (*Oued La*khmis) which wells from *'Mchamich'* mountains on the Moroccan frontiers. It is bordered by *'Beni Boussaïd'* in the West, *'Beni Hédial'* in the North, *'Sebdou'* and *'Sidi Djilali'* in the East, and *'Mchamich'* mountains along the Moroccan border in the South-Western part. It occupied a surface of 34,628 hectars, and in 1891, it had a population of 1381 inhabitants.[110] The following old geographic map clearly shows the ancient borders of the area of 'BS'.

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[107] A *'douar'* is a group of houses located far from a village.

[108] *'Zawiat'*: it is a kind of *Medressa* (school) where people got used to learn by heart the Quran.
[109] Adder, F-Z. (2009:63-64)
110 Canal, J. (1891:390-405)
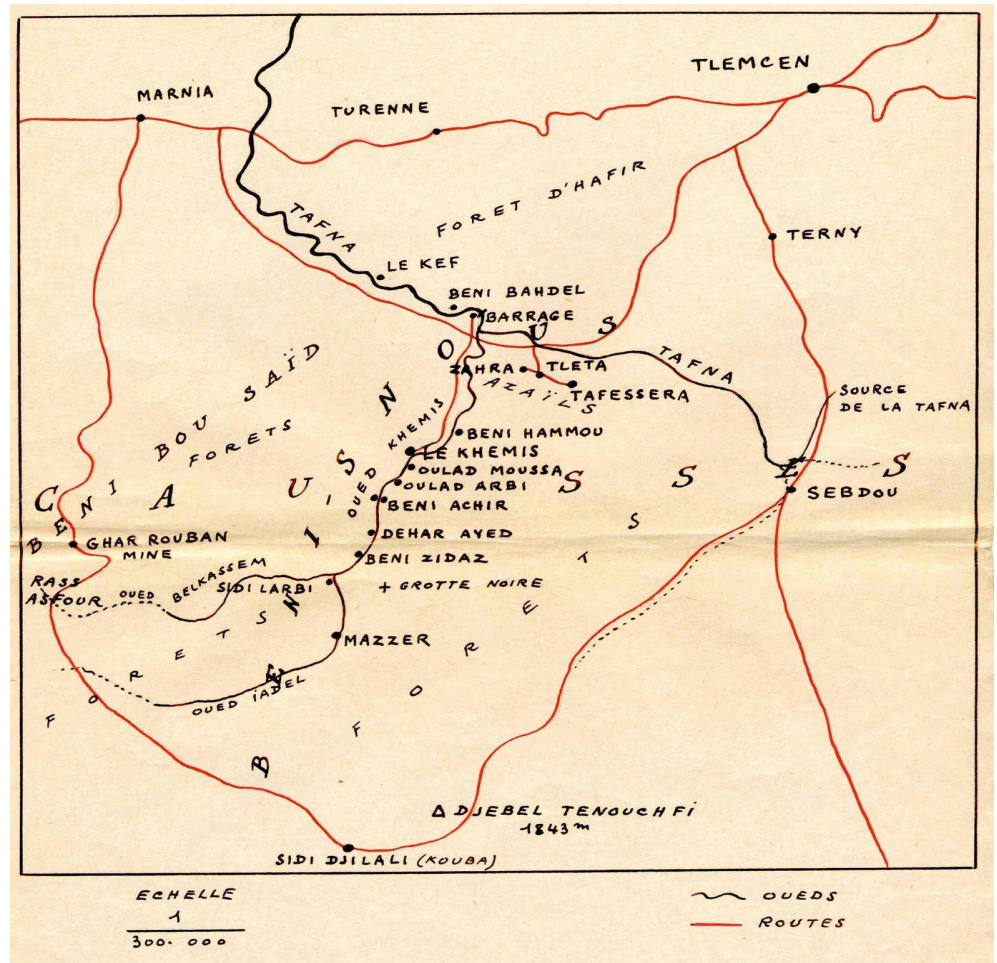
Map 4.1 The Old Geographical Map of 'BS'

More importantly stated, the geographical map of 'BS' knew some changes nowadays due to political, social and economic evolutions in its geographic surface. Geographically, and according to the recent administrative division of 1984, '*El-Azails*' and '*El-Kaf*' have become two independent parts of the municipality of 'BS'. Hence, it has new frontiers; at the present time, it is bordered by five municipalities: '*Beni Boussaïd*' in the West, '*Sidi Mdjahed*' in the North, '*Beni Bahdel*' in the North-East, '*El-Azails*' in the East and '*Sidi Djilali*' in the South as the following map displays:
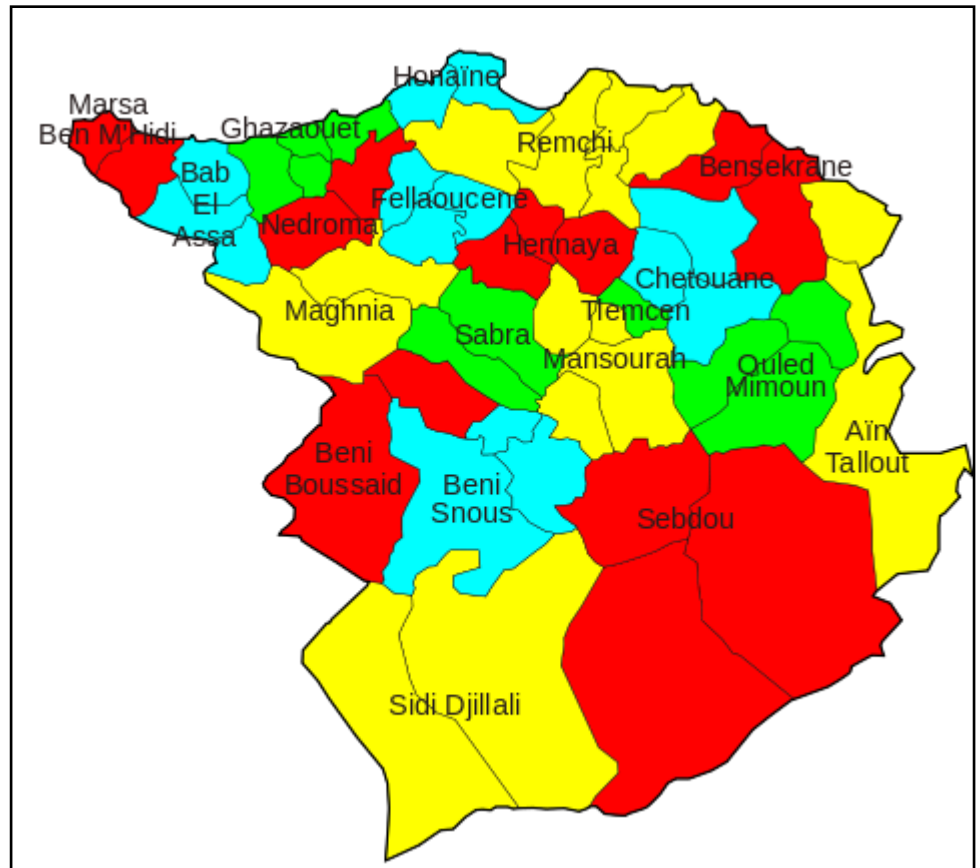
Map 4.2: Today's Geographic Localization of 'BS' in Tlemcen

Source: Daïras de Wilaya de Tlemcen, retrieved from: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Da%C3%AFras_de_la_wilaya_de_Tlemcen#Da%C3%AFras_de_la_wilaya_de_Tlemcen

Nowadays, it comprises 20 villages scattered on its vast surface with a population of 11 318 inhabitants.[111]

During the early collection phase of the present research, the researcher found the works of some sociologists who dealt with few historical facts about the region of 'BS' in particular. In addition, other colonial anthropologists, especially Edmond Destaing, whose works were mainly linguistic, have also been consulted and they will

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111 According to 2008 statistics obtained from the municipality of 'BS' on January 21st, 2016.

be taken as an ancient reference to investigate BZBV as it has already been declared.

The anthropologist Canal, J. (1890:390-405) stated that 'BS' residents are Berbers; members of a '*Zenati* tribe', related to their land, and cannot accept easily any foreign interference in their lives. According to Edmond Destaing (1907: XXIII), this region was occupied by the *Dryites* (hommes de chènes)[112], in the 8th century, from a Berber tribe called: '*Beni Habib*'. The traces which still perpetuate the existence of this tribe are not rare and are still embodied as souvenirs in this area's legends.[113] In fact, the Berber inhabitants of '*Beni Habib*' were converted to Islam thanks to *Mouley Idris*. Yet later, these have been cursed by *Sidi Ouariach* and left to Morocco.[114] Then, some tribes coming from '*Figuig*' have established in their lands near the region of '*Khemis*'. Destaing (1907: ibid)

Destaing, E. (1907: XXIV) asserted that the Arab geographers have never mentioned '*BS*'. Léon l'africain and Marmol have only written some details about '*Tafna valley*' and '*Tafessera*'. But, Ibn Khaldoun's historical book: *El 'ibar* just states that the tribe of '*BS*' belongs to a '*Zenati* tribe' called: '*Banu Koumia*'; the mother tribe of Abd El-Moumen Ben Ali, who is the real founder of *Ed-dawla El-Mowahhidia*, in the 12th century. In that century and after the departure of '*Banu Koumia*' to Morocco, '*BS*' got in touch, later, with the family of Yaghmoracen during the 13th century. [115] The denomination of *El Goummi* which is attached to *Yahia Ibn Moussa*

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[112]An idea that Edmond Destaing quoted in Carthy Mac (n.d) "Algeria Romana", *Revue Africaine*, I, (n.d: 354).
[113] Mentioned in Canal, J. (ibid:64)
[114]E. Destaing (ibid) wrote, in this respect, "Mouley Idris convertit à l'islamisme les Beni Habib. Plus tard, ceux-ci d'ailleurs maudits par Sidi Ouariach, après avoir soutenu une longue et pénible lutte contre les envahisseurs étrangers, se retirèrent au Maroc".
[115] Bell, A. translated by Hamdaoui, M.M.(2000:51-102)

clearly refers to the relationship of *Beni-Snoussi* with *Beni Goummi*. *Yahia Ibn Moussa* was an officer who worked during his youth in the service of *Othman Ben Yaghmoracen* and his sons. The name "Es Senoussi" was also attached to *Mohammed Ben Amer Cho'aib Es Senoussi*. Destaing (1907: xxv)

In the middle of the 14th century, seizing the decline of *the Abdelouadites*, *Obeid Allah*, from the *'Malikian tribe'*, established first in the Tell, in the area stretching from *Tlemcen* to *Ouadjda*, and forced the sultan to grant them *Ouadjda, Nedromah, the Beni Izenacen, Mediouna,* and *Beni Snous*, in addition to the taxes that these region got used to pay. René Basset (1902: 14-15)

In 955 heg.; (1548-1549), when *Sidi Abderrahmane El Yaaqoubi* tried to form a league against the Christians, the *Cheikhs of Beni-Snous* signed the act of union with those of the *Angads*, the *Traras* and the *Madgharah*. René Basset (ibid: 57)

In 1061 heg.; (1691), the Moroccan chief of the second dynasty of *Chorfas*, *Mouley Mohammed Echerif*, after devastating the territory of *Beni Izenacen,* submitted to *Beni Snoussi* and *Ouled Zekri*. René Basset (ibid:16) Their second invasion, which took place in 1089 heg.; (1678), was conducted by *Mouley Ismail* who invaded the whole western part and reached what is known nowadays as *Chlef*.

The Romans also settled in this area. Some traces of the Roman occupation are till now available in the region of '*Tafessera*', a region that is situated in the south-east of '*BS*'.

The Turkish era knew frequent famines, and the Turkish themselves had left very bad souvenirs in BS; as its inhabitants were obliged to pay to "*Kaïd Labled*" a tribute of sixteen horses and a considerable quantity of beautiful weaved carpets. Walsin Esterhazy (1840:271) in Destaing (ibid: xxvi)

During the French occupation, the majority of 'BS' villages were under the French authority starting from 1842. Its inhabitants like all Algerians resisted against the French colonizer and they have also participated in the revolution till independence.

Currently, this area occupies a surface of 3700 hectars and comprises 20 villages scattered on the foot of its mountains. '*Khemis*' and '*El Fahs*' represent the most important villages which comprise all administrative, socio-economic and cultural institutions that are common places where 'BS' dwellers meet for daily life practices.

4.3.1.2 *'Beni-Zidaz'* Geographical Location

'*Beni Zidaz*', which is the speech community where the researcher is interested in its local BV, is located some 5.05 kilometers far from '*Khemis*'. The village under study is located in South-west 'BS', on the other side of *Oued Lakhmis* (*Khemis* Valley). Its terrain elevation above sea level is estimated by 963 meters. Its population constitutes of some social groups whose life depends on daily labour in agriculture and breeding animals. It is called '*Beni Zidaz*' in accordance with its inhabitants' ancestor named '*Zidaz*'. 'BZ' is geographically[116] bordered from the:

East: *Forests*

South: *Sid El Arbi*

West: *Beni Boussaid*

North: *Dar Ayyad*

It is composed of some 15 houses. Most families migrated to the other villages or to the neighbouring urban settings. Its inhabitants

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[116] See more details in 'BZ' Map in Appendix 7.

are mainly land labourers and they are in constant contact with adjacent villages.

4.3.1.3 Berberophone Villages in *'Beni-Snous'*

In his book entitled: *Etude sur le dialecte Berbere des Beni Snous*, Edmond Destaing (1907:xxix) declared that all the inhabitants of 'BS' speak Arabic and that this latter is highly influenced by the Urban Arabic dialect spoken in *Tlemcen*. Some tribes such as: *Ait Larbi, Ait achir, Adziddaz* and *Mazzer* speak a BV. The names of these villages are currently arabized and known as *Ouled Larbi, Beni Achir, 'BZ',* and *Mazzer.* He also stated that the BV existing in 'BS' is unintelligible for people in *Kabylia,* but understood by those of *Figuig, Beni Iznacen,* and *Zekkara* with some slight difficulties. He further claimed that the berberophones of *'BS'* understand very well the neighbouring BV spoken in *Beni Boussaid.*

In the current chapter, the researcher endeavours to unveil whether this BV is still maintained in the aforementioned villages and tries to check their mutual intelligibility with *Takbaylit* and the neighbouring Berber dialects.

4.4 FIELD STUDY SAMPLING

In the community of 'BZ', 32 members of the original families living in this locality have been involved in this study's sampling. The following section roughly exposes brief information about their age, gender, parents' language, geographical distribution (place of residence and day-to-day movements), and occupation, in addition to their educational level.

4.4.1 DESCRIPTION OF *'BENI ZIDAZ'* BERBER VARIETY RESPONDENTS

'BZ' sampling is mainly composed of men; just 8 women participated in filling in the survey. The 24 males' ages range between 22 and 78. As already mentioned in chapter two, grandparental / parental language contributes to the maintenance of any ML as it is used at home and the young generation will find good reason to use it. Hence, 'BZ' informants are asked whether their parents spoke or still speak BZBV in trying to know whether this BV is used at home in daily life speech, and subsequently, checking if passed on to the younger generations or not.

Concerning their geographical distribution, all informants live in the village under exploration. They commonly move to the village of '*Khemis'* and '*El Fahs'* for daily life socio-economic practices. The life of inhabitants in 'BZ' is mainly dependent on agriculture and cattle's' breeding. They often get in touch with the neighbouring villages in markets, agriculture, breeding in neighbouring forests...etc.

4.4.2 LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE & EDUCATIONAL STATUS

In her use of the term 'speech community', the researcher follows Gumperz'(1962) because in this case study, the theme of focus is a group of people that shares a common linguistic repertoire of not less than *three* linguistic codes as well as a common social recognition of those varieties. A speaker, in an encounter with other individuals, needs to keep, or may modify or accommodate his/her speech according to the participants with whom he / she is communicating in any social network, and in accordance with the domains where interpersonal interactions take place.

As in any Algerian region, 'BZ' speech community has a four-variety repertoire which involves the local Arabic dialect with its rural features, its EBV which they ceased to use at their regional level, MSA; the majority language to which this EBV speakers shift, and French which is used with differing degrees in accordance with the educational status of 'BZ' individuals. All children enter school as all Algerians where they are exposed to many other languages (MSA, French, English...). Thus, they became bilinguals speaking, at varying levels, other languages beside their native dialects, be they Arabic or Berber. This resulted in shifting to the majority language and using French with varying loads (borrowings, code switching, code mixing).

4.5 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE & LANGUAGE SHIFT: *Adopted Models and Methodological Concepts*

It is worth repeating that the methodology of this field research can be briefly summed up as follows: firstly, a study checking the retention and vitality of the ancient BV in a speech community in South-west 'BS' should be by means of an ethnographic study in an apparent-time qualitative analysis. And as it is required in any study, its main purposes and aims of research are considered as the best factor determining the choice of a specific framework or model and the suitable gathering data implements in conducting this exploration. Therefore, a reference is made to Fishman's Model of Language Typology and Maintenance (1966), Gile *et al.* (1977) categorization of the factors affecting language use and maintenance among ethno-linguistic group members, in addition to Fasold's (1984) view about language shift, but right after the analysis of the data collected, their applicability will be confirmed or infirmed.

4.5.1 FISHMAN'S MODEL OF LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY AND MAINTENANCE (1966)

First and as previously referred to in chapter two (see section 2.4.2), Fishman's Model of Language Typology and Maintenance is adopted to investigate BZBV checking which of the seven characteristics of language maintenance fits the speech community under inquiry which though it is not an immigrant group, its members' native tongue coexists with a prevailing majority language, and what resolution in his typology for language use and maintenance is applicable. Another reference is also made to Gile's *et al.* (1977) factors delimiting language maintenance in his article entitled "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations". (See its content in 2.5.3)

4.5.2 FASOLD'S (1984) VIEW ABOUT LANGUAGE SHIFT

Though this study partly relies on Gile's *et al.* (1977) factors paving the way for language shift in speech communities on one hand, it would be interesting to uncover which of these factors have influenced language use among 'BZ' speakers. Yet, Fasold, R. (1984) claims that there are a lot of cases in which a speech community is exposed to the very same factors, but retains its language. So, in the present case study, the researcher seeks to know whether 'BZ' speech community as exposed to many similar factors forcibly undergoes change, or one may hypothesize that language shift to the dominant competing language occurs with a free will as Fasold (ibid: 240) asserts: "Language shift will occur only if, and to the extent that, a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable sociocultural group in favour of an identity as a part of some other community". Therefore, the last three questions in 'BZ' have been purposefully raised in an attempt to check the applicability of Fasold's views whether language use is a matter of

free will and desire in giving up the native language and identity or not. At last, it is safe to note that it seems reasonable that any positive attitudes will contribute to language maintenance while negative ones will lead to language shift. Until analysis of the data collected, the applicability of the aforementioned models will be checked.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Following the methodology of qualitative linguistic ethnographies in the current chapter has facilitated the task of diagnosing the age-based dissimilarities in the maintenance of the EBV under study. As any variationist sociolinguistic field worker, the researcher's much focus is largely put on an endeavour to determine the factors behind the endangerment of BZBV then, another focus is put on the necessity of recognizing the link between the apparent-time / synchronic attested variation and the historical change that underwent this variety.

4.6.1 PRIME FACTORS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG THE BERBER MINORITY IN 'BZ'

In the present section, the researcher relying on her assumptions from extensive theoretical readings and the analysis of 'BZ' survey tries to determine the factors which led 'BZ' speakers to abandon their BV and shift to the majority language. Indeed, to embark on any debate on the causes or the determinants of language use and maintenance in an EL environment / minority setting, any fieldworker, has to unveil the nature of those factors, be they linguistic or individualistic, and strive to better understand how they impact on

the processes of language use and maintenance or rather lead to language shift, and eventually language loss takes place.

A great deal of researches has revealed that minorities' languages decrease in use as their speakers gradually shift to the majority language, and subsequently, their ethno-linguistic varieties may fall out of use and vanish; so one may witness that language loss is taking place whenever the shift is total. In fact, the desire of ethnic group members to keep on using their language or to adopt the majority one is a crucial determinant; the position of their language besides the whole community's majority language is determined only if they claim their linguistic rights as all ethnic or minority groups are supposed to do. Hence, many questions are to be raised here: Are 'BZ' interested to maintain the use of this ethnic variety or not? What place does this variety enjoy beside the other varieties available in those speakers' verbal repertoire? And do they exhibit any positive attitude to claim their linguistic right to speak and maintain this BV?

The determinants or factors affecting language use and maintenance among 'BZ' ethno-linguistic group members can be *political*; as related to the degree of governmental support, *socio-economic*; as attached with the socio-economic status of individuals and *demographic;* as related to the demographic strength of this ethno-linguistic gathering. In the light of Giles *et al.* (1977) categorization of the factors affecting language use and maintenance among ethno-linguistic group members (see section 2.2.2.3) in addition to other issues which the data collection has revealed, the following determinants which affect heavily the retention of 'BZ' EBV (henceforth BZEBV) are summarized in the following different categories:

4.6.1.1 GEO-DEMOGHRAPHIC FACTORS

The geo-demographic determinants behind the shift to the majority language are related to the origin of speakers' parents, their geo-distribution in their region and outside it, and to their socio-economic status.

4.6.1.1.1 Origin of Speakers' Parents

Parental origin is an important factor that contributes to the use and maintenance of minority or threatened languages. If all parents in the minority community are native residents and speak that M/EL at home, their children will find good reason to keep on using it. However, in 'BZ' community, all informants, with whom the survey and interviews have been conducted, including those few fluent speakers of '*Shelha'*, live in the area from their birth and their parents live or lived there too. Yet, this factor did not, unfortunately, contribute to the maintenance of this ML. The old Berberophone people rather ceased to use this BV at home, a fact that led to a gradual shift towards the use of the majority language - their local Arabic dialect. In addition, one cannot deny the point that checking few informants is really not representative because of the obstacles of reaching data faced by the researcher (see section 2.2.1.2) in addition to inter-ethnic marriages as a factor that has been excluded for time limit and for its specific methodology adopted in anthropological and matrimonial studies.

4.6.1.1.2 Geo-distribution

The geographical distribution of language users plays a great role in its use or shift. Whenever the geolinguistic distribution of an ethnolinguistic group is smaller than that of the dominant majority language, this would encourage language shift to the majority language. In 'BZ', the findings have shown that the Berberophones

keep decreasing in number as they ceased to pass this BV on to the new generation because of the pressure exercised by the majority language. Indeed, the largest an ethnic community is the greatest is capable to retain its native variety. However, this is not the case in 'BZ' as its BV lost its native speakers and became a moribund language.

4.6.1.1.3 Socio-economic Status

In fact, the socio-economic of one's native language heavily impacts on the future of his/her language. The higher the socio-economic status of speakers is, the more their language is kept in use. So, it is safe to claim that BZBV individuals shifted towards the local Arabic dialect and schooling in MSA and French because the lack of competence in these languages hampers their success in today's Algerian society. It is also known that the Algerian economy heavily depends on its citizens' proficiency in MSA and French. This latter, for example, is privileged and became a necessity for having high economic status and; subsequently, increasing their social statuses. 'BZ' as a rural area with its humble life style hinders its dwellers' success and progress, as many interviewees claimed, and therefore, many of them have a tendency towards mobility; they usually move to the neighbouring villages for socio-economic practices at one hand. On the other hand, others may also make the move to other towns, such as *Tlemcen*, *Sebdou*, *Maghnia* ... for work, studies or commerce. So, as these intercultural neighbourhoods became common, chances of speaking this BV become more and more rare. In this line of thought, Fishman (1972) points out that linguistic minorities are frequently disadvantaged both socially and economically, and as a result, the ML becomes associated with backwardness in its society. Thus, language shift takes place due to 'BZ' individuals' socio-economic level and

constant linguistic and cultural contacts with their neighbourhoods too.

4.6.1.2 LINGUISTIC FACTORS

The data analysis in this Berberophone speech community has shown that the linguistic factors impacting language maintenance and use among BZBV speakers are two-fold: *political*; related to the governmental support of ethno-linguistic rights and decision-makers to constitutionalize such varieties, or individualistic as tightly attached with the local individuals' socio-economic status, their educational level and their linguistic competences in the languages which are available in this community's linguistic repertoire, besides their personal attitudes towards those languages as it will be detailed in the following sections.

4.6.1.2.1 Political Issues

Education is a crucial factor in the use and maintenance of any language. In any community, if the educational policy reinforces the teaching of the majority's language, it may lead towards the gradual process of language shift. That is, a ML will step by step cease to be used and may disappear in few years - language loss occurs. As a matter of fact, since independence, the Algerian LPo has been adopted to promote one <u>official language</u> – MSA, at the expense of others at a national level. Nowadays, however, though Algeria designed its latest policies to retain and revitalize the Berber varieties on the way of extinction in many isolated provinces, in an attempt to provide those regions, such as '*BS*' and '*Beni Boussaid*' south-west *Tlemcen,* with their language right to be taught in primary schools unfortunately, pupils' parents in the area of 'BS' refused that their children learn Tamazight for they think that it is not necessary and important like Arabic or French to keep abreast with the current

modern world as many Kh.A Survey respondents answered its last question.

4.6.1.2.2 Individualistic Factors

If applying the simplest criteria of Hornsby, M. (2014) or, say, individualistic indicators for considering a language "endangered" (see section 2.2.2) on BZBV, one can say that in the current speech community, the number of native speakers currently living is just five persons. They are old not less than 56 years old - the age of the youngest fluent speaker. As far as the young generation is concerned, children in this area ignore this BV as they are not able to comprehend or speak it, a result that has been obtained from the answers of both old and young informants about question 1, 9 and 10 in 'BZ' survey.

Many linguists acknowledged with (Leopold, 1970 and Burling, 1978) the fact that if the ML is frequently used as a home language, children, as they are in constant exposure to it, will find a good reason for retaining that language. But, since this BV-speaking parents and grandparents speak the majority language - local 'BZ' Arabic dialect, their children see no reason to speak their ethnic variety. So, since children belonging to such a minority-language group are not exposed to many occasions where the ML is used, and do not spend lengthy periods on a regular basis, they are consequently unable to interact with speakers via such language. In that case, this fact leads to a situation where grandparents and grandchildren use totally distinct languages and sometimes cannot successfully communicate with each other. Hornsby, M. (2014) Furthermore, parents' negative view towards their ethnic language is a crucial driver for language shift too. Today's parents seem to encourage their children to speak international languages to enhance their socio-economic status in order to attain better chances of job and to keep abreast with this globalized and advanced world.

To sum it up, it is worth to deduce that language shift in the community under exploration is attributed to all these aforementioned factors: political, demographic and individualistic and may be to others that this ethnographic study could not cover for time constraint and obstacles in getting in touch with all members of the community. But, much information will be gained after the analysis of BZ language preferences and attitudes. Hence, the following section is devoted to depict the linguistic varieties that 'BZ' individuals have at their disposal and from which they select to use in daily life inter-personal interactions.

a. *'Beni Zidaz'* Language Repertoire

The members of community under investigation have four main linguistic varieties at their disposal and which they speak at varying degrees according to their linguistic competences, context of use and in accordance with their personal attitudes.

a.1. *'Beni Zidaz'* Arabic

As in any Algerian micro-speech community, 'BZ' inhabitants use their local Arabic which shares with AA dialects many, if not all, dialect features. This dialect is a rural one, mostly characterized by its salient pronunciation of the CA /q/ variable as a voiced velar [g] variant, in addition to the other phonological characteristics, morphological markers and considerable bulk of vocabulary that has been detailed in subsection 3.3.1.1.3.(b).

a.2. 'Shelha'

From a sociolinguistic standpoint, as the use of the local Arabic dialect is necessary and prevailing in everyday life, the immense majority of 'BZ' population has no knowledge or mastery of BZBV, not even at the receptive level. This imbalance in the

distribution of language competences among the members of this micro-speech community in 'BS' makes their BV an exclusive intra-group variety. The data unveil that '*Shelha*' is the mother tongue of only 6 old informants as their answers show that their parents and grandparents were speaking this BV. The other respondents' parents spoke local Arabic and these informants, mainly youngsters aged less than 40, neither speak '*Shelha*' nor understand it, and they claimed that they do not recall their parents or grandparents speaking it. All 'BZ' inhabitants nowadays use the local Arabic rural variety. Their ancient BV has been totally abandoned in everyday conversations. The rare use of this threatened variety is limited to occasional gatherings between those who still speak it; this is a claim of one old active speaker in the area of 'BZ'.

a.3. Classical Arabic / Modern Standard Arabic

As all literate Algerian citizens, 'BZ' speakers know CA especially those who learned the Quran in mosques. As far as MSA is concerned, the old category of speakers understand it, but does not speak it since they are illiterate. On the other hand, the young educated category of 'BZ' individuals master both CA and MSA with varying degrees as their proficiency is tightly related with their educational statuses.

a.4. French

'BZ' linguistic repertoire also involves the French language, but few educated persons master it. The others, which represent the majority of the population, are Arabophones and their day-to-day speech comprises few borrowed French words only as all Algerian individuals. Therefore, aspects of bilingualism and diglossia are prevailing in this community too. But, because these features are not included in this research, the researcher has excluded their analysis.

b. Linguistic Contact of Speakers

The answers of questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 in 'BZ' survey all confirm the existence of other '*shluh*' speakers in the surrounding villages such as: *Beni Achir*, *Mazzer* as two villages belonging to the confederation of 'BS' in addition to the bordering village called *Beni Boussaid*. All informants are aware of the existence of a BV in the aforementioned villages which is used beside their Arabic rural varieties. The survey's respondents also unveiled the fact that in *Mazzer* and *Beni Achir*, this BV is an EL too as it is spoken by few old individuals. But, in *Beni Boussaid*, a village that is located on the western border of 'BS' next to the Moroccan town '*Ouadjda*' (see the geographical map put in appendix 7), the majority of its speakers master both codes: their BV and Arabic; many of them, both males and females, are active speakers. *Beni Boussaid* children do also understand the eldest individuals when addressing to them in '*Shelha*'.

c. Linguistic Variation and Personal Linguistic Behaviour

Having such a rich language repertoire at their disposal, 'BZ' individuals select what variety fits the context of situation in their communicative events. Young speakers, aged less than 47, find their Arabic dialect a suitable variety to converse in day-to-day speech. Among the eldest ones, however, who are aged more than 50 years old, strong emotional attachments to their ancestral BV are not accompanied by language use in everyday interactions. Its use is rather occasional when those few speakers maintaining '*Shelha*' meet together. Their use of the majority language - local Arabic – is mainly attributed to the fact that it is more expressive and beautiful than their ancestral BV as answers of questions 15 and 16 revealed in 'BZ' Survey. Many young informants stated that they prefer Arabic mainly because they ignore their ancestral BV. Their old counterparts

attribute their preference to their deficiency as they lost many of this variety's dialect features. The only fluent speakers are very old and they scarcely speak it as it has been mentioned. These negative attitudes prevented the encroachment of this ML in the majority language domains, and subsequently, caused endangerment as no desire has been displayed to promote it.

These obtained results confirm the researcher's hypothesis and Fasold's view that language shift only occurs if the members of the community where the ML coexists with a dominant competing language voluntarily give up their ethnic identity to adopt the other one.

4.7 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

After conducting the semi-structured interviews, the whole oral data have been attentively listened to and transcribed phonetically, then at last, classified according to the nature of each lexical element to answer the main questions raised in the semi-structured interview (See appendix 8). Hence, the following section exposes the analysis of the data collected:

4.7.1 EXPLORING THE USE OF SOME SURVIVING '*SHLUH*' LEXICAL WORDS AMONG 'BZ' OLD PEOPLE

As it has been referred to in section 2.2.2.2, it is worth repeating that some speakers of an extinct language may remember words or phrases, but unfortunately, they are unable to speak it fluently. In 'BZ', all the young category of the sampling declared that they know just few words that they hear from the eldest speakers in their community, but cannot speak or reply if someone has addressed to.

4.7.1.1 Speaking '*Shelha*': with Whom? and Where?

The analysis of the tenth question in 'BZ' survey has shown that just 5 informants speak '*Shelha*' in their village, but only among themselves (both old men and women); either their parents or their grandparents, who are the only fluent speakers in this BV which is mostly mixed with their region's rural Arabic dialect. Moreover, they also assert that the young generation neither speaks it nor understands the old persons when addressing to them, i.e., they solely interact in their native Arabic dialect. Therefore, the obtained data reveal that the BV spoken in 'BZ' nowadays is on the way of falling out of use at an accelerating rate as it is spoken, just in an increasingly reduced contexts, among groups of aged people whose '*Shelha*' variety ceased to be passed on to their children. Thus, there are no novel speakers; adults or children. Accordingly, one may safely state that this dialect is classified as a '*Severely Endangered' Language* since it is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, but they do not speak it to children or among themselves. (See section 2.2.2.2)

4.7.1.2 Some Surviving '*Shelha*' Words among 'BZ' Old Speakers

As the village of 'BZ' is a mountainous region, only those fluent informants maintain some names of food and kitchen utensils, few names of clothes and many names of domestic tools and words related to agriculture and land in general.

4.7.1.2.1 Names Related to Agriculture and Commerce

Table 4.2 gathers all words that the researcher could select from the interviews, and what is remarkable that those informants generally retain words that have a tight relationship with agriculture,

their life style, and the utensils they are constantly using and which characterize their mode of life .

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV	English Gloss
[zraʕ]	[tɪmʑeːn]	"Barley"
[gamħ]	[ɪrdan]	"Wheat"
[jaħrat]	[jəkkraz]	"He plows"
[jaħsˤɑd]	[jatħa'sˤsˤad]	"He mows "
[jneħħɪ]	[ja'ttakas]	"He picks up (vegetables or fruits)".
[jbiːʕ]	[snuːzan]	"He sells "
[jaʃrɪ]	[jasɣɪ]	"He buys "

Table 4.2 'BZ' '*Shelha*' Words Related to Agriculture and Commerce

As a matter of fact, those speakers' retention of words that are tightly associated with the conditions characterizing their mode of life clearly justifies the fact that they are attached to their land as all dwellers in rural areas. For instance, 'BZ' sampling still retain names related to weather and all sources of water.

4.7.1.2.2 Names Related to Weather and Water

Table 4.3 summarizes all the names attached to weather and water.

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV	English Gloss
['nnu] / [ʃta]	[tbi:ka]	"Rain "
[talʒ]	[ædfal]	"Snow"
[ʃʃams]	[tfu:jət]	"Sun"
[lbard]	[æʕɑmmeːd]	"Cold"
[lʕi:n]	[ʈeːʈ]¹¹⁷ - [tɪʈɑːwan]	"Source "/ "Sources"
[lma]	[æmaːn]	"Water"
[lwa:d]	[ɪɣzɑr]	"River"

Table 4.3 'BZ' *Shelha* Words Related to Weather and Water

In the next section, a list of vocabulary which persisted beside Arabic names of kitchen utensils is displayed in table 4.4.

4.7.1.2.3 Surviving Kitchen Utensils

All the five informants' answers reveal that they sometimes utter some **'***Shelha***'** names referring to the following kitchen utensils, however, with varied degrees of maintenance as two men do not remember some words as the third column clearly shows in the table 4.4:

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¹¹⁷ The word [ʈeːʈ] also refers to « an eye ».

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV	Number of Informants	English Gloss
[mʕɪlqa]	[tæɣanʒa:jət] - [tɪɣanʒa:jən](pl.)	5	" Spoon(s) "
[qadra]	[tæjdu:rt]	1	"A cooking-pot"
[ka:nu:n]	[tæfaˈqqunt]	1	"Traditional fire place"
[lamna:ʂɑb]	[ɪnja:n](pl.)	5	"Stones by which the fire place is built".

Table 4.4 Surviving Names of Kitchen Utensils

Though these last speakers of this BV retain many words as related to their agricultural and rural mode of life, they also forgot many other items such as names of clothes, and some colours as it is show below.

4.7.1.2.4 Surviving Names of Clothes and Colours

This study reveals that even the old people of 'BZ' do not have Berber items for clothes apart the word [ħalwa:n], meaning "clothes" or [kəswa] in Standard Arabic, which was said by only one man from the present sample. All informants claim that they use Arabic words to refer to all kinds of clothes. In addition, the same man provided the word [tɑɖo:ft] which means "wool" when he was asked to remember the Tamazight word for "a winter coat" which is knitted from wool.

Concerning colours, the three men and one woman know the names of colours in this variety, but the other woman forgot many of them, as it is clearly shown in table 4.5:

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV	Number of Informants	English Gloss
[bjaɖ]	[æməˈllal]	5	"White"
[kħal]	[æbərka:n]	5	"Black"
[ħmɑr]	[æzuˈgga:ɣ]	4	"Red"
[χɖɑr]	[æzi:za]	4	"Green"
[ʂfɑr]	[æwra:ɣ]	4	"Yellow"

Table 4.5 'BZ' '*Shelha*' Maintained Words of Colours

Added to this, many other colours are lost and fell out of use such as: "blue", "brown", and "orange".

4.7.1.2.5 Maintained Names of Food

Table 4.6 assembles some words that are still retained in the minds of this investigation's participants who easily remembered the words below:

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV	English Gloss

[χubz]	[æɣro:m]	" Bread"
[lħəm]	[æjsu:m]	"Meat "
[be:ɖɑ]-[be:ɖ]	[tæmalla:lt]- [tɪmalla:li:n]	"An egg "/ "eggs"
[laħli:b]	[æɣɪ]	" Milk"
[laʕsal]	[tɪmmɪ]	"Honey "
[lban]	[æɣɪ æssama:m]	" Buttermilk"
[kabu:ja]	[ta:χsa:jət]	"Pumpkin "
[ddqi:q]	[æran]	"Flour "
[karmo:s]	[ta:za:rt]	" Figs"
[ʕɪnab]	[æsammu:m]	"Grapes"
[χurʃaf]	['θa:ga]	"Artichoke"

Table 4.6 '**BZ' '***Shelha***' Maintained Words of Food**

Yet, some food names (both vegetables and fruits) fell out of use and are currently substituted by 'BZ' local Arabic words as most informants asserted such as: [baʈɑʈɑ]: "potatoes", [ʒalba:n]: "peas", [lu:bja]: "beans", [zro:dɪja]: "carrots", [baṣla]: "onions", [falfal]: "pepper", [ta'ffa:ħ]: "apples", [χu:χ]: "peaches", [maʃma:ʃ]: "apricots", [tmɑr]: "dates", [llu:z]: "almonds".

4.7.1.2.6 Persisting Names of Animals

Since the area under study is agricultural in nature and surrounded by big forests, its speakers still retain some names of

animals living in their suburbs. Table 4.7 clearly exposes what names are still remembered by these last speakers of BZBV.

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	BZBV Words		English Gloss
	Sing.Form	Pl. Form	
[ḍḍɑrbɑːn]	[æjru]	ø	"Skunk"
[lqanfuːd]	[ɪnsɪ]	ø	"A hedgehog "
[lqaṭṭ]	[ˈmmoʃ]	ø	"A cat"
[kalb]	[æjdɪ]	ø	" A dog"
[lugʷniːna]	[tæqniːnat]	[tɪqnaːjan]	"Rabbit(s)"
[ħaʒla]	[tæsakkuːrt]	[tɪsakkuriːn]	"Partridge(s) "
[χroːf]	[tɪzmart]	[ɪzmæriːn]	"Ram(s)"
[dʒaːʒa]	[tjaz̧ẹːṭ]	[jazɪḍɑn]	"Hen(s) "
[farroːʒ]	[ħaquːl]	ø	"A cock "
[falluːs]	[ʃiːʃu]	[ɪʃiːʃwan]	"Chick(s)"
[ħmaːma]	[tæħmaːmat]	[tɪħmamiːn]	"Dove(s)"
[baqra]	[tæfunaːst]	[ɪfunaːsan]	"Cow(s) "
[ħmɑːr]	[æɣjuːl]	ø	" A donkey"
[bɣal]	[æsarduːn]	ø	"A mule "

[ʕawd]	[ɪjjəs]	∅	"A horse "
[maʕza]	[ʈɣa:t]	[tɪɣəʈʈɑn]	"Goat(s) "
[ħallu:f]	[ɪlaf]	[ɪlfa:n]	"Pig(s) "
[sbaʕ] , [nnmar]	∅	∅	"Lion" and "tiger "

Table 4.7 '**BZ' '*Shelha*' Names of Animals**

What is remarkable in table 4.7 is that the '*Shluh'* names of animals which are still kept in the speakers' brains are all domestic animals or those which can be met in their surrounding forests. So, Their ignorance of the names of "lion" and "tiger" justifies the researcher's interpretation.

4.7.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERVIEWS' RESULTS

After analyzing the answers of these informants mainly qualitatively, this investigation demonstrates that the '*Shelha*' dialect under study is a 'Severely Endangered Language' as its speakers shifted to communicating through the current local Arabic dialect (the majority language); a linguistic behaviour that resulted in this partial abandonment among old speakers and in a total ignorance of this BV by the new generation. This language shift is attributed to the absence of the intergenerational transmission of the language at home; an important factor that contributes in passing on the language to the next generations. Consequently, the domains where this variety is currently used are more and more limited, as explained in the aforementioned settings, among the remaining speakers who are few members of the grandparent generation and up who have fewer opportunities to meet

each other. The researcher had no opportunity for participant observation; this justifies her use of the semi-structured interviews.

The loss of natural context of language learning is, then, of a paramount importance to keep any ML alive or in use. (Grinevald 2007) As a matter of fact, the results obtained seem insufficient to draw a final satisfactory answer about the phenomena of language shift or loss in this community because, methodologically speaking, the loss of contexts of use means fewer opportunities to capture the language in its various forms as Grinevald Colette (2007: 44) asserts. For a field worker about endangered languages, she further claims:

> it becomes from difficult, to impossible, to record certain varieties in their natural settings, since, by definition, fewer children are learning it - if any at all- fewer elders are passing on the traditional culture… The loss of the critical mass of speakers necessary to maintain a vital linguistic community translates into less of a chance to observe the language in use, to hear it in its natural use, to learn it by immersion, to practice it. In general, there are fewer opportunities, often no more opportunities, for the last speakers to gather…

These facts that Grinevald has made clear about how an EL is lost hinder the maintenance of endangered languages and make the task of language observation or language documentation really difficult if not impossible for a field worker, not easy as in a dominant language community where language is everywhere and can be observed. Thus, this study has reached the stated modest results that are in need of a further detailed and profound ethnographic or even anthrop-linguistic exploration.

4.8 FINAL INTERPRETATION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

At the end of this chapter, the researcher found that Fishman's model and typology of language maintenance is applicable in the present study. It fact, the findings proved that Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance is not only applicable to immigrant groups or minorities, but also to minority vs. majority language speech communities. Level 8 in his GIDS of language endangerment fits the linguistic situation in 'BZ'. At this level, the language is spoken by a limited number of old speakers who cannot even recall much vocabulary or syntactic structures and therefore, described as passive speakers (Fishman 1991: 88). Resolution 1 also fits this community in which the ML loses to the majority one. As far as Gile's *et.al* set of factors is concerned, the results obtained demonstrate that the majority of the stated factors do exist in the community under investigation and eventually led to language shift. Moreover, Ralph Fasold's (1984) first view that some communities though they had the same factors leading to language shift, they exhibited a trait of conservatism and maintained their native languages has been infirmed because in this community, the stated factors did contribute to its speakers' inclination towards the majority language. His second view, however, was confirmed as 'BZ' speakers show no positive attitude towards the maintenance of this BV. In this current modern and globalized world, families, especially parents, in 'BZ' are not interested to maintain the use of this ethnic variety. Their endangered BV enjoys a meager chance in those last speakers' verbal repertoire and in daily life interactions, and they also exhibit no positive attitude to claim their linguistic right to speak it and maintain its existence. This appears in the fact that they ceased to pass it on to their infants and currently speak their local Arabic dialect.

In this chapter, the results confirmed the researcher's first and second hypotheses which concern the first question about how 'BS' dialects in general evolved through time to become the current Arabic

varieties, and the second one about the reasons that prompted 'BS' Berber tribes, in general to accept the arabizing expeditions of the 7th and 11th centuries and the Algerian Arabicization policy launched right after independence. As a proposed answer to these questions, she has hypothesized that 'BS' varieties which are historically proved to be of a Berber origin; Zenati tribes, as many historical references show, evolved through generations and underwent various political (the arabicization policy, its inhabitants' immigration due to terrorism in the 1990's), recent economic and social developments in this era of globalization, which led to the abandonment of their speech medium. Historically speaking, they were first arabized as they willingly embraced Islam (Betahila, 1983), then by the Algerian Arabicization policy which promoted the use of MSA as the majority language in all sectors of life, in addition to the factor of literacy in schools and mosques which underpinned the learning of CA. These facts reduced the functions of this BV; that is to say, shifting to the majority language gradually took place.

Concerning the third research question which inquires about the linguistic consequences of Arabi(ci)zation in the area under investigation, or in other ethnographic terms, to what extent the native Berberophones in 'BS' succeeded to maintain their own linguistic features (and by whom and where?) , it is important to repeat that the already mentioned historical, cultural and political changes resulted in this dramatic language shift to the extent that all Berberophones in 'BS are' arabized and just those five old speakers rarely use their native BV in private settings among themselves, yet ceased to pass it on to their children. This means, since there is no intergenerational transmission and no natural context for learning this language, from a sociolinguistic standpoint, it is safe to consider this BV as a severely endangered language. This result confirms the researcher's third hypothesis in chapter four.

4.9 CONCLUSION

At last, this chapter, both methodological and analytical in nature, attempted to collect some defining features of BZEBV. The this research sampling relatively describes BZBV speakers in terms of their parents' language, everyday occupations, type of their linguistic contact and their educational levels as well. This chapter also provides a comprehensive explanation of the adopted models in studying the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift in language contact situations as an indispensable methodological framework on which this study is built. To sum up this chapter, it is worth to note that the findings proved that Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance (1966, 1991) is not only applicable to immigrant groups, but also to minority vs. majority language speech communities as it is the case in this community. Ralph Fasold's (1984) first view has been infirmed and his second view, however, was confirmed. In fact, various historical, political, socio-economic and cultural factors are behind the linguistic development of 'BS' dialects from their ancient Berber varieties to become the current Arabic dialects carrying a considerable number of Berber features.

Chapter Five:

Investigating Sociolinguistic Variation

in '*Khemis*'

Chapter 5:   Investigating Sociolinguistic Variation in '*Khemis*'

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this fifth chapter, the researcher's main aim as the title of this chapter exhibits is to show some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of '*Khemis*' through investigating the correlation of Kh.A salient linguistic variables with some extra-linguistic or social variables such as, the age of the speakers, gender, educational level. However, before exhibiting the obtained results, a large space is devoted to depict the methodological design which has been chosen to undertake this sociolinguistic exploration, in addition to a detailed account of Kh.A representative subjects who participated during the data gathering phase. At last, the data collected will be analysed and interpreted in the final sections of the current chapter in correspondence with the Labovian paradigm correlating linguistic variables with extra-linguistic ones at one hand. On the other hand, the same aforementioned models of language maintenance and shift adopted in chapter four will be used to check to what extent Berber features are kept in Kh.A. In addition, some methodological concepts which are thought to be relevant to the present field of study as conceptual tools such as, the *'linguistic variable'* as an indispensable one aiding in analysing phenomena in correlational linguistics are defined. Worthwhile mentioning, this tool will be used in the analysis of data in this chapter.

5.2 '*KHEMIS*': A GEO-DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Before going to the profound details of the present sociolinguistic exploration, a geographical and demographic account about the region of '*Khemis*' is offered to better localize this speech community on the Algerian geographic map, and draw preliminary information which are thought to be helpful in the interpretation of the results during the analysis phase.

5.2.1 '*Khemis*' Geographic Localization in '*Beni-Snous*'

As the field worker's ultimate aim is to examine some features of sociolinguistic variation in '*Khemis*', a brief geographical background is to be drawn to better define the field of research. This latter is located in the heart of 'BS' South-West *Tlemcen*, and occupies a tremendous area of *Tlemcen* mountains.

The most important village is '*Khemis*' which represents the centre of 'BS' and comprises many administrative, socio-economic and cultural institutions which are common places where all inhabitants of 'BS' meet for daily life practices. In addition, one important factor that led to the mixture of both urban and rural varieties in '*Khemis*' is the period of terrorism during the 1990's when most, if not all, isolated inhabitants of the adjacent regions moved to '*Khemis*' leaving their non-secure regions especially those of '*Mazzer*' and 'BZ' seeking security and stability.[118] As a result, the speech community of '*Khemis*' has grown to be socially varied, unstable, enormously variable and in the long run exposed to linguistic changes that may be attributed to the already mentioned factors and some others, if any, that will be unveiled during the data analysis in this chapter. But, since this sociolinguistic study is interested in '*Khemis*' society in particular, accurate historical information should be collected about the obscure history of this region.

5.2.2 The Origin of '*Khemis*' Inhabitants

An essential question should be raised in this edifice is whether the ancient dwellers of the region of '*Khemis*' were Arabs, Berbers, or of other races. During the data collection phase, the researcher found some documents which talked about Tlemcenian families in general, and only few colonial anthropological works which investigated ethnographically

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[118] Both villages have rural dialects.

some characteristics of 'BS' linguistic varieties.[119] Moreover, the results obtained from the administered Kh.A survey (mainly in questions 2, 3, 10, 16 and 17) have clearly revealed some historical and cultural information in '*Khemis*' popular legacy, which are either embodied in socio-cultural traditions, names of utensils, some toponyms and many stories that are transmitted orally from one generation to another. However, it is safe to say that though the statements of Kh.A speakers are sometimes distinct, they all agree upon the origin of '*Khemis*' old dwellers; they were a conglomerate of Arabs and Berbers whose bloods are mixed together to the extent that one cannot currently classify any group in a particular race. Some families claim that they came from the Sahara; others came from Morocco… etc. But generally, the majority of '*Khemis*' inhabitants declare that they are "Berbers who have been arabized by Islam", as they answered: /naħnu # barbar # ʕarrabana: #

əl + ʕɪsla:m/.

Returning back to the consulted references, many colonial anthropologists had made their explorations about the region in general like Canal, J. (1891), for instance, who sees that the inhabitants of 'BS' are Berbers belonging to a '*Zenati*' tribe. Its dwellers are related to their land, and do not accept any foreign interference in their lives.[120] They were called '*El-Quabail*', i.e., *Kabyles* to differentiate them and to refer to their origin. Indeed, question 2 in the survey conducted in '*Khemis*' has confirmed that this name is still used to refer to people living in 'BS' by non-beni Snoussi in the areas surrounding this region, specially from *Sebdou*.

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[119]'BS' linguistic varieties were tackled by the sociologist Edmond Destaing in 1907 in a book entitled: *"Quelques particularités des dialectes berbères des 'Beni Snous'"*.
[120] Canal, J. (1981:390-405)

5.3 RESEARCH DESIGN FOR STUDYING '*KHEMIS*' ARABIC

In the community of '*Khemis*', the investigator did not opt for a pilot study since she has already dealt with its dialect in the Magister dissertation. In the present work, she has conducted her field research in a triangular set of data gathering implements so as to collect fully representative and reliable information that fit the different requirements of this sociolinguistic investigation. The chosen instruments of data collection are: a direct dialect survey, two questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. In addition, the researcher has also relied on participant-observation and note taking whenever it was possible.

5.3.1 Data Collection Instruments for '*Khemis*' Arabic

The present section describes the methodological procedures by which the investigator collected her data.

5.3.1.1 Direct Dialect Survey

This direct method of collecting data has also been opted for as in chapter four. Indeed, and to some extent, it is found helpful to control some aspects regarding '*Khemis*' informants' impressions about the geographical distribution of both Arabic and Berber varieties in 'BS' and the differences between them. (See Kh.A Survey in appendix 2)

Regarding the structure of Kh.A dialect survey, 19 questions have been raised for a sample population of 300 subjects, both males and females, of distinct ages as table 5.1 displays:

Age-groups & Gender	5 – 25	26 – 49	> 50	
Males	50	50	50	**150**
Females	50	50	50	**150**
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**300**

Table 5.1: Subjects Participating in Kh.A Survey

In the first, second and third questions, the researcher attempts to drive the informants' attention towards their own variety to note the origin of '*Khemis'* dwellers and the name by which their variety can be classified from its users' viewpoint and the surrounding villages'.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh questions seek to know the characteristics and the specificities which distinguish Kh.A from the surrounding dialects to deduce *'Khemis'* speakers' linguistic awareness.

The eighth and ninth questions seek to uncover each speaker's inclination to accommodate or switch to one of the other neighbouring varieties and the reasons behind such a linguistic behaviour.

In the tenth, eleventh and twelfth questions, the researcher inquires whether her informants are aware about the availability of a BV in 'BS' or not, and whether it differs from the variety spoken in Great Kabylia or not.

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth questions aim at knowing whether '*Khemis'* speakers master this local Berber and to what extent they speak and understand it.

Question sixteen checks if the parents of each informant speak the local Berber.

Questions seventeen and eighteen aim at drawing a list of the persisting, Berber lexical items in Kh.A speakers' brains.

In the last question, the investigator looks for uncovering the positive or negative attitudes of speakers towards the introduction of Tamazight in the primary school of '*Khemis*' to deduce their personal opinion and their awareness about the consideration of this language in their daily lives.

To distribute a direct survey to 300 persons, both men and women of different ages and educational backgrounds, is not an easy task. The researcher spent 15 days moving from one family to another in '*Khemis*', and meeting people in shops, and displacing to the town hall, *daira*, the Post Office and the Medical Centre of 'El-*Fahs*', a village which has recently assembled all administrative institutions, looking for native speakers who are originally from '*Khemis*' and who still live in the region under inquiry. Schools also have been visited looking for subjects aged between 5 to 25 years.

As any field worker, the researcher faced some misunderstandings about the nature of the survey and some subjects did not accept to fill in it, attributing their reluctance to participate for fear that it involves political issues, mainly after signing a petition against the introduction of Tamazight in the local primary school. Due to the obstacle of illiteracy with the old category, the survey has been read question by question in dialectal form by the researcher herself and answers have been written in the Kh.A, i.e., their local dialect variety. Those answers are also thought to be helpful in getting examples about the pronunciation of some Kh.A linguistic variables (phonetic, morphological and lexical).

5.3.1.2 Questionnaires

To better examine the aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the community of '*Khemis*', the researcher worked with two questionnaires: -A- and -B-. Questionnaire -A- has been structured after collecting the

differences between Kh.A and the neighbouring Arabic dialects, precisely in the sixth question in the survey administered in the area of '*Khemis*'. (See Kh.A Survey in appendix 2-A-) The collected information have been used to structure this questionnaire which aims in essence at evaluating the degree of sociolinguistic variation among Kh.A speakers at different linguistic levels through opposing some of Kh.A selected phonetic variables, morphological items, and lexical features with those of the surrounding villages. (See Appendix 3 -B-) It has been administered to 150 informants who are stratified into three age categories of both genders as it is shown in table 5.2:

Age-group	Male	Female	Total
5 – 25	25	25	**50**
26 – 49	25	25	**50**
> 50	25	25	**50**

Table 5.2: The Stratified Sample Participating in Questionnaire -A-

Concerning its content, it is divided into three main parts: the first one involves a set of words that include the variables (dʒ),(z),(d), (ḍ), (ḏ), and (ʃ) occurring at initial, middle and final positions, and from which the informant should select his / her usual pronunciation that may be an authentic Kh.A realization, or it can be attributed to the impact of the neighbouring dialects. The second part entails some morphological features such as: morpheme prefixes used in Kh.A, elision of the inflectional morpheme {-i}, the use of the variable {-u}, the {-a:w} and {-i:w} bound morphemes, in addition to shedding light on how some particular di-syllabic verbs are formed. This part also includes some details about gender distinction, Kh.A pronouns, dual forms in nouns, diminutives, description of how particles are used in Kh.A and indefinite articles as well. Finally, due to time limit and the researcher's ignorance in Tamazight, just some Berber morphological features have been

referred to. By the end of this chapter, its third part reviews a list of vocabulary items which tries to identify the current lexicon used among speakers of different ages and gender in an attempt to compare old to young speech.

When analysing data, quantifying the variants of some variables in correspondence with their extra-linguistic /social factors will better list the characterizing features of '*Khemis'* linguistic medium, and help to interpret the findings about sociolinguistic variation in this community.

Questionnaire -B- is fundamentally structured to evaluate the linguistic competences of Kh.A speakers both in MSA and French in terms of reading, speaking and comprehension. It has been distributed to 150 informants simultaneously with the Kh.A direct dialect survey, 75 males and 75 females, grouped into three-age groups: from 14 to 25, then from 26 to 50 years old, and at last older than 50. Table 5.3 clearly shows the sample population of the questionnaire:

Age-groups	Male	Female	Total
Age Group I (14 – 25)	25	25	**50**
Age Group II (26 – 50)	25	25	**50**
Age Group III (> 50)	25	25	**50**
Total	**75**	**75**	**150**

Table 5.3: Sample Population of Questionnaire -B-

The questionnaire is composed of two essential parts. Part one is devoted to personal information about the speaker (age, gender, educational level, occupation, and place of residence). Part two assembles 12 questions raised in two languages; the first in MSA and the second is written in French. The choice between both languages is itself a first determinant of the informant's linguistic competence. (See Questionnaire -B- in Arabic and its French translated version in appendix 3 -B-)

Concerning this questionnaire's content, it carries questions that are purposefully designed to help the researcher to investigate some aspects of language variation among Kh.A users. Initially, the first two questions try to estimate the level of both speaking and comprehension in MSA. The third question inquires about the use of French in day-to-day interaction, and in questions four and five, the researcher attempts to assess to what extent '*Khemis'* speakers speak and understand French respectively. The contexts where the French language is used and how often it is used are the main inquiries raised in the sixth and seventh questions. The eighth question is devoted to know whether Kh.A speakers mix between Arabic and French in everyday speech or not and if it occurs, how often this mixing takes place. At the end of the questionnaire, the informants have been asked about their language preferences (between MSA and French) in everyday practices such as, reading newspapers / books, listening to radio and finally watching television.

The results obtained from questionnaire -B- will be analyzed and interpreted both qualitatively and quantitatively to come up with final answers that will help the researcher in delimiting some features about the intra-linguistic variation among Kh.A users as a particular instance, and about the whole Algerian speech community at a macro-level.

5.3.1.3 Recorded Semi-structured Interviews

To reach approximation to authentic, spontaneous, normal speech and to avoid any bias towards her native dialect (Kh.A) through the use of the introspection technique, the researcher prefers the use of semi-structured interviews which have been conducted with different contexts (homes, schools, medical centre…) and simultaneously recorded by an electronic device with 9 '*Khemis'* informants of both gender and whose age ranges between 47 and 85 years old, as it is summarized in table 5.4:

Age-groups & Gender	30 – 50	›50
Males	0	2
Females	1	6

Table 5.4: Sampling of the Semi-structured Interviews

Those recorded conversations have been attentively listened to and transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). As a first step, questions have been asked in '*Khemis*' dialectal Arabic by the researcher herself addressing each informant. Different topics of conversation have been intentionally chosen to attract the interviewees' attention and to motivate them to speak and express themselves or their viewpoints spontaneously. The selected topics are both about life conditions in isolated rural areas, comparison between past and today's conditions of life, and revolution … etc. (Recordings are in the accompanying burnt CD)

Hence, the ranges of the elicited data from the recordings or note taking are classified qualitatively into three main categories: phonological, morphological and lexical. In addition, all lexical items which the researcher has doubted about their Arabic origin have been checked in a trilingual dictionary and have taken part in the list of surviving Berber items in the lexicon of Kh.A. (See section 5.5.2.1.3.)

5.3.1.4 Participant-observation Recording

As inspired from Gumperz' work in Hemmes (1964) and the studies of South Harlem (Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis 1968), participant-observation recording is also used in this thesis to get recorded samples of group interaction. Unfortunately, the researcher could not record group sessions. A session has been recorded in the Medical Centre between the researcher's friend and a mid wife. (See participant-observation recording in the CD)

5.3.2 Description of '*Khemis'* Arabic Respondents

As already referred to, the researcher has worked with 300 subjects who are described in terms of age, gender, parental language, educational level and place of residence.

5.3.2.1 Age & Gender of Informants

In the present chapter, all male and female respondents to Kh.A survey, interviews and questionnaire(s) are living in '*Khemis'* and they are aged between (5- 85).

5.3.2.2 Informants' Parental Language

According to the answers of all informants obtained from question 16: did / does your father or mother speak this dialect (i.e., the local Berber)? No respondent (aged 5-49) claim that their parents do not speak Berber, 6 percent of old informants (aged 50 and above) whose parents are dead claim that they recall that their parents were speaking Kh.A and 12 percent of this last age-group's grandparents spoke Berber at home with the old members of their family and acquaintances of their age. These results are shown in the following pie-chart:
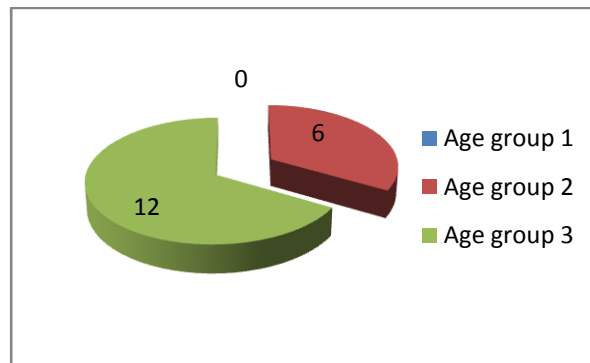
Pie-chart 5.1: Parental Language: Berber or Arabic?

The answers obtained from question 16 proved that today's parents speak Kh.A as their mother tongue and transmit it to the younger generation. This question which is two-fold clearly reveals that the community of '*Khemis'* has lost its native speakers in Berber for more

than three generations since even the grandparents do not speak it, but they recall that some of their parents did.

5.3.2.3 Geo-Distribution

All the subjects who kindly participated in the data collection are living in '*Khemis*' from their early childhood, and their parents are/were originally from this area too. But, only an old informant aged of 73 years lived in France where he was a worker, and after being retired, he returned back home. Another respondent aged of 77 years old migrated to Morocco and lived there during the Algerian revolution; thus, his dialect is highly influenced by other features.

5.3.2.4 Occupation

As far as their occupation is concerned, the informants practise various professions depending on their level of education. Some are employees in the administrative sector; others are traders, shop keepers, teachers, nurses, and other occupations. The other informants, both men and women, are either retired workers or house wives respectively.

5.3.2.5 Educational Level & Linguistic Competence

The informants' educational level varies according to their ages. Young respondents (aged between 5-25 years old), both boys and girls, are all literate whose level of education ranges from Primary to University level. All male and female informants, whose ages are between 26 and 49 years, are educated too. They have university diplomas, they left school at the BREVET degree, or stopped their studies at 1st or 2nd year of Secondary School or at the Baccalaureate level. The third group of informants, whose ages are more than 50 years old, are of three kinds. Some of them are illiterate who neither learned Arabic nor French. The second kind has studied in French schools for

some years during the colonial period and they have an average level in French. The third group studied in '*Khemis*' Quranic Schools (mosques) and both reads and writes in Arabic, especially the Holy Quran. This is concerning the old males. For old women, they are either illiterate, who have never gone to mosques or schools and therefore, they neither master Arabic nor French, or they have enrolled these last years in the "programme of erasing illiteracy" / '*mehw el-omiyya*' (محوالأمية) in Arabic. Some of them have studied for 5 years, and consequently, succeeded to learn by heart some Quranic verses for prayers.

5.4 THE ADOPTED MODELS AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS ON '*KHEMIS*' ARABIC

To examine actual usage following an apparent time approach, the variationist sociolinguist is faced with enormous variation as speakers of a linguistic variety speak noticeably differently, according to the context where they are, using various linguistic characteristics. In dealing with '*Khemis*' sociolinguistic variation, the researcher has intentionally adopted the following methodological models:

5.4.1 The Methodological Models Used

In this fifth chapter, which is synchronic in scope or, in other words, studying the progress in language change on apparent-time following Labov's paradigm (1966) used in his study of the (r) pronunciation in New York City (see section 1.5.1), the researcher seeks to examine the correlation of some linguistic variables in Kh.A with reference to age, gender, level of education and some other factors which will be uncovered during the following sections of the present chapter.

In addition, in order to trace the linguistic development of language use and change in the area of '*Khemis*' with a special emphasis on language change, light will be shed on what extent the ancient EBV is

still maintained among speakers of Kh.A, the same models of language maintenance and language shift used in chapter four will be adopted. That is, Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance and Fasold's view about language shift (See 4.5) will be used to investigate the use of Berber in '*Khemis'*. However, as the researcher already knows from her previous tentative investigation in this community (Magister dissertation 2009) that there is no fluent speaker of Berber in '*Khemis'*, her main focus is put on investigating the maintenance of the surviving Berber features in the Arabic dialect spoken in this area.

Beside the methodological issues which have been discussed above, conceptual tools require elucidations too.

5.4.2 The Linguistic Variable as a Conceptual Tool

One of the defining characteristics of sociolinguistic research is its commitment to the examination of language that is actually produced by speakers. In fact, any investigator who examines actual usage is faced with enormous variation. Individuals, consciously or unconsciously, vary in the extent to which they use particular linguistic features, and speak noticeably differently according to the situational context where they are, as noted by Schuchardt (1972:48) "the pronunciation of the individual is never free from variations". [121] Due to the limitations of traditional approaches in the study of complex urban speech communities, and in order to uncover the intricacies of sociolinguistic variation and the reasons behind such variation, William Labov, in his pioneering work on Martha's Vineyard (1963), has developed a basic concept that he calls the "linguistic variable". This sociolinguistic concept has been defined by Bell, R.T. (1976:32) as "inconsistency or disagreement that a particular form of language may exhibit from an abstract language". The linguistic variable, as a basic sociolinguistic conceptual tool utilized to

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121 Quoted in Chambers (2003:11)

relate linguistic variation to social variation, refers to a collection of alternative sounds which can be substituted for one another without changing the meaning of the words. This type of variation can be illustrated with Trudgill's (1974) results on the (ng) variable in Norwich[122] which is the final consonant in words endings -*ing*, such as *seeing, helping, sitting*, which has two variants,(ng): [ŋ] with the velar nasal, and (ng): [n] with the alveolar. One rather common type of variation can also be noticed among some English speakers when pronouncing the word *hat* as [hæt], and others as [æt], but the meaning is the same in both cases.

Studies of variation employing the linguistic variable are not confined solely to phonological matters. It is certainly possible to study syntactic variables. Investigators have looked at the {s} of the third-person singular, as in *he talks*, and the presence or absence of *be* in Black Vernacular English (BVE) in sentences such as *She's real nice* versus *She real nice*, and of negatives with *no* and *any* in the same dialect, as in *I ain't got no money* versus *I don't have any money.*[123]

Indeed, the important fact to remember as Wardhaugh (2006:145) says is that "(…) a linguistic variable is an item in the structure of a language, an item that has alternative realizations, as one speaker realizes it one way and another different way or the same speaker realizes it differently on different occasions". For example, in the speech community of '*Khemis'*, one speaker may say [zuːʒ]: meaning 'two' most of the time whereas another prefers [ʒuːʒ]. One may also hear people saying [gəˈzzaːr] for 'a butcher', while others maintain the sound [ʒ], i.e. saying [ʒəˈzzaːr]. These different realizations of both

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122 An example mentioned by April (1994:235)
123 An example mentioned by April (idem).

phonological variables (z) and (ʒ) and others reveal interesting characteristics about the linguistic behaviour of *Khemis* speakers and the sociolinguistic structure of this speech community as a whole. As a matter of fact, any linguistic variable – be it phonological, morphological or lexical – realized with two or more variants represents the core of the current sociolinguistic investigation. Yet, what might be more interesting is that the variants of each variable in any linguistic variety are typically "not randomly distributed, but instead correlate with extra-linguistic factors like the age, sex and social class of the speaker, and the level of formality" as April, M.S.M. (1994:23) asserts.

At last, it should be stressed that linguistic features may also correlate with ethnic or religious considerations. Agreeing with sociolinguists' viewpoints in general and with April's (1994) view in particular, the researcher's hypothesis is that the variants of Kh.A are not random, but they rather correlate with some extra-linguistic or independent variables in the community of '*Khemis*', a community that appears to be socially diverse, unstable, extremely variable and eventually exposed to linguistic change due to some factors that will be unveiled during this sociolinguistic investigation. So, this conceptual tool will be used in this chapter to capture some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in '*Khemis'*.

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter is intended to portray some aspects of correlation between Kh.A linguistic variables and their correspondent social variables. Yet, one must not deny that variety in language use is also displayed regionally. Therefore, the following section offers a bird-eye view about the geographical distribution of the variants of the plosive variable (q) in the entire area of 'BS' through symbolizing on its map the

distribution of those variants moving from one location / village to another one shedding light on the retention of the CA [q] or the realization of its variant voiced [g] of the most decisive feature distinguishing urban AA dialect from the rural ones (Cantineau, J. (1938:82).

5.5.1 The Geo-distribution of the Variable (q)

In most researches in regional dialectology, most findings, if not all variants of the questioned variables, were represented in the form of isoglosses displaying the geographical barriers that separate variants, and clearly show on maps the distribution of the characteristics of the dialect under study. Therefore, regional dialectology seems to provide one of the easiest ways of observing variation in language. When one may travel throughout a wide geographical area in which any language variety is used, like such of the current investigation – 'BS', a network of isoglosses is obviously observed over the entire area under research. These may appear as differences in pronunciation (phonetic variants), or in the morphology of words (various morphemes), in syntax or in the choices of lexis, and are obviously noticeable when moving from one location to another and comparing its language users speak.

When analyzing the answers of the sixth question in Kh.A survey, all informants stated that the plosive [q] is heard in 'El-*Azails'* (including '*Tafessera'* and '*Zahra'*) and '*Beni Bahdel'* North-east '*Khemis'*. Those villages are geographically separated by some mountains, vast agricultural fields, and the dam of '*Beni Bahdel'*. And in spite of the existence of those barriers, the maintenance of the variant [q] stretches in a South- direction arriving at '*El-Fahs'* and '*El- Menzel'* then finally reaching '*Khemis'*. Moreover, and in a South-East direction, [q] runs roughly spreading out over the regions of '*Ouled Moussa'* and '*Ouled El-Arbi'*, which though they are very close to each other, they

exhibit a considerable variation in terms of their other linguistic features. These two villages are separated from '*Khemis*' by the 'valley of *Khemis*'/ '*Oued Lakhmis*'.

But, across South-west '*Khemis*', the voiceless variant [q] disappears and the voiced plosive [g] is mostly heard, mainly in the regions of '*Beni Achir*', 'BZ', where the EBV under study is used, '*Sid El-Arbi*', and '*Mazzer*'. Its voiced realization represents the most salient particularity of rural speech of those varieties in 'BS'.

Map 5.1. describes the geographical distribution of the variable (q) as pronounced in the whole villages of 'BS', and unveils how '*Khemis*', as a region located in the hub of 'BS', is surrounded by one
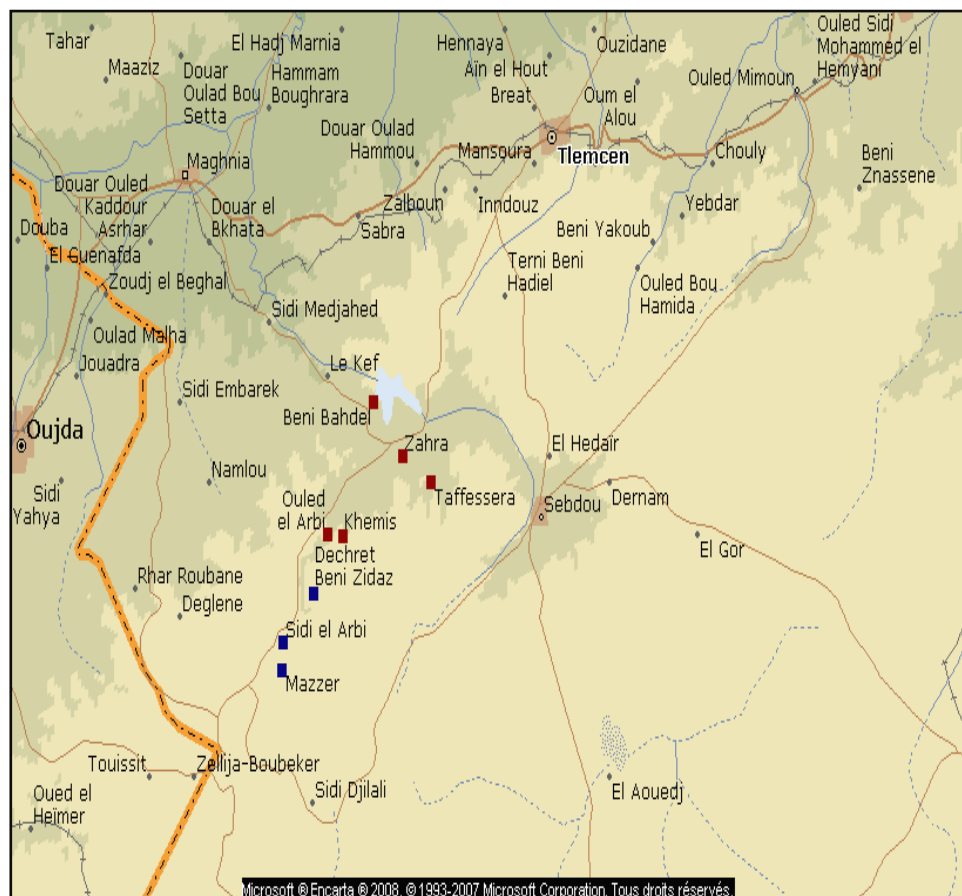
village or more using their own local dialect peculiarities.

Map 5.1 Geo-distribution of (q) Sound in 'BS'

To better read the map, the red squares refer to the villages where the plosive variable (q) is retained on one hand. Blue squares, on the other hand, are drawn where the [g] sound is used. Moreover, it is of a paramount importance to restate, at this early step in analysis, that the researcher has selected on purpose to depict the geo-distribution of the realization of the plosive sound (q) by 'BS' dwellers in general as Cantineau, J. (1938) considers the mute pronunciation of this phonetic feature as the most decisive dialect characteristic opposing urban and rural AA varieties. The other features which oppose these two types of Arabic varieties will be shown in detail in section 5.5.2.1.

One could perhaps, at this stage, draw a clear portrait about the different types of communities that can be observed in Algeria in general, and in 'BS' in particular, taking into account the co-existence of both types of rural and urban dialects in large urban cities and rural contexts, and among individuals who are members of networks and small-scale social groups. Accordingly, one can conceive Algeria as a macro-speech community consisting of smaller speech communities, each involving distinctive dialect characteristics that varies regionally, and correlate with its socio-cultural factors. Sociolinguistically speaking, it is proved in many language studies that most language users show positive or negative attitudes toward their dialect distinguishing themselves from other speakers through using their own linguistic varieties which they claim it is theirs. In the area under investigation, it is worth repeating the same question raised in chapter one and which is: how do Kh.A speakers living in '*Khemis*', a vital space which attracts the attention of the neighbouring villagers for everyday socio-economic and cultural practices, behave linguistically towards non-Kh.A varieties? Do they feel themselves belong to the same speech community or they distinguish themselves from the others? In other words, do they

accommodate their speech to the others', especially in constrained settings where distinct varieties are employed inside and outside 'BS'?

In the following sections of this chapter, answers about these questions and others will be provided in attempt to show the maintenance or substitution of particular linguistic characteristics of Kh.A correlating the occurrences of its linguistic variables with a number of extra-linguistic or social variables. More importantly, having a look at the way '*Khemis*' individuals behave in the social networks they are involved in and in the social interactions in which they take part is thought to be more fruitful for detecting the striking aspects of sociolinguistic variation in '*Khemis*' speech community.

5.5.2 Features of Sociolinguistic Variation in '*Khemis*' Arabic

In reality, a first look at the speech community of '*Khemis*' reveals that its variety enjoys some linguistic particularities that are specific to it. Yet and as already hypothesized, the occurrences of its linguistic variables are undoubtedly correlating with particular geographical, ethnic, and social variables. In an attempt to check this hypothesis or the others, the researcher adopts the quantitative method to better analyze and interpret the data collected, and compares Kh.A variants with the High Variety namely, CA, for getting accurate sociolinguistic interpretations. Actually, her main objective justifies this choice for a quantitative method in the fifth chapter for it is conceived it would bring some field's supporting findings that may reinforce her arguments after the quantification of scores and interpreting the frequency of occurrence of Kh.A different linguistic variables with those of the other varieties, or in correlation with corresponding social variables.

Therefore, the present section intentionally draws a sociolinguistic account about the Arabic dialect spoken in '*Khemis*' shedding some light on the correlation between its characterizing dialect features and its extralinguistic factors. By doing so, features of sociolinguistic variation will be highlighted considering the mutual contact and Urban-Rural interplay between Kh.A and the surrounding varieties.

5.5.2.1 '*Khemis*' Arabic: Urban vs. Rural Variety

In the light of the ancient classification of AA dialects pioneered by Millon, C. (1937), Cantineau, J. (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960), one may classify the Arabic dialect spoken among '*Khemis*' dialect users as one of the "urban" dialects that were implanted by the *Arab Fatihins.* These urban AA varieties reveal distinctive, opposing features with the "rural" or the so-called "bedouin" dialects, brought by the Arab nomadic populations - '*Banu Hilal*'. It is worth noting that in the following sections of the current chapter, a descriptive account of some Kh.A phonological characteristics will be reviewed qualitatively elicited from the researcher's notes which have been taken on different occasions, or quantitatively through revealing the results of Kh.A questionnaire -A-.

5.5.2.1.1 Phonological Features of Kh.A

In this section, the phonological features that characterize Kh.A are classified into both consonant and vowel characteristics.

a. Consonant Characteristics

On the basis of AA dialect classification (Cantineau 1938, 1940), that has been referred to in section 3.3.1.1.3, and after applying it to the Arabic dialect of '*Khemis*,' one may safely say that Kh.A is an "urban" dialect that is characterized by urban features and carries some Berber items. Furthermore, the data collection noticeably shows that Kh.A has the same set of features characterizing urban AA dialects which are

summarized as variables in correlation with extralinguistic ones as follows:

a.1 (q) Variable

The data collected show that 'Khemis' individuals retain the uvular plosive (q) in many words as all speakers of urban AA varieties (e.g. *Algiers, Nedroma…*) and as in CA. The following table clearly illustrates, via simple instances which are sometimes taken as notes or from recordings, the retention of the voiceless plosive (q) among Kh.A speakers:

CA	Kh.A	English Gloss
/ qa:la /	[qa:l]	"He said".
/ qɪtt /	[qatt]	"Cat"
/qaʕada /	[qʕad]	"He sat down". / "Sit down"!
/qu'ffa/	[qu'ffa]	"A basket made of palm leaves"
/ baqara /	[baqra]	"A cow"
/ jaquʂʂo /	[əjqaʂʂ]	"He cuts something".

Table 5.5: The Maintenance of the (q) Sound in Kh.A

However, the data collected also reveals that 'Khemis' phonetic system involves the variant [g] which can be attributed to the impact of its adjacent rural dialects in 'BS' or to the process of adapting French borrowings into Arabic, as it is the case in all AA dialects. Table 5.6 summarizes some vocabulary items that are of a rural type or in origin French adapted words which exist in Kh.A:

	Kh.A	English Gloss
Vocabulary Items of Rural Type	[gamħ]	"Wheat"
	[geɪla]	"Sun"
	[gɑʂʕɑ]	"A utensil made up of metal"
	[lamgi:l]	"Siesta"
	[rri:g]	"Saliva"
	[jgərgəb]	"He drinks any liquid in a non-stop way".

	[gʷba:la]	"Too much"
French Adapted Words	[gɑʈo]	"Cakes" from the French "gateaux"
	[gara:ʒ]	"A garage" from "un garage" in French.
	[gamɪla]	"A cooking utensil" from "gamelle" in French.

Table 5.6: [g] Sound of Rural Type and French Borrowed Adapted

Words among Kh.A Speakers

In fact, both types of AA varieties differ in the realization of some consonants. Therefore, in addition to the variable (q), the phonetic system of Kh.A involves striking features too.

a.2 Interdentals

'*Khemis*' speakers tend to substitute the interdental consonants (θ), (ð), and the emphatic dental consonants (ḍ) and (ḍ) by the alveolar sounds [t], [d], and the retroflex stop [ɖ]. Rural dialects, on the other hand, maintain the interdentals as in CA. (e.g. [θu:m]: "garlic", [ði:b]: "wolf" and [ḍhɑr]: "back".

A first glance at Kh.A phonetic system indicates that, unlike the AA rural varieties, it lacks interdental sounds which are either substituted by [t], [d] or [ɖ] as it is shown in the following examples:

CA	Kh.A	English Gloss
/ θaldʒ /	[təlʒ]	"Snow"
/ ðull /	[dəll]	"Humiliation"
/ ḍaʊʔ /	[ɖɖ o:]	"Light"
/əddɑ'la:m /	[ɖɖ lɑ:m]	"The dark"

Table 5.7: The Absence of Interdentals in Kh.A

The interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ are totally absent in Kh.A phonetic system. But, the emphatic sounds /ʠ/ and /ɗ/ exhibit enormous variation as it will be referred to in section (a.6).

a.3 (dʒ) Variable

Unlike CA, the affricate   (dʒ)   is articulated as a voiceless fricative   [ʒ]   among '*Khemis*' speakers, as in   [ʒbal]: "mountain"   [ʔæʒi]ː   "come!", and   [rʒaʕ]ː "he returned back". The data analysis of Kh.A questionnaire -A- reveals that the sound (dʒ) in Kh.A is pronounced as a back velar   [g]   when the word   involves either a voiceless fricative /s/ or a voiced /z/ as in [gəns]: "race", [gəˈllaːs]ː "a pot for babies", and [gəˈzzaːr]: "butcher", or as a voiced fricative [z] as in [zəbs]: "plaster", [ʕzuːza]ː"mother-in-law", and [zuːz]: "walnuts" on one hand. On the other hand, it also shows that the realization of the sound (dʒ) is variable. The word / dʒɪbs /ː"plaster", for example, according to Cantineau (1938) is articulated as [gəbs]   because it contains a voiceless fricative / s /.

However, what is striking in Kh.A is that it is articulated as [zəbs] by one generation and [ʒəbs] by another, and realized differently by men and women. So, the articulation of (dʒ) varies according to age and gender as two extra-linguistic factors. The quantified data (scores) are summed up in tables 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 and their corresponding charts highlight how the variable (dʒ) varies in correspondence with age and gender variables in Kh.A.

First, table 5.8 exposes the scores of the variable (dʒ) as pronounced by young speakers aged between 5-25 (both males and females) in different positions (initial, middle and final).

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores%	Female Scores%
1. / dʒaˈzza /	"He sheared the wool".	a. [ʒəzz]	80	88
		b. [zəzz]	20	12
2. / dʒaʊz /	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	76	84
		b. [ʒu:z]	24	16
3. /dʒana:za/	"Funeral"	a. [ʒna:za]	36	52
		b. [ʒana:za]	64	32
		c. [zna:za]	00	16
		d.[zna:ʒa]	00	00
4. / dʒɪbs /	"Plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	100	100
		b. [zəbs]	00	00
5. / dʒɪns /	"Race"	a. [ʒəns]	64	64
		b. [gəns]	36	36
		c. [zəns]	00	00
6. /dʒaˈzza:r/	"Butcher"	a. [ʒəˈzza:r]	60	64
		b. [gəˈzza:r]	40	36
		c. [zəˈzza:r]	00	00
7. /ʕadʒu:za /	"Mother-in- law"	a. [ʕʒu:za]	36	36
		b. [ʕzu:za]	64	64
		c. [ʕgu:za]	00	00
8. /ʔaʕdʒɪzu/	"I feel feeble"	a. [naʕʒəz]	00	00
		b. [naʕgəz]	100	100
9./tatadʒaʾssas/	"You spy on (someone)"	a. [dgu:sas]	8	24
		b. [tadʒaʾ ssas]	92	76

Table 5.8: The Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Young Speakers Aged (5-25) in Correlation with Gender

Bar-graphs 5.2 and 5.3 highlight the scores presented in table 5.8 as produced by males and females.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
a	80	76	36	100	64	60	36	0	8
b	20	24	64	0	36	40	64	100	92
c			0		0	0	0		
d			0						
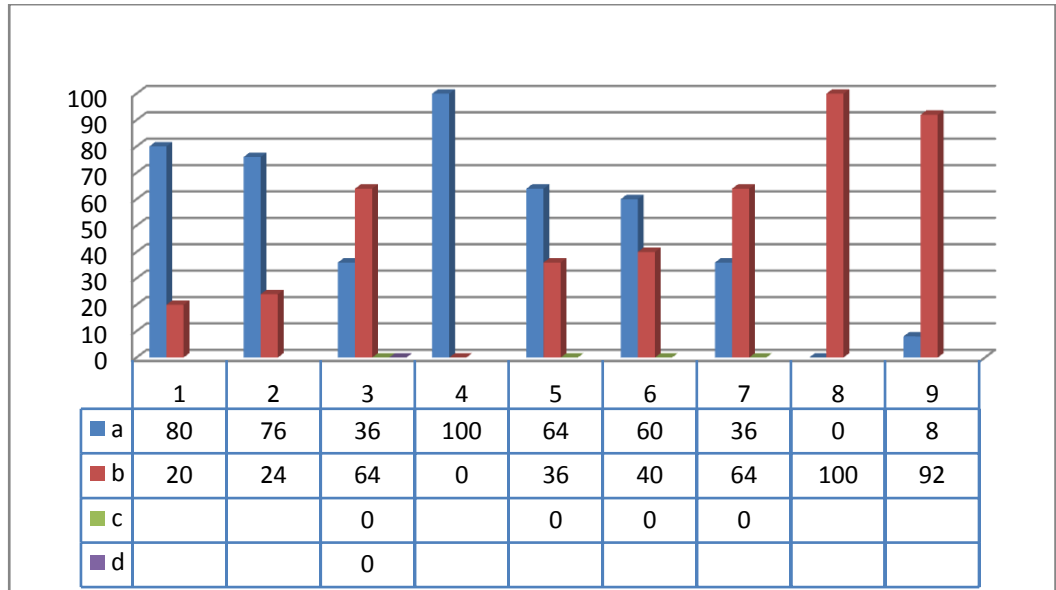
Bar-graph 5.2: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (ʤ) by Young Male Speakers Aged (5-25)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
a	88	84	52	100	64	64	36	0	24
b	12	16	32	0	36	36	64	100	76
c			16		0	0	0		
d			0						
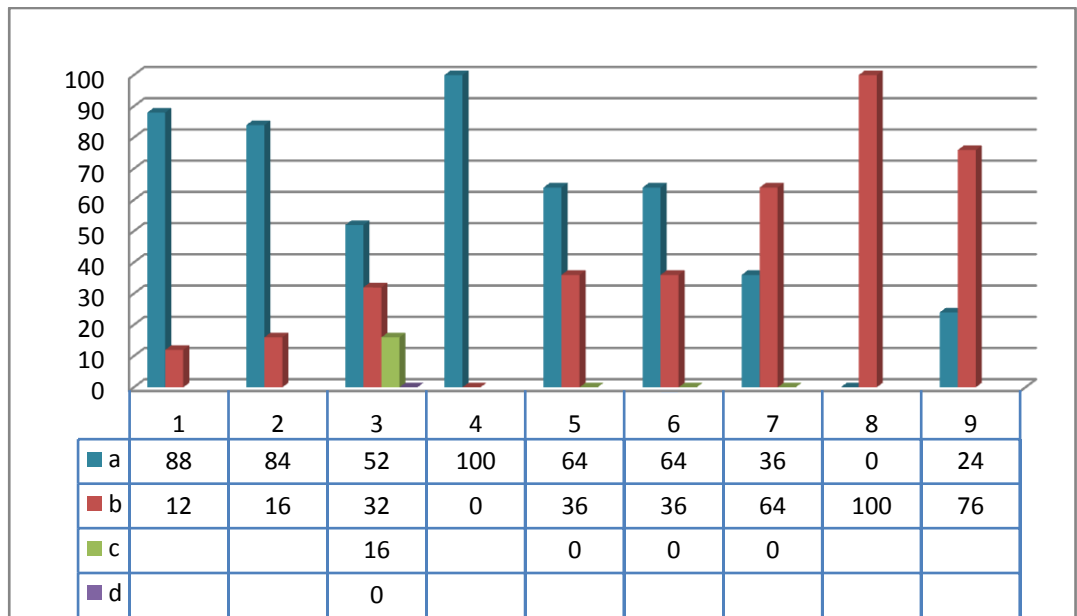
Bar-graph 5.3: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (ʤ) by Young Females Aged (5-25)

Table 5.8 clarifies that '*Khemis'* young speakers (aged between 5-25) still retain the variant [z] of (ʤ) in some words, such as, [zu:z]："walnuts" at initial position, and in [ʕzu:za]:"mother-in-law" in medial

position with great percentages, though in other words, in the same phonetic environment, it is pronounced [ʒ]. For example, young speakers articulate the sound (dʒ) as [ʒ] in: [ʒəbs]: "plaster", [ʒana:za] or [ʒna:za]: "funeral", [ʒəˈzza:r]: "butcher", [ʒəzz]: "he sheared (the wool of a sheep)", and [ʒəns]: "race". This is, may be, due to education or probably because they have realized the misuse of the variants [z] and [g] and corrected them. Hence, this result confirms the hypothesis that education, as an important extra-linguistic factor, contributes in language variation in '*Khemis'* dialect since it reinforces change among the new generation from old variants to standard forms.

Second, table 5.9 summarizes the scores of the same variable as articulated by men aged between (26-49).

Word	English Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
1. / dʒaꞌzza /	"He sheared the wool".	a. [ʒəzz]	00	24
		b. [zəzz]	100	76
2. / dʒaʊz /	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	00	40
		b. [ʒu:z]	100	60
3. / dʒana:za /	"Funeral"	a. [ʒna:za]	24	40
		b. [ʒana:za]	48	48
		c. [zna:za]	00	12
		d.[zana:za]	28	00
		e.[zna:ʒa]	00	00
4. / dʒɪbs /	"Plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	100	100
		b. [zəbs]	00	00
5. / dʒɪns /	"Race"	a. [ʒəns]	08	60
		b. [gəns]	92	40
		c. [zəns]	00	00
6. /dʒaꞌzza:r /	"Butcher"	a. [ʒəꞌzza:r]	00	52
		b. [gəꞌzza:r]	100	48
		c. [zəꞌzza:r]	00	00
7. /ʕadʒu:za/	"Mother-in- law"	a. [ʕʒu:za]	28	32
		b. [ʕzu:za]	72	68
		c. [ʕgu:za]	00	00
8. /ʔaʕdʒɪzu/	"I feel feeble"	a. [naʕʒəz]	00	00
		b. [naʕgəz]	100	100
9. /tatadʒaꞌssas/	"You spy on (someone)"	a. [dgu:sas]	48	00
		b. [tadʒa ꞌ ssas]	52	100

Table 5.9: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Speakers Aged (26-49) in Correlation with Gender

Bar-graphs 5.4 and 5.5 draw attention to how this variable is realized by speakers, both men and women, aged between (26-49). The articulation of the variable (dʒ) among age group two is varied. Males in

this age group seem to speak with variants noticed among old people as in: [ʕzu:za]: "mother-in-law", [naʕgəz]: "I feel feeble", [gəˈzza:r]: "butcher", [gəns]: "race", and [zəzz]: "he sheared…" at one hand. On the other hand, they corrected many misused pronunciations as they realized them by uttering standard forms in many instances like: [tadʒaˈssas]: "you spy (on someone)", [ʒəbs]: "plaster", and [ʒu:z]: "walnuts". Indeed, this is usually a behaviour among men who are worldwide characterized by a higher frequency of non-standard forms of language. Bar-graph 5.3 clearly displays their scores:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
■ a	0	0	24	100	8	0	28	0	48
■ b	100	100	48	0	92	100	72	100	52
■ c			0		0	0	0		
■ d			28						
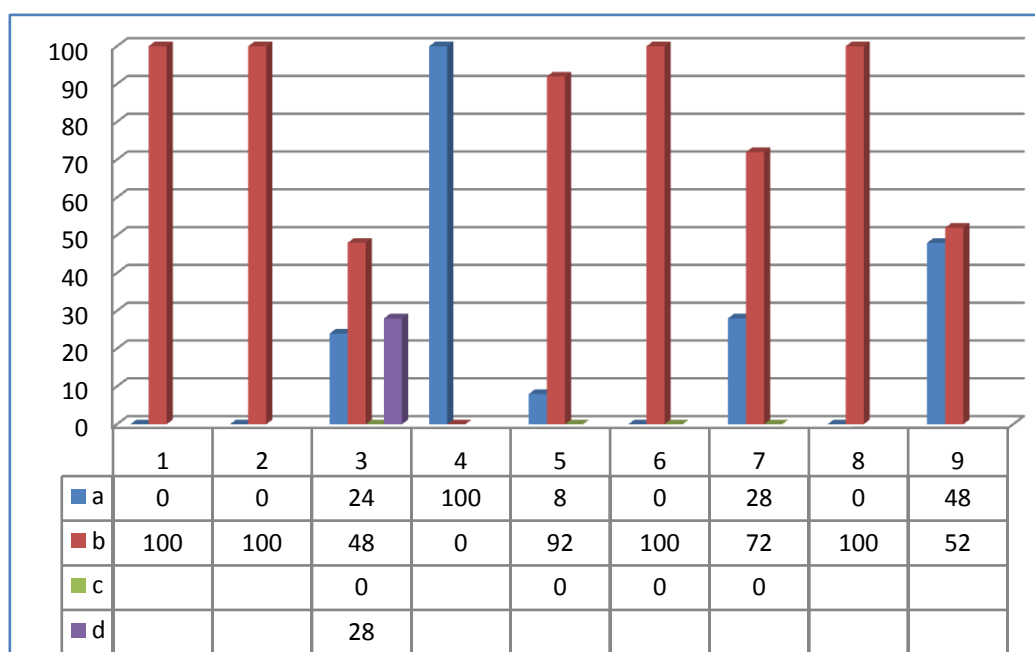
Bar-graph 5.4: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Male Speakers Aged (26-49)

As most modern sociolinguistic researches (Labov (1972a: 243; 1990:205-206), Wolfram & Fasold (1974:93); Trudgill (1983:161); Cheshire (1998:413)…) reveal that "…women use fewer stigmatised forms than men, and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern" (Labov, 1972a: 243), females in this age group also show a tendency towards correcting their native pronunciation of the variable (dʒ) by the use of the standard variant [ʒ].

Bar-graph 5.5 is offered to better highlight the scores of this variable:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
a	76	40	40	100	60	52	32	0	0
b	24	60	48	0	40	48	68	100	100
c			12		0	0	0		
d			0						
e			0						
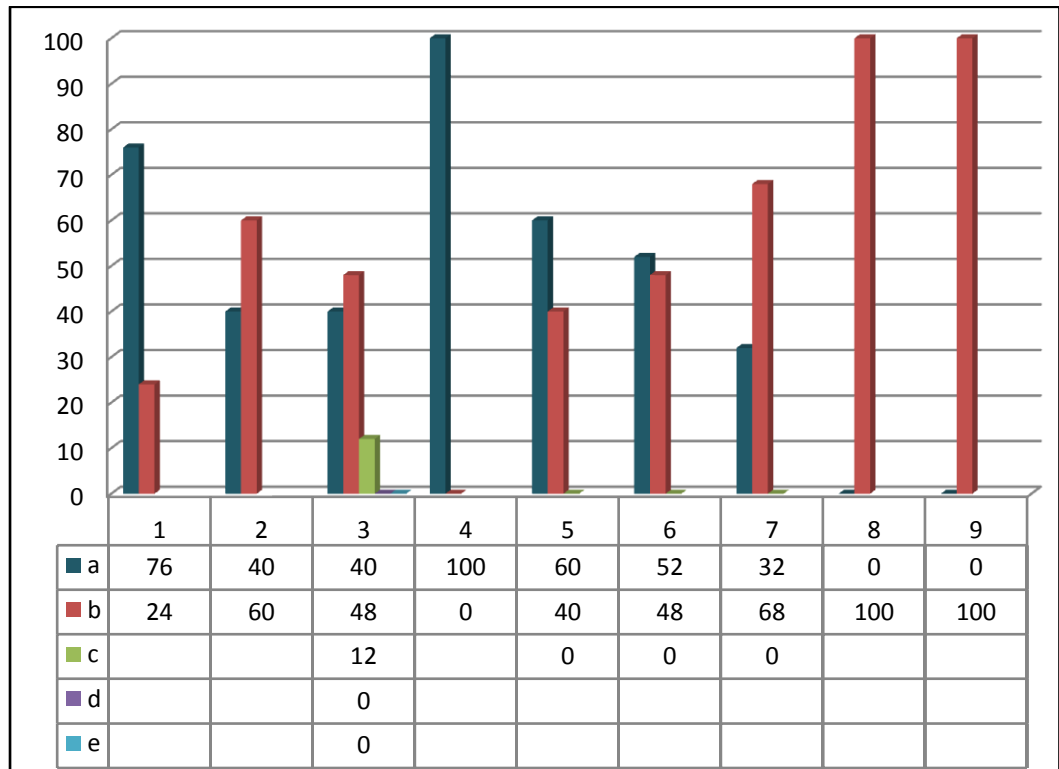
Bar-graph 5.5: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Female Speakers Aged (26-49)

So, this fact confirms the researcher's hypothesis that men and women in '*Khemis'* speak differently and that gender is a variable with which speech is correlating; i.e., male speakers choose to use more non-standard forms, whereas females are more inclined to show a higher frequency of prestigious forms in language.

Third, table 5.10 reviews the scores of the variable (dʒ) as realized by old speakers aged more than 50.

Word	Gloss	Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
1. / dʒaˈzza /	"He sheared the wool".	a.[ʒəzz]	00	76
		b. [zəzz]	100	24
2. / dʒaʊz /	"Walnuts"	a. [zu:z]	100	80
		b. [ʒu:z]	00	20
3. /dʒana:za/	"Funeral"	a.[ʒna:za]	24	40
		b.[ʒana:za]	48	48
		c.[zna:za]	00	12
		d.[zana:za]	28	00
		e. [zna:ʒa]	00	00
4. / dʒɪbs /	"Plaster"	a. [ʒəbs]	100	100
		b. [zəbs]	00	00
5. / dʒɪns /	"Race"	a. [ʒəns]	08	60
		b. [gəns]	92	40
		c. [zəns]	00	00
6. /dʒaˈzza:r /	"Butcher"	a. [ʒəˈzza:r]	00	52
		b. [gəˈzza:r]	100	48
		c. [zəˈzza:r]	00	00
7. /ʕadʒu:za/	"Mother-in-law"	a. [ʕzu:za]	72	100
		b. [ʕʒu:za]	28	00
		c. [ʕgu:za]	00	00
8. /ʔaʕdʒɪzu/	"I feel feeble"	a. [naʕʒəz]	00	00
		b. [naʕgəz]	100	100
9./tatadʒa'ssas/	"You spy on someone"	a. [dgu:sas]	48	00
		b. [tadʒa' ssas]	52	100

Table 5.10: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Old Speakers Aged (+50) in Correlation with Gender

First, bar-graph 5.6 portrays the percentages of this variable as pronounced by the old category of male informants.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
▇ a	0	100	24	100	8	0	72	0	48
▇ b	100	0	48	0	92	100	28	100	52
▇ c			0		0	0	0		
▇ d			28						
▇ e			0						
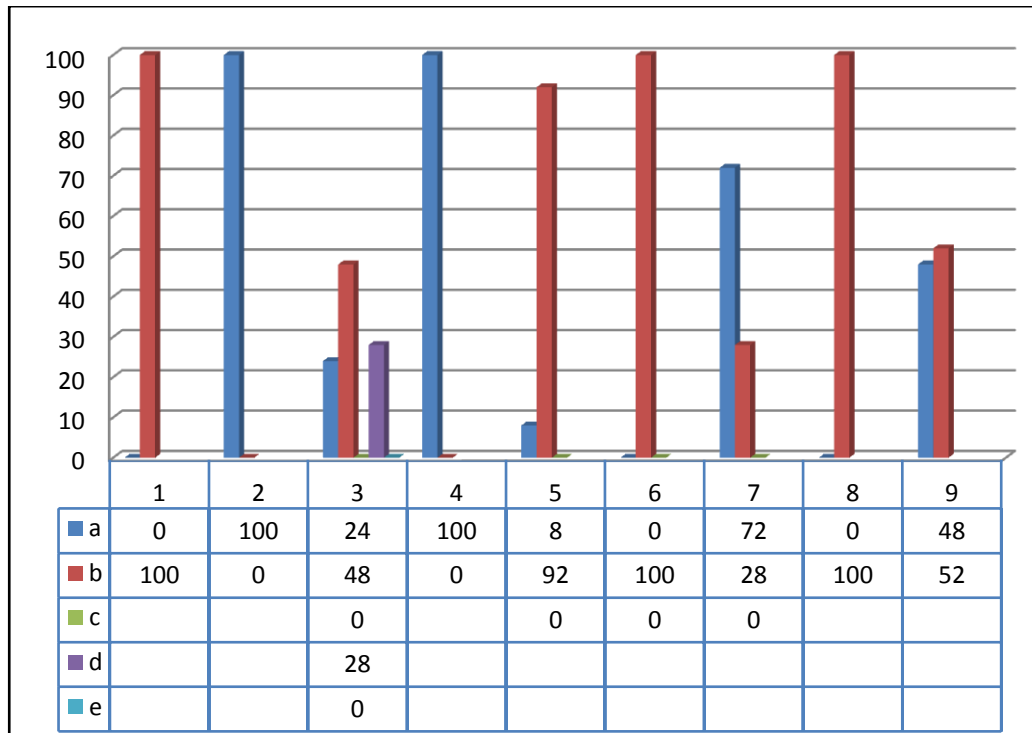
Bar-graph 5.6: **Scores of the Realization of the Variable   (dʒ) by Old Male Speakers Aged (+50)**

The scores reveal that old males tend to keep their non-standard variants of the variable (dʒ) in all positions and words, except in the word [ʒəbs] in which it is pronounced as in Standard Arabic. That is, the variable has two non-standard variants, as table 5.10 displays in its examples, [z] and [g].

Second, bar-graph 5.7 also sums up the scores of the realization of the variable (dʒ) as pronounced by old women aged more than 50 years old.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
■ a	76	80	40	100	60	52	100	0	0
■ b	24	20	48	0	40	48	0	100	100
■ c			12		0	0	0		
■ d			0						
■ e			0						
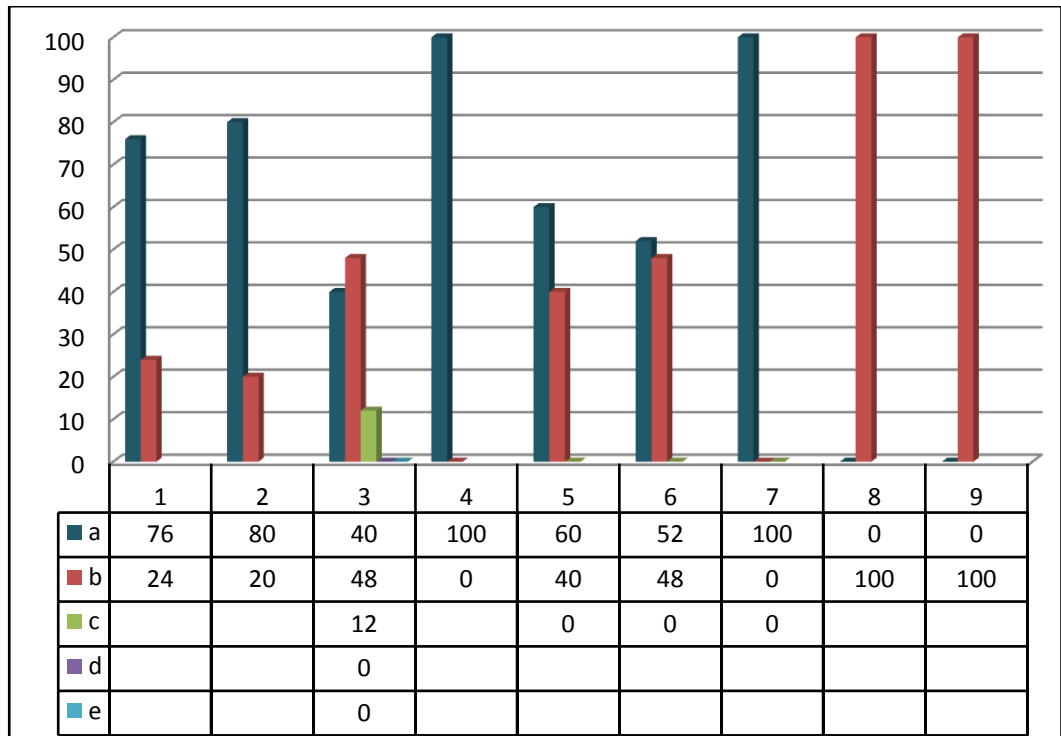
Bar-graph 5.7: Scores of the Realization of the Variable (dʒ) by Old Female Speakers Aged (+50)

A look at the scores confirms again the tendency of women towards the use of standard forms of their dialect. So, since this linguistic behaviour is observed even among illiterate women, it is safe to claim that it is not attributed to the factor of education, but rather to their inclination towards the standard (prestigious) forms of variants in their speech. Thus, one may corroborate that gender is a variable with which the variable (dʒ) as a phonological instance in Kh.A is correlating.

a.4 (ð) Variable

The sound (d) is another consonant which characterizes the phonetic system of Kh.A and displays variation. As it has been referred to, Kh.A lacks interdentals; they are substituted by dental sounds. However, it is worth noting that, the realization of the variable (ð) correlates with gender in this speech community. For instance, the two CA words /hakaða:/ and /kaðalɪka/ have two variants in Kh.A. That is,

/hakaða:/ is realized with the voiced variant [d] as [hakda] or [haɡda], and with the voiceless variant [t] as [hakta]. /kaðalɪka/ is heard with [d] as [hakdək] or [haɡdək], and with [t] as [haktək]. The scores gathered in table 5.11 obviously show how the variable (ð) varies according to the gender of informants:

CA	English Gloss	Kh.A Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
/hakaða:/	"This way"	1. [hakda] ~ [haɡda]	85	84
		2.[hakta]	15	16
/kaðalɪka/	"That way"	3.[hakdək]~ [haɡdək]	81	66
		4. [haktək]	19	34

Table 5.11: Percentages of [d] vs. [t] in Correlation with Gender

Bar-graph 5.8 represents the percentages of the variants [d] and [t] as produced by both male and female informants.
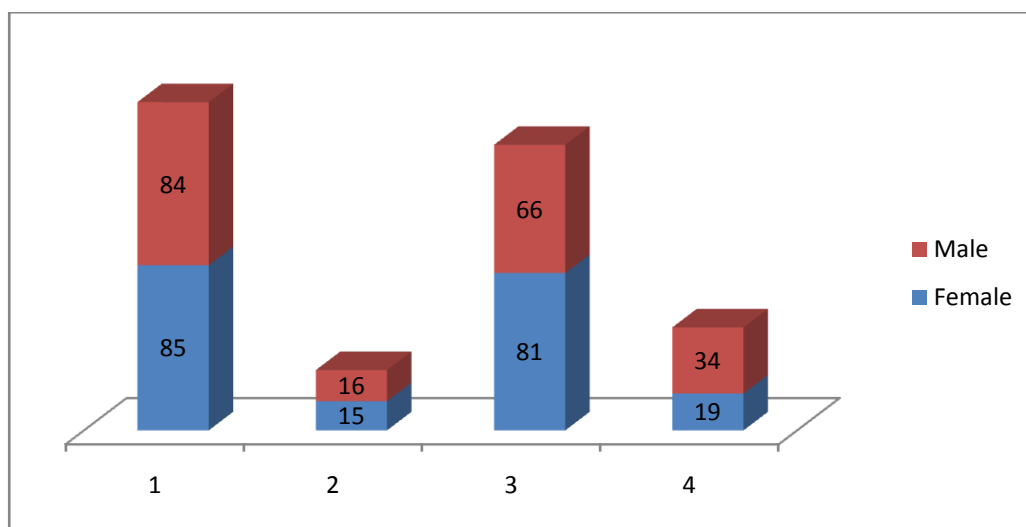
Chart 5.8: Scores of [d] vs. [t] in Correlation with Gender

A reading of the results in table 5.11 confirms that both males and females produce the interdental (ð) as [d] while its variant [t] can be regarded as a surviving phonetic feature characterizing female speech in the speech community of '*Khemis'*.

a.5 (z) Variable

Throughout the Algerian territory, the (z) sound is articulated as in CA (Millon, C. (1937), Cantineau, J. (1938) and Marçais, Ph. (1960). That is to say, it remains [z] as in [zzi:t]: "cooking-oil" and [zɪttu:n]: "olives". In contrast, data collection elicited from questionnaire -A- shows that there is another feature which distinguishes '*Khemis*' old female speakers from youngsters. This old category of speakers is more inclined to alter the sound (z) by [ʒ] as it is heard in [ʒu:ʒ] meaning "two" and [ʒa:wʒa]: "a married woman" or "the second" (fem.adj). Both variants of the variable (z) as articulated by the old generation, males and females aged more than 50, are gathered in table 3.12, and highlighted in its corresponding graph:

Word	Gloss	Kh.A Articulation	Male Scores %	Female Scores %
/ zawdʒ /	"Two"	[zu:ʒ]	76	72
		[ʒu: ʒ]	24	28
/za:wʒa/	"A married woman"/ "The second"	[za:wʒ a]	76	32
		[ʒa:wʒ a]	24	68

Table 5.12: Scores of the Variable (z) by Age Group III in Correlation with Gender
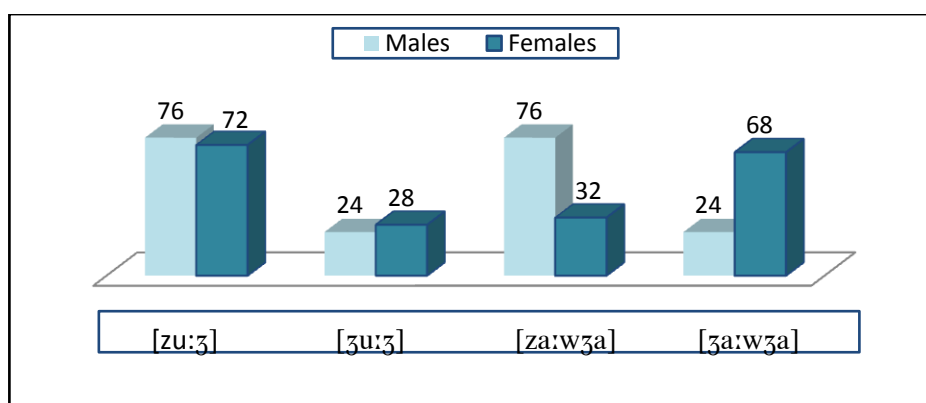
Chart 5.9: Scores of the Variable (z) by Age Group III in Correlation with Gender

The few scores of the variant [ʒ] corroborate that this variant is another persisting feature characterizing the old speech of Kh.A speakers.

a.6 (ɖ) and (ɗ) Variables

During the analysis of the data obtained from Kh.A questionnaire -A-, the researcher observed that, like in all urban dialects, the emphatic sounds (ɖ) and (ɗ) are absent in Kh.A. They are instead realized as retroflex sounds [ɖ] and [ʈ]. The percentages about these sounds are scored in the following table and drawn in chart 5.9:

Word	Gloss	Kh.A Articulation	Male Scores ٪	Female Scores ٪
1./ jaʕaɖɖo /	"It bites"	1a. [jʕaɖ]	92	80
		1b. [jʕaʈ]	08	20
2./ dufr(un) /	"Nail"	2a. [ɖfɑr]	84	76
		2b. [ʈfɑr]	16	24
3./ jamχuɖo/	"He churns (milk)"	3a. [jamχaɖ]	86	72
		3b. [jamχaʈ]	14	28

Table 5.13: Scores of the Sounds (ɖ) and (ɗ) in Correlation with Gender

The data obtained about the variables (ɖ) and (ɗ) are highlighted in the following chart:
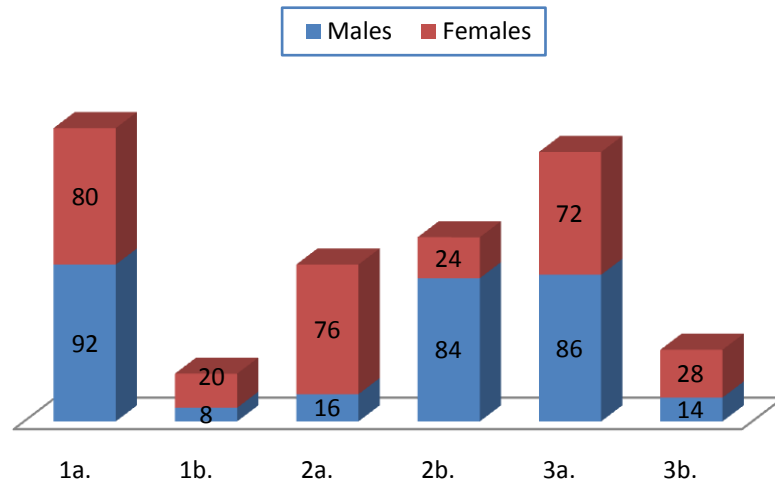
Chart 5.10: Scores of the Variables (ɖ) and (ḏ) in Correlation with Gender

The previous examples, in table 5.13, show that the [ṭ] variant is realized with less scores than [ɖ] in initial and final positions. This is mainly attributed to the factor of literacy. Moreover, the existence of this variant, though with little scores, argues that 'Khemis' individuals had this feature in the past and these little percentages, as shown in the preceding table, can be regarded as a persisting phonological trait in the community under study.

But, what is surprising in the speech of 'Khemis' dwellers is the fact that the variables (ɖ) and (ḏ) are realized as a voiced retroflex stop [ɖ] instead of a voiceless retroflex stop [ṭ], even by the older generation, in other initial and final positions as in:

      CA   **Kh.A**

      / ɖɖ aʊʔ / ⇨   [ɖɖo:]: "light"

      /ɖaɪf/   ⇨   [ɖɖe:f] : "guest"

      / ɗahr/   ⇨   [ɖ hɑr]: "back"

Furthermore, in a medial position, the sound (ɖ) in / jamɖoɣu / meaning "he chews" shows unpredicted results. It is produced as [d], and emphatic retroflex [ɖ] or [ʈ]. Its articulations are gathered in table 5.14 and highlighted in the following graphs:

Articulation of (ɖ) in / jamɖoɣu /	Male Scores %			Female Scores %		
	a. [ɖ]	b. [d]	c. [t]	a. [ɖ]	b. [d]	c. [t]
Age Group I	40	28	32	28	28	44
Age Group II	72	28	0	36	48	16
Age Group III	12	56	32	8	20	72

Table 5.14: The Articulation of (ɖ) in Medial Position

Bar-graph 5.10 summarizes the articulation of (ɖ) in medial position by men in correlation with age:
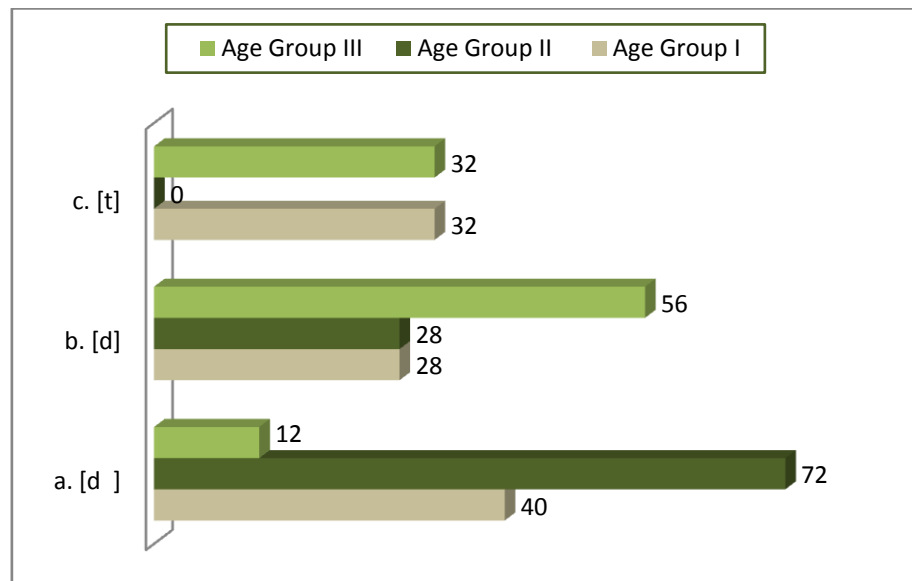
Bar-graph 5.11: The Articulation of (ɖ) in Medial Position by Males in Correlation with Age

Then, bar-graph 5.11 is drawn to highlight the articulation of (ɖ) in medial position by women in correlation with age:
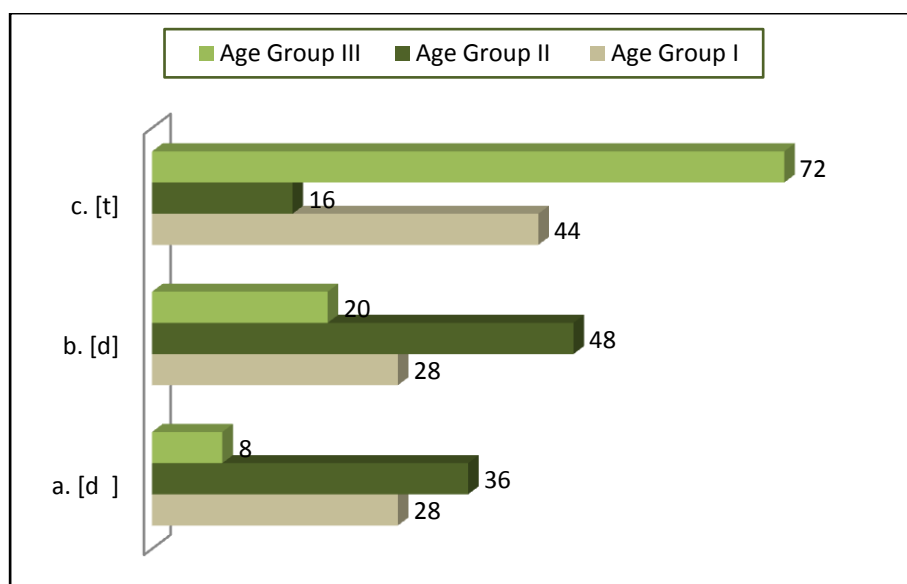
Bar-graph 5.12: The Articulation of (ɖ) in Medial Position by Females in Correlation with Age

Though the researcher expected that all females would utter (ɖ) as [ḍ] approximately as a standard form, almost all old women use [t] instead of (ɖ) in addition to little girls of age group I. What is also unanticipated is that women of age group II pronounce (ɖ) as [d] like old men and not [t] as old women who are supposedly their mothers. Then, young and middle aged men's realization of (ɖ) is often as [ḍ].

Looking at these discrepancies, one may wonder if the use of either [ḍ], [d] or [t] exclusively predictable as a gender variable? Then, do all males aged less than 49 years employ [ḍ] precisely for the [+voice] feature which is hypothetically associated with men toughness? At last, is the [-voice] feature accompanying female speech a reflection of their smooth voice and feminity?

One could only deduce, in this respect, that young and middle-aged men's [ḍ] is either a realization of the misuse of [d] and [t] thanks to education or due to those speakers' constant contact with rural dialects. Although women are usually inclined to preserve the characteristics of their dialects and hardly ever change their way of

speech in daily life interactions, younger females in this community shift from the old [-voice] feature, that is, the realization of (ɖ) as [t], to [+voice] / [d] probably because of their contact with other varieties too.

a.7 (ʃ) Variable

The (ʃ) sound has two variants. It is either kept [ʃ] or pronounced as a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. Qualitatively explained, the results obtained show that the variable (ʃ) correlates with the factor of education because it was noticed that the majority of speakers, both males and females, in the three age groups who are educated pronounce this sound as in CA, whereas the illiterate ones articulate it as [s] uttering / ʃams /: "sun" as [samʃ] with a metathesis, or the word / ʃadʒara /: "tree" is articulated as [səʒra] with assimilation.

a.8 (p) and (v)

Thanks to borrowing from French, the phonetic system of Kh.A includes the bilabial / p / and the velar /v/ plosives as in [pompɑ] meaning "a pump" and [væksɑ] from "vaccin" meaning a "vaccine". However, the voiced fricative / v / sound is devoiced to [f] as in: [fali:za] meaning "suitcase" from "valise" in French, [fɪla:ʒ] from "village", [rəfa:j] from "réveil" meaning: "alarm" and [fo:ɖ] replacing "vote".

a.9 Phonological Processes in '*Khemis'* Arabic

1- Assimilation is one of the most significant factors of sound change. In most AA dialects and in '*Khemis'* dialect in particular, assimilation of the definite article {ʔal-} across morpheme boundaries is prevailing when followed by "solar" consonants as in [ʃʃams]: "the sun". However, Kh.A is characterized by the assimilation of the alveolar

lateral (l) by the alveolar nasal [n] when it is preceded by a fricative / s / or / z / as in:

/ sɪlsɪla /   ⇨   [sənsla]: "An iron chain or necklace"

/ zalzla /   ⇨   [zənzla]: "earthquake"

2- Another phenomenon is embodied in devoicing the sound (ɣ) into [χ]. It loses its voicing when followed by a voiceless fricative / s / as in the word: / naɣsəl / ⇨ [naχsəl]: "I wash".

3- Additionally, Kh.A is characterized by the devoicing of / d / to / t / in verbs ending in / d / creating a geminated sound [tt]:

/ ba'ʕʕadt /   ⇨   [bæ'ʕʕatt]: "I went far away".

/ bradt /   ⇨   [bratt]: "I felt cold".

/ barrad + tu / ⇨   [ba'rrattu]: "I cool it".

4- The voicing of / t / in the environment of a following voiced / z / or / ʒ / only in verbs of a (CCVC) form when conjugated with the second singular "you" or third singular pronoun "she" is another phonological particularity. These examples illustrate more this phenomenon:

/ t + zaɣrət / ⇨ [dzaɣrət][124]: "You are / she is shrilling".

/ t + zəttaʕ / ⇨ [dzəttaʕ]: "You are / she is pouring out (something)".

/ t + ʒi:b / ⇨ [dʒi:b]: "You are / she is bringing".

5- Another phonological process in Kh.A appears as a metathesis in the following verbs:

/ jalʕan /   ⇨   [janʕal] :"he curses (someone)".

---

[124] This phenomenon can also be seen as a metathesis since the CA verb is /tuzaɣrɪdu /.

/ tanfuʃu /   ⇨   [tafnəʃ]:"she teases(wool)".

/ juqaˈllɪmu /   ⇨   [jləˈqqam]:"he trims trees".

6- In addition, there are some cases where the non-emphatic alveolar plosive / t / is used in place of the emphatic /tˤ/ of CA as in:

/ bɑˈtˤtˤeːχ /   ⇨   [baˈttiːχ]:"melon".

/ natˤɑqa /   ⇨   [ntaq]:"he uttered".

/ mutˤɑˈllɑqa / ⇨   [mtalqa]:"divorced".

As a matter of fact, like all AA dialects, the phonetic system of Kh.A encompasses similar vowel features at one hand and displays distinctive characteristics on the other.

b. Vowels Characteristics

The present section is offered to describe the existing vowels in Kh.A bearing in mind that its system does not only involve identical AA vowel features, but one should shed light on all alternations which are specific to the variety under study.

b.1 Vowel Alternations

Phonetically speaking, all AA dialects have the characteristic of dropping short vowels in an open syllable. In the following verbs, one can obviously notice the reduction of the number of syllables from three to a single syllable in the past tense:

CA   **Kh.A**

/ haraba /   ⇨   [hrɑb]："He escaped".

/ salɪma /   ⇨   [sləm]： "He has been saved".

/ kaθura /   ⇨   [ktɑr]："It increased in number".

The same phenomenon is noticed with nouns having three syllables as displayed in:

CA	Kh.A	English Gloss
/ dʒabal + un /	[ʒbəl]	"Mountain"
/ qalam + un /	[qləm]	"A pen made up of reed used to write the Koran".
/ laban + un / 125	[lbən]	"Junket"

Table 5.15: The Reduction of Syllables in Kh.A Nouns

The Arabic dialect under study is marked by the decay of the short vowels /a/, /u/ and /ɪ/ and a remarkable prevalence of the neutral short vowel [ə] that leads to the occurrence of various syllabic structures and morphological changes. These examples clarify respectively this phonological phenomenon:

    CA   **Kh.A**

/ ʃadʒara /   ⇨   [ʃəʒra]: "tree"

/ ʕurs /   ⇨   [ʕərs]: "wedding"

/dʒɪbs/   ⇨   [ʒəbs]: "plaster"

Similarly, all verbs conjugated with all three Arabic tenses are characterized with the same phenomenon influencing the short vowel / u /. Table 5.16 clarifies this phonological process as witnessed in Kh.A:

Tense	CA	Kh.A	English Gloss
Imperative	/ ʔuskut /	[skat]	"Keep silent!"
	/ ʔuqʕud /	[qʕad]	"Sit down!"

---

125 The word /laban + un/ in CA means "milk".

Present	/ʔaskutu /	[nəskat]	"I keep silent".
	/ ʔaqʕudu /	[nəqʕad]	"I sit down"
Past	/ sakattu /	[skatt]	"I kept silent".
	/ qaʕadtu /	[qʕatt] [126]	"I sat down".

Table 5.16: The Reduction of Syllables in Kh.A Verbs

What is striking in Kh.A is that the vowel /u/ is altered with [a] whenever it occurs as a centre of a second syllable in verbs containing two or three syllables as it is clarified in table 5.16, in opposition with other AA varieties where it is kept as in [skut]: "Keep silent!" and [nəskut]: "I keep silent" ...etc.

The long vowel / u: / is substituted by the long vowel [o:] by the influence of a preceding emphat-9ic consonant as the following examples show:

CA   Kh.A

/ su:r /   ⇨   [ṣo:r]: "wall"

/ ṭu:l /   ⇨   [ṭo:l]: "height"

/ ṭu:b /   ⇨   [ṭo:b]: "brick"

The vowel glides / eɪ / and / aɪ / are substituted by the long vowels [i:] and [e:]. Then, / əʊ / and / aʊ /, on their turn, become [u:] and [o:] as it is shown in table 5.17:

		CA	Kh.A	**English Gloss**
Vowel	/ eɪ / ↓ [i:]	/seɪf/	[ssi:f]	"Sword"
		/zeɪt/	[zzi:t]	"Cooking-oil"

---

[126] /d/ is devoiced because of the following voiceless plosive / t /.

	/ aɪ / ↓ [e:]	/ṣaɪf/	[ṣṣe:f]	"Summer"
	[e:]	/ɗaɪf/	[ɗɗe:f]	"Guest"
	/ əʊ / ↓ [o:]	/zəʊdʒ/	[zu:ʒ]	"Two"
	[o:]	/ləʊn/	[lu:n]	"Colour"
	/ aʊ / ↓	/ṣaʊt/	[ṣo:t]	"Voice"
	[o:]	/ɗaʊʕ /	[ɗɗo:]	"Light"

Table 5.17: Vowel Glides Characterizing Kh.A

Unlike the other AA Dialects, Kh.A is particularly marked by the use of the long vowel [i:] to form the noun instead of [a] and [a:] in CA. Table 5.18 better clarifies this phenomenon:

	CA	Kh.A	**English Gloss**
/ a / ↓ [i:]	/ salχ /	[sli:χ]	"Shearing a sheep"
	/ qalb /	[qli:b]	"Plowing"
/ a: / ↓ [i:]	/ nuba:ħ /	[nbi:ħ]	"Barking"
	/ ruʕa:f /	[rʕi:f]	"Nosebleeding"

Table 5.18: The Formation of Nouns Using the Long Vowel [i:]

To sum up, through her recent investigation that has been carried out in '*Khemis'* community, the researcher attempted to shed some light on the variation and change at its phonetic system. The results obtained clearly exhibit that this variety has a rich phonetic system which encompasses both vowels and consonants of an urban type in addition to a set of phonetic variants which have been adopted or adapted to '*Khemis'* variety mainly due to two factors: first, education which

contributed to the correction of the production of many consonants among youngsters and second, the contact with the adjacent rural dialects. Borrowing, from foreign languages such as French, Turkish and Spanish..., also enriches its phonetic system like all AA dialects, a fact which is attributed to historical, socio-economic and cultural facts. Table 4 in appendix 1 summarizes the consonants found in Kh.A phonetic system.

5.5.2.1.2 Morphological Features of '*Khemis*' Arabic

In addition to the phonological characteristics which have been examined in the previous section of the present chapter, a set of morphological features are to be studied both qualitatively and quantitatively. Thus, sociolinguistic interpretations will be reviewed about the existing correlations of Kh.A morphological variables with their corresponding factors through what follows.

a. '*Khemis*' Arabic Morpho-syntactic Features

Most grammatical differences between CA, considered as H following the Fergusonian tradition (1959A) and AA dialects which are used in informal settings as L, are the outcomes of the over-simplification of sentence structure or complete disappearance of the morpho-syntactic rules in CA. Like all AA varieties, Kh.A shows syntactic differences from those of CA. In what follows, salient discrepancies in structures between the two Arabic varieties are shown in few examples:

In CA, sentences are usually built in a VSO (Verb /Subject /Object) pattern. However, in AA dialects in general and in Kh.A in particular, a sentence is constructed following an SVO form. For instance, the Standard Arabic sentence / jaktubu # ami:nu # ə'ddarsa / is usually heard as [ami:n # jaktəb # ə 'ddars] in casual relaxed speech.

As in CA, all notes taken from the observed conversation in 'Khemis' point out that most sentences in this variety are constructed in the active voice – *el-mabni lilma'lum*. Accordingly, [hɪja # rafdat # l + ma # məl + frɪʒɪdaːr]: "she has taken water from the fridge" is sometimes formulated in the passive form – *elmabni lilmadjhul* and heard as [l + ma # ratfəd # məl + frɪʒɪdaːr]: "water has been taken from the fridge".

Moreover, many inflectional morphemes in CA appear to be absent in present-day AA dialects. The sole morphological feature that resisted disappearance and has been maintained in most rural Arabic dialects is the inflection morpheme {-i} that is attached to second person feminine verb. But, in the community under study, this inflectional morpheme, as in all Algerian Urban towns, vanished. As a result, no gender distinction is made unless in some varieties where its members tend to make a distinction between male and female addressees through the use of masculine and feminine pronouns. In the following section, further explanation is offered to better elucidate the elision of this inflectional morpheme among '*Khemis'* speakers.

a.1 Bound Morpheme Prefixes

In CA, the first person plural morpheme prefixes / (*dhamir el-mutakallim*) {na-} as in /**na**ʕoːmu/: "we fast" and {nu-} as in / **nu**ʕɑ'lli /: "we pray" are also used both in plural and singular in all AA dialects to conjugate verbs in the present tense, but their structure has lost the vowels /a/ and /u/ as: [**n**ʕoːmu] and [**n**ʕɑ'lliw] respectively. However, unlike the CA first person singular prefixes {ʔa-} and {ʔu-} attached to verbs in the present tense, the verb phrase [**na**lbas], for instance, in AA

in general and in the dialect under investigation in particular, is not "we wear", as in CA /naħnu **n**albas(u)/, but it means "I wear".

a.2 Elision of the Inflectional Morpheme {-i} in '*Khemis'* Arabic

Like the other urban dialects spoken in *Tlemcen*, *Nedroma*, *and Ghazaouet,* Kh.A is characterized by eliding the suffix {-i} in all three Arabic tenses, when addressing both male and female interlocutors like in: [rfad]: "Take!", [rfat]: "You have taken", and [tarfad]: "You (will) take"/"Do you take …?" in contrast with the rural forms: ['rrafdi], [rfatti] and [trafdi] respectively.

a.3 The Variable {-u}

Another morphological item which distinguishes '*Khemis'* variety from its neighbouring varieties in 'BS' is the suffix morpheme {-u}. This latter is used in the third person singular masculine morpheme both as a possessive bound morpheme as in [wəldu]: "his son", and object pronoun as in [ɖɑrbu]: "he hit it". Indeed, the CA masculine possessive suffix {-hu}: "his" and the feminine suffix {-ha}: "her" have been reduced in dialects. For instance, the CA forms of [waladu+ hu] and [ɖaraba + hu] are contracted to the urban dialectal forms cited above, but in almost all rural AA varieties, {-hu} is heard as {-ah} like in [wəld+ ah] and [ɖɑrb + ah].

During the data analysis of questionnaire -A-, precisely the informants' answers about the use of the suffix morphemes {-u} and {-i} in their everyday speech, the researcher noticed that 'Khemis' speakers stick to the use of the morpheme {-u} and the non-use of {-i} in

constrained settings where both rural and urban dialects are used in 'BS'. In sum, the results obtained show that all informants claim that they employ the suffix {-u} and skip {-i}.

a.4 {-a:w} and {-i:w} Bound Morphemes

A common morphological characteristic which all urban Arabic varieties share is the formation of defective and '*hamzated*' verbs by adding the bound morphemes {a:w} and {i:w} to the verb root. In '*Khemis*' as well, those verbs are constructed in the same way especially when conjugated with the plural pronouns (the third person plural pronoun [huma]: 'they', and the second person plural pronoun [ntum] or [ntuma], both referring to 'you'.

Personal Pronoun	Defective Verb	English Gloss	Hamzated Verb	English Gloss
[huma]	[bka:w]	"They cried"	[kla:w]	"They ate"
[huma]	[jəbki:w]	"They cry"	[jæklu]	"They eat"
[ntum] / [ntuma]	[təbki:w]	"You cry"	[tæklu]	"You eat"

Table 5.19: Use of {-a:w} and {-i:w} Bound Morphemes in Defective and '*Hamzated*' verbs

a.5 Di-syllabic Verbs

Kh.A is also marked by the use of a set of two-syllable verbs or di-syllabic verbs. Concerning their morphological structure, these verbs are formed by doubling the same initial (CVC) syllable. Semantically speaking, they refer to frequent actions or long actions and which are mainly related to human voice. Their structures and meanings are better clarified in table 5.20 which involves some examples taken as notes by the researcher:

	Kh.A	English Gloss
Actions Related to Voice	[j + təwtəw]	"He stummers".
	[j + təmtəm]	"He mumbles".
	[j + ʕənʕə n]	"s/he (a kid) keeps crying in a soft voice without tears".
	[j + nəwnəw]	
	[j + rəmrəm]	"He speaks in a soft, unclear voice when he is asleep".
	[j + ʈɑfʈɑf]	"He keeps speaking and yelling at the others when he is nervous"
	[j + bɑlbɑl]	
Long / Frequent Actions	[j + rɑqrɑq]	"He suffers insomnia".
	[j +ʃarʃar]	"the overflowing of water in a river or from a tap"
	[j + fərfər]	"A bird flips its wings".
	[j + rəħrəħ]	"He keeps coughing for a long time especially at night".

Table 5.20: Di-syllabic Verbs in Kh.A

a.6 Gender Distinction

Another crucial characteristic which marks speakers of rural varieties is the retention of the feminine suffix {-i} after the morpheme {k} as in [kɪ # ra:ki]: "how are you?" and [wɪn # ra:ki] : "where are you?" used to address to a woman, but [kɪ # ra:k] and [wɪn # ra:k] to a man making gender distinction in speech. In contrast, when listening to speakers of urban dialects, one may obviously notice that Kh.A, for instance, is known to have dropped the suffix morpheme {-i} in all environments. Therefore, we may deduce that the loss of this inflectional morpheme seems to be a distinctive characteristic of Kh.A in 'BS'.

Although it has already been shown that Kh.A is marked by the drop of the second person feminine singular verb-form suffix {**-i**}, the data collected unveil that the third person feminine singular pronoun [ntɪna] which was employed years ago to address to both male and female speakers started to decrease. In the current investigation, 57.33 percent of males and 58.66 percent of females in questionnaire -A- declare that they use the pronoun [nta] (sing.masc.) to address to a man while [ntɪn(a)] (sing.fem.) to a woman (See table 5.21). That is, Kh.A is nowadays characterized by making gender distinction with the use of those pronouns. In this case, one may hear for instance:

▪ [nta # ʕə′ bb + i:t + ha]: "You (sing.masc.) took her/it".

▪ [ntɪn (a) # lbast # hwala:k]: "You (sing.fem.) wore your clothes".

Since Kh.A speakers make no gender distinction in verb forms, the final CA feminine suffix {**-i:na**} (as in /taʕkul**i:na**/), which is realized in almost all AA dialects, is entirely dropped resulting in [takəl] instead of [takʷli], to address to speakers of both gender.

b.'*Khemis'* **Arabic Pronouns**

The data analysis about the use of pronouns in questionnaire -A- reveals that Kh.A speakers have the same pronouns as any AA dialects. The only difference lies in the variant [jana] for the pronoun "I" which is mostly used by middle-aged and old speakers. As already mentioned, '*Khemis'* speakers use the pronoun [ntɪna] / [ntɪn] to address to both male and female speakers. Table 5.21 clearly shows the pronouns as used by informants and their scores.

CA	Kh.A Pronouns	Male Scores	Female Scores	English Gloss

/ana:/	[ana]	45.33	24	"I"
	[jana]	54.66	76	
/naħnu/	[ħna]	100	100	"We"
/anta/	[nta]	57.33	58.66	"You" (sing.masc.)
	[ntɪna]	05.33	25.33	
	[nti:n]	10.66	16	
/antɪ/	[ntɪna]	81.33	80	"You" (sing.fem.)
	[nti:n]	18.66	20	
/antuma:/	[ntuma]	100	100	"You"(dual)/ (pl.)
/antum/	[ntuma:n]	00	00	
/huwa/	[huwa]	100	100	"He"
/ hɪja/	[hɪja]	100	100	"She"
/huma:/ /hum/ /hunna/	[huma]	100	100	"They" (dual.masc./fem.) (pl.masc./fem.)
	[huma:n]	00	00	

Table 5.21: Scores of Kh.A Pronouns

To sum it up, one may say that the Arabic dialect of '*Khemis'* started losing some of its own features characterizing the use of pronouns.

c. Dual Forms in Nouns

Generally, in AA varieties, the CA dual morpheme suffixes {**-**a:ni} and {**-**ajni} have disappeared in nouns. Exceptionally, both morpheme suffixes knew some simplification and became {**-**i:n} for only some nouns referring to pairs of the body such as [jəddi:n]: "hands", [raʒli:n]: "feet", [ʕajni:n]:"eyes", [wədni:n]: "ears".In '*Khemis'* too, the data analysis of Kh.A questionnaire –A- reveals that all informants use those dual nouns.

In addition, duality or /əl muθanna:/ is constructed by the use of the numeral [zu:ʒ]: "two" which is accompanying the plural form of the noun as in table 5.22:

Kh.A	Sing. Form	Kh.A Dual Form	English Gloss
[bənt]	"a girl"	[zu:ʒ # bna:t]	"Two girls"
[kursɪ]	"a chair"	[zu:ʒ # kʷra:sa]	"Two chairs"
[jədd]	"a hand"	[zu:ʒ # jəddi:n]	"Two hands"
[qaṭ]	"a cat"	[zu:ʒ # qṭo: ṭ]	"Two cats"
[ra:ʒal]	"a man"	[zu:ʒ # rʒa:l]	"Two men"

Table 5.22: Dual Nouns Using the Numeral [zu:ʒ]+ Plural Noun

When referring to time measurement, Kh.A speakers are used to mark duality by the use of the inflectional bound morpheme {-æjən} which is a Berber morphological feature that is attached mainly to time periods. Table 5.23 exposes a set of examples as summarized from questionnaire -A-:

Kh.A	Sing. Form	Kh.A Dual Form	English Gloss
[ju:m]	"a day"	[ju:mæjən]	"Two days".
[ʃahr]	"a month"	[ʃɑhræjən]	"Two months".
[ʕa:m]	"a year"	[ʕamæjən]	"Two years".
[su:q][127]	"a week"	[su:qæjən]	"Two weeks".

Table 5.23: Dual Nouns Using the Berber Morpheme Suffix

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[127] The word [su:q] in '*Khemis'* refers to a week time.

{-æjən}

However, it is worthwhile noting that one may hear, as the researcher has noticed on many occasions, some young speakers use the rural morpheme suffix {-i:n} in the dual forms [ʃahri:n], and [ʕami:n] for "two months" and "two years" respectively. This change is undoubtedly attributed to their usual contact with non-Khemis speakers inside and outside 'BS'.

d. Diminutives

As Cantineau remarked (1938), the use of diminutives is one of the most salient features characterizing urban varieties. Yet, what is striking in the community of '*Khemis'* is that its speakers, as the data obtained from questionnaire -A- show, rarely use this phenomenon just exceptionally in some words which has the form / fʕi:wəl / like: [qʈe:wəʈ] and [ṣɣi:wər] meaning: "little cat" and "very small" respectively.

e. Particles Used in '*Khemis'* Arabic

In CA, the Classical *Idhafa* is excessively, but it is seldom used in the Arabic variety under study. Hence, a remarkable tendency to use an indirect annexation through the use of the particle [nta:ʕ] or [djæl] is regularly noticed in the speech of '*Khemis'* dwellers. However, [djæl] is also contracted to [dɪ]. So, the idea of: "the property of Ali", or "his part (of something or a heritage)", for example, can be heard in two syntactic structures:

- [hada # lmalk # nta:ʕ # ʕlɪ]:"This is the property of Ali".

- [hada # lmalk # nta:ʕ + u]:"This is his property".

- [hadi # lkasma # dɪ # ʕlɪ]:"This is the part of Ali".

- [hadi # lkasma # djæl + u]:"This is his part".

[djæl] may also be reduced to [də] as in [l + χubz # də # ɖɖɑːr]: "the bread prepared at home". The direct annexation may be another possible construction [χubz # (ə)ɖ ɖɑːr].

f. The Use of Indefinite Articles

The data collection in the speech community of '*Khemis*' unveils an excessive use of the indefinite article [waħəd] which means "someone" or "something". The numeral [waħəd] can also be followed by a determinative complement to a noun as in:

- [waħəd # mə + ʂħaːbak]:"one of your friends"

- [waħəd # ʒaːrak]:"one of your neighbours"

It is often contracted to [waħd] if the noun is preceded by either the definite article {əl} or its variant {lə} or the article {ə} + initial solar sound as in: [waħd + əl + buliːsɪ], "one policeman", [waħd + lə + brɪja]: "one letter" and [waħd + ə + ɖɖɑːr]: "one house" respectively.

Furthermore, is also used to refer to plural nouns with the meaning of "some" such as:

[waħd + ə + nnes]: " some people"

[waħd + ə + nnsa]: "some women"

[waħd + ə + draːri]: "some children"

In negative statements, it is contracted to {ħədd} as in: [ħətta # ħədd # ma # ʒa]: "no one has come". It is also observed that this article

may be contracted to [ħə]. It can be heard as: [ʃafna + ħə + l + vɪlla]："we saw a villa", [ħə + l + mra + ʒat]："a woman came", and [ħə + ˈrraʒal + faːt]："a man passed" when referring to both things and persons.

g. Berber Morphological Features

Since the 7th century, Berber and Arabic have been in constant contact. Their consequent influence is mutual; Arabic influence on Berber is found in a situation of language maintenance with widespread bilingualism, while Berber influence on Arabic is due to language shift by Berberophones to Arabic (Maarten Kossmann, 2017). In fact, the Arabic- Berber linguistic influence is found on all linguistic levels. In the lexical level, it is Berber that takes over a lot of loanwords from Arabic as it has been referred to in chapter three. At the morphological level, the influence seems to create parallel systems in the morphology, where Berber words have either adopted the Arabic morphology through adding Arabic patterns, or lost some of its morphological features. In what follows, examples of "Arabized Berber" and "Berberized Arabic" will better illustrate this point.

In the speech community under study, data collection shows that '*Khemis*' Berber had lost the Berber prefix {æ-} in some words. Consider the cases of eliding the prefix {æ-} in Berber words and replacing it with əl- (the Arabic "*elif w lam etta*â*rif*") like in: [qəˈllaːl], "a kitchen utensil full of holes", [luɣlaːl]: "snails", [nguːla][128]: "A

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128 The original word is [ænguːl]

small rounded bread", [zwa:r]¹²⁹ : "insult" and   [zə'lli:f]: "head of the sheep". This is an example of **"Arabized Berber"** on one hand. On the other hand, data collection also showed some examples of **"Berberized Arabic"** are:

[tæjhudɪ (jə)t] : "behaving maliciously" ; a word derived from the stem /jahu:d/: "jews".

[tɪħɪli:t] / [tæħramɪ (jə)t] : "using tricks in behaviour"

The three preceding words are used to describe people having bad behaviour such as doing illegal things, lies, or forbidden behaviours in general, especially those in opposition with Muslim practices.

[tæslamɪ (jə)t] : "pretending to behave religiously good as a muslim". One may hear speakers say /hadak ≠ daχlatu ≠ tæslamɪ (jə)t/ meaning: "he pretends to behave as muslims do."

[tɪχarχaʃt]: "noise in lungs and difficulty in breathing especially as a sign before death."

Then, the following section is devoted to review a list of vocabulary items which attempts to identify the current lexicon used among speakers of different ages and gender in an attempt to compare old to young speech.

5.5.2.1.3 '*Khemis'* Arabic Lexicon

The lexis in '*Khemis'* is different from that found in the neighbouring villages' dialects. Thus, some of the lexical words that are of salient distinctiveness are referred to in this section.

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129 It is observed in young speech.

a. Some '*Khemis*' Arabic Lexical Words vs. the Neighbouring Dialects' Vocabulary

In addition to the aforementioned particularities, mostly phonological and morphological, some significant instances of vocabulary of both types of AA varieties are listed in table 5.24:

Urban Kh.A	Rural Speech	English Gloss
[wæsəm]	[waːʃ] ~ [waːʃta]	"What?"
[waʃbiːk]	[maːlak]	"What's up?"
[fæjən]	[wiːn]	"Where?"
[nəħħi]	[ʔəglaʕ]	"Take off!"
[jħəbb]	[jabɣɪ]	"He wants" or "he loves"
[ntɪna]	[nta(ja)]	"You" (sing.masc.)
[χaːj]	[χuːja]	"My brother"
[ʕəˈbba]	[ˈdda]	"He took"
[kæməl]	[gaːʕ]	"All"
[ṣɑːb]	[ʒbɑr]	"He found"
[rʒaʕ]	[wəˈlli]	"Return back!"
[jχəˈbbi]	[jdəss]	"He hides something"
[jaqʕad]	[jagʕud]	"He sits down"
[jaʕqad]	[jaʕgud]	"He ties (something)"

Table 5.24: **Urban Kh.A vs. Surrounding Rural Vocabulary**

This list is, in fact, gathered from the sixth question in Kh.A Survey, and it implicitly unveils the fact that '*Khemis*' speakers are aware of the specificity of their native tongue and of the linguistic characteristics of the other surrounding villages' dialects. The fact that the informants could provide the investigator with the differences distinguishing their dialect from the other villages' ones proves that Kh.A enjoys specific particularities that are not found elsewhere in 'BS' as a whole.

b. Persisting Berber Lexis in '*Khemis*' Arabic

During the data collection phase, the researcher did not find any speaker who speaks fluently Berber in '*Khemis*'. Few informants only know some Berber words such as: [æɣro:m]: "bread", [æma:n]: "water", [æzzu:l ≠ falawən]:"good morning", but they do not use them in their everyday speech.

The data collected from the seventeenth and eighteenth questions of Kh.A survey clearly show that Kh.A speakers still retain some local Berber lexical items which are either toponyms of their surrounding geographical landscapes such as mountains or agricultural places, in addition to some names of utensils used in everyday practices. The majority of the surviving Berber items in the area start in initial {æ-}, {tæ-} or {tɪ-}. Moreover, even some speakers are aware that all words that start in these prefixes are not Arabic. For instance, one of the interviewees has stated the following toponyms: *Tafessera*, *Tayrat*, *Tizintayma*, *Tirishin*, *Tazamurt*...etc. In addition, some persisting lexical words which can be attested even in many, if not all, AA dialects are also referred to in table 5.29.

Tables 5.25, 5.26 and 5.27 gather the lexical items that Kh.A informants have provided the researcher with:

b.1 Some Toponyms Surrounding '*Khemis*'

Mainly, all old informants are aware that the whole region of 'BS' involves some names of places that are not Arabic. Some toponyms, as cited in table 5.29, are collected from question 17 in Kh.A survey. They either refer to names of hills, mountains, or agricultural lands:

Toponym	Description
[tæfrant]	"an agricultural land"
[tæjrat]	"a vast agricultural land"
[tæmnju:nsa]	"an agricultural land"
[tædraq]	"a high hill full of rocks and wild palm"
[tɪda:ɣ]	"name of a mountain"
[tɪr ɪʃi:n]	"an agricultural land"
[tɪnati:n]	"a high hill full of rocks and wild palm"

Table 5.25: Toponyms Surrounding '*Khemis*'

b.2 Utensils of Weaving Carpets

The majority of Kh.A survey respondents mainly aged between 30 and 77 assert that they still remember the names of the utensils used in weaving the region's carpets, which all fall under the name:[tæzi:ra]. Table 5.26 summarizes those Berber items:

Utensils of [tæzi:ra]	English Gloss / Description
[æɣaddu:]	"a cord made of a '*halfa*'"
[tæsəflu:t]	"a set of strings"
[taɣda](sing) [tɪɣadwi:n] (pl.)	" one /two iron bar(s) "

| [æʒabbuːd] | "a set of strings to attach" |
| ['nniːra] | "another set of strings" |

Table 5.26: Utensils Used in Weaving Carpets

These names of utensils are mainly known among women because they are used to weave carpets.

b.3 Home Utensils

The data collected also show that the lexical bulk of Kh.A involves some Berber items used to refer to the following home utensils:

Home Utensils	English Gloss / Description
[æʂfɑʈ]	"A burnt stick/tree bough in the fire place".
[æʂɑʈr ɑħ]	"A flower pot".
[æjnɪ] (Sing.) [ɪnjaːn] (Pl.)	"A stone in the fire place where pots are put on to cook food".
[æzduːz]	"A pestle".

Table 5.27: Utensils or Things Used in Kitchen and Houses

The words included in table 5.27 have been drawn out of the surveys of informants aged between 30 and 79 years old.

b.4 Names of Body Organs

The data collection (from questions 17 and 18 in Kh.A survey) shows that the speakers of this community use some words to refer to some body organs in their daily life speech without being aware of their Berber origin. Consider the content of table 5.28:[130]

Body Organ	Kabyle Gloss	English Gloss/ Description
[tæɣɒ'mmɑːrt]	[tiɣmert]	"elbow"

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[130]These Kabyle vocabulary items are adopted from: https://kabyles.com/vocabulaire-corps-humain-en-kabyle-i/

[tæɣrɔːʈ]	[tæɣrɔːʈ]	"A bone in one's shoulder"
[lhenk]	[lhenk]	"Cheek"
[æsruːr # ɖɖhɑr]	[æɛrur]	"Spinal column"

Table 5.28: Names of Body Organs

Yet, it is worth noting that those names of body organs are just elicited from old informants whose age exceeds 40. This means that the new generation probably ignores those Berber names.

b.5 Names of Animals / Insects

Without being aware of the Berber origins of those items, Kh.A speakers frequently utter many loanwords which infiltrated into their vocabulary bulk. Table 5.29 represents some of these Berber borrowed words which resisted change in all AA dialects in general and in '*Khemis*' as well:

Name of Animal / Insect	Kabyle Gloss	English Gloss
[tɪnja]	∅	"A tapeworm"
[tɪfliːləs]	[tɪfliːləs]	"A swallow" (bird)
[tæzgəˈʈʈɑ] / [tæwarta]	∅	"The names of an animal which resembles cats and trangles chicken".
[ækʕaːb]	∅	"Fox"
[fərʈɑʈo]	[fərʈɑʈo]	"Butterfly"
[fakroːn]	[fakroːn]	"Turtle"
[fallus]	[fallus]	"A chick"
[qarqra]	[qarqra]	"A frog"
[razzazzɪ]	[rzazzɪ]	"A wasp"
[zarmuːmɪja]	[zarmuːmɪja]	"A lizard"
[æzuːzaʕ]	∅	"small worms still getting out of their eggs"

Table 5.29: Names of Animals and Insects[131]

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[131] Some of these are cited by Guella (2011: 82)

What is remarkable about such names is that they are either maintained in their structure, or they underwent some slight sound change.

b.6 Names of Food

The lexicon bulk of Kh.A involves many Berber words that are medical plants, and wild fruits. Also, this community's kitchen is characterized by the use of a set of plants and recipes which carry Berber names as exposed in the following table:

Name of Food	English Gloss / Description
[tɪmərʂɑːt]	"A plant with a nice taste used to prepare traditional food. In *Tlemcen* Arabic speech, it is known as [d̪d̪omrɑːn]".
[tɪfəlzuːz]	"A plant that cures rheumatism and is generally eaten with pastry".
[tæbɣa]	"A black wild berry found in a kind of climbing plant called [æχəʃʃaːb]".
[tɪbbɪ]	"Mallow"
[æɣaːz]	"It refers to the fruit found on palm leaves".
[tædɪqa]	"Any food offered to someone by someone else".
[tærəʃta]	"A kind of food made of dough and cooked as a soup".
[ærəʃman]	"It is a soup prepared with wheat for babies to grow teeth".

Table 5.30: Names of Food and Plants

The aforementioned types of food and plants in Berber make part of everyday life of people in '*Khemis*' particularly in special occasions to

celebrate religious feasts and particular regional occasions. Though some meals are disappearing nowadays probably because many '*Khemis*' citizens practise other jobs and abandoned agriculture, their names are still maintained in the minds of Kh.A speakers specially among the old generation.

b.7 Names of Diseases

[æjduːd][132]: "colic"

[æħṭeː ṭ] : "skin disease"

[tɪʕdəst]: "an illness in abdomen"; derived from the Tamazight word / taʕddɪst /[133] : "abdomen".

To sum up, these Berber features, that have been collected through note-taking and from Kh.A survey, can be considered as survived adapted or adopted items of a "lost variety" which the ancient generations have spoken some centuries ago. Indeed, those items succeeded to resist to all variations and persisted in Kh.A lexicon as they integrated at its phonetic and morpho-syntactic patterns.

b.8 Numbers

The data collection displays that the linguistic system of Kh.A lacks the Berber numbers and that was when asking the old respondents whether they can count in Berber or not, and all of them asserted that all

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[132] Old people also use the word [lmiːd].
[133] Moubarik Belkasim Retrieved from : http://www.freemorocco.com/amawal.html

'*Khemis'* speakers count in Arabic. During the documentation phase in this investigation, the researcher found that 5 speakers, mainly aged between 45 and 72, still remember that they used to sing those numbers in the form of a song when they were little kids:[waħu:]:"one", [tanu:]"two", [taltu:]:"three",[rabu:]:"four", [χamu:] :"five", [ʃalʈɑ]:"six", [ʃaʕba]:"seven",[qaˈʒʒat]:"eight",

[maˈʒʒat]:"nine", [mɪw]:"ten".They narrated that they used to count those numbers as children when playing.

Investigating variation in speech in correlation with corresponding social/extra-linguistic parameters is not enough. Considering speakers' attitudes towards the languages available in a community's verbal repertoire seems to add further profound insights of the intricacies of language interplay and language contact phenomena. Therefore, some light is shed on attitudinal behaviours of Kh.A speakers towards the varieties they have in or outside this community in the sixth chapter.

5.6 DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

To wrap up this study, it is safe to conclude that the speech community of '*Khemis'* is characterized with variation at different linguistic levels. Its speech shows correlation with age, gender and education as extra-linguistic factors. Male informants are more conservative than women who exhibited some trait of shift towards the use of many standard phonological variants. At the morphological level, '*Khemis'* speech is marked by the loss of many native pronouns as the results show. Then, as far as lexis is concerned, most speakers, if not all, seem to retain the majority of their native features even with non-khemis individuals in 'BS' or outside this valley.

Furthermore, Kh.A speakers appear to have command of both Ar and Fr, but with varying degrees of proficiency as their competences correlate with their level of education and age. As far as Berber is concerned, this variety is moribund and only persists in some toponyms, names of food, body organs, animals, utensils and things related to their rural, agricultural mode of life. As any AA dialect, the variety under study enjoys a rich phonetic system and a huge bulk of vocabulary thanks to borrowing from French, Spanish, Turkish and other languages. Though '*Khemis*' urban variety began to lose some of its own characterizing phonological and morphological features due to education and the fact of realizing the misuse of some characteristics, in daily life interactions, its speakers show no tendency to accommodate to the other neighbouring dialects available in 'BS'. The few claims about accommodation (4 percent) translate their need to create a higher level of intelligibility with foreigners outside 'BS' and to better communicate. That is, these speakers can be described as having a trait of conservatism and loyalty towards their native dialect.

The results obtained after the analysis the aspects of sociolinguistic variation dealt with in this chapter seem to confirm the researcher's first hypothesis about first raised research question concerning the linguistic characteristics of Kh.A dialect. In her attempt to answer this question, the researcher proposed that like any AA dialect, Kh.A involves prominent, specific urban dialect fetures (phonological, morphological and lexical) which make of it a distinct variety that differs, at all linguistic levels, from those which surround it, mainly those of a rural type relying on Cantineau's previous findings throughout the Algerian territory (1938).

In what relates to the difference between male and female speech in this speech community, the researcher acknowledging with sociolinguists (mainly Labov (1966, 1983, 1990); Wolfram & Fasold

(1974); Cheshire (1998); Key, M.R. (1975); Trudgill (1983b); Cameron (1985); Cameron and Coates (1986, 1988); Coates (1993, 1998)) the fact that gender and age, as two important extra-linguistic factors, play a vital role in language use, has hypothesized that Kh.A varies according to the age of its speakers and also in association with gender. Data analysis confirmed this hypothesis.

As far as the third research question that is reformulated about '*Khemis*' speakers' maintenance of their own dialect features in settings where non-Khemis rural dialects are used, the findings of this study demonstrate that Kh.A speakers are mainly conservative inside their valley and few of them tend to accommodate to others' varieties to better communicate and raise the degree of mutual intelligibility. Yet, unlike many studies cited in dialectological and variationist studies (Otto Jesperson (1922); Wartburg (1925); Pop (1950); Labov (1998, 2001),…etc) which showed that women are usually more conservative than men in speech, females in '*Khemis*', as the results display, began to correct some native misused phonological variants due to the factor of literacy. As a matter of fact, this is not striking as women generally have a tendency towards the use of standard or prestigious variants of linguistic items, but this finding infirms what has been hypothesized that Kh.A female speakers are very conservative and will not show any type of variation.

As this study is meant to seek a description of the systematic correlation between language use and social structure through shedding some light on some of the linguistic variables marking Kh.A in association with some other extra-linguistic factors in addition to age and gender. Those factors or even reasons are hypothesized to be of a historical, geographical and social type due to the historical facts, geographical unrest, and the rural-urban migration that the area of 'BS' in general and '*Khemis*' in particular have witnessed in the last few

decades, mainly during the black decade of terrorism (the 1990's) when residents of the surrounding villages were forced to abandon their homes and lands and moved to live in '*Khemis*', a village which guaranteed security, shelter and stability. This research came up with the outcome that Kh.A correlates with age, gender, and the educational level of its users. In addition, all these aforementioned facts, be they historical, geographical or social, contributed in way or another to the contact and interplay between '*Khemis*' native urban tongue and that of the neighbouring varieties which are of a rural type carrying peculiar and distinct dialect features. This hypothesis has also been confirmed.

For the fifth question in this chapter, the researcher, relying on the results obtained from her previous tentative investigation as a Magister dissertation (2009), inquires whether '*Khemis*' individuals will keep on exhibiting the same trait of conservatism which they displayed 9 years ago, and preserve the native particularities of their linguistic medium suggesting hypothetically that the linguistic repertoire of 'BS' as a whole comprising the surrounding rural Arabic varieties, MSA which the first national and official language and French as the first official foreign language in Algeria may probably impose some of their linguistic features on Kh.A.

So, concerning the maintenance of this dialect, data analysis shows that the contact between urban and rural varieties exercises just a slight impact on this community's speech mainly on a phonological level. Therefore, one may say that this community is roughly influenced by the other rural varieties' linguistic system. As far as its interplay with MSA and French, it is clearly observable that these two languages heavily influenced the native speech of '*Khemis*' linguistic medium resulting in arabizing its ancient Berber variety and in the considerable load of French borrowings attested in the speech of individuals at various

linguistic levels. These findings prove that the researcher's hypothesis of the fifth question is confirmed as well.

In this fifth chapter, which is synchronic in scope studying the progress in language change on apparent-time following Labov's paradigm (1966), the correlation of some linguistic variables in Kh.A has been successfully examined with reference to age, gender, level of education and some historical, geographical and social factors. This means that Labov's paradigm is applicable to this community. Then, in tracing the linguistic development of language use and change in the area of '*Khemis*', checking to what extent its ancient BV is maintained, Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance and Fasold's view about language shift have been used to investigate the use of Berber in '*Khemis*'. Fishman's approach seems applicable to this area under exploration as there is no fluent speaker of Berber in '*Khemis*' due to the minority vs. majority relationship between the linguistic medium of this area's speakers and MSA as the majority language in Algeria s a whole. The only surviving Berber features in the Arabic dialect spoken in '*Khemis*' are some phonological, morphological and lexical items that resisted change and are kept embodied in this variety's linguistic system and its speakers' culture. As far as Fasold's view about language change, the results infirmed the applicability of his view that some communities though they had the same factors leading to language shift, they exhibited a trait of conservatism and maintained their native languages because in this community, those stated factors contributed to its speakers' inclination towards the majority language. Fasold's second standpoint, however, was confirmed as '*Khemis*' residents showed a negative attitude towards the introduction of Tamazight in school. This proves that f pupils' parents are not interested to maintain the use of this ethnic variety or to revive it.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In sum, although the present chapter has displayed some of the salient peculiarities of Kh.A that may not be found in other AA varieties' repertoire, this variety shares with them the same grammatical rules and morphological structures like any other AA dialect in the Northern region of Algeria. In BS, the dissimilarities lie only in some phonological features that are articulated with peculiar rhythms or tones distinguishing '*Khemis'* accent from those heard in the adjacent villages in 'BS' as a whole.

The heavy impact of the geographical unrest attested in 'BS' (internal migration) maintains the dialect unstable. The findings obtained show that '*Khemis'* urban variety began to lose some of its characterizing phonological and morphological features. These changes are probably attributed to the factor of education as '*Khemis'* speakers have realized the misuse of some linguistic variables, or due to their linguistic contact with the adjacent rural varieties which entered and still enter the region for the already explained economic, social and political reasons, those

changes happened. Other interesting findings will be displayed in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX:

A Spotlight on Linguistic Interplay and Behaviours in '*Khemis*'

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This last chapter is devoted for the analysis of some of the questions raised in Kh.A survey and questionnaire -B- about '*Khemis'* speakers' linguistic attitudes towards their native dialect. In addition, it does not only check their language preferences between the varieties available in their linguistic repertoire, but also attempts to slightly determine their competences in French, MSA and Berber, checking their levels of understanding and proficiency. Other aspects related to linguistic interplay and precisely, as consequences of bilingualism will be referred to such as frequency of using French in daily life conversations in addition to its contexts of use, and to what extent individuals mix codes in speech. Both qualitative and quantitative interpretations will be reviewed throughout the next sections.

6.2 '*KHEMIS'* ARABIC RESPONDENTS' LANGUAGE PREFERENCES

Checking respondents' language preferences is the aim of the present section. Three main questions have been posed in Kh.A questionnaire B to unveil what language(s) '*Khemis'* inhabitants most prefer in their day-to-day habits or practices. The informants of this questionnaire were required to select their preferred language from two choices: MSA or Fr.

Table 6.1 summarizes the global language preferences of Kh.A respondents in reading newspapers, listening to radio and watching TV.

Age Group		Reading Newspapers		Listening to Radio		Watching TV	
	Gender	Ar	Fr	Ar	Fr	Ar	Fr
Age Group I	Ml.	25	0	22	3	20	5
	Fl.	25	0	21	4	22	3
Age Group II	Ml.	20	5	19	6	15	10
	Fl.	22	3	20	5	18	7
Age Group III	Ml.	18	5[134]	18	7	19	6
	Fl.	0	0	12	13[135]	25	0

Table 6.1: Respondents' Language Preferences

Table 6.1 exposes the results collected from questions 10, 11 and 12 of Kh.A questionnaire with all age groups.

Their language preferences are clearly highlighted in the following bar-graphs in correlation with age:

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[134] One male is illiterate

[135] 7 females do not listen to it.
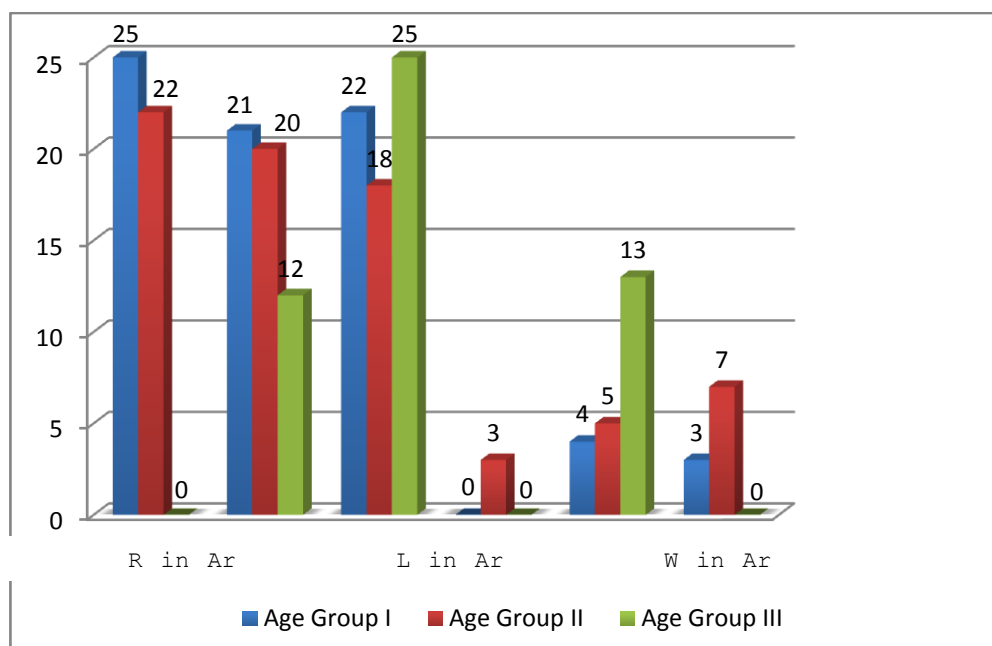
Bar-graph 6.1: Males' Language Preferences in Ar and Fr in Correlation with Age

Males' scores are read according to domains of use as follows:

a. Reading

➢ All young males in Age Group I prefer reading newspapers in Ar.

➢ 20 males of Age Group II prefer to read in Ar while 5 prefer reading in Fr.

➢ All aged men claim that they cannot read newspapers neither in Ar nor in Fr because they can just read the Holy Book Quran since they learned it in mosques during their childhood.

b. Listening

➢ 20 men of Age Group II prefer listening to radio in Ar (L in Ar), whereas 3 prefer to listen in Fr (L in Fr). 2 men asserted that they do not listen to radio.

➢ Out of 25 informants, only 5 men in Age Group II listen to radio in Fr.

➢ 12 old men prefer listening to radio in Ar while the other 13 prefer Fr.

c. Watching TV

➢ 22 young boys in Age Group I prefer watching TV in Ar. and 3 boys prefer Fr.

➢ 18 men in Age Group II favour TV shows in Ar and 7 males in Fr.

➢ All men aged more than 50 years prefer watching TV in Ar.

A reading of the previous scores exhibit that the majority of male informants favour Ar in the three aforementioned domains of use.

Bar-graph 6.2 highlights females' scores about language preferences:
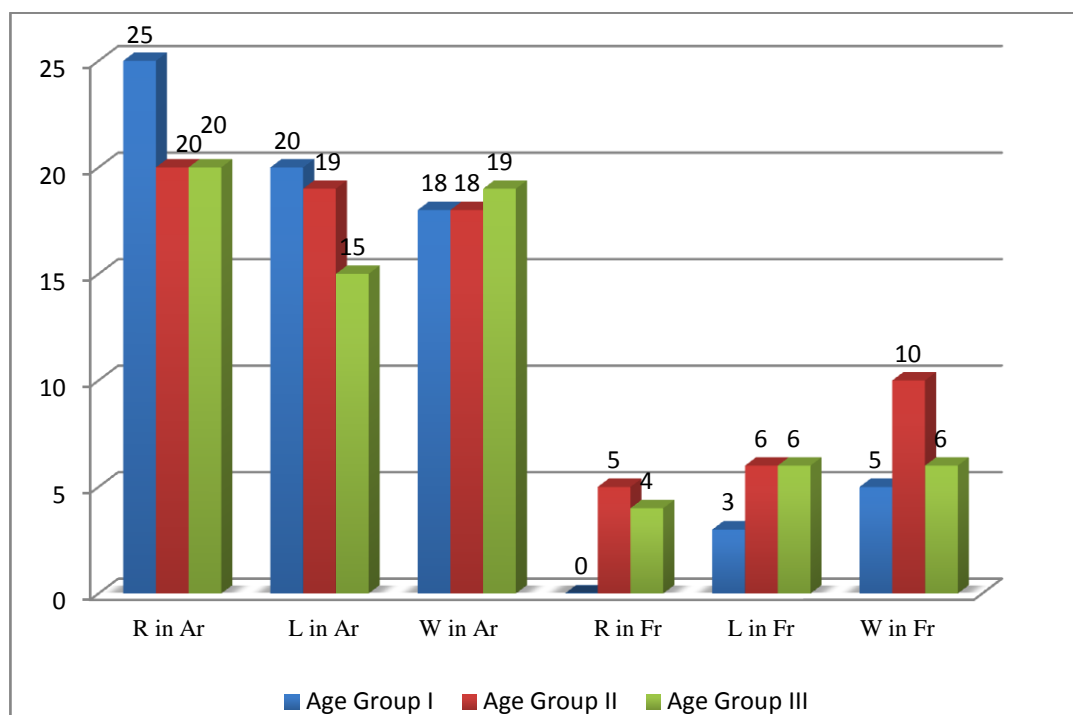
Bar-graph 6.2: Females' Language Preferences in Ar and Fr in Correlation with Age

A look at its scores reveals that females of different ages prefer Ar as it is detailed below:

a. Reading

• All young girls in Age Group I prefer reading in Ar.

- In Age Group II, 22 females prefer reading newspapers in Ar, and just 3 of them prefer Fr newspapers.

- All aged women (+50) are illiterate, i.e., they neither know Ar nor Fr. 21 females claimed that they are illiterate and cannot read. 4 women asserted that they just read the Coran because they learned it in mosques during their childhood, and they declared that they do not well master MSA.

b. Listening

- 21 young girls prefer listening to radio in Ar and 4 other girls prefer Fr.

- 20 women in Age Group II prefer listening to Ar and only 5 women prefer Fr.

- 12 aged women claim that they listen to radio in Ar, while the other 13 females declared that they do not listen to radio at all.

c. Watching TV

- 22 young girls prefer Ar and the other 3 watch TV in Fr.

- 18 females in Age Group II prefer watching TV in Ar and the other 7 watch it in Fr.

- All old women watch TV in Ar.

6.2.1 Modern Standard Arabic

Summing up the results previously reviewed, the scores argue that in the speech community of '*Khemis'*, speakers of different ages and genders in general are Arabophones. Their responses indicate their positive attitudes towards MSA on one hand, and their lack of proficiency in Fr on the other.   Another factor to which this result is attributed is the educational level of Kh.A speakers.

6.2.2 French

As already argued, Fr enjoys a meager chance among '*Khemis*' speakers since they rather prefer MSA. The only few individuals who declared their preference in this language are either old people who master Fr (they were educated in this language) or young educated informants. This fact can also corroborate the view that bilingualism or the mastery of foreign languages is a feature of urbanization and big cities. At this stage, the researcher refers to Crystal's (2000) standpoint about the relationship between the shift to the most prestigious language within the crowding of urbanization. That is, the city with its better conditions of life (chances of education, jobs) and social mobility represents an eye-catching socio-economic refuge for rural populations. Yet, in '*Khemis*', though it is a rural area, much of its speakers who still live in this valley, and did not move to any urban place, found it not necessary to shift to any other language/variety and kept speaking Arabic. Therefore, their stability contributes to the maintenance of their native tongue especially old uneducated individuals.   The only bilinguals are either educated youngsters or a few old males who were educated in French as the results show.

6.2.3 Berber

The results obtained from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth question in Kh.A survey reveal that all informants are aware about the existence of a BV in BZ, and that is different from the accent heard in *Great Kabylia*. As already demonstrated, no one in '*Khemis*' speaks or understands Berber; just few words are known among speakers, and they are not used for communication in everyday interactions.

At last, all subjects showed negative attitudes towards the introduction of Tamazight in the primary school of '*Khemis*'. This

indicates their awareness about the consideration of this language in their daily lives. Some of them objected for, they claim, it is useless at an international scale and proposed to teach their children foreign languages to better communicate and have opportunities of job; others agree, but they proposed to be taught as a secondary subject. This finding corroborates one the factors that have been reviewed in chapter two which might lead to language endangerment. What views parents exhibit towards their language plays a vital role in the maintenance of their mother tongue or not. Indeed, within the requirements of this current globalized world, parents are encouraging their children to learn foreign languages of wider communication in order to create better chances of success and more opportunities for their children to obtain better jobs. (Hornsby, M. (2014); Harrison (2007) and see more details in section 2.2.2.3)

6.3 '*KHEMIS'* ARABIC INDIVIDUALS' LANGUAGE COMPETENCES

Though it is not an easy task to measure the level of proficiency or comprehension in MSA, Fr or Berber that any Algerian individual has, the researcher, through some quantitative and qualitative explanations, endeavours to draw at least a clear picture about the linguistic varieties involved in '*Khemis'* linguistic repertoire shedding some light on its individuals' levels of proficiency and understanding in those varieties.

6.3.1 Competence in Modern Standard Arabic

The first and second questions in Kh.A questionnaire B, which is basically designed to draw some aspects of language variation among Kh.A speakers, seek to some extent to determine both

the levels of proficiency and comprehension in MSA depending on the informants' own opinions.

6.3.1.1 Individuals' Level of Proficiency in MSA

The following table summarizes the scores of '*Khemis*' informants' levels of proficiency and comprehension in MSA:

		Age Group I		Age Group II		Age Group III	
	Gender	**Ml.**	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**
Level of proficiency %	**Well**	12	16	0	8	12	0
	Good	56	48	76	68	0	0
	Average	32	36	20	24	80	12
	Bad	0	0	4	0	8	88

Table 6.2: Scores of '*Khemis*' Speakers' Proficiency in MSA

Generally, the results obtained reveal that almost the majority of young boys and girls (aged less than 25) have a good command in the use of MSA. 76 ℅ of men in Age Group II claim they have a good command in Standard Arabic too. 68 ℅ women of the same age group also have a good competence. But, 80 ℅ aged men claim to be just quite average in it. Moreover, 88℅ of aged women claim that they are bad in it.

First, graph 6.3 better exposes the level of proficiency in MSA among young speakers:
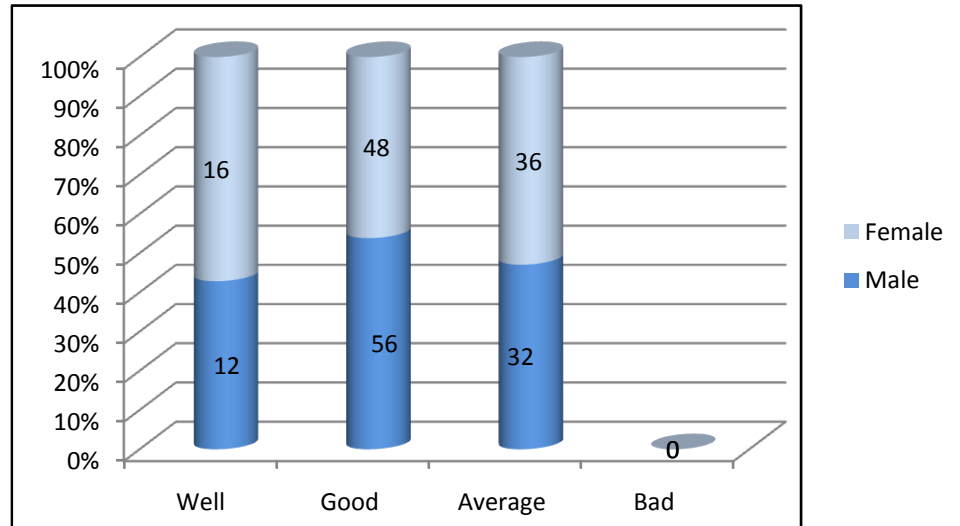
Graph 6.3: Level of Proficiency in MSA of Age Group I in Correlation with Gender

Second, graph 6.4 clearly highlights the good command of both male and female informants of Age Group II in MSA:
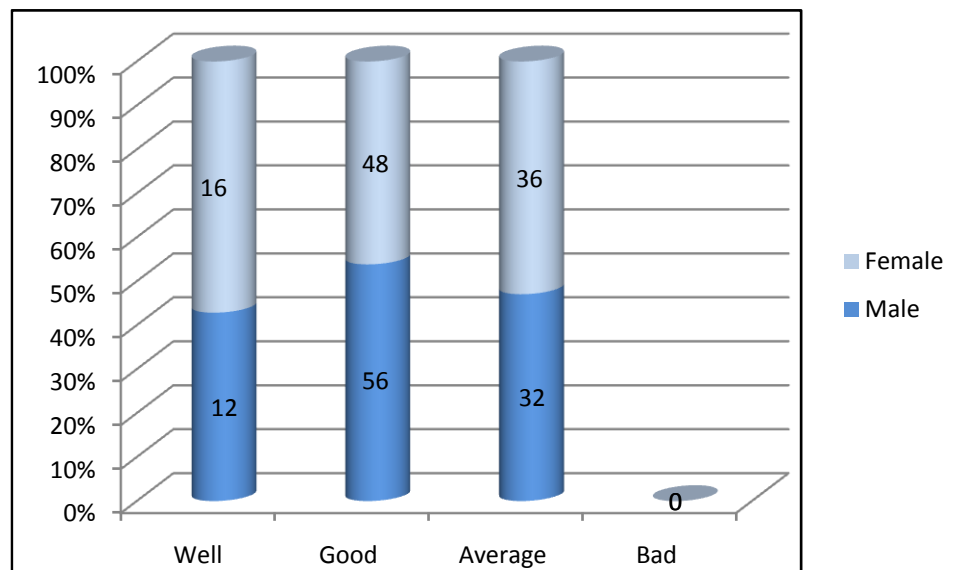
Graph 6.4: Level of Proficiency in MSA of Age Group II in Correlation with Gender

Third**,** graph 6.5 shows the level of proficiency in MSA among the 50 informants of the third Age Group:
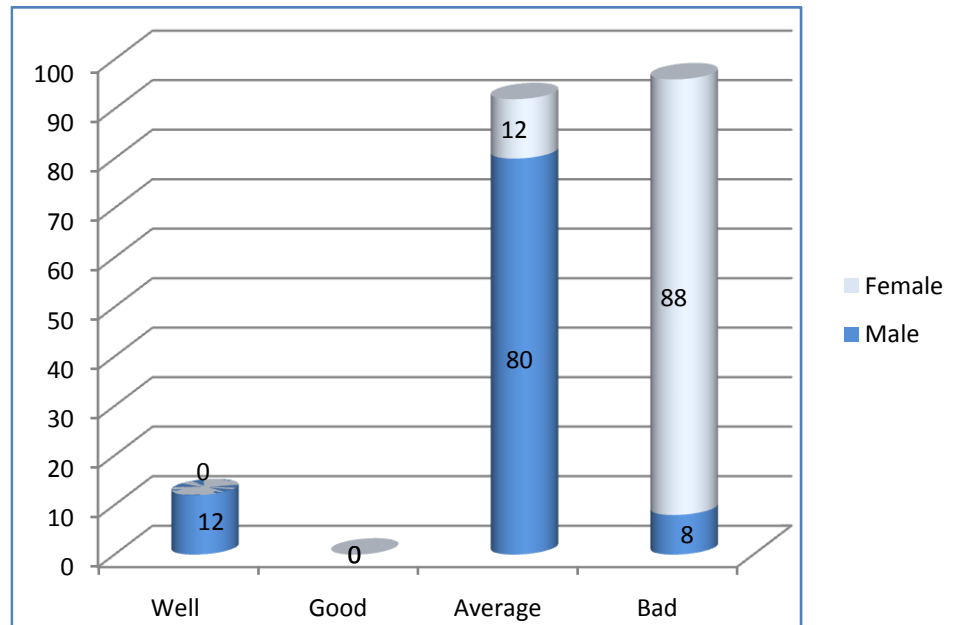
Graph 6.5: Level of Proficiency in MSA of Age Group III in
Correlation with Gender

A look at graph 6.5 indicates that just 12 ٪ of old males speak well MSA and 80 ٪ of them have an average level. Women's claims (88 ٪) instead show a bad command in its use. These percentages argue about the illiteracy of the old generation.

To wrap up this discussion about '*Khemis'* individuals' competence in MSA, one may generalize that the majority of speakers (males and females) in this area speak MSA well especially youngsters and those under the age of 50. Yet, the old category (+50) displays a bad command in its use due to the factor of illiteracy. So, proficiency and understanding MSA do not correlate with age and gender, but rather with education.

It is worth repeating that the second question in Kh.A questionnaire B is concerned with how well '*Khemis'* informants understand Fr. The results found are summarized in the following section.

6.3.1.2 Speakers' Level of Comprehension in MSA

The results obtained are gathered in the following table:

		Age Group I		Age Group II		Age Group III	
	Gender	Ml.	Fl.	Ml.	Fl.	Ml.	Fl.
Level of Comprehension	**Well**	56	64	36	36	24	0
	Good	44	36	64	44	48	24
	Average	0	0	0	20	28	44
	Bad	0	0	0	0	0	32

Table 6.3: Scores of '*Khemis*' Speakers' Comprehension in MSA

The scores displayed in table 6.3 reveal that Kh.A individuals have a good level of comprehension in MSA.
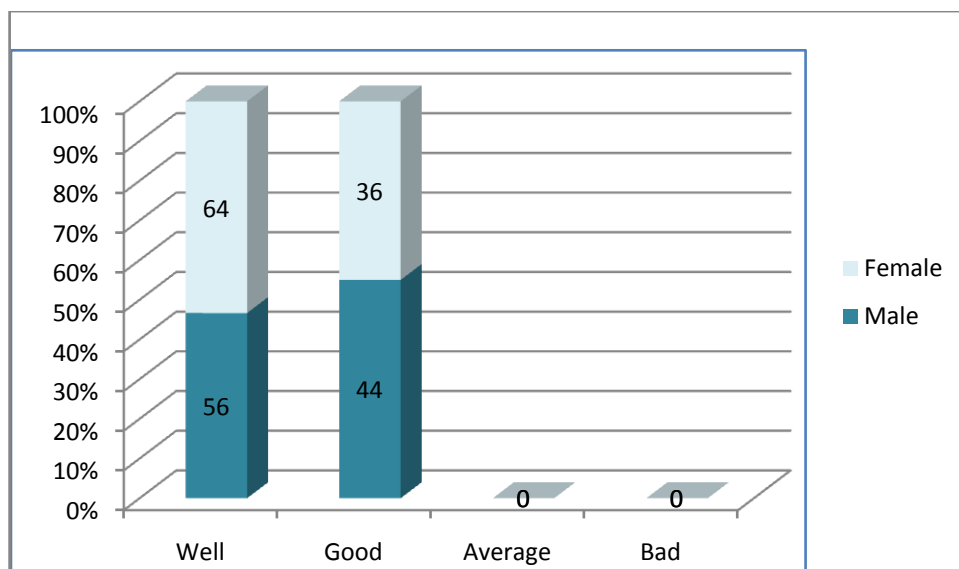
Graph 6.6: Level of Comprehension in MSA of Age Group I in Correlation with Gender

The scores concerning the level of comprehension in MSA among Age Group I reveal that this young generation, both boys and

girls, claim that their level of understanding is from good to well. This is due to education.
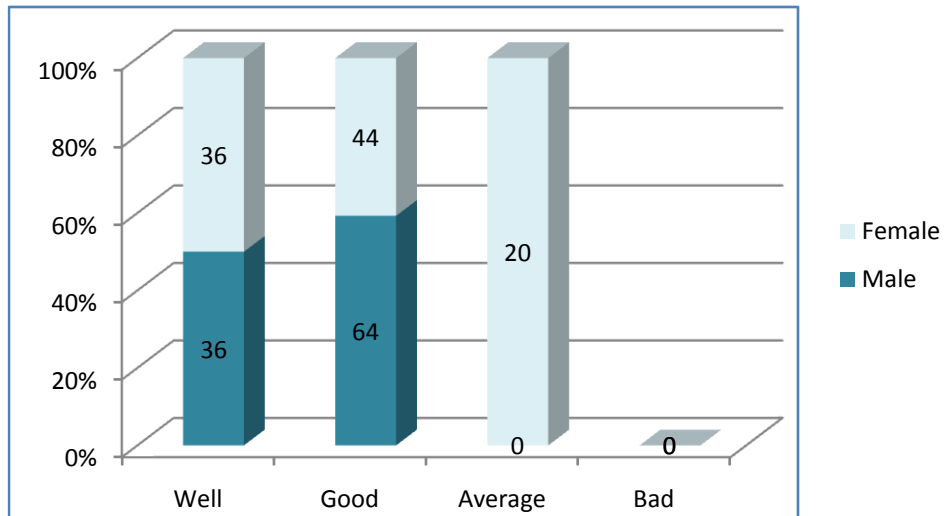
Graph 6.7: Level of Comprehension in MSA of Age Group II in Correlation with Gender

Graph 6.7 clearly shows that males in Age Group II understand MSA better than females. 20 percent of women of this age category have an average level.
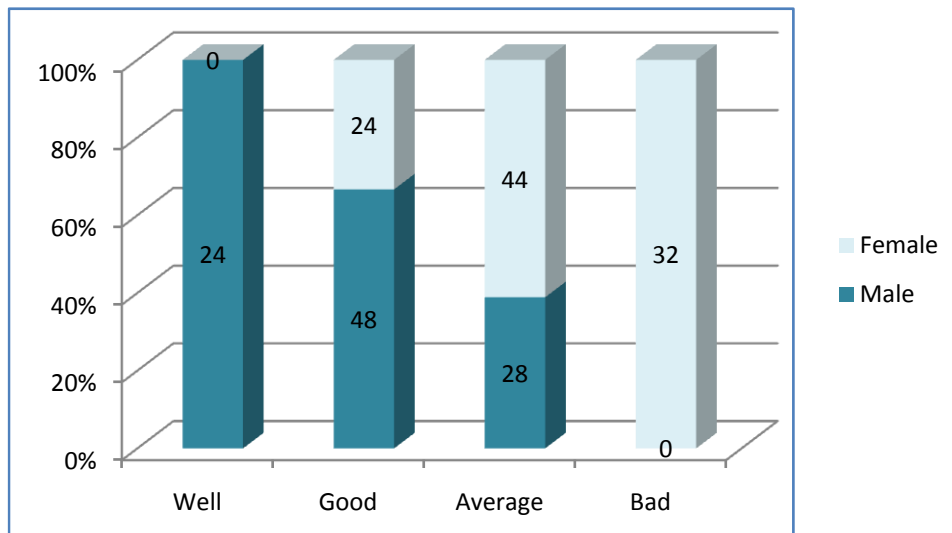
Graph 6.8: Level of Comprehension in MSA of Age Group III in Correlation with Gender

Graph 6.8 indicates that old men understand better MSA than women whose level of comprehension ranges mainly between average (44 percent) and bad (32 percent).

Finally, unlike the previous percentages which correlate the competence of informants with gender, table 6.4 and graph 6.10 exhibit the overall percentages of how well '*Khemis*' individuals speak and understand MSA in correlation with age.

			Age Group I	Age Group II	Age Group III
Level of Proficiency /.		Well	14	4	6
		Good	52	72	0
		Average	34	22	46
		Bad	0	2	48
Level of Comprehension /.		Well	60	36	12
		Good	40	44	36
		Average	0	20	36
		Bad	0	0	16

Table 6.4: Overall Scores of '*Khemis*' Speakers' Competence in MSA in Correlation with Age

A glance at the preceding table demonstrates that speakers in '*Khemis*' speak and understand MSA with various degrees and the level of proficiency or comprehension correlates with the age of individuals. It is also believed that these degrees are attributed to their educational level as well.

First, the following graph highlights the scores of '*Khemis*' speakers' level of proficiency in MSA in correlation with age as displayed in table 6.4.
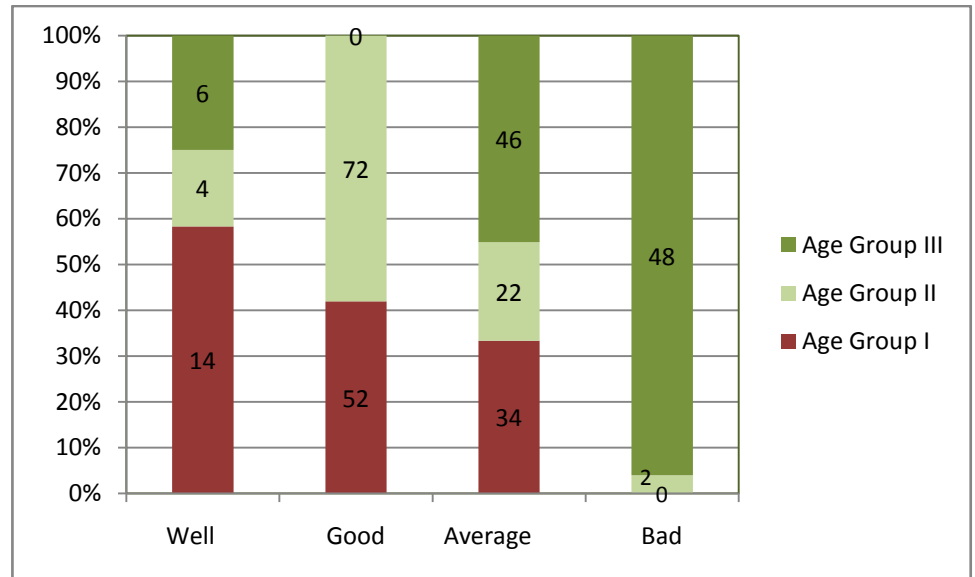
Graph 6.9: Overall Scores of the Level of Proficiency in MSA in Correlation with Age

Then, graph 6.10 is drawn to better recapitulate the overall scores of the level of comprehension in MSA in correlation with age as an extra-linguistic parameter.
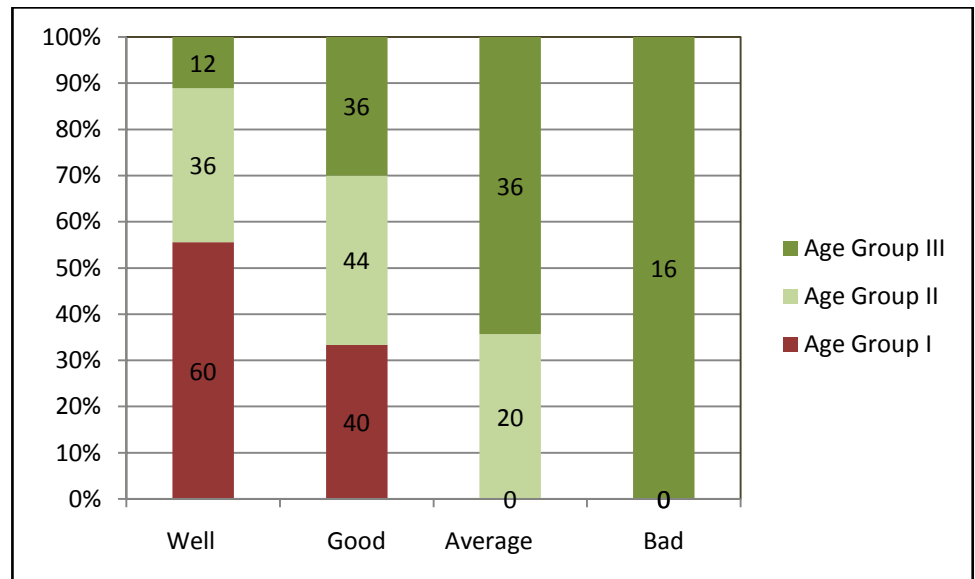
Graph 6.10: Overall Scores of the Level of Comprehension in MSA in Correlation with Age

The figure (graph 6.10) obtained to summarize the scores of comprehension in MSA obviously exhibits that most of young informants (60 ٪) have a very good comprehension level in MSA, a fact that is contributed to their exposure to Standard Arabic in classes

(learning setting). The other proportion for good comprehension is 40 ٪ of speakers' claims in Age Group II. However, for the third Age Group, their scores indicate that they have an average level of comprehension. Additionally, few aged speakers declared that they badly understand it. What is remarkable with this old group is that only fewer informants said they well understand Standard Arabic due to the problem of illiteracy.

Thus, age and education are considered as two social variables with which competence in MSA correlates drawing various degrees of understanding and proficiency in the Standard form of Arabic in the area under inquiry.

6.3.2 Competence in French

In the present section, the researcher attempts to know to what extent Kh.A speakers are proficient in Fr. The following results, as drawn in table 6.5, are elicited from the fourth and fifth questions in Kh.A questionnaire B:

		Age Group I		Age Group II		Age Group III	
	Gender	Ml.	Fl.	Ml.	Fl.	Ml.	Fl.
Level of Proficiency ٪	Well				0	0	0
	Good	28	32	40	40	44	0
	Average	72	68	60	60	24	20
	Bad	0	0	0	0	12	80
Level of Comprehension ٪	Well	0	0	0	8	20	0
	Good	28	48	40	28	44	0
	Average	72	52	60	64	24	24
	Bad	0	0	0	0	12	76

Table 6.5: Scores of '*Khemis*' Speakers' Competence in Fr

Table 6.5 demonstrates that in '*Khemis'*, male speakers are more competent in the French language than women. More details will be reviewed in the following section.

6.3.2.1 Speakers' Level of Proficiency in French

As the title of this sub-section implies, the following graph highlights speakers' proficiency in Fr in accordance with gender.
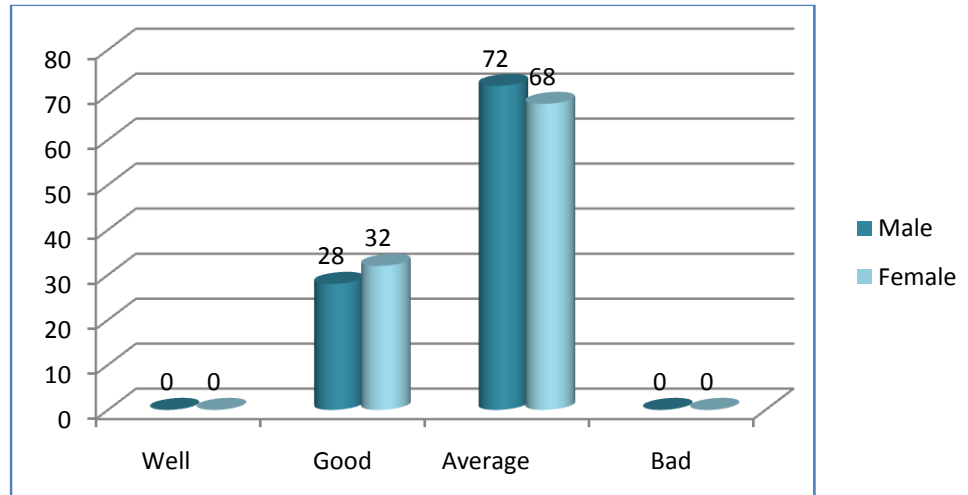
Graph 6.11: Level of Proficiency in Fr of Age Group I in Correlation with Gender

Graph 6.11 clearly exposes the fact that speakers of Age Group I have an average proficiency in Fr and males are more proficient than females.
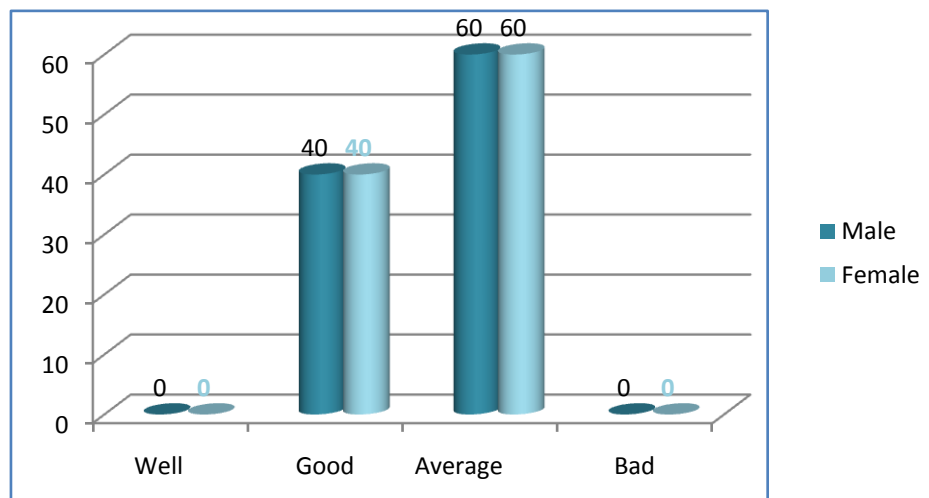
Graph 6.12: Level of Proficiency in Fr of Age Group II in Correlation with Gender

Scores of proficiency in Fr as displayed in graph 6.12 rather show that informants, both men and women, of Age Group II have equal percentages of some who are good and others who have an average proficiency in Fr.
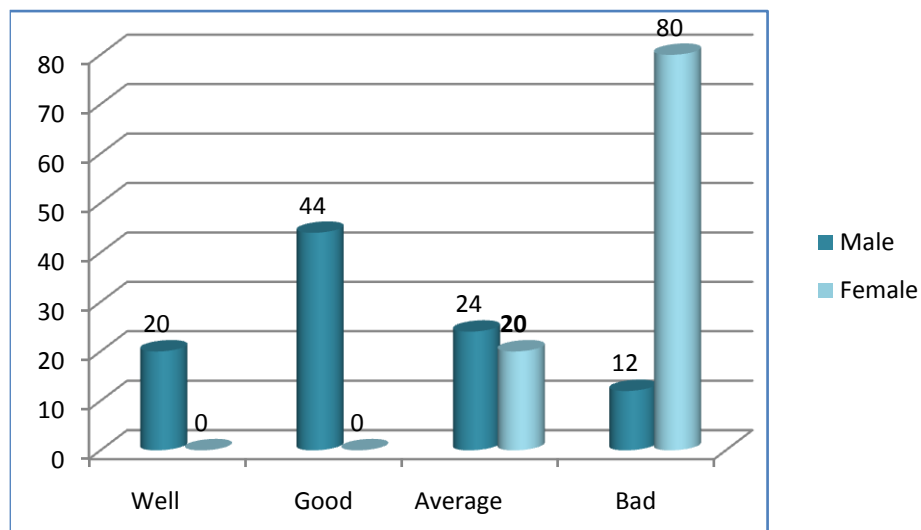
Graph 6.13: Level of Proficiency in Fr of Age Group III in Correlation with Gender

At last, among the old category of respondents, men are good speakers of Fr in comparison with women who have either an average level or a bad one.

6.3.2.2 Speakers' Level of Comprehension in French

Concerning the level of comprehension in Fr, the following graphs are summarizing the results found.
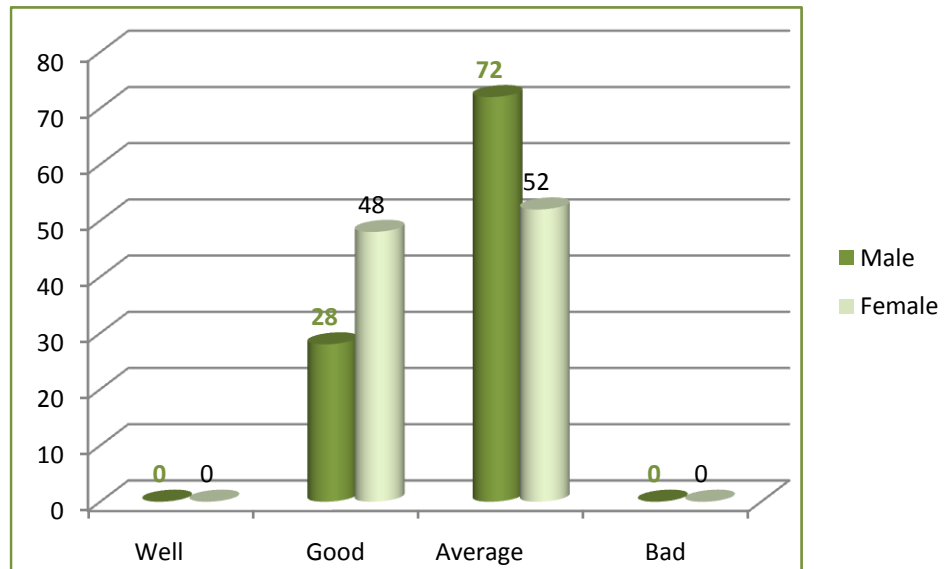
Graph 6.14: Level of Comprehension in Fr of Age Group I in Correlation with Gender

Graph 6.14 shows that both males and females have a level of comprehension that ranges between good and average.

In the following graph, scores of the level of comprehension in Fr among speakers of Age Group II in correlation with gender:
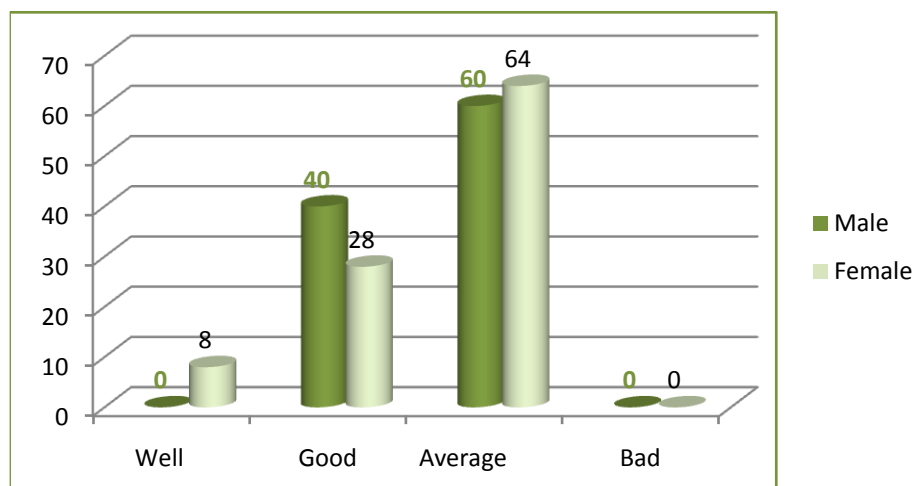
Graph 6.15: Level of Comprehension in Fr of Age Group II in Correlation with Gender

Age Group II informants also have the same level of comprehension of Age Group I.

At last, graph 6.16, which exposes the percentages of the old category of speakers, shows that males have a better level of understanding Fr than women whose degree is either average or bad for the majority of them.
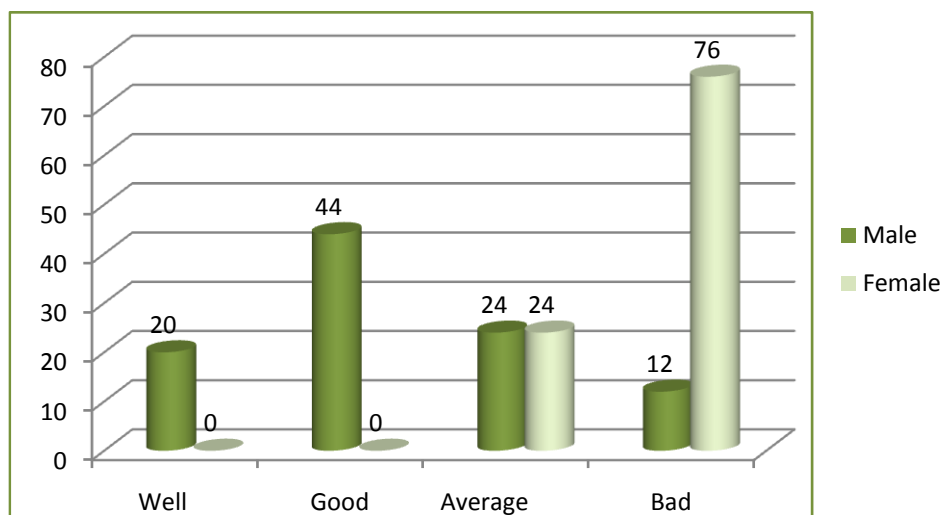
Graph 6.16: Level of Comprehension in Fr of Age Group III in Correlation with Gender

Finally, as in any inquiry about language interplay and its consequent phenomena, one must interpret his/her findings in relation to many factors. In fact, gender, age and education as extra-linguistic variables seemed to be not sufficient. Hence, other findings are sought from raising the 7th question Kh.A questionnaire -B- concerning how often '*Khemis*' individuals use Fr to get satisfactory interpretative results about the use of this language.

6.3.2.3 Frequency of Using French

To know how often '*Khemis*' individuals use Fr, the seventh question (see Kh.A questionnaire -B- in Appendix 3-B-) has been posed and its results are reviewed in the following table:

	Gender	Age Group I		Age Group II		Age Group III	
		Ml.	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**
Frequency of Use ⁒	**Very often**	0	0	0	16	4	0
	often	<u>40</u>	32	<u>16</u>	24	<u>60</u>	0
	Sometimes	**52**	56	**76**	48	**16**	0
	Rarely	8	12	8	12	8	16
	Never	0	0	0	0	12	84

Table 6.6: **Percentages of the Frequency of Using Fr by '*Khemis'* Speakers**

The scores as summarized in this table strive to offer an answer about how much Kh.A speakers use Fr in their daily life conversations. It generally appears that (middle and aged) males of age group II and III display much frequency of its use beside their native mother tongue. Its use is occasional as they declared to use it "sometimes" (see percentages in **bold**). Those who have a frequent use (they often use it) are both males and females in age group I and II, and just old men in the third category (see underlined percentages). Old women, on the contrary, rarely or never use it. One may also observe that youngsters, both girls and boys in age group I, use much Fr in their speech. Thus, to better highlight those scores, bar-graphs 6.17, 6.18 and 6.19 exhibit the percentages of the frequency of speaking Fr by '*Khemis'* speakers in relationship with gender as a social variable in the community of '*Khemis'*. .

At first, bar-graph 6.17 shows that both male and female speakers of the first Age Group do not frequently use Fr; they do just occasionally. 40 ⁒ of young male speakers declare that they often use Fr. 52 ⁒ (i.e., 13), representing the majority of young males, state that they sometimes speak it, whereas the other 8 ⁒ claim that they rarely converse in this language. As far as young females' scores of French

are concerned, 32 ℅ of girls assert that they often use it. The majority of them, that is, 56 ℅ of them, claim that they sometimes use it, and only 12 ℅ (i.e., 3 informants) of this sample rarely speak it.
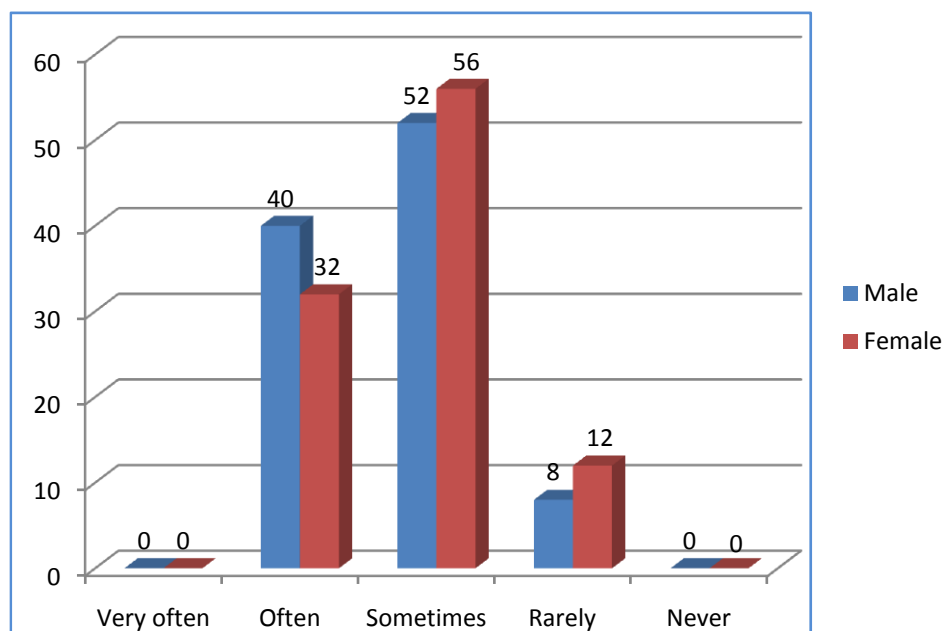
Bar-graph 6.17: Scores of the Frequency of Using Fr by Age Group I in Correlation with Gender

So, young boys aged less than 25 years often use Fr more than young girls. But, the percentage of girls who sometimes speak it exceeds that of boys.

Secondly, bar-graph 6.18 reveals that all speakers of Age Group II speak Fr with varying percentages: 16 ℅ of females assert that they use it very often, only 24 ℅ claim that they often use it whereas 48 ℅ of women occasionally converse in this language. On the other hand, the majority of males (76 ℅) sometimes speak it and only 16 ℅ often use it.
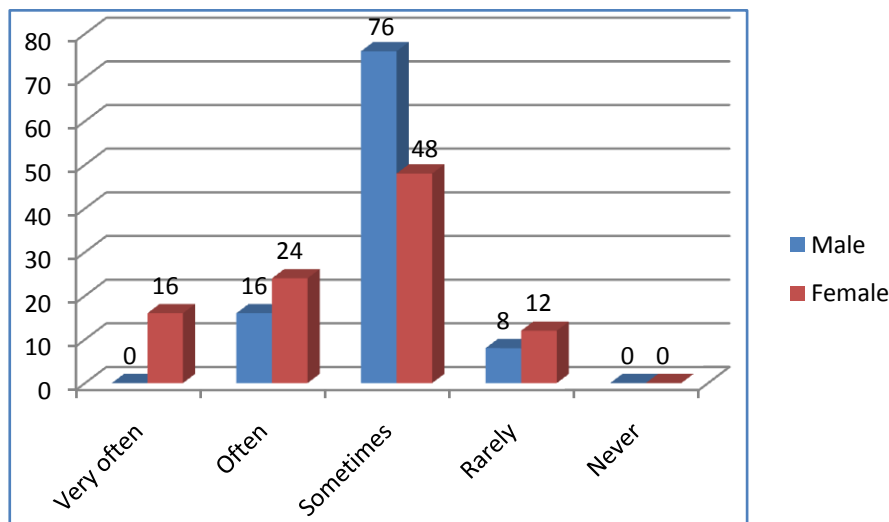
Bar-graph 6.18: Scores of the Frequency of Using Fr by Age Group II in Correlation with Gender

Thus, these results reveal that both men and women aged between (26-49) years old occasionally speak Fr in day-to-day interactions.

Third, bar-graph 6.19 involves the answers of the old category of informants. 4 ٪ of old men declare that they frequently speak in Fr in their daily life interactions, 60 ٪ of them often use it, 16 ٪ sometimes converse with it and only 8 ٪ of them rarely speak it. 12 ٪ of old males, however, claim that they never speak in Fr. Women of the same category rather assert that they seldom speak Fr in everyday speech; 16 ٪ declare that they rarely use it and the other 84 ٪ never use this language in their interactions.
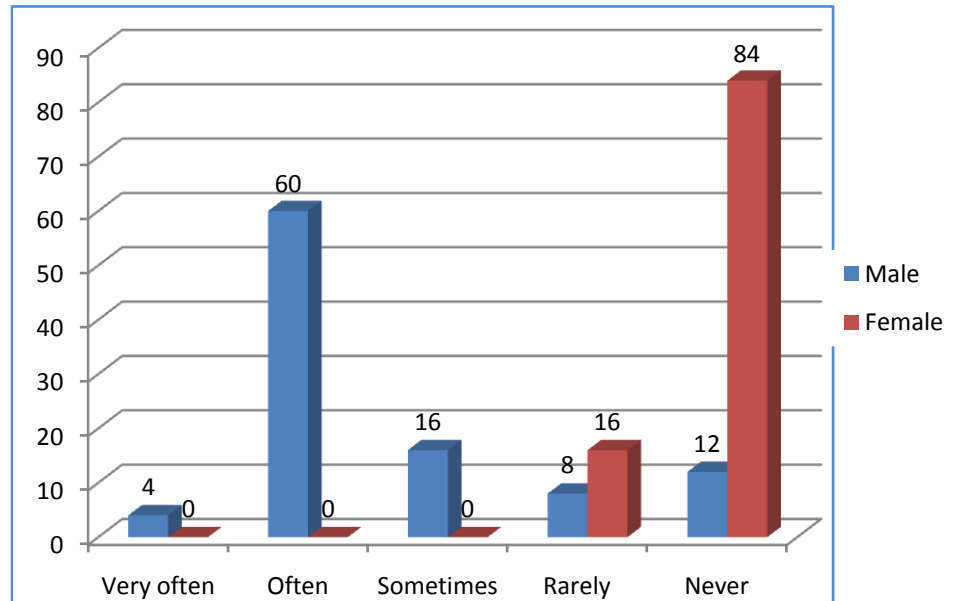
Bar-graph 6.19: Scores of the Frequency of Using Fr by Age Group III in Correlation with Gender

So, one can deduce that old men aged more than 50 are more educated in Fr than women, a fact which may be attributed to their linguistic contact with other speakers in 'BS' or outside this valley at one hand, and to education on the other. Women are less educated in this language due to the fact of illiteracy because the majority of those women did not join schools when they were young.

As a final answer about the frequency of speaking Fr, it is safe to say that age and gender cannot be considered as social markers; it is the educational level of speakers which determines its use. Added to this, one should acknowledge that bilingualism is a salient feature of urban settings. The results found prove this view. Even though the community of '*Khemis*' entails active bilinguals, the majority of its speakers have an occasional use of Fr. Further information will be known about the contexts of using Fr in the following section, or in other words, on what occasions and specific settings do '*Khemis*' individuals speak in Fr?

6.3.2.4 Contexts of Use

The sixth question in Kh.A questionnaire B, which aims at uncovering the contexts where '*Khemis'* speakers utilize Fr, reveals that this language is mostly used at work and among friends, this means that this language is commonly used for formal contexts. So, Kh.A is spoken at home and in informal settings in general. For more details, the results concerning the contexts where Fr is used in the community of '*Khemis'* by the three age groups are summarized as follows:

> ➢ Out of the 50 informants of Age Group I, the majority stated that they speak Fr at work and among friends. Some of them declared that they use it in Facebook and chat. School boys, girls and university students claimed that they use it in schools in class and university respectively.

> ➢ For Age Group II, 13 men asserted that they speak this language at work with their colleagues. 6 informants use it among friends and the other 6 males stated that they utilize it with strangers and immigrants (*les étrangers et les immigrés*), in administrations, and in commercial transactions as well. For women of the same Age Group, Fr is spoken at home with their children and among friends (14 housewives). For working women (5 teachers, 4 nurses and 2 mid wives), Fr is mainly used among friends and colleagues at work; i.e., in schools and hospitals respectively, in their case.

> ➢ Out of the 50 old men aged more than 50, working informants claimed that Fr is commonly used at work. 4 retired ones speak it among friends and other 4 men stated that they speak it among colleagues at work. The

other 7 informants, who are illiterate, said that do not speak it at all. 20 old women, however, also pointed out that they do not speak Fr. 4 aged females rarely use it, *and* one woman said that she sometimes uses this language to joke with her children. She knows few words such as: *assieds -toi, bonjour, comment tu-t'appeles.*

To sum it up, the use of Fr is context-specific; it is commonly used in the aforementioned formal contexts.

6.3.2.5 Code Mixing

As an inevitable outcome of language contact, and with varying degrees, CM is witnessed in any region throughout the Algerian territory. In '*Khemis*' too, speakers code switch to Fr and mix between their Ar dialect and Fr in their everyday conversations. In the 8th question in Kh.A questionnaire B, informants are asked whether they mix between their own dialectal Arabic / MSA and Fr or not. The results obtained from this question show that all male and female subjects aged less than 50 years mix the two languages in their daily speech. For the old category of informants (+50), all men claim that they do mix them, while only 14 females of the same Age Group mix them. The other 11 are either illiterate in both languages (MSA and Fr), or Arabophones as they did not learn Fr and they have recently joined the "*programme of erasing illiteracy*"; برنامج محو الأمية .

In addition, in the 9th question, informants are asked how often they mix between the two linguistic varieties. The results exhibit that the majority of informants mix Arabic and Fr in everyday speech with varying degrees. Table 6.7 clearly demonstrates how often '*Khemis*' speakers of both gender and different ages mix codes:

	Gender	Age Group I		Age Group II		Age Group III	
		Ml.	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**	**Ml.**	**Fl.**
Frequency of CM ⁒	**Very often**	8	24	4	28	4	0
	Often	28	24	60	12	16	0
	Sometimes	56	40	24	48	68	0
	Rarely	8	12	12	12	12	20
	Never	0	0	0	0	0	80

Table 6.7: Scores of the Frequency of CM in Correlation with Gender

Despite their different levels of education, Kh.A speakers do mix between Ar and Fr. According to the quantified results gathered in table 6.6, the majority of boys and girls in Age Group I sometimes mix between both codes. 28 ⁒ of women of Age Group II affirmed that they very often mix between Arabic and Fr while 48⁒ just sometimes do. 60⁒ of males of the same Age Group, however, often do. 68 ⁒ of old men in Age Group III sometimes mix between both codes whereas 80 ⁒ of aged women claimed that they do not mix between them at all simply because of the factor of illiteracy. The other 20 percent, on the other hand, rarely does.

Those results are better highlighted through the following bar-graphs. First, bar-graph 6.21 displays the frequency of CM by Age Group I in correlation with gender.
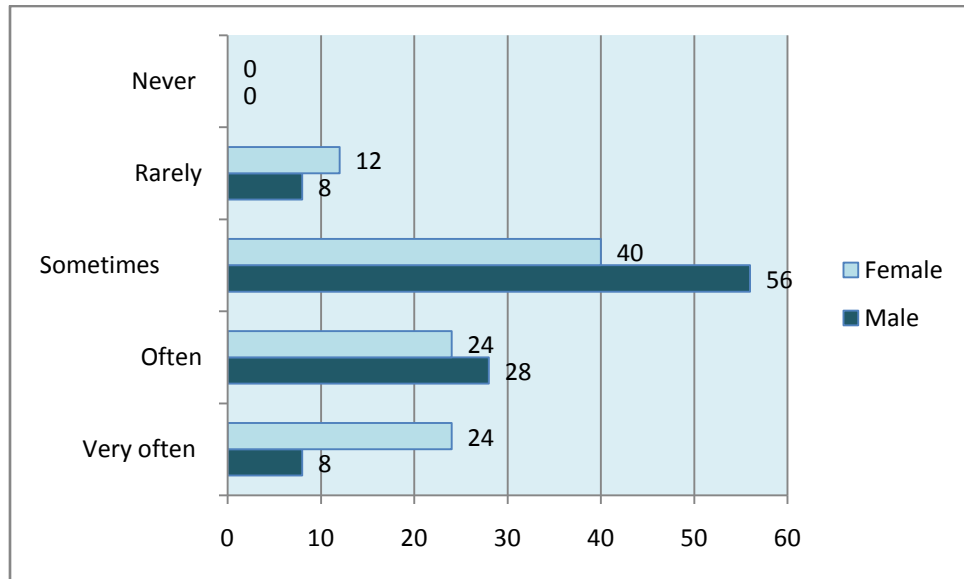
Bar-graph 6.20: Frequency of CM by Age Group I

in Correlation with Gender

Second, bar-graph 6.21 reveals the frequency of CM by Age Group I in correlation with gender.
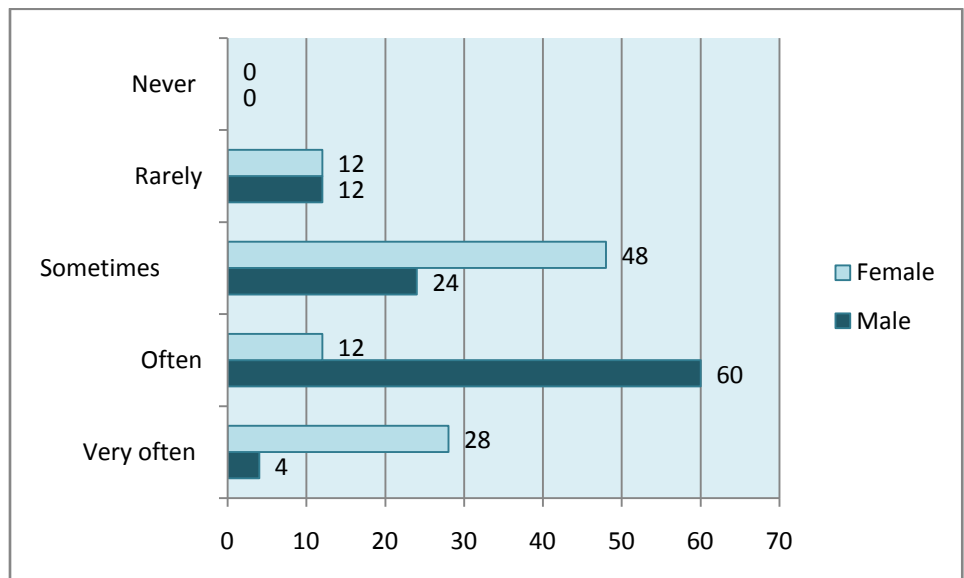
Bar-graph 6.21: Frequency of CM by Age Group II

in Correlation with Gender

Third, bar-graph 6.22 exposes how frequent CM is among the informants of Age Group III in relation with gender. When looking at the results shown, one may deduce that CM is a characteristic of old

male speech and that, old females mainly converse in their own native tongue.
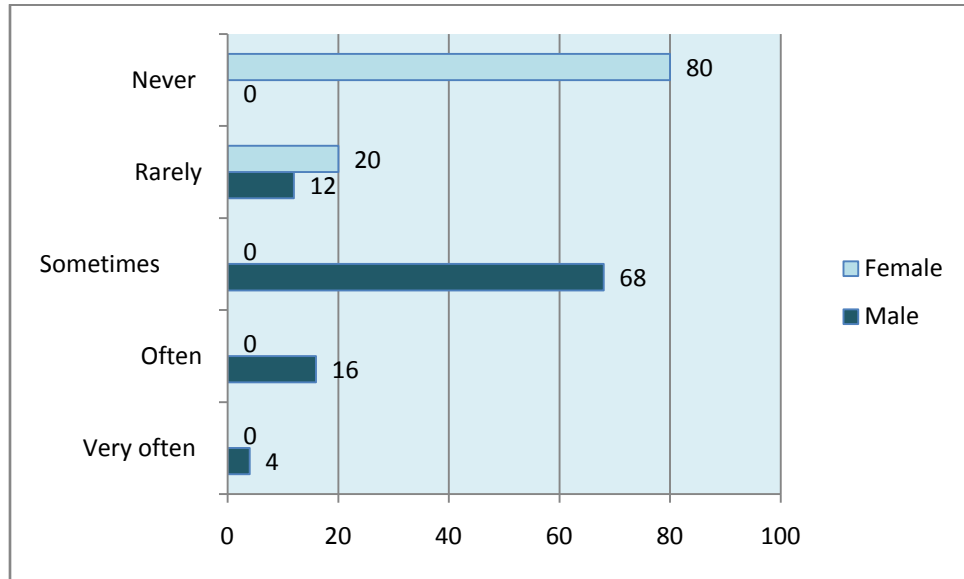
Bar-graph 6.22: Frequency of CM by Age Group III
in Correlation with Gender

The following bar-graph attempts to show clearly the results of the frequency of CM in correlation with age, summarizing the overall scores of the three age groups:

	Very often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Age Group III	2	8	34	16	40
Age Group II	16	36	36	12	0
Age Group I	16	26	48	10	0
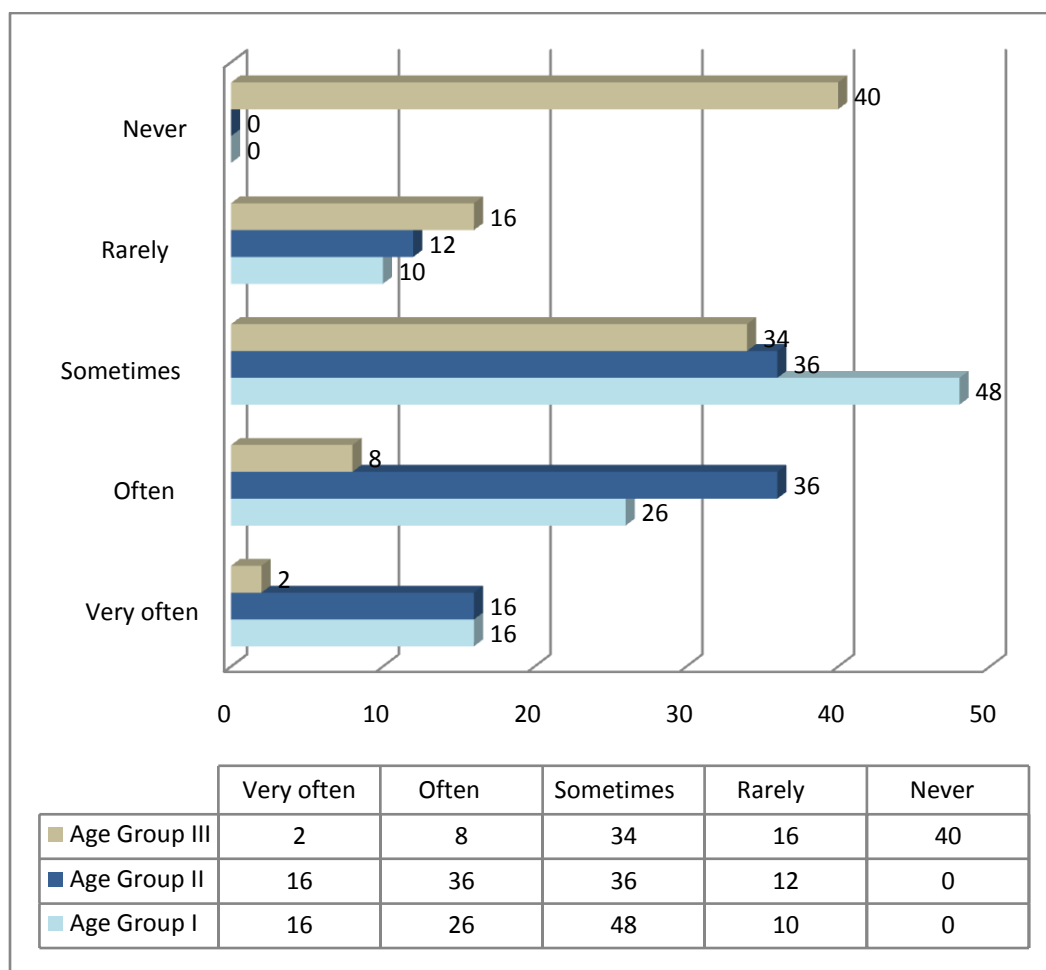
Bar-graph 6.23: Overall Scores of the Frequency of CM in Correlation with Age

A glance at bar-graph 6.23 reveals that the majority of '*Khemis*' speakers point out that they often or sometimes code mix between the two codes. But, one may also observe that the old category never does because the majority of the old informants are illiterate; they do not speak Fr. So, the frequency of this phenomenon is much attested among literate persons of Age Groups I and II; yet both of them know Fr with varying degrees. This means CM in this area of exploration correlates with age as a social variable, and that education is one of the main factors that contribute to it.

In sum, from the aforementioned scores about the phenomenon of CM between Ar and Fr., it appears that age as social parameter does represent the main factors with which language use correlate in Kh.A. In addition and as a matter of fact, its individuals' level of education/illiteracy also promotes CM. However, this comment cannot be considered as a final answer for the raised question about the frequency of using both codes in the area of research without inquiring about '*Khemis'* speakers' language attitudes. (See section 6.4)

6.3.3 Competence in Berber

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth questions in Kh.A Survey were purposefully constructed to know whether '*Khemis'* speakers master this local Berber or not, and to what extent they speak and understand it. Surprisingly, all informants asserted that they ignore it and know few words such as: /awda ≠ ma:n/: "give me water", /aɣro:m/: "bread" and others that were previously referred to in section 5.5.2.1.2. (g and h).

6.4   SPEAKERS'   ATTITUDES   TOWARDS '*KHEMIS'* ARABIC

Attitude-behaviour relations in language gained much interest among linguists in the social psychology of language and language variation. In this section, the eighth and ninth questions of the survey seek to uncover each speaker's inclination to accommodate or switch to one of the other neighbouring varieties and the reasons behind such a linguistic behaviour. All Kh.A informants asserted that they do not accommodate to other neighbouring varieties because they believe that they understand them in their own dialect. Therefore, they found

no need to change their way of speaking. However, some informants (4 percent) tend to switch to other varieties when interacting with non-BS inhabitants, especially when they are at work, airports, or administrative institutions outside their area of residence. This tendency of accommodating to others' way of speaking has been justified by not being understood. So, their awareness about the specificity that characterizes their speech gives rise to attempts of assimilation, simplification or even adopting some of their addressees' dialect features (sounds, morphological structures or lexicon) to better communicate in constrained settings.

6.5 SPOTLIGHT ON VARIATION IN '*KHEMIS*' ARABIC: *Final Interpretations*

Summing up the results referred to in chapter five, one may say that correlation between social structure and linguistic structure in '*Khemis*' lies in the co-accordance between the various studied variables and their corresponding extra-linguistic variables that have been uncovered in chapter five. Language use therefore, varies according to the age, gender and educational level of speakers in addition to the context of use in case it is a constrained setting where shift sometimes takes place, with slight change in one's dialects features, to create a mutual intelligibility with those speaking non-Khemis Arabic varieties.

Within the content of the present chapter, light has been thrown on the interplay between the linguistic varieties '*Khemis*' speakers have at their disposal referring to phenomena of language contact, language competences and language preferences. Most Kh.A individuals are passive bilinguals; they better speak and understand MSA than Fr. Their mastery of these languages varies according their

age, gender and their educational level as it has been demonstrated. Berber no more exists as a language of communication between individuals. Few berber items persisted as an argument about its past existence and use supposedly for more than three generations.

Generally speaking, sociolinguistic works have always proved that most languages, if not all, are characterized by variation and tend to undergo change in progress to different degrees. This witnessed phenomenon is attributed to the fact that speech communities are not fully homogeneous as the characteristics of their languages or dialects constantly correlate with various social parameters. Their heterogeneity prompted field linguists to challenge variation and change through carrying numerous studies adopting several approaches and paradigms as the ones currently used in variationist sociolinguistics.

The last question to be raised is, whether researchers can simply observe the distribution of linguistic variables in various age groups, ranging from youngsters to eldest ones in any speech community, collecting data in apparent-time and only relying on these gathered data deduce that there is a language change in progress in the area of his/her exploration. May research based on real-time paradigm, which is much time consuming and needs extensive research experiments, provide better insights on this matter?

6.6 CONCLUSION

This last chapter has been offered to analyze some of the questions raised in Kh.A survey and questionnaire -B- about '*Khemis'* speakers' linguistic attitudes towards their own Arabic dialect. In addition, it does not only check speakers' language preferences between the varieties that are at their disposal for daily life interactions, but also strives to somehow determine their competences in MSA, Fr and Berber through measuring their levels of understanding and proficiency in each language. CS and CM as outcomes of language interplay have been described, such as frequency of using French in day-to-day conversations in addition to its contexts of use. The majority of Kh.A speakers are passive bilinguals and they show varying degrees of proficiency in both MSA and Fr at one hand. Their competences vary according to their educational levels. On the other hand, Berber is a lost language that only few of its items persist in Kh.A linguistic system. The chapter also sketched out the attitudes of speakers towards these languages as the results displayed.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

The main target of this thesis was to investigate the linguistic development of 'BS' dialects from their old Berber to today's Arabic dialects. The study of Kh.A was conducted to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in its speakers' linguistic behaviour seeking a profound insight and understanding about this community's current Arabic dialect, focusing first on studying ethnographically the linguistic development of 'BS' endangered Berber varieties, mainly in the areas of 'BZ' and '*Khemis*', two communities where their ancestral Berber medium has left its traces embodied in the language spoken among speakers in 'BZ' or in '*Khemis*'. In other terms, the study endeavoured to exhibit many aspects of language maintenance and change in their EBV. Second, based on an empirical investigation, the systematic correlation between many of Kh.A characterizing phonological, morphological and lexical variables and other corresponding variables such as: age, gender, and level of education has been examined.

Problematic questions have been raised about the linguistic development of 'BS' dialects. The results obtained have confirmed the researcher's first and second hypotheses about the evolution of 'BS' varieties on time continuum; they evolved from an ancient BV that underwent gradually a process of arabization which resulted in an abandonment of its use in day-to-day interaction which progressively led to its endangerment. The prevailing use of MSA as the majority language, which is politically imposed in all sectors of life, has also contributed to this BV loss starting from the post-independence era. As the findings reveal, historical, political, and individualistic determinants are behind language shift in 'BS'; these facts little by

little reduced the functions of local Berber and reinforced the use of local Arabic dialects.

Regarding to what extent the native Berber features are maintained along the region of 'BS', the results argued that the already mentioned historical, cultural and political changes that the area has witnessed caused a dramatic language shift to the extent that most speakers of BZBV have been arabized and only few old speakers, males and females, know or speak their native BV in private settings among themselves, and ceased to pass it on to the next generation, which neither speaks nor understands their ancestral medium of communication. Hence, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, it is regarded as 'a severely *endangered* language'.

In her attempt to unveil the linguistic characteristics of Kh.A, the researcher has formulated a hypothesis which suggests that like any AA dialect, this dialect involves its specific urban dialect features (phonological, morphological and lexical) which make of it a distinct variety that differs, at all linguistic levels, from its surrounding varieties, mainly those of a rural type. Indeed, the results showed that Kh.A enjoys a set of urban dialects' characteristics that are different from its adjacent dialects at different levels. Concerning the correlation of its variables with extra-linguistic ones, Kh.A speech is characterized by variation. People do not speak the same way; males' speech differs from females', and their language use varies according to the age, gender and the educational level of individuals. Male informants are more conservative than women who exhibited some trait of shift towards the use of many standard phonological variants. At the morphological level, '*Khemis'* speech is marked by the loss of many native pronouns as the results show. Then, as far as lexis is concerned, most speakers, if not all, seem to retain the majority of their native features even with non-khemis individuals in 'BS' or

outside this valley. These aforementioned results confirmed the researcher's second hypothesis put forward about whether men and women speak alike or not.

Concerning the possible reasons behind such sociolinguistic variation in such a small geographical area surrounded by villages speaking rural Arabic varieties, one may conclude that language varies in correspondence with the previously stated parameters in addition to the historical events that the area passed through, its geographical unrest, and the rural-urban migration that the area has witnessed in the last few decades, especially during the decade of terrorism. These factors all contribute to language contact phenomena.

As an answer to the fifth question raised about Kh.A which is meant with whether '*Khemis*' speakers will keep their trait of conservatism that they have displayed few years ago (2009), the results reveal that this community's repertoire continuously witnesses change as languages incessantly diffuse within this globalized world and the constant advances in technological, cultural and socio-economic fields of life. For instance, MSA and French as two influencing languages coexisting with Kh.A impose some of their characteristics which widely appear in the adaptation of phonetic sounds, morphological structures and vocabulary borrowings leading to an intricate bilingual and diglossic setting. This linguistic situation, has also led to losing the vitality of 'BS' ancestral BV under the pressure of its daily co-existence with the country's majority language MSA, and it may be also attributable to other determinants that are political, socio-economic, psychological and cultural in nature.

Moreover, the sixth chapter proved that Kh.A speakers have a command of both Arabic and French, but with varying degrees of proficiency since their competences correlate with education and age.

Their Berber persists and still embodied in some names of places, names of food, body organs, animals..., and all things attached to their rural or agricultural lifestyle. Like all AA dialects, Kh.A has a rich phonetic system and a huge bulk of vocabulary thanks to borrowing from many languages due to the successive historical invasions and conquests that Algeria has gone through. Nowadays, Kh.A started to lose some of its idiosyncratic phonological and morphological aspects mainly because of education and the fact of realizing the misuse of some variants. As data analysis demonstrates, its speakers show no tendency to accommodate to the other neighbouring dialects available in 'BS'. The only few claims about accommodation translate their necessity to raise the degree of mutual intelligibility with foreigners outside 'BS' in day-to-day communicative events. So, these speakers can be safely described as having a trait of conservatism and loyalty towards their own speech.

What is striking as a result is that , unlike many attitudes cited in dialectological and variationist studies (Otto Jesperson (1922); Wartburg (1925); Pop (1950); Labov (1998, 2001),…etc) concerning the trait of conservatism among women in speech, women in '*Khemis'*, as the results unveil, began to correct some native misused phonological variants due to the factor of education. In fact, this finding infirms what has been hypothesized that Kh.A female speakers are very conservative and will not show any sign of variation.

At last, one may wrap up this research work by saying that the contact between urban and rural varieties exercises a minor influence on this community's Arabic dialect mainly phonologically. As far as its contact with MSA and French, one can undoubtedly claim that these two languages profoundly influenced the native BV of '*Khemis'* linguistic medium resulting in its arabicization and in the huge load of French borrowings attested in the speech of individuals at varying

degrees of proficiency. These results prove that the researcher's hypothesis of the fifth question is also confirmed.

Concerning the applicability of the adopted approaches and models in this thesis, the findings obtained prove that Labov's paradigm is applicable to this community at one hand. On the other hand, in tracing the linguistic development of language use and change in the area of '*Khemis*', checking to what extent its ancient BV is maintained, Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance which was adopted appears to be also applicable since there is no fluent speaker of Berber in '*Khemis*' due to the minority vs. majority relationship between Kh.A and MSA. As far as Fasold's view about language change, the results infirmed the applicability of his view that in some communities despite the fact that they had the same attributes (Giles *et al.* 1970) leading to language shift, their speakers exhibited a trait of conservatism and maintained their native languages because in '*Khemis*', those stated factors contributed to its speakers' tendency towards the majority language. Nonetheless, Fasold's second viewpoint was confirmed as '*Khemis*' speakers displayed a negative attitude towards teaching Tamazight in school. This is an argument for their desire to neither retain their ancestral ethnic variety nor revive it.

As any research work, this study has limitations. As any sociolinguist engaged in the intricacies of language maintenance and shift, one may wonder whether applying a real-time approach on this variety will offer more profound insights into the speech community under exploration. The second question to be raised at the end of this thesis is: as far as this EBV is concerned, will language planners and decision makers devote some efforts in the near future for language documentation and revitalization, or it will die with the death of its last speaker?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1 - A-

♣ **Table 1: Percentage use of '-in' in four contextual styles in Norwich**

Social Class [136]	Style [137]			
	WLS	RPS	FS	CS
MMC	0	0	3	28
LMC	0	10	15	42
UWC	5	15	74	87
MWC	23	44	88	95
LWC	29	66	98	100

Adapted from Wardhaugh (2006:171) based on Trudgill (1995:94)

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[136] Social class: MMC (middle middle class), LMC (lower middle class), UWC (upper middle class), MWC (middle working class), LWC (lower working class).

[137] Style: WLS (word list), EPS (reading passage), FS (formal), CS (casual).

♣ **Table 2:**

This table clearly lists some of the persisting Turkish loan words such as anthroponyms, toponyms, names of dishes, utensils and vegetables and other words in the AA dialects as adopted from Guella, N. (2011:83):

Words of Turkish Origin	English Gloss
[tɑbʂe]	"a plate"
[buqra:ʒ]	"a kettle"
[baʃma:q]	"a sandal"
[tqaʃi:r]	"socks"
[bala:k]	"May be"
[fərtu:na]	"fight, disorder"
[bajlək]	"public"
[batɪntɪ]	"taxes"
[branɪja]	"aubergine"
[bɑ:lɑ]	"a shovel blade"
[qahwaʒi]	"café-boy, café-owner"
[suʕaʒi]	"a watch-maker"
[qma:rʒi]	"a gambler"

♣ **Table 3: Languages and Mode of life in *Khemis* tribe**

Tribe	Douars	Language Used	Men	women	Boys	Girls	Total	Mode of life
Khemis	Ouled Farès	Arabic	123	171	167	128	589	Sedentary
	Ouled Mezian	Arabic	130	138	142	121	531	Sedentary
	Beni Achir	Berber	164	156	114	80	514	Sedentary
	Ouled Moussa	Arabic	84	98	77	83	342	Sedentary
	Ouled Arbi	Berber	50	46	33	28	157	Sedentary
	Beni Hammou	Arabic	142	144	174	114	574	Sedentary
	Mazzer	Berber	65	62	60	56	43	Sedentary and nomadic
	Ouled Abdelaziz	Berber	37	42	44	32	155	Nomadic
	Ouled Amara	Arabic	33	33	31	31	128	Nomadic
Total			828	890	842	673	3233	

Adapted from Destaing (1907: xxii)

♣ **Note 1:**

"ils ont oublié leur dialecte berbère pour apprendre la langue plus élegante des Arabes et à peine comprennent-ils une parole de leur ancien langage".

Written by Ibn Khaldoun around 1300. In Mercier, E. (1874)

♣ **Note 2:** In an attempt to divide AA dialects into types, Khaoula Taleb Ibrahimi (2004:207-208) writes the following quotation which has been summarized and paraphrased in English by the researcher:

“En Algérie, mais aussi dans le monde arabe, elle aurait tendance à se structurer dans un continuum de registres (variétés langagières) qui s'échelonnent du registre le plus normé au moins normé. En premier lieu vient l'arabe fusha (ou classique), puis l'arabe standard ou moderne, véritable langue d'intercommunication entre tous les pays arabophones, ensuite ce que nous appelons le « dialecte des cultivés » ou l'arabe parlé par les personnes scolarisées, enfin le registre dont l'acquisition et l'usage sont les plus spontanés, ce que l'on nomme communément les dialectes ou parlers qui se distribuent dans tous les pays en variantes locales et régionales.

Cette répartition permet de distinguer, en Algérie, les parlers ruraux des parlers citadins (en particulier ceux d'Alger, Constantine, Jijel, Nedroma et Tlemcen) et de voir se dessiner quatre grandes régions dialectales : l'Est autour de Constantine, l'Algérois et son arrière-pays, l'Oranie puis le Sud qui, de l'Atlas Saharien aux confins du Hoggar, connaît lui-même une grande diversité dialectale d'Est en Ouest ».

APPENDIX 1 - B-

♣ **Table 4:**

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	lottal
Plosive	**E**	/b/			/t/ /d/			k/ /g/	q/	/	ʔ/
	N.E				/ʈ/ /ɖ/						
Affricate	**N.E**										
	E										
Fricative	**E**		f/ /		/s/ /z/	ʃ/ /ʒ/		χ/ /ɣ/		/ /ʕ/ /ħ	h/
	N.E				/ʂ/ /ʐ/						
Nasal	**N.E**	/m/		n/							
	E										
Lateral	**E**			l/							
	N.E										
Flap	**E**				/r/						
	N.E				/ɽ/						

Approxi E		/w					j/	⟨				
/												
mant N.E												

Table 3: Kh.A List of Consonants

N.E: Non Emphatic /Plain Consonants   -V: Voiceless

E: Emphatic Consonants   +V: Voiced

APPENDIX 1 - C-

Articles   of   Arabicization

Loi n° 91-05 du 16 janvier 1991

portant généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe

La loi 91-05 du 16 janvier 1991 sur l'arabisation demeure l'une des lois linguistiques les plus importante adoptées par l'Algérie, voire un État arabe. Cette loi impose l'usage unique de la langue arabe, interdit toute «langue étrangère» et prévoit pour les contrevenants des amendes. Toutefois, la loi a été appliquée inégalement selon les gouvernements au pouvoir parce qu'elle s'est révélée difficile d'application; aujourd'hui, la loi continue d'être juridiquement en vigueur, mais plus personne ne s'en occupe. La version française ci-dessous est une traduction non officielle de l'arabe de la part du gouvernement; elle n'a qu'une valeur informative.

On peut consulter aussi :

1) le décret législatif n° 92-02 du 4 juillet relatif à la mise en œuvre de la loi n° 91-OS du 16 janvier 1991, portant généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe(1992, abrogé);

2) le décret présidentiel n° 92-303 du 4 juillet relatif aux modalités de la mise en œuvre de la loi n° 91-05 du 16 janvier 1991 relative à la généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe (1992);

3) l'ordonnance n° 96-30 du 21 décembre 1996 portant généralisation de l'utilisation de l'arabe.
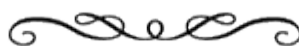
Loi no 05-91 datée du 30 jamadi second de l'année 1411, correspondant au 16 janvier 1991 et comprenant la généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe

Le Président de la République,

Vu la Constitution notamment ses articles 3, 58, 80, 115, 117 et 155;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 66-154 du 8 juin 1966, modifiée et complétée, portant code de procédure civile ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 66-155 du 8 juin 1966, modifiée et complétée, portant code de procédure pénale ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 66-156 du 8 juin 1966, modifiée et complétée, portant code pénal ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 68-92 du 26 avril 1968 complétée, portant obligation de la connaissance de la langue arabe par les fonctionnaires et assimilés ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 70-20 du 19 février 1970 relative à l'état civil ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 73-55 du 1" octobre 1973 portant arabisation des sceaux nationaux ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 75-58 du 26 septembre 1975, modifiée et complétée, portant code civil ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 76-35 du 16 avril 1976 portant organisation de l'éducation et de la formation et notamment son article 8 ;

Vu la loi n° 84-05 du 7 janvier 1984 relative à la planification des effectifs du système éducatif ;

Vu la loi n° 86-10 du 19 août 1986 portant création de l'académie

algérienne de langue arabe ;

Vu la loi n° 88-01 du 12 janvier 1988 portant loi d'orientation sur les entreprises publiques économiques ;

Vu la loi n° 88-27 du 12 juillet 1988 portant organisation du notariat et notamment son article 18;

Vu la loi n° 89-11 du 5 juillet 1989 relative aux associations à caractère politique et notamment ses articles 2, 3 et 4 ;

Vu la loi n° 89-13 d'u 7 août 1989 portant loi électorale, modifiée et complétée et notamment son article 125 ;

Vu la 'loi n° 89-16 du 11 décembre 1989 relative à l'organisation et au fonctionnement de l'Assemblée populaire nationale ;

Vu la loi n° 89-21 du 12 décembre 1989 portant statut de la magistrature ;

Vu la loi n° 89-22 du 12 décembre 1989 relative aux attributions, à l'organisation et au fonctionnement de la Cour suprême et notamment son article 5;

Vu la loi n° 90-07 du 3 avril 1990 relative à l'information et notamment son article 6 ;

Vu la loi n° 90-08 du 7 avril 1990 relative à la commune et notamment son article 38 ;

Vu la loi n° 90-09 du 7 avril 1990 relative à la wilaya et notamment son article 12 ;

Vu la loi n° 90-31 du 4 décembre 1990 relative aux associations ;

Vu la loi n° 90-32 du 4 décembre 1990 relative à l'organisation et au fonctionnement de la Cour des comptes ;

Après adoption par l'Assemblée populaire nationale,

Promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit :

Chapitre I

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Article 1ᵉʳ

La présente loi a pour objet de fixer les règles générales de l'utilisation, la promotion et la protection de la langue arabe dans les différents domaines de la vie nationale.

Article 2

La langue arabe est une composante de la personnalité nationale authentique et une constante de la nation.

Son usage traduit un aspect de souveraineté. Son utilisation est d'ordre public.

Article 3

Toutes les institutions doivent œuvrer à la promotion et à la protection de la langue arabe et veiller à sa pureté et à sa bonne utilisation.

Il est interdit de transcrire la langue arabe en caractères autres que les caractères arabes.

Chapitre II

DOMAINES D'APPLICATION

Article 4

Les administrations publiques, les institutions, les entreprises et les associations, quelle que soit leur nature, sont tenues d'utiliser la seule langue arabe dans l'ensemble de leurs activités telles que la communication, la gestion administrative, financière, technique et artistique.

Article 5

Tous les documents officiels, les rapports, et les procès-verbaux des administrations publiques, des institutions, des entreprises et les associations sont rédigés en langue arabe.

L'utilisation de toute langue étrangère dans les délibérations et débats des réunions officielles est interdite.

Article 6

Les actes sont rédigés exclusivement an langue arabe.

L'enregistrement et la publicité d'un acte sont interdits si cet acte est rédigé dans une langue autre que la langue arabe.

Article 7

Les requêtes, les consultations et les plaidoiries au sein des juridictions, sont en langue arabe.

Les décisions de justice et les jugements, les avis et les décisions du Conseil constitutionnel et de la Cour des comptes, sont rendus ou établis dans la seule

langue arabe.

Article 8

Les concours professionnels et les examens de recrutement pour l'accès à l'emploi dans les administrations et entreprises doivent se dérouler en langue arabe.

Article 9

Les sessions et séminaires nationaux ainsi que les stages professionnels et de formation et les manifestations publiques se déroulent en langue arabe.

Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères, de façon exceptionnelle et parallèlement à la langue arabe, lors des conférences, rencontres et manifestations à caractère international.

Article 10

Sont établis exclusivement en langue arabe, les sceaux, timbres et signes officiels spécifiques aux institutions, administrations publiques et entreprises quelle que soit leur nature.

Article 11

Toutes les correspondances des administrations, institutions et entreprises doivent être rédigées exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 12

Les relations des administrations, institutions, entreprises et associations avec l'étranger s'effectuent en langue arabe.

Les traités et conventions sont conclus en langue arabe.

Article 13

Le *Journal officiel* de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire est édité exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 14

Le *Journal officiel* des débats de l'Assemblée populaire nationale est édité exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 15

L'enseignement, l'éducation et la formation dans tous les secteurs, dans tous les cycles et dans toutes les spécialités sont dispensés en langue arabe, sous réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères.

Article 16

Sous réserve des dispositions de l'article 13 de la loi relative à l'information, l'information destinée aux citoyens doit être en langue arabe.

L'information spécialisée ou destinée à l'étranger peut être en langues étrangères.

Article 17

Les films cinématographiques et/ou télévisuels ainsi que les émissions culturelles et scientifiques sont diffusés en langue arabe ou traduits ou doublés.

Article 18

Sous réserve des dispositions de la loi relative à l'information, toutes les déclarations, interventions et conférences ainsi que toutes les émissions télévisuelles se déroulent en langue arabe.

Elles sont traduites si elles sont en langues étrangères.

Article 19

La publicité sous quelque forme qu'elle soit, se fait en langue arabe.

Il peut être fait à titre exceptionnel, le cas échéant, usage de langues étrangères parallèlement à la langue arabe, après autorisation des parties compétentes.

Article 20

Sous réserve d'une transcription esthétique et d'une expression correcte, les enseignes, les panneaux, les slogans, les symboles, les panneaux publicitaires ainsi que toute inscription lumineuse, sculptée ou gravée indiquant un établissement, un organisme, une entreprise ou un local et/ou mentionnant l'activité qui s'y exerce, sont exprimés dans la seule langue arabe.

Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères parallèlement à la langue arabe dans les centres touristiques classés.

Article 21

Sont imprimés en langue arabe et en plusieurs langues étrangères et à condition que la langue arabe soit mise en évidence, les documents, imprimés, emballages et boîtes comportant des indications techniques, modes d'emploi, composantes, concernant notamment :

- les produits pharmaceutiques,
- les produits chimiques,
- les produits dangereux,
- les appareils de sauvetage et dé lutte contre les incendies et les calamités.

Article 22

Les noms et indications concernant les produits, marchandises et services et tous objets fabriqués, importés ou commercialisés en Algérie sont établis en langue arabe.

Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères à titre complémentaire.

Les modalités d'application du présent article seront précisées par voie réglementaire.

Chapitre III

ORGANES D'EXÉCUTION, DE SUIVI ET DE SOUTIEN

Article 23

Il est créé auprès du chef du gouvernement un organe national d'exécution, chargé du suivi et de l'application des dispositions de la présente loi.

Sa composition et les modalités de son fonctionnement seront fixées par voie réglementaire.

Article 24

Le gouvernement présente, dans le cadre de sa communication annuelle à l'Assemblée populaire nationale, un exposé détaillé sur la généralisation et la promotion de la langue arabe.

Article 25

Les assemblées élues et les associations veillent dans les limites de leurs prérogatives au suivi de l'opération de généralisation et à la bonne utilisation de la langue arabe.

Article 26

L'Académie algérienne de langue arabe veille à l'enrichissement, la promotion et le développement de la langue arabe pour assurer son rayonnement.

Article 27

II est créé un centre national chargé de :

- généraliser l'utilisation de la langue arabe par tous les moyens disponibles modernes,
- traduire les recherches scientifiques et technologiques éditées en langues étrangères et assurer leur publication en langue arabe,
- traduire les documents officiels à la demande,
- assurer le doublage des films scientifiques, culturels et documentaires,
- concrétiser les recherches théoriques de l'Académie algérienne de langue arabe et des autres académies arabes.

Article 28

L'État décerne des prix aux meilleures recherches scientifiques réalisées en langue arabe.

Les modalités d'application du présent article seront fixées par voie réglementaire.

Chapitre IV

DISPOSITIONS PÉNALES

Article 29

Est nul et de nul effet tout document officiel rédigé dans une langue autre que la langue arabe.

La partie ayant rédigé ou authentifié ledit document assume l'entière responsabilité des effets qui en découlent.

Article 30

Toute violation des dispositions de la présente loi constitue une faute grave entretint des sanctions disciplinaires.

Article 31

Toute infraction aux dispositions des articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 et 22 est passible d'une amende de 5.000 à 10.000 DA.

Article 32

Quiconque signe, un document rédigé dans une langue autre que la langue arabe, lors de l'exercice de ses fonctions officielles, est passible d'une amende de 1.000 à 5.000 DA.

Toutefois, il est possible de signer des documents traduits opposables à l'étranger.

Article 33

Les responsables des entreprises privées, les commerçants et les artisans qui contreviennent aux dispositions de la présente loi sont passibles d'une amende de 1.000 à 5.000 DA.

En cas de récidive, il est procédé à la fermeture temporaire ou définitive du local ou de l'entreprise.

Article 34

Les associations à caractère politique qui contreviennent aux dispositions de

la présente loi sont passibles d'une amende de 10.000 à 100.000 DA.

En cas de récidive, il leur est fait application des dispositions de l'article 33 de la loi n° 89-11 du 5 juillet 1989 relative aux associations à caractère politique.

Article 35

Toute personne ayant un intérêt matériel ou moral dans l'application de la présente loi peut intenter mi recours auprès des autorités administratives ou une action en justice contre tout acte contraire aux dispositions de la présente loi.

Chapitre V

DISPOSITIONS TRANSITOIRES

Article 36

Les dispositions de la présente loi entreront en vigueur dès la publication de la présente loi et en tout état de cause au plus tard le 5 juillet 1992.

Article 37

L'enseignement dans la seule langue arabe, au niveau des établissements et instituts d'enseignements supérieurs prendra effet à compter de la première année universitaire 1991/ 1992 et se poursuivra jusqu'à l'arabisation totale et définitive au plus tard le 5 juillet 1997.

Article 38

Les rapports, analyses et ordonnances médicales sont établis en langue arabe.

Toutefois et à titre exceptionnel, ils peuvent être établis en langue étrangère

jusqu'à arabisation définitive des sciences médicales et pharmaceutiques.

Article 39

II est interdit aux organismes et entreprises d'importer les équipements d'informatique et de télex et tout équipement destiné à l'impression et la frappe s'ils ne comportent pas des caractères arabes.

Chapitre VI

DISPOSITIONS FINALES

Article 40

Sont abrogées les dispositions de l'ordonnance 68-92 du 26 avril 1968 portant obligation de la connaissance de la langue arabe par les fonctionnaires et assimilés, les dispositions de l'ordonnance n° 73-55 du 1ª octobre 1973 portant arabisation des sceaux nationaux ainsi que toutes les dispositions contraires à la présente loi.

Article 41

La présente loi sera publiée au *Journal officiel* de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire.

Fait à Alger, le 16 janvier 1991.

Chadli BENDJEDID.

_____

Imprimerie officielle — 7, 9 et 13, Avenue Abdelkeder Benberek –Alger

Retrieved from : http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie_loi-91.htm
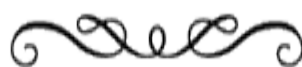
APPENDIX 2: Kh.A Survey

استقصاء – Arabic

الجنس: ذكر ☐   أنثى ☐   مكان الإقامة : ---------------

السن: ------------------   المهنة: -------- مكان الميلاد: ----------------------

المستوى التعليمي: -----------------

- أجب(ي) عن الأسئلة الآتية:

1- كيف تُسمِّي (ين) لهجتك؟ --

2- ماهو الإسم الذي يُطلق عليكم من طرف الأشخاص الذين لا يقطنون ببني سنوس؟ ---------

3- ماهو أصل سكان منطقة 'الخميس'؟ --

4- بأية قرية تتكلم(ين) بلهجة ساكنيها (أي مختلفة عن لهجتك)؟

تافسرة ☐ زهرة ☐ بني بحدل ☐ بني حمو ☐ بني عشير ☐ أولاد موسى☐ أولاد عربي ☐
بني زيداز☐ سيد العربي☐ مازر☐

5- هل يتكلم ساكنو هاته القرى لهجات تختلف عن لهجتك؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

6- ماهي الإختلافات الموجودة بين لهجتك ولهجاتهم؟ (من حيث النطق ـ المفردات ـ الإقتراض من لغات أجنبية ...). أعط أمثلة.

7- هل يتكلم مستعملي لهجة 'الخميس' بنفس الطريقة؟ الرجال مثل النساء؟ والشباب مثل الكبار؟

8- هل تغير طريقة الكلام مع شخص يتكلم لهجة مختلفة عن لهجتك؟

نعم كثيرًا ☐ غالباً ☐ أحياناً ☐ نادراً ☐ لا أبداً ☐

9- أين ولماذا؟ ------------------------------------ -------------------------------
----

10-هل يوجد في 'بني سنوس' قرى تتكلم اللّهجة الأمازيغية؟   نعم☐   لا ☐

11- إن كان نعم، أين؟

--- ---------------------------------

12- هل تختلف لهجتهم الأمازيغية عن لهجة ' لَقْبَايلْ "؟   نعم   ☐   لا ☐

13- هل تتكلم (ين) هذه اللهجة؟   نعم   ☐   لا ☐

14- إن كان جوابك نعم، لأية درجة تتكلم (ين)ها؟

حسن جدا ☐   حسن ☐   متوسط ☐   سيء ☐

15- لأية درجة تفهم (ين)ها؟

حسن جدا ☐   حسن ☐   متوسط ☐   سيء ☐

16- هل تكلم / يتكلم أبوك أو أمك هذه اللهجة؟   نعم   ☐   لا ☐

17- هل تعرف بعض الكلمات أو العبارات بالأمازيغية المحلية؟

نعم   ☐   لا ☐

18- إن كان جوابك نعم، ماهي؟

-- ---------------------------------

19- هل تساند تدريس اللغة الأمازيغية بالمدرسة الابتدائية الكائنة بالخميس؟ ولماذا؟

نعم   ☐   لا ☐

شكرا...

Enquête - French Version

Effectué le __ / ___ / _____ **à** _____

Sexe du participant: Masculin ☐   **Féminin** ☐

De quel village? _____

Profession : _____

Votre âge: _____ **ans**

Lieu de naissance : _____

Votre niveau éducationnel : _____

Cher(e) participant,

Veuillez répondre les questions suivantes:

1. Comment vous appelez votre dialecte?

……………………………………………………………………………

2. Les autres gens dans cette région ou ceux qui ne sont pas de '*Beni Snous'*, ils vous appellent comment?

……………………………………………………………………………

3. Selon vous, quelle est l'origine du peuple de ce village (Khémis)?

………………………………………………………………………………

Dans quels villages parle-t-on un dialecte différent que le vôtre? (Cochez votre réponse.)

Tafessra   ☐   Zahra ☐   Beni Bahdel   ☐   Beni-Hammou   ☐

Beni-Achir   ☐   Ouled-Moussa   ☐   Ouled-Arbi ☐   Beni-Zidaz

Sid el Arbi   ☐ Mazzer   ☐   ☐

4. Dans ces villages, est-ce qu'ils parlent ce dialecte très différemment que vous?

Oui   ☐   Non   ☐

5 . Quelles sortes de différences existent entre votre dialecte et les autres (prononciation, vocabulaire, emprunts)? Donnez des exemples.

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

6 . Est-ce que tous les gens de 'Khémis' parlent de même façon? Les hommes? Les femmes? Les jeunes? Les plus âgés?)

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

7 . Changez-vous votre façon de parler avec quelqu'un qui parle un dialecte différent que le votre ?

Oui très souvent ☐   souvent   ☐   parfois   ☐   rarement ☐

non jamais   ☐

9. Où et pourquoi ?

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………..

10. Est-ce qu'il y a des villages à Beni-Snous où les gens parlent *un dialecte Berbère*?

Oui ☐   Non   ☐

Si oui, où?

…………………………………………………………………………

11. Dans ces villages, est-ce qu'ils parlent ce dialecte très différemment que les Kabyles?

Oui☐   Non ☐   Je ne sais pas ☐

12. Comment vous appelez ce dialecte berbère?

………………………………………………………………

13. Parlez-vous ce dialecte ?

Oui   ☐   Non ☐

14. Si oui, selon vous, comment parlez-vous ce dialecte ? (encerclez votre réponse)

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

15. Comprenez-vous ce dialecte?

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

16. Est-ce que votre père / mère parlent ce dialecte ?

Oui ☐   Non ☐

17. Savez-vous quelques mots ou expressions en Berbère (locale)?

Oui ☐   Non ☐

18. Si oui, les quel(le)s ?

………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………

19. Etes-vous pour l'enseignement de *la langue Amazighe* à l'école primaire à Khémis? Et pourquoi ?

………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

Merci !

<div style="border:1px solid">

Kh.A Survey – Translated English Version

Carried out on __ / ___ / _____ in _____

Gender of the participant: Male ☐   **Femal**☐

From which village? _____

Occupation : _____

Your age: _____ years old

Place of birth : _____

Your educational level : _____

</div>

Dear participant,

Please answer the following questions:

1. How do you name your Berber dialect?

   ....

2. How do the other people, who do not belong to the region of '*Khemis,* call you?

   ....

3. According to you, what is it the origin *of 'Khemis'* inhabitants??

   ....

4. In which village do you speak a dialect which is different than yours? (Tick your answer.)

   Tafessra   ☐ Zahra ☐   Beni Bahdel ☐ Beni-Hammou☐

   Beni-Achir   ☐ Ouled-Moussa   ☐ Ouled-Arbi   ☐   Beni-Zidaz
   Sid el Arbi   ☐ Mazzer   ☐   ☐

5. In these villages, do they speak this dialect differently than you?

   Yes   ☐   No   ☐

6. What sorts of differences are there between your dialect and the others' (in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, borrowings)? Give examples.

   ....

…………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………

7. Do all people in '*Khemis*' speak in the same way? Men? Women? Youngsters? and very old people?)

…………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………

8. Do you change your way of speaking when talking to someone who speaks a different dialect?

Yes very often ☐   Often ☐   Sometimes ☐   Rarely ☐   No never ☐

9. Where and why?

…………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………

10. Are there in any villages in 'Beni-Snous' where people speak a Berber dialect?

     Yes   ☐   No   ☐

     If yes, where?

     …………………………………………………………………

     11.   In these villages, do they speak this dialect differently than the Kabyles'?

     Yes   ☐   No ☐   I do not know   ☐

     12. How do you name this Berber dialect?

     …………………………………………………………………

     13. Do you speak this dialect?

     Yes ☐   No ☐

14. If yes, according to you, how well do you speak this dialect? (Encircle your answer)

   Very good   Good   Average   Bad

15. Do you understand this dialect?

   Very good   Good   Average   Bad

16. Does you father /mother speak this dialect?

   Yes ☐   No   ☐

 17. Do you know some words or expressions in local Tamazight?

Yes ☐   No   ☐

 18. If yes, what are they?

………………………………………………………………………………

…………................…………………………………………………………………

……………...............……………………………...…………………………………

19. Are you for teaching Tamazight in 'Khemis' primary school? and Why?

…………………....…………………………………………………..............................

....……………………………………………

Thanks!

APPENDIX 3-A-

Kh.A Questionnaire –A-

Arabic Version - استبيان - أ-

- ضع(ي) دائرة أمام الكلمة التي تستعملها غالبا (أضف(ي) أجوبة أخرى اذا احتجت الى ذلك)

*المتغيرات الفونولوجية:

1)المتغير (ق):

- قَعَدَ : قُعُدْ   قعُدْ   كُعُدْ

- قَتَلَ: قْتَلْ   كْتَلْ

- عَقَدَ : عُقُدْ   عْقدْ

- قط : قَطْ   قطْ   أطْ   كَطْ

2) المتغير (ج):

- عجوزة(أم الزوج) : عْجُوزَة   عْزُوزَة   عْقُوزَة

- جَوْز: جُوزْ   زُوزْ

- جِبْس: جَبْسْ   زَبْسْ   قْبْسْ

- جنازة: زنَازَة جَنَازَة   زَنَاجَة

- جزار: جَزّارْ   زَزّارْ   قزّارْ

- أعجز: نَعْجَزْ   نَعْزَزْ   نَعْقَزْ

- جِنْس: جَنْسْ   زَنْسْ   قِسْ

3) المتغير (ز):

- اِثْنان: زُوجْ   جُوجْ

- متزوجة: زَاوْجَة   جَاوْجَة   مَزَّوْجَة   مَتْزَوْجَة

4) المتغيرين (ث) و (ذْ):

- ثلج: ثَلْجْ   تَلْجْ

- ثوم: ثوم   تُومْ

- ذُل: ذَلْ   دَلْ

- هكذا: هَكْذَا   هَكْدَا

- كذلك: هَكْذَكْ   هَكْدَكْ

5) المتغير (ط):

- بطيخ: بَطِّيخْ   بَتِيخْ

- نَطَقَ: نْطَقْ   نْتَقْ

- طَلَّقَ (زوجته) :   طَلَّقْها   تَلّقْهَا

6) المتغير (ش):

- شمس: شَمْسْ   سَمْشْ   شَمْشْ

- شجرة: شْجْرَة   سَجْرَة

7) المتغيرين (ض) و(ظ)

- ضوء: ضو طو

- يمخض (الحليب): يمخض   يمخط

- يمضغ (طعاما): يمضغ   يمطغ

- يَعَضُّ:   يْعَضْ   يْعَطْ

- ضيف: ضِيفْ   طِيفْ

- ظهر: ظْهَرْ   طْهَرْ

- ظُفُر: ظْفَرْ   ضْفَرْ   طْفَرْ

* **المتغيرات المورفولوجية:**

1) المتغيرين {u-} و {ah-}:

- لَا تَضْرِبْهُ:   مَا ضَرْبَهْشْ   مَاضَرْبُوشْ

- وَلَدُهُ:   وَلْدُو   وَلْدَهْ

2) المثنى:

يوم: يُومِينْ   يُومَايْنْ

شهر: شَهْرِينْ   شَهْرَايْنْ

عام: عَامِينْ   عَامَايْنْ

- **أعط مثنى الكلمات التالية بالدارجة مع الضبط بالشكل حسب نطقها:**

يد: بنت:

رِجْل: كرسي:

عيْن: قط:

أذن: رَجُل:

3) الضمائر

- أنا: أنا   يَانَا

- نحن: حْنَا   حْنَايَ

ـ أنت: نْتَ   نْتِنَا   نْتِينْ

أنت: نْتِنَا   نْتِينْ

أنتما: نْتُومَا   نْتُومَانْ

أنتم: نْتُومَا   نْتُومَانْ

أنتن: نتوما   نتومان

هما/هم/هن :   هُومَا   هُومَانْ

4) كلمات التصغير

ـقط: قْطِيَطْ   قْطِيوَطْ

ـ صغير: صْغِيَرْ   صْغِيوَرْ

Translated Version of Kh.A Questionnaire A

Put a circle next to the word that often use (You may add other answers if you need to do so.)

*Phonological Variables:

1) The Variable (q):

-/qaʕada/ (he sits down): [qʕud]   [gʕud]

-/qatala/ (he killed):   [qtal]   [ktal]

- / ʕaqada / (he tied): [ʕqud]   [ʕgud]

- /qɪt/ (a cat):[qat]   [gat]   [ʔat]   [kat]

2) The Variable (dʒ):

- /ʕadʒu:za/ (mother-in-law): [ʕʒu:za] [ʕzu:za] [ʕgu:za]

- /dʒa ʊz(un)/ (walnuts): [ʒu:z]   [zu:z]

- /dʒɪbs(un)/ (plaster) :[ʒəbs]   [zəbs]   [gəbs]

- /dʒana:za/ (funeral):[zana:za]   [ʒana:za]   [zna:ʒa]

-/dʒazza:r/ (butcher): [ʒəzza:r]   [zəzza:r]   [gəzza:r]

-/ʔaʕdʒɪzu/ (I feel feeble): [naʕʒaz]   [naʕzaz]   [naʕgaz]

-/dʒɪns (un)/ (race): [ʒəns]   [zəns]   [gəns]

3) The Variable (z) :

-/ʔɪθna:nɪ/ (two):   [zu:ʒ]   [ʒu:ʒ]

-/mutazawwa/(a   married   (woman)):[za:wʒa]   [ʒa:wʒa]   [mazzawʒa]
[matzawʒa]

4) The Variables (θ) and (ð):

-/θaldʒ/ (snow): [θalʒ]   [talʒ]

-/θaʊm/ (garlic): [θu:m]   [tu:m]

-/ ðʊll(un) / (humiliation): [ðəll]   [dəll]

-/hakaða:/ (this way): [hakða]   [hakda]

-/kaðalɪka/ (that way): [hakðak]   [hakdak]

5) The Variable (t̪)

-/bat̪te:χ/ (melon): [bat̪te: χ]   [batti: χ]

-/nat̪ɑqa/ (he uttered): [nt̪ɑq]   [ntaq]

-/t̪ɑllaqaha/ (he divorced her): [t̪ɑllaqha]   [tallaqha]

6) The Variable (ʃ):

-/ʃams(un)/ (sun): [ʃams]   [samʃ]   [ʃamʃ]

-/ ʃadʒara/ (a tree): [ʃəʒra]   [səʒra]

 7) The Variable (ɖ) and (ɗ)

-/ɖaʊʔ(un) / (light): [ɖɖoː]   [ttoː]

-/ jamχuɖo/ (he churns (milk)): [jamχaɖ]   [jamχat]

-/jamɖoɣu/ (he chews): [jamɖɑɣ]   [jamtɑɣ]

-/jaʕaɖɖo/ (it bites): [jʕaɖ]   [jʕat]

-/ɖaɪf (un)/ (a guest): [ɖɖeːf]   [tte ːf]

-/ɗɑhr(un)/ (back): [ɗhɑr]   [thɑr]

-/ɗofrun/ (a nail): [ɗfar]   [tfar]

* Morphological Variables:

1) The {-} and {-ah} Variables:

-/laː taɖrɪbhu/ (do not hit him): [maɖɑrbuː ʃ]   [maɖɑrbahʃ]

-/waladuhu/ (his son): [waldu]   [waldah]

2) Dual nouns:

-/jaʊm / (a day): [juːmi ːn]   [juːmæjən]

- /ʃahr/ (a month) : [ʃɑhriːn]   [ʃɑhræjən]

-/ʕaːm/ (a year) : [ʕamiːn]   [ʕamæjən]

-Give the dual form of the following words in dialectal form with putting *(ħarakat)* **on sounds:**

[jad]: "hand"   [bənt] : "a girl"

[rɪʒl] : "foot"   [kursɪ] : "a chair"

[ʕajn] : "eye"   [qɪt̪t̪] : " a cat"

 [raʒul] : "a man"   [ʔuðun] : "ear".

3) Pronouns

-/ana:/ (I) : [ana]   [jana]

-/naħnu/ (we) : [ħna]   [ħna:ja]

–/anta/ (you (sing.masc)) : [nta]   [ntɪna]   [nti:n]

-/antɪ/ (you (sing.fem.) : [ntɪna]   [nti:n]

-/antuma:/(you (dual. masc/fem.)) :   [ntu:ma]   [ntu:man]

-/antum/ (you (pl. masc.)): [ntu:ma]   [ntu:man]

-/antu'nna/ (you (pl. fem.)): [ntu:ma] [ntu:man]

-/huma :/ (they (dual. masc/fem)) : [huma] [huma:n]

-/hum/ (they(pl.masc.)): [huma]   [huma:n]

-/hu'nna/ (they (pl.fem.)) : [huma] [huma:n]

4) Diminutives:

/qɪt̪/ (little cat): [qt̪ejjət̪]   [qt̪e:wət̪]

[ʂɤe:wər] (very small): [ʂɤɪjjər]   [ʂɤɪwər]

Kh.A Questionnaire B

Arabic Version - استبيان - ب-

ـ أجب(ي) عن الأسئلة التالية و ضع (ي) جوابك في دائرة:

الإسم واللقب: -------------------------------------- مكان الإقامة : ------------
----

المهنة: --------------------- السن: ------------ المستوى التعليمي: ---------
---

1ـ ماهو مستوى تكلُّمك للّغة العربية الفصحى؟

سيء   متوسط   حسن   حسن جدا

2ـ ماهو مستوى فهمك للّغة العربية الفصحى ؟

سيء   متوسط   حسن   حسن جدا

3ـ هل تتكلم (ين) اللّغة الفرنسية؟   نعم   لا

4 ـ إن كان جوابك نعم، لأي درجة تتكلم (ين)ها؟

سيء   متوسط   حسن   حسن جدا

5ـ إن كان جوابك نعم، لأي درجة تفهم (ين)ها؟

سيء   متوسط   حسن   حسن جدا

6ـ أين تتكلم (ين) اللّغة الفرنسية؟

مع الأصدقاء   في الطرقات   في العمل   في البيت

أو في أماكن أخرى؟ أذكرها --

7ـ لأية درجة تتكلَّم (ين) الفرنسية؟

مطلقاً   نادراً   أحياناً   غالباً   بكثرة

8ـ هل تمزج بين اللّغة العربية و اللّغة الفرنسية في حديثك اليومي؟   نعم   لا

9- إن كان جوابك نعم، لأيّة درجة ؟

بكثرة   غالباً   أحياناً   نادراً   مطلقاً

10- بأيّة لغة تفضل (ين) قراءة الجرائد؟

اللّغة العربية الفصحى   اللّغة الفرنسية

11- بأيّة لغة تفضل (ين) الاستماع إلى المذياع ؟

اللّغة العربية الفصحى   اللّغة الفرنسية

12 - بأيّة لغة تفضل (ين) مشاهدة التلفاز؟

اللّغة العربية الفصحى   اللّغة الفرنسية

شكرا.

Kh.A Questionnaire B   - French Version

Effectué le___/___/___/ à _____

Nom et prénom du participant: _____

Profession : _____

De quel village? _____

Votre âge: _____ ans

Cher(e) participant(e),

Veuillez répondre aux questions suivantes et encerclez votre réponse:

1/ Selon vous, comment parlez-vous l'Arabe Standard ?

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

2/ Comprenez-vous l'Arabe Standard?

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

3/ Parlez-vous le Français?

Oui   Non

4/ Si oui, parlez-vous le Français:

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

5/ Comprenez-vous le Français :

Trés bien   bien   moyen   mauvais

6/ Où parlez-vous le Français?

À la maison   au travail   dans les rues   entre amis

Ailleurs? ....

7/ Utilisez-vous le Français:

Très souvent   souvent   parfois   rarement   jamais

8/ Mélangez-vous l'Arabe et le Français?

Oui   Non

9/ Si oui :

Très souvent   souvent   parfois   rarement   jamais

10/ En quelle langue préférez-vous lire les journaux?

L'Arabe Standard   le Français

11/ En quelle langue préférez-vous écouter la radio?

L'Arabe Standard   le Français

12/ En quelle langue préférez-vous regarder la télévision?

L'Arabe Standard   le Français

Merci !

Translated Version of Questionnaire B

Carried out on __/___/___in_____

Name of participant: _____

Profession : _____

Place of residence : _____

Age: _____ years old.

Dear participant,

Would you answer the following questions? Please circle your answer.

1/ How well do you speak Standard Arabic / *"el-lugha el-fusha"*?

   Well   good   average   bad

2/ How well do you understand it?

   Well   good   average   bad

3/ Do you speak French in everyday speech?

   Yes   No

4/ If yes, how well do you speak it?

   Well   good   average   bad

5/ How well do you understand it?

   Well   good   average   bad

6/ Where do you use French?

   At home - at work - among friends - in streets

Elsewhere? ....

7/ When speaking, how often do you use French?

Very often   often   sometimes   rarely   never

8/ In everyday speech, do you mix both Arabic and French?

Yes   No

9/ If yes, how often?

Very often   often   sometimes   rarely   never

10/ In which language do you prefer reading newspapers?

Standard Arabic   French

11/ In which language do you prefer listening to radio?

Standard Arabic   French

12/ In which language do you prefer watching television?

Standard Arabic   French

Thanks!

'BZ' Pilot Study

This table gathers questions which have been raised for the pilot study. It involves the seven questions raised in the researcher's Arabic dialect and its translated version.

Dialectal Arabic Version	**Translated Questions**
1. /bəʂʂɑħ 'Beni Zidaz' jhadro Tamazight? /	1/ Is it right that 'BZ' inhabitants speak Tamazight?
2. / kɪ tsəmmɪ had əllahʒa el amazi:ɣija ?/	2/ How do you name this Berber dialect?
3. /ʃku:n əlli jahdarha? /	3/ Who speaks it?
4. /jhadroha nsa w rʒa:l ?/	4/ Do both men and women speak it?
5. /w dra:rɪ homa tanɪ jhadroha ?/	5/ Do children speak it too?
6. / jhadroha dajman ? /	6/ Do they usually speak it?
7. / fajən jhadroha bazzef ? /	7/ Where do they frequently speak it?

'BZ' Survey -A- in Arabic

الجنس: ذكر ☐   أنثى ☐
مكان الإقامة : -------------------   مكان الميلاد: ------------------------
السن: ------------------   المهنة: ----------   المستوى التعليمي: ------------------

من

فضلك أجب عن الأسئلة التالية:

1/ هل تتكلم (بين الأمازيغية ؟   نعم   لا

2/ هل تذكر أن آباءك وأجدادك كانوا يتكلمونها بطلاقة؟   نعم   لا

3 / هل توجد هذه الشلحة بالقرى المجاورة؟   نعم   لا

إن كان جوابك نعم ماهي؟

....

4/ هل يتكلم كل ساكنيها الشلحة؟ رجال؟ نساء؟ صغار وكبار؟

....

5/ هل يوجد قرى أين يتكلم ساكنوها لهجة أو لهجات أخرى إلى جانب الشلحة؟

نعم   لا

6/ هل يتكلم ساكنو هذه القرى المجاورة الشلحة مثلكم؟   نعم   لا

7/ إن كان جوابك باختلاف هل تفهمهم؟   نعم   لا

8/ ماالذي يميز شلحتك عن لهجاتهم من خلال النطق ، المفردات ... ؟

....

9/ هل يفهم أطفال المنطقة متكلمي الشلحة ؟   نعم   لا

10/ أين تتكلم الشلحة ؟ مع من؟ ولماذا؟

....

11/هل تفهم القنوات المذاعة بالأمازيغية (في المذياع أو التلفاز) ؟   نعم   لا

12/ من بين اللهجات الأمازيغية الجزائرية ، ما التي تجدها أصعب فهما؟

....

13/ وماهي الأسهل فهما؟

....

14/ بأية لهجة تحب أن تتكلم؟   الشلحة ☐   لهجتك العربية ☐

15/ بالنسبة لك، ماهي أجمل لهجة؟

الشلحة ☐   لهجتك العربية ☐

16/ ما أكثر اللهجات تعبيرا؟

الشلحة ☐   لهجتك العربية ☐

شكرا

Translated Version of 'BZ' Survey

> Carried out on _____ in _____ at _____
>
> Name of Participant: _____
>
> Place of residence: _____
>
> Age: _____ years old.
>
> Place of birth: _____

Dear participant,

You are kindly asked to answer the following questions:

1/Do you speak Tamazight? Yes   No

2/Do you remember if your parents and grand-parents were speaking it fluently?   Yes   No

3/Is it spoken in the other neighbouring villages?   Yes   No

If yes, what are they?

....

On a map, the researcher *circles* the villages where this BZBV is used, puts *parentheses* around the name of village where the interviewee is **not** certain whether its speakers speak this dialect or not.

4/Do all people in those villages speak this dialect? Men? Women? Youngsters? and very old people?

....

5/Are there any villages where your dialect is spoken in parallel with another dialect / other dialects?   Yes   No

If yes, what are they?

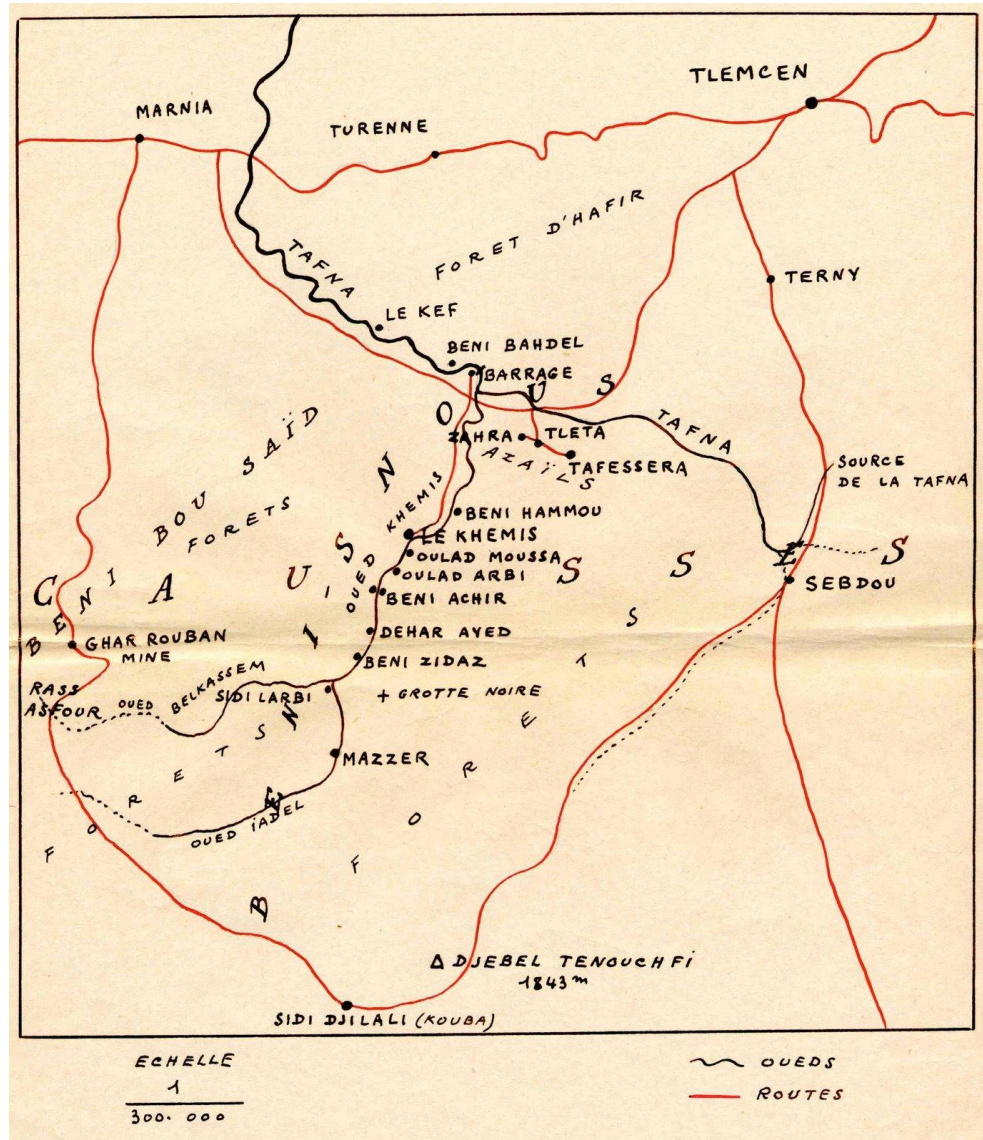...

On the map again, the researcher puts square brackets on the villages where the interviewee is certain that those villages' speakers make use of many different dialects to draw / determine the linguistic boundaries of the EB V under study.

6/Among the neighbouring villages where it is spoken, do they speak exactly like you?   Yes   No

7/If differently, do you understand them?   Yes   No

8/What distinguishes your variety from theirs? I mean in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary ...etc.

....

9/Do children here (in *'Beni Zidaz'*) well understand the *'Shluh'* interlocutors?   Yes   No

10/Where do you best speak this 'Shelha' variety? With whom? and why?

....

11/When listening to Tamazight channels on radio or TV, do you understand them?   Yes   No

12/Which Algerian Berber variety do you find very difficult to be understood?

....
13/Which one do you easily understand?
....
14/In what variety do you most like to speak?
 'Shelha' ☐   Your local Arabic dialect   ☐

15/According to you, which variety is most beautiful?

 'Shelha' ☐   Your local Arabic dialect   ☐

16/Which variety is most expressive?

 'Shelha'☐   Your local Arabic dialect ☐

Thank you !

'BZ' Geographical Map

Source : Roger Bellissant – Les Béni-Snous, 1941.   tafna.wordpress.com/

Retrieved   from: https://www.vitaminedz.org/carte-des-beni-snous-1941/Photos_140_48010_13_1.html

'BZ' Semi-structured Interviews

'BZ' Informants have been asked to name the following things in their local '*Shelha*':

- Names of colours
- Agricultural matters
- Names of all sorts of vegetables and fruits
- All types of food
- Names of animals
- Names of clothes
- Names of home/ kitchen utensils
- Words related to water and weather

Summary

Summary

This thesis revolves around investigating the linguistic development of *'Beni Snous'* dialects from their ancient Berber variety to today's Arabic dialects, through fundamentally studying some particularities of sociolinguistic variation in the variety spoken by the members of *'Khemis'* speech community in *'Beni Snous'*. It also tries to shed light on some aspects of language maintenance and language shift in this area, with a particular focus on the 'Endangered Berber Variety' in the village of *'Beni Zidaz'*, as the sole region where its Berber variety could persist. This research is basically founded on a corpus that is gathered by many research instruments and procedures such as: directed assisted surveys, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, note-taking and tape-recordings. Based on qualitative and quantitative approaches, the data obtained have been analyzed, and then interpreted following both ethnographic perspectives and sociolinguistic models of language maintenance and shift.

This thesis has been divided into six main chapters. The major aim of chapter one is to review some essential key-concepts that are tightly related to this sociolinguistic research work, and which are conceived to be helpful in setting a conceptual or theoretical framework to this thesis, and consequently, contributes to a better understanding of the core of this piece of research at one hand. On the other hand, social explanations are to be added to the structure of language supplying a better comprehension of the intricate relationship between linguistic structure and social structure in general, and of the intersection of social attributes with language use both in time and space in the area under investigation in particular. Accordingly, within the content of this thesis, a general historical background have been sketched out at first, and second, a linguistic trajectory of the development of 'BS' dialects is traced showing some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of *'Khemis'*.

The second chapter aims at reviewing a literature background about the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift as two broad

sociolinguistic terms in general, and which are thought to be helpful to highlight the linguistic situation in the micro-speech community of 'BZ' as an Algerian Berberophone province in particular. At first, it attempts to provide brief definitions about the concepts of 'Minority Language' and 'Endangered Languages', with reference to 'the degrees or levels of endangerment' which a given threatened language may go through. In this chapter, a clear-cut distinction is also drawn between these two concepts as used in a bi-/multi-lingual environment in a language contact setting.

The third chapter contains two main parts. The first one sketches out the Algerian speech community; it offers a geographical, socio-historical and demographic background of Algeria by tracing its historical trajectory before the Arab conquest, then, describing the status of the French language during the French colonial period, and at last, shedding light on language policy during the post-independence era, portraying mainly the position of Berber in relation to the arabicisation policy that was launched in the Algerian administrative institutions and in the educational system right after independence. The second part highlights today's linguistic situation which is taken as an introduction to shed light on the linguistic realities in the context under study. That is, a review about language repertoires, the conflicting interplay between these languages and the subsequent linguistic phenomena that result from their contact is held for this purpose.

The fourth chapter both methodological and analytical in nature aims at drawing the methodology design followed in this ethno-sociolinguistic investigation. It describes the research field tools that are used for collecting representative and reliable data about the EBV under study - BZBV. It also introduces a description of this research sampling; it describes BZBV respondents in terms of age, gender, parents' language, occupation, type of their linguistic contact and their educational level. Then at last this chapter provides a comprehensive explanation of the adopted models in studying the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift in language contact situations in general: Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance (1966) and Ralph Fasold's

(1984) view about language shift to check their applicability to the current speech community.

In the fifth chapter, the researcher's main aim is to show some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in the speech community of '*Khemis*' through investigating the correlation of Kh.A salient linguistic variables with some extra-linguistic or social variables such as, the age of the speakers, gender, educational level. However, before exhibiting the obtained results, a large space is devoted to depict the methodological design which has been chosen to undertake this sociolinguistic exploration, in addition to a detailed account of Kh.A representative subjects who participated during the data gathering phase. At last, the data collected have been analysed and interpreted in its final sections in correspondence with the Labovian paradigm correlating linguistic variables with extra-linguistic ones at one hand. On the other hand, the same aforementioned models of language maintenance and shift adopted in chapter four have been used to check to what extent Berber features are kept in Kh.A.

After the analysis of data in chapter four, the researcher found that Fishman's model and typology of language maintenance is applicable in the present study. It fact, the findings proved that Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance is not only applicable to immigrant groups or minorities, but also to minority vs. majority language speech communities. Level 8 in his GIDS of language endangerment fits the linguistic situation in 'BZ'. At this level, the language is spoken by a limited number of old speakers who cannot even recall much vocabulary or syntactic structures and therefore, described as passive speakers (Fishman 1991: 88). Resolution 1 also fits this community in which the ML loses to the majority one. As far as Gile's *et.al* set of factors is concerned, the results obtained demonstrate that the majority of the stated factors do exist in the community under investigation and eventually led to language shift. Moreover, Ralph Fasold's (1984) first view that some communities though they had the same factors leading to language shift, they exhibited a trait of conservatism and maintained their native languages has been infirmed because in this community, the stated factors did contribute to its speakers'

inclination towards the majority language. His second view, however, was confirmed as 'BZ' speakers show no positive attitude towards the maintenance of this BV. In this current modern and globalized world, families, especially parents, in 'BZ' are not interested to maintain the use of this ethnic variety. Their endangered BV enjoys a meager chance in those last speakers' verbal repertoire and in daily life interactions, and they also exhibit no positive attitude to claim their linguistic right to speak it and maintain its existence. This appears in the fact that they ceased to pass it on to their infants and currently speak their local Arabic dialect.

In the fifth chapter, the results confirmed the researcher's first and second hypotheses which concern the first question about how 'BS' dialects in general evolved through time to become the current Arabic varieties, and the second one about the reasons that prompted 'BS' Berber tribes, in general to accept the arabizing expeditions of the 7th and 11th centuries and the Algerian Arabicization policy launched right after independence. As a proposed answer to these questions, she has hypothesized that 'BS' varieties which are historically proved to be of a Berber origin; Zenati tribes, as many historical references show, evolved through generations and underwent various political (the arabicization policy, its inhabitants' immigration due to terrorism in the 1990's), recent economic and social developments in this era of globalization, which led to the abandonment of their speech medium. Historically speaking, they were first arabized as they willingly embraced Islam (Betahila, 1983), then by the Algerian Arabicization policy which promoted the use of MSA as the majority language in all sectors of life, in addition to the factor of literacy in schools and mosques which underpinned the learning of CA. As the findings reveal, historical, political, and individualistic determinants are behind language shift in 'BS'; these facts little by little reduced the functions of local Berber and reinforced the use of local Arabic dialects.

Concerning the third research question which inquires about the linguistic consequences of Arabi(ci)zation in the area under investigation, or in other ethnographic terms, to what extent the native Berberophones in 'BS' succeeded to maintain their own linguistic features (and by whom and where?) , it is important to

repeat that the already mentioned historical, cultural and political changes resulted in this dramatic language shift to the extent that all Berberophones in 'BS are' arabized and just those five old speakers rarely use their native BV in private settings among themselves, yet ceased to pass it on to their children. This means, since there is no intergenerational transmission and no natural context for learning this language, from a sociolinguistic standpoint, it is safe to consider this BV as a severely endangered language. This result confirms the researcher's third hypothesis in chapter four. Regarding to what extent the native Berber features are maintained along the region of 'BS', the results argued that the already mentioned historical, cultural and political changes that the area has witnessed caused a dramatic language shift to the extent that most speakers of BZBV have been arabized and only few old speakers, males and females, know or speak their native BV in private settings among themselves, and ceased to pass it on to the next generation, which neither speaks nor understands their ancestral medium of communication. Hence, from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, it is regarded as 'a severely *endangered* language'.

In her attempt to unveil the linguistic characteristics of Kh.A, the researcher has formulated a hypothesis which suggests that like any AA dialect, this dialect involves its specific urban dialect features (phonological, morphological and lexical) which make of it a distinct variety that differs, at all linguistic levels, from its surrounding varieties, mainly those of a rural type. Indeed, the results showed that Kh.A enjoys a set of urban dialects' characteristics that are different from its adjacent dialects at different levels. Concerning the correlation of its variables with extra-linguistic ones, Kh.A speech is characterized by variation. People do not speak the same way; males' speech differs from females', and their language use varies according to the age, gender and the educational level of individuals. Male informants are more conservative than women who exhibited some trait of shift towards the use of many standard phonological variants. At the morphological level, '*Khemis*' speech is marked by the loss of many native pronouns as the results show. Then, as far as lexis is concerned, most speakers, if not all, seem to retain the

majority of their native features even with non-khemis individuals in 'BS' or outside this valley. These aforementioned results confirmed the researcher's second hypothesis put forward about whether men and women speak alike or not.

Concerning the possible reasons behind such sociolinguistic variation in such a small geographical area ('*Khemis*') surrounded by villages speaking rural Arabic varieties, one may conclude that language varies in correspondence with the previously stated parameters in addition to the historical events that the area passed through, its geographical unrest, and the rural-urban migration that the area has witnessed in the last few decades, especially during the decade of terrorism. These factors all contribute to language contact phenomena.

As an answer to the fifth question raised about Kh.A which is meant with whether '*Khemis*' speakers will keep their trait of conservatism that they have displayed few years ago (2009), the results reveal that this community's repertoire continuously witnesses change as languages incessantly diffuse within this globalized world and the constant advances in technological, cultural and socio-economic fields of life. For instance, MSA and French as two influencing languages coexisting with Kh.A impose some of their characteristics which widely appear in the adaptation of phonetic sounds, morphological structures and vocabulary borrowings leading to an intricate bilingual and diglossic setting. This linguistic situation, has also led to losing the vitality of 'BS' ancestral BV under the pressure of its daily co-existence with the country's majority language MSA, and it may be also attributable to other determinants that are political, socio-economic, psychological and cultural in nature.

Moreover, the sixth chapter proved that Kh.A speakers have a command of both Arabic and French, but with varying degrees of proficiency since their competences correlate with education and age. Their Berber persists and is still embodied in some names of places, names of food, body organs, animals..., and all things attached to their rural or agricultural lifestyle. Like all AA dialects, Kh.A has a rich phonetic system and a huge bulk of vocabulary thanks to borrowing from

many languages due to the successive historical invasions and conquests that Algeria has gone through. Nowadays, Kh.A started to lose some of its idiosyncratic phonological and morphological aspects mainly because of education and the fact of realizing the misuse of some variants. As data analysis demonstrates, its speakers show no tendency to accommodate to the other neighbouring dialects available in 'BS'. The only few claims about accommodation translate their necessity to raise the degree of mutual intelligibility with foreigners outside 'BS' in day-to-day communicative events. So, these speakers can be safely described as having a trait of conservatism and loyalty towards their own speech.

What is striking as a result is that , unlike many attitudes cited in dialectological and variationist studies (Otto Jesperson (1922); Wartburg (1925); Pop (1950); Labov (1998, 2001),…etc) concerning the trait of conservatism among women in speech, women in '*Khemis*', as the results unveil, began to correct some native misused phonological variants due to the factor of education. In fact, this finding infirms what has been hypothesized that Kh.A female speakers are very conservative and will not show any sign of variation.

At last, one may wrap up this research work by saying that the contact between urban and rural varieties exercises a minor influence on this community's Arabic dialect mainly phonologically. As far as its contact with MSA and French, one can undoubtedly claim that these two languages profoundly influenced the native BV of '*Khemis*' linguistic medium resulting in its arabicization and in the huge load of French borrowings attested in the speech of individuals at varying degrees of proficiency. These results prove that the researcher's hypothesis of the fifth question is also confirmed.

Concerning the applicability of the adopted approaches and models in this thesis, the findings obtained prove that Labov's paradigm is applicable to this community at one hand. On the other hand, in tracing the linguistic development of language use and change in the area of '*Khemis*', checking to what extent its ancient BV is maintained, Fishman's model of language typology and maintenance which

was adopted appears to be also applicable since there is no fluent speaker of Berber in '*Khemis*' due to the minority vs. majority relationship between Kh.A and MSA. As far as Fasold's view about language change, the results infirmed the applicability of his view that in some communities despite the fact that they had the same attributes (Giles *et al.* 1970) leading to language shift, their speakers exhibited a trait of conservatism and maintained their native languages because in '*Khemis*', those stated factors contributed to its speakers' tendency towards the majority language. Nonetheless, Fasold's second viewpoint was confirmed as '*Khemis*' speakers displayed a negative attitude towards teaching Tamazight in school. This is an argument for their desire to neither retain their ancestral ethnic variety nor revive it.

As any research work, this study has limitations. Like any sociolinguist engaged in the intricacies of language maintenance and shift, one may wonder whether applying a real-time approach on this variety will offer more profound insights into the speech community under exploration. The second question to be raised at the end of this thesis is: as far as this EBV is concerned, will language planners and decision makers devote some efforts in the near future for language documentation and revitalization, or it will die with the death of its last speaker?

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Articles in this Issue

AN ENDANGERED ZENATI DIALECT: EXPLORING THE USE OF SOME SURVIVING LEXICAL WORDS AMONG 'BENI ZIDAZ' OLD PEOPLE IN 'BENI SNOUS'

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ABSTRACT

The present paper endeavours to review, through a preliminary investigation in the region of 'Beni Snous', and exactly in a village called 'Beni Zidaz', some surviving Berber (Zenati) lexical words that are up to now preserved in the vocabulary bulk of a limited number of old people. It fundamentally seeks to uncover the nature of those words that are articulated side by side with the Arabic dialect of this category of people, and it further explores the contexts where they are uttered and with whom they are used. The data collected have been mainly interpreted qualitatively. After the analysis, this Zenati variety has been identified as a 'Severely Endangered Language' that is solely used by few aged speakers who are all members of the grandparent generation and up.

Keywords: 'Beni Zidaz' community, Endangered Language, 'Tamazight', Surviving lexical words.

INTRODUCTION

Considering the Berbers as the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa in general, their different linguistic varieties, from the Afro-asiatic language family, persisted and are still spoken throughout many regions in spite of their long co-existence with the Arabic varieties of *Arab Fatihins* (especially *Banu Hilal*), during the 7th, 8th and 11th centuries, who implanted many urban and bedouin Arabic dialects in the Maghrebi countries in general. (Millon C. (1937), Cantineau J. (1938-1939-1940), and Marçais Ph. (1960)) For instance, the Algerian Berber language, with its distinct dialects, is still used in many regions along the Algerian territory. The major Berber groups are the 'Kabylia' mountains east of Algiers, the 'Chaouia' of the Aures south of Constantine, and in many scattered regions in the southern part of the country, including 'Mzab' and 'Touareg'…etc. In fact, these Berber varieties have been maintained in those Algerian regions despite the widespread arabization and the reinforcement of its policies that have been launched right after the independence.

Yet, in some mountainous areas such as 'Beni Snous'; an agricultural region that is situated in the western part of Tlemcen, where geo-demographic unrest particularly maintains the local dialects in use unstable, only few old speakers speak a Berber variety in specific contexts; a fact that represents the core of this sociolinguistic investigation and will be revealed in the details below.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Indeed, the current paper attempts to review, through a preliminary investigation in this region, and exactly in a village called 'Beni Zidaz', which is situated some kilometers south

'Beni Snous', some surviving Berber (Zenati) lexical words that are up to now preserved in the vocabulary bulk of a limited number of old people. It also seeks to unveil the nature of those words that are articulated side by side with the Arabic dialects of this old category of people, and it further explores the settings where they are uttered and with whom they are used. In doing so, the present investigation aims fundamentally at assembling the available oral data for constituting a Berber dictionary of such an 'Endangered' Tamazight of 'Beni Snous' as an effort to preserve its linguistic heritage which involves, reflects and perpetuates the socio-historical realities, and the cultural patrimony of this society. In reality, the anthropo-linguist Edmond Destaing was the pioneer in studying the Berber dialects of Beni Snous in 1907 when he wrote a book entitled: *Etude sur le dialecte Berbère des Beni Snous* in which he studied both the phonology and the morphology of these varieties in comparison with other Algerian Berber dialects, and another dictionary exposing its rich Zenati vocabulary bulk, labelled: *Dictionnaire Français-Berbère (Dialecte des Beni Snous)* in 1914.

But, before exhibiting the results of the present study, a geo-historical overview is offered at first to better localize the speech community under investigation. Then, some key-concepts such as: an endangered language, degrees and levels of endangerment, which are thought to be relevant to this sociolinguistic topic, are roughly exposed, besides a detailed research design is presented for showing the research tools which were opted for to carry out this study. Furthermore, the informants who participated in conducting the interviews are also described.

'BENI SNOUS': A GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

'Beni Snous', according to the colonial anthropologist Canal, J. (1891), was a confederation of three parts: 'El-Kaf', 'El-Azails', and 'Khemis'.

❖   'El-Kaf' contains the village of 'El-Kaf' itself and eight "*douars*". The majority of its inhabitants were Arabs living in tents.

❖   'El-Azails' comprising four villages: 'Zahra', 'Tafessra', 'Tleta', and 'Beni Bahdel'.

❖   'Khemis' contains fourteen villages such as, 'Ouled Hammou', 'Khemis', 'Beni Zidaz', 'Dar Ayyad', 'Ouled Bouchamma', 'Beni Achir', 'Ouled Zfizef', 'Ouled Moussa', 'Ouled Arbi', 'Ziahira', 'Aghraouane', 'Ouled Chayeb', 'Ouled Ali' and *douar* 'Edwebra', in addition to 'Mazzer' that is isolated from 'Khemis', and forms itself a village comprising two *douars*: '*Zawiat* Sidi Ahmed' and '*Zawiat* Ouled Ben Ammar'.

The confederation of 'Beni Snous' occupies a large piece of the mountains of 'Tafna Valley' (*Oued Tafna*) in addition to the valley of 'Khemis' (*Oued El-Khamis*) which wells from the 'Mchamich' mountains in the Moroccan frontiers. It is bordered by 'Beni Boussaïd' in the West, 'Beni Hédial' in the North, 'Sebdou' and 'Sidi Djilali' in the East, and the 'Mchamich' mountains along the Moroccan border in the South-West.

As this paper is interested in 'Beni Snous' society in particular, accurate information are to be presented about the history of this region. One may raise the following question: Were its inhabitants Arabs, Berbers or of other races?

During tackling the present research, we have found some papers which talked about the Tlemcenian families in general, and the works of some sociologists who dealt with few historical facts about the region of 'Beni Snous' in particular. In addition, other colonial

anthropologists, especially Edmond Destaing, whose works were mainly linguistic, have been also consulted as it has already been stated. The anthropologist Canal, J. (1890:390-405) stated that 'Beni Snous' dwellers are Berbers; members of a Zenati tribe, related to their land, and cannot accept easily any foreign interference in their lives. According to Edmond Destaing (1907: XXIII), this region was occupied by the Dryites (hommes de chènes), in the 8th century, from a Berber tribe called: 'Beni Habib'. The traces which still perpetuate the existence of this tribe are not rare; they are still embodied as souvenirs in this area's legends. Canal, J. (1890: 64)

As a matter of fact, the Berber inhabitants of 'Beni Habib' were converted to Islam thanks to Mouley Idris. But later, these have been cursed by Sidi Ouariach, and left to Morocco. E. Destaing (ibid) Then, some tribes coming from Figuig have established in their lands near the region of 'Khemis'. Destaing (1907: ibid)

Destaing (1907: XXIV) asserted that the Arab geographers have never mentioned the *Beni Snoussi*. Léon l'africain and Marmol have only written some details about 'Tafna Valley' and 'Tafessera'. Yet, Ibn Khaldoun's historical book: *El ibar* just states that the tribe of 'Beni Snous' belongs to a Zenati tribe called: '*Banu Koumia*'; the mother tribe of Abd El-Moumen Ben Ali, the real founder of Ed-dawla El-Mowahhidia, in the 12th century. In that century and *after the* departure of '*Banu Koumia*' to Morocco, 'Beni Snous' got in touch, later, with the family of Yaghmoracen during the *13th century. Bell, A. translated by Hamdaoui*, M.M. (2000:51-102)

In the middle of the 14th century, seizing the decline of the Abdelouadites, Obeid Allah, from the Malikian tribe, established first in the Tell, in the area stretching from Tlemcen to Ouadjda, and forced the sultan to grant them Ouadjda, Nedromah, the Beni Izenacen, Mediouna, and Beni Snous, in addition to the taxes that these regions got used to pay. René Basset (1902: 14-15)

In 955 heg.; (1548-1549), when Sidi Abderrahmane El Yaaquoubi tried to form a league against the Christians, the Cheikhs of 'Beni Snous' signed the act of union with those of the Angads, the Traras and the Madgharah. René Basset (1902: 57) In 1061 heg.; (1691), the Moroccan chief of the second dynasty of *Chorfas,* Mouley Mohammed Echerif, after devastating the territory of Beni Izenacen submitted to Beni Snoussi and Ouled Zekri. René Basset (1902: 16) Their second invasion, which took place in 1089 heg.; (1678), was conducted by Mouley Ismail who invaded the whole western part and reached what is known nowadays as Chlef.

The Turkish era knew frequent famines, and the Turkish themselves had left very bad souvenirs in 'Beni Snous'; as its inhabitants were obliged to pay to "Kaïd Labled" a tribute of sixteen horses and a considerable quantity of beautiful weaved carpets. Walsin Esterhazy (1840:271)

During the French occupation and starting from 1842, the majority of 'Beni Snous' villages were under the French authority. Its inhabitants like all Algerians resisted against the French colonizer and they have also participated in the revolution till independence.

Nowadays, this area occupies a surface of 3700 hectars and comprises 20 villages scattered on the foot of its mountains. 'Khemis' and 'El Fahs' represent the most important villages which comprise all administrative, socio-economic and cultural institutions which are

common places where 'Beni Snous' dwellers meet for daily life practices. 'Beni Zidaz', which is the speech community where this study took place, is located some kilometers far from 'Khemis'.

DEGREES/ LEVELS OF ENDANGERMENT

Broadly speaking, an Endangered Language is a language or a linguistic variety that is at risk of falling out of use as its speakers die out or shift to speaking another language. The level of endangerment of the threatened languages is measured in different ways throughout the world and as an example; the following table reviews the degree of endangerment and the speaker population focusing on the age/generation, domain of use, and the number of individuals speaking any endangered language:

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
Safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
Definitely endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
Critically endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
Extinct	0	There exists no speaker.

Table 1/ Levels of Endangerment
(Table adapted from: Moseley, Christopher, ed. (2010). *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edition.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing)

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To carry out this study, some interviews have been conducted with some informants to check the availability and retention of Tamazight words in their vocabulary bulk.

Description of the Informants

On the whole, most of the data were collected in the participants' homes where they felt comfortable to respond to the questions being raised. The informants who took part in this research were 5 participants; 3 males and 2 females who are originally from 'Beni Zidaz' (hereafter B.Z), and who spent all their lives in this area. Their age ranges from 60 to 90 years old. These informants speak both dialectal Arabic and a Tamazight variety; however, this latter is spoken with varied degrees of proficiency in particular settings and with particular speakers as their speeches demonstrate. Female speakers spent their whole lives as housewives who master many hand crafts. Male informants, on the other hand, were all land labourers.

Basic Data Gathering Instruments: Interviews and Tape-recordings

Due to the fact that this category of people is illiterate, the researchers have opted for an interview that has been conducted in the Arabic dialectal variety to avoid any misunderstanding and to facilitate the task of assembling the necessary oral data for undertaking this study. These interviews were at the same time recorded so that they could not miss any Berber word uttered by those old informants. Later, the obtained data were transcribed and classified according to their nature, then, represented in the form of tables as it will be shown in the analysis.

The Structure of the Interview

For the sake of gathering the data, the researchers employed a semi-structured interview accompanied with an interview guide prepared, which was essentially an informal grouping of words and questions that could be asked in different ways for the five participants. The informants were asked whether they still use or remember a set of words which were mainly about every day greetings, kitchen utensils, names of colours, animals, food (vegetables and fruits...), clothes, and days of the week, in addition to other words which were provided spontaneously by informants during the interview.

DATA ANALYSIS & RESULTS

After recording the interviews, the whole oral data have been attentively listened to and transcribed phonetically, then finally, classified according to the nature of each lexical element. The following section exposes the analysis of the data collected:

Speaking B.Z Tamazight: With Whom? and Where?

The analysis of the recorded data has shown that all informants speak Tamazight in their village, but only with old people (both men and women); either their parents or their grandparents, who are the only fluent speakers in this Zenati variety which is mostly mixed with their region's dialectal Arabic. Moreover, they also assert that the young generation neither speaks it nor understands the old persons when addressing to them, i.e., they solely interact in their Arabic local dialect. Therefore, the obtained data reveal that the Berber speech spoken in B.Z nowadays is on the way of falling out of use at an accelerating rate as it is spoken, just in an increasingly reduced contexts, among groups of aged people whose Tamazight variety ceased to be passed on to their children. Thus, there are no novel speakers; adults or children. Accordingly, one may safely state that this dialect is classified as a *'Severely Endangered' Language* since it is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, but they do not speak it to children or among themselves.

As the village of B.Z is a mountainous region, all informants maintain some names of food and kitchen utensils, few names of clothes and many names of domestic tools and words related to agriculture and land in general.

Names Related to Agriculture and Commerce

The following table gathers all words that the researcher could record during the interviews and what is remarkable that those informants generally retain words that have a tight

relationship with agriculture, their life style, and the utensils they are constantly using and which characterize their mode of life.

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	B.Z Tamazight	English Gloss
[zraʕ]	[tɪmzeːn]	"Barley"
[gamħ]	[ɪrdan]	"Wheat"
[jaħrat]	[jəkkraz]	"He plows"
[jaħsˤad]	[jatħasˤsˤad]	"He mows "
[jneħħi]	[jattakas]	" He picks up (vegetables or fruits"
[jbiːʕ]	[snuːzan]	"He sells "
[jaʃri]	[jasɣɪ]	"He buys "

Table 2/ B.Z Tamazight Words Related to Agriculture and Commerce

Kitchen Utensils

All informants' answers reveal that they sometimes utter some Tamazight names referring to the following kitchen utensils, but with varied degrees of maintenance as two men do not remember some words as the third column clearly shows in the table below:

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	B.Z Tamazight	Number of Informants	English Gloss
[mʕɪlqa]	[tæɣanʒaːjət]- [tɪɣanʒaːjən] (pl.)	5	" Spoon(s) "
[qadra]	[tæjduːrt]	1	"A cooking-pot"
[kaːnuːn]	[tæfaˈqqunt]	1	"Traditional fire place"
[lamnaːsˤab]	[ɪnjaːn](pl.)	5	" Stones by which the fire place is built".

Table 2/ B.Z Tamazight Maintained Words of Kitchen Utensils

Names of Clothes and Colours

This preliminary study reveals that even the old people of B.Z do not have Berber items for clothes apart the word [ħalwaːn], meaning "clothes" or [kɪswa] in Standard Arabic, which was said by only one man from the present sample. All informants claim that they use Arabic words to refer to all kinds of clothes. In addition, the same man provided the word [tadˤoːft]: which means "wool" when he was asked to remember the Tamazight word for "a winter coat" which is knitted from wool.

Concerning colours, the three men and one woman know the names of colours in this variety, but the other woman forgot many of them, as it is clearly displayed in table three:

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	B.Z Tamazight	Number of Informants	English Gloss
[bjadˤ]	[æməˈllal]	5	"White"
[kħal]	[æbərkaːn]	5	"Black"
[ħmɑr]	[æzuˈggaɣ]	4	"Red"
[χdˤɑr]	[æziːza]	4	"Green"

| [sfar] | [æwra:ɣ] | 4 | "Yellow" |

Table 3/ B.Z Tamazight Maintained Words of Colours

Many other colours are lost and fell out of use such as: the "blue", "brown", and "orange".

Names of Food

Table four assembles some words that are still retained in the minds of this investigation's participants who easily remembered the words referred to in the following table:

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	B.Z Tamazight	English Gloss
[χubz]	[æɣro:m]	" Bread"
[lħəm]	[æjsu:m]	"Meat "
[be:dɑ]-[be:d]	[tæmalla:lt]-[tɪmalla:li:n]	"An egg "/ "eggs"
[laħli:b]	[æɣɪ]	" Milk"
[laʕsal]	[tɪmmɪ]	"Honey "
[lban]	[æɣɪ æssama:m]	" Buttermilk"
[kabu:ja]	[ta:χsa:jət]	"Pumpkin "
[ddqi:q]	[æran]	"Flour "
[karmo:s]	[ta:za:rt]	" Figs"
[ʕɪnab]	[æsammu:m]	"Grapes"
[χurʃaf]	['θa:ga]	"Artichoke"

Table 4/ B.Z Tamazight Maintained Words of Food

But, some food names (both vegetables and fruits) fell out of use and are currently substituted by the local Arabic words as most informants asserted such as: [batɑtɑ]: "potatoes", [ʒalba:n]: "peas", [lu:bja]: "beans", [zro:dɪja]: "carrots", [baṣla]: "onions", [falfal]: "pepper", [ta'ffa:ħ]: "apples", [χu:χ]: "peaches", [maʃma:ʃ]: "apricots", [tmar]: "dates", [llu:z]: "almonds".

Names of Animals

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	B.Z Tamazight Words		English Gloss
	Sing. Form	Pl. Form	
[ddɑrba:n]	[æjru]	ø	"Skunk"
[lqanfu:d]	[ɪnsɪ]	ø	"A hedgehog "
[lqaʈ]	['mmoʃ]	ø	"A cat"
[kalb]	[æjdN]	ø	" A dog"
[lugʷni:na]	[tæqni:nat]	[tɪqna:jan]	"Rabbit(s)"
[ħaʒla]	[tæsakku:rt]	[tɪsakkuri:n]	"Partridge(s) "

[χro:f]	[tɪzmart]	[ɪzmæri:n]	"Ram(s)"
[dʒa:ʒa]	[tjaʒe:t̪]	[jazɪɖɑn]	"Hen(s)"
[farro:ʒ]	[ħaqu:l]	ø	"A cock"
[fallu:s]	[ʃi:ʃu]	[ɪʃi:ʃwan]	"Chick(s)"
[ħma:ma]	[tæħma:mat]	[tɪħmami:n]	"Dove(s)"
[baqra]	[tæfuna:st]	[ɪfuna:san]	"Cow(s)"
[ħmɑ:r]	[æɣju:l]	ø	"A donkey"
[bɣal]	[æsardu:n]	ø	"A mule"
[ʕawd]	[ɪjjəs]	ø	"A horse"
[maʕza]	[t̪ɣa:t]	[tɪɣət̪t̪ɑn]	"Goat(s)"
[ħallu:f]	[ɪlaf]	[ɪlfa:n]	"Pig(s)"
[sbaʕ] and [nnmar]	ø	ø	"Lion" and "tiger"

Table 5/ B.Z Tamazight Names of Animals

What is striking and worthy to note in table five is the fact that B.Z speakers only preserve the names of domestic animals which constitute an important part of their bedouin life, that is, home pets or animals which they hunt, or live in the neighbouring forests. For instance, these speakers do not know Tamazight word referring to a lion, yet its name [æjra:d] represents a carnaval that is celebrated in the new year 'ennayar' to wish an excellent harvest season.

Names Related to Weather and Water

Dialectal Arabic Gloss	**B.Z Tamazight**	**English Gloss**
['nnu]	[tbi:ka]	"Rain"
[talʒ]	[ædfal]	"Snow"
[ʃʃams]	[tfu:jət]	"Sun"
[lbard]	[æṣamme:d]	"Cold"
[lʕi:n]	[t̪e:t̪] - [tɪt̪ɑ:wan]	"Source"/ "sources"
[lma]	[æma:n]	"Water"
[lwa:d]	[ɪɣzɑr]	"River"

Table 6/ B.Z Tamazight Words Related to Weather and Water

DISCUSSION

After analyzing the answers of these informants mainly qualitatively, this investigation demonstrates that the Zenati dialect under study is a 'Severely Endangered Language' as its speakers shifted to communicating through the current local Arabic dialect; a linguistic behaviour that resulted in this partial abandonment among old speakers and in a total ignorance of this Tamazight by the new generation. This language shift is attributed to the absence of the intergenerational transmission of the language at home; an important factor that contributes in passing on the language to the next generation. Consequently, the domains where this variety is currently used are more and more limited, as explained in the aforementioned settings, among the remaining speakers who are few members of the grandparent generation and up.

In fact, assessing its real degree of endangerment requires determining many sociolinguistic variables: knowing the exact number of its speakers, their gender and age and the personal attitudes towards its use... and is fundamentally based on undertaking profound sociolinguistic and anthropo-linguistic field studies. Further research in this area of investigation is intended for the sake of establishing a Berber-Arabic or Berber-French dictionary for this threatened dialect that will be preserved for the future generation documenting their ancestral cultural legacy.

CONCLUSION

At the end, in an attempt to explore the use of the aforementioned Berber lexical words, this concise research paper has been undertaken and the exhibited results have shown that the speakers in the area under study still maintain many Tamazight words which have a tight relationship with their mode of life. But, only few speakers use these words and who are all members of the grandparent generation and up. More profound research is intended in this region and satisfactory results are hoped to be offered in the next investigation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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